THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN COLONIAL INDIA (1882-1947)

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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India

2021

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Dated: 29 December 2021

DECLARATION

I, Ritesh Gupta, declare that this thesis entitled **The Institutionalization of Physical Education in Colonial India (1882-1947)** submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis entitled ***The Institutionalization of Physical Education in Colonial India (1882-1947)*** submitted by RITESH GUPTA, in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been so far submitted, as part or full, for any degree of this or any other university. This is his own original work, carried out in the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies.

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Acknowledgements

The idea of working on physical education came to my mind during 2017 when I joined the sports, yoga and mountaineering club of Jawaharlal Nehru University. My association with these clubs made me experience mind-body relations at the practice level, an idea intrinsic to Indian philosophy. Ancient rishis (sages) of Bharat developed a holistic approach to overall health through a comprehensive knowledge system that included philosophy, physical culture, hygiene and sanitation. Yoga- the ancient Indian posture-based bodily culture is now recognized as physical education for healthy living worldwide. The United Nations declaring 21 June as 'International Day of Yoga' in June 2015 and UNESCO listing yoga as an intangible cultural heritage in December 2016 is proof that the world is benefiting from yoga.

The further much-needed fillip to do scholarly research on the history of physical education came when honourable Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi, launched 'Fit India Movement' in 2019. This is a nationwide campaign to encourage people to include physical activities and sports in their everyday life for living a healthy life. PM Modi appealed that all schools should enroll in the Fit India ranking system and Fit India should become innate to India temperament. He said, *"Fitness has always been an integral part of our Culture."* Thus, he acknowledged that the idea of a healthy body and mind is intrinsic to India's history. His initiative towards making our nation healthy inspires me to work on discourse, debates and institutionalization of physical education and sports in colonial India.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dhruv Raina whose guidance and comments helped me enrich the contents of my thesis. I will always be indebted to him for his cooperation and for letting me submit this thesis on time. I will never forget the painstaking efforts he put into correcting this thesis.

This work would not have been possible without the constant support of my guru (mentor), Dr. Dhrub Kumar Singh of Banaras Hindu University, who has been the guiding source of light all through my life. He taught me that historical method could be learned by exploring archives where a researcher encounters with the sources and thus dialogue with the past. There were times when I felt like leaving academia because of dirty politics of knowledge, he always stood by my side and gave me the moral and intellectual strength to move forward with. I want to express my

gratitude to my other teachers at the History Department of BHU for inculcating in me an interest in history.

I am also grateful to Prof. Deepak Kumar of Jawaharlal Nehru University, who always encouraged a first-generation learner like me to carry research and pursue a career in academia. His encouragement boosted my efficiency level and confidence much needed during this research.

I would also like to thank my friends in ZHCES, especially Megha, Nivedita, Mijaz, Richa and Shweta. My special words of thanks go to Shivam, Kumud and Amit, who rendered all possible help during the crucial time of completing this PhD thesis. Thanks to Harsh for proofreading. My dost Shri Sitesh Kumar deserves heartfelt thanks who always believed in me and made me convinced that I am made for research and teaching.

My family for their love and faith. My nephew Paarth (Krrish), with whom I always have fun and a wonderful time. Last but not least, my deepest obeisance to Baba Kashi Vishwanath and Mata Annapurna, the deities of the city of Kashi (my hometown) for their blessings and grace. May they bless us with health and happiness and remove every obstacle from our way.

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

Undoubtedly, the body is the most important part of our lives, and sport and physical education are what historian of sports Douglas Booth had called 'most popular of all embodied pursuits of the body.'[1] It is also not that 'the body' has not been analyzed in the psychological, sociological, and historical research.[2] In the realm of the discipline of history, following the works of Michael Foucault and Edward Said, 'the body' has been employed as an analytical category in colonial and post-colonial studies. Foucault's idea of 'disciplining the body' is central to the study of the modern system of organizations, which includes medicine/hospitals, lunatic asylums, prisons, and schools. At the same time, Said provides the theoretical framework of 'discourse' to examine the representation of non-Western bodies by the West. He argues that the body was one of the most important trope in the colonial discourse of knowledge and power on the premise of which was constructed the notion of masculine West as against the effeminate and effete Orient.[3]

Despite the recent historiographical shift reflected in the production of scholarly work on the body in relation to sports and physical education in modern India, as a whole the history of sport and physical education continues to remain underdeveloped in South Asian historiography. Considering the lack of scholarly engagement in the history of sports and physical education, Boria Majumdar asserted, *"While historical matters of far less importance have had their recorders and commentators and their conferences and literature, historians have taken a very long time to appreciate the relevance of sport in the lives of the influential and the insignificant of past communities."*[4] Sports and physical education is relatively neglected as a serious intellectual endeavour in comparison to the other areas of the history of the education with a

[1] Douglas Booth, "*Sporting Bodies: Evidence from the Beach,"* (Paper presented to the North American Society for Sports History Conference, University of Western Ontario, 2001).

[2] See, Edward W. Said, "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors," *Critical Inquiry* 15, no. 2 (1989): 205-225; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (India: Penguin Classics, 2020); Satadru Sen, *Disciplined Natives (Race, Freedom, Confinement In Colonial India)* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2012); Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993 & Peter Robb, *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1995).

[3] James H Mills and Satadru Sen, eds. *Confronting The Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 1-2.

[4] Boria Majumdar, "Cricket in Colonial India: The Bombay Pentangular, 1892-1946," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 9, no. 2-3 (2002): 158.

focus on disciplines like science and technology, medicine, mathematics and astronomy, and literature. This gap is all the more visible in studies of colonial South Asia.

History as a modern academic discipline and school subject has its genesis intimately linked with the emergence of political consciousness of nationhood.[5] As far as documenting the history of physical education in India is concerned, it was not until the late colonial period that some works appeared. Though, from the mid-nineteenth-century, the discourse on the necessity of physical education in India began with its modest introduction in government schools and colleges. However, physical culture practices of India were discussed in the scholarship centered around history of education in India since the early twentieth century. Prior to an account of the educational system in various parts of India through its history was partially documented in the literature ranging from classical Sanskrit and Pali texts, epics, foreign accounts to Persian chronicles of the medieval ages and regional literature. But it was with the institutionalization and professionalization of history as a modern academic discipline that the venture of writing the history of education commenced in India.

The professional historian's history of education in India can be traced back to the early twentieth century in the works of Nogendra Nath Mazumdar, F.E. Keay, Anant Sadashiv Altekar, Santosh Kumar Das, Radha Kumud Mookerji, and Debendra Chandra Dasgupta.[6] These historians discussed the educational system in ancient India, mainly dealing with the ideals, principles, organization, finance, curriculum, methods, examination, and educational centers in ancient India. The early historians of education also discussed India's physical culture tradition,which comprised bodily exercises of different kinds. They argued that it was considered an essential part of the overall educational system in ancient India. For instance, Keay writes that the men engaged in the study of the Vedas' were also accomplished in the art of physical culture and warfare.[7] In his work, Radha Kumud Mukherjee had talked about regular exercises that were

[5] R. G, Collingwood, *The idea of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 32.

[6] M. N. Mazumdar, *A History of Education in Ancient India* (Calcutta: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1916); F. E. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918); A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India* (Benares: Nand Kishore and Bros., 1921); S. K. Das, *Educational System of Ancient Hindus* (Calcutta: Mitra Press, 1930); R. K. Mukherjee, *Ancient Indian Education: Brahmanical and Buddhist* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1947) & D. C. Dasgupta, *Educational Psychology of Ancient Hindus* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1949).

[7] F. E. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*, London (London: Oxford University Press, 1918), 61-62.

prescribed with mental and moral training at Buddhist monasteries.[8] *Dhanurveda Samhita*, a section of the Yajur Veda, is a standard work on the martial arts and contains references to a number of physical exercises and meditation postures prevalent in ancient India.[9] *Vyayam*, *yogaasanas*, *pranayama* and *mandala-sthana* and *mallasya* (wrestling), *mustika* (boxing), *kandukrida* (games with ball), *langhak* (acrobatics/gymnastics) are some of the physical exercises and sports practiced in ancient India.[10]

One of the early works on the history of physical education in India was published in Marathi in ten volumes between 1935 to 1950 by Dattatraya Chintaman Majumdar. The first volume was exclusively devoted to the different forms of Indian exercises and games. Whereas, the other four works include the history of games and outdoor gymnastics and athletic body building exercises and sports. Majumdar later compiled and published all the ten Marathi volumes in English with the title, *Encyclopedia of Indian Physical Culture, A Comprehensive Survey Of The Physical Education In India, Profusely Illustrating Various Activities Of Physical Culture, Games, Exercises etc., As Handed Over To Us from Our Fore-Fathers and Practiced in India*.[11] In the English synopsis, Majumdar discusses various bodily exercises and pastimes that were in vogue in India since ancient times. Part one of the text, 'History of Physical Culture in India' divided into seven parts demonstrates the physical culture practices in seven different periods of Indian history, viz. the Vedic age, Epic age, the Pauranic age, ancient period, Mohammedan period, Maratha period and the modern period.[12] In the decades following India's independence, few more works on the history of physical education were produced, like *A Brief History of Physical Education in India (From Earliest Times to the end of Moghul Period)* written by Krishnaswamy Rajagopalan in 1962.

[8] R. K. Mukherjee, *Ancient Indian Education: Brahmanical and Buddhist* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1947), 550-551.

[9] Shri Dwarka Prasad Shastri, ed. *The Kashi Sanskrit Series, Dhamurveda Sanhita of Maharishi Vashistha* (Varanasi: Chaukhambha Sanskrit Sansthan, 1961).

[10] See, Shankar Nath Das, *Physical Education, Games and Recreation in Early India* (Lucknow: The Upper India Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1985).

[11] D. C. Majumdar, ed. *Encyclopedia of Indian Physical Culture A Comprehensive Survey Of The Physical Education In India Profusely Illustrating Various Activities Of Physical Culture, Games, Exercises etc., As Handed Over To Us from Our Fore-Fathers and Practiced in India* (1950).

[12] Ibid., xxv

It is noteworthy that early works on the history of physical education were written by professional physical educators and coincided with the establishment of Physical Education Colleges and Physical Education Departments in universities of India. From the 1960's departments of physical education began to be established in Indian universities. The earlier works on physical education history can broadly be understood as part of the legitimatization of physical education as a modern academic discipline. History of sport and physical education as a field of academic research commenced in West in the 1970s mainly because of the popularity of 'social history' 'supplemented by 'cultural history'.[13] Whereas in India, it was only in the last two decades that some critical scholarship has developed around the history of physical education and sports in modern India by professional historians. We will discuss this in the review of literature section.

Emergence of Physical Education as a Modern Discipline

Physical education in the modern sense of the term had its roots in the nineteenth-century European interest in the cultivation of the body to regenerate the moral and physical qualities in the age of nation-state building.[14] Studies on physical education and sports discuss the reasons behind its rapid development in nineteenth-century Europe and America. The necessity of physically fit and healthy citizens to be recruited for warfare amid burgeoning European nationalism was also one important motive in the European nations, America, and Japan in the nineteenth century to institute programs of physical education in their schools, colleges, and universities.[15] Importantly enough, the emergence and mushrooming of the physical education programs in the modern world was as much a social phenomenon as political as nineteenth-century modernity brought many new conceptions of the body. Eventually, individuals, society, and states prepossessed with the idea of improving their own bodies were often transfixed by the vision of improving the collective national or racial body.[16]

[13] Boria Majumdar, "Prologue: Stepping Stones Across a Stream," in *Sport in South Asian Society: Past and Present*, eds. edited by Boria Majumdar and J A Mangan (New York: Routlege, 2005)

[14] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 82.

[15] Charles A. Bacher, *Foundation of Physical Education* (St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1960), 231.

[16] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 84.

In the nineteenth-century a number of educationalists in Europe and America greatly influenced the course of physical education. Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723-1790) pioneered the physical education movement in Germany and was followed by Johann Christoph Friedrich Guts Muths (1759-1839), Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852), and Adolph Spiess (1810-1858). Basedow established a school in 1774, which he called *Philanthropinum* that included physical activities like dancing, riding, fencing, running, swimming, wrestling, marching, and skating in the daily program of students.[17] Guts Muth's *Gymnastik fur Jugend* (Gymnastics for the Young) and Jahn's *Die Deutsche Turnkunst* (The German gymnastics) became the primary texts of physical revivalism in Germany.[18] The objective behind their gymnastic exercises was intrinsically linked with their desire for an independent German nation.[19] During the Napoleonic wars, Jahn launched the 'Turnverein movement to prepare German youths to defend their country. Associations of gymnastics called Turnvereins were formed throughout Germany, where gymnastic exercises were encouraged to develop a spirit of patriotism and Deutschheit ("Germanness").[20] In comparison, Adolph Spiess was instrumental in introducing school gymnastics and physical education as part of the school curriculum. Advocating the child's overall growth that includes mental, emotional, physical, and social education, he laid great stress on physical education.[21]

The German model of gymnastics burgeoned throughout Europe and America where Pehr Henrik Ling (1776-1839) and Lars Gabriel Barnting (1799-1881) in Sweden, Franz Nachtegall (1777-1847) and Niels Bukh (1880-1950) in Denmark, George Barker Winship (1834-1876), Dio Lewis (1823-1886), Dudley Allen Sargent (1849-1924) and Edward Hitchcock (1828-1911) in America played important roles in introducing physical education. Those adopting the German model were also instrumental in introducing physical education into the public schools and

[17] Charles A. Bacher, *Foundation of Physical Education* (St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1960), 231-233.
[18] George L Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 42.
[19] Ibid & Charles A. Bacher, *Foundation of Physical Education* (St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1960), 232.
[20] Udo Merkel, *The Politics of Physical Culture and German Nationalism: Turnen versus English Sports and French Olympism, 1871-1914* (2003) http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst?docId=5002038235 & Claire E. Nolte, "European Gymnastics from Enlightened Rationalism to Romantic Nationalism," in *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 5-19.
[21] Rebekka Horlacher, "The Emergence of Physical Education as a Subject for Compulsory Schooling in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Phokion Heinrich Clias and Adolf Spiess," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 4, no. 2 (2017): 13–30.

universities.[22] Ling's philosophy of physical education, often called the 'Swedish System of Gymnastics,' greatly influenced the course of physical education in Europe and elsewhere. Per Henrik Ling's most significant contribution was that he strove to make physical education a science. Earlier physical training was practiced mainly because it was meant for the body alone as it augmented muscular physique and contributeds to stamina, strength, agility, and endurance. However, Ling scientifically examined the body through the lens of physiology and anatomy to assess what general features are inherent in physical activities that enable the body to function in a more optimum capacity. Explaining scientifically how exercises affect the heart, musculature, and other parts of the body, he devised gymnastic exercises called calisthenics to produce what were then considered medical benefits to students.[23]

As far as Britain is concerned, till the middle of the nineteenth-century, athletic sports were part of English physical culture. In the 1860s, Archibald Maclaren (1820-1884) launched a health movement in Victorian England, the period is well known for liberal educational and health reforms. Maclaren, being influenced by Ling, played a part in introducing the Swedish system of gymnastics in England.[24] He authored many books on the subject of physical education. Following Ling's tradition, Maclaren pointed out that physical and mental training were inseparable and considered it as the antidote for weariness, nervousness, and tension together with building the fitness of the body. It was mostly because of his effort that physical education became an essential part of England's school curriculum.[25] While in France, the Regulation on Teaching Gymnastics in Secondary Schools (1854) was meant to introduce gymnastics instruction in secondary schools. The Hillairet Commission (1868) and Ferry Laws (1882) led to

[22] Annette R. Hofmann and Michael Krüger, "The Development of Physical-Education Institutions in Europe: A Short Introduction," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, Issue 6 (2015): 737-739 & Alison. M Wrynn, "History of Physical Education in United States," *Journal of Sport History* 33, no. 1 (2006): 118-121.
[23] K Karling, "Per Henrik Ling and Swedish medical gymnastics," *Physiotherapy* 40, no. 11 (1954):335-338; Harald Brodin, "Per Henrik Ling and his impact on gymnastics," *Sven Med Tidskr* 12, no.1 (2008): 61-68 & H. Brodin, "Per Henrik Ling and his impact on gymnastics," *National Center for Biotechnology Information*, (U.S. National Library of Medicine. Retrieved 22 November 2015).
[24] Archibald Maclaren Fencing Master and Physical Educator," *Victorian Fencing Society* (Friday, September 14, 2018).
[25] Peter C. McIntosh, "Archibald MacLaren (1819–1884) Teacher of Physical Education and Author," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) & Peter C McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin & Co., 1952), 66-70.

the creation of a teaching diploma called *Certificate of Aptitude for Teaching Gymnastics* that credentialised gymnastics in school curricula.[26]

In the case of America, initially, German gymnastics was adopted, which led to the organization of Turnverein Associations in the states having German settlements. Later, Ling or Swedish gymnastics was made popular in the Eastern States by Hartvig Nissen, the head of the Swedish Health Institute in Washington.[27] John Dewey was involved in the progressive education movement in America, aimed at educational reforms. His child centered natural approach to education, led to the introduction of physical education in schools. Dewey pomoted this changes because physical education was perceived as a way students could attain some of the social goals. In his progressive educational philosophy, play was seen to be a way of learning.[28]

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth-century physical education as an organized discipline was firmly established in the educational institutions of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, France, Britain, America, and Japan. Introduced in different countries under different socio-political circumstances, physical education had one common goal of 'disciplining the body' of the citizenry for the national interest. However, it acquired new meaning and objectives from time to time.[29] The rise of sport as recreation and a spectator event in the nineteenth century fostered and consolidated local, regional and national identities. In the developed nations of the West, World War I and II opened up new vistas for physical education. There was national interest in intramural sports competitions, recreational pursuits, gymnasiums, weight lifting exercises, physical therapy, athleticism, dance, Olympic Games, and international tournaments of hockey, tennis, cricket, football, and other games.[30] This further led to the development of physical education. As a matter of fact, the emergence and development of physical education since the nineteenth century, either in Western nations or later in the colonies, was framed by ideological

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[26] Jacques Gleyse, *Physical Education as a Subject in France* (*School Curriculum, Policies and Discourse*) https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01334332

[27] For history of physical education in America, see, "Changing Conceptions From Beginning of Modern European Period to the Present," in Charles A. Bacher, *Foundation of Physical Education* (St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1960 238-252 & G. Cazers & G. A. Miller, "The German Contribution to American Physical Education: A Historical Perspective," *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance* 71, no. 6 (2000): 44-48.

[28] Shutaro Jinno and Seiji Inoue, "J. Dewey's educational philosophy and physical education," *Departmental Bulletin Paper 研究| Study* (2017): 1-12.

[29] See, Robert Mechikoff, *A History And Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education: From Ancient Civilizations to the Modern World* (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2015)

[30] *Brief History of Physical Education* (http://www.excite.com/education/subject/brief-history-of-physical-education)

orientations which included morality and discipline, character formation, masculinity, citizenship, civilizing missions, nationalism, and last but not the least internationalism. Most importantly, as we will see in this study, the commencement of physical education in India was largely influenced by its worldwide development.

Physical Education in Colonial India: A Brief Outline

British rule introduced the western education system in India that led to the transition from one epistemic knowledge system to another.[31] By the end of the nineteenth century, India's old indigenous educational system disappeared and a new system of education aimed at the propagation of western knowledge was firmly established.[32] In the field of physical education, initially, a system of gymnastics developed by Scottish educator Archibald MacLaren was introduced in parts of British India. MacLaren's gymnastics system was promoted as a part of educational reforms by George Campbell, lieutenant-governor of Bengal but proved economically expensive.[33] Later on, drill, based on the military exercises of the Swedish type (Ling's system) was introduced by the officers in charge of education. The instructors were referred to as 'drill master and gymnastic instructors' up to the second decade of the twentieth century in India and were employed in the government normal schools and the private normal schools subsidized by the governments.[34] The drillmaster and gymnastic instructors employed for physical education in government schools were largely low-ranking ex-military men, usually selected from among army gymnasts who knew little of scientific Swedish gymnastics and had a reputation of ignorance and brutality.[35] Concurrently athletic sports such as cricket, soccer, football, and field hockey, were also introduced in elite English public schools of India in the second half of the nineteenth century. Still, by and large, whatever modest physical education and sports were imparted in schools and colleges till the second decade of the twentieth century

[31] See, Krishna Kumar, *Politics of Education in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014); Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008) & Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *History Of Education In Modern India* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2013).
[32] Syed Narullah and J. P. Naik, *A Students' History of Education in India* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1964), vi.
[33] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 85.
[34] George F. Andrews, "Physical Education in India," *The Journal of Health and Physical Education* 4, no. 2 (1933): 10-11.
[35] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 21.

was largely drill-based and provided by retired army-officer called the army instructor or drillmaster.[36]

Meanwhile, it had been recognized that Indian schools needed a physical instructor different from the army drillmaster or gymnastic instructor. It is noteworthy to mention here that in the late nineteenth century, the question of teacher instructor versus specialist instructor for physical education was discussed in debates of educational reforms in Britain and America. Accordingly, Physical Education Colleges were established to train specialist Physical Educators. For instance, America had its first institution for training physical education teachers – a Young Mens Christian Association Training School established in 1885, later renamed International YMCA College (popularly known as Springfield College). While Anstey College of Physical Education established in 1897, was United Kingdom's first college for training physical education teachers. Thus, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, colonial authorities and Indian educationalists realized that physical education should preferably be taught by teachers, like any other subject of the school curriculum, instead of by retired army drillmasters. Such teacher-instructors would, it was thought, understand school children and their physical needs better than the drillmasters or gymnastic instructors.[37] The following remarks in reports of public instruction of the Madras presidency are more or less indicative of the condition of physical education in India until as late as the first decade of the twentieth century:

> The instructors have not acquired the art of engaging a number of boys on the apparatus at the same time, and of the time set apart for gymnastics instruction, only a fraction is actively spent by each boy. Most of the time he is watching the others perform. Smartness in moving up to and away from the apparatus is usually bad. (1906-1907 report.)
>
> The weak point of physical education is that those who stand most in need of physical culture get the least of it. As Mr. Champion says: 'Drill is lifeless and flabby and gymnastics are confined to the few.' There are a few notable exceptions, but usually many boys in school get little or no physical training at all; less specialization on the parallel and horizontal bars is wanted and more exercise for all." (1916-1917 report.)[38]

[36] H. N. Wanchoo, *Studies in Indian Education* (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1934), 125-126.
[37] Ibid
[38] George F. Andrews, "Physical Education in India," *The Journal of Health and Physical Education* 4, no. 2 (1933): 11.

Thus, realizing the limitations of the drill masters, many new physical education models were experimented with in India from the second decade of the twentieth century. The advent of the Young Men's Christian Association inaugurated a new era in the history of physical education in India. From about 1915 onwards, the physical directors (degree holders in physical education were called Physical Directors) of the International YMCA College, who were posted in India, realized that the existing conditions needed to be changed and proposed a comprehensive program of physical training, games, and sports. YMCA Physical Directors in India framed many short and long-term courses in physical education, demonstrations in physical activities, and through lectures, they tried to create an interest in physical education and interpreted it as an educative discipline as practiced in the western countries.[39] YMCA College of Physical Education, established in 1920 at Madras, was the first institution of physical education to be established in Asia that played a pivotal role in the institutionalization of physical education in India.

There was a concurrent Indian nationalist demand for reforming education aimed at more control over framing the educational policies of the country. To satisfy this demand, the constitutional reform of 1919-20, popularly called Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms transferred the control of the Department of Education into the hands of Indian ministers.[40] Education was made a provincial subject, and education ministries under the supervision of elected Indians paid much attention to the cause of physical education in secondary and higher education. Instructors and superintendents of physical training were appointed in universities and training colleges. Attempts were also made to extend physical education to the primary and middle schools. From the third decade of the twentieth century, many resolutions demanding physical education in schools were introduced and passed in the legislative councils of different provinces. Accordingly, provincial governments appointed many committees on physical education, discussing the question of physical training of the students. The Physical Education Committees formed by the provincial governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar and Punjab shaped the course of physical education in India. However, this

[39] See, M. D. David, *The YMCA and the Making of Modern India: A Centenary History* (New Delhi: National Council of YMCAs of India, 1992).
[40] Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A students History of Education in India 1800-1947* (Bombay: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1951), 274.

development was slow due to shortage of funds and because the number of such schools was large.

As mentioned above, though YMCA was the major promoter of physical education in India; nevertheless, this does not mean that there was a uniform system of physical education all over the country. As such, many models of physical education were experimented with in colonial India. A vast country like India with a rich tradition and a system of physical culture, but exposed to developments in the field of physical education taking place in the West and Japan, developed different systems of physical culture or training. J. H. Gray who was educated at YMCA Springfield College and was the first Physical Director to be sent to India rightly described the rivalry between the different systems of physical education in India. He wrote in 1930:

> One becomes conscious of the further fact that a large number of the many varieties of physical education that are found in the world are bidding for recognition or a place of prominence here and there and that India is perhaps the 'hot spot' of all the nations in the world in this particular field. In other words, there are, so far as the writer can judge, a larger number of the so-called 'systems' or 'brands' of physical education, culture, or training being exploited and urged at this time in India than in any other country in the world with which he is familiar.[41]

Thus, by the late 1920s, there were as many as five major contending physical education systems in India, each claiming its supremacy over other systems. These physical education systems are as follows:

1. The indigenous system emphasizing the Yoga Asanas, Breathing Exercises, Surya-Namaskar, exercises with lezim, karla or heavy Indian clubs, singlesticks, double-sticks, etc. as developed by Shri Yogendra (1897-1989), Swami Kuvalayananda (1883-1966), S. Sundaram (1901-1994), Bhavanarao Pant Pratinidhi (1868-1951) and others.

2. The physical culture cults of Kodi Ramamurthy Naidu (1882-1942), K. V. Iyer (1897-1980), Krishna Rao, and others which are similar to those of Eugene Sandow, Earle Liederman, Charles Atlas, Max Sick, and others in the West. Besides, there was a movement for the revival of indigenous *akharas*. The 'akhara' is, by tradition, a

[41] J. H. Gray, "Indian Physical Education: What Shall It Be?," *Vyayam* (April 1930): 5-9.

spontaneous local association of people for physical exercises. A square piece of ground, sprinkled with soft mud, provides the arena for wrestling and exercises.

3. The western systems of physical education, as existing in Europe and America, include Ling's Swedish, Neils Bukh's Danish and Jahn's German systems of physical training, Japanese Judo, and the Anglo-Saxon systems of recreative games and athletic sports. Elite schools established in India on the model of English public schools generally adopted these physical education systems.

4. The systems of physical training as emphasized by the Boy Scout organizations, such as that of Baden Powell or national organizations, and by the military groups through the University Training Corps Units. Following the education reforms of 1919-1920, a movement for organizing a battalion of university students, called the University Training Corps, was launched in India. By 1930, all Indian universities formed a university training corps to supply fit and healthy corps to deal with a national emergency. The University Training Corps was the precursor of the present N.C.C. (National Cadet Corps) formed in 1948. Besides, Baden Powell's Scout movement that aimed at turning boys and girls into healthy and useful members of society through civics and citizenship training and physical education also found fertile ground in India.

5. The YMCA system, as advocated by the YMCA College of Physical Education, whose purpose is: "To prepare educated young men to conduct programmes of scientific physical education and health education throughout the Indian Empire . . . . and to share in the general educational and character-building process utilizing a carefully planned programme based chiefly on the inherent desire for participation in natural play activities."[42]

Significantly enough, the body that acquired a new meaning and became a distinct marker of the identity of the race, class, caste, gender, and status, was and became the site of politics during the colonial period around which a discursive hegemonic battle was fought.[43] For the colonizers, the

[42] George F. Andrews, "Physical Education in India," *The Journal of Health and Physical Education* 4, no. 2 (1933): 12.
[43] Douglas Booth, "*Sporting Bodies: Evidence from the Beach,"* (Paper presented to the North American Society for Sports History Conference, University of Western Ontario, 2001).

body of Indians was meant to be controlled and disciplined through physical education and sports. For the colonized, the body became one such site that needed to be reformed for national interests.[44] That is why almost all prominent educationists of the early twentieth century, viz. Gooroodas Banerjee, Annie Besant, Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sri Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai, B. S. Moonje and Syama Prasad Mukherjee, emphasized the necessity of physical education in India. In their respective conceptualization of 'national education,' physical education constitutes an essential part. The nationalist leaders seeking the 'physical renaissance of India' wished to instill manly and civil qualities to refute the colonial imaginary of Indian physical and moral laxity.

But little scholarly attention has been devoted to the process and policies by which the colonial government intended to discipline the "inferior" body of the Indians in schools, colleges, and universities. Also, not much is known about how educated Indians' responded to it and what alternate models of physical education they envisioned were best suited for the Indian body.

Review of Literature

An ample amount of scholarly work has been done on education in modern India, dealing with the history of modern literature, art, law, science, technical and medical education in India. These works disclose the agendas and objectives behind the educational system introduced by the colonial government, along with the nationalist response and national endeavor in education. However, the discourse, introduction, and institutionalization of physical education in colonial India is something that has been little studied. In the context of the present study, the literature reviewed includes studies that provide an insight into the scholarship around physical education and sports in India. It would highlight the gaps in the existing works on the history of physical education and sports in India.

Initial studies on physical education in India were about its history in ancient India. Since the beginning of the twentieth-century, essays started appearing on the tradition of physical culture in ancient India. In the decades following independence, first physical educators and later professions historians produced some full-fledged texts on the history of physical education. As

[44] James H. Mills & Satadru Sen, *Confronting the Body; The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 6-8.

already mentioned, the enterprise of writing the history of physical culture all around the world can broadly be understood as part of legitimizing the modern discipline of physical education. To an extent, it was in this context, some early works on physical education were written. *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (1923) by Fred Eugene Leonard, Professor of Hygiene and Physical Education at Oberlin College, chronicles the different phases and stages through which physical education has passed since the ancient Greeco-Roman period to modern times. Leonard mentioned in the preface that his intention was to legitimize the discipline of physical education by guiding the reader to the best of what has been written on the subject, deeper and more general appreciation of the place which physical education should win and hold in general education, and to the adoption of general measures where it is introduced.[45] This book introduces readers to the leading figures who have contributed to the growth of physical culture since the renaissance and philosophies of modern physical educators like Jahn, Spiess, Ling, Lewis, and others.

Another early text on the history of physical education, *A Brief History of Physical Education* (1926) by Emmett A. Rice of Normal College of the American Gymnastic Union, is a history of physical education that discusses physical culture practices of ancient civilizations viz. Egypt, Persia, Hebrews, Greece, Rome, China, and India right up to its modern development in Europe and America. Rice studied the history of physical education: *"first, as a movement coexistent with civilization itself; and second, with stress on those facts which explain a modern problem or to the appreciation of modern movement."*[46] While Charles A. Bucher, Professor of Education and Coordinator of Physical Education for Men and Women at New York University in the *Foundations of Physical Education* (1952) discusses the nature, scope, and objectives of physical education. Bucher's book studies the changing conceptions of physical education from ancient times to the modern period.[47] The author attempts to answer key questions asked about physical education. What is the meaning and what are the objectives of physical education, what have been the changing attitudes towards this discipline, and what is its relationship with other science and social sciences disciplines?

[45] Fred Eugene Leonard, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (Philadelphia and New York: Lea & Febiger, 1923), vi.
[46] Emmett A. Rice, *A Brief History of Physical Education* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, Revised and Enlarged Edition), xii.
[47] Charles A. Bucher, *Foundations of Physical Education and Sport* (St. Louis: The C.V. Mosby Co., 1952).

