

Sports for Disciplining and Character Formation: The Study of English Public Schools in Colonial India

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[Editorial Note: The paper narrates how the introduction of sports in colonial India after the template of the public schools of England with a colonial imaginary of ‘disciplining the body, mind, and the character of an otherwise feeble people’ has created varied outcome based on the actual writings and lectures of colonial educators like Chester Macnaghten, Herbert Sherring, etc. D.A.]

Abstract: *The politics of the body in colonial India was intrinsically linked with the imperial project of hegemonic rule. The colonial imaginary that stereotyped the Indian body and character as effete and effeminate was employed to justify British rule in India. The politics of the body in colonial India manifested at the different contested sites of powers viz. medicine/hospitals, lunatic asylums, prisons, and educational institutions. However, the most aggressive expression of colonization of the Indian body concerning the imperial project of ‘disciplining the body’ was most apparent in English public schools. In this context, the present paper deals with the politics of body centred around sports as manifested in the English public schools of colonial India. Taking case studies of some public schools established in India during the colonial period, the paper examines colonial raison d’etre for introducing sports.*

Keywords: *Sports, English Public Schools, Disciplining the body, Chester Macnaghten, Herbert Sherring, Tyndale-Biscoe, Colonial India.*

Introduction:

From the 1870s onwards, there emerged a rush for establishing English boarding schools in India on the model of public schools of Britain. Rajkumar College of Rajkot (1870), Mayo College at Ajmer (1875), Aligarh College (1875), Rajkumar College of Raipur (1882), Aitchison College at Lahore (1886), and Christian Missionary School at Srinagar (1881) are a few to mention among some of the English schools founded during the colonial period. One of the most important characteristics of English schools in colonial India was that sports and athleticism formed an essential part of the education curriculum. In fact, British administrators and educators contemplated the very idea of English public schools in India to transform local elites into the taste and culture of English life. What appears is that, not only through English education but also through game-ethics latent in the English sports, a class of people, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, morals, intellect, and physicality sought to be created (Basu 2019: 265).

The introduction of sports and physical education during the colonial India was intrinsically linked with the establishment of English public schools. Being dummies of British public schools where sports and physical education became an indispensable part

of the curriculum by the middle of the nineteenth century, the English schools of India intended to inculcate the manly virtues of English gentleman in Indian students through the pedagogy of sports. It is worth mentioning that public schools in England underwent a landmark change in the second half of the nineteenth century when following the recommendation of the Clarendon Commission, Public Schools Act was passed in 1868 (Gathorne-Hardy 1978: 96-8). Many schools, including Eton and Harrow, were reformed and athleticism was made an integral part of the education with a view to develop cooperation, unselfishness, and sound character in the students (Ndee 2010). Among the colonial circle, the notion was established that manly qualities developed in playing fields of the public school contribute much to holding a dominant position in the colonies. As such, the public schools were considered a regular source of able administrative and army officers to the colonies who have developed qualities of endurance, toughness, and courage on playing fields. On the other hand, sports in colonies were thought to be used as a tool to make natives worthy vassals in the imperial order (Mangan 1986: 138). In a great semblance with what Macaulay was seeking to achieve through English education in India, the proponents of English sports thought that it would teach Indians the lessons of loyalty, respect, and obedience towards the rulers. Therefore, it was with this understanding of sports, colonial educators introduced it in Indian schools that themselves were established on the model of public schools of England.

Early studies on colonial history interpreted the spread of western sports in colonies simply as a part and parcel of the imperial rule. However, J. A. Mangan, who proposed the idea of 'games ethics', implicated a more nuanced and complicated motive behind the introduction of English sports in schools of the colonies. He argued that colonial administrators and educators established public schools in colonies to use it as a site to discipline the body and character of otherwise feeble and undisciplined people. His works on the diffusion of English public school 'game ethics' in colonies emphasized the role of sports in understanding colonial education and its relationship with the imperial ideology (Mangan 1978). However, sports and physical education offered in English schools not always produced expected results. It often played complex and contradictory roles in the context of fostering respect for the colonial order and incorporating elites within that order. As many scholars have shown, contests between British officials and nationalist Indians led to the re-imagining of goals assigned for sports. From the early decades of the twentieth century, the Indian educationists not only imagined an altogether different set of objectives for sports but, in a time, have also appropriated English 'manly' sports within the nationalist framework. Many of the English sports thus became a symbol of nationalist aspiration¹.

