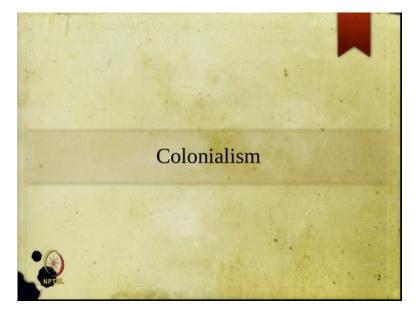
## Text<sub>1</sub> Texuality and Digital Media Professor. Arjun Ghosh Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology Delhi Lecture 15 Colonialism

We will begin our discussion on colonialism and print in India. The coming of print in India, print to India really begins with the coming of the Europeans. Because the printing machines as they are imported into this country, Wherewill initiate the process of printing and replacing the manuscript culture.

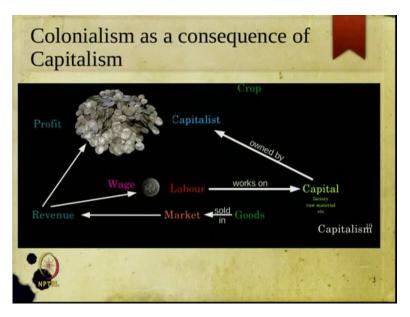
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WhereBut in order to actually begin the discussion on printing, we first, we <u>will</u> spend a little bit of time on understanding certain key concepts of colonialism, which in-form our lecture today, for many of you these are concepts which are very fundamental and rudimentary in the study of history <u>andin</u> colonialism and today's lecture might seem to be a repeat, for the rest you can look at some of these fundamentals and read on your own to be able to grasp more about this particular theme.

Colonialism, the coming of colonialism to India, the establishment of colonialism in India is a fascinating journey. I am not saying it is a very enjoyable journey, especially for us Indians, but it certainly tells us, it tells us a lot about how political and cultural processes work in tandem and also like any study of history helps us understand our present-day realities better.

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The first point that I would like to make is that there is a linkage between capitalism and colonialism. When I say colonialism was a consequence of capitalism and-what I mean is really that the history of colonialism cannot be understood without the history of capitalism and indeed vice versa, you cannot understand fully the history of capitalism without understanding <u>the</u> history of colonialism.

And for that, let us go back to one of the slides that we had in one of our early lecture, which explains the processes of capitalism, you know what are some of the important elements in place within the capitalist is-mode of production. We have the capitalist who brings in capital. The capital is an important resource, you have labour, who is engaged by capital, works on the raw material. The raw material has to be garnered and also then the goods that are produced, <u>are</u> sold in the market and then a profit is generated.

This profit can be (()) (3:11) and put back into the kitty of capital and <u>a</u> large part of the profit could be put back and leads to an increase in capital. Now this puts into place <u>a</u>\_cyclical process, a cyclically process in this way that once a particular industry <u>a</u>\_or-particular firm is able to generate enough profit, <u>-i</u>It sort, of establishes more capital, it brings about, brings in more capital.

But in order to for this increased capital to be able to operate, it needs two things, one is access to raw materials. Now this access to raw materials is something that you have to then gather through primary resources, either through mining or through agriculture in case of cash crops. Let us say cotton cultivation or indigo cultivation would require or timber, would require you know, more raw material for the capital to work on.

A limited capital can only work on a limited amount of raw material and once the material is produced, it needs to be sold in a market that size of the market also has to grow. Which is why within capitalism, if there is competition between capitalists, who are operating within the same industry, let us say the textile industry, t. There is always a contest of market.

So when one capitalist tries to expand that capitalist is sort of expands through taking over somebody else's market. Now within the spirit of competition that would be fine because in this particular case, the competition is going to increase <u>t</u>. The quality of goods and reduce the prices for the consumer. However, what colonialism does <u>i</u>? Is allows capitalism to go and capture new markets and capture new sources of raw materials.

So what the Europeans would do<u>i</u>? Is go to these lands-add and produce the additional raw material, the additional cotton, which is then brought back to the Metropolis, to Europe, processed, paid into textiles and then sold back into larger markets which are global. Without doubt-coming into these inter-capitalist rivalries between the various European countries. These rivalries are spread all across the world in the form of Empire. And that leads to this into these inter-capitalist, inter-European moreswars across the globe, in Africa, in Asia and in Americas.