Most importantly, the author also discusses the philosophical, biological, psychological, cultural, and sociological foundations of sports and physical education. Part 5 of the book contains two chapters, 'Changing Concepts from Early Times to the Modern European Period' and 'Changing Concepts from Beginning of Modern European Period to the Present' dealing with the history of physical education in the West.[48] Both chapters briefly review the concepts of physical education in ancient and medieval civilizations including India. The chapters address the changing nature and objectives of physical education over time. Bucher provides a historical rationale that directed sports and physical education towards the promotion of emotional, social, and intellectual development of men. Explaining that nationalism and exigency of the fit body for warfare were the leading motives for instituting physical education programs in nineteenth-century Europe and America, he describes how in recent times, physical education and sports gradually adopted a liberal stance concerning therapeutic and educational values. Physical education acquired a scientific basis based on anatomy and physiology, and its introduction in schools, colleges, and universities all over the world was grounded more on disciplining the body rather than preparing the body for warfare.

Following the scholarship of Leonard, Rice, and Bucher, many more histories of physical education were written to mention a few: *Modern Ideas on Physical Education* (1952), *A World History of Physical Education* (1953), *A Brief History of Physical Education (1958*), *The History of Physical Education and Sport* (1972) and *Stretching their Bodies; The History of Physical Education* (1974).[49] Most of these authors were physical education teachers and came from community colleges or teacher training colleges. Not one of them was a professional historian. This means that the history of physical education was really at the margins of both history and education even in the West at least till the 1970. The history of sport and physical education as a field of study in the discipline of history emerged in the 1970s.[50] The launching of journals like *Sport History Review* (1970), *The Journal of Sport History* (1974), *The British Society of Sports History* and its journal *Sport in History* (1982) and *The International Journal of the History of*

[48] Ibid

[49] Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce Lanyon Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953); John L. Hutchinson and Mabel Lee, *A Brief History of Physical Education* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958); Bruce L. Bennett, *Proceedings of the Big Ten Symposium on the History of Physical Education and Sport* (Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1972) and W. David Smith, *Stretching their Bodies; The History of Physical Education* (London: David & Charles, 1974).

[50] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Rise and Fall of Indian Sports History," in *Sport in South Asian Society: Past and Present*, eds. Boria Majumdar and J. A. Mangan (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Sport (1984) sought to promote the study of all aspects of the history of sport and physical education. Chakrabarty points out that the reputation that social and cultural history acquired in academia facilitated studies on history of sports and physical education as well.[51] Eric Hobsbawm also expressed that sport has recently been perceived as one of important social practices of Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[52] Thus, scholarship on sports and physical education that developed in the 1970s used the concept of class and cultural conflict as deployed by historians of social history. Social historians, in fact, wished to include sports in the mainstream of social history and pleaded for sports to be recognized as serious part of social life.[53]

Thus, J. A. Mangan inaugurated research in the fields of history of sports and physical education in early 1980s. His studies on athleticism and imperialism opened new horizons of inquiry providing the field with a perceptive study of hegemony and patronage, of cultural assimilation and adaptation, and of the ways that powerful elites used sport for socialization, acculturation and social control. His later works continued to pose critical questions, providing new and provocative insights into the complex social issues involved in the development and diffusion of sporting activity.[54] His book, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (1985) is a study of the Victorian and Edwardian public-school athletic ideal in its relation to the British administration of their colonies. He introduced the idea of 'games ethics' in sports history which argues that imperial ideology of athleticism was spread in colonies though the public school system.[55]

In India as already been mentioned, D. C. Mazumdar's *Encyclopedia of Indian Physical Culture A Comprehensive Survey Of The Physical Education In India Profusely Illustrating Various Activities Of Physical Culture, Games, Exercises etc., As Handed Over To Us from Our Fore-Fathers and Practiced in India* gives a vivid description of physical culture practiced throughout Indian history. Krishnaswamy Rajagopalan's *A Brief History of Physical Education in India* (1962) is probably the first textbook on the history of physical education that deals with the

[51] Ibid
[52] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 299-300.
[53] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Rise and Fall of Indian Sports History," in *Sport in South Asian Society: Past and Present*, eds. Boria Majumdar and J. A. Mangan (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[54] For J.A. Mangan publications on sport history, see, http://www.professorjamangan.com/
[55] J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (New York: Viking, 1985).

physical activities, sports, games, pastimes of the rulers, their military conquests as well as general education contemplated for the people covering vast stretches of time in Indian history. It details the emphasis accorded to physical education in the overall general education in Indian history.[56] Set in the background of Indian culture, history, and education, the text exemplifies that physical education formed an integral part of Indian culture and civilization. Another work by C. Tirunarayana and S. Hariharan, titled, *An Analytical History of Physical Education* (1976), follows the same approach as Rajagopalan employed in writing the history of physical education in India.[57] Both of these texts are not professional histories and are more and less presentist in orientation.

The first critical attempt to examine physical education in colonial India can be traced in the work of John Rosselli. Rosselli's paper "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal*"* (1980), studies the rise of the cult of physical culture in Bengal in the context of the colonial representation of the effeteness of the Bengali and burgeoning nationalism.[58] The paper explores the nineteenth-century discourse of Bengali effeteness that certified them as frail, unmilitary, and soft bodied little people. Referring to Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Raj Narayan Basu, Nabagopal Mitra, and Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, it shows that the products of early English education were also convinced of their effeteness. Rosselli examines writings in Bengali dailies, tracts, magazines, and autobiographies to demonstrate how Bengalis intellectuals perceived the myth of physical decline as a medieval phenomenon and how a self-conscious movement for the resurgence of physical culture was linked with nationalist stirrings. He vividly studied the puritanical movement launched in Bengal from the 1860s that emphasized the revival of akharas, fencing lathis and swords, wrestling, and other local sports.

Through the physical culture movement, Rosselli argues that the Bengali middle-class desired to instill a sense of pride and honor in the physical prowess of the Bengalis. Investigating *National Paper*, the Hindu Mela's organ started by Nabagopal Mitra, the author reveals that revival and establishment of akharas, gymnastics, wrestling, and other local traditional sports in Bengal was

[56] K. Rajagopalan, *A Brief History of Physical Education In India* (Delhi: Army Publishers, 1962).
[57] C. Tirunarayana and S. Hariharan, *An Analytical History of Physical Education* (Karaikudi, 1976).
[58] John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal," *Past & Present* 86, no. 1 (1980): 121-148.

inspired by the development of physical education in Europe. The publications of the National Paper reveal an awareness of the link between physical education and nationalism through the work of Jahn and Arndt in Germany and Ling in Sweden, whose philosophies had played a significant role in the development of physical education throughout Europe and America in the nineteenth century. The paper further discusses the role of Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1871-74, to introduce a western type of physical education in the province, which Rosselli claims worked alongside rather than against the Bengali physical culture revival movement. Thus, shedding critical light on the relationship between the physical education movements of Bengal with nationalism, the paper opens up new vistas for further research on the theme of physical education in colonial India.

Boria Majumdar, in *The Vernacular in Sports History* (2002), shows that physical culture was intrinsically linked with the imperialist-nationalist politics in colonial Bengal. Tracing the history of sports journalism in Bengal, the paper discloses that sports journalism was only in English until the mid-nineteenth century. However, things began to change in the late nineteenth century when the Bengali middle class, often called 'bhadralok' started taking an interest in sports and abandoned their initial apathy towards sports.[59] Majumdar argues that at the root of this transmogrification were the political changes and failure of the Bengali physical culture movement (not discussed in Rosselli's paper) that made them realize the prowess latent in the English sports like cricket and football. Educated Bengali's perceived mastery over football and cricket as a symbolic challenge to British imperialism. Examining articles on cricket and football written in Bengali newspapers, Majumdar shows that these foreign games were used as an imperial tool by the colonizers to instill the virtue of discipline and character among their colonized subjects but were turned around to consolidate nationalism. Illustrating the reporting of Mohan Bagan's victory of 1911 over East York for the II.F.A. Shield, he argues that the sporting field becomes intensely politicized and seen as a site for a struggle for supremacy.

A significant contribution to the scholarship on the history of physical education and sports in South Asia was made by James H Mills and Satadru Sen. In the edited work, *Confronting the Body; The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (2004), Mills and Sen

[59] Boria Majumdar, "The Vernacular in Sports History," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 29 (Jul. 2002): 3069-3075.

brought together scholars working on the subject of physicality and masculinity in modern India. The volume comprised critically researched papers that examine and explore how the 'colonial body' was represented, repressed, disciplined, and used as a site of resistance in colonial and post-colonial India.[60] The ten papers in the volume problematize the body as an analytical tool in different contexts ranging from sports and physical education to medicine, asylums, beauty contests, crime and punishment. First in the series is Paul Dimeo's paper: "A Parcel of Dummies'? Sport and the Body in Indian History" that seeks to explain Viceroy Lord Curzon and Sir George Campbell's, motives for introducing English sports in India. Colonial administrators-educators contemplated sports as a medium of instilling discipline and character combined with fair play to train Indians for subordinate jobs. Thus, were introduced pedagogical games in schools, colleges, and universities of India. Dimeo further shows that Indian physical culture complicated the process of colonial sports pedagogies. Since the Indian body was negatively constructed in the colonial discourse of the body, he argues that traditional games were equally discouraged by the colonialists. However, Dimeo further elucidates how the local games and physical culture survived while English sports and modern physical education were incorporated into Indian society and became a part of the culture. In the process, colonial sports such as cricket and football became a source of nationalist sentiments.[61]

Satadru Sen's paper, "Schools, Athletes and Confrontation: The Student Body in Colonial India", addresses the politics of the internalized discipline of the student body in colonial schools as manifested in their behavior and external appearances. The paper's objective was to unveil the hidden connections between two contested sites: the colonial school and the body of the colonized students. Sen's study of four schools viz. Imperial Service Corps (I.C.C., the brainchild of Lord Curzon), Church Missionary Society School at Srinagar under the principal Tyndale Biscoe, Rajkumar College at Rajkot, and Aligarh Oriental School under Henry Siddons, reveals that the objective of physical education in colonial India were superficially identical to those in Britain. By introducing organized sports in the school curriculum, colonial educators sought to develop a character exhibiting emotional and physical self-control and a sense of subordination towards authority. The role of sports in character formation in Britain was closely tied to British

[60] See, James H. Mills & Satadru Sen, *Confronting the Body; The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004).
[61] Paul Dimeo, "A Parcel of Dummies'? Sport and the Body in Indian History," in Ibid., 39-57

nationalism. In contrast, as Sen has shown in India, no colonial school tried to reproduce English bodies with Indian material. Instead, English sports and physical education were meant to inculcate in colonialized subjects the recognition of one's place in imperial order, i.e., the disciplined, well-behaved body loyal to his team, regiment, and above all, to the British empire.[62]

Joseph S Alter has written on how the body has historically been imagined and athletic bodies have been produced in colonial and post-colonial India. Alter's paper "Body, Text, Nation: Writing the Physically Fit Body in Post-Colonial India" focuses on the production of the athletic body with reference to *khusti* (Indian wrestling); the site which falls outside the domain of the colonial version of modern masculinity. Alter argues that Gandhi's notion of the body based on diet, chastity, health, and exercise was critical of colonial masculinity and modernity.[63] In his monograph, *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India* (1992), Alter studied wrestling as a system of meaning developed over a long period of history. The book presents an in-depth anthropological study of the North Indian wrestler's lifestyle with special reference to Banaras, where he argues wrestling holds an influential place in the city's ethos but is not defined in any unique way. Alter explores what wrestling means in North India and argues that the wrestler's bodies were not only meant for building an athletes' physique for competition; instead, at a philosophical level, wrestlers are perceived as moral reformers whose impression of self is primordially somatic.[64]

Most importantly, Alter explores how by linking fitness and general health with wrestling, wrestlers identify it with renunciation (sannyasa), Brahmacharya (celibacy), and moral reforms. Thus, the wrestler body becomes the site of reform of Indian national character and symbol of "ethical and somatic nationalism" that drew its inspiration from wrestling's mythology and history. A sketch of wrestling becoming a popular sport during the Indian national movement and its alliance with nationalism has also been discussed. Writing about the national hero Gama, the Indian wrestler of the early twentieth century who defeated all the European champions of the time in London in 1920, Alter explains that wresting became a form of national assertion.

[62] Satadru Sen, "Schools, Athletes and Confrontation: The Student Body in Colonial India," in Ibid., 58-79
[63] Joseph S. Alter, "Body, Text, Nation: Writing the Physically Fit Body in Post-Colonial India," in Ibid., 16-38
[64] Joseph S. Alter, *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

Prominent national figures like Madan Mohan Malaviya, Moti Lal Nehru, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak appealed to building akharas and considered it an essential component for free India.[65]

Muscular Christianity in Colonial and Post-colonial Worlds (2007), edited by John J. MacAloon, offers a fascinating and sophisticated set of ten essays from a global perspective. This volume examines the immense impact of Muscular Christianity on modern civil society in English-speaking nations and among the peoples they colonized. MacAloon explains in the introductory chapter that predominantly religious forms of Muscular Christianity have re-emerged over time. However, its secularized version incarnated itself in the public school spirit. Besides moral masculinity, the game ethic associated with sports and physical education came to dominate and spread rapidly across status, class, and gender lines in late nineteenth-century England and America.[66] The British officials in India appropriated these developments to support their imperial military and other colonial projects. The papers of the volume explore case materials from United States, Canada, Japan, India, Papua, the Spanish Caribbean, New Guinea, and Britain in a joint effort to outline a global post-colonial sports history.

The volume included two papers that exclusively deal with India. The first, is the article entitled, "Yoga at the fin de siecle: Muscular Christianity with a Hindu Twist" by Joseph S. Alter. He argues that the ancient practice of yoga was reconstituted and redefined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Exploring the bio-politics of modern physical cultures and life-reform movements that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Europe and America, Alter shows that some of these drew on 'Eastern' ideas of the body and sought to challenge the mind/body dualism of Christianity. He further argues that in the worldwide movement of 'new body culture,' yoga became an integral part of global physical culture networks. Thus it borrowed many modern credentials of body culture from the West. Examining Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo's conception of yoga, Alter links the body and morality, which he called 'Muscular Hinduism' that drew from the ideas of Muscular Christianity. Yoga Renaissance of Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo, Alter says, though concerned with the body and mind both, at the same time, self-consciously aligned with modernity.[67] Thus, the

[65] Ibid.,
[66] John MacAloon, "Introduction: Muscular Christianity After 150 Years," in. *Muscular Christianity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds*, ed. John MacAloon (London: Routledge, 2007).
[67] Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga at the fin de siecle: Muscular Christianity with a Hindu Twist," in Ibid

modernization of yoga's traditional practice required appropriating some credentials of other physical cultures.

Boria Majumdar's paper in this volume is entitled, "Tom Brown Goes Global: The "Brown" Ethic in Colonial and Post-colonial India*"*. Tom Brown is a fictional character created by Thomas Hughes in his novel *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857), set at a real Rugby public school for boys in the 1830s. Immediately after its release, the novel became an instant hit in Victorian Britain and elsewhere. The development of boys is the central theme of the novel, and games like rugby, cricket and football for physical inculocated moral, and character development in the students. The novel's popularity contributed a lot to the spread of the popularity of English games in British colonies. In Japan, the novel became the textbook of high schools during the Meiji restoration period. Majumdar explores how and why Tom Brown's *School Days* serves to explicate the 'games ethic' in the public schools of Victorian Britain that also traveled to India where it was appropriated and employed for purposes of confronting the colonial state. The appropriation of Tom Brown's ideal of the 'games ethic', Majumdar argues creates a narrative of masculine sports in colonial India. By adopting, appropriating, and assimilating a 'Brown ethic', the Indian Tom Brown tried to free sports from all caste prejudices at the *fin de siècle*.[68] Further examples of the interpretation of the game ethic and the principles of muscular Christianity are analyzed to explain how sport emerged as the mirror wherein an Indian identity started to reassess itself as part of a nationalist enterprise during the colonial period.

Another major work on the subject is *Sport in South Asian Society* (2009) edited by Boria Majumdar and J. A. Mangan. The virtue of the collection of articles as one editor put it, lies in its presentation of the eclectic role of sports in colonial and post-colonial South Asia. The book addresses critical issues of colonialism, nationalism, communalism, commercialism and gender through the perspective of sport. Part 1 of the book "Raj and Post Raj Identities: Sport and South Asia" containing papers of Projit B. Mukhaji, Kausik Bandyopadhyay, Boria Majumdar, J. A. Mangan discusses some important questions relating to sports in colonial India. While Part 2, "Narrative Histories: Sport in Colonial and Post Colonial South Asia" and Part 3, "Marginal Voices: Women's Sport in Colonial and Post Colonial South Asia" includes paper that explores

[68] Boria Majumdar, "Tom Brown Goes Global: The "Brown" Ethic in Colonial and Post-colonial India," in Ibid

boxing, tennis and kabbadi in colonial India. Thus, it proposes to locate sport within the broader socio-economic process that shaped colonial and post-colonial South Asian societies.[69]

Nation at Play: A History of Sport in India (2015) by Ronojoy Sen traces the role of sports in India from the age of mythology to modern times. Following a chronological approach, Sen highlighted a sporting culture manifested in the ancient Epics and practiced in the ancient and medieval period, proceeds to the British era when modern sports were introduced in India. The book discusses the sporting culture of the 20th century and culminates with the present-day-Indian Premier League. It discusses how some sports that originated in India have fallen out of favor, while others, such as cricket, have been domesticated and made part of India's sporting culture. It covers the history of football, the birth and evolution of sporting clubs like East Bengal to Mohun Bagan, the rise of hockey to its down fall, and a whole host of other sports like wrestling and polo, and especially cricket's phenomenal rise amid the national movement. Sen also explains India's failure to compete successfully in international sporting competitions, such as the Olympics.[70] Significantly enough, Sen not only captures the political nature of sports in India but also explores the patterns of patronage, clientage, and institutionalization.

Indian physical culture is inseparable from yoga or vice-versa. In the course of its popularization and becoming a global physical culture phenomenon in the twentieth century, Yoga was presented as a superior form of Indian physical culture having its genesis in ancient India. However, as some scholars argue, yoga acquired its modern stature only in the early twentieth century. Yoga, as we know it today, owes much to anti-colonial Indian nationalism and the transnational body culture movement of twentieth-century Europe and America. Elizabeth De Michelis' in *A History of Modem Yoga* (2004) traces the context for the various forms of modern postural based asana yoga in Swami Vivekananda's lectures on Raja Yoga delivered in 1896 after his phenomenal success at the Chicago Parliament of Religions. The author has shown that Vivekananda intended to present Patanjali's Yoga as a philosophical system. However, consciously or unconsciously, he paved the way for hatha yoga to emerge as a modern physical culture system.[71]

[69] Boria Majumdar and J A Mangan, *Sport in South Asian Society Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2009).
[70] Ronojoy Sen, *Nation at Play: A History of Sport in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).
[71] Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005).

Another major landmark work on yoga physical culture in contemporary India is *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (2010) wrote by Mark Singleton. This book goes further in the analysis of modern yoga than the two previously published scholarly works, Joseph S. Alters *Yoga in Modern India* (2004) and Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga* (2004). In his work, Singleton concentrates on the transition from the classical conception of yoga as a philosophical system to its modern version of postural bodily practice. Without denying that some asanas were mentioned in classical Sanskrit texts, Singleton examines why asanas did not initially receive the same attention that they have in modern times. After giving a summary of yoga's development from its origins to the first contact with Europeans, Singleton argues that modern postural yoga acquired many sources from physical education imparted in the British Army. He traces many of the European roots of modern yoga that includes British gymnastics, including the German physical culture system of J. F. C. Gutsmuth, the British Manly Exercises of Donald Walker, the Swedish gymnastics of P. H. Ling, and bodybuilding of Eugene Sandow. The author also discusses the early physical education system in India based on drill and gymnastic exercises. However, his work's primary concern is to examine how yoga developed into a physical education system in India. Thus, he explored the efforts of early yoga teacher's viz. Shri Yogendra, Swami Kuvalyananda, K.V. Iyer, and Bhavanrao Pratinidhi Pant in transforming classical hatha yoga into the modern physical education system.[72] Singleton's study indicated that most of the yoga teachers of late colonial India were innovators who tried to adopt new bodily practices from different cultures according to the temper of their times while remaining grounded in classical yoga.

Singleton's work was followed by another voluminous book tracing the history of the modern practice of postural yoga, entitled: *The Path of Modern Yoga: The History of an Embodied Spiritual Practice* (2016) by Elliott Goldberg. It focuses in detail on eleven pioneering figures credited with establishing yoga as a physical education system in the 20th century that included Shri Yogendra, Swami Kuvalayananda, Pant Pratinidhi, Krishnamacharya, B. K. S. Iyengar, and Indra Devi. In discussing the early yoga gurus, Goldberg explains how classical hatha yoga practices (seated meditation and postural asanas) of the ancient yoga philosophydeveloped into a modern physical culture system centered on health benefits. It chronicles how yoga was

[72] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

transformed from sacred ancient bodily practice meant for embodied spiritual practice to modern physical education system and naturopathy treatment.[73]

In a recent paper titled "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late-colonial South Asia (circa 1900-40)" (2018), Harald Fischer-Tine has discussed the role of YMCA managed College of Physical Education established in 1920 at Madras in the institutionalization of physical education in South Asia. The paper demonstrates that the American-based YMCA stressed the scientific scheme of physical education in India as an alternative to British imperial sports. The YMCA's physical education programme based on educational philosophy and physiological science was scientific, egalitarian, and liberal. Fischer-Tine's paper, following the new trend of post-colonial historiography, explores the transnational entanglements in the domain of physical education in South Asia. It highlights the Indo-American interactions during the late colonial period that gives new meaning to 'body culture' and led to the formulation of physical education schemes for India. The YMCA's passage to India is analyzed in a broad socio-political background of the time, and the role of pioneering physical educators like John Henry Grey, Harry Crowe Buck, and K. T. Paul is explored in the paper. Importantly enough, the author also discusses the wide range of objectives behind the YMCA physical education programme in India.[74]

Patricia Vertinsky and Aishwarya Ramachandran's paper on YMCA, "The "Y" Goes to India: Springfield College, Muscular Missionaries, and the Transnational Circulation of Physical Culture Practices" (2019) explores the early motive of American YMCA's in sending physical educators to India for imparting their brand of Muscular Christianity through physical education. Harry Crowe Buck, a physical educators trained at Springfield College (first Physical Education College to be established in America in late nineteenth century) was sent to India and established YMCA School of Physical Education in Madras. The paper discusses that Buck found many competing systems of physical education in India and hence, thought to offer the best physical exercises of West and East. This paper explores the efforts of Buck to introduce a scientific

[73] Elliott Goldberg, *The Path of Modern Yoga: The History of an Embodied Spiritual Practice* (New Delhi: Inner Traditions, 2016).
[74] Harald Fischer-Tine, "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late colonial South Asia (circa 1900-40)," *Modern Asian Studies* 52, Issue 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

physical education scheme in India while accommodating colonial struggles and nationalism of the time.[75]

Critical Appraisal of the Literature Review

The literature discussed above sheds light on the physical education and sports in colonial India; nevertheless, there are many important aspects and questions on the subject that need to be worked upon. The above literature review of the history of physical education and sports brings out the following lacunas or gaps in the existing works on the subject.

1. The major gap that comes from the literature review is that Bengal is the only region on which most works on the history of physical education and sports are concentrated. Though the Bengali colonized body was first represented for its effeteness and effeminacy, it was not that other Indian communities were exempted from colonial stereotyping. Thus, considering this, physical education was an all-India phenomenon. However, there are few works that historicize a pan-Indian physical education discourse in India.

2. The physical education introduced and developed in India was not merely based on western models. Instead, different physical education systems were subject to change, adaptation, appropriation, and remodeling in the local context. Therefore, physical education pedagogies of the colonial period need more scholarly attention. Though some critical studies were undertaken on the introduction of English sports in English elite schools in India, still the objectives of colonial educators behind the sports programme demand further research. In other words, the sports pedagogy of public schools in India has to be explored. Besides, YMCA and Yoga physical education programme also needs to be further examined.

3. One of the major lacunae in the existing works of history of education in modern India is that there are hardly any studies on early twentieth-century Indian educationalists' and

[75] Patricia Vertinsky and Aishwarya Ramachandran, "The "Y" Goes to India: Springfield College, Muscular Missionaries, and the Transnational Circulation of Physical Culture Practices," *Journal of Sport History*, 46, no. 3 (2019): 363-379.

their thoughts on physical education. Though there are a plethora of works exploring the educational ideas of figures like RabindranathTagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Annie Besant, Sri Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Syed Ahmad Khan, none discusses their views on physical education. Moreover, physical education and sports in the debate of national education have largely been neglected in the works of the history of education in modern India.

4. One of the most critical limitations of works on the history of physical education and sports in modern India is that they hardly used primary sources, viz. Reports of the Department of Public Instruction of different provinces and recommendations on education made by various committees and commission on education. To mention a few are the Hunter Commission (1882), Raleigh Commission (1902), Sadler Commission (1918-19), Hartog Committee (1929), and RadhakrishnanCommission (1948). Besides, provincial governments under the Department of Public Instruction publish an annual report of educational progress. To add more, since the late 1920s, many committees on physical education were appointed that published reports examining the problem of physical education in India. These reports should be the most important primary documents to study policies regarding physical education in colonial India should be explored to produce a nuanced history of physical education.

Research Objectives

The broad objective of this research is to historicize the official discourse of physical education in colonial India. This discourse revolves around the politics of the body and physicality manifested at various levels. The study also seeks to analyze the rationale and ideals behind the pedagogy of sports and physical education as perceived by colonial administrators-educators and the Indian intelligentsia. In the process, it aims to examine different contested physical education systems that found ground in India against the backdrop of nationalism and globally interconnected physical culture movements. Thus, it seeks to map the transnational encounter of ideas of physical education during the late colonial period and how they shaped physical education in colonial India.

Research Questions

Thus, based on the above discussion, the proposed research questions (concens) can be summed up as follows:-

1. Colonial discourse on the body and physicality and the response of educated Indians.
2. Factors that led to the emergence of physical education debate in India.
3. Who were the main actors in the physical education discourse in colonial India?
4. The colonial and national objectives behind sports and physical education.
5. Thoughts of Indian educationalists on physical education and its place in the discourse of national education.
6. Different schemes of physical education experimented in India.
7. How was physical education as a discipline institutionalized in India? This needs to be unpacked into several questions.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The discipline of history is anchored in a different theoretical frame compared to other disciplines of social sciences. In history, the social, political, and economic background of the period is the framework for conducting the study. Thus terms like colonialism, nationalism, and internationalism are not just concepts but overlapping frames for exploring how physical education and sports in particular and modern education, in general, were developed and institutionalized in India. Colonialism and nationalism have acquired a prominent place in historical studies. Scholars have tried to understand the repercussions of colonialism and nationalism in all possible dimensions, including education. Nevertheless, physical education and sports in the colonies against the backdrrop of colonialism, nationalism, and internationalism need much more exploration.

Foucault's works on power, body, and discipline provide a prism to examine how external structures, i.e., institutions of power like a prison, asylum, schools, etc., produce disciplined subjects. Foucault's theory of disciplining the body through the power of institutions investigates the "conditions of possibility" for thought in any given period or domain of knowledge. That is,

how power controls the body through discourse.[76] Foucault's framework can also be employed as a theoretical tool to analyze the disciplining of the body through the system of physical education in schools and colleges.[77] Whereas the theory of cross-cultural encounter of education in the historiography of "post-colonialism" argues that the process of appropriation of the global was simultaneously accompanied by a process wherein the local was shaped by the global that in turn was reconstituted by the local. This trans-national perspective provides a much more comprehensive framework to explore the discourse and introduction of the modern system of physical education in India.

Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 1 is about the process and premises on which the discourse around the body and physicality was constructed in colonial India. The chapter historicizes colonial discourse that characterizes Indians as effeminate and effete people unsuitable for self-government. It further discusses how educated Indians being convinced of the narrative of the 'masculine Englishmen' as against 'effeminate Indian' who explained their effeminacy in reasons other than as propounded by the colonial ideologues. In the process, educated Indians imagined a golden past of physical culture and sought to reclaim their lost masculinity through physical education.

Chapter 2 traces the emergence of physical education discourse in India that began in the second half of the twentieth century. While exploring the discourse of physical education in the latter half of the nineteenth-century, the chapter discusses many vital questions; the most important being the rationale and objectives behind physical education. Colonizers and colonized both wished to improve the physique of the Indians, though they had different agendas and objectives for doing so. The chapter maps the physical education discourse provincially, thus discussing and analyzing the arguments made by early proponents of physical education in India in the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. It also discusses the initiative and intentions of colonial administrators like George Campbell and Richard Temple in making physical training examinations mandatory for subordinate civil service posts.

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[76] Charles Stewart, *Foucault on Power, Bodies, and Discipline*.https://notevenpast.org/foucault-on-power-bodies-and-discipline/

[77] Jen Pylypa, "Power and Bodily Practice: Applying the Work of Foucault to an Anthropology of the Body," *Arizona Anthropologist* 13 (1998): 21-36.

In Chapter 3, some elite English public schools have been taken up as a case study to deciphercolonial objectives behind the sports pedagogy in India. The chapter explores in detail the concern of colonial administrative-educators for introducing 'manly' games and sports in public-schools in India that aimed to instill in the frail body and the corrupt manners of the local elite and middle-class the qualities of moral character, discipline, and loyalty that can made them responsible citizenship in the imperial order. The chapter further demonstrates the role of the America-based Young Men Christian Association in propagating the physical education programme in India. In doing that, it reveals their physical education scheme for India and thecivilizing role physical education programme had for the YMCA.

Chapter 4 examines the place of physical education in the national education discourse of the first half of the twentieth century. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Indian educationists, were convinced of the necessity of physical education in an ideal programme of education and included it as an integral part in their respective educational philosophies. Thus, the chapter explores the thoughts on physical education of educationists such as Annie Besant, Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, B. S. Monnje, and Syama Prasad Mukherjee. In the chapter, we will see that almost all prominent educationalists of the early twentieth century, considered the importance of a healthy body for nation-building and greatly emphasized the necessity of imparting physical education in schools, colleges, and universities of India.

Chapter 5 unpacks the formulation of classical hatha yoga into a modern physical education system. How postural-based bodily practices called asana and meditation techniques called pranayama evolved into a physical culture system is discussed in the chapter. Therefore, the efforts of some yoga gurus of the early twentieth century in establishing yoga as a fitness regime are discussed. The chapter explores the role Shri Yogendra, Swami Kuvalayananda and Bhawanrao Pant Pratinidhi in developing the ancient bodily practice of yoga into modern physical education system.

CHAPTER 1
THE DISCOURSE AROUND THE BODY AND PHYSICALITY IN COLONIAL INDIA

This chapter is about the discourse around the body and physicality constructed in colonial India. The discourse delineates colonizers and colonized assumptions surrounding the terms masculine and civilized, Englishmen as against effeminate and effete Indians. All through the colonial period, the colonized body was imagined to be inferior by the colonizers in the sense that it was effete, effeminate, undisciplined, dirty, and rustic. The chapter discusses the construction of this discourse in detail. It further intends to disclose how the colonized subjects participated in the colonial narrative of the 'masculine Englishmen' and the 'effeminate Indian.' However, they understood this effeminacy in terms other than those of the colonizers. In the process, educated Indians sought remedies for their alleged physical degeneration. One such remedy they sought was in physical education.