¹ From the early decades of the twentieth century, Indians reimagined and envisaged different goals for sports and physical education. Almost all major Indian educationalists of the early twentieth century, viz. Rabindranath Tagore, Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sri Aurobindo etc. contemplated a nationalist goal for sports pedagogy in India. However, discussion

Nevertheless, it is beyond any doubt that both British authorities (colonizers) and Indians (colonized) wanted to improve the physicality of the Indian body through the provision of sports in schools. The difference between both parties mainly lay in their different meanings and interpretations of educational virtues, namely 'disciplining and character formation', which are supposed to be inherent in the sports pedagogy. Taking a cue from Mangan's 'game ethics', sports pedagogy at some of the English schools established on the model of the public school of Britain in colonial India would be discussed next.

Early Sports Proponents and Their Rationale for Introducing Sports in Public Schools:

The early colonial educators to venture imperial project of transplanting English sports in India was Chester Macnaghten, the first Principal of the Rajkumar College established at Rajkot in the Kathiawar region. The college was founded in 1870 to provide the ruling princes and chieftains of Kathiawar with English education in addition to manly physical training (Khan 1904: 13-4). Macnaghten, educated at Trinity College of Cambridge (famous for its sporting culture), taught his students at Rajkumar College to play cricket and football. He encouraged his students to participate in sporting pursuits and used to join them in their games. Ranjitsinhji, the ruler of the Nawanagar princely state, who played first-class cricket for Cambridge University and had since won fame on English cricket fields, learned cricket from none other than Macnaghten (Wilde 2004). However, Macnaghten's enterprise of introducing western sports to the class of Indians, generally considered as effete and conservative was not an easy task. The following account of his work in Kathiawar taken from the *Times* of May 11, 1896, after his death, read as:

The Kathiawar chiefs are mourning for an Englishman who, during a full quarter of a century, has been to them a friend and guide. It is no high official whose loss they lament. Chester Macnaghten was neither a civilian, nor a soldier, nor a 'Political' of any sort; but a simple Cambridge scholar belonging to the educational service, which has done so much to render British rule a blessing instead of a hardship to India...He was sent into a territory beyond direct British control, to introduce education on the English public-school model for the sons of chiefs who did not want it, and who clung to their old traditions with a strength of conservatism unknown in this country, and scarcely equaled in India itself (Macnaghten 1896; xiii-xiv).

Sir James Peile, the then Governor of Bombay and a friend of Macnaghten, and in fact, on whose recommendation Macnaghten was appointed as the Head of the Rajkumar College in 1870, mentioned the difficulties he had to contend with in introducing sports in the college. Peile, who considered Chester Macnaghten as the pioneer of the public school

on such endeavour is beyond scope of the present paper. Here, the author has cited two secondary works which discuss how colonial sports turned into an agent of nationalist sentiment.

system in India, informed that at the time of the establishment of the college, it was dominated by the chiefs of an older generation who had grown up in the wildlife left by the Mughal anarchy. But the younger generation of chiefs came to join an institution that differed in no essential point from the public school of England. Describing Macnaghten's work in Rajkumar College, Peile narrated how he made the chiefs of Kathiwar in believing the tonic virtue of public-school education. The latter could discipline their bodies in the template of manliness and hardihood of the English public-school boy. Macnaghten inspired his pupils to take pride in the college games and appealed to their sporting and military tastes that, he considered, were their aristocratic and hereditary instincts. For this, he introduced many 'manly' English sports in the college and formed a squadron of mounted volunteers (Macnaghten 1896: xv-xvi).