So we see how\_the capitalism is intrinsically linked to colonialism. Because in order to for capitalism to advance its\_self, it requires the expansion of territory, an empire building becomes an important exercise.

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And we see that you know, slavery is also another very important and the history of colonialism also another very important element for us to understand, in understanding-the industrial society. The industrial revolutionary, as we understand in Europe develops on the back of the colonial and colonial exploitation edition and the slave trade. The riches that are produced go on to building the big glorious cities of Europe and that is the historic lead that the North has over the South-<u>t</u>. Through the exploitation of the South through colonialist ventures.

Colonialism in that way can be regarded as <u>the</u> first phase of <u>globalisationglobalization</u>, where it was a <u>globalisationglobalization</u> of capitalist exploitation, where the riches then flowed to the Metropolitan countries to, and those are historical leads, those are historical advantages which Europe and European the larger West has. So if we understand the West as those places where Europeans have settled, <u>t</u>. Then those countries have a historic lead over the South, historic advantage over the South through the history of colonialism and that is something for us to understand stop.

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Now how did this get framed culturally? We look<u>ed</u> at the economic argument, we also know the political, we looked at the economic picture and <u>we</u> also know the political picture that it was <u>a</u> case where the need was for capitalist expansion for economic expansion. And indeed, most of these ventures began as a company. The East India company, where th<u>eat</u> Dutch East India company, the French East India company and the British East India Company and there were other companies as well.

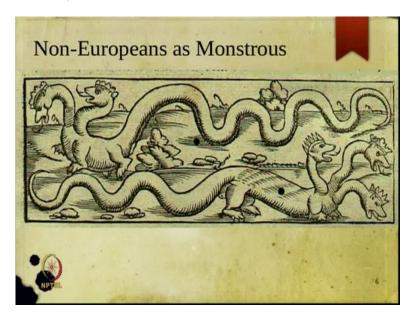
What came as a logic for trade? The first time that the Europeans came to India, they sought permission to conduct trade. But in order to be able to conduct the trade\_and-in an unbridled manner, the exploitation in anthe unbridled manner,  $\frac{1}{2^{7}}$  they realised that they needed to control—the political power and so began the story of political subjugation of the colonised colonized races is but how did it play out in the form of a cultural logic.

Now what we do understand is that overarching the meta\_narrative on which colonialism built itself was that of a\_civilizsing mission. Now who were the targets of this meta\_narrative? Who were these ideas targeted towards? There wereat the two audiences. One was athe domestic audience for the colonizsed that within their own country, they had to convince people to support thisese colonial venture. Support in form of providing men and money, who they needed people to run the companies, they needed clerks, they needed administrators, they needed soldiers would come and manage the Empire for them.

So that kind of support was necessary that what they are engaged in is positive and a good exercise, it is not an evil exercise and the second was also to prevent any backlash from

within the community, within the European community. The other was, other audience was that of the colonizers themselves. The colonizers has to be told that colonialism actually good for them. So as to create consent, so as to make the colonized peoples actually support the Empire. In fact, much of British and French colonialism depended on the colonisers colonizers as those who ran the administration and fought in the wars, fought all colonial wars. So what was this meta\_narrative of civilisingcivilizing mission? Let us go through it for a moment.

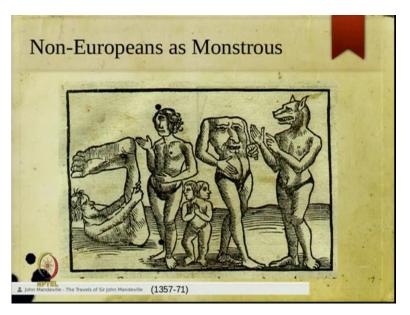
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Through various travelogue. Now we in our lectures on the effect of colonialism on Europe or of print on Europe, w. We looked at how there was a great hunger for knowledge of the New World and it was on that this new knowledge was always scientific. There was lot of spurious knowledge that went in. In fact, that is something that we remarked on in our lecture that there was always a tussle between that which is scientifically valid and that which is based on imagination and prejudice and assumptions.