Historicizing the Colonial Discourse of Effeminacy and Effeteness of the Indian Body

An intriguing variety of discourses accompanied the formation and continuation of British colonialism in India. From the days of the East India Company in the late eighteenth century until the end of colonial rule, manifold attitudes were formed about India from from travelers, administrative officials, soldiers, political commentators to missionaries, poets, and philosophers.[1] From Edmund Burke in the late eighteenth century to Winston Churchill in the early twentieth century, we encounter a variety of views about the religion, art, social customs, physical features, and the political system on the sub-continent. Most importantly, the colonial discourse on India was overwhelmed by the various intellectual trends that dominated British

[1] See, George D Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press; 1961); Bernard S Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Martin I Moir, Douglas M. Peers and Lynn Zastoupil, *J.S. Mill's Encounter with India* (London:University of Toronto Press, 1999) & Michael S. Dodson, *Orientalism, Empire and National Culture: India, 1770–1880* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

public life. These, trends included conservatism, romanticism, liberalism, utilitarianism, Malthusianism, laissez-faire, Social Darwinism, and nationalism.[2]

In the construction of the discourse on India, the complex ideological undercurrents of Britain relied not only on their prejudices against India but also on their experiences of the land. Bearce and Metcalf have investigated how the languages, social customs, religious practices, physicality and body, the economic and political system of India were studied by Orientalists, missionaries, and administrators.[3] However, no matter how rigorous British endeavors to understand India were, the moral and intellectual codes they employed for understanding India and its people, they were often inflected with bias and the the vested interests of different groups. The nineteenth century was the great transitory period for Britain when the old systems were crumbling down in all walks of life, thus paving the way for new standards for evaluating society and civilization.[4] Therefore, they employed their own contesting and changing civilizational and social standards as the yardstick for assessing India.[5] Even first-generation English-educated Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy, primarily because of his insistence on western learning, adopted western standards to evaluate Indian society and regard it as the best manual for India's future.[6]

What was common in the conflicting and contesting colonial discourses about India was its decline in all spheres of life. Colonizers portrayed India as an unchanging civilization having a crude social, religious, economic, and political system. In contrast to Britain, India lacked physical prowess, technology, leadership, rational mind, modern education, and its people still tied up in caste hierarchies, following feudal customs, and practicing primitive craftsmanship.[7] Hence the colonial discourse was highly critical of anything Indian or oriental. With the power to construct a discourse about India through the knowledge they had acquired, the colonizer's de facto objective was to find a rationale for their project of colonization. Out of this nexus between

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[2] George D Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press; 1961) & Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[3] Ibid
[4] See, Richard Brown, *Society and Economy in Modern Britain, 1700–1850* (London: Routledge, 1991).
[5] George D Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press; 1961) & Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[6] Bruce Carlisle Robertson, *Raja Rammoahn Ray: The father of modern India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 25-26.
[7] See, Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959) & Udayon Misra, "Nineteenth Century British Views of India: Crystallisation of Attitudes," *Economic and Political Weekly* 19, no. 4 (1984): 14-21.

knowledge and power comes the imperial notion of 'The White Man's Burden' and 'Civilizing Mission."[8]Accordingly, the colonial discourse also created a narrative of the Indian body's physical degeneration and employed it to justify colonial rule.

The colonial practice of certifying the natives (Indians subjects were referred to as natives in colonial writings in the nineteenth century) as unsoldierly, cowardly, frail, indolent, and effeminate can be traced back to the late eighteenth century when the empire had was still being cobbled together. Immediately after conquering Bengal, East India Company officials embarked on acquiring an understanding of the local cultures. One of the earliest expressions of British stereotyping the native body as degraded can be found in the work of British historian Robert Orme. As early as the 1770's Orme, also a physician and surgeon in the service of the British East India Company, in his book titled *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the Year MDCCXLV,* wrote:

> …to debase all the essential qualities of the human race, and notwithstanding the general effeminacy of character which is visible in all the Indians throughout the empire, the natives of Bengal are still of weaker frame, and more enervated disposition than those of any other province: bodily strength, courage, and fortitude are unknown: even the labour of the common people is totally void of energy; and they are of a stupidity which neither wishes nor seems to be capable of extending its operations in any variety of mechanical dexterity."[9]

Among influential imperial ideologues on the British's racial superiority over Indians was Charles Grant, a British Parliamentarian. He also served as the Chairman of the East India Company. Influenced by evangelical Christianity, Grant championed the cause of the missionary enterprise in India. Grant had first-hand experience of India, and on his return to England, he became a member of the House of Commons and wrote a highly critical treatise on India in 1792.[10] In his treatise, *Observation on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of improving it,* he desired to

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[8] See, Fischer-Tine, Harald and Michael Mann, eds., *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004) & Arun Banerji, *"White Man's Burden: India and Britain in the 19th Century," Economic and Political Weekly* 40, no. 27 (2005): 2973-2978.

[9] Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan: From the Year MDCCLV To which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Establishments Made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*. Vol. I, The Fourth Edition (Madras: Printed for F. Wingrave, 1804), 5.

[10] For more on Charles Grant affairs in India, see, Ainslie Thomas Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

improve the physicality, moral and social customs of Hindus according to standards of Evangelical Christianity. On European racial superiority and effeteness of Hindus, he wrote, *"Whilst an European, deriving a superiority from his race, or from the station he is appointed to fill, regards only in a distinct speculative way the effeminate exterior, adulatory address, and submissive demeanor of the Hindoos, he naturally enough conceives them to be a people in whom the mild and gentle qualities predominates."*[11]

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, a French missionary J. Abbe Dubois, who was stationed in Mysore, observed Hindus as lacking courage and physical strength and categorized Indians based on their supposed bodily features. His treatise, written in French and translated into English in 1817, portrayed Hindu natives as a distinct race that was physically inferior to their East India Company official's masters. To quote from his account:

> In general, the Hindoos have the forehead small, the face thinner and more meager than the Europeans; and they are also very much inferior to them in strength and other physical qualities. They are lean, feeble, and incapable of supporting the labours and fatigues which the other race are habituated to. This feebleness is, no doubt occasioned by the nature of the climate. In the northern parts of the kingdom, firmer fibres produce a proportionate degree of resolution: in the southern parts, all is sensibility…southward of Lahore we find throughout India a race of men whose make, physiognomy and muscular strength, convey ideas of effeminacy.[12]

James Mill's magnum opus, *The History of India*, published in three volumes in 1817, became the standard textbook for understanding India for officials trained for civil service posted in India. His book acquired for him a reputation of an authority on Indian subjects. Mill, being a utilitarian reformer and a critic of the feudal system, applied the standard of modern Europe and ancient Greece to judge India's people.[13] He ascribed corrupt cultural and religious customs, climate, and sense of idleness for the physical degeneration of Hindus. *"The characters of the gods, and the licentiousness which prevails at their festivals, and abounds in their popular*

[11] Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain: Particularly with Respect to Morals; and on the Means of Improving It* (Ordered by The House of Common, to be printed, 15 June 1813), 31.
[12] Jean Antoine Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India and of their Institutions, Religious and Civil*. Translated from the French Manuscript (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 201.
[13] James Mill, *The History of British India* Vol. I (London: Printed for Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, Paternoster Row, 1817), 70-72, 186-187, and 203-214.

works, with the enervating nature of the climate, have made the Hindoos the most effeminate and corrupt people on earth," wrote James Mill.[14] For Mill, Hindus *"possess certain softness both in their persons and in their address' that distinguished them from the 'manlier races' of Europe"*. Mill's impression of the sluggish character of the Indian body can further be reflected from the following extract from his history. He wrote:

> This listless apathy and corporal weakness of the natives of Hindustan, have been ascribed to the climate under which they live. But other nations, subject to the influence of as warm as the sun, are neither indolent nor weak; the Malays, for example the Arabians, the Chinese. The savage is listless and indolent under every clime. In general, this disposition must arise from the absence of the motives to work; because the pain of moderate labour so very gentle, that even feeble pleasures which springs from the fruits of labour are so many and great, that the prospect for them, where allowed to operate, can seldom fail to produce the exertions which they required. There is a state of barbarity and rudeness which implies, perhaps, a weakness of mind too great to be capable of perceiving, with a clearness sufficient to operate upon the will, the benefits of labour.[15]

In 1824 the missionary Bishop Heber in his narrative of Bengal's journey, stated that Bengalis were regarded as "the greatest cowards of India," and partly because of this reputation and "partly to their inferior size," they were not recruited in the ranks of sepoy regiments.[16] Other prominent early nineteenth-century ideologues of imperialism, such as the Governor-General William Bentinck and Thomas Babington Macaulay, significantly boosted the narrative of effeteness and effeminacy of the Bengali character. As Ashis Nandy argues colonialism was identified with not only economic gain and political power, there was a moral, intellectual and physiological underpinning to it. Thus, to mark the disjunctions between rulers and native subjects, colonizers always emphasized fundamental differences between the two in every aspect of life viz. political, social, cultural and last but not the least physical.[17] In this context, Bengalis Bentinck wrote were: *"a mere flock of sheep good only for their valuable fleeces, and having no*

[14] Ibid., 425
[15] Ibid., 480-481
[16] Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India: From Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1825*, Volume I (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, MDCCCXXVIII), 85.
[17] Ashis Nandy, "The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age, and Ideology in British India,"*Psychiatry* 45, no.3 (1982): 197-219.

political or military character whatever."[18] Interestingly he draws such a conclusion of Bengali physicality in contrast to North India, where according to him, lives a 'brave population' who were the 'strength and courage' of the empire.[19] However, in comparison to the British race, Bentinck regarded north Indian natives still deficient in physical strength and moral energy, who only under British direction could be trained into a warlike class.

Thus, in the project of the somatic ordering of the native population, colonial officials portrayed Bengalis as the most effeminate people among the otherwise less timid natives of India. But it does not mean that the 'others' stand in parallel with the Europeans in terms of manliness. The case of Bentinck well illustrates the point that north Indian people may have the "strength and courage," but they needed benevolent British rule for training them into a disciplined and obeying martial class. To be sure, it was not until the early twentieth century that the categorization of Indian people based on their martial traits crystallised.[20] Before discussing some of the early twentieth-century colonial attitudes towards the physicality of Indian people, let us not skip dominant imperialists like Thomas Babington Macaulay and other like-minded colonial ideologues. Their conception of the native body implicitly or explicitly manifested in some complex political controversies around physicality and race in late nineteenth-century India.[21]

Thomas Babington Macaulay, the champion of liberal utilitarian reforms in India and the first Law Member of the Governor Generals Council, is typical and the most cited source representing colonial discourse depicting Bengali effeminacy. In one of his essays on Robert Clive, Macaulay described Bengalis in the following words, *"Whatever the Bengali does, he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane he seldom engages in*

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[18] John Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck: The Making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774-1839* (Berkeley and New York: University of California Press, 1974), 193.

[19] Ibid

[20] See, Pradeep Barua, "Inventing Race: The British and India's Martial Races," *The Historian* 58, no. 1 (Autumn 1995): 107-116 & Heather Streets, *Martial races. The military, race and masculinity in British imperial culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[21] See, Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The Manly Englishmen and the Effeminate Bengali in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).
Sinha explores controversy around supposed effeminate Indian manifested in the Ilbert Bill controversy (1883-84), Native Volunteer Movement (1885-86), Public Service Commission (1886-87) and Age of Consent controversy (1891)

personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. There never perhaps existed a people so thoroughly fitted by habit for a foreign yoke."[22] This was explained in terms of Bengali feebleness that also served as the justification for British rule. For Macaulay, this feebleness had significant implications on the moral and physical character of the Bengalis. The following extract from Macaulay's other essay expresses the classical stereotyping of the Bengali's body as effete and feeble. He writes:

> The Physical organization of the Bengalis is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapor bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purpose of mainly resistance; but its suppleness and tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt.[23]

William Bentinck and Thomas Macaulay's attitudes towards the native body demonstrated the colonial imaginary of India. This imaginary of physical differences between Indian subjects and British rulers, Linsley argues later promoted the racial classification of Indians manifested in the so-called scientific demonstrationof cognitive inferiority of non-white imperial subjects.[24] Thus, after the revolt of 1857, there appeared a marked shift in the colonial discourse of masculinity of the Indian body. The violent outburst during the mutiny led them to rethink native masculinity more carefully. Macaulay's characterization of the Bengalis effeminacy prevailed, but from the 1860s-70s, there began a more serious attempt to define the so-called effeminate and martial races in India. In the changing socio-political environment, when nationalist sentiments were burgeoning under the newly emergent English-educated middle-class leadership, colonial officials felt the necessity of identifying a class of people who can more accurately be certified effeminate. As Miralini Sinha has pointed out, in the late nineteenth century, the social and

[22] Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Essays, Critical and Miscellaneous,* Revised Edition (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1859), 325.
[23] Lord Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays* (London: George Routledge and Sons Limited, 1898), 636.
[24] Brett Linsley, "Feeble to Effeminacy: Race and Gender in the British Imperial Consciousness 1837-1901," *Grand Valley Journal of History* 2, no. 2 (2013): 1-11.

somatic reordering of the subject population and the concept of effeminacy acquired a more specific meaning and became much more virulent and racist.[25]

Before 1857, specifically Bengalis and to a slightly lesser degree, majority of Indian subjects were labelled as feeble, effete, unmanly, and effeminate. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the once loosely defined effeminate category was applied mainly to the English-educated middle-class Indians. In fact, two processes were at work simultaneously. In late nineteenth century Bengal, the concept of effeminacy was narrowed down to refer to English educated natives (popularly called babus), a large majority of whom were Hindus. At the same time, the concept of effeminacy was further expanded to include the newly emergent English-educated middle-class of the whole country, whose political discontentment with the colonial government was creating a conflict at various levels.[26] Two of the leading newspapers based in Calcutta confirm that the term babus alluded to English-educated middle-class Indians. A report in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* at the time reads, "*if any one of the dumb millions gets his tongue, he becomes a babu at once and then it is only a babu who speaks"*. Accordingly, another famous daily 'Bengalee' asserted that "*in Anglo Indian parlance [the English educated natives of the country] are all babus, whether they be Parsees or Sikhs or Mahrattas or Madrasis."*[27]

The effeminacy and effeteness ascribed to Indians was evoked by colonial officials in many political controversies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In 1883 a controversy was raised by the Indian judges over the question of the jurisdiction of Europeans. Known as the 'Ilbert Bill' controversy, it presents a typical case of colonial racism where the class of people charged as effeminate were not allowed to judge otherwise superior manly people. In opposition to the bill, the stereotype of Bengali effeminacy was intensely applied. During the Ilbert Bill controversy, an English civil servant, John Strachey, in the course of lectures on India before the Cambridge University, said, "*It has often been said, and is probably true, that Bengal is the only country in the world where you can find a great population among whom personal cowardice is looked upon as in no way disgraceful. This is no invention of their enemies; the Bengalis have*

[25] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity The Manly Englishman and the Effeminate Bengali in the late Nineteenth Century* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 14-15.
[26] Ibid., 16
[27] Amrita Bazar Partake [Calcutta], 27 Mar. 1887 & Bengalee [Calcutta], 10 Oct. 1891 cited in Ibid., 29

themselves no shame or scruple in declaring it to be a fact."[28] According to Strachey, the Bengalis' physical characteristics were so weak that it was impossible to recruit them in the army. Even the door-keeper, who guards the entrance to the house of well-off people in Bengal,*"is invariably a man of the more vigorous races of one of the northern provinces,"* said Strachey.[29]In 1892 on the matter of the Ilbert Bill, Sir Lepel Griffin, an Anglo-Indian official, wrote an essay titled 'The Place of Bengalis in Politics.' His essay is a classical specimen of the discourse on colonial masculinity. According to Griffin, Bengali men and Englishwomen both were ineligible from playing a practical part in the politics of their respective countries because both possessed feminine traits. But for Griffin, feminine features were natural for the Englishwomen, whereas for the Bengali men, it was unnatural and made them the objects of disgrace and ridicule. Griffin had the following to say about the feminine traits of the Bengali man:

> The characteristics of women which disqualify them for public life and its responsibilities are inherent in their sex and are worthy of honour, for to be womanly is the highest praise for a woman, as to be masculine is her worst reproach, but when men, as the Bengalis are disqualified for political enfranchisement by the possession of essentially feminine characteristics, they must expect to be held in such contempt by stronger and braver races, who have fought for such liberties as they have won or retained.[30]

However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, a new turn can be discerned in the colonial practice of categorizing Indians based on their physical attributes. Following Schopenhauer, Darwin, and Spencer's evolutionary theories, the anthropological typologies of scientifically classifying the human population became a fashion among the British officials positioned in India. This gave way for scientific racism that certified ideas of racial superiority.[31] Herbert Hope Risley, a British ethnographer and a long-time administrator in India presented a so-called scientific classification of the Indian people that was racist. He divided Indians along two lines, caste and race. Based upon his ethnographic study, he classified Indians into seven castes, and racially he divided them into Aryan and Dravidian races by measuring the ratio of the width of a

[28] Sir John. Strachey, *India* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1888), 355.
[29] Ibid., 366
[30] Lepel Griffin, "The Place of Bengalis in Politics," *The Fortnightly Review* 51 (1892): 811.
[31] See, P. D. Curtin, "Scientific Racism and The British Theory of Empire*," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, no. 1 (1960): 40-51.

nose of people living in different parts of India.[32] Even in Risley's classification of the Indian race based upon the so-called theory of scientific racism was as we know today pseudo-scientific, Bengalis were at the bottom of the pyramid. In *'People of India'* published in 1908, he wrote*:*

> A hungry Bengali cries' Rice, rice'- is the gibe of the fighting races at a diet associated in their minds with effeminacy and cowardice. 'Twelve Bengali cannot cut off a goat's ear imputes fearlessness and timidity in more direct terms.' 'An Eastern donkey with a Western bray' is a hit at the Bengali Babus who affect European manners and dress.'[33]

From the twentieth century onwards, this portraiture of Hindus extended to the South, Bombay, and Kashmir regions. General Garrett O'Moore Creagh, a British Army Officer, in his ethnographic work 'Indian Studies'(1919), noted that in the greater part of India, which has a hot climate, were *"found races, timid both by religion and habit, servile to their superiors, but tyrannical to their inferiors, and is quite unwarlike."* He further wrote, *"In other parts, the area of which is relatively small, where the winter is cold, "the warlike minority is found, but its component peoples vary greatly in military virtues."*[34] The Sikhs, despite being an oriental people, surprised colonizers by their physical valour. General J. H. Gordan writes of the Sikhs; *"They stand out predominantly as men of action, who have preserved inherited racial characteristics foreign to Orientalists, and evolved themselves by the strength of their own arms into one of the finest military types to be found anywhere."*[35] Whereas Frederick Roberts, who served as Commander-in-Chief of India, while writing about South Indian Hindus, concluded that the *"ancient military spirit had died in them, as it had died in the ordinary Hindustani of Bengal and Mahratta of Bombay, and that they could no longer with safety be pitted against warlike races, or employed outside the limits of South India."*[36]

As far as Kashmiris were concerned, Lieutenant General of Royal Field Artillery, George Macmunn, considered them one of India's most cowardly people despite their good physical appearance. He writes that though Kashmiris appear robust compared to most Indian people, but

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[32] See, Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2004), 190-216.
[33] Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Calcutta: Printed at Thacker, Spink and Co., 1908), 144.
[34] O'Moore Creagh, *Indian Studies* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1919), 234.
[35] John J. H. Gordan, *The Sikhs* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, and London, 1904), 1-2.
[36] Byron Farwell, *Armies of the Raj, From the Great Mutiny to Independence: 1858-1947* (New York-London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989), 181.

"*Kashmiri should have not an ounce of physical courage in his constitution. Nor are appearances of any use as a criterion. Some of the most manly-looking people in India are in this respect the most despicable."*[37] Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe, a British missionary appointed to a school run by the Church Missionary Society in Srinagar, had a similar impression of the Kashmiri people's physique, especially pundits. For Tyndale-Biscoe Kashmiris, not only were they dirty, but they were utterly unmanly, while at the same time they thought of themselves superior to all creatures.[38]

Thus, representing Indians as either 'martial' or 'effeminate' based on complex caste and racial classification was established by the early decades of the twentieth century. Such classifications not only allowed the continuation of a colonial discourse of the effeteness of the Indian body but accorded it so-called anthropological sanction.[39] Importantly enough, there was a space in this classification of identifying a particular 'caste' or 'race' of Indian men as martial without negating the overall assumption of the effeteness of Indians. This served two purposes. Firstly, of incorporating all Indian men (mostly English-educated middle-class) in the colonial discourse of effeminacy and then categorizing the supposed martial Indian races to be uneducated, barbaric, and uncivilized.

Interestingly, the class of English-educated Indians from which the voices of political discontent emerged was portrayed as effete and effeminate and was thus unqualified for ruling the country. The national movement had taken a great leap forward from the 1870s, and therefore the physique of Gandhi in particular and middle-class Indian leaders, in general, became a matter of ridicule for the colonial officials. Simultaneously, the Indians who were classed as martial races were considered uneducated and uncivilized. Therefore, they were incompetent for self-rule and required a benevolent colonial government to civilize them. Colonel J. S. E. Western stands out as a colonial official who in the early twentieth century wrote during the non-corporation movement:

[37] Ibid., 129 -130
[38] E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, E D, *Fifty Years Against the Stream: The Story of a School in Kashmir* (Mysore: Welsyan Mission Press, 1930), 11.
[39]Abhik Roy & Michele L. Hammers, "The Recuperation of Hindu Manhood: Echoes of the Past in Present Day Hindu Nationalism,"*Comparative Literature: East & West* 21, no. 1 (2014): 24-23.

> I do not suppose race characteristics are anywhere more markedly accentuated than in the East. The fighting races are fighting races, generally uneducated, plucky, hardly, but shrewd. The non-fighting classes who never possessed the desirable virtue of courage…On the Might is Right axiom they will inevitably in the future succumb to the more virile type, just as they have alwaysdone in the past, and when the support now afforded to the educated, discontented, cowardly agitators who follow Mr. Gandhi is withdrawn, these political revolutionaries will, unless Eastern history does not repeat itself, again find themselves under the yoke of the more belligerent clans- and a good thing too.[40]

In the later colonial discourses on the Indian body, Brahmin and Kayastha's castes, the primary beneficiaries of English education and that mostly formed the anti-colonial political leadership were stereotyped as effeminate. General Garrett O'Moore Creagh, on the one hand, put the Kayastha, Brahmin, and Bania castes into an unwarlike category of which the Indian National Congress was formed, on the other hand, he found certain martial races of India undisciplined and uneducated. However, he considered both incompetent to take on the responsibility of self-government. To quote General Garrett O'Moore Creagh's from *Indian Studie*s (1919):

> There is as great disparity between the people of the Punjab, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. It is from the warlike classes only that the armies of India have for long centuries been recruited, and for equally long centuries the warlike peoples have been at enmity with one another, but they have, nevertheless, always ruled the unwarlike majority which suffers under the same disunion as they do. Certain castes of the unwarlike majority have for long ages been used by the conquering races as their agents in oppression and it is because of the tyrannical disposition of such castes to those who were placed at their mercy that the peoples of India will strongly resent being again put under them. Especially objectionable on this account are the Kayastha, Brahmin and Bania castes, and it is of these or other unwarlike classes that the Indian National Congress and such bodies are almost altogether composed.[41]

The construction of India's martial and un-martial races received a fillip from Lieutenant General of the Royal Field Artillery, George Macmunn. Though he categorized certain Indians into warlike classes, he further nurtured more than a century-old narrative of effeminate Indians against the manly Englishmen by referring to the militant classes as an exception. In *The Army of*

[40]J. S. E. Western, *Reminiscences of an Indian cavalry officer* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Ruskin House, 1922), 259.
[41] O'Moore Creagh, *Indian Studies* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1919), 233-234.

India (1911), explaining the essential differences between the Eastern and the Western race, he argued that with certain exceptions, only certain clans and classes could bear arms in India, and on the whole, Indians lack the physical courage necessary for the warrior.[42] Like O'Moore Creagh, Macmunn was also very critical of the physical appearance of Gandhi and English-educated middle-class leaders. Following Risley's anthropological theory, he explained why India's martial races were incapable of taking political responsibility. Macmunn, in *The Martial Races of India*,published as late as 1936, mocked Gandhi, and was astonished how Hindus like Sikhs, Rajputs, and Marathas appeared to be courageous and warriors in contrast to the general Hindu population who are such weaklings. To quote him, *"Who and what are the martial races of India, how do they come, and in what crucible, on what anvils hot with pain spring the soldiers of India, whom surely Baba Ghandhi ever fathered?"*[43] O'Moore Creagh and Macmunn very well demonstrate that even in late colonial India British officials, saw Indians as feeble people in contrast to manly Europeans. Broadly speaking, late imperialism still thrived on the colonial discourse of effeminacy of the Indian body and character. According to Macmunn, *"But in India we speak of the martial races as a thing apart and because the mass of the people have neither martial aptitude nor courage…the courage that should talk of colloquially as 'gut'"*.[44] He further writes:

> India has a population of 350 millions. During the World War when the empire asked India for some more men, the Army Recruitment Board at Delhi and Shimla spread their net very wide, and searched into every possible pocket where men of martial proclivities and a modicum of galvanizable physical courage might be found. They estimated that not more than ten per cent., perhaps twenty-five million souls, men and women, old men and children existed, from among whose males of suitable ages soldiers could be found.[45]

The Simon Commission, referred to as The Indian Statutory Commission, appointed by the British parliament in 1928 to study constitutional reform in India, discussed India's races and their demand for self-rule. The commission pointed out that races that constitute fighting regiments (Punjabis, Pathan, Sikhs, and Marathas) represent only a portion of India's manhood. If the British withdraw from India, they might create a menace to the country's integrity as the

[42] G. F, Macmunn, *The Army of India* (London; Adam and Charkes Black, 1911), 129.
[43] George MacMunn, *The Martial Race of India* (London: Low, Marston & Company, 1936), 1.
[44] Ibid., 2
[45] Ibid

educated intelligentsia that comprised the ranks of political statesmen might not be able to deal with the complexities of the realization of self-government.[46] Thus, there were sections among British officials who thought that certain martial races, due to their possession of character and physical characteristics, were fit to take the responsibility of ruling India in the future. Later British administrators and officials believed that the curious temperamental feud between them and the effeminate intelligentsia was likely to endure. As the Simon Commission concluded, without British control, India would be ruthlessly dominated by the martial races. Therefore, John Simon and MacMunn opined that given sufficient discipline and control from the colonial government, the military classes of India could be trained to take up the responsibility of self-government for the "more virile development" of the country.[47]

Thus, throughout the colonial period, imperial ideologues constructed a discourse that demeaned the physicality and character of Indians and employed it as a justification for their political ineffectiveness and military inaction. The trope of the degenerate and feeble Indian became the convenient ideological tool in the service of colonialism. Importantly enough, the colonial discourse on the Indian body and physicality was shaped by the notions of effeminacy and effeteness. The native's subjects' degraded body was explained in terms of race, climate, diet, and socio-religious customs. However, the larger question that has to be addressed in the next section is how colonized subjects, i.e., Indians took up the colonial discourse that stereotyped them as effete and effeminate on the ground of their degraded body and character.

Self-Image of Effeteness; Explaining Physical Degeneration

The long-standing colonial discourse of effeteness of the Indian body produced some serious repercussions. From the 1850s onwards, a parallel counter discourse emerged from the class of English-educated Indians. These self-conscious semi-political social leaders read the colonial narrative of their physical degeneracy literally. It appears that they were largely convinced of the colonial discourse that attributes them effete and effeminate. Like, their colonial masters, this class of Indians sought to explain the causes responsible for their physical decadence. This was a part of the critique of colonialism and self-introspection centered on questioning the causes

[46] *Simon Commission Report of India (Indian Statutory Commission),* Volume 1 (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930), 98.
[47] Ibid & George MacMunn, *The Martial Race of India* (London: Low, Marston & Company, 1936), 353-354.

responsible for their underdevelopment and conquest. What made them distinct from their colonial counterparts, apart from explaining their physical degeneracy in terms other than colonial ideologues was that they also sought to remedy their condition.[48]

At least four trends can be noticed in the writings of Indian intellectuals since the 1850s. First, they perceived their physical degradation as a civilizational crisis. Second, these social leaders explained their physical decline in the same terms described in the colonial discourse: environmental, climate, eating habits, genetic, and socio-religious. However, things began to change when English educated Indians appeared on the scene who questioned these causes: the environmental, genetic, and racial explanations of their physical decadence. They explained their effeteness in terms, absent in the colonial discourse. They blamed literary-based English education and the decline of the indigenous physical culture tradition as the two most important causes for the continued state of physical feebleness of their body. The third trend was the invention a golden past of physical culture and its decline in recent history. Lastly, the fourth trend was intrinsic to the process of colonialism, where the colonized drew upon the system and practices of their rulers in search of remedies for their physical decadence. Collaboration and resistance with the rulers operated simultaneously.[49]

As Rosselli has shown in her study of Bengal, the image of effeteness was received by the Bengali middle class and elite unhesitatingly. For instance, "physically about the weakest people in India", "Lilliputian in size and weak in constitution", "in mere physique and courage inferior to Englishmen," were tropes appearing in articles in Bengali newspapers of the 1860s and 1870s.[50] However, Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty, the first Indian to pass the Indian Medical Service examination and later to become the first Indian Professor at the Calcutta Medical College, as early as 1852, shared the colonial representation of the Indian body. On the 8th of January 1852, while speaking at the Bethune Society on sanitation in Calcutta, he concluded that East Indians, unlike Europeans, were living examples of *"the passive exercise of*

[48] John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal." *Past & Present* no. 86 (February 1980): 121-148 & Utsa Ray, "The body and its purity: Dietary politics in colonial Bengal,"*The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 50, no.4 (2013): 395-421.

[49] Rajat Kanta Ray, *Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875-1927* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), 13-15.

[50] National Paper, 2 September 1868; National Paper, 19 May 1869; 'Dialogue of the Chit-Chat Club' in Bengali Magazine, Volume I, no. 4, November 1872 cited in John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal," *Past & Present* no. 86 (February 1980): 121-148.

bodily and mental powers."[51] He exemplified these "passive" East Indians and their unhealthy habits with idle fat landlords (zemindars). He said:

> With regard to cases of deceased habits, these are too common both to be noticed. Every fat Zamindar whose chief pleasure consists in pampering himself, leaving the conduct of his affairs in the hands of others, is a true picture of idleness, who feels it too great a trouble even to eat his meals. Each of those philosophers, who are constantly poring over books and manuscripts, neglecting even the most ordinary kinds of exercise, is a moving mass of consumption, whose life is not worth a wager and whose faculties are properly distrusted by worldly men, on account of their being in a state of morbid excitement.[52]

Similarly, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the reputed Bengali novelist, was also critical of his fellow Bengalis' physical appearance. To Bankim, *"Bengali never had a physical valour"* and this lack was admitted when he asked, *"Why are Bengalis not courageous?"*[53] Rabindranath Tagore's niece, Sarala Debi Ghosal, and Swami Vivekananda were also convinced of t Bengali effeteness. In a letter to Sarala Debi on 'The Education that India needs,' Vivekananda writes, *"Alas, this frame is poor, moreover, the physique of a Bengali"*, while explaining that the education Bengali boys used to receive was very harmful.[54] This chorus of the physical effeteness of Bengali, as we will see, came to characterize all Indians as feeble by the end of the nineteenth century and after.