H. H. Bhavsinhji, Maharaja of Bhavnagar, and a student of Macnaghten at Rajkumar College confirmed that the college, since its beginning, followed the lines of the British public school on the athletic side. Following the proposition that education aims at the scientific guidance to the growth of the physical, intellectual, and moral sides of human beings, the promoters of the Rajkumar College selected the public school system of Britain as model (Bhavsinhji 1911: 158-9). With this goal in mind, the moral value of properly organized games was strongly upheld by the teachers of all grades at Rajkumar College. The double value of games was emphasized at the college, first in strengthening the body and then in inculcating discipline and character in the pupils. Using the phrase, 'mens sana in corpore sano' translated as 'a healthy mind in a healthy body', Bhavsinhji writes following on the educational value of sporting activities imparted at the college.

It is an undoubted fact that these games, over and above their obvious physical value of giving a robust, healthy and responsive physique for strenuous mental application, develop the moral qualities of courage, endurance, obedience command, quick decision, love of fair play and justice, and perhaps above all, the felling of solidarity which creates a readiness to sacrifice personal interests to the good of their side, their Class or their College (Bhavsinhji 1911: 159).

Chester Macnaghten himself, in an article, wrote for *Calcutta Review* in 1879, discussed how his plan of employing sports in Rajkumar College had brought some remarkable changes in the physical constitution and character of his pupils. He observed that not only the rude and coarse manners and mind of the young chiefs diminished, but those long hereditary grudges between a Scindia and a Holkar, a Nabha and a Jhind, were forgotten in the neutral hall and playground of a college. While doubting about the natural indolent of the Kathiwar princes and chiefs, he wrote, "They need to lead; but when once roused they are not wanting in agility or spirit" (The *Calcutta Review* LXVIII 1879: 277-9). For Macnaghten, it was more satisfactory to see *kumars* (young chiefs) improving in their moral and physical skills as he considered behavior to be far more important than scholarship (Macnaghten 1896: xxiii). However, the most vivid expression of his conviction on the disciplinary characteristics of sports is reflected in his lecture titled- *Play*

that he delivered at Rajkumar College on August 14, 1887. Though at the first instance, encouragement for sports evoked adverse criticism, Macnaghten was pleased to see that its importance was gradually recognized, and more attention was then given to open-air sports and physical exercises in the college. Elucidating the educational values inherent in the sports; he quoted Ralph Waldo Emerson's *The Conduct of Life* (1876) that read as:

Archery, cricket, gun and fishing-rod, horse and boat, are all educators, liberalisers; and –provided only the boy has resources, and is of a noble and ingenuous strain-these will not serve him less than the books...Provided always the boy is teachable, football, cricket, archery, swimming, skating, climbing, fencing, riding, are lessons in the art of power, which it is his main business to learn;- riding, specially, of which Lord Herbert of Cherbury said, 'A good rider on a good horse is as much above himself and others as the world can make him (Macnaghten 1896: 126).

Dwelling upon the late nineteenth-century western educational philosophies that argue for man's comprehensive development, Macnaghten realized that man is not all he can be and should be through his intellect alone. Considering that the training of the mind alone does not only need in the training of man or even if it was so, he thought the energy of the intellect so closely connected with the health of the body that the development of muscular powers (not excessively, but to a reasonable extent) a necessary aid to the proper development of man's mental faculties. With this objective in mind, he thought that games of prowess, strength, and skill would contribute very considerably as they not only strengthen the muscles but also invigorate mind and character (Macnaghten 1896: 127). Besides strengthening the muscles, mind, and character, Macnaghten argued that "games teach us to keep our tempers and the quality of fairness much better than anything else". Thus, he firmly believed that physical training and sports could develop skills, gentleness, firmness, unselfishness, patience, self-control, and the health and activity of the body. For in hours spent in physical pursuits, Macnaghten thought, pupils can learn such lessons that no school instruction can give. The 'lessons' were those of self-reliance, calmness, and courage, which could make students fit to discharge the duties and difficulties of the future (Macnaghten 1896: 134). As he said, "Absolute fairness, the necessity of impartial justice to both sides alike, is a condition without which games cannot be played at all. This is the reason why at cricket no one is allowed to dispute with the umpire, it is often very good for us to have subordinated our own opinion to that of another" (Macnaghten 1896: 131). Macnaghten considered cricket one such English sport that can instill the virtues of fairness, gentleness, unselfishness, and patience in the students of Rajkumar College. He read a description of a cricket match from the English novel *Tom Brown's School Days*. This novel, written by Thomas Hughes in 1857, portrays the life of the English public school in 1830s. Tom Brown's Schooldays played a pivotal role in spreading the gospel of sport throughout the world. It is regarded as a founding text of 'muscular Christianity' that