So there were a lot of assumptions which were about these non-European lands and much of these assumptions were building on previous traditions of people outside the known world that is the European and Asian world. That the Europeans regarded the non-European peoples as abnormal, as subhuman or nonhuman and therefore they translated it into being monstrous. So the books and travelogues would sometimes be so imaginative as to portray some of these lands as those which are, which have monstrous characteristics, you know.

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And this is <u>a the very early travelogue</u>. So 14<sup>th</sup> century, print had not yet come into being. So th<u>eise</u> would be woodcuts, which would be printed images onto manuscripts <u>toat</u> begin withright. So these fed into the imagination, these kind of troupes, these kind of ideas kept on occurring.

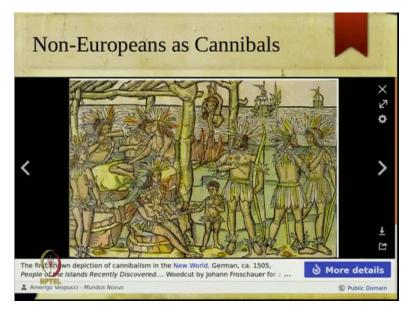
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<u>TAnd</u> these non-European lands were ith treated as exotic places and so this particular travelogue, the travels of John Mandeville says. They grew there in India a wonderful tree which bore tiny lambps on the ends of its branches. Now these are of course fantastical beings and creatures, which were presented as that which were real. Now it is not that everybody believed it, but this led into the, this fed into as well as built upon the overall

assumptions of these non-European lands as places, which one had to be cautious about, places which were somehow different from Europe.

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There were also reports of non-Europeans as cannibals. So it is various kinds of negative, which is that<u>images that were</u> coming about. So they are dangerous, then, so these are various kinds of stereotypes that were being built. The various kinds of troupes that were f<u>eea</u>ding into the popular imagination. Certainly there would be factual sources as well. But it was as I had discussed during the discussion on coming of print, there was very difficult to actually for an ordinary person to actually differentiate between fact and fiction.

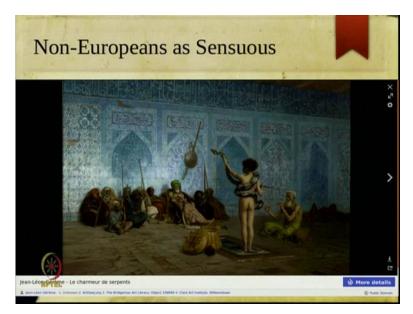
Because both had the same form and were presented in a similar fashion. It till, till such time that you had the creation of the journals and the academy communities and the various scholarly bodies <u>t</u>. There was no authentication of the kind of stories that were being passed off as facts.

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Then there was a presentation of non-Europeans as immoral. It was not that completely that the academies were not prejudice<u>d</u>, they also had their prejudice, but those prejudices worked on very, very specific themes. So there is a presentation of a Harem in <u>the</u> eastern world, in the oriental world. The orient <u>is presented as immoral</u>.

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And non-Europeans as sensuous. This some of you might identify as the famous cover<u>im</u>age of Edward Said's <u>O</u>orientalism, where snake charmers group performing <u>in theand a</u> group of men sort of looking at the body of a naked boy and that entire experience of watching of the performative is <u>sort of presented</u> as a sensuous, example of some sensuousness <u>within</u> the Eastern practices.

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On the other hand, the Europeans were presented ast civilized by presenting the non-Europeans as immoral, as barbaric, as <u>unyou know and</u> civilized and monstrous. The European presented their own self as the civilized. So this is <u>athe</u> famous, what you <u>are</u> seeing is a famous painting of Amerigo Vespucci awakening the sleeping America. So America is presented as a woman who is naked and lying <u>andin</u> sleeping and it is Amerigo Vespucci<u>ts</u>. The traveller who <u>is</u> said to have discovered the America<sub>-5</sub> who comes and wakes America up.

Now this is <u>an</u> extremely patriarchal image, of course. It uses the patriarchal troupe of the male domination over the female body. As a tro<u>uupe</u> of the domination of the <u>coloniserscolonizer</u> over the <u>colonisedcolonized</u> lands and America wakes up and takes note of this new <u>lordship notching</u>, of course Amerigo Vespucci <u>is s</u>-fully <u>glovedclothed</u> and there behind lies the ship and the water-<u>sort of</u>. So the beyond the horizon lives Europe and this is an image of the new land. These are all imaginative creations.

