Imperial Education: Western Colleges and Native Intermediaries in Colonial Mexico and the British Raj

The formation of the “world capitalist system” or the “global economy” has been well documented by such scholars as Immanuel Wallerstein and Christopher Chase-Dunn. Their accounts show us the formation of an overlapping system of trade networks that centered on Europe beginning in the sixteenth century. However, these macro-perspectives provided by Wallerstein and Chase-Dunn do not actually show us what the formation of these overlapping systems meant at an on-the-ground level. What did these overlapping economic systems mean to those people who helped to form them?

The builders of these various networks had to contend with local conditions, not only material conditions of products and climate, but human conditions as well. Europeans when venturing overseas needed to cultivate relationships with locals in order to gain knowledge of the territories they encountered. Vasco da Gama learned what goods were acceptable to the merchants of Calicut (in southern India) through interaction with local Muslim merchants, while Hernán Cortés learned about the local political system of the Nahuatl-speaking city-states of Mexico through his mistress-interpreter, Doña Marina (also known as Malintzin). Both these two Iberians needed to learn about the local systems which they encountered, knowledge that could only be gained through interaction with local intermediaries. Da Gama used his knowledge to return to Portugal with a valuable cargo of pepper, the first of a trade in spices that helped propel the Portuguese into launching their trade empire in Asia, whereas Cortés used the knowledge gained from Malintzin to help forge alliances with Nahuatl-speaking city states, including

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military powerhouses such as Tlaxcala and Tetzcoco, alliances which eventually helped
him to conquer Tenochtitlán, the capital of the Aztec Triple Alliance, in 1521.

As Europeans gained opportunities for conquest, interactions with local
intermediaries became important not only for finding potential allies or trading partners,
but also for their ability to assist Europeans in governing their new subjects. Native
intermediaries not only provided knowledge of local custom, culture, governance, and
law, but they also helped Europeans to administer people with whom they had little
familiarity. From caciques and gobernadores in the New World who helped Spaniards
collect tribute and organize corvee labor to local “revenue farmers” in British India who
helped British officials administer the tax system, Europeans were reliant on non-
European agents to help them run their newly acquired territories.

Europeans did not only use local elites in an administrative capacity, but they also
used them as targets for acculturation, as natural leaders who might assist them in
spreading European values and culture to the more common people. Europeans in the
colonial setting saw education as a tool which might be used to create a cultural affinity
with their new subjects. From the beginning, the conquistadors of New Spain viewed
baptism and acceptance of the Catholic faith as a precondition for political and military
alliance. Baptism and the oath of fealty to the Spanish Crown were administered to new
allies at the same time, drawing a clear association between political loyalty and Hispanic
religious and cultural affinity. Upon consolidating his military hold on the Valley of
Mexico and its surrounding territories, Cortés urgently requested missionaries to help him
to consolidate and pacify Spanish gains.² Missionaries from the Franciscan, Dominican,

² Hernán Cortés, Cartas de Relación (Madrid: Historia 16, 1985) 330.
and Augustinian orders began arriving as early as 1524 and had established footholds throughout the Valley of Mexico and in the environs of Tlaxcala, a former rival city-state of Tenochtitlán and staunch ally of the Spanish. These missionaries typically held classes on basic Christian (Spanish Catholic) doctrine in the courtyards of their monasteries for all of their new converts. However, for the sons of the native elite, the Spanish viceregal government under Don Antonio de Mendoza, with the cooperation of the first Archbishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, established the first Western style college in the New World specifically to indoctrinate the sons of the Nahua nobility with Spanish Catholicism and Hispanic “good customs” (buenas costumbres). These values were to be inculcated through a humanistic education administered by Franciscan missionary teachers at the new institution of higher learning, called the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, founded in 1536.