inaugurated the cult of manly athleticism in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Winn 1960, Majumdar 2006). The excerpt from the book that Macnaghten read is as follows:

“What a noble game cricket is!” exclaims one of the Rugby masters to Tom Brown afterwards when the School Eleven are bating, - “the discipline and reliance on one another which it teaches is so valuable, I think; and it ought to be such an unselfish game. It merges the individual in the Eleven; he doesn't play that he may win, but that his side may”. “That very true”, said Tom, “and Tom, “and that's why football and cricket, now one comes to think of it, are such better games than fives or hare-and-hounds or any others where the object is to come in first or to win for oneself, and not that one's side may win!” “And then the Captain of the Eleven!” said the master, “what a post is his in our School-world! almost as hard as the Headmaster's; requiring skill and gentleness and firmness, and I know not what other rare qualities” (Macnaghten 1896: 133).

A very similar argument on cricket was made by another colonial educator named Herbert Sherring, the Headmaster of Mayo College. Established in 1875 at Ajmer, the Mayo College was founded to educate the aristocracy of Rajputana in the English public school system. Herbert Sherring, who called Mayo College ‘The Eton of India’, played a significant role in introducing English sports. Speaking at the cricket event held in February 1891 at Mayo College, he explained the educative lessons that cricket can provide in the following words:

For a college like Mayo, cricket must forever remain the game par excellence. And then cricket is an education in itself. It develops nearly every muscle in the body. To the mind, it teaches fortitude under defeat, and modesty at the time of victory. It discourages selfishness, and teaches the player the necessity of playing for his side and not for himself. It inculcates smartness and activity. No good cricketer is a sloven or a sluggard. It is a democratic game, where riches and poverty, high rank and low rank, are of no account compared to real merit...Under no circumstances must the temper be lost; that godlike attribute should ever remain calm and unruffled. For these and many other reasons, cricket has become the king of games, absolute ruler at the Mayo, as at every other college and school where it has been introduced (Sherring 1897: 227).

In the first report of the Mayo College, Colonel Oliver John mentioned that boys who joined them were more fearful of exposure to the sun than Englishmen and played in the open air only in the early morning and late in the evening. To eradicate such stigma, Sherring was keen to recreate the English public school in India, in particular, with its emphasis on games and sports referring to “the very great need that existed for a college like the Mayo where boys who entered were soft, weak, and pampered, could be turned out hardy, active young men” (Sherring 1897: 60). Alexis Tadie, in his work on Mayo College, argued that Sherring had a double necessity to promote ‘manly’ sports in the college. First, sports were supposed to be a means through which masculinity, discipline, and character

of the students could be upheld. Second, as per colonial discourse on masculinity that alleged Indians as effete and effeminate, educating them in such a pedagogy of sports would strengthen their body as well and turn them into a man (Tadie 2017: 263).

Hence, recognizing the necessity of competition between the boys, games, and sports like cricket, hockey, lawn tennis, high jumps, long jumps, throwing the cricket ball distance, 100 yards flat race, 300 yards flat race, stone race, hopping race 50 yards, horse riding, polo, tilting at the ring, tent-pegging, jumping were made part of the educational curriculum at the Mayo College (Sherring 1894: 218). In April 1893, following the custom prevalent in all public schools of Britain, new rules were introduced considering the inclusion of sports in all grades. Most importantly, points were accorded to various sporting activities. Certain new events were also added to the curriculum, viz. high pole jump, hop, step and jump, tug-of-war, and pick-a-back race. The competition was occasionally made compulsory, and in each event, the winner received 21 marks, the boy who stood second 10, and the third 5 marks. Upon completing all the events, the marks were added together, and the first in each division was awarded a prize (Sherring 1894: 218-21).