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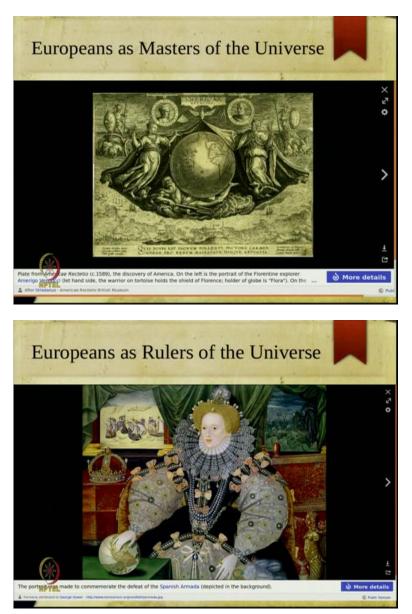


And this, all theise troupes sort of lead it tointo this overarching image of the civilizing mission and within the civilizing mission there was, there is the you know logic of the native excepting this eivilisingcivilizing mission or being grateful for this eivilisingcivilizing mission. So the image that is there is an image of you know the east offering its riches to Britannia as a tribute to the Latin menEnlightenment that Europe hasis going to bring to them. And certainly, you can look at the colors of the skin color\_\_\_for making that distinction between the European and the dark, dark, dark races.

And if you look at the plate, there is a sort of a diagonal break between the two frames where there is the good and the evil, the white and the dark skins. And this kind of troupes sort of and we know that Africa was known as the Dark Continent, darkness as an the evilness of the Africa and those of us who have read Conrad<sub>3</sub>. WWe know the story of hHeart of Ddarkness when couldsKurtz moves further and further into Africa, he gives over to the evil.

So this association between blackness and evil, between the non-Europeans and evil. This association of race also becomes a very important sort of theme within this culture, that, cultural explanation of colonialism and the justification is also presented it in this particular image. That the East is grateful to Europe and therefore offering its own riches to Europe voluntarily.

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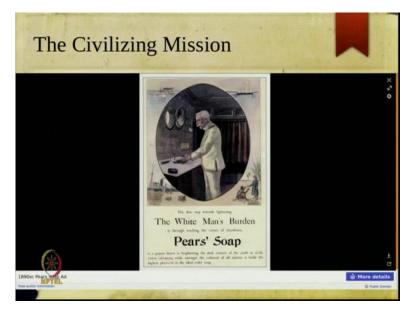


And Europeans in various literature, <u>in</u> images within the iconography, —Europeans are presented as masters of the universe, they are looking up, they are the true owners of the world, entire globe, you know, here <u>it</u> is an image of Queen Elizabeth the first, after the, this was the image, painting, which was created after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. You can see those the image of some <del>of</del> ships on the wall another painting.

And Elizabeth has her hand, her <u>right</u> hand on the globe, which shows the control<sub>1</sub>s after the defeat of the Spanish Armada that inter imperialist rivalry over the control over the Atlantic is complete when Sir Walter Raleigh <u>marshals</u>, <u>Marshalls</u> the British Navy, the Queens Navy to defeat the Spanish Armada and thereby take control over and since then the British Empire

keeps on growing-right. So this idea that the European rulers are-rule the universe and that they are the rightful rulers of the universe.

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The <u>civilisingcivilizing</u> mission was also cocooned within this idea of the <u>'w</u>White mans burden<u>'</u> that it is the, it is the job, it is <u>the or Daneordained</u>, it is a very tough job for the <u>w</u>White man. The white man is not voluntarily doing it. They are doing it because it is some kind of a mission, it is almost <u>you know</u> a divine commandment to actually <u>civilisecivilize</u> the rest of the world, to convert everybody into Christians, to take the light of the <u>Eenlightenment of the resonanceRenaissance</u> into it. There were both these strains, the religious strain and the secular strain.

So the religious strain was that Europeans, the missionaries would go and spread the word of Jesus, of Christ across to these hidden races and the secular line was, of course, that of signsscience and education, where the European coloniserscolonizers would set up schools and education and institution and build roads and railways and other sort of advancements of modern civilization, bringing <u>the</u> advancements of modern civilization into these worlds.