For Rajnarayan Basu (1826–1899), who launched the movement for establishing a gymnasium in late nineteenth-century Bengal, the degraded body of Bengalis was a matter of investigation. He devoted a detailed discussion on how Bengalis physical prowess and health had experienced decline. Elucidating the reasons that, according to him, had caused this decline, he mentioned the lack of exercise and sports among children as one of the reasons.[55] He also condemned English

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[51] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture I – Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta, 18th January 1852,"in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 12.
[52] Ibid., 13
[53] Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, "The Physical Valour of the Bengalis' (1874)," in *Bankim Racanabali*Volume II (Calcutta: Ashok Book Agency, 1953-1969), 209-213.
[54] The Education that India Needs (Written to Shrimati Sarala Ghosal, B.A., Editor, Bharti, from Darjeeling, 24th April, 1897. Translated from Bengali) in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Volume 4* Letters of Swami Vivekananda (Calcutta: 1964), 393.
[55] See, Anwesha Sengupta*, Sharir', 'Shanto Chele', 'Svalpo Bidya': Rajnarayan Basu and his Perception on Education,* 151-158.

education and called it *"a machine for killing human beings."*[56]The explanations put forward by the English educated Bengali bhadralok for the cause of their physical degradation turned to the climate and food habits. Bankim Chandra went so far as to explain the effeteness of Bengalis along genetic lines. He imputed Bengali's lack of physical strength to their non-Aryan origin.[57] However, most crucially the physical decadence of the Bengalis in particular and Indians in general were explained in historical, cultural, social, and educational terms. The trope of physical and civilizational decline was frequently employed. The colonial educational system was blamed for neglecting the health of the native body and for its feebleness. Social institutions were also contemplated as one of the causes for their physical degradation. However, the indigenous English-educated literati from whom the political leadership later emerged mainly emphasized historical and educational factors to explain the physical degradation of the colonized body. This served a dual purpose. On the one hand, it offered the scope of revitalizing their degraded body by demanding physical education as part of educational reform.[58] Whereas on the other hand, the trope of decline activated the evocation of a golden past of physical culture. The evocation of a golden age not only stimulated confidence among educated Indians but also granted them hope for its resurgence. Such an imaginary is counter-hegemonic, thus challenging the very logic on which colonialism was based.

Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty, spent a considerable amount of time in England studying medical science from 1845-50 and was impressed by the British way of life that he even embraced Christianity before returning to India. Though persuaded of the colonial discourse of effeteness of the Bengali body and the European race's superiority, unlike colonial ideologues who credited this advantage to the race and climate, Chuckerbutty thought otherwise. He found the social and educational institutions of Europe to be responsible for the development of the combination of intellectual and physical faculties. In contrast, he found Indian social institutions very crude and feudal that promoted physical inactivity. Addressing the audience at Calcutta on March 9th, 1854 on the subject 'Physical training as an essential requisite of Native Education', he spoke, *"The greatest men in every department of knowledge exist at present only among*

[56] Rajnarayan Basu, *Se kal ar e kal [Yesterday and Tomorrow]* (Calcutta: 1874), 38-53.
[57] Bankim Chandra, "Bangalirbahubal," In *Racanabali* Volume II (Calcutta: Sansad, 1956), 209-213.
[58] Paul Dimeo, "A Parcel of Dummies? Sport and the Body in Indian History," in *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*, eds. James H Mills and Satadru Sen (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 40-53.

European races; and these races are, likewise, the most powerful and perseveringon the face of earth. Many are disposed to ascribe this advantage to their climate; but I think, on the contrary, that the cause of it is to be found in the advanced state of their social institutions".[59]

Though Chuckerbutty was very impressed with European racial attributes, he comprehended it not in terms of the natural selection of species. At least a decade before Social Darwinism became a fashion and deployed to justify racism[60], Chuckerbutty acquired a critical stance towards racism. As he said, *"The inhabitants of the Tropics are black, because that region is intended for their habitation. The inhabitants of the colder latitudes were white because the sun is less powerful on them… in like manner the proteus, which dwells in caves, when exposed to sun, becomes coloures, losing its former translucency of surface. The pride of colour, there is as foolish in man as it could be in that humble creature."*[61] He argued in an another speech titled, 'A Defense of Native Education in India during the Sepoy Mutiny of 18557-58' delivered on 8th July 1858, that the physical, intellectual and moral inferiority of the natives as compared to Europeans was an argument developed in the eighteenth century and imposed on the ignorant men of that time. He further argued that an appeal to such an idea in the latter half of the nineteenth century, in defiance of facts and experience and abandonment of education, was foolish as it was opposed to every well-cherished principal of the modern age.[62] In fact, it was part of a wider critique of racism that was emerging globally. It can safely be said that Chuckerbutty's view of European racial superiority dwelt upon their advanced social and educational institutions.[63] Therefore, he opined that if Indians too can reform their social institutions on European lines through modern education, they also can acquire manly characteristics associated with the European race.

Being an educated Bengali, Soorjo Coomar Chuckerbutty not only admitted the Bengali's self-image of effeteness but also he was one of the earliest Indian to acknowledge colonial

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[59] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture II-Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education, March 9th 1854,"in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 38.

[60] Ray Hall Byrd, "*Social Darwinism and British Imperialism, 1870-1900,"* MA thesis., (Texas Tech University, 1971)

[61] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "A Defense of Native Education in India during the Sepoy Mutiny of 18557-58," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interest* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 85.

[62] Ibid., p.88

[63] Chuckerbutty had a close tie with the professor of comparative anatomy, Robert Edmond Grant, who previously taught Charles Darwin. Professor Grant also mentored Chuckerbutty and allowed him to be involved in three of his natural history expeditions around Europe.
See, Abhiroop Sengupta, "Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty: Sowing the seeds of change for generations to come," *Asian Voice* (Friday 12th August 2016).

categorization of Indian people based on alleged martial traits related to particular groups of people. While discussing the question of education of Indian people in the context of understanding the causes of the mutiny, he spoke, *"In physical development the greatest variety prevails everywhere, and so we find it among the people of India. As a general rule, the natives of the plains are less hardy than those of the mountains. The brave Seikhs, Rajputs, Marattas and Pathans are perhaps as good in this respect as the inhabitants of many European countries; while the Bengallees, hardly inferior to any in point of intelligence, have a feeble physical frame."*[64]

Chuckerbutty's explanation of the effeteness of Bengalis led him to decode their social and educational organization. He presented a cursory sketch of his fellow countrymen's life to understand the defects in their social institutions. He described how in a caste-ridden Indian society, a boy is surrounded by an unnecessary religious body of rituals; he remains naked, wild, rude, vicious, spoilt, and vulgar.[65] Even after initiating the formal learning of the alphabet and arithmetic, the Gurumohashoy (teacher) discourages all the temptations at playing and bodily exercise in his pupils. Dislike for physical exertion was thus inculcated among the youth. Interestingly, Chuckerbutty found that English schools in India also promoted a disinterest in physical labour. An extended extract from his speech on the necessity of physical training not only throws light on the life of school-going Indian boys of the second half of the nineteenth century but tells us something about the social relations and education of the time.

> When he is eight or nine (or, if a Brahmin has been invested with his sacred thread) under favorable circumstances, he is sent to school for studying English. Here he is thrown among a large number of children of his age and of all classes, similarly brought up and having a similar dislike to physical exertion. Except when absolutely engaged with his lessons, therefore he sits with a knot of these boys, and gossips about this mam's faults that man's virtues, and other man's vices; this man's wife, that man's daughter and other man's mistress…The school hours over, and he hurries home, where after a little refreshment, we see him once more sitting down at dice, cards, chess, or chat, with some of his neighbors. The night comes on, the clock strikes nine, and

[64] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "A Defense of Native Education in India during the Sepoy Mutiny of 18557-58," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interest* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 88.
[65] For caste in nineteenth century Bengali society, see, Neha Chatterjee, "Perspectives on Caste: The Nineteenth-Century Bengali," *Literati* (2018).
https://www.sahapedia.org/perspectives-caste-the-nineteenth-century-bengali-literati

> then, perhaps, he goes to his supper. This finished he retires to his chamber, takes up a book, does over it, is disgusted, shuts it up, and lies down to sleep. The morning dawns, and he leaves his bed, seizes his books, learns by rote his lessons, bathes, breakfasts, and return to school. He is now sixteen years old, married, and perhaps called on to choose his line of life. He reflects on the 7 or 8 years he has already spent at school, the progress he has made and the probability of his gaining a scholarship. If he despairs of the letter, he at once gives up his studies and devotes his time to the improvement of his handwriting so that he may soon become a clerk. If he believes in his chances of success, he carries a few seasons more at school, exhaust all his scholarships, becomes the father of a family, and then seeks some public employment, either a s a teacher, or as a clerk, or as a moonsiff, deputy collector, deputy magistrate, or mercantile assistant. There he is now at his office working away from 10 o'clock in the morning till 4 o'clock in the afternoon. After this he believes himself tired, returns home, washes himself, eats, chats, says his prayers, jokes, sups, and retire to rest. The morning finds him asleep, he awakes at eight or nine, smoke his hookah, performs his ablutions, passes through his payers, breakfasts, dresses, walk to his office, and resume his desk work. And this he repeats day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year, until he can do it no more from accidents, disease, or death.[66]

Soorjo CoomarChuckerbutty reasons that social institutions had portrayed gymnastic exercises or any other such activity promoting physical growth, a practice of the class of people who are not "gentlemen." As he described, in reputed Bengali society, an understanding prevailed that it was the durwan (gate-keeper) whose sole business was to practice gymnastics and promote physical agility.[67] Moreover, Chuckerbutty criticized the literary-based colonial education system that he satirically accused of producing "philosophers" referring to the English-educated middle-class Bengalis, who were so given to mental culture that they had forgotten even the most elementary of bodily exercises.[68] To show how social and educational institutions of Europe were responsible for contrasting differences between the physicality of two races, he described the life of an Englishmen from infancy to adolescence. English social institutions produce an intelligent mother who inculcates in her son habits of dancing and playing. While children soon after entering the school were instructed in earnest literary knowledge and urged to perform physical exercises. In high schools or colleges of England, Chuckerbutty emphasizes that the educational

[66] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture II-Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education, March 9th 1854," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 40-41.
[67] Ibid., 41
[68] "Sanitary Improvement in Calcutta," in Ibid, 13

system insisted that students participate in games such as cricket, quoits, fishing, billiards, riding, hunting, skating, swimming, and rowing conduce to health, amusement, and discipline. This leads him to conclude that their social and educational institutions ensure the cultivation of strength, skill, endurance, discipline, courage and resources, the needed qualities of martial and manly nations.[69] He further says that:

> Then he(Euoropean) grows into a man, cultivateshis whiskers, enters into society, and joins the army or the navy, or becomes a doctor, lawyer, minister, statesman, merchant, factor, clerk, scholar, or anything else he may choose. But whatever he is, and whatever he has to do, his innate love of active sports and exercises accomplish him through life: and, under favorable circumstances, we find him, hence, an accomplished sailor, or soldier, or huntsman, or racer, or boxer, and so forth. This habit of activity hardens his constitution, and gives him great endurance and range in all physical and intellectual occupations; and it is this which makes him superior to men of other nations whose social institutions are less perfectly developed. What is true of the Englishmen is also true of the Frenchman, the German, and other European races; and for that reason it is that they are all more civilized and powerful than the people of all other countries.[70]

It appears Bengalis were not only convinced of their effeteness but concurred with the colonial discourse that placed them in the lowest rung of physical fitness. As discussed above, they took pride in their presence in the professions that required the exercise of mental faculties. They looked down upon Indians from the north-western regions as inferior on the ground of their so-called frivolous activities. It seems that victimized by the colonial discourse on masculinity, Bengalis sought some solace in an imaginary that granted them a high place in intellectual affairs of life. Thus the Bengali bhadralok became aware of their feeble physical constitution and condemned any activity that demanded physical labor as frivolous and dishonourable. An extract taken from Lal Behari Dey' speech, which he delivered at Bethune Society, confirms this to a considerable degree.

> In what respect are the people of the North-West-the people of Hindustan proper,-superior to those of Bengal? In physical form, in the dimensions of their corporeal forms, in brutal strength,-that is to say, in exactly those qualities in which elephants, tigers and bears excel rational beings. In North-West they have more of the body, in Bengal we have more of the mind. In the North-

[69] "Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education," in Ibid, 38-39
[70] Ibid., 39

> West they employ Bengalis in situations requiring mental effort; in Bengal, employ Hindustanis to keep our gates, and in all other post requiring physical force. Hindustanis are the Lacedaemonians, Bengalis the Athenians of India. Hindustani are locomotives, Bengalis engineers.[71]

Lal Behari Dey (1824-1892) was a Bengali journalist who also converted to Christianity in 1843 and went on to become a Christian missionary. He too was convinced of the effeteness of the Bengalis.[72] Based upon his travels in north, central and western India, he remarked that people of these regions do not care for mental culture as he found all pupils in the English department of the Benares College were Bengalis. This inference of the cognitive abilities of non-Bengalis led him to conclude that whatever had been said about the Bengali's physical weakness, and muscular strength of the Hindustani (north and central Indian) was indeed correct. Nevertheless, Dey still entertained a Bengali gentleman's sense of pride (referred to by Chuckerbutty) and of their engagement in the superior literary pursuits rather than indulge in the brute-like activity. As he spoke before the Bethune society in 1859:

> Whatever may be said of the physical weakness of the Bengali on the one hand, and the muscular strength of the Hindustani on the other, it is a simple fact, that the former beats the latter in all that relates to mind, and in whatever consists man's superiority over the world of brute force; and as a Bengali, I could not help being filled with honest pride at the interesting fact that, in one of the greatest cities of North India, my countrymen were leading the van of sound and useful education.[73]

Even though Lal Behari Dey and other like-minded English-educated Bengalis were filled with a sense of pride at Bengal's accomplishment in the administrative and literary spheres, they gradually developed a critical stance towards the system of education introduced by the colonial

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[71] Rev. Lal Behari De, "Incidents and Impressions of Travel in northern, Central, and Western India," in *The Proceedings of the Bethune Society For the Session of 1859-60, 1850-61* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Church, 1862), 124.

[72] See, Eleanor Jackson, *From Krishna Pal to Lal Behari Dey: Indian Builders of the Church in India or Native Agency in Bengal 1800-1880*," in Converting Colonialism: Visions and Reality in Mission History, 1704-1914, ed. Dana Robert (Grand Raipid: Eerdamans, 2008), 166-205 & G. Macpherson, *A Life of Lal Behari Dey. Convert, Pastor, Professor and Author* (Edinburgh: Printed by Morrison and Gibb Limited, 1900).

[73] Rev. Lal Behari De, "Incidents and Impressions of Travel in northern, Central, and Western India," in *The Proceedings of the Bethune Society for the Session of 1859-60, 1850-61* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Church, 1862), 106.

government. They found it responsible for inculcating indolence among the students by not encouraging any physical exercises at all.

It is worth mentioning that Herbert Spencer's essays on education published as `*Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical'* in 1861 became a reference textbook in teacher-training colleges of England, and was looked upon as a standard text on educational theory by educated Indians as well.[74] Spencer's educational theory rejected some traditional elements of the curriculum and emphasized the importance of self-development, sympathetic attention from instructors, observation and problem solving, physical exercise and free play.[75] Discipline seems significantly influential among the Indian intelligentsia's understanding of education. From the 1860s onwards and till the early decades of the twentieth century, educated Indians dealing with education problems in India often took Spencer's textbook as source material. Educated Indians have widely cited the chapter 'Physical Education' of Spencer's book for building the argument around physical education in India.

The Bengal Magazine edited by Lal Behari Dey, published several articles that explicitly and implicitly articulated the Bengali self-image of effeteness. Importantly enough, it also sought out the causes responsible for their effeminate body and character. An article dated March1874 by Dey, underlines the defects in colonial education and argued that the edifice of education in India was not quite rational at any rate and unsuited to the circumstances, capacities, and idiosyncrasies of Indian youth. Unlike public schools and colleges of England, Dey further argued that English education in India encouraged indolence in the students by overloading with a mess of useless information that cramps and enfeebles their mental and physical powers by not affording them proper physical exercise.[76] Drawing upon the educational theories of Herbert Spencer and the American educational reformer, Horace Mann, he further argued that India's

[74] Herbert Spencer sociological and educational ideas became an inspiration for nationalist Indians against colonialism who grew up in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Shayamji Krishnavarma and Lala Lajpat Rai were very much influenced by Spencer works.
See, Inder S Marwah, "Rethinking resistance: Spencer, Krishnavarma, and The Indian Sociologist," in *Colonial Exchanges: Political Theory and the Agency of the Colonized*, eds. Burke A. Hendrix and Deborah Baumgold (Manchester: University Press Scholarship, 2017), 43-72 & Krishna Kumar. *Political Agenda of Education. A study of colonialist and nationalist ideas* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2005), 162.

[75] Herbert Spencer Contribution to Education
https://portsmouthoh.org/0b6s120f/herbert-spencer-contribution-to-education

[76] Lal Behari Day, "On the teaching of English literature in the colleges of Bengal," *The Bengal Magazine* 2, (Calcutta: March 1874): 373-375.

educational system erases student's mental and physical activity by ignoring the principle of self-evolution, represseses their power of expression, and converts a thinking being into copying machines. According to Dey, the English educational system of India, as introduced by colonial administrators, defeats the very object of education.[77] In the same year, *The Bengal Magazine* published an article- 'Home Education in Bengal' that disclosed some severe defects in the educational system. Taking the issue of society's influence upon education and vice-versa, it pointed out that Bengal's social and educational order takes no consideration of the pupil's health and neglects any physical activity. Commenting on the indifference towards the play activities in Bengali society:

> With us boy is expected to have all study and no play, he is allowed to do nothing, have no recreation, no amusements, but his reading, writing and arithmetic. Games, however innocent are forbidden. A boy must not play at cards, he must not fly a kite, he must not go out fishing, he must not hop, he must not run, he must not spin tops.[78]

The Bengali physician, Kailas Chandra Mukherjea's paper on 'Public Health' read at the Hooghly Institute on 15th December 1879, also depicts the Bengali as an intelligent but physically weak person who cultivates the mind at the expense of the body. Discussing the various conditions affecting health, he describes how the negligence of any practice of physical culture in the Bengali social and educational system led to the diseased body of Bengalis. He claimed that physical exercise not only imparted flesh, strength, and vigor to the body but equally sharpened the appetite and facilitated the functions of various organs of the body. While a deficiency of exercise renderedthe body dull and languid, whereas immoderate exercise would be followed by exhaustion.[79] Interestingly, Mukherjea tried to build an argument in favour of physical exercises based on the educational theory of Herbert Spenser. As he writes:

> Spencer in his work on education has pointed out that mental and physical exercise must go hand in hand, and it is by the harmonious cooperation of the two that the best results are produced. The intimate connection between the body and the mind is such that various diseases of the body weaken the mind, and it is well known that mental emotions, such as excessive grief, weaken the body. But this rule is sadly neglected by our countrymen: a child before he reaches the age of four

[77] Ibid
[78] "Home Education in Bengal," *The Bengal Magazine* 2 (Calcutta: January 1874): 285.
[79] Kailas Chandra Mukherjea, "Public Health (Paper read at the Hooghly Institute on 15th December 1879)," *The Bengal Magazine* 8 (Calcutta: February, 1880): 256.

> and before he can articulate with distinctness is sent to the Patsala. He is ill fed, and before he reaches the age of eight, is debarred from all exercises, and surrounded by a host of private tutors. What is the result? Before he reaches the age of 25 years, he becomes either an idiot, or a sickly philosopher.[80]

The title of an article, 'The Superiority of European over Asiatic Races' published in October 1875 in *The Bengal Magazine*, depicts the Europeans as a superior race in contrast to Asians. It was not just the Bengalis who were supposed to be inferior to Europeans; instead, the whole Asiatic race was deemed to be flawed. The racial inferiority of Asian people was ascribed to their present political degradation and vice-versa. However, the natives of North India were on par with the Europeans as far as their physical constitution and courage were concerned. The European superiority over Asian races was attributed to their highly developed educational system that paid great attention to physical and military education.[81] The article elaborates that military education has been utterly neglected in India while it has been earnestly cultivated in the schools and colleges of Europe that made all the difference. Further, military schools had been founded in all European countries, but no such attempts were made in Asia. In conclusion, the article argues, it was education *"that has made Europe great and glorious, and its absence has thrown Asia at its foot."*[82] Thus, it has become apparent that educated Bengalis of the second half of the nineteenth-century, despite being convinced of the effeteness of their degraded body, endeavored to explain the causes responsible for it. They refused the racial, genetic, and climatic explanation of their feeble physical constitution as suggested in the colonial discourse on Indian physicality and explained in terms of their defective social and educational institutions. Before discussing how educated Indians of other parts of India, especially Bombay and Madras presidencies, took to the colonial discourse of their effeteness and responded to it, let us take one more reference from Bengal elucidating the cause of their effeteness.

In April 1877, *The Bengal Magazine* published a paper, *'On Native Education'* that discussed the educational needs of the students concerning their degraded body. Considering that Bengali students have lean and corpulent bodies, it asserted that Bengalis do not have athletic, strong, and robust constitutions common among the European nations and even among India's upper

[80] Ibid
[81] "The Superiority of European over Asiatic Races," *The Bengal Magazine* 3 (October 1875): 110-125.
[82] Ibid., 113

provinces. The article explained their physical degradation in the absence of any culture of physical exercise in Bengali society, along with their eating habits. As it argued, the strength, growth, and gracefulness of the limbs depend not only on healthy exercise but to a considerable extent upon food and dress.[83] Addressing the question, what makes the Europeans so robust, energetic, courageous, and well preserved even in a hostile climate, and why is the Bengali so weak, listless, timid, and fickle, it answers that the people that live upon animal food can work better and longer, and can endure more hardship than those who live upon vegetables. It was argued that if the young Bengali consumes animal food steadily and moderately, his constitution would improve. It went on to consider Muslims having a more noble and finer appearance than that of a Brahman of the highest rank. The former's physical superiority over the latter was explained chiefly, if not entirely, owing to his more wholesome nourishment. Thus, it was suggested that if the young Hindus would consume animal food and do some physical exercise, they would become a stouter, more energetic, and courageous race.[84]

Physical Degradation of Indians as explained by other Indians

An explanation of the effeteness of the Indian body and character in terms of social and educational causes was offered not only by non-Bengalis but also by the British nationals. Mary Carpenter (1807 –1877), a prominent English educationalist of the nineteenth century, though never associated with the Imperil administration in any capacity, pioneered the discourse of physical education in India.[85] Carpenter, who has been credited with major educational reform in Britain during the Victorian period, made a six-month visit to India in 1866 and played an important role in girls education by influencing a group of educated Indians that included Keshab Chandra Sen.[86] During her six-month stay in India, she visited Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Benares, and Madras and lectured on the subject of education. Carpenter studied the problem of education in India. Though women's education was her main concern,

[83] "On Native Education," *The Bengal Magazine* 5 (April1877): 398-399.
[84] Ibid
[85] See Chapter 3
[86] Carpenter was quite active in the anti-slavery movement but most importantly she is best known for her educational works. Carpenter was instrumental in establishing reformatory schools and played a pivotal role in reforming female education in Britain.
For more on Mary Carpenter, See, Manton Jo, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* Literati (London: Heinemann Educational, 1978) & Norman C Sargant, *Mary Carpenter in India* (Bristol: A.J. Sargant, 1987).

notwithstanding, she was one of the early figures to talk about the necessity of physical education in India.

Unlike classical colonial explanations, Carpenter analyzed the physical degradation of the Indian body in the same terms as educated Indians. Even so, she thought that physical labour of any kind was against the Indian temperament; nevertheless, like her contemporary educated Bengalis, Carpenter also held the educational systems introduced in India by the British responsible for nurturing the sense of disregard for physical labour among the elite and middle-class Indians. She commented that English education in India was mostly literary, geared to render subjects for clerical jobs. While visiting a school at Poona, she commented, *"…there is considerable demand for clerks and writers in various offices; and this, if not always a very lucrative mode living, is more in accordance with native taste, and deemed more honourable, than employment involving physical labour."*[87] Therefore, Mary Carpenter criticized the existing educational system for further fostering indolence and dislike for physical exercise among educated Indians which she considered had acquired the aspect of a national tendency.[88]

Carpenter emphasised that English education had excited the desire among the upper classes of India to avail themselves of it. Though acknowledging that English education had brought many positive changes in India, she still asked for improvements and modifications in the educational system in the light of the nature and wants of its citizens. Thus, she pointed towards some defects in the existing educational system that completely ignored any provision of physical training. Carpenter asserted that education imparted in India was solely directed to the exercise of the intellectual faculties and the acquisitiont of a particular branch of knowledge rather than overall development as found in English public schools.[89] She met Woodrow, the Educational Inspector of the Lower Division of Bengal, and discussed the miserable physical constitution of the Indians with him. Pondering about the reluctance of the natives to take physical action, both found the educational system responsible for the perpetuation of such a tendency among educated Indians. Woodrow lamented, looking at physical inactiveness of Bengali's during the cyclone of 1864. Due to their false pride in not taking to any physical labour, they did not even exert themselves

[87] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. I* (London: Longman's Green, and Co., 1868), 109.
[88] Ibid
[89] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. II* (London: Longman's Green, and Co., 1868), 119-120.

to save women and children from the fatal consequences of a cyclone.[90] Woodrow, in his report of 1864-64, thus, questioned the effectiveness of English education. He writes:

> I regret that I have found teachers who see nothing unusual, or wrong, or contemptible in the idiotic helplessness of such unhappy pride. There is some defect in our system of education, since educated Hindoo gentlemen, of good caste, still continue to regard physical exertion as beneath their dignity.Because it never has been their custom to pull at ropes or bear burdens, they object to do so, even on an emergency like the cyclone.[91]

In the late nineteenth century, a critical review of colonial education was undertaken in other parts of India as well. Following the trajectory of the Bengali intelligentsia, English-educated social leaders of Western and Southern India held colonial education accountable for inflicting some dysfunction in society. For instance, Bhalchandra K. Bhatavdekar, the Head of the Medical Department of the Baroda State, blamed the government's education system for the defects that had crept into Indian society due to negligence of physical exercises.[92] Chiefly concerned about the diseased health of the upper and middle-class women, Bhatavdekar in a Marathi treatise, *Abala Sanjivan*, translated into English as 'The Causes of Premature Death of Women in India, and its Remedies' described how the educational system of India had changed the daily habits of the women of the upper classes of society. He claimed that scarcely a generation ago when the traditions of the old family life were intact, the Hindu household ladies used to perform their household duties and other domestic work. The habits like getting up early in the morning, cleaning and washing the house, followed by certain religious devotions such as circumambulating the peepal or tulsi tree were the rule. According to Bhatavdekar, such activities gave them enough physical exercise and kept them healthy. However, he laments looking at a new mode of life fostered by the educational system that drastically changed the habits of Hindu men and women who avoided even a little physical exertion.[93] Bhatavdekar describes the changed habits of a high-class Hindu household in *Abala Sanjivan*.

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[90] Ibid., 122
[91] Ibid., pp. 122-123
[92] Reviews of Abala Sanjivan; or The Causes of Premature Death of Women in India, and its Remedies By Bhalchandra K. Bhatavdekar, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, *Journal of The National Indian Association*, no. 173 (London: May 1885): 224-226.
[93] Ibid

> The young school-taught Indian of the present day commences life as a man decidedly inferior, in many respects, to another bred up in the conservative influence of a well-managed Hindu household. He sees that European ladies in India do not cook (and I see very few ladies in England are good cooks), and almost the whole work of the house is done by native servants. The *mem sa'bs* drive out or ride out, read newspapers, and discuss politics with their husbands. Our educated native, therefore, taking the mem sa'b as his model, tries to mould his girl-wife to her way.[94]

Thus, Bhatavdekar thought that by imitating the culture of mem sa'bs, white foreign woman of high social status living in India, Indian men deprived their mates of opportunities for physical exercise without offering anything as an alternative.[95] However, to consider him conservative because of his criticism of Indian women becoming dummies of mem sa'bs would be an early conclusion. In the next chapter, we will see that his suggestion for Indian women to keep their bodies healthy drew a great deal from the European ladies' lifestyle. Bhatavdekar seems critical of high-class Indians following Europeans in one respect but not following their healthy habits of bodily exercises.[96]

A similar argument was made in Bombay by Muncherjee Framjee Patell regarding the alarming health of Indian women. Discussing the causes of their unhealthy body, he argued that ladies of the present time were denied any physical activities as was common in former times. Overwhelmed by the late nineteenth century idea of gender roles, he also thought that ladies of former times who attended to domestic work enjoyed good health. Criticizing the high and middle-class families, where servants and ayahs (nurses) were employed, Patell recalled the ladies of the former times who looked after household work enjoyed good health and old age. Health and long life, he claimed, were denied to the ladies of his time because of many factors, one being the advancement of modern education.[97] Framjee Patell argued that as education advances, men and women disliked household work and spend time in knitting, reading, and music activities that were worthy of praise if the question of health did not interfere. But reading and music did not give exercise to the body, and the attendant of such pursuits becomes

[94] Ibid., 225
[95] Ibid., 226
[96] Ibid
[97] Muncherjee Framjee Patell, "Physical Training in India," *Journal of The National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress and Education in India*, no. 179 (London: November 1885): 519-527.

enfeebled and cannot cope with any physical difficulty. However, it was not that he was against educating the girls, as he said, *"at present everybody knows that an uneducated girl is a drawback to social happiness, just as an uneducated boy is worthless in society."*[98]

Geraldine Forbes points out that educated reform-minded Indian men envisioned a role for women in social reform but within certain limits. On the one hand, they wanted carefully groomed English-speaking wives accompanying them, while on the other, they also feared that education might cause women to go too far. Though the colonial education system was overwhelmingly conservative, but women's education had some unexpected and unanticipated consequences.[99] Thus, Framjee Patell's concern was to educate girls in such a manner that they could fulfill social duties, which he thought cannot be performed with a deficient body. He was worried about the pathetic condition of school-going girls, as he observed at an exhibition of a school of 500 girls, only five percent showed signs of vigour and health.[100] Hence, Patell, as early as 1885, quotes the famous Latin phrase, *Mens sana in corpore sano*, usually translated as "a healthy mind in a healthy body," while emphasizing the necessity of improving the physique of Indian girls. An extract from his speech reads as follows:

> one could not help observing the wasted body, pale face, sunken cheeks, and such other painful symptoms. When we think as to how far such children will fulfill social duties, we cannot but see a gloomy feature….unless prompt means are resorted to. Our ability and our wealth will not help us much: without health money will begin to disappear, and the mind will grow weak. Mens sans corpore sane. This is an important matter.[101]

Scholars such as John Rosselli, Tanika Sarkar, Joseph Alter, and Mrinalini Sinha, who have worked on the politics of the body and physicality in colonial India, discussed very little about the place of Muslims in the colonial discourse of effeteness of the Indian body. Sinha, in particular, claims that Muslims in Bengal, the vast majority of whom belonged to the laboring classes and slightly more in numbers than the Hindus, were excluded from the discourse of

[98] Muncherjee Framjee Patell, "Physical Training in India,"*Journal of The National Indian Association,* no. 180 (December 1885): 584.
[99] Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 61.
[100] Muncherjee Framjee Patell, "Physical Training in India," *Journal of The National Indian Association,* no. 180 (December 1885): 584-585.
[101] Ibid., 585

Bengali effeminacy.[102] Why Indian Muslims were left out of the colonial discourse of the Indian body is a matter of further scholarly investigation, but it can firmly be concluded that educated Muslims were not underrepresented in the discourse of Indian intelligentsia revolving around their body. Like their Hindu counterparts, English-educated Muslims also seem convinced of their physical decline.