Moreover, Herbert Sherring was also very determined to organize a rifle cadet corps of the Mayo College on the line of public schools of England. It seems he wanted to encourage young Rajput princes to avail themselves of English sports to revive their military tradition that could ultimately be mobilized in the service of the British Empire. Looking at the stock of boys coming from the ruling classes who already been instructed in riding and shooting drills and taught to wield the lance, sword, and rifle, Sherring thought it would be easy to assemble a cadet corps from their ranks. Among the main advantages in the formation of such a cadet corps, was the employment of young chiefs in their later life in the imperial service. British extension of their protectorate over Rajputana led Rajputs in losing their fighting instinct and traditional profession. Sherring thought that if the chiefs 'slumbered instinct' would be aroused by organizing cadet corps, they could be employed as an efficient auxiliary to the British force in India (Sherring 1894: 223). Hence, to form the Rifle Cadet Corps, English games and uniforms were introduced at Mayo College in combination with horse riding, polo, and other martial sports considered part of the Rajput tradition.

Another colonial educator interested in forming cadet corps was G. D. Oswell, Principal of the Rajkumar College of Raipur in Central Province. Rajkumar College of Raipur, founded in 1882 by Sir Andrew Fraser, was another English school established in India on the model of the public school of Britain. At Raipur's Rajkumar College, every boy was taught to ride well on a horse, and Principal Oswell appointed a subadar of Madras Lancers for such training. Under Oswell's supervision, musketry was also taught to every boy, and the seniors with a rifle were made the volunteer of rifle range. Also were introduced certain uniformity in dress for drill and musketry classes in order to create a cadet corps. Instruction in horse riding and rifle ranges was included in the morning exercises with plenty of other physical activities, including dumbbells, physical drills, and *deshi kasrat*

(indigenous exercises). The evening hour at the college was devoted to games like cricket, football, and tennis etc. Oswell informed that, from the beginning of college, games were made an integral part of regular college routines, and attendance was compulsory (Oswell 1902: 38). Colonial administrators, particularly John Woodburn, Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces, declared that the aim behind the establishment of the college was to teach the elite native mind lessons of loyalty towards the imperial government through manly sports. To quote from the prospectus of the college:

The aim of the Chief Commissioner in establishing the college is to provide a place where the sons and near relatives of feudatory chiefs, zamindars, and large landed proprietors, and other native gentlemen of position in the Central Provinces, may receive a training that shall fit them for the important duties and responsibilities which will ultimately devolve upon them. Special attention will be devoted to the training of the boys in right and honourable principles of thought and conduct, in gentlemanly behaviour and bearing, and an aptitude and proficiency in manly sports. Our aims in this college then are practically identical with the aims of the great Public Schools of England (Oswell 1902; 48).

The introduction of sports and establishment of public schools as elements in a strategy of imperial ideology of 'white man's burden' was also reiterated by the highest colonial authority in India- the Viceroy. Many of the viceroys of India envisioned English public schools for developing and strengthening not only the mind and body but also the character of the Indians. In this context, Lord Lytton's speech delivered at the Mayo College in 1879 is worth mentioning. Unequivocally describing the special merit of the English public school system that aims at training, developing, and strengthening of the mind and body both, he informs that such an idea was expressed by Colonel Walter in a report that influenced Lord Mayo. Colonel Walter's report called for the education of young rulers and nobles of India, foundation of a college modelled on Eton College, a reputed public school of Britain. Sports were central to the Eton curriculum since the late eighteenth century (Carter 2021). Lord Lytton thus said, "Ajmere is India's Eton, and you are India's Eton boys" (Sherring 1897: 181).