Of course, th<u>ese</u> advancements of modern civilization were catered to actually greater exploitation of the colonial lands, of the colonies themselves because like the railways or the roads would ensure that various goods and raw materials would travel easier. Most of these lines were connecting the hinterland to the ports. And what you see in this image is a particular advertisement for a particular brand of soap, which really <u>erystallicrystallizesses</u> this idea of coloni<u>alismes</u> that the white man in conducting all the work\_around and if you can see, that small little image by the bottom right-hand corner of the white man <u>in-giving</u> some arms or blessings to this black man who is sitting down abject, you know subjugated. All these ventures lead to dirtying of their hands.

<u>CSo you know, certainly these places are dirty and one-the only thing that the soap, brand of</u> soap can do is to lighten that burden, <u>and that and wash that dirt off</u> the hands, to clean the white mans after he has been engaged in this <u>civilisingcivilizing</u> mission.

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Certainly signs toscience too aideded the creation of this sense of Europeans superiority int gaive a sense that the European man at the top left hand that you see is the epitome of civilization is the most advanced form of humanity. The Mongoloid and the African and the Asian races are below in order of that order of evolution and the European man is really the supreme. (Refer Slide Time: 25:43)



And this story of colonialism was repeated in-through history. The Europeans wherever they went, they wrote the histories, triedy to write <u>then</u> histories of th<u>ese</u> lands, history is certainly a very modern disciplines based on collection of facts and interpretation of those facts and so notionally history has to depend on some collect<u>edive</u> facts.

After that it could be a matter of interpretation and really the, within the academic discipline of history, this act of interpretation and reinterpretation has to be based on finding of new<u>er-a</u> facts or corroborating heating facts or disproving certain facts in order to make a different sort of argument. This is just a very different from earlier ways of talking about the past which would be on the basis of recollection or imagination rather than on the basis of factual history.

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And when the Europeans wrote the history of India, <u>t</u>. They typically talk, divided the history of India into three periods, the Hindu period, the Muslim period and the British period, very curiously, the third period is not <u>a</u> Christian period. Now this is a very top-down approach of writing history-. The identifying the peoples by the rulers.

So, you know, so even though there were, let us say Hindu rulers in during that particular period, <u>n</u>. Not all the people were Hindus at that point of time, <u>weyou</u> do understand that Buddhists and Jains were also <u>a</u> very, very large population and Buddhism was born in India.

And in the first <u>millenniamillennium</u> Buddhism\_, it did occupy a very large geography <u>it</u> was followed in a very large geography of this country.

And certainly when the Muslim period occurs, not all people of India were Muslims. So this is a very top-down approach, <u>itwe</u> identifies the religion of the ruler. But in the case of <u>the</u> British period, they do not identify by the religion of the ruler<u>b</u>. But rather a secular definition of the national, nationality of the rule.

So now how are these three periods really, really interpreted? No matter what the story of these stories are, it-they project, they try to project that it is the coming of the British that actually works as some kind of <u>a liberatoryliberator y</u> force on India. India was in a state of darkness, in a state of chaos and it is only by the when the British come about <u>that</u> India actually gets united, you know this kind of a larger map of India, cartography also becomes a very important <u>sort of</u> channel through which this history is projected this kind of idea of the Empire is projected.

So this kind of an united picture of India was something that the British said did not exist before the coming of the British to India, coming of the Europeans to India. There was a lot of chaos, there **arewere** a lot of infighting among Indian rulers at that point of time and that worked to justify European rule within the subcontinent.



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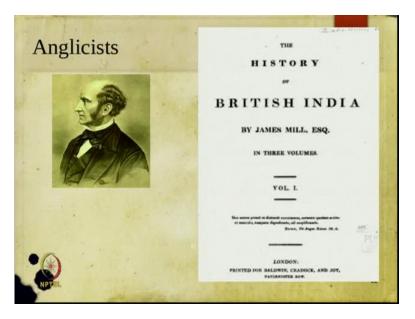
But there were two competing views of Indian history between the Orientalist and the Anglicistse. Now I do not have the occasion here to actually explore this, but this debate

between OrientalismOriental-ism and Anglicism is part of a larger debate within Europe, within Britain between <u>R</u>romanticism and <u>C</u>elassicism, in-the <u>N</u>neoclassicals had a different way of looking at the world. Whereas the <u>R</u>romantics had a very different way of looking at the world, had a critique of the neoclassical viewpoint.