Abdus Salam, a Calcutta-based Provisional Civil Servant, was one of the early Muslims to speak about the degraded body of the Muslim. Being a pioneer of physical education for Muslims, he founded a Calcutta Mahomedan Sporting Club in 1894. In a lecture delivered on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Mahomedan Sporting Club held under the presidency of Justice Ameer Ali, Salam spoke:

> Speaking of the Mussulmans in India, and especially in Bengal, their physical deterioration may be briefly, and, at the same time more or less aptly, described by saying, that they would prefer laying down to sitting, sitting to standing, standing to walking, and walking to running. It may be a painful digression, but I cannot help remarking that this physical attitude more or less represents our present mental attitude. What havoc Time has wrought in our national character.[103]

Salam, who thought that the physical deterioration of the Muslims had brought shame to their national character, explained the indolence of his co-religionist in social and educational terms. He argued that in contrast to their brilliant past when they were endowed with physical vigour and manliness, the one-sided Western education system and its negligence of patronage to the physical culture tradition once prevalent in Muslim society had made effeteness characteristic of Muslims in India. Salam blames western education for nurturing the attitude of looking at any physical activities as an affair of low order. As he spoke, *"We despise more or less, the indigenous physical exercises of the East, such as wrestling, practices with "mudghurs", clubs, "dun", archery, &., taunting those who practices them as pahalwans or wrestlers, and at the same time we have failed to take, like other elastic and less conservative races of India, to the manly western games, such as tennis, foot-ball, cricket, &c."*[104] What appears is that Salam found the educational system defective in the sense that it was utterly one-sided and aimed at the

[102] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The Manly Englishman and the Effeminate Bengali in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 16.
[103] Abdus Salam, *Physical Education in India* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1895), 20.
[104] Ibid., 18-19

intellectual development of the literary type and had no or little scope for the youths' physical upliftment.An extract from his speech quoted below well reflects that, like the educated Hindus, Muslims too had acquired a critical view of the English education system and the absence of any provision of physical education in the system.

> One result, however, of this intellectual mania, is decidedly tangible in the appearances of our University men, who are generally weak in physique and health. This is a defect in the present system of education in this country, which deserves more serious attention at the hands of all friends of Indian progress than it has hitherto received. The present system is of a one-sided character: it aims at the intellectual advancement of the Indian youths, but pays little heed to the healthy maintenance of those physical powers, on which this intellectual advancement must necessarily hinge. It would be not a day too soon, if our educational bodies stepped forward, and assigned physical education its proper place in their systems.[105]

The Hindu and Muslim self-image of effeteness can be seen in the early history of the Rajkumar College established at Rajkot in 1868. Established to cater to the educational needs of the princely class of western and central India that included many Hindu and Muslim royal families, Rajkumar College pioneered the transplantation of English sports into the educational institutions of India.[106] Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, an alumni of the Rajkumar College and graduate from Cambridge, observed the following about indolence and disinterest for physical training among the princes and chiefs studying at the college. In 1898, he wrote a book, *'The Ruling Chiefs of Western India and the Rajkumar College'*, where he writes:

> The Rajkumars are not usually so fond of physical training as could be wished. In too many cases they simply drive about and consequently do not get sufficient exercise. In some principalities, however, as for instance in Rajputana, every Kumar from his childhood is taught like his ancestors some soldierly exercise, such as gymnastics, fencing, riding and archery. But in almost all other cases the Kumars spend their time in idle talk. What a contrast there is in this respect, at all events between a Rajputra, whether Hindu or Mohommendan, was from his youth initiated

[105] Ibid., 24-25

[106] Ranjitsinhji, who played cricket for the English team, Cambridge University, and county cricket for Sussex, learned the game at Rajkumar College in the early 1880s, where he was a student.
See, Simon Wilde, *Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji, maharaja jam sahib of Navanagar [known as Ranjitsinhji or Ranji*] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (London, Oxford University Press, 2011).

into the art of fencing, tilting, wrestling and similar manly sports; but nowadays such exercises are seldom encouraged and so becoming obsolete.[107]

This self-image of effeteness survived in to the early twentieth century when physical education came up in the national education discourse. Mirza Yar Jung Sami Ullah Beg, Chief Justice of Hyderabad State was worried about the wasted bodies of the youth, and blamed the educational system of Hyderabad state as responsible for it. Presiding over the Hyderabad Educational Conference in 1925, Sami Ullah Beg delivered a lecture 'Educational Problems in India', where he said, *"The last century practically emasculated the manly spirit of India. Our peopleare especially lacking in certain traits of character closely connected with manly occupation of life."*[108] According to him, education in the state does not possess a sufficient degree of qualities to form a 'character.' Beg thought that discipline and manly character could be instilled in the students through physical training.[109] This has been discussed in detail in chapter 4, where we will see that in the first half of the twentieth century, the whole rationale and demand for physical education in schools and colleges of India was embedded in the national goal of improving the body and character of the Indians.

The Imaginary of Golden Physical Past and Trope of Decline

Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, the imaginary of great days of physical culture were located in the golden past and its subsequent decline in recent times became an integral part of the Indian discourse centered on the body. The narrative that Indians possessed an amazing masculine body in the past probably began with the Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty. Chuckerbutty, in many of his lecturers, talked about the pre-eminent disposition for athletic games and manual exercises in ancient civilizations. In a lecture, 'Physical Training as an Essential Requisite for Native Education', he delivered before the Bethune Society in 1854, he asserts that racing, fencing, gladiator events, wrestling, gymnasium, military practices, and field-sports were the most agreeable pastimes that imbue courage, skill, success and discipline in ancient people.[110] Describing the history of ancient Greece, Rome, India, and modern Europe in

[107] Nasrullah Khan, *The Ruling Chiefs of Western India and the Rajkumar College* (Bombay, Claridge, 1904), 11-12.
[108] Mirza Yar Jung Sami Ullah Beg, *Educational Problems of India* (Hyderabad-Deccan, 1925), 43.
[109] Ibid
[110] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture II-Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education, March 9th 1854," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 32-37.

the context of their great tradition of physical culture, he appealed to the audience of Calcutta to take a lesson from them. He spoke:

> But in order that we may so enjoy them, it is necessary that we should extract wisdom from experience, and not misunderstand the verdict of history on the relation which subsists between our intellectual and physical endowments. Historical evidence shows that mental achievements are more durable and important than corporal performances; but historical philosophy proves that mental greatness must have for its basis corporal soundness. Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Cromwell, Washington, Napoleon Bonaparte and Blucher were all men of extraordinary genius: and they were too distinguished for the peculiar hardship of their constitutions and for their power of mental and physical endurance.[111]

Aninash Chundra Mittra, in an article, 'Popular Education in Bengal' (1873), desired the revival of the past glory and physical splendor of Bengal by reforming education. He writes, *"Our ancient country in times was celebrated for learning and physical valour, and if impetus is again given to right education, it will certainly regain its former high position."*[112] Mittra argued that Indians could also compete with the colonial rulers by cultivating arts, science and technology and manly physical labour, if they make rapid strides in education, Whereas Rajnarayan Basu, Sri Aurobindo's maternal grandfather, who pioneered the movement of physical culture in Bengal wrote *"Ask anybody and he will tell you that his father and grandfather were very strong."*[113] The acute sense of nostalgia for the imagined golden days of physical culture seemingly overwhelmed him. On the lines of Mittra and Basu, Kailas Chandra Mukharjea, discussing public health and went to the extent of claiming that: *"When every other nation on the face of the earth struggled hard with ignorance and barbarity, our Aryan foregathers knew and felt the importance of the subject and framed certain rules for the guidance of the public."*[114] He argued that in contemporary society, physical deterioration occurred because of living an artificial mode of life and the imitation of evil habits under the false impression of becoming civilized. The effect of living such a life, Mukharjea argued, led to the negligence of standard

[111] Ibid., 36
[112] "Popular Education in Bengal- A lecture by Mr. Aninash Chundra Mittra," *Journal of the Indian National Association*, no. 35 (November 1873): 472.
[113] Anwesha Sengupta, *'Sharir', 'Shanto Chele', 'Svalpo Bidya': Rajnarayan Basu and his Perception on Education*, 157-158.
[114] Kailas Chandra Mukherjea, "Public Health (Paper read at the Hooghly Institute on 15th December 1879)," *The Bengal Magazine* 8 (February, 1880): 220.

rules set forth by Manu, Susrata, or Bonvat for the health of the people.[115] It is important to notice that the imaginary of a golden physical past unhesitatingly appropriates the racial theory of the superiority of the Aryan race and refered health authorities of ancient India to legitimize their claim.[116]

Other explicit testimony of the imaginary that Indians once had a great tradition of physical culture can be found in the autobiography of Krsnakumar Mitra, a journalist and leader of the Brahmo Samaj and associated with the Bengali newspaper, *Bangabasi*. In his autobiography, Mitra claimed that India once had a very rich tradition of akharas (gymnasium), where educated men of the noble class used to exercise. The physical culture of lathis (bamboo) and sword fencing, kushti (wrestling), and other indigenous sports were in vogue. He mourns, looking at how the the tradition of physical culture had drastically declined, and whatever remained was left to the uneducated class because of British rule's educational policies. Western education had brought a zeal for literary-based English education among the elites and middle-class that eventually led to the neglect of physical culture.[117] A loathing of effeminacy due to the lost tradition of physical culture and English education was held responsible for its perpetuation – this was expressed in *Bangabasi*. Writing on the necessity of educating the body through physical education, *Bangabasi* carried the following in 1896:

> In days gone by, the people of this country were not so effeminate as they have become. In every village, there were gymnasiums in which wrestling, fencing with lathis and other athletic exercises were regularly performed, and the youth of the village took a lively interest in them. Strong and stalwart young men were not then a rarity in the Bengali villages. The people were not so helpless as they are now, and they could successfully defend themselves against dacoits. The Musalman Government, moreover, was not ingenious enough to invent an Arms Act, and people could keep and use shields and swords, guns and spears without taking out passes for them. Nowadays, however, the people have been disarmed, and have become helpless and effeminate. They have become fond of service, and they detest manly sports and exercises. Having given up all manly sports and exercises, they have now to depend entirely upon the police for the

[115] Ibid
[116] For more information on Aryan race theory in colonial period, see, Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publication, 1997).
[117] Krsnakumar Mitra, *Autobiography* (Calcutta, 1937), 68-71.

> protection of their property and the honor of their women. English education has not civilized us; it has made us puppets and tools in the hands of others."[118]

Following the Hindus' imaginary of physical decline, Abdus Salamalso perceived Muslims' physical deterioration with reference to the Islamic golden past. For instance, he argued that in the early days of the Islamic period, Arabs took pride in themselves *"on their dexterity in the use of the sword, in horsemanship and archery."*[119] Salam's glorification of the Islamic past led him to illustrate the Arab conquest of Spain in the middle ages as the manifestation of Muslim chivalry and masculinity. He took pride in Muslim valour in the imagined Islamic golden age in the following words:

> Indeed, Moslem youths in the past, not only in Arabia but also in Persia, Syria, Turkey, Afghanistan, Central Asia and India, used to take pride in hand-to-hand combats, in the use of the bow and the gun, in riding and wrestling, in the use of *"mudghurs"* or dumbbells and lathis or clubs, and in practice with the sword, the lance, and the scimitar. The early Moslem immigrants in India from the North-West- from Balkh and Badakhshan, from Gazni and Samarkand, from Bokkara and Bagdad- were not pale Epicures in petticoats, but they were stalwart, ruddy and stern Puritans of the Cornwell type in tight tunic and trousers in the ways of Allah, consisted not in lounging and idle gossiping and hookah-smoking and betel-chewing, but in taking physical exercises in all forms, in hunting and shooting, in riding and walking and swimming. Babar and his comrades were keen sportsmen."[120]

Salam recalled that their ancestors, even within living memory, used to keep up their health and strength through physical exercises. He further recounts that the rule of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's were periods of *the "growing effeminacy of the Mussulmen race"* that was curbed for a period by Aurangzeb. According to Salam, Aurangzeb revived the Muslims' physical valour by interdicting voluptuous frivolities and effeminate exhibitions of the Mughal court and encouraging many athletic exhibitions. To quote him, *"despite the ominously increasing looseness of their petticoasts and skirts, the Mussulmans in India in Moghul times for a considerable period, managed to keep up their manliness and physical energy, and never ceased*

[118] Native Newspaper Report, Bengal, 1896 quoted in Satadru Sen, "School, Athletes and Confrontation: The Student Body in Colonial India," in *Confronting the Body, The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*, eds. James H Mills and Satadru Sen (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 70-71.
[119] Abdus Salam, *Physical Education in India* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1895), 11.
[120] Ibid., 12-13

to be keen sportsmen."[121] Thus, the narrative of the glorious Muslim physical and martial heritage was a salient argument in a movement of physical revivalism and was expressed as characteristics of the manly Muslim race in colonial India.

However, Indians were not the only ones to employ the trope of decline and construct an imaginary of the golden physical past. Many English nationals backed by the orientalist discourse contemplated India's physical degradation in the decline of the physical culture tradition. For instance, Mary Carpenter mourned, looking that in India, men of influence allow their sons to be feeble as a dainty body could be seen as an indication of high social rank. In her travelogue of India, she recorded an incident of a young gentleman who prosecuted a master of the school because he ridiculed their absurd notion that none but a coolie could walk three miles in a day and that no gentleman could be guilty of such a servile act. Carpenter thus asked educated Indians to emulate the physical cultural practices of their great ancestors. The following extract from Carpenter's memoir reads:

> These young people, instead of taking an ensamples the great and noble men who here and there stand out as worthy of all imitation in the recorded line of their distant ancestors, seem to imitate the Hindoo queen, whose nerves were so sensitive, that she fainted from agony when a flower fell on her foot! Such young gentlemen as these are India's worst enemies.[122]

Another Englishmen, H. L. P. Wynne, in a lecture titled, 'Bodily Training- Its Effects on National Character' read before the Bethune Society on March 12th, 1868, appears overwhelmed by the orientalist discourse of India's decline, as he argued that youths of India had given up all the manly pastimes that had braced the fibers of their forefathers. Due to the abandonment of physical culture, he spoke, *"these men were now represented by feeble-bodied descendants, noted only for intrigue and effeminacy."*[123] Wynne believed that Indians once were the foremost people in the world because of their great bodily frame, but the nerveless character of the upper classes who pay no attention to physical activity had made their bodies pitiable.[124] Like many of his contemporaries, he also found western education wholly devoted to the brain and not to the

[121] Ibid., 14
[122] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. I (*London: Longman's Green, and Co., 1868), 123.
[123] H. L. P. Wynne, "The lecture titled- Bodily Training- Its Effects on National Character, Read before the Bethune Society on March 12th 1868," in *Transaction of the Bethune Society 1869-1868* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1869), 65.
[124] Ibid., 64

body. As he describes, when Indian youths grew up in to men, they diligently shunned lives of adventure and bodily toil. Their highest ambition was a position in the government. Thus, Wynne concluded that recreation became an indolent repose in larger section of Indian society. He further questioned how from such a class be drawn a strong man as their ancestors used to be because of active indulgence in physical pursuits.[125]

Rajkumar College of Rajkot, an elite institution, was established to cater to the educational needs of princes and chiefs of the Kathiawar region. It is worth mentioning that Chester Macnaghten, the Principal of the Rajkumar College, was one of the earliest figures to introduce modern physical education and western sports in India.[126] His rationale for physical education and sports for Indians has been discussed in chapter five; however, it is to be noted here that he also seems to be convinced of the idea of India's great ancient tradition of physical culture. Most remarkably, Macnaghten even gave references to the ancient epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, to illustrate the lost martial heritage of the Hindus. To inculcate the habit of physical culture into the elite students of Rajkumar College, he frequently used to mention the manly attributes of mythological characters like Rama, Arjun, and Bhīma: *"Rama is not only the great and the good; he is also the archer whose shafts never miss. The five Panduas through distinguished each by special attributes-Arjun for bravery, Bhīma for strength, Sahadeva for astrology, Nakula for mastery in cattle and horse-breeding- were all alike famous for feats of prowess and athletic skills."*[127] It was not that Macnaghten solely made references to Hindu's physical culture tradition. To stimulate the interest in physical exertion of Muslim students of the college, he referred to the old Persian educational system based on shooting with the bows, sword fencing, horse riding, and speaking the truth.[128]

Addressing to the elder Kumars (chiefs) of Kathiawar on 14th August 1887, Macnaghten referred to the Ayurveda from the Shukla Yajurveda to tell the students about precepts given in their ancient books that spoke of bodily exercises for strength, endurance, and courage, and as warding off indigestion and other ailments to which the unexercised body is expected to suffer

[125] Ibid., 61-80
[126] Ronojoy Sen, *Nation at Play. A History of Sports in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 60.
[127] Chester Macnaghten, *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects Being Addresses to the Elder Kumars of The Rajkumar College, Kathiwar* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1896), 128.
[128] Ibid

from.[129] In the address, he spoke of the ancient Indian tradition of physical pursuit and its subsequent decline;

> In India of old, too, much attention was paid to the feats of the gymnasium: to wrestling, boxing, and the dexterous use of *mugdals*, or Indian clubs. You remember, for instance, how the Pandus and Kurus were all trained together in the feats of the gymnasium, and how the former excelled the latter in these as well as in mental accomplishments. All these gymnastic exercises, also, are excellent of their kind; and perhaps they are the very best kind, if mere hardening of our muscles be the object in view. On the whole, I must say that, if modern India had maintained the practice of ancient India; and especially the practice of the ancient Rajputs, in the matter of out-door sports of prowess, she would not have had much to learn in these days from the nations of the West. But, unfortunately, the Aryans prowess is not what it was, and some of the old Aryan sports have gone with it.[130]

A similar kind of argument was put forward by Nasrullah Khan, alumni of the Rajkumar College, in 1898. Accepting the narrative of India's golden past of physical culture and its unfortunate decline in recent times, he writes, *"In old times it was a part of the education, not only those who participated in wars and battles, to be instructed in such manly exercises, but of other Kumars also. It was on expertness in these accomplishments that every Rajputra prided himself."*[131]

Thus, the idea that India had a glorious tradition of physical culture that had declined was the imaginary constructed by educated Indians and some colonial officials. This imaginary can be understood as part and parcel of the revivalist movement that always felt the compulsion of constructing a golden past in all realms of life. However, the decline of India's physical culture, as Joseph Alter argues, was a myth, and there existed in the nineteenth-century a recognizable culture of physical exercises in India. Alter's work shows that despite categorically contrasting masculinities between colonizers and colonized, there were British army officials who in the early nineteenth-century not only adopted but also popularized Indian clubs (pair of bottle-

[129] Ibid
[130] Ibid., 129-130
[131] Nasrullah Khan, *The Ruling Chiefs of Western India and the Rajkumar College* (Bombay: Claridge, 1904), 11-12.

shaped clubs swung to exercise the arms in gymnastics) and dumbbell exercises in the West. They even found them superior to English exercises in terms of idealized fitness training.[132]

Through the channel of army postings in different part of the British empire, Indian clubs and dumbbell exercises became popular in Britain and America around the middle of the nineteenth century. Through British army officers, these regimes even reached America during the Civil War and became one of the important gymnastic exercises of the American physical culture regime.[133] The popularity of Indian clubs and dumbbell exercises can be assessed from the fact that a considerable number of manuals were published on them in Britain and America in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. *The Indian Club Exercise with Explanatory Figures and Positions* (1867) by Simon D. Kehoe,*The Champion Handbook of Indian Clubs (1870), Dumb-bells and Sword Exercises* (1873) by Professor Harrison, *Indian Club Swinging* (1884), *Indian Club Exercises* (1890) by Edward Brown, *Indian Club Programs* (1895), *Indian Clubs* (1905) by G. T. B. Cobbett and A. F. Jenkin, *Club Swinging for Physical Exercise and Recreation; A book of information about all forms of Indian club swinging used in Gymnasiums and by Individuals* (1908) by W. J. Schatz, *Scientific Physical Training Series-Indian Club Exercises* (1910) by Edward B. Warmen and Joseph Cermak's *Club Exercises* (1913) to mention some of the manuals published on Indian clubs and dumbbell exercises in Britain and America.[134]

In fact, clubs called the *Gada*, *Jori* or *Mugdal* (a conical cylinder) were an integral part of the Indian physical culture tradition since ancient times. In his work on wrestling, Alter discusses points out that that in the city of Banaras and in north India there were several *akharas*

[132] See, Joseph Alter, "Indian Clubs and Colonialism: Hindu Masculinity and Muscular Christianity," Society for Comparative Study of Society and History 46, no. 3 (2004): 497-534.
[133] Ibid, p. 499 & Conor Heffernan, "*Indian Club Swinging in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century India and England",* M.Phil. Thesis (University of Cambridge, 2016).
[134] Simon D. Kehoe, *The Indian Club Exercise with Explanatory Figures and Positions* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald Publisher, 1867); Professor Harrison, Dumb-bells and Sword Exercises (London: Dean and Son,1873); Edward Brown, Indian Club Exercises (New York: Clipper Annual,1890); W. J. Schatz, *Club Swinging for Physical Exercise and Recreation; A book of information about all forms of Indian club swinging used in Gymnasiums and by Individuals* (Boston: American Gymnasia Company, 1908); Edward B. Warmen, *Scientific Physical Training Series-Indian Club Exercises* (New York: The American Sports Publishing Company, 1910); Henry B. Camann, *Indian Club Exercises and Exhibition Drills* (Chicago: H. B. Camann, 1910) & Joseph Cermak, *Club Exercises* (Chicago: Published by the author, 1916).

(gymnasium) devoted to club swimming for physical training as an organized system.[135] In the accounts of the missionaries, travelers, and army officials, some glimpses of India's physical cultures can also be traced. In 1809, an English soldier named Thomas Broughton wrote admiringly of physical culture practices of Indian troops, commenting that those exercises were not just beneficial, but those undertaking them were extraordinarily athletic.[136] Simon D. Kehoe, the manufacturer of Gymnastic apparatus in America, authored *The Indian Club Exercise with Explanatory Figures and Positions* in 1867, where he writes in detail about the practice of Indian club and dumbbell exercises in early nineteenth century India. Kehoe documented an early nineteenth-century British army officer's observation of the Indian club:

> The wonderful club exercise is one of the most effectual kinds of athletic training, known anywhere in common use throughout India. The clubs are of wood, varying in weight according to the strength of the person using them, and in length about two feet and a half, and some six or seven inches in diameter at the base, which is level, so as to admit of their standing firmly when placed on the ground, and thus affording great convenience for using them in the swinging position.
>
> The exercise is in great repute among the native soldiery, police, and others whose caste renders them liable to emergencies where great strength of muscle is desirable. The evolutions which the clubs are made to perform, in the hands of one accustomed to their use are exceedingly graceful and they vary almost without limit. Beside the great recommendation of simplicity, the Indian Club practice possesses the essential property of expanding the chest and exercising every muscle of the body concurrently.[137]

A vivid description of Indian clubs and other indigenous physical exercises practiced in the late nineteenth century can be gleaned from the C. R Francis' article, `How to Preserve Health in India' (1885). He described two local types of equipment used in physical exercises, the *mogra* (commonly pronounced *mogdur*) - a club-like mallet and *lezum* (a bow with a chain bow-string) and health benefits associated with their practice:

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[135] See, Joseph S. Alter, *Wrestler's Body Identity & Ideology in North India: Identity and Ideology in North India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992)

[136] Thomas Duer Broughton, *Letters Written in a Mahratta Camp During the Year 1809: Descriptive of the Character, Manners, Domestic Habits, and Religious Ceremonies, of the Mahrattas* (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1813), 218-225.

[137] Simon D. Kehoe, *The Indian Club Exercise with Explanatory Figures and Positions* (New York: American News Company, 1867), 7 & 9.

> Mogras are used, like dumb-bells, in pairs and for the same purpose, - to expand the chest and develop the muscles of the arms. They are, however, usually very heavy and the exertion required to swing them about may strain the muscular structure somewhere especially that connected with the ribs. Mogras are quite unsuited for women. The lezum, a bow with a chain bow-string, is used by athletic natives for the same purpose as the mogra. Its use requires considerable expertness as well as strength.[138]

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Indian club exercises were was introduced into the British army as a part of the drill for two purposes. The first was medical, i.e, mortality among British colonial officials was high in India, so they explored the health practices of the natives to aid in adapting to the unfamiliar Indian environment. The second involved military exigencies. British troops were exposed to the same health risks as Indian soldiers, but the native soldiers were highly sedentary with limited opportunities to undertake physical training. So, Indian club exercises were adopted with a callisthenic practice, combining a few old Swedish Cure extension movements calculated to open the chest, make the body supple and provide freedom to the muscles. These exercises also become popular in Britain and Europe at the time.[139] Soon, Henry Torrens, General of the British Forces, and Peter Heinreich Clias, Army and Navy Superintendent of Gymnastics Exercises at the Royal Military College, embraced and endorsed the efficacy of club swinging in the British military circle. In 1825, Peter Henry Clias, in a text, *An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises; Intended to Develop and Improve Physical Powers of Man*, included the Indian club as a gymnastic exercise.[140] But, it was with Donald Walker's book titled '*British Manly Exercises'* published in 1834 that Indian Club exercises became popular among a broader British and European audience. Walkers illustrated the technique of performing Indian club exercises and added some more complex club swinging routines.[141] The success of Walkers' book can be gauged from the fact that by 1860, its twelfth edition was already in print. Thus, Indian clubs were established as an important gymnastic

[138] C. R. Francis, "How to Preserve Health in India," *The Indian Magazine*, no. 182 (February 1886), 67-69.
[139] Ibid, &Corner Heffernan, "Indian club swinging in the early Victorian period," *Sport History* 37, no. 1(2017): 95-120.
[140] Captain P. H. Clias, *An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises; Intended to Develop and Improve Physical Powers of Man* (London: Printed for Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1823), 16.
[141] Donald Walker, *Walkers Manly Exercises*, Seventh Edition (Wm. S. Orr and Co., Amen Corner, Paternoster Row, 1837), 22-27.

exercise in Britain and eventually absorbed into the Swedish Gymnastics and the German Turnen physical culture system.[142]

Apart from Walker, Professor Harrison, a famous English Physical Culturist, popularized swinging Indian clubs and dumbbell exercises in Victorian England. In the 1850s, Harrison's training with the clubs gathered the attention of many fitness magazines and journals in the British Isles and America that helped make Indian clubs popular among the physical enthusiasts.[143] Newspaper reviews of Harrison's feats and recognition by Queen Victoria helped popularize club exercises in England and later in America. Soon Indian clubs became a regular part of the physical training for children and adults of both sexes.[144] Harrison's manual, *The Champion Handbook of Indian Clubs, Dumb-bells and Sword Exercises,* instructs the aspirants in the technique of club and dumbbell exercise.[145] In the 1860's the American manufacturer of gymnastic apparatuses, Sim Kehoe observed Harrison swinging Indian clubs in London. On his return to America, Kehoe devised a model club that he claimed was superior to Harrison's Indian club. It was taken very well in America's physical culture regime. By the early twentieth century, club exercises became an essential part of mass-drill gymnastics routines in American schools, colleges, and fitness clubs.[146]

It becomes evident that a tradition of physical culture was not absent in nineteenth century India. However, educated Indian claims that the country's physical culture declined in the recent past cannot be dismissed. The advancement of western education must have created a new lifestyle where physical culture was looked down upon by the educated class. In such a condition, indigenous physical exercises meant for building muscle and strength became the affairs of the lower classes in the nineteenth century. Whereas, there is evidence that English educated Indians of the late nineteenth century recognised some inherent flaws in indigenous physical culture exercises. Muncherjee Framjee Patell of Bombay found the indigenous physical culture of India

[142] See, Jan Todd, "The Strength Builders: A History of Barbells, Dumbbells and Indian Clubs,"*The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20, no. 1 (2003): 65-90.
[143] Elizabeth Fee and Theodore M. Brown, "The Indian Club Exercise," *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 5 (2003), 723.
[144] Conor Heffernan, *Indian Clubs in Victorian Britain* (February 2, 2015). https://physicalculturestudy.com/2015/02/02/indian-clubs/
[145] See, Professor Harrison, *The Champion Handbook of Indian Clubs, Dumb-bells and Sword Exercises*, Second Edition (London: Dean and Son, Publishers and Factors, Fleet Street, 1873).
[146] See, Alice Hoffman, *Indian Clubs* (New York: H. N. Abramas, 1996).

excessively exhaustive, unhealthy and those who undertake it neglect mental education altogether. In an address on physical training of Indians, delivered at Bombay in 1885, he said:

> At one time considerable attention was paid to physical culture among our people, so much so, that some eminent gymnasts abused their strength to such an extent as to bring their career to a speedy and disgraceful end. This turned the tide of popular thought against the gymnastics. But, if we enquire into the cause of such a state of things, we shall trace it to the fact that, in the last generation, those who took too much physical culture neglected mental education altogether.[147]

Conclusion

Throughout the colonial period, the Indian body was delineated by sharp stereotypical attributes such as effeminate, effete, languorous, unmanly, et cetera. Since the beginning of colonial rule, the colonial officials and missionaries created a discourse of the effeteness of the Indian body that was employed to justify their subjugation and legitimization of colonial rule. However, this discourse was very complicated as it involved a set of patterns of reconfiguring physical hierarchies of natives from time to time. In spite of the fact, that colonized subjects were assumed to be inferior in relation to 'manly Englishmen', there were sections of Indian society that were more explicitly classed as effeminate and effete. The reconfiguration of hierarchies can be understood as the process of re-articulating the relation between the colonizers and colonized in the light of the continually changing political and economic imperatives of colonial rule. Thus, initially, English-educated Bengalis referred to as Babus were the objects of the colonial discourse of masculinity, but by the turn of the nineteenth-century the dichotomy of the masculine colonizer and the effete Indian embraced the entire country. The emergent Indian political leadership was labeled as effeminate. After all, English-educated middle-class Indians were leading the political agitation against British rule. The national movement also had taken a great leap forward. Therefore, the physique of Gandhi, in particular and middle-class Indian leaders in general, became a matter of ridicule for the late colonial officials. This colonial discourse of the Indian body disqualified the supposed martial and warlike Indian races from taking government responsibility on the ground that they were uneducated and undisciplined.

[147] "Physical Training for India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 175, (July 1885): 329.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, educated Indians simultaneously invested in and contested the colonial discourse of the effeminacy of their body. This was manifest in the politics of the times, where collaboration and contestation concurrently operated together. As many historians have argued, there was a shift in the politics of Indian leaders from collaboration to criticism of specific colonial policies. Therefore, as we have seen, social and quasi-politicized Indians, despite being convinced of their effeteness, endeavored to decipher the causes responsible for their condition. They critically examined the literary-based English educational system that took no consideration of their health and body and created a society that regards physical exertion as beneath their dignity. The belief that *"If you study (read and write), then you would become a nobleman/respectable person. If you play, then you'll become spoilt"* seems to have crept into the minds of Indians through colonial education.

Meanwhile, the revivalist tendency of educated Indians led to the construction of an imaginary of a golden past of physical culture. They strategically employed a trope of decline that explained India's civilizational decline in different aspects of life, viz. political, social, economic, and the physical. Such arguments were directed to demand physical education in India's educational system. These socially reformed and political-minded Indians sought a way to revive the physical body through an indigenous physical culture that emphasized strong bodies as a means of rediscovering Hindu masculinity.

CHAPTER 2
THE DISCOURSE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDIA

From the 1850s, the idea of education based on the intrinsic relationship between the body and mind started circulating in the discourse of education in India. Dwelling upon the educational philosophies and reforms taking place in England that took into consideration the relationship between mind and body, a community of educated Indians emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century who developed a critique of the colonial educational system. While convinced of the effeteness of their body and mind, they wished to improve their physical constitution through physical education. Colonial administrators also wished to improve upon the physical constitution of their subjects for administrative exigencies. Thus, there appeared a discourse of physical education in the second of the nineteenth century, where both parties examined India's educational problems and developed arguments favoring physical education. In this context, the chapter historicizes the early discourse of physical education in India that commenced from the 1850s.