In a similar scenario, shortly after the British consolidated their rule in Bengal, they began speaking of the necessity of “improving the natives.” Although fear of rebellion delayed the approval of officially sponsored missionary and educational enterprises until some twenty years after the first attempts by Parliamentarians to promote them in England, there is a clear desire on the part of certain segments of British society to acculturate the natives of their new conquests. Among these advocates were the first missionaries from the Baptist Missionary Society and their allies among members of the British Parliament, both of whom advocated open missionary and educational projects of

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3 The first round of debates on colonial cultural policy in India began in 1793, at the same time that Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of British India, was consolidating the British relationship with local landholders (zamindars) through the Permanent Settlement of 1793. Major policy changes in British India tended to occur during the renewal of the East India Company’s charter, which occurred every twenty years, beginning in 1773 and continuing through 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853. The Company was dissolved in 1858 shortly after the great Indian rebellion of the previous year in which British rule in the subcontinent almost came to an end.
acculturation in the Company Raj. By 1813, the education and “improvement” of natives was an officially mandated responsibility for the East India Company’s Government of India, and by the close of the decade, Company officials were encouraging “in a private capacity” projects of Anglicization among local elites. David Hare and Sir Edward Hyde East (Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court) were instrumental in urging Calcutta elites who were closely associated with the British to found an institution of higher learning based on the Western model, which would offer courses in Western science and literature along with the English language as the medium of instruction. Both also helped to fund the enterprise “in a private capacity.” David Hare was also instrumental in obtaining funding for the Hindu College eight years after its initial foundation in 1816 from the government’s General Committee on Public Instruction, and was a member of the managing committee of the school as well.

Although Calcutta elites were the original founders of Hindu College, they were encouraged, funded and guided by Company officials who acted in a “private capacity” at a time when the Company’s government officially avoided the promotion of government sponsored projects of acculturation for fear of rebellion.

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4 The first Baptist Missionary society missionary, William Carey arrived in India in 1793. In 1799 he was joined by Joshua Marshman and William Ward, who along with Carey founded the Society’s Serampore Mission. Although the trio was initially consigned to the Danish outpost of Serampore (and therefore outside of British jurisdiction) due to the Company’s restrictions on missionary activity, the Serampore Mission was also eventually given financial support by the government through the hiring of the Serampore Press for government publications and Carey’s appointment as professor of Bengali language at the College of Ft. William, the Company’s official training ground for new cadets and writers. Also, Charles Grant, an ally of the Serampore missionaries along with William Wilberforce, was a strong Parliamentary advocate of “native improvement” on the grounds that their society had decayed. His first pamphlet on the “state of decay of native society” in British India roughly coincided with the Charter Renewal debate and Carey’s arrival in India. Grant and his supporters saw education as a key tool in the effort to change indigenous Indians to become more like their British counterparts.


6 The British especially feared a general rebellion after the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 and opponents of a policy of open acculturation used the event to bolster their argument that open acculturation projects would
In 1824, the Hindu College gained official funding through the General Committee on Public Instruction, the educational arm of the Company’s government in Calcutta. As part of its acceptance of government aid, it also became subject to oversight by the Committee, the head of which viewed Hindu College and its government-founded sister, Sanskrit College (founded in 1826) as “two complementary departments”. They even housed the two colleges, both of which offered Western style courses in the same building. Since the sparks of rebellion which the British feared never materialized from the flint and tinder of Western-style education at Hindu College, they were emboldened to proceed apace with their program of acculturation.

These two case studies, while at the beginning and the apogee of European expansion, have much in common. Both had large populations with only a small European minority to govern the colony and both were dependent on native military support for conquest. Continued control of the colony was of central importance to inevitably lead to loss of British control over its Indian territories. See Kopf 136-141. See also D. P. Sinha, The Education Policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854 (Calcutta: Punthi Patak, 1964). Kopf 179.

By 1818, the British had become recognized as the paramount military power in India, which freed resources and energy (and allowed for more safety) for acculturation programs. By 1829 the English language was decided upon as the best medium for instruction, and the goal of making the British educated Indian elite as much like Englishmen as possible was exposed by 1835 in T. B. Macaulay’s famous Minute on Education. Before this, the British pursued a deliberate but cautious program of subtle acculturation. See D. P. Sinha, The Educational Policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854, (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1964) 3-6, 9, 35-37, 49-50, 57-59; and Gauri Viswanathan, Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India (New York: Columbia UP, 1989) 1-3, 85, 88-89, 151.