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But to understand the workings of the British colonialists within India, we can look at some of the things that the Orientalists did, the Orientalists people like William Jones and Max Mueller they worked on some, translating some of the very, very important, what today are important texts, they hunted out these manuscripts, they managed to discover them, then translate them into English and bring it to modern study and they presented them as a mark of the glory of India that has somehow been lost. (Refer Slide Time: 30:51)



On the other hand, you had the Anglicists, someone like James Mill, who wrote this history of British India to show that India really was <u>an</u> inglorious country and it is only with the coming of the British that India rises to civilization. In fact, I would like to mention one more important individual and that is Charles Babington Micoacauley, many of you may have heard about it or you can find more about Micoleacauley, who tried to suggest, when he tries to suggest what <u>a</u> path-in British system of education in India should take.

He argued that it should be based on the best texts of emerging from England, from Britain, rather than based on texts which are based in India. Because he said, he suggested that Indian texts have nothing good about themit, they are not worth an entire a single shelf of European literature, the entire literature that is being produced in all history in Asia is not worth even a single shelf of European literature. That was the argument made by Micoacauley and he dismissed the idea that the education system should include Indian texts within the syllabi.

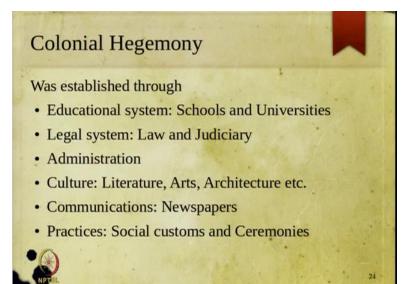
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And so this, if you look at thisese comparison between thisese comparative views, both the views are however agreed on justified that British need to rule India. The British are right in ruling India. British have a purpose in ruling India. However, the justification came were diverteddivergent, whereas they would not list felt that the British rescued India from a tyrannical Muslim rule, t. The Anglicist felt that the British rescued India from tyrannian barbarism, irrespective of the Muslim rule.

The Orientalist felt that the Hindu period was glorious and it is the coming of Islam that led in-India into a very dark period and India had to be rescued from this, the Hindus really had to be rescued from this position <u>of</u> barbarism, <u>which</u> and tyranny that Muslim rule <u>has</u>rs brought about. Whereas Anglicism disagreed, say there iand said that there is nothing glorious about India and the British are basically civilizing India completely and that is <u>their</u> task and they will continue to do so, till such time <u>that</u> the Indians are able to rule themselves, <u>athe</u> time which may never come.

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Now what were the some of the institutions through which these ideas were percolated down within this colony? How weare the Indians told that this is the logic of the civilizing mission? This is what t? tThis is why colonialism is justified and that is why many Indians actually felt that you know they should support the Empire and they should stand with the British b-Because the British are doing something good to this country, very importantly thein establishment of the education system.

Whenever a particular ideological position tries to establish itself within a larger and set up <u>a</u> certain political rule, one of the important of points of intervention is the educational system. Because remember the educational system are al<u>ways</u><sup>1</sup> dealing with young<del>er</del> people, people whose ideas about the world are being formed and then they are going to get into responsible positions and rule the country and help, you know shape this society.

So in order to shape the future you cannot work on minds which have already been formed. But you have to work on minds which are young and therefore any ideological position, when it tries to intervene and change the social structure, <u>and political</u>, <u>you know</u> assumptions, they intervene through educational institutions.

The other is the legal system, framing of laws of a particular kind and the judiciary, the police, the administration inand implementing those laws, make sure that any form, any particular kind of, for a resistance or rebellion to this new hegemony is sort of crushed. So anybody who does not agree with the European hegemony would be tackled through the legal system, through the police system.

But very important-are, is culture, you know the cultural system. The creation of literature, the literary forms, the arts, <u>the</u> architecture, novels and poetry and drama, allow people to imagine a new world before the new world, a different world comes into being, it allows for people to believe in alternative world or imagine what an alternative world could be. So therefore colonialism works in a way in which it is able to work in that space and tell people that the world that they have is-it could be much better with colonialism.