Lord Curzon, who took a keen interest in reforming the Indian education system wanted to regulate the English schools of India in such a way that they could serve the British Empire. He wanted English schools to function as a colonial institution that can produce valuable public servants from that class of Indians who were by birth and inheritance the natural pillars of the British Raj (Mayo College Magazine July 1905; 4). Curzon's most explicit expression underlying this ideal was best manifested in an address he delivered at Aitchison College in Lahore in 1901. He said:

The Public School system, as we understand it in England, is one which is devised to develop simultaneously and in equal measure the mind, the body, and the character of the pupil; we undertake to educate our young men at these schools in England for the position or profession in life which they are destined to fill. We

endeavour to train their physical energies so as to give them a manly bearing, and to interest them in those games, pastimes, and pursuits which will both so much conduce to their health and add so greatly to the pleasures of their lives, and above all by the ideals which, we set before them, by the higher example which we endeavour to inculcate in them, and by the attrition of mutual intercourse with each other from day to day we endeavour so to discipline their character that they shall be turned not merely into men, but into what in England we call gentlemen (Oswell 1902: 48).

Apart from Curzon, another highest authority in India, Lord Hardinge, who served as the viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916, reiterated the importance of making Indian honest and disciplined subjects of the empire in a speech at Mayo College. He noted that colleges established in India on the model of British public schools made a civilizing and progressive influence. He firmly believed that Mayo and Daly College at Indore, following the principles of morality, locality, and culture, that he called characteristics of the British race, contributed to the formation of character in elite Indians (Mayo College Magazine February 1913: 12-3). Thus, such a view of Hardinge on English schools of India was the clear manifestation of the imperial ideology of civilizing mission and hegemonic domination under British rule.

Significantly enough, it is to be noted that the goals set for sports in these schools were only superficially similar to those in Britain. Sen has argued that emphasis was placed on developing the character of Indians, i.e., emotional, and physical self-control and subordination in the face of authority by institutionalizing sports in the public schools. However, neither English public schools nor English body and character were supposed to have been produced in India. Sen argued that colonial administrators and educators never wanted the Indians to develop the same character as that of the English schoolboys (Sen 2004). In his work on Mayo College, Alexis Tadie has also demonstrated that sports in English schools of India do not open the scope of integration of native elites into the English gentlemen mould, as it delineates different masculinities (Tadie 2017: 263). Moreover, sports in the English school that is meant to educate the mind and body of the Indians also provides the colonizers a fare justification to rule the Indians.

Very interestingly, no colonial officials or educators wanted Indians to lose their essential indigenous character or tried to instill in their attributes of English gentleman- mentally and physically. They even warned that their 'denationalization' would be disastrous not only for the Indians but also for the British Empire. Chester Macnaghten himself understood the danger of foreign education. He thought that it might unsettle, demoralize, and denationalize Indians (Macnaghten 1896: xxxii). As such, he thought to teach the young chieftains of the Rajkumar College of Kathiawar the British public school's virtues without undermining their old faith and its practical influence on their lives. He taught his students to value manly games and exercises like cricket and riding, not because they were English but because they were conducive to manliness (Macnaghten 1896: xxviii). While

writing on the subject of education to be given in English schools of India, Macnaghten said:

Is the English education, which we administer, of real benefit to India? Does not experience rather show that it has tended, while increasing knowledge, to increase the power of moral depravity? Has not our civilization in this case been a failure? Would it not be better let it alone? No one can altogether admire an occidentalised Orient; and English air has an unhappy tendency to detach Indian minds from all their old anchors, some good ones as well as some bad. I seriously submit that it would be best, both for England and for India, that natives of India, remaining in India, should retain their own customs, their own dress, and even in general their own religion. Only I should like to see them, while residing in their own country, have all the advantages of a high moral training to fit them for responsible duties in life (Macnaghten 1896: xxxiii-xxxv).

Such a colonial negation of imitating purely British-style public-schools in India was best articulated by Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay. In an address delivered at Rajkumar College in 1890, he argued that the attempt to introduce the public school system in India could never clone the original institutions in England because it does not suit the customs, habits of thoughts and mind, and body of the people. He said that in contrast to India, the public schools of Britain give no advantage to birth or wealth and even a person from humblest origin were allowed to excel in moral, intellectual, and physical qualities. Harris concluded his speech, saying, "Pray do not misunderstand me: I am not finding that these Indian institutions are not exactly the same as the English public schools. I acknowledge that every allowance should be made for climate, racial, and customary differences. Still, it is impossible to make an exact copy of it" (Khan 1904: 26).