Why Physical Education: The Indian Rationale

(i) Bengal

One of the earliest voices in favour of physical education in India can be traced to the lectures of Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty. Perhaps he was the first to use the term 'physical education' in India. Before him, it is hard to find reference to physical education in the writings and speeches of colonial officials or Indians. As discussed in the previous chapter, Chuckerbutty was the first Indian to pass the Indian Medical Service examination and went on to be appointed Professor of Materia Medica at Calcutta Medical College.[1] Chuckerbutty, as one among the four first batches of Indians to visit England in 1845 for higher education in medicine, extensively

[1] See, P C Sen Gupta, "Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty: The first Indian contributor to modern medical science," *Cambridge Journal of Medical History* 12, no. 2 (1970): 183-191.

traveled in Europe and closely examined their social and educational system.[2] He attempted to understand, as did many Indians before him, how England came to occupy its position in the nineteenth century world. Their social institutions and educational system impressed him the most.

As early as January 1852, Chuckerbutty talked about the importance of physical education and exercises while speaking about how people's habits influence their health. Based on his observations in England, he delivered a lecture titled, 'Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta′ on January 9, 1852, at the Bethune Society annual meeting to draw attention to some measures that might bring about an improvement in the health of the citizens.[3] He commenced the lecture explaining the three physical states of the body, viz. active, passive, and injurious. According to Chuckerbutty, a bodily and mental exercise conducted harmoniously and not carried too far was the best indicator of health. In contrast, the passive state is considered a sign of weakness, idleness, or undue restlessness and a symptom of disease among individuals and communities. Field sports, gymnastics, military exercises, naval adventures, manufacturing, agricultural pursuits, commercial activity, and scientific speculations, and artistic creativity were possible in the active bodily condition or perfect health. In the weak or passive state of health, belonged a class of men indulging in activities and having a fondness for passive games; a proneness to mild kinds of exercises, as in carriages, boats, palanquins; and a desire to shun whatever requires sustained bodily or mental labour. And those suffering from irregular and uncontrollable excitement were classified to be in the diseased state.[4]

On examining the physical condition of the people of Calcutta, Chuckerbutty concluded that city dwellers can be classified as falling within the three physical categories. Among the active type were the Europeans whom were exemplars of the harmonious and healthy exercise of both body and the mind. He reckoned Europe a pre-eminent nation on the merit of their strength and mental vigour, as he said, *"Whether in exhibitions of physical strength or of mental vigour, they stand as a nation, marvelously pre-eminent, and the greatest among them occupy a station never yet*

[2] Abhiroop Sengupta, "Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty: Sowing the seeds of change for generations to come,"*Asia Voice* (Friday 12th August 2016). https://www.asian-voice.com/Community/Soorjo-Coomar-Goodeve-Chuckerbutty-Sowing-the-seeds-of-change-for-generations-t

[3] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture I – Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta, 18th January 1852," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 1-27.

[4] Ibid., 12-13

reached by an Asiatic."[5] In the passive category of bodily and mental power, he placed the East Indians and the educated class of the whole of India as living examples. Though convinced of their effeteness, notwithstanding the fact that there was no dearth of talent and tried to understand what makes them inferior to Europeans. Chuckerbutty asked, *"I question much whether, generally, they* (educated East Indians natives) *have the power of using it* (talent) *so well as Europeans; and what does this result from?"* And he answers:

> From a want of adequate physical development. And this is true notwithstanding that cases of great physical strength might sometimes be pointed out; for here again one thing is brought out at the expense of the other, the body being generally utterly neglected. That mental culture, properly combined with physical education, would produce in this country results as great as in any part of Europe.[6]

Therefore, Chuckerbutty conceived physical education essential for the physical and mental development of Indians, on which rests the overall progress of a nation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the role of physical education in national development was recognized in Europe and America when schools focused on gymnastics, hygiene training, and care and development of the student's body. The nineteenth century was the age of educational reforms in the West and, as discussed in the introduction, educational thinkers pioneered the institutionalization of physical education as a modern discipline in schools and colleges of Europe and America.[7] Chuckerbutty, as a careful observer of the western educational system during his stay in England, was quick to recognize the role of physical education in national development. He contemplated physical education as a solution for the bodily weaknesses of Indians that eventually would improve not only their body but also their mind. Just a year after returning from England, he lamented that little attention was paid to young people's health and asked for physical education in India.[8] Referring to corpulent landlords, East Indians, and the educated class of India, he advised the introduction of games and bodily exercises in schools, duly combined with mental culture, as a successful measure for overcoming physical weakness. He thus appealed:

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[5] Ibid., 12
[6] Ibid., 12-13
[7] Kruger Michael & Annette R. Hofmann, "The Development of Physical Education in Europe: A Short Introduction," *The International Journal of the History of Sports* 32, no. 6 (2015): 737-739.
[8] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture I – Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta, 18th January 1852," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 13.

> Let active games and sports be introduced into every school, and we shall soon see a change for the better. As the mind improves, the body will become developed, and judgment and understanding grow equally vigorous and mature. There will be then none of that slavish timidity, approaching to cowardice, which is the natural result of a consciousness of one's own physical weakness; on the contrary, a healthy tone will prevail. And indicating a nobleness of disposition, and a freedom of thought not be found in those who are constantly haunted by fears.[9]

Soorjo Coomar Chuckerbutty delivered another important lecture on physical education in March 1854. The lecture entitled 'Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education' is one of the earliest on the subject of physical education in India. Delivered on March 9, 1854, the lecture proposed to initiate a discussion on physical and mental development commencing with a historical sketch to demonstrate and guide the youth on the relevance of physical education. He emphasized the importance of a healthy body in relation to the productive mind, the fundamental premise of physical education since the mid-nineteenth century.[10] With time many more ideas were evoked to highlight the necessity and utility of physical education, viz. character building, disciplining, and national regeneration in the discourse of physical education discourse in India. But the notion of "a healthy mind in a healthy body" widely used in educational and sporting contexts to highlight the idea that physical exercise and active sportsmanship is an essential and vital part of the moral, mental and psychological well-being of a pupil, became an intrinsic part of educational discourse in India.

Debunking the assumption of the period that the body is a mere house of the mind which is an owner, i.e., the belief that the body bears no relation to the mind, Chuckerbutty presents an analogy of the connection between the body and mind by substituting it with the relation between a steam engine and motion. Drawing this parallel with 'body and a mind,' he argued, *"so long as the engine is in order and submitted to steam force, its motion go on uninterrupted; but the moment some vital part of its frame-work is deranged it ceases to move notwithstanding the continued application with the same force."*[11] Here he was trying to explain that the proper development of the mind requires a healthy body in all its parts, and for the adequate

[9] Ibid
[10] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture II-Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education, March 9th 1854," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 28-44.
[11] Ibid., 29

development of the body, a sound mind is indispensable. Explaining the relationship between body and a mind, Chuckerbutty speaks:

> If the human mind, then, is only a part of the human life; and the human life, the active manifestation of the human soul; and the human body, the corollary, the condition of that manifestation, it follows as a necessary corollary, that whatever affects the human body, affects likewise the human life, and, if the human life, then also the human mind, since the human mind is merely a part of the human life. It is absurd, therefore to support that the mind of man alone makes his soul, and that it can be improved while body is neglected, just as it is absurd to suppose that locomotion can increase if the locomotion itself is neglected.[12]

Chuckerbutty thus endeavored to prove that humans were incapable of attaining perfection in any walk of life without bestowing a proper degree of care to the physical body. However, it was not that he insisted excessively on physical pursuits as he was unequivocal that mere development of 'thews and sinews' would make a man no other than another classes of animals. Chuckerbutty proposed a proper blending of mental and physical education that should be imparted to pupils for their overall development. That is why he repeatedly argued that any defect in the body may produce similar defects in the mind.[13] Most significantly, being a trained doctor and aware of the newly emerging field of physiological science, he tried to explain the importance of physical education in the light of modern discoveries of physiology.[14] It is worth mentioning that most of the physical educational theories of nineteenth-century Europe and America recognized the need to improve the nation's health that was in turn facilitated by developments in biological science.[15] Thus, Chuckerbutty scientifically illustrated the pre-eminence of the active body over the sedentary body. Such an explanation in 1854 was indeed a phenomenon very new to India. An extended extract from his speech read as follows:

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[12] Ibid., 30

[13] Ibid., 36-38

[14] For emergence of physiology in late nineteenth century, see, L. S. Jacyna, "The Physiology of Mind, the Unity of Nature, and the Moral Order in Victorian Thought," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 14, no. 2 (1981): 109-132 & J. Wayne Lazar, "Brain Physiology and the Mind in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 21, no. 4 (2012): 343-365.

[15] Roberta J. Park, "Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical educators: Nineteenth century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative,"*The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 12(2007): 1637-1673; Vanessa Heggie, "Bodies, Sport and Science in the Nineteenth Century," *Past & Present* 231, no. 1 (2016): 169–200 &R.A Mechikoff, "Philosophical Positions of the Body and the Development of Physical Education: Contributions of the Germans, Swedes, and Danes in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education*, ed. R. A. Mechikoff (Boston: The McGraw-Hill Companies Inc.,2009).

> Now suppose a person is at rest, his heart acts slowly, his respirations are few, his consumption of oxygen is small, his circulation feeble, and his waste and nutrition languid. Suppose him in motion, his heart acts quickly; his respiration are frequent; his consumption of oxygen great; his circulation rapid; and his waste and nutrition (provided there is sufficiency of suitable food) active and vigorous. General sedentary habits, therefore, engender a general feebleness of nutrition and development, but in general active exercises, a general exaltation of this functions. Who has not noticed the quick breathing, the shift pulse, the profuse sweating, the pleasant glow, and the carving hunger, from exercise in the open air? And who that has practically experienced them will deny the obvious advantage of uniting physical and mental education? I believe none. The union, on the one hand, strengths our intellectual powers, moral sentiments, feelings, and affections; on the other; it gives vigour and fortitude to our physical constitutions. Therefore, regular exercise is to our body what education is to our mind. The former melts down the superfluous fat, shapes into symmetry and beauty the exterior form, and invigorates the constitution; the latter orders and adds to the sources of our knowledge, softens into humility and loveliness the natural coarseness of our manners, and strengthens and sharpens our faculties and understandings. And the combination of the two secures for us the best condition of health, longevity, and worldly success.[16]

His study of the provision of physical education and sports in the schools of England suggested that the child soon after entering the school was imparted literary knowledge and urged to take physical exercises. Chuckerbutty concluded that their educational institutions instill in young pupils strength, skill, endurance, discipline, courage and resources, and the needed qualities of martial and manly nations.[17] Considering physical education as an essential requisite for the progress of any country, he urged educated Bengalis of Calcutta to consider the matter of physical training immediately and urged that the sooner they worked for it, the better it would be for posterity and India's prosperity.[18] He lamented that educated Indians had alienated themselves from their duty to reform society and education that forfeited all claims to their natural rights and privileges. Hence, for India to acquire a prominent place in the nations of the world, he made the following appeal of imparting physical training in unison with mental education.

[16] S. Goodeve Chuckerbutty, "Lecture II-Physical Training as an Essential Requisite of Native Education, March 9th 1854," in *Popular Lectures on Subjects of Indian Interests* (Calcutta: Published by Thomas S. Smith, 1870), 37.
[17] Ibid., 38-39
[18] Ibid., 40

> This is, indeed a most painful and melancholy reflection; and, if we do not wish to be alienated from our only safe destiny, and blotted out a nation, we must needs forthwith look to ourselves, watch in time the enemy at our back, girdle our loins, and resolutely urge on till we attain to our proper place in enlightenment and material power. If we value ourselves, value our families, value our posterity, and value our country, we should, I say, at once make up our minds to this, and push on; for push on we must, sooner or later, since there is no safety in our present course and presence indifference to physical training. We have an earnest of our success in the undertaking, on the one hand, in the great physical growth arrived at those of our countrymen who use regular and systematic exercise together with wholesome food and abstinences, and the other, in the acute intelligence evinced by all who devote themselves to mental pursuits. What we do want for increasing our fortitude, energy and general tone of life, is simply a combination of physical and mental culture in the education of our youth and a radical change in some of our old and barbarous institutions.[19]

Chuckerbutty suggested that the educated class perform exercises daily in the manner of their durwans (gatekeepers). He asked them to wrestle, tumble, toss, leap, run, and climb with demanding muscular exercises viz. boxing, dumbbells, fencing, single-stick, cricket, swinging, swimming, rowing, quoits, fishing, hunting, and billiards. Firmly believing that if Indians would recognize the importance of these physical pursuits, gradually manly spirits could be cultivated in them. In fact, Chuckerbutty thought of remodeling the whole machinery of Indian society through physical education. Hence, he urged the principal inhabitants of each district of Bengal and teachers of schools and colleges to make preliminary arrangements for organizing games. It is worth mentioning that Chuckerbutty even called for employing a special Professor of Gymnastics. The closing remarks of his lecture summarises his rationale:

> The benefits that would result from this measure are quite incalculable, and the whole machinery of Indian society would be altogether remodeled. When this great change shall have been brought about a more manly tone will be infused into every native breast, the excessive timidity and sensuality which now disgrace our countrymen will come to an end and the evils of polygamy and early marriage will be for ever banished from our shores. Our morality too, which admits of much improvement, will be the considerably purified and suited to the age, and if deemed advisable, completely changed. Vigor and industry will re-place our present apathy and

[19] Ibid., 42

helplessness; and plenty, cheerfulness, and happiness will be diffused all over the land of our birth.[20]

Another early essay dealing with physical education in India, titled 'On Native Education' from 1857 written by an anonymous writer criticized the colonial educational system.[21] The essay argued that the end of education is to develop the whole man, which required a complete system of education consisting of three parts, viz. physical, intellectual, and moral. The ideal education, as it argued, is that which develops man's innate principles and powers. It reads, *"The new-born baby is ushered into existence with all its bodily members which need to be grown, strengthened, and invigorated by nourishment and exercise."*[22] The colonial education system aimed at developing only some parts of human nature was defective. Accordingly, it argued that a system of education that exercises and matures all the functions viz. physical, mental, and moral is perfect. For the anonymous author, to cultivate only some faculties of the mind would be something like the overgrowth of a single member of the whole body while others remain in their dormant state.[23]

The essay not only condemns the course of instruction in India, which systematically tends to develop only a few susceptibilities of human nature but called such a system of education partial and injurious. Therefore, for the demand for an education that could enhance the physical powers of the pupils as well. From the 1850s onwards, the idea of education based on the relationship between body and mind started circulating in the educational discourse of India influenced by ideas of educational reforms occurring in Britain and elsewhere, where the value of physical education was recognized.[24] The essay argues that the physical education of man should subserve mental and moral culture: *"The body is the servant of the mind. And the former should be nourished and strengthened as it is the organ of the latter for holding intercourse with external nature, and as an instrument of usefulness to our fellow creatures."*[25] It further reads, *"Physical education is as necessary as mental. A healthy and a strong body is a great help and an essential*

[20] Ibid., 44
[21] The April 1877 edition of The Bengal Magazine notified that this essay was written twenty years ago for the first time. See, "On Native Education," *The Bengal Magazine* 5, (April 1877): 395-415.
[22] Ibid., 395
[23] Ibid
[24] See, Peter C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1968).
[25] "On Native Education," *The Bengal Magazine* 5, (April 1877): 396.

requisite to the vigorous exercise of mental powers".[26] So it concludes that through physical education, the constitution of youths could assume a noble and manly form and acquire polite manners. Moreover, while highlighting the defects in Government colleges and schools, the essay posed two questions. Is this system adopted to develop the physical, mental, and moral powers of Hindu youths? Is it adapted to develop their physical capabilities? Most importantly, the answer to the questions reflects the early idea and condition of physical education in India and its challenges. To quote an extract from the lecture:-

> In Bengal (we may say in all India) the education of the physical powers in man is practically unknown. In order to give a systematic physical education the youths should be placed in the boarding school where they would have an ample opportunities of learning the gymnastic exercises. But as far as the native of the country are concerned that will not be practicable unless caste is thoroughly broken. The system of caste is a greater enemy to gymnastic exercises than the heat of the climate. There are many artificial means by which the effects of the latter may be modified, but what will remove the fetters from the former? Yet unless the youths be freed from the bondage of caste they will not go to a boarding school where only they can learn the gymnastic exercises to any practical advantage.[27]

To be sure, this was a part of much larger critique of caste society circulating in Bengal at the time.[28] As a part of critique of caste system, the author of the essay considered the caste system an obstacle in developing physical education in India. Although, he argued that the government system of education made little or no provision for this vital subject. But, at the same time, he believed that it was not possible that "*an effectual physical education be given to native youth unless caste prejudices are buried out of mind."*[29] Whatever modest plan of teaching gymnastic exercises was made in some of the government colleges of Bengal, the essay claims it failed to bring any material good to the students. As it describes that only a few students are bodily fit to avail of gymnastic exercises. It further criticizes the ill-chosen forenoon time for physical

[26] Ibid
[27] Ibid., 398
[28] See, Sumit Sarkar, "Identity and Difference," in *Writing Social History*, ed. Sumit Sarkar (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[29] "On Native Education,"*The Bengal Magazine* 5, (April 1877): 400.

activities in the colleges instead of the morning when students can take pleasure and interest in athletic movements.[30]

From the 1860's educated Indians took to physical education with enthusiasm. Middle-class Bengalis, started taking to the subject of physical education and also launched a movement for physical training, as can be evident from the work of Rosselli.[31] In 1868 Babu Nabogopal Mitter of Bethune Society referred to a movement raising volunteer corps among themselves. He also writes about the establishment of a gymnasium supported entirely by Bengalis without any aid from the government.[32] Another influential Bengali figure, Rajnarayan Basu, in 1868 called for the revival of national gymnastic exercises and organized the Hindu Mela with the patronage of the Tagore family, where there were demonstrations of physical feats.[33] Babu Kisary Lal Sircar and Kally Kumar Das of Bethune College understood physical education to be of great value. The president of the society remarked: *"Was it the energy and enterprise in the national character which gave rise to the manifestation of physical activity? or the reverse? Perhaps it was better to consider them simply as concurrent, but, even viewed in this light alone, the subject was one which is behoved the rising generation of Bengal to lay seriously to heart".*[34]

Abdus Salam as discussed in the last chapter employed a trope of Muslim's physical culture decline and blamed literary-based western education that entirely lacked any physical education scheme in India. In a lecture titled 'Physical Education in India', with special reference to Muslims, delivered in January 1895, Salam discusses the objectives and kind of physical education he thought appropriate for India. He admitted that he wished to contribute to a better appreciation of the importance of manly outdoor games and physical exercises for Hindus and Muslims.[35] Like some of the early figures who spoke of the need for physical education in India, Salam too explained its importance in terms of physiological science and its relation to mental

[30] Ibid., 396-398
[31] John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal,"*Past & Present* no. 86, (Feb. 1980): 121-148.
[32] "The Fifth Monthly Meeting of the present Session was held at the Theatre of the Medical College, on Thursday The 12th March 1868,"in *Bethune Society Transactions* (Calcutta: 1868), cxxiii.
[33] See, Ronojoy Sen, "Breaking the Stereotypes. How the Bengalis began to react to the constant denigration by the British with a concerted effort to raise their self-esteem in both mind and body," *Outlook Magazine* (December 2014).
[34] "The Fifth Monthly Meeting of the present Session was held at the Theatre of the Medical College, on Thursday The 12th March 1868," in *The Proceedings of the Bethune Society for the Sessions of 1868-69.* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1869), cxxiv.
[35]Abdus Salam, *Physical Education in India* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1895), 1-2.

development. Salam argues that man is endowed by nature with certain faculties and powers, and education aims to bring them out, develop and improve them. These faculties and powers were two-fold in character, one is physical, and another is mental. To develop them, he explained education should also be physical and mental. According to Salam, physical education should be aimed at maintaining physical health by developing physical powers and mental education to preserve mental health by developing cognitive abilities.[36] On the relation between body and mind and educating them together, Salam thought, *"Though the subjects, Body and Mind, of which these two systems of education treat, are distinct, yet they are inseparable, that is, so far as we conceive human existence in this world; and they are also, according to physiologists, intimately connected."*[37] Salam's rationale and objective for physical education is reflected in the following extract:

> Physical education, though of less absolute value than mental education, is superior by reason of the liberality of its gifts. The blessing of health which it promises to its votaries is open to all alike-to the king and the peasant, the rich and the poor, and the high and the low. Also, when regarded from the stand-point of its relative value, physical education has pre-eminent importance compared with the importance of all other subjects, even mental education, sinks into insignificance. The reason is simple. The object of physical education is preservation of health and life, and health and life constitute the base of which we can raise other superstructures, such as those of intellect, wisdom, piety, wealth, power, rank and frame**,** &c.[38]

Interestingly, Salam quoted many Persian proverbs on health to justify physical education discourse among the Muslim middle-class and elites. Quotations from the Islamic literature addressing the value of physical education explicit in the tradition had a great appeal amongst the audience Salam was addressing. He translated one of the Persian proverbs, which reads, one blessing of health equals a hundred blessings. It is the principal element in human happiness, and, therefore, it has been all observed that 'a healthy beggar is happier than an ailing king.'[39] Salam also referred to many Western philosophers viz. Aristotle, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Rousseau's views on health with a view to provide further weight to his arguments. It is to be noted that Rousseau's version of negative education emphasized the biological development of a

[36] Ibid., 1
[37] Ibid., 1-2
[38] Ibid., 2-3
[39] Ibid., 3-4

child's organs and faculties and physical education, in particular, conceived as an essential for development and natural growth of children.[40] While Schopenhauer also talked about health and nutrition in some of his essays.[41] Thus, taking the cue from these thinkers, Abdus Salam quoted the following words from the German philosopher Schopenhauer, *"Without a proper amount of daily exercise, no one can remain healthy; all the processes of life demands exercise for the due performance of their functions, exercise not only of the parts more immediately concerned, but also of the whole body."*[42]Salam turned to Rousseau's observation on how physical exercise can lead to developing the mind, read as *"that if you wish to develop the mind of a pupil, develop the power which that mind has to govern, exercise his body, make him healthy and strong, that you may make him prudent and reasonable."*[43]

Dwelling upon the modern discoveries of medical science and physiology, Salam claims that it had become an undeniable fact that moderate and judicious physical exercise, to a great extent, prevents diseases and preserves health. He says, "it is evident that physical education has an equal claim on our attention; for prevention of disease is better than its cure, preservation of health better, easier, and cheaper than its restoration. Physical education aims at the maintenance of health, by directing itself to the exercise of all the parts of which this mechanism of the human body is constituted."[44] Salam explained in great detail how physical exercises help in the proper functioning of the body organs and thus reduces the risk of diseases. For instance, he describes the heart with its complicated double systole and diastole, beats strongly and untiringly; with twenty-eight beats, it has to drive the blood through arteries, veins, and capillaries. Physical exercises can enable the lungs to pump like a stream-engine without intermission and the intestines kept in peristaltic action. Explaining how neglecting exercises can effect body functions, he commented:

> When people can get no exercise at all, as is the case with countless numbers who are condemned to a sedentary life, there is a glaring and fatal disproportion between outer inactivity and inner

[40] See, Benjamin Louis Antoine Henin, Jean Jacques Rousseau on Physical Education and Study of the Child (health - Intellect - Moral) (New York: University of Michigan, 1924)& Eugene O. Iheoma, "Rousseau's Views on Teaching," *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la PenséeÉducative* 31, no. 1 (1997): 69-81.
[41] Chris Matakas, *Schopenhauer on Health*
https://www.chrismatakas.com/post/schopenhauer-on-health
[42] Abdus Salam, *Physical Education in India* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1895), 4-5.
[43] Ibid., 9-10
[44] Ibid

> tumult. For this ceaseless internal motion requires some external counterpart, and the want of it produces effects like those of emotion, which we are obliged to suppress.[45]

Significantly enough, Abdus Salam's objective behind India's physical education did not merely address its health benefits. Unlike his late-nineteenth-century contemporaries, who primarily built an argument on the necessity of physical education in India based on health benefits, Salam, based on his study of physical education systems developed in Europe, saw in it as an instrument of inculcating discipline and manly character in Indian youths. The idea of disciplining the body and mind becomes prominent in the physical education discourse in India in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Informing his reader that in modern Europe the necessity of physical exercise has been recognized, he describes the different systems of physical cultures developed in the nineteenth century like the popular Swedish system of gymnastics and outdoor sports, such as cricket, football, tennis, badminton, riding, walking, rowing, swimming, boxing, shooting, hunting, dancing, skating, archery, and golf, &c. Besides outdoor sports students in Europe received military training, which served the purpose of physical education for their voluntary military service. Sporting leagues emerged in Europe to influence public opinion in favor of manly games and to promote generally the cause of physical education. Salam asserts that all these, along with the bracing climate of Europe, combine to keep up the health and physical vigour and manliness of the western races. He further describes that in the universities of England and the continent, the students took pride in themselves as much on their athletic dexterity, as on their mental acquisitions.[46] Apart from the physical strength, other qualities that could be developed through the physical pursuits, he describes, *"...in a well-planned, scientific manly games, such as a cricket or football or tennis, it is not only our physical powers that are brought into play, but also higher moral qualities, such as independence, presence of mind, self-reliance, discipline and self-control are developed."*[47]

Thus, Salam thought that if European scientific physical education and English manly sports would be adopted in India, moral qualities such as independence, presence of mind, self-reliance, discipline, and self-control could be inculcated in Indian youths as well. He even contemplated

[45] Ibid., 5-6
[46] Ibid., 9
[47] Ibid

physical education to be an agent of change that could kindle patriotic emotions and reinvigorate in the Muslim race, the physical prowess, courage, manliness, and vitality, the discipline and presence of mind which he claimed distinguished his race from the seventh to about the end of the eighteenth century.[48] Therefore, Salam considered it necessary to take recourse to physical exercise to prevent Indian youth's physical energy and vitality from being sapped.

As far as the kind of physical education Salam considered suitable for India, he proposed moderate daily physical activity like riding, walking, practice with *mudghurs* (Indian club), wrestling, rowing, shooting, swimming, gymnastic exercises, and manly sports as he referred to cricket, football and tennis should be undertaken. He appealed to the government and influential Indians to open sporting grounds that would afford a great impetus to the cause of physical education. Most interestingly, he believed it would solve the problem of the growing estrangement between races by promoting better and friendlier relations between the Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. A common sporting ground, according to Salam, *"seems to be a very good nursery, where the seed of union and solidarity between races can be sown, and may, in ripeness of time, be expected to germinate, and grow into shady plants."*[49] Salam's sporting philosophy of promoting friendlier relations between races drew a great deal from the late nineteenth-century philosophy of sports that led to the introduction of team sports in the world.[50] Last but not least, Salam engaged with the idea of linking physical attitudes with national character, as he emphasized building "national character" through physical education in India.[51]

(ii) Bombay and Madras

It was not that the discourse of physical education was confined up to Bengal Presidency alone. From the 1880s onwards, there appeared a demand for physical education in Bombay and Madras presidencies. The March 1885 edition of *The Hindu* addressed the subject of physical education, which testifies that the matter was occupying serious attention of the educational authorities at the pan-India level. The article titled- 'English Students and Physical Education', discusses the benefits of physical education prevalent in the schools, colleges, and universities to

[48] Ibid., 16
[49] Ibid., 26-27
[50] For History of Philosophy of team sport, see, R. Scott Kretchmar, "Philosophy of Sport," in *The History of Exercise and Sport Science*, eds. J.D. Massengale and R. A. Swanson (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1996), 181–201 & D. Lunt and M. Dyreson, "A History of Philosophic Ideas about Sport," in *The Bloomsbury Companion to the Philosophy of Sport*, ed. C.R. Torres (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 17–40.
[51] Abdus Salam, *Physical Education in India* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1895), 20.

English students. It further highlighted the defects in India's education system that deprived students of any health benefits. Written by S. Satthianadhan, a graduate from Cambridge University, it offered an account of the culture of sports and physical activity at Cambridge and lamented its absence in the Indian educational system. Pointing out the excessive emphasis accorded to literary education as introduced by the colonial government in India, he wrote that *"it was considered enough up till late to cram the heads of Hindu youths a number of subjects, make them pass a few examinations, and finally dub them with a B.A., and send them out into the world as educated men."*[52] Comparing the Indian educational system with the English Universities, he writes:

> In fact, a false notion of education has been prevalent in India. The result of the system of education adopted in our Indian Universities is something entirely different from that of the English Universities. The sole end of education adopted in our schools and Colleges in India is the giving of information; it is not the preparing of the student's mind for further impressions which it will be able to take in, even after the three or four years' University training is over. A true liberal education ought to affect the whole man; it is the drawing forth or cultivation of all the human faculties, bodily and mental. In English Universities we find that sports form one of the chief features of undergraduate life. To take, for example, Cambridge- one of the typical English Universities - there the various physical and social amusements are as much valued as the advantages offered for a through intellectual training. Nothing more surprises a stranger on his first entrance to Cambridge than the tall, stalwart, muscular figures of English students. Regular exercise is the great secret. A Cantab no more thinks of missing his two hours' exercise per diem than he thinks of going without his dinner.[53]

Satthianadhan then recounts that afternoons were entirely given to sports at Cambridge, and the most popular of amusements being boating. Each College had its own Boating Club, and the older members of the College taught the new-comers. Next to boating comes cricket, which is very popular in summer, while football is played in winter. Besides these, Satthianadhan points out that the undergraduates play tennis, golf, racquets, and various other games. Those young men who were not inclined to more vigorous exercise sally out in the afternoons for long walks

[52] S. Satthianadhan, "English Students and Physical Education, from The Hindu," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 179, (London: November 1885): 527.
[53] Ibid

and called *'grinds'* in Cambridge parlance.[54] A Cambridge student never fails to exercise each day, one way or another. The ancient Latin saying, *Mens sana in corpore sano*- a sound mind is the result of a sound body ruled at Cambridge, claimed Satthianadhan.[55] Deploring the depressing state of the Indian educational system that lacks physical education, he characterizes the positive changes physical education can bring in the physical and moral appearance of Indian students and appeals to make it compulsory in schools and colleges. Satthianadhan wrote in *The Hindu*:

> What a picture does the very mention of the word students bring before our minds, here in India! A study-worn, consumptive-looking individual fit more to be the inmate of the hospital than the frequenter of the lecture room. The sight is sickening. How many of our students in the Colleges in India give so much as one hour a day to out-door exercises? The University course is one perpetual grinding from the time the student commences his A B C till he becomes a dubbed a B.A. No wonder that some of our best students, notwithstanding their brilliant University career, become useless in the end, and utterly unfit for any original work. If there is one lesson which our students should learn from English students, it is this-the paying as much attention to their bodily as to their mental development. And the only way to make them feel the necessity of out-door exercise is to compel them to devote at least an hour each day for sports in the College or school premises. Once made compulsory, the students in time would realise for themselves the great pleasure they derive from out-door exercise, not to speak of the solid advantages they obtain in the long run, and would therefore, take to them of their own accord. What becomes of the hundreds of young intelligent men who are sent out year after year by our Universities? The quick perception, the indefatigable inquiry, the intelligent appreciation which are so characteristic of Hindu students and which are so much admired in them, what has been the result of these? It is high time that the Hindu student shows others that he has something more in him than the capacity to get through examinations.[56]

Another Cambridge alumnus, P. Arunachalam, from Madras presidency, also talked about the necessity of physical education in India. In April 1881, the *Journal of the National Indian Association* published his address on education, discussing the importance of physical education. For Arunachalam, the cultivation of a healthy and robust body was not only an intellectual but a

[54] Ibid., 528
[55] Ibid
[56] Ibid., 527-529

moral gain, which is why he considered health a matter of primary importance to the public. On the discipline of physical education, he writes, *"The improvement of all the systems and functions of your body is another branch of education called Physical Education, the paramount importance of which is universally acknowledged."*[57] Elucidating physical education as the most pressing need in schools, he was anxious to impress on parents and schoolmasters that its encouragement is their greatest duty towards the children. Arunachalam's utmost interest in physical education can be reckoned from the fact that he considered it one of factors explaining England's superiority over other nations. Illuminating the importance of physical education, he says, *"Physical education should be as important a part of the curriculum as mental, I have always felt the superiority of Englishmen to the most modern nation due in a great measure to the important place assigned to physical education in their schools and colleges."*[58]

Drawing from his experience in England and Germany, Arunachalam writes that a gymnasium was attached to every school in Germany, and attendance at it was a compulsory part of the curriculum and was rewarded with marks. He described the education in England, where great attention was paid to outdoor exercises. As a Cambridge post-graduate, he says that at the university, proficiency in boating, cricketing, and other sports were thought of highly and brought more distinction than obtaining the highest honours in examinations. He also claimed that often men of inferior mental caliber beat abler men in the triposes (the final honours examination for a BA degree at Cambridge University) through sheer physical strength, since they were better able to stand the terrible strain of work for such examinations.[59] Such a claim from Arunachalam who himself studied at Cambridge seems to be rhetorical and exaggerated, but it cannot be denied that sporting activities formed an important part of the students life at Cambridge. Talking about England's public schools, he describes how there was even greater enthusiasm for physical exercise. Thus, he prefers to build a gymnasium in schools better suited to the people and climate of India rather than outdoor exercises.[60]

[57] P. Arunachalam, "An Address on Education," *Journal of the National Indian in Aid of Social Progress of India,* no. 131, (London: November 1881): 645.
[58] P. Arunachalam, "An Address of Education in Ceylon," *Journal of the National Indian Association,* no. 128, (London: August 1881): 467-469.
[59] Ibid
[60] Ibid., 469

Pestanji Dorabji Khandelawala, an educationalist from the princely state of Baroda, who played a pivotal role in reforming the system of technical and industrial education, was another figure to raise the subject of physical education for Indian students. In 1881, Khandelawala wrote an interesting essay entitled 'Stray Thoughts on Education', discussing India's educational problems. Dealing with the different aspects of education, he observed that some important educational concerns were relatively neglected under the system of education introduced by the colonial rulers.[61] Like many of the English educated cultural interlocutors of the time who recognized the social and cultural changes brought about by English education in India, he opined that many critical educational disciplines had not gone hand in hand nor kept pace with the progress of western thought and consequently there appeared to be a comparatively abnormal development of education in India. He commented, *"While physical training, systematic moral teaching, and above all, technical education lag behind, mere intellectual education has outstripped them all. Had this last however, gone hand in hand with the former the result would undoubtedly have been far more satisfactory."*[62] Considering the weak physical constitution of the Indians that he thought could not bear the strain of brain work, he suggested a part of the strain could be avoided if Indian students would be provided judicious education that included the proper provision of physical exercise on the line of European children.[63]

Whereas Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao who served as the Diwan of Travancore, Indore and Baroda and took interest in the works of Herbert Spencer[64] in an address delivered on 13 August 1883 to the students of Patcheapah's Charities, Madras appealed to them not to overwork the brain and pursue studies with good health. An impression of Spencer's *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* can be traced in his speech where he emphasized the necessity of bodily exercise to keep the body healthy and advised students not to be idle and take up the activities that improve and strengthen the body.[65]

[61] Pestanji Dorabji Khandelawala, "Stray Thoughts on Education,"*Journal of National Indian Association,* no. 124, (April 1881): 207.
[62] Ibid
[63] Ibid., 211
[64] See, *Diwan Sir Thanjavur Madhava Row: Life and Times of Statesman, Administrator Extraordinaire* (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2015).
[65] "Sir Madava Rows Address on Education," *Journal of National Indian Association*, no. 155, (November 1883): 645.