That colonialism is a justification, all the various images that I displayed to you in the course of this lecture, where conveyed to the colonial population through these various means, architecture was a very important means through which buildings which were public by nature, which occupied public space would impress upon the colonial population of the greatness of their rulers.

Communications, newspapers played a very important role. What is happening in the world? The particular interpretation of what is happening in the world was one very important  $\underline{wp}ay$  in which the <u>colonisercolonizer</u> operated in putting in place this idea of the rightful ruler-ship of the Europeans and practices, social customs and ceremonies played a very important role.

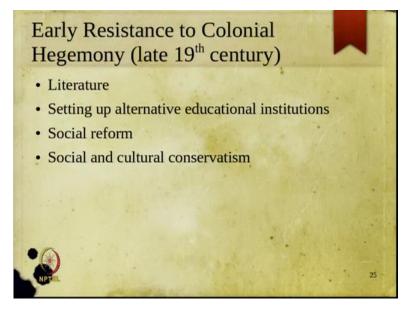
The way in which certain European clubs operated or the certain ways in which Indians were supposed to behave before Europeans at a very, at an <u>every</u> day level, at a larger level, you know you had the durbars, where the various <u>the</u>-princely states would come and play pay their homage to the European ruler, to the British Crown, whe<u>n</u>rever the Crown presided.

Or the ordering of the colonial cities, the civil lines, the cantonment, the bazaars. So these were separated. The certain part of the city would be meant for the cantonment area, certain part will be meant for the European civilian population, <u>athe</u> certain part would be meant in for the administrative.

So if you look at Delhi, for example, the Lutyens Delhi is that part of the high power and for Indians\_and for Indians there are the bazaars and this was true of Calcutta as comparablewell. Calcutta the previous capital of the British Empire, you had the European areas, you know, Park Street, the Esplanade, you know and these were the delouse. These were some of the important European areas of the city. Whereas the bazaars, where further or the North, towards the North of the city and that is where a lot of the action on the print in India also happens, in Calcutta also happens.

So really, these are very, these various kinds of ways in which the social landscape, the ceremony, social practices, <u>t</u>. They also <u>giave</u> us a sense of how Indians viewed or how Indians behaved with Europeans or encountered Europeans.

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However, any form of hegemony produces its resistance and the early resistance before the real political, national movement comes about, you know the early resistance to colonial hegemony takes place through various forms, one is creation, writing of literature again. I told you that the <u>\_, let the literature is one way in which literature and in art allows the mind to imagine newer world.</u> So if colonialism is using it to create hegemony, literature can also be created to question that hegemony.

Then Indians also try to set up alternative educational institutions, outside the purroview of European educational institutions, and then there were two other sort of responses, one was that of social reform trying to modernimodernizese the Indian social rules, customs. So the abolition of Sati, the <u>Wwidow Rremarriage Aact</u>. These were particular the legislations, these were is is particular social actions which took place <u>aind</u> there was some important religious movements as well, which triedy to reform religion, triedy to modernise religion, make it more akin to the kind of social milieu that colonizsation wasis creating.

And on the other hand, there was the response of social and cultural conservatism, <u>a</u>kind of a cultural nationalism that was <u>sortsought</u> to be shaped, trying to protect certain cultural practices from the intervention from European rulers. <u>F</u>for instance, one of the very important way was to actually control over woman, you know lot of people, a lot of Indians were

against <u>womenswomen</u> education. Because they felt that they needed to protect that woman were sort of, were identified with <u>the</u>-culture and <u>the</u> space of culture and they did not want the <u>colonisercolonizer</u> to actually have <u>a</u>, say over the way within Indian society woman were treated.

So that is just one example, there were other kinds of examples, for example in the form of food habit, in the form of clothing. So cultural conservatism was another very important aspect, one can doto an entire course on colonialism. Hopefully some of you might be enthused into, looking into some of these issues.

This discussion will prepare us for the discussion on, further discussion on the coming of print and the role print actually played in relating to and learning from colonialism, <u>but</u> resisting colonialism. What were some of the implications of it? We will be able to understand by looking closely at the works-ings and the development of print in India. Thank you.