The British Army of Bengal, its most powerful of three Presidency armies, was composed of a majority of high-caste Hindus (see Seema Alavi, The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India, 1770-1830 (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1995)). While there were a few all British royal units in India, both the other two Presidency armies followed the Bengal Army model and were composed mainly of high-caste Hindus, making native soldiers by far the major component of British armed forces in the region. As for the Spaniards, Cortés started his expedition with almost 550 men about 100 of which remained in Vera Cruz to secure the Spanish port (and route home for re-supply and support). With the remaining 400 plus soldiers, he proceeded on his campaign to conquer Tenochtitlán, gaining almost 880 soldiers from the hapless Pánfilo de Narváez, sent from Cuba to capture Cortés (see Cortés 143-153). Spanish forces lost another 800 soldiers on La Noche Triste, when the Mexico people of Tenochtitlán rose up against the Spaniards in retaliation for a massacre of the Mexica nobility and forced Spanish forces to flee the city with heavy losses (see Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España, 2 vols.)
European motherland both for reasons of national prestige and for economic reasons, as both colonies provided large amounts of wealth which were associated with control of the new territory. The English were also aware of Spanish legacy in the Indies and self-consciously attempted to avoid what they perceived to be Spanish rapaciousness and cruelty. Finally, graduates of both colleges were used as intermediaries that aided the Europeans in administering their domains. The Nahua nobles who graduated from the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco were used as translators for both the Franciscan missionaries who were teaching at the Colegio and also for the Real Audiencia (the high court of the colony), as well as being appointed as gobernadores of the city-states that the Nahua nobility formerly ruled.10 High caste Hindus graduating from Hindu College were trained to become bureaucrats in the East India Company’s administration, assisting European servants of the Company with day-to-day administration, an advantage to which was the lower pay which the Company allotted to its native bureaucrats, which helped the Company, eager to cut costs, to “maintain efficiency.”11

Granted, there were several differences between these two cases, especially temporal and cultural differences. Sixteenth century Spanish Catholicism and Renaissance humanism are not the same as British post-Enlightenment intellectualism and Evangelical Protestant thought. Furthermore, the native societies of the pre-Hispanic Valley of Mexico and Eastern India after the effective Mughal rule had ended were also

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(Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1933) 1: 317). This meant that, all told, Cortés would have had less than 500 Spaniards in his final assault on Tenochtitlán, and tens of thousands of native allies (Tlaxcallan troops were estimated at some 10,000, which is consistent with population records for the Valley of Mexico). For a list of Cortés’ native allies, see Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1964) 24-25.


11 In addition to cultural affinity that would help ensure loyal intermediaries and low-cost bureaucrats, the Company policy makers believed that acculturation would provide a greater demand for British goods, another clear difference from the Spanish case.
quite different. Although both had strong native cultures and histories and valued their own systems of learning, their traditions were very different. India had a mixture of Sankskritic Hindu religion and Perso-Mughal court culture for high-caste Hindus (and Islam mixed with Perso-Mughal court culture for Muslims), whereas Nahuas (Aztecs) had their own traditions which they traced back to the founders of Teotihuacán, which features a similar tradition of gods, pyramids, human sacrifice, and strength, eloquence, and generosity as key attributes of indigenous leaders. However, the transmission of Nahua tradition combined oral and pictographic methods of recording history, and much of their writings were lost after the conquest through destruction.

Nevertheless, juxtaposition of these two cases shows us not only more about the process of acculturation within the colonial setting, but allows us to critique a narrative of acculturation by native intermediaries, that they were either collaborators or dupes on the one hand, or minor actors who were wise enough to enjoy the fruits of European civilization offered by their benevolent conquerors, who became mere reflections of a superior European culture. I argue that the native intermediaries who attended these schools did so for their own motives, and that neither narrative, albeit simplified, offers a true picture of the acculturation of native elites, because both narratives focus on

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European motivations for founding projects of acculturation, and not on native motivations for accepting Western education.

According to the hypothesis I have developed from these two case studies, there are three major motivations why native elites accepted a foreign education: 1). due to coercion, 2). due to apparent continuity of belief, and 3). due to the fulfillment of a pragmatic need on the part of the elites. The process is one not only of acculturation, but also of appropriation, as the native elites chose elements of Western education to adopt, but they did not become nor desire to become “Western,” but rather they desired to utilize things of a practical benefit to themselves and their respective societies within the context of a dynamically changing landscape, a landscape in which there existed an asymmetry of economic, political, and military power favored the Europeans.