Yet Harris in India is known for promoting cricket in Bombay presidency schools despite the opposition from Anglo-Indians. The latter considered the game unsuited to the physical and political temperament of Indians (Guha 2014: 67). Following a similar line, Henry George Impey Siddons, the first headmaster of Aligarh Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, promoted cricket as a school sport. He opined that playing English sports would teach students at Aligarh something valuable without making them English. Baden-Powell, the founder of the Scout movement described the goal of colonial education as 'of developing the bodies, the character and soul of an otherwise feeble people' (Tyndale-Biscoe 1930: 20). Nevertheless, Powell always felt Indians could never come as par English boys in body, character, and intellect (Reynolds 1943: 262; Biju 2020).

Church Mission Society School, established at Srinagar in 1880, is another typical case of colonial approach towards sports in India. In the colonial discourse of the Indian body, Kashmiri pundits, along with Bengalis, were categorized as one of the most effeminate races of the subcontinent. Therefore, educators associated with the Church Mission Society School urged for introducing physical education and sports among Kashmiri pundits to build their bodies and character. Considering the work of Tyndale-Biscoe, who was

appointed as the Principal of the school in 1880, Baden-Powell wrote that through scout methods, Biscoe succeeded in strengthening the moral backbone of large numbers of boys in Kashmir and made an effete race manly, healthy, and Christian (Tyndale-Biscoe 1920: iii). However, the work of ‘putting backbone into jellyfish’, as Tyndale-Biscoe called pundits, was not an easy task because of their so-called un-disciplined social and personal practices. As soon as school was established in 1880, its first principal Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, engaged the boys in cricket, which they played, wearing all the regalia of a Kashmiri pundit—tight bandage-like puggaree, golden ear- and nose-rings, wooden clogs, and the long nightgown garment reaching from the neck to ankles called a *pheran*. Knowles also introduced boys to physical exercises and installed parallel and horizontal bars in the school. But this move of the first principal faced a massive backlash because Kashmiri Pundits thought physical activities smacked of low caste manual labour and derogatory for boys of higher caste. Consequently, instruction in drilling and physical exercise had to be abolished by order of the Maharaja (Tyndale-Biscoe 1930: 3).

Tyndale-Biscoe described three major reasons for Kashmiri pundit’s opposition to English athleticism and sports. First, the idea of wasting time at games must be more profitably employed in cramming for examinations. Second, their oligarchical perception was that, only manual labourers should attain physical strength, not high-born gentlemen. And lastly, caste taboo towards leather (which were made from a dead animal) made them to believe that all the sports materials are unclean, untouchable, and can pollute caste purity. This ruled out the success of cricket, soccer, boxing, and many other sports among the pundits, as balls and gloves were made up of leathers. In such a social setting, the enormous task that Tyndale-Biscoe set for himself as an educator was to alter the physical and moral habits of Kashmiri pundits through the pursuit of sports and drill exercises. Arguing that to run the school on the reformatory lines that were considered to be the best, he gradually introduced compulsory swimming, games, horizontal and parallel bars, and mass drill, cricket, football, and boxing, English uniforms, and corporal punishment for misbehavior were also introduced in the school despite obstinate opposition from the boys and their parents.

In Tyndale-Biscoe’s programme of athletic education, ‘of all the sports, however, the finest one for putting manhood into the products of flabby gentility (Kashmiris pundits) was boxing’ (Tyndale-Biscoe 1930: 13). It was supposed that the boy’s playful engagement with boxing gloves would in time eradicate their taboo for leather and instill in them ‘manly’ spirit². Besides, once accustomed to boxing gloves, their aversion to football and cricket ball, both made of leather, would also liquidate. While athletics were primarily

² Tyndale-Biscoe sought to eradicate taboos associated with leathers in Kashmiris pundits by introducing boxing to them. As the boxing gloves are made of leather, he must have thought it would gradually uproot their aversion for leather. Moreover, as boxing is an aggressive and violent sports, Tyndale-Biscoe may have thought that its practice among the pundits would instill “manly” spirit in them.