In the Bombay presidency as well, the discourse of physical education appeared in the late nineteenth century. On March 3, 1885, Muncherjee Framjee Patell, a Parsee associated with the Dnyan Pursanik Society of Bombay, delivered a lecture in Gujarati, the English translation of which was published in the *Journal of National Indian Association*. Patell was a member of the first-ever Indian cricket team to tour England in 1886. The team was entirely made up of Parsees, who played 28 matches on tour.[66] The lecture titled 'Physical Training for India' argued for building the culture of physical training for all Indians. Addressing the critical questions related to physical education viz. what is exercise, what are its advantages, and why it is necessary to undergo it; Muncherjee, in a way, played a significant role in awakening educated Indians to the importance of physical education. Explaining the physiological importance of physical training, Patell offered a scientific and utilitarian justification for physical education in India.

Like many of his contemporaries, Patell also believed that literary education was encouraged at the cost of physical culture in India. He warned that the baneful effects would be noticed sooner or later because of the complete negligence of physical culture. Patell drew the attention of the proprietors of the private schools of Bombay informing them that if boys, after working the whole day in schools, do not get time for play and exercise, they would turn out weak-minded and live miserable lives. In a very appealing fashion, he used the famous English proverb, *"All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,"* to make educated Indians appreciate the value of physical education.[67] Interestingly, on the line of the Factory Act of England, Muncherjee Framjee proposed the necessity of a School Act in India to protect school children from mental overwork.[68] Discussing the amount of mental work children had to undergo under the protection of ignorant parents and untrained school teachers that left no time for play and exercise and produced undeveloped and sneaky minds, he commented:

> The mind, in its natural state, resembles a raw, uncut diamond. As the value of the latter depends on the cultivator and the burnisher, so the cleverness of the mind on those who have its care in early age. As the diamond loses its value in the hand of a stupid artisan, so does the tender brain

[66] Rustom Deboo, *Parsis, Pioneers of Cricket: A Weekly Record of the Game* 5, no. 117 (May 13, 1886): 120-121.
[67] "Physical Training for India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 175, (July 1885): 330-331.
[68] Ibid., 331

> suffer for ever in the hands of foolish parents and heartless teachers. When once this precious brain is overworked, it loses all its strength, and does not admit of improvement.[69]

Thus, Patell argues applying the English system of training the mind in unison with the body so that the whole human frame may be put to work together, adequately nourished, and vigorous for leading a healthy and happy life. He describes how in Europe, the subject of training the mind alongside the body had received so much importance that gymnasiums were attached to schools, and gymkhanas and boats were provided for the people to spend their morning and evening hours of leisure.[70] Elaborating upon the pre-eminent position of physical education in public schools and colleges of England, he highlights in great detail how in the western countries various methods were adopted for putting to work different parts of the body, such as swimming, riding, cricket, billiards, polo, football, bicycling, rowing, racing, and gymnastics. He further shared many instances in which gymnastic training during youth had brought significant results in forming a good constitution and sound health. Therefore, he suggests practicing gymnastic exercises for as long a time as possible.[71]

Most importantly, the early trace of the debate on a different system of physical training can be discerned in Patell's lecture. As we will see in the succeeding chapters, various physical culture systems emerged in the early twentieth century that competed with each other. The local traditions of physical culture like *yoga*, *khusti* (Indian wrestling), *akharas* (Indian gymnasium), which witnessed a revival and resurgence were brought to the notice of Muncherjee Framjee Patell. He set out the differences of opinion on what exercises were good or bad for Indians. As he admits, *"some are advocates of English exercises, and others consider the native exercises invaluable."*[72] It is worth mentioning that he began to be convinced of the need for the amalgamation of the best of the Western and Indian physical exercises. This trend becomes quite prominent in the discourse of physical education in the twentieth century. Explaining the health benefits associated with physical exercises, Patell writes about the amalgamation of the English and Indian physical exercises:

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[69] Ibid., 331
[70] Ibid., 329
[71] "Physical Training for India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 180, (December 1885): 583-585.
[72] "Physical Training for India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 179, (November 1885): 521.

> …a moderate amount of gymnastic exercise is very useful; for exercise is beneficial in two ways: first, that the body grows warm, and there is free circulation of blood; and secondly, that the parts which undergo work get slowly stronger. The first object can be secured by means of any exercise; but the second object requires that exercise should be so arranged that on the same day all the parts of the body should be brought into play. Generally speaking, the English exercises, such as the horizontal bar and parallel bars, exercises more the chest and the muscles of the arms than the legs; so that, if to them were added the native Mulkum and wrestling; the full benefit of exercise may be obtained.[73]

Patell claims that wrestling as a form of physical culture is a beneficial exercise as its practice calls into motion all parts of the body and brings the mind into play. As wrestling could enhance man's courage, therefore, he thought that it should be encouraged in all gymnasiums. However, as a matter of fact, indigenous physical culture had not entered into the discourse of physical education till the early twentieth century. Therefore, he talked much more about introducing English sports and the European physical training system, especially gymnastic exercises, in India. Himself, a cricketer in the first Indian team to tour England, he explains cricket played in the open-air benefits health and provides a moderate amount of exercise to the body and a good deal of excitement. He even urged the provincial government to arrange grounds for cricket in the city of Bombay.[74] Interestingly, Muncherjee Framjee Patell was interested in adapting swimming as a form of physical culture in Bombay. About swimming, he says:

> Swimming is the art very useful for improving health…Although swimming does not develop the body as gymnastics exercises do, yet there are many other advantages from the exercise of this art. In the first place, all diseases of the skin are removed by swimming in clear water. This art will also prove very beneficial to those who suffer from nervousness and hysterics, and also loss of sleep; and it will serve to remove from the bodies of corpulent persons all fat which they accumulated through indolence. As swimming calls forth frequently courage and judgment, it develops these qualities in him who practice it. [75]

Patell, in his lecture, also talked about a course of exercise practiced in Germany, known as medico-gymnastics. Though he did not mention Dr. Gustav Zander, the Swedish physician who pioneered mechanotherapy (promotion of health and healing with the use of devices for

[73] Ibid., 521-522
[74] Ibid., 523
[75] Ibid., 524

exercising), but he did mention Professor Truls Johan Hartelius and his book *Home Gymnastics for the Preservation and Restoration of Health in Children and Young and Old People of Both Sexes: With a Short Method of Acquiring Art of Swimming.*[76] Speaking on medico-gymnastics, he explains how their practices develop the limbs, fortify the inner machinery, correct its faults, and remove chronic complaints. He concluded the lecture by urging the need to act promptly and resolve the situation: "Our ability and *wealth will not help us much: without health, money will begin to disappear, and the mind will grow weak. Mens sans corpore sane. This is an important matter*."[77]

The early Colonial Objective and Initiative behind Physical Education in India

As discussed in the previous chapter, Mary Carpenter attributed the effete body of Indians to their flawed social and educational system. On the one hand, she agreed with the image of the Indian as averse to any physical labour, whereas, on the other hand, she found the educational system as introduced by the colonial government inefficient for ignoring the matter of physical education.[78] Carpenter played a significant role in Britain's educational reforms, particularly regarding female education and reformatory schools for juvenile offenders. She founded the Working and Visiting Society in 1846 to advocate providing fresh air, nutritious meals, recreation, and positive reinforcement to poor children for their emotional, physical, and educational developments.[79] Carpenter, then visited India for six months in 1868. Her visit implicitly and explicitly contributed a lot to the discourse of female and physical education in India. Significantly enough, the discourse, in turn, influenced the course of educational policies in India. It is not wrong to say that, though Soorjo Coomar Chuckerbutty pioneered the discourse of physical education in India, it was with Mary Carpenter that physical education truly entered into the domain of India's educational discourse. Carpenter's reputation as a renowned educationalist and social reformer must have played a significant role in this regard.

In her two-volume memoir, *Six Months in India*, Carpenter had addressed the problems of education in India in great detail. Her observations of education in India, under the head of'the

[76] Ibid., 526 & For medical gymnastics, see, Pia Lundquist Wanneberg, "Gymnastics as a Remedy: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Swedish Medical Gymnastics,"*Athens Journal of Sports* 5, no. 1 (March 2018): 33-52.
[77] "Physical Training for India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 179, (November 1885): 524.
[78] See, Chapter 1, 27-28.
[79] Mark W. Harris, *Historical Dictionary of Unitarian Universalism*, 116-117.

want of physical training, 'discussed why Indians need physical education. Recognizing that British rule had widely established educational institutions in India and created a desire in the superior classes of its inhabitants to avail themselves of the English education, she also pointed out some severe defects in India's educational system.[80] According to Carpenter, education in India was solely directed to the exercise of the intellectual faculties in the hope that acquiring knowledge in a particular branch would enable them to discharge certain duties in life.[81] Comparing the British public schools with government schools in India, she found in the former much scope for the physical development of the pupil together with the intellectual faculty while the latter lacked any such possibility. In public schools of England attention has been drawn to the necessity of imparting a more varied culture and developing mental powers more thoroughly than can be done by an exclusive study of one kind. Three of the six hours devoted to learning were employed in the varied development of abilities, especially physical and aesthetic, with a view that mental faculties would be more healthy and vigorous and capable of the reception of knowledge.[82] Games, organized sports, and gymnastic exercises of British public schools were credited for their comprehensive progress. Carpenter found such a system of physical training completely absent in Indian schools. Writing about the condition of schools in India in comparison to British public schools, she commented:

> In the Hindoo schools, on the contrary, the ordinary school-hours are from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M., with only half an hour, of interval. The hottest and most oppressive hours of the day are thus entirely devoted to intellectual culture. There is no cause for wonder, that the exhausted mental state induce extreme physical inactivity, and that not the slightest desire exits to take bodily exercise after school hours.[83]

Realizing that the subject of physical education was not considered in India, Carpenter, at a special meeting of the Bethune Society, made a strong plea before the educated members of the learned society highlighting the importance of physical training for boys and girls. Upset about the neglect of physical education in Indian schools and colleges, she explains that its negligence may cause injury to the mind and body. Drawing upon the newly emerged philosophy of

[80] See, Aravind Ganachari, "Mary Carpenter and Reform Movement in Western India," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 59 (1998): 595-605 & Mary Carpenter, "On Female Education in India," in *Nineteenth-Century British Women's Education, 1840–1900*, eds. Susan Hamilton and Janice Schroeder (London: Routledge, 2020).
[81] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. II* (London: Longmans, Green, And Co., 1868), 119-120.
[82] Ibid., 121
[83] Ibid., 122

physical education based on physiological discoveries, she explained that their bodily powers must be developed through physical education to strengthen the pupil's minds.[84]

For Mary Carpenter and other like-minded educators, physical education was regarded as an essential requisite for the physical development of the race. During her trip, she met many local schoolmasters in Calcutta and Bombay who lamented referring to the degraded physical constitution of pupils. As such, she considered the matter of negligence of physical education in India as *"permanently injurious to the physical development of the race."*[85] Yet she thought that the existing situation could be reformed. In the Martiniere School at Calcutta, she noticed boys, whether Eurasians or Hindus, equally active in their games with English boys and took pleasure in it. With an eye on their overall development, Carpenter suggested, *"If gymnastic exercises were to occupy two half-hours of the school time, under the superintendence of the master, with the incentives held out to success, it cannot be doubted that an important step would thus be taken in the real education of the Hindoos youth, without diminishing their intellectual progress."*[86]

Carpenter thought until and unless the dislike for physical culture in the elite and educated people of India does not vanish, the country's physical reformation cannot be possible. She called for a joint effort of influential Indians to make people aware of the importance of physical training and modifying the government educational system to inculcate a culture of physical training in India. In the 1860s, physical education and sports were introduced in some colleges of Bengal, and the government even established gymnasia at Hooghly and Calcutta. However, this move of the government miserably failed. Commenting on the reason for the failure of the plan, Carpenter writes: *"... those who ought to have had sufficient patriotism to encourage it, were too wedded to custom to give any countenance to the innovation. Cricket has been tried at several places, and sometimes a decent eleven has been trained; but the whole thing depends on the energy of some one European teacher and when he leaves the cricket club collapses. Cricket is not indigenous in India, and exists among Bengali boys as an exotic plant, which shrivels up on*

[84] A Special Meeting of the Bethune Society was held at the Theatre of the Medical College, on Tuesday. The 11th of December, at 5 P. M., to listen to as address from Miss Carpenter, in *Proceedings of the Bethune Society of the Year 1868-1869* (Calcutta: 1869), xciii-xciv.
[85] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. II* (London: Longmans, Green, And Co., 1868), 124.
[86] Ibid

the first adverse wind."[87] Thus, cricket, which became a national obsession in the second half of the twentieth century, did not enjoy the same reception in the nineteenth century.[88]

With Mary Carpenter's visit, the subject of physical education not only got a fillip in the discourse of education in India but also influenced colonial educational policies. The president of the Bethune Society took Carpenter's words on physical education at face value. Her arguments convinced many educated Indians of the importance of physical education and her justification for physical exercises and recreation in children's education greatly appealed to them. Many of them began questioning the climatic explanation of Indians' indifference to physical culture propagated by the colonizers, the idea being that India's tropical, steamy, heated, and saturated atmosphere rendered the populace unfit for physical exercises. Bengali intellectuals spoke of Burma whose climate is similar to India's and argued that there: *"... the young people of all classes seem to take the utmost delight in out-door games and exercises."*[89] A. Grant, Director of Public Instruction at Bombay, inspired by Carpenter, draws attention to physical training in his report of 1867. This was more than a decade before the Hunter Commission of 1882 that emphasized the promotion of physical development in schools by encouraging physical training and games, Grant tried to formulate a physical education policy for the province of Bombay. An extract from his report of 1867 reads as follows:

> Among the points brought to the notice of Government by Miss Carpenter during her visit to Bombay, was the want of the provision for the physical education of the pupils in Government schools. Viewed as a general education, in reference to different classes of school, local circumstances throughout the Presidency, to arrangements of school hours, to sites for playground and gymnasia, to the provision of gymnastic teachers, and, above all, to the mode of meeting the necessary expenses, this subject is a large one. I have collected reports upon it, and hope, after due consultation with the educational officers, to submit proposal to Government. I may say here, however, that among the Deccan population, there is considerable fondness for active and athletic games, which might well be recognized in connection with our schools.[90]

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[87] Ibid., 123

[88] See, Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field- The Indian History of British Sports* (UK: Penguin, 2014), 26-27.

[89] "Need for Physical Exercise in Bengal", in *Proceedings of the Bethune Society of the Year 1868-1869* (Calcutta: 1869), xcvii.

[90] *Report of the Department of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1866-67* (Bombay: Printed at the Bombay Society Press, 1867), 51.

H. L. P. Wynne delivered a lecture before the Bethune Society on March 12 1868, entitled 'Bodily Training- Its Effects on National Character.' The title itself reflects the objective of physical education. Critical of the educational system as introduced by the colonial government, he thought that education in India was wholly devoted to the brain and not to the body that had made the character of the upper class of the society indolent and feeble. As such, he thought that if manly exercises to which the English were markedly devoted were closely looked into and applied in India, it would serve to develop presence of mind, the decision of purpose, and self-reliance among students. Importantly, he believed these qualities as the character building attributes necessary for the regeneration of any nation.[91] Describing the importance attached to physical education in England, he ascribed Englishmen's virtues of energy, bravery, and determination of will in a great measure due to his manly pastimes on the cricket field and the boat race. To justify his point, he said, *"A sound mind in a sound body is a principle which has been recognized ever since the days of Aristotle."*[92] He further explained how in bad health, the mind tends to take a morbid view of things and that a morose or peevish character arises from a bodily indisposition.[93] Thus, Wynne advocated gymnastic exercises for boys that were suited to their age and constitution and lessons in running, jumping, wrestling, playing at a ball, and practicing dumbbells. Most importantly, he opined that the qualities acquired through manly discipline and character through physical education contribute to intellectual vigour that carry people to the front rank of civilization and their influences is felt across the globe.[94]

Charles Richard Francis, who was in the Bengal Medical Establishment and associated with Carpenter's National Indian Association, published an article entitled `How to Preserve Health in India'in 1886 and further contributed to the subject of physical education in India.[95] As an expert on Indian medical affairs, he was aware of the developments taking place in physiological science in Europe and its contribution to the discipline of physical education. He analyzed the causes behind the supposedly morbid body of Indians and suggested several measures to remedy the situation. Of many remedies, he thought, physical training was of utmost importance. He

[91] H. L. P. Wynne, "Bodily Training- Its Effects on National Character' read before the Bethune Societyon March 12th 1868," in *Transaction of the Bethune Society for the Year 1869-1868* (Calcutta: 1869), 61-80.
[92] Wynne's Lecture on Physical Education, Summary of the Proceedings from 10th November 1859, to 20th April 1869, cxxiii.
[93] Ibid
[94] Ibid
[95] Charles Richard Francis, *Sketches of Native Life in India* (London: Printed by Meldola, Cahn, &. Co., 1848).

firmly held the view that exercises in moderation keep the body healthy. He writes: *"Nothing tends to keep the body in health better than the daily exercise, short of fatigue, of its various component parts. It is necessary to emphasize this point, viz., the limit to exercise; as it is of great importance that the benefit derived from the exertion should not be neutralized by excess."*[96] Francis further explained, based on popular physiology how exercise in moderation helps to equalize blood circulation and prevent congestion. He argued that in a country like India, where congestion is liable to occur daily exercise is essential. Based on his long experience of India's health and medical affairs, he affirmed that Europeans who take daily exercise have the best health and are subject to lower risk of blood pressure and congestion than Indians who do not perform any physical activity.[97]

Though Mary Carpenter and H. L. P. Wynne initiated a physical education discourse in India they were not colonial administrators involved in the country's governance in any capacity. Their thought and suggestions for the physical education of Indians largely vested upon their concern of reforming the educational and social system of India. However, colonial administrators had their own set of concerns about physical education in India. In the 1870's George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and Henry Woodrow, Senior Inspector of Schools in Bengal, were the leading colonial administrators who contributed to the cause of physical education in India. Both were convinced of the utility of physical education and had a purpose behind its propagation. Woodrow, who met Mary Carpenter during her visit to India, seemed to have been influenced by her and became a member of the National Indian Association founded in 1870 in Bristol by none other than Carpenter. Founded with the objective of improving girls' education in India and healthy relationships between Englishmen and educated Indians, the National Indian Association also popularized the subject of physical education in India by publishing many essays on it in its magazine- *Journal of the National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress in India.*

In January 1875, Henry Woodrow read a paper, 'Physical Training in the Colleges and Schools in India' at the Social Science Association at Glasgow, published in *Journal of the National Indian Association*. Emphasizing the importance of physical education, he claimed that India's

[96] C. R. Francis, "How to Preserve Health in India, with special reference to Medical Women," *The Indian Magazine*, no. 182, (February 1886): 67.
[97] Ibid

educational system, as planned and executed by the British Government, had brought western civilization, thoughts, and 'treasures of English education' into India. However, his experience as a senior inspector of schools in Bengal revealed that something more was required. He opined that the system of education established in India at the beginning of British rule was founded on what was then considered good in England and emphasized the general idea of developing intellectual capabilities. Woodrow, for whom *"True education should embrace all the faculties and powers,"* describes how in England the home is the source of many influences in the education of youth that form character.[98] He explains that schoolboys and students in colleges and universities of Britain required no stimulus to induce them to engage in athletic sports to develop and strengthen their physical powers. The tastes and pleasures of Britain's progressive society awaken athletic talents and help to complete the proper development of British youth. He also talks about recent reforms in English public schools that had made physical training an essential part of the education and how it improved students' mental development.[99]

Woodrow found the situation in India very different, where homes do not give sufficient preparatory training to children that in turn do not produce any desire among them for physical development. He attributed the distaste for physical exertion in Indian, in part to the tropical climate, to a peculiarity in the race, native prejudice against the physical culture that was regarded as undignified and imperfect. Woodrow's rationale for introducing physical education in India was to obtain similar results to that of England.[100] He appealed to applying England's physical education system reasonably well in India. An extract from Woodrow'spaper further elaborates:

> The present system of Government education in India has a tendency to give an exclusive and excessive stimulus to the intellectual powers alone of the young Hindus, and thus to defeat to some extent the very object for which it is intended, - the improvement of the nation. In Calcutta, where the educational system is very highly developed an experienced native educator complained in his address to the Bengal Social Science Association, that "the mind of the student is overlaid with such an immense quality of undigested learning, that little or no room is left for its unfettered action." The mental strain caused by long hours of study, is not, as in England,

[98] Henry Woodrow, "Physical Training in the Colleges and Schools in India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 50, (London: February, 1875), 27.
[99] Ibid., 27-29
[100] Ibid., 29

> relieved by physical action. Nowhere, probably, do we ever hear of games, athletic sports or gymnastic exercises among the students or the high schools and colleges.[101]

His contemporary, Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1870 to 1874, who played a pivotal role in introducing physical education in India, had altogether different objectives behind his effort to introduce gymnastics and athletic exercises in schools and colleges of Bengal. In 1872 he issued instructions for the establishment of Civil Service Colleges in the province of Bengal.[102] The prerequisite for admission to the colleges was that of the entrance to the University of Calcutta, which was on par with the matriculation requirements of the London University. These colleges offered instruction in riding and gymnastics, surveying and drawing law, and modern sciences. The political necessities of the country dictated the choice of subjects. The aspirant's sound physique for the subordinate civil service post was made essential by Campbell at the Civil Service Colleges.[103] In this context, Woodrow gave a lecture titled *'On the Expediency of the introduction of tests for Physical training into the present system of competitive examination for the Army, Navy, and Industrial Service'* before the meeting of the Indian National Association at Bristol. The purpose was two fold: first, to set out the objectives behind the competitive examination as introduced by George Campbell and introduction of physical training for the selection to the subordinate Civil Service of Bengal. Secondly, to urge the extension to the competitive examinations in London for the higher Indian Civil Service, the army and navy.[104]

Woodrow and Campbell entertained the idea of the Bengali's effeteness as an outcome of the hot climate and erroneously applied Darwin's theoy to contemplate about the Indian body. The following extract from the Woodrow's paper demonstrates the description of Bengali effeteness and Campbell's objective behind the physical training of the Bengalis:

> Such a climate is prejudicial to the development of muscular fibre, and the majority of the Bengalis have in consequence, a feeble physique. As they hold their own among the nations of India, though for a thousand ages they have been a concurred people, the Darwinian theory would

[101] Ibid., 27-29
[102] Sir George Campbell, *Memoirs of My Indian Career Vol. II* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893), 266.
[103] Henry Woodrow, "Physical Training in the Colleges and Schools in India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 50, (February, 1875): 29.
[104] Henry Woodrow, "On the Expediency of the introduction of tests for Physical training into the present system of competitive examination for the Army, Navy, and Industrial Service," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 50, (February, 1875): 30.

> lead us to suppose that they make up in intellect for their deficiency in physical strength, and such indeed is the case. They cannot compete the stalwart men of the north-western provinces in thews and sinews, but they are vastly superior to them in brains. For sedentary work, requiring intelligence and steady application, there is no nation in the world superior to the Bengali. Sir George Campbell determined that in the Civil Service colleges those subjects should be taught in which Bengali are least efficient, and consequently attention was given to gymnastic exercises, by which physical strength might be developed.[105]

Thus, for George Campbell, the most important objective behind the introduction of physical training was administrative expediency. As a high positioned administrative officer, he sought to improve the physicality of educated Bengalis for efficiency in administration. He found Bengalis employed in the subordinate government services incapable of taking cumbersome administrative responsibilities that require physical energy, stamina, and endurance. Campbell believed that supervision was especially needed in Bengal, where an official of feeble physique would be tempted to neglect duties that require active exertion, exposure to the sun, and fatigue endurance. In a country where roads were few, adequate supervision over subordinate Bengalis would be a display of power, and test the quality of their work. Campbell experienced that *"... if a riot, murder, or burglary occur in a district, the investigation can be made only by the police superintendent or magistrate should be prompt and on the spot, or justice is likely to miscarry, yet such an investigation can be made only by an officer who is a good horseman. The delay that arises in collecting men to carry a palanquin for forty or fifty miles gives time to the interested parties to hush up the matter, or to direct inquiry into the wrong channel."*[106] Hence he proposed riding be made an essential qualification for the civil servant in India. Eventually, he marked it as one of the subjects to count in the competitive examinations.

Accordingly, Campbell appointed a committee in 1872 to detail his plan for physical training. It consisted of the Secretary of Government, Charles Bernard, the Principal of the Hooghly College, R. Thwaytes, the Director of Public Instruction, and Henry Woodrow, Senior Inspector of Schools. The first scheme was too elaborate and expensive for immediate adoption; therefore, it was modified, and the college classes started in July 1872.[107] Woodrow goes to the extent to

[105] Ibid., 31-32
[106] Ibid., 32
[107] Sir George Campbell, *Memoirs of My Indian Career Vol. II* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893), 267.

claim that no greater innovation on established notions could be conceived than an examination of Bengalis in riding and gymnastics. As he says, hitherto, the Bengal gentlemen thought it derogatory to ride or even walk any distance. But Campbell's scheme of physical training had gradually given place to more healthy ideas. George Campbell, in his Administration Report of the Government of Bengal for the year 1871-72, describes the object and progress of the scheme as follows:

> …the Lieutenant-Governor has required candidates for the public service to pass certain tests in addition to the literary tests supplied by the university examination; and by opening the door very wide to many competitors, he hopes to obtain a selection of very capable men for high office which will elevate the position of their countrymen. The scheme of the examination may be briefly stated as follow: - Candidate receives permission to present themselves for examination in accordance with certain rules as to previous education, service under Government in other capacities, and so on. By every candidate a certificate of character must be produced, as also a medical certificate of fitness for employ in any portion of Bengal. Candidate for appointments of over Rs. 100 a month must show that they can ride at least 12 miles at a rapid pace; candidates for inferior posts must have similar qualifications, or be able to walk 12 miles within 3 ½ without difficulty or prostration. Good character, health and physical energy being thus secured,[108]

In the Administration Report of the Government of Bengal for the year 1871-72, the subject is referred to in these words, *"It had seemed to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Bengalis, acute and industrious as they certainly were, had not of late years cultivated those powers of body which are required in a successful executive officer in a country like India."*[109] Therefore, George Campbell prescribed riding as a necessary qualification for the higher and riding or walking for the lower grades of the native civil services. At the first examination, held in February 1872, only twenty candidates passed the Civil Service examination. For the training of future candidates for these examinations, civil service classes were opened at the Hooghly and Patna colleges, and instructions were provided in engineering, surveying, chemistry, botany, gymnastic, and riding. Thus, with the objective of cultivating physical powers and counteracting the effect of excessive and unremitting study among Bengali students, gymnasia were opened during 1871-72 at the Dacca, Hooghly, and Patna colleges, and in some aided colleges. A

[108] *The Administration Report of the Government of Bengal 1871-72* (Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1872), 86.
[109] Ibid., 258

gymnastics teacher was appointed to instruct the students to make the best use of the appliances that had been furnished. Teachers of riding and ponies for the riding school were attached to the Hooghly Civil Service classes.[110] The Bengal Administration report for 1872-73 gives further notice of the progress and objective of Campbell's experiment of imparting physical training to Bengali youths.