Asymmetry of coercive power permeated the encounter between Nahuas and Spaniards on the one hand, and native Bengalis and Britons on the other. After all, Europeans had conquered through force of arms both places and set themselves up as the rulers. However, this asymmetry of coercive power did not necessarily always translate to gains in the cultural realm. Many of the initial baptisms of indigenous nobles in New Spain occurred as a precondition for peace with the conquistadors and for alliance with the Spanish Crown, as in the cases of the Tlaxcalan leadership in their encounter with Hernán Cortés or the cacique of Michoacan in a subsequent conquest after the fall of Tenochtitlán.13 While coercion could (and did) help the Spaniards outlaw open practice of the native pre-Columbian religions after the conquest of Tenochtitlán, it could not

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ensure true belief or loyalty, both of which were concerns of the Spanish Crown and Church. For instance, despite persistent efforts by Spanish missionaries and the Spanish government to stamp out worship of pre-Hispanic idols, adoration of the native gods continued, possibly even among those who had ostensibly converted to Christianity. Fray Toribio de Benavente “Motolinía,” one of the first Franciscan missionaries in New Spain pointed out in the mid-sixteenth century that “although there were some bad Indians who hid the idols, there were other good ones who had been converted…they reported it to the friars; but even among the converted there were some Indians who tried to argue it was not right to report this”14 Even though the tlaxcaltecas were among the first to ally themselves with the Spaniards and accept baptism, and had served as staunch allies throughout the campaign against the Mexica and throughout Mesoamerica, this did not prevent the Spanish government from executing four top leaders from among their erstwhile allies for continuing to practice their native religion in 1527.15 One would think that such a stern example would have pressured native leaders to give up their previous religious practices, but there were more executions of Nahua nobles to follow, as in the 1539 execution of Don Carlos of Texcoco. Even by the middle of the sixteenth century, the colonial missionaries and government of New Spain could not be certain of the depth of belief in the new religion and rejection of the old, as Inga Clendinnen demonstrated in her extended analysis of the 1562 idolatry trials in the Yucatán Peninsula.16

16 Inga Clendinnen, Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniards in Yucatan, 1517-1570 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987). Franciscan missionaries of that peninsula discovered that, despite their evangelistic efforts and strict prohibitions against pre-Columbian native religious practices, native leaders at all levels
The British were even more constrained in their use of coercive power. Although they fought and won the Battle of Plassey in 1757, it was not until the defeat of the Marathas in 1818, over sixty years later, that the British were acknowledged to be the paramount military power in the Indian subcontinent. Furthermore, although the British also forged alliances with local potentates, they never even conceived of connecting conversion with alliance, partly because the East India Company had existed in India as a trading company for well over a century prior to their accession to territorial control, partly because they did not equate political alliance with religious status. However, just as important was the composition of the army. Whereas Spanish soldiers fought in their own units, the vast majority of the British Army of Bengal, the Company’s most powerful armed force in the conquest of India, was composed of a majority of native Indians, for the most part high-caste Hindus, who were generally led by European officers. There was more than one occasion on which Indian soldiers mutinied against their British officers, very often because the British leadership had violated the caste rules of soldiers. The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 was one of the more violent and threatening of these mutinies, and was tied both to missionary activity and to callousness on the part of British authorities to the religious sensibilities of their troops.¹⁷ The Vellore Mutiny became a warning to the British of the dangers of unmasked cultural chauvinism, and fear of violating “the religious prejudices” of their native subjects acted as a brake on British aspirations for constructing colonial projects of cultural assimilation throughout the early nineteenth century, as we have already mentioned. Interestingly enough, after the British won their victory against the Marathas, they begin to cautiously embrace projects of

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¹⁷ Kopf 136.
acculturation, for instance by forming the General Committee on Public Instruction and founding Sanskrit College (the first government founded college to offer courses in English language and literature and Western sciences). By 1835, the Company’s government confidently declared their education policy to be one of exclusively Western learning and English language.