meant to build the boys' physicality, team games such as football and cricket would help fostering *esprit de corps*, terribly lacking in Kashmiri boys, as argued by Tyndale-Biscoe. He celebrated the occasions of Kashmiri pundit's taking up football for the first time that he regarded triumphant of his sports pedagogy at all odds as follows:

The ball was placed in the centre, the boys ranged in their places about it, the whistle blew, but everything remained stationary. The Principal explained, 'When I blow the whistle you must kick the ball. Now then.' The whistle blew again, but the ball did not move. Again they were told, again the whistle blew and still no one moved. Then the Principal called to some men whom he had stationed near the goal posts with single sticks, in case of emergency. As soon as the pandits saw the sticks there was one concerted rush by the whole lot to see who could get nearest the ball and so avoid the stick-bearers. Not only did they kick the unholy leather, but with hands and claws they fought each other to get near it. Pugarees flew out like pennants, clogs and shoes shot into the air. Football had started in Kashmir (Tyndale-Biscoe 1930: 20).

Thus, at Church Mission Society School at Srinagar, sports aimed at stimulating courage, manliness, and physical fitness. Athletic sports such as boxing, boating, swimming, football, and cricket were intended to strengthen the body and develop moral qualities and new attitudes essential for performing civil duties. As Tyndale-Biscoe wrote, "Finally, athletics having built up good, strong, healthy boys, they can use their strength in helping those weaker and less fortunate than themselves. Thus, through athletics, we hope to raise up useful citizens, instead of first-class blood-suckers" (Tyndale-Biscoe 1930: 22). Biscoe's programme of creating a new attitude towards physical work also included engaging pupils in civic duties, such as street cleaning and helping in flooding and cholera (Tyndale-Biscoe 1930: 54-63). Eventually, it was claimed that Kashmiri boys who hated athletics moved towards living a life of physical strength and moral character with a sense of civic duties. Tyndale-Biscoe credited sports and athleticism for such paradigm changes in the lifestyle of Kashmiri pundits.

Conclusion:

Many English schools were established in India from the 1870s onwards on the model of the public school of Britain with immense emphasis on sports and physical education. In the highly politicized pedagogy of the body, sports and physical education were conceived as tools through which British administrator-educators hoped to cultivate the virtues of loyalty, discipline, character, and citizenship in the colonized subjects besides strengthening their weak body. Most importantly, they wanted to construct an Indian variety of 'gentlemen' utilizing sports in schools as a disciplinary agent. To achieve this goal, the moral values of organized games were strongly upheld in English schools of India. Whether it was Rajkumar Colleges at Rajkot and Raipur, Mayo College at Ajmer, or Church Mission Society School in Srinagar, colonial educators at these public schools viz. Chester Macnaghten, G. D. Oswell, and Tyndale-Biscoe emphasized sports pedagogy to

develop character among their pupils that demanded physical self-control, mental loyalty, obedience, and subordination towards the authority, i.e., imperial order.

However, introduction of sports was not an easy task. Apathy towards the physical pursuits among the elites and high caste Indians restrained them from taking sports. In other words, these classes of Indians were not willing to take athletic games because they considered it as an activity of lower social order. However, colonial educators remained firm on the philosophy of sports pedagogy, continued their classes at all odds, and gradually sports became highly popular in English schools of India. Pursuit in athleticism and sports came to be seen as the sign of aristocratic life to which elite and educated Indians started taking pride in. The accomplishment in sports, thus, became the aspiration of educated Indians. Thus, it was mainly due to the 'game ethics' believed to be inherent in sports and athleticism that it was promoted in all schools and colleges of India. Either it was Presidency College, Bethune College, Scottish Church, St. Paul College, St. Xaviers College in Bengal Presidency or Christian College, Loyola College, Khalsa College, Aligarh College, Central Hindu College, and Doon School in other provinces, sports became an intrinsic part of the educational curriculum in all English schools of British India.

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