> The teaching of gymnastics has also been introduced into our colleges and some of our schools with extraordinary success. The Lieutenant-Governor thought that exercises of this kind were all things best calculated to supply to the Bengali that was most wanting to him, but he hardly hopes that gymnastic teachings would be accepted with readiness at first. It proves, however, that the Bengali youth have shown a most ready appreciation of, and a real appetite for, these exercises. Sir George Campbell believe that at no European school could better performers be found, and he is very sanguine that we have discovered the means of inducing these native youth to take pride in physical energy, activity, and endurance. The Bengali intellect is acute; these physical qualities were the great want, and if such qualities are generally acquired in Bengali race may have the great future before it. For Government employment, especially, physical qualities are very important, and such qualifications have been much insisted on. There has been some disposition to ridicule the rules which require young candidates of the Native Civil Service to ride twelve miles at a rapid pace and in a successful manner, or to walk twelve miles in three and a half hours without difficulty or prostration; but Sir George Campbell fully believes that such tests are good and necessary tests, and that he cannot do greater kindness to the natives of the Bengal than by holding out to them such standards by which they may gradually fit themselves to emulate Europeans.[111]

Campbell and Woodrow's effort of imparting physical training to Bengali youths captured the attention of some newspapers and journals of the late nineteenth century. In effect, the subject of physical development of the Indians and reforming the educational system to include physical education circulated in India's discourse of education. In 1873, C. C. Macrae of the Calcutta Bar delivered a lecture at the London branch of the National Indian Association where he discussed the provision of physical training of Bengalis as a prerequisite to their appointment in government services and how it had affected the decayed body of the Bengalis youths. Macrae's

[110] Ibid
[111] *The Administration Report of the Government of Bengal 1872-73* (Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1872), 48.

lecture was published in the *Journal of National Indian Association* and reprinted in Indian newspapers like *The Times of India* and *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. Macrae's address shows that the colonial administrator's objective for imparting the physical training to Bengalis was not muscularity but endurance, energy, and manly habits for administrative expediencies. A portion from Macrae's lecture is worth quoting:

> The other remarkable innovation in the course of Government education in Bengal, introduced by Sir George Campbell, is the compulsory requirement of a certain proficiency in athletics to qualify for a pass certificate at the examination for civil employment under Government. We are familiar with the picture drawn by Lord Macaulay of the effeminate and weakly-bodied Bengali. The success even now obtained by Sir George Campbell to secure in the Bengali official a healthy body as well as a healthy mind seems to show that it only needed some such incentives as he has given to make Lord Macaulay's picture as exaggerated in the physical, as it is in the mental, details of the subject. To an old Anglo-Indian it would be a strangely curious sight to witness, as I have done at the college at Dacca, a number of Bengalis students leaping, running, vaulting, and performing on trapezes and horizontal bars with fair skill and ease. The conditions of his climate may be against any high degree of muscularity in the Bengali, but what we desire is not muscularity, but endurance, energy, and those manly habits of mind which by a natural law are generally found to attend a healthy body exercised in manly sports. Those habits and this frame of body the education of which I am speaking will secure, or nothing else then.[112]

Campbell's successor, Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1875 to 1880, also promoted the policy of competitive examinations in physical training of Bengalis for subordinate posts. *The Times of India* on January 25th, 1875, writes:

> The effort made by Sir George Campbell to promote physical culture amongst Bengali youths has unquestionably borne valuable fruit. As proof of a desire to give every encouragement to this important department of education, his successor, Sir Richard Temple, planned the Gymnastic Tournament at Belvidere, which came off on the 7th inst., and was a decided success. Students from Government Schools only were allowed to compete, the total number of those who actually entered the lists amounting to 134…This has had its advantages, inasmuch as it has been the means of affording to provincial schools an opportunity of practically testing their own efficiency

[112] C. C. Macrae, "Some Pending Social Questions in the Bengal Residency," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 33, (September, 1873): 421.

in point of physical training, and of learning lessons by which they will not fail to profit when the next contest comes on.[113]

The place of Girls in the Physical Education Discourse

Mary Carpenter, credited for bringing significant reforms in girls' education in England and played a substantial role in girls' education in India, pleaded the cause for the physical education of Indian girls as well.[114] In her educational thought, physical education performs an essential function in the development of boys and girls. In fact, it was with Carpenter that physical education for girls entered into the general discourse of education in India. The subject of physical education was mainly concerned with boys throughout the colonial period. Still, it was not that the physical education of girls was completely absent as there emerged educationalists in the early twentieth century who raised the question of physical education for Indian girls from time to time.[115] The improvement of both sexes' body was a common goal; however, the girls' bodies were differently perceived and assigned an altogether different role.[116]

The ideal of the education of girls in India owes a great deal to the trends in girls' education of late nineteenth-century Britain.[117] As studied by historians of sports and physical education, there was a decline in sports and other physical pursuits in early nineteenth-century England due to the impact of industrialization, urbanization, and the newly emerging middle class's moral attitudes. However, in the latter half of the nineteenth-century, there evolved a Victorian ideal of womanhood, embodied in the conviction that gentlewomen were destined by nature to be men's helpmates and whose ultimate responsibility was to nurture children and maintain the sanctity of life. Accordingly, the imaginary of women comprised of passive, emotional, gentle, and delicate attributes in contrast to men who possessed so-called physical and emotional qualities. To a great

[113] Editorial article 4, 25th January 1875.*The Times of India* (1861-Current)
[114] Aravind Ganachari, "Mary Carpenter and The Reform Movement in Western India,"*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 59, (1998): 595-605.
[115] See, Chapter 4 and 5
[116]See, Mrs. H. C. Buck, *A Programme of Physical Education for Girls' School in India* (Humphey: Oxford University Press, 1938).
[117] For history of women education in India, see, Sunita Peacock, "The "Education" of the Indian Woman against the Backdrop of the Educationof the European Woman in the Nineteenth-Century," *Forum on Public Policy*, 1-9; Rachana Chakraborty, "Women's Education and Empowerment in Colonial Bengal," in *Responding to the West: Essays on Colonial Domination and Asian Agency* ed. Hans Hägerdal (Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 87-102; Pradipta Mukherjee, Rapti Dev and Geetanjali Upadhyaya, eds. *Women's Education In India Past Predicaments And Future Possibilities* (New Delhi: Avenel Press, 2016) and Y. B. Mathur, *Women's education in India 1813-1966* (Bombay: Asia Publ. House, 1973).

extent, women in the late nineteenth century were perceived as neither having the strength nor propensity to undertake muscular exercises and compete in high-intensity games.[118] Still, it was not that women were considered entirely unfit for any physical training; instead, a different model of physical education was envisaged for them that embodied the imaginary of Victorian womanhood. Physical education was to contribute to building a pretty and modest physique suited to women's character and constitution.[119]

True to the Victorian ideal of womanhood, Mary Carpenter thought that boys and girls should have a different generic training that can match their future social positions and physical natures. However, though she viewed women primarily as domestic beings, she believed that proficiency in the domestic arts and intellectual achievement could run together. Thus different generic training for girls included a modest physical education.[120] However, her perception of Indian girls was not the same as of English girls as she found them lacking in bodily grace and were emotionally weak compared to them. Addressing the Bethune Society meeting in December 1866, Carpenter spoke to a group of educated Indians: *"The girls whom we were led to train were not like your girls here in India, timid gentle creatures, but girls with perverted natures, strong wills, and daring spirits. In educating them we had a difficult task to perform; they had to be treated with indulgence, and at the same time kept under proper control."*[121]

Carpenter's arguments for the physical training of Indian girls seem embedded in the Victorian ideal of womanhood. She wants the lack of grace of their bodies to be repaired so that the said ideals could be instilled in them. In the physical education discourse, the healthy body was presumed to be an essential prerequisite for instilling qualities supposed to be in accordance with the physical, social and political natures of boys and girls. She explained to the members of a Calcutta based learned society the objectives of her reformatory schools in England. The object was to inculcate physical powers in girls so that they earn their living as domestic servants or take care of their own households. For this purpose, English school girls were schooled in active

[118] See, Kathleen E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870*-1914 (London: Routledge, 2015).
[119] Kathleen E. McCrone, "Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School,"*Journal of British Studies* 23, no. 2, (1984): 106-134.
[120] Ruth Watts, "Mary Carpenter: Educator of the Children of the 'Perishing and Dangerous Class," in *Practical Visionaries, Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*, eds. Pam Hirsch and Mary Hilton (New York: Routledge, 2000), 47-48.
[121] "Miss Carpenter's reformatory schools for girls," in *Proceedings of the Bethune Society of the Year 1868-69* (Calcutta: 1869): xciii.

work such as washing, baking, and needle-work. In their hours of relaxation, they took walks, indulged in innocent recreations, and frequented the society of right persons. Music and singing 'on account of peculiarly refining influence' were imparted to elevate the character of girls in English schools.[122] Thus, Mary Carpenter argued that if with slight modifications, the same principles would be adapted to India's altered circumstances, it would be possible to develop the mental and physical powers of Indian girls. She offers a model for the physical training of Indian girls in following words:

> All girls should learn needle-work, and it is also important that their physical powers should be trained… As with boys so it is with girls, who although they do not require the same kind of physical training as boys, should yet be encouraged to indulge in exercise adopted to their feebler powers. If they commence such exercise when young, they will feel inclined for it afterwards. As a rule little girls in this country seem quite listless, but I am persuaded that it might be otherwise, for in two boarding schools which I visited, the girls, when let out to play, were as active and zealous as any English girls, and displayed great life and animation.[123]

Among Indians, Bhalchandra K. Bhatavdekar, the Head of the Medical Department of Baroda State, opined that English education invokes educated Indian males to make their wives dummies of English women, thus depriving them of any physical activity. However, aware of the reforms in England's public schools that facilitated physical training for girls, Bhalchandra suggested their introduction in India with some modifications suited to Indian conditions. Curiously enough, Bhalchandra, who was very critical of Indian girls imitating the lifestyle of English *memsahibs*, proposed that they should continue with traditional domestic work, but yet recommended that Indian girls follow the physical culture of European ladies. He said: *"If you follow the Europeans in one respect, you must follow them in another. In that case there is some probability of good things done. European ladies go out for fresh air in the evening, play lawn-tennis, &c. This gives them ample exercise, which conduces to their health."*[124]

Bhatavdekar recommends moderate English physical exercises for Indian girls but thought gymnastics too violent an exercise for ladies.[125] His appraisal of the physical training of Indian

[122] Ibid
[123] Ibid., xciv
[124] "Reviews- Abala Sanjivan; or The Causes of Premature Death of Women in India and its Remedies by Bhalchandra K. Bhatavdekar," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 173, (May 1885); 225.
[125] Ibid., 224- 227

girls presents contradictions that educated Indian men of the late nineteenth century harboured. On the one hand, this class was determined to maintain women's traditional role in Indian society. At the same time, as a product of the English education, they felt compelled to reform their society based on modern values of the west.[126] Thus, Bhatavdekar's rationale for the physical education of girls seems to rest on the Victorian ideal of womanhood that envisioned preparing them suitable for their educated mates, which middle class educated Indians fantasized about in the late nineteenth century.

A similar attitude towards the physical education of Indian girls is encountered in the lecture of Muncherjee Framjee Patell. He found the health of middle-class and elite Indian girls more alarming than the boys. Discussing physical training suitable for Indian girls, he opined that the most rational way to remedy the situation was to organize physical exercises. Though he referred to gymnasiums for ladies in England, he was not sure to what extent such gymnasiums would be suitable for Bombay and elsewhere in India. Recognizing the fact that wives and daughters of the middle-class and elite Indian men delegated domestic chores requiring physical labour, he advised them to participate in games like badminton, and croquet that can provide them a fair amount of exercise. However, he very well knew that such games could only be played in respectable elite quarters.[127] The class of ladies he referred to, though, had imitated the aspirations and lifestyle of English ladies but did not have access to facilities that provided physical labour at schools or recreational clubs. Therefore, Patell urged establishing clubs equipped with swimming baths and badminton courts in Bombay. Describing the benefits of swimming at such clubs, he comments, *"This exercise, performed in a bath under the supervision of a lady teacher, may help the body considerably; and this supports the necessity, previously suggested of a good heath bath."*[128] However, Patell's objective for the physical exercises of Indian girls was the same as that of his other contemporaries, viz. to prepare them physically and mentally to fulfill their social duties.

M. P. Arunachalam, a Cambridge post-graduate, associated with the Maharani's Girls School founded at Mysore in 1881 sought to provide modern education to upper class girls that included

[126] See, Susan M. Cruea, *Changing Ideals of Womanhood During the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement* (General Studies Writing Faculty Publications, Bowling Green State University), 187-204.
[127] "Physical Training for India," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 180, (December 1885): 585.
[128] Ibid

lessons in music, hygiene, and physical training, and was interested in introducing physical education. Addressing the Maharani's Girls School in 1885, he argued that physical training while giving young pupils much-needed amusement and recreation also trained the girls from their earliest years in orderliness, tidiness, and harmonious co-operation; the qualities he opined that was found to be deficient in Indian girls.[129] Studying England's physical education system, Arunachalam suggested that attention be paid to physical exercises in Indian schools for both boys and girls. Kindergarten, also called Infant School, had its genesis in Friedrich Froebel's (1782-1852) idea of children education that stressed the emotional and spiritual nature of the child, encouraging self-understanding through play activities and greater freedom also impressed Arunachalam.[130] Admiring the kindergarten that considers the physical development of the pupils since the very beginning of education, he proposed introducing it into lower classes of schools in India.[131] Moreover, Arunachalam encouraged introducing exercises from light gymnasium, and games like lawn tennis, in Indian schools to prepare students for social responsibilities. The social responsibilities included taking care of domestic affairs, companionship for educated husbands, and a caring mother who can cope with children's educational matters. Undoubtedly he was also overwhelmed by the late nineteenth century ideal of womanhood that assigned a role for women that expected them to be modern and traditionally grounded. Arunachalam went on to say:

> It would be advantageous too if some practical instruction were given in household duties of the girls. There is a tendency in mere book-learning to develop contempt for physical and manual work. If such a tendency be not checked I fear these girls will make poor wives and mothers, and become plagues rather than the blessings we wish them to be.[132]

Conclusion

From the 1850s, an idea of education based on the intrinsic relationship between the body and mind became part of the discourse of education in India. Broadly, this trend can be attributed to the educational developments and reforms taking place in Europe where physical training, along

[129] "Maharani's Girls School," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 171, (March, 1885): 147.
[130] For Kindergarten see, Karl Froebel, Fridrich Froebel's Developing System of Education,"*New England Journal of Education* 3, no. 18 (April 29, 1876): 213 & Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek, "Children's Play and Early Childhood Education: Insights from History and Theory," *The Journal of Education* 177, no. 3, (1995): 129-148.
[131] "Maharani's Girls School," *Journal of the National Indian Association*, no. 171, (March, 1885): 150.
[132] Ibid

with intellectual and moral education, had an increasingly important place in educational philosophies. Hence, inspired by such educational philosophies, English-educated Indians seen as effeminate by the colonial regime raised the subject of the necessity of physical education in India. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a class of Indians emerged who provided an early critique of the colonial educational system asking for science, technical, agricultural, and physical education in India. Though the demand for physical education lagged behind science, technical, agricultural, and university education in the general discourse of education in India, nevertheless, from time to time, there appeared a voice for physical education as well.

Therefore, modern educated Indians like Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty, Babu Kisary Lal Sircar, Kally Kumar Das, and Abdus Salam in Bengal made a demand for physical education. While Chuckerbutty thought that mental culture, combined with physical education, would produce in India results as great as in any part of Europe. Whereas, Salam described the object of physical education to preserve health and life, which constitutes the basis of other structures, such as intellect, wisdom, piety, wealth, power, rank, and frame. In Madras and Bombay as well, many educated Indians talked about the introduction of physical education in India. For instance, S. Satthianadhan proposed to devote at least an hour each day for sports in school and colleges so that students could avail themselves of the advantages of physical education. In Bombay, Muncherjee Framjee Patell, not only warned of the baneful effects if physical culture continued to be neglected in India but also highlighted the importance of physical education through physiological science. It is interesting to note that most of the educated Indians considered the importance of physical education in the light of modern discoveries of physiology. As we will see in the subsequent chapters, this trend would become more apparent in the early twentieth-century discourse of physical education in India. Sections of Indian society ascribed the superiority of England in particular and Europe in general to their physical education system. It is quite apparent that the scheme of physical education and sports that educated Indians proposed drew a great deal from their experience and study of the system of physical education developed in the West. Whether it was Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty or P. Arunachalam, most of them spent considerable time in England and observed the attention accorded to physical culture there.

Colonial educators like Mary Carpenter and H. L. P. Wynne catalysed the discourse of physical education in India and influenced educated Indians on the matter. Carpenter's opinion that want of physical education in India would be *"permanently injurious to the physical development of the race"*[133] and Wynne's argument that physical education developed the student's presence of mind, purpose, and self-reliance; the character attributes he believed necessary for the regeneration of any nation had a significant impact on Indian intelligentsia. However, colonial administrators like Sir George Campbell had different concerns regarding the introduction of physical education in government schools and colleges. He was more concerned about improving the physique of the colonized subjects for administrative ends rather than strengthens their body for race regeneration or had any intention of providing physical education for educational ends.

Analytically speaking, the physical education discourse of the second half of the nineteenth century undoubtedly emerged in response to the colonial discourse of the effeminacy and effeteness of the Indian body. Though colonial officials and educated Indians wished to improve the physique of Indians through physical training, both had different agendas and objectives behind the introduction of physical education in India. Those agendas and objectives became much more evident, broader, and apparent in the early twentieth century when physical education discourse evolved considerably as it progressed towards becoming a part of the school curriculum. Elite public schools and colleges, and independent agencies like Young Men Christian Association, as we will see in the next chapter, had more complex and entangled rationales for physical education in India.

[133] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. II* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868), 124.

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORTS FOR DISCIPLINING, CHARACTER FORMATION, AND CITIZENSHIP: ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN COLONIAL INDIA

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. This politics was manifest at the different contested sites of powers viz. medicine/hospitals, lunatic asylums, prisons, and educational institutions. However, the most aggressive expression of the colonization of the Indian body related to the imperial project of 'disciplining the body' most apparent in the physical education programmesof English public schools in India and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). In this context, the present chapter deals with the politics of the 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 chapter examines the colonial raison d'etre for introducing sports. The chapter further demonstrates the role of the America based YMCA in propagating the gospel of physical education in India. In the process, this chapter not only discusses the scientific physical education scheme YMCA prepared for India but also discusses the motives behind the introduction of the scheme of physical education.

Colonial Objectives behind the introduction of Sports in English Public Schools

From the 1870s onwards, there emerged a rush for establishing 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) to mention some of the English schools founded during the colonial period. One of the most important characteristics of

these schools was that sports and athleticism formed an essential part of the education curriculum. Quinquennial Review for the Progress of Education in India of the year 1897-98 suggests that discipline appears to be reasonably strict and well maintained, and the boys are subject to constant and careful supervision. Great care was taken with regard to physical education and sports in these English schools.[1] In fact, British administrators and educators contemplated the very idea of establishing English public schools in India in order to transform the tastes and culture of local elites on English lines. What appears is that, not only through English education but also through games and the ethics latent in English sports, a class of people, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, morals, intellect, and physicality was sought to be created.[2]

As clones of British public schools where sports and physical education had become 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 among Indian students. Public schools in England underwent a landmark change in the second half of the nineteenth century when following the recommendation of the Clarendon Commission, the Public Schools Act was passed in 1868.[3] Many schools, including Eton and Harrow, were reformed and athleticism was made an integral part of the curriculum with a view to developing cooperation, selflessness, and sound character in the students.[4] In colonial circles, the notion was established that manly qualities developed on the playing fields of the public school contributed towards holding on to a dominant position in the colonies. As such, the public schools were considered a regular source of able administrative and army officers who have developed qualities of endurance, toughness, and courage on the playing fields to serve in the colonies. On the other hand, sports in the colonies were thought to be instruments for transforming natives into worthy vassals in the imperial order.[5] As an extension of the Macaulayan minute, the proponents of

[1] *East India (Education). Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. I. Fourth Quinquennial Review* (London: Printed for His Majesty Stationery Office, By Darling & Son, Ltd, 1904), 69 & 186.
[2] Basudhita Basu, "Implanting the Games Ethic in Bengal: The Colonial Context,"*Indian Historical Review* 46, no. 2 (2019): 265.
[3] Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *The Old School Tie: The Phenomenon of the English Public School* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 96-98.
[4] "Public Schools in Britain in the Nineteenth Century: The Emergence of Team Games and the Development of the Educational Ideology of Athleticism,"*The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 5 (2010): 845-871.
[5] J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an ideal* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 138.

English sports thought that it would impart among Indians the lessons of loyalty, respect, and obedience towards the rulers. Therefore, it was with this understanding of sports, colonial educators introduced sports in English public schools of India that themselves were established on the model of the public schools of Britain.

Early studies on colonial history interpreted the spread of western sports in the colonies simply as a part and parcel of imperial rule. However, J. A. Mangan, who proposed the idea of "games ethics", offered 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 the colonies to use it as an instrument to discipline the body and character of otherwise feeble and undisciplined people.[6] His works on the diffusion of English public school "game ethics" in the colonies emphasized the role of sports in understanding colonial education and its relationship with the colonialism.[7] However, sports and physical education offered in English schools did not always produce the expected results 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 resulted in the re-imagining of the goals assigned for sports. From the early decades of the twentieth century, Indian educationists not only imagined an altogether different set of objectives for sports but appropriated English 'manly' sports within the nationalist framework. Many of the English sports thus became a symbol of nationalist aspiration.[8]

Nevertheless, both colonial officials and their Indian subjects wished to improve upon the Indian physique through the provision of sports in schools. The difference between both parties mainly lay in their different meanings and interpretations assigned to educational virtues, namely 'disciplining and character formation'. 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 here.

[6] Ibid
[7] J. A Mangan, "Eton in India: The Imperial Diffusion of a Victorian Educational Ethic,"*History of Education* 7, no. 2 (1978): 105-118.
[8] See, RonojoySen, *Nation at Play; The History of Sports in India* (Columbia University Press, 2015), 94-112 & Boria Majumdar, "The Vernacular in Sports History," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 29 (2002): 3069-3075.

Sports in English Public Schools of India

An early colonial educator seeking to introduce 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 an English education in addition to manly physical training.[9] Macnaghten, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 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.[10] Ranjitsinhji, the ruler of the Nawanagar princely state, who played first-class cricket for Cambridge University and acquired fame on English cricket fields, learned to play cricket from none other than Macnaghten.[11] 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, reads 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.[12]

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 system in India, pointed out that at the time of the establishment of the college, it was dominated by the chiefs of an older

[9] NawabzadaNasrullah Khan, *The Ruling Chiefs of Western India and The Rajkumar College* (Bombay: G. Claridge, 1904), 13-14.
[10] *Report of the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, Kathiwar For 1904-05* (Rajkot: Kathiwar Political Agency Press, 1905), 47-48.
[11] Simon Wilde, "Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji Maharaj Jamsahib of Navanagar (1872-1933)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 25-27.
[12] Chester Macnaghten, *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects Being Address to the Elder Kumars of The Rajkumar College, Kathiawar* (London: John Murray, Albemarle, 1896), xiii-xiv.

generation who had grown up amidst the wilderness left by Mughal anarchy.[13] But the younger generation of chiefs came to study at an institution that differed in no essential manner from the public school of England. Describing Macnaghten's work in Rajkumar College, Peile narrated how he convinced the chiefs of Kathiawar in to believing the virtues of public-school education. He firmly believed that 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 in tune their aristocratic and hereditary instincts. For this, he introduced 'manly' English sports in the college and formed a squadron of mounted volunteers.[14]

H. H. Bhavsinhji, Maharaja of Bhavnagar, and a student of Macnaghten at Rajkumar College confirmed that the college, since its beginning, followed the pattern of the British public school on the athletic side. Education aimed at the scientific development of the physical, intellectual, and moral sides of human beings; the promoters of the Rajkumar College chose the public school system of Britain as a model.[15] With this goal in mind, the moral value of organized games was strongly upheld by the teachers of all grades at Rajkumar College. The 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 explained the educational value of sporting activities imparted at the college in the following words:

> 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.[16]

Chester Macnaghten himself, in an article, published in the *Calcutta Review* in 1879, discussed how his plan of employing sports in Rajkumar College had produced some remarkable changes

[13] Ibid., xv
[14] Ibid., xv-xvi
[15] H. H. Bhavsinhji, Maharaja of Bhavnagar (Compiled), *Forty Years of the Rajkumar College, An Account of the origin and progress of the Rajkumar College, Rajkot Prepared and Abridged from the papers of The Late Chester Macnaghten. First Principal of the College, 1870-1910,* Volume 1 (London: Printed and bound by Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1911), 158-159.
[16] Ibid., 159

in the physical constitution and character of his pupils. He claimed 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 the natural indolence of the Kathiawar princes and chiefs, he wrote, *"They need to be led; but, when once roused, they are not wanting in agility or spirit"*.[17] For Macnaghten, it was more satisfactory to see *kumars* (young chiefs) improving their moral and physical skills as he considered behavior to be far more important than scholarship.[18] However, the most vivid expression of his conviction regarding the disciplinary characteristics of sports is reflected in his lecture titled 'Play' that he delivered at Rajkumar College on August 14, 1887. Though in the first instance, encouragement for sports evoked adverse criticism, Macnaghten was pleased to see that its importance was gradually recognized, and more attention was accorded to open-air sports and physical exercises in the college. Elucidating the educational values inherent in sports, he quoted Ralph Waldo Emerson's *The Conduct of Life* (1876):

> 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.'[19]

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 result 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

[17] "Rajkumar Colleges," *The Calcutta Review* CXXXVI, no. CXXXVI (1879): 279.
[18] Macnaghten, *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects Being Address to the Elder Kumars of The Rajkumar College,* xxiii.
[19] "Play," in Chester Macnaghten, *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects Being Address to the Elder Kumars of The Rajkumar College, Kathiawar* (London: John Murray, Albemarle, 1896), 126.

contribute considerably to strengthen the muscles and also invigorate mind and character.[20] 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 cope with the difficulties of the future.[21] 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"*.[22]

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.[23] 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 is very true," said Tom, "and Tom, "and that's why foot-ball 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

[20] Ibid., 127
[21] Ibid.,134
[22] Ibid.,131
[23] The novel Tom Brown's Schooldays greatly helped 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 public schools during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
See, William E. Winn, "Tom Brown's Schooldays and the Development of "Muscular Christianity", *Church History* 29, no. 1 (1960): 64-73 & Boria Majumdar, "Tom Brown goes global: The 'Brown' ethic in colonial and post-colonial India," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 5 (2006): 805-820.

> 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."[24]

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, 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.[25]

In the first report of 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."*[26] 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 the colonial discourse on masculinity

[24] Chester Macnaghten, *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects Being Address to the Elder Kumars of The Rajkumar College* (London: John Murray, Albemarle, 1896), 133.
[25] Herbert Sherring, "*The Mayo College, "The Eton of India."A Record of Twenty Years, 1875-1895,"* Vol. I (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1897), 227.
[26] Ibid., 60

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 men.[27]

Hence, recognizing the necessity of competition between the boys, games, and sports like cricket, hockey, lawn tennis, high jump, long jump, cricket ball throw, 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.[28] 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.[29]

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 had 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 services. Sherring thought that if the Rajput chiefs' "slumbered instinct" would be aroused by organizing cadet corps, they could be employed as an efficient auxiliary to the British force in India. 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 that were considered part of the Rajput tradition.[30]

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[27] Alexis Tadie, "Playing the Game' at Mayo College: Taking the Cue from J.A. Mangan," in *Manufacturing Masculinity: The Mangan Oeuvre - Global Reflections on J.A. Mangan's Studies of Masculinity, Imperialism and Militarism*, ed. Peter Horton (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2017), 263.
[28] "Athletics Sports," in Herbert Sherring, "*The Mayo College, "The Eton of India."A Record of Twenty Years, 1875-1895*," Vol. I (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1897), 218-226.
[29] Ibid
[30] Ibid., 233

Another colonial educator interested in forming a 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.[31] Under Oswell'ssupervision, musketry was also taught to every boy, and the seniors with a rifle were made volunteers of the rifle range. There was uniformity in dress for drill and musketry classes in order to create a cadet corps. Instruction in horse riding and practice on rifle ranges was included in the morning exercises with plenty of other physical activities, including dumbbells, physical drills, and *deshikasrat* (indigenous exercises).[32] The evening hour at the college was devoted to games like cricket, football, and tennis etc. Oswell pointed out that, from the beginning games were made an integral part of regular college routines, and attendance was compulsory. 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,..[33]

The introduction of sports and the establishment of public schools as elements of the imperial strategy waswere also reiterated by the highest colonial authority in India - the Viceroys. 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 Indians. In this context, Lord Lytton's speech delivered at Mayo College in 1879 is worth mentioning. Unequivocally describing the special

[31] G. D. Oswell, *Rajkumar College, Raipur, Central Provinces.A Sketch* (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1902), 38.
[32] Ibid
[33] Ibid., 48

merit of the English system of education that aims at training, developing and strengthening of the mind and body, Colonel Walter prepared a report that influenced Lord Mayo. Colonel Walter's report called for the education of young rulers and nobles of India, and the foundation of a college modeled on Eton College. Sports were central to the Eton curriculum since the late eighteenth century. Lord Lytton, thus said, *"Ajmere is India's Eton, and you are India's Eton boys."*[34]

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.[35] He wanted English schools to function as colonial institutions that can produce valuable public servants from those classes of Indians who were by birth and inheritance the natural pillars of the British Raj.[36] Curzon's aim was to spread royalty and nobility and, most importantly, turn native elites into 'Gentlemen'. The most explicit expression of Curzon's vision became evident at an address he delivered at Aitcheson College in Lahore in 1901:

> 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.[37]

Lord Hardinge too, who served as the viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916 reiterated in a speech at Mayo College the importance of making Indians honest and disciplined subjects of the empire. He noted that colleges established in India on the model of British public schools had a civilizing and progressive influence. He firmly believed that Mayo and Daly College at Indore, following

[34] Herbert Sherring, *The Mayo College, "The Eton of India." A Record of Twenty Years, 1875-1895,* Vol. I (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1897), 181.
[35] See, Aravind Ganachar, Imperialist Appropriation and Disciplining the Indian Mind (1857-1917): Whose History? *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 5 (2008): 77-87.
[36] Herbert Sherring, *Mayo College Magazine* 1, no. 2 (July 1905): 4.
[37] G. D. Oswell, *Rajkumar College, Raipur, Central Provinces A Sketch* (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1902), 48.

the principles of morality, locality and culture, that he called characteristics of the British race, contributed to the formation of character in elite Indians.[38] Thus, such a view of Hardinge on English schools of India was the clear manifestation of the imperial ideology of the civilizing mission and hegemonic domination.

Significantly enough, it is to be noted that the goals set for sports in these schools were only superficially similar to those in Britain. Their role was to become an institution for promoting the civilizing mission. Satadru 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. He also highlighted that colonial administrators and educators never wanted the Indians to develop the same character as that of English schoolboys.[39] 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 gentlemanly mould, as it delineated different masculinities.[40] Moreover, unlike British public schools, sports in the English school of India were meant to educate the mind and body of the Indians that provided the colonizers a fare justification to rule the Indians. Thus, sports in particular and public schools in general served different functions of education in India and Britain.

Colonial officials or educators did not want Indians to lose their essential indigenous character or to instill in them attributes of English gentlemen either mentally and physically. They even warned that the 'denationalization' of Indians would be disastrous not only for the Indians but also for the British Empire. Chester Macnaghten understood the dangers of a foreign education. He thought that it might unsettle, demoralize, and denationalize Indians.[41] As such, he thought to instruct the young chieftains of the Rajkumar College of Kathiawar in the virtues of British public schools without undermining their old faith and its practical influence on their lives. He

[38] *Mayo College Magazine* 9, no. 1, (February 1913): 12-13.
[39] Satadru Sen, "Schools, Athletes and Confrontation: The Student Body in Colonial India," in *Confronting The Body, The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*, eds. James H. Mills and SatadruSen (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 60-62.
[40] Alexis Tadie, "Playing the Game' at Mayo College: Taking the Cue from J.A. Mangan," in *Manufacturing Masculinity: The Mangan Oeuvre - Global Reflections on J.A. Mangan's Studies of Masculinity, Imperialism and Militarism*, ed. Peter Horton (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2017), 263.
[41] Chester