As for continuity of belief, one may look at the writings of Europeans who were directly involved in the early stages of either conquest. For instance, the British East India Company officer Alexander Dow published his observations regarding the Hindus of Bengal soon after the Battle of Plassey (1757) and the assumption of the diwani of Bengal by the Company. He cites the high moral values of Hindus in such areas as observance of the law, loyalty, reverence, and sexual purity, and acknowledges similarities between the Western concept of God and the Hindu belief in Brahman. Toribio de Benavente “Motolinía,” one of the first twelve Spanish missionaries to arrive in Mexico after the conquest, spoke of his native converts in similarly glowing terms, describing their moral qualities in terms that appeared to be modeled directly from the medieval Christian virtues: patience, humility, and poverty. In this he was echoed by other clerical observers, such as the first Bishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, and meztizo writer Fernando de Alva Ixtlixóchitl. Some scholars have

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18 Sanskrit College was founded in 1826. Although Hindu College offered such curriculum earlier, it had no open connection to the British Government of India until 1824 (again after the defeat of the Company’s Maratha rivals), and was not housed in a government building until it shared a building with Sanskrit College.
argued that these apparent translations between European values and previously
established native beliefs and context never quite match up and cause “errors in
translation.” Nevertheless, for all appearances to the participants within their own
given milieu, there would have appeared to be a continuity of belief.

Finally, there was the fulfillment of a perceived need. Due to the prohibition by
the Spanish government of open practice of pre-Columbian native religions, there was a
need for religious community among the Nahua nobility of the Valley of Mexico. They
did this through the use of cofradías, or Catholic confraternities, the officers of which
were generally drawn from the native nobility. The altepetls (and their constituent
subsections, known as calpulli) also utilized temples as foci of community life prior to
the Conquest, with the construction of a temple serving as a symbol of civic pride among
the inhabitants of a given altepetl or calpulli. This expression of civic pride was
transferred to the local church, where pre-Hispanic religious icons were sometimes mixed
with those of the new religion. There was furthermore a calmecac, or temple school in
each altepetl which had the responsibility of teaching to the sons of the indigenous
nobility the history and values of their native city state, a role which transferred to the
Franciscan Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, co-located within their monastery of
Santiago Tlatelolco, although not entirely without resistance.

Throughout Northern India it was the need for employment that attracted
indigenous elites to foreign education, as the East India Company was able to cement its
hold over Bengal and spread its influence up the Ganges River to the Mughal heartland

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22 For example, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical
23 Motolinía, History of the Indians of New Spain 49.
24 For a summary of the calmecac, see Kobayashi 71-98.
surrounding Agra and Delhi, attracting the services of soldiers, merchants, and bureaucrats as it went, at the same time starving its regional rivals of skills and capital through the subsidiary alliance system and its hiring of badly needed functionaries.\footnote{See See C. A. Bayly, \textit{Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870} (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) and Seema Alavi, \textit{The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India, 1770-1830} (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1995).}

Many regional rulers were required to disband or greatly reduce their armies as a precondition for peace with the East India Company. Coupled with the imposition of indemnities, this left court functionaries and soldiers unemployed and therefore available for employment by the Company. This further strengthened the Company’s hand, as it gained more talented and skilled leaders and denied that same human capital to its rivals. The Company even gained financial strength from the ongoing disbanding of regional armies, because in return for disbanding their own armies, regional rulers often hired Company troops and allowed the British Indian government to guarantee their security in return for regular payments to the Company for their services.

In this context, it is not surprising then that there was a very clear interest in post-matriculation employment opportunities on the part of parents who sent their children to English curriculum schools, including Hindu College.\footnote{For instance, Sir Edward Hyde East, one of the British officials who helped found the Hindu College with Calcutta’s upper-caste elites, made such an observation regarding the eagerness of the committee to found an English language school featuring Western literature, language and science. These high-caste Hindus saw the school primarily as a pragmatic way of gaining useful skills, and felt free, according to Hyde, to reject Western values they deemed inappropriate. See Viswanathan 43.}

\footnote{M. A. Laird, \textit{Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 46.} In the eighteenth century, upper caste Hindus attended Persian schools to learn Persian language and court etiquette, key attributes for finding bureaucratic positions in the regional courts of India, since Persian was the standard for the Mughal court and its successor states.\footnote{M. A. Laird, \textit{Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 46.} As Persian became less important as the power of the British Company expanded, there so too emerged a
growing desire to equip young Bengalis interested in careers in the Company’s administrative bureaucracy with an understanding of English language and thought in order to improve their chances of employment as bureaucrats.

Even though native elites were drawn to European education due to the reasons mentioned above, the success of indigenous acculturation was ultimately hindered by European assumptions of superiority. These assumptions were exemplified by debates that Europeans had with each other regarding the nature of their indigenous colonial subjects. In the case of New Spain, Spanish churchman, in positions most famously exemplified by Las Casas and Sepúlveda, debated whether or not the natives of the New World were fully human.28 Although Las Casas won the debate and Spanish theologians finally granted that the natives of the New World were indeed human beings, the asking of the question itself indicates a profound sense of superiority on the part of Europeans. Even with their humanity confirmed, however, their European rulers continued to debate the nature of the Amerindian population, this time in regards to their capacity to be good Christians. They answered this second question in the negative due to the presumed inability of the Amerindian mind to understand the higher mysteries of the faith.29 The British in India asked similar questions, to the extent that they debated whether or not Indians could ever be as civilized at the Europeans.30 The real underlying question asked by Europeans as they attempted to acculturate their new subjects was not really “Can they ever truly be good Christians?” or “Can the Asiatic ever truly be as civilized as the

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29 Gonzalbo Aizpuru 101-105.
30 Kopf 100. Kopf’s quote read, “In 1802 a Bengali [language] disputation focused on whether ‘the Asiaticks are capable of as high a degree of civilization as the Europeans,’” quoted from W. P. Eliot, “On the Advantages to be Expected from an Academical Institution in India,” *Essays by the Students of the College of Ft. William in Bengal* (Calcutta: The Honorable Company’s Press, 1802) 22.
European?” If this were the case, then the answer should have been “yes” in both cases, and no question would have needed to be asked. According to late medieval and Renaissance theology, if the Native Americans of the Valley of Mexico had converted and accepted the preaching and sacraments of the ordained clergy, then they should have been capable of being acceptable Spanish Catholics.31 Had the real underlying question for the British governing officials of the Raj really been “Can the Asiatic ever be as civilized as the European?” again the answer would have been in the affirmative, especially since British imperial ideology in India was based on the premise that India was merely under the “tutelage” of the civilized Britons, who would relinquish control over their fledgling colony once they were capable of conducting their own affairs in a fashion that befit a civilized nation.32 However, in both cases, the true underlying question was “Can they ever really be just like Europeans?” the answer to which, of course, was no. If non-Europeans could never be more than pale reflections of Europeans because they could never themselves be European, this placed indigenous elites who were willing to adopt elements of European culture in the awkward position of accepting second class status along with acculturation. The answer, of course, was to reject the premise of European superiority while affirming the dignity of the indigenous culture, which acculturated elites did through Indian Nationalism in the case of the Raj and _criollismo_ in the case of seventeenth-century New Spain.

Ultimately, the process used by the Spanish and British in acculturating their native subjects was the same: refashioning the native “other” into the European image, whether that image be Spanish Catholicism and Renaissance humanism or post-

31 Gonzalbo Aizpuru 155.
Enlightenment British intellectualism and Evangelical thought. The terrains may have differed as to the extent of “hard” (military and political) power the European empire-builders could have brought to bear due to their relationship with local intermediaries upon whom their success depended. Spaniards were able to require their allies to be baptized, and to execute those who continued to openly practice their native religion. However, they were unable to ensure that natives would not continue to practice pre-Hispanic religion in secret. This sort of approach was never within the reach of the British, although as their grip on India tightened, they were able to outlaw some religious observances that they found abhorrent (especially sati, or the self-immolation of widows, the debate about which also emerged during the 1830s), but they were able to use financial pressure both to bring native intermediaries into the Company’s fold, to induce them to accept an English education, and just as importantly to maintain control and supervision even over schools which were ostensibly run by natives themselves.

Whereas Spaniards placed acculturation as Catholics first and the values of vecinos and humanists second, the British reversed the order of values, placing identification with British literature, the English language, and Western science above Evangelical religious concerns, while at the same time incorporating both types of elements into their program of acculturation. I believe that this is due to not only the limited amount of open coercive power the British were able or willing to bring to bear on their subjects, but also due to the more secular spirit of Europeans, especially in France and Britain, after the Enlightenment which allowed for parallel systems of religion while simultaneously promoting the “cultivation of morals.” Regardless of the type of power brought to bear, or the order of importance of secular and religious values that were inculcated, I believe
that the process was the same – the process of refashioning the other into the image of the European of the time. It may have differed perhaps in content and form, but not in the least in goals or strategies within the institutions of higher education sponsored by the newly formed colonial state.
Bibliography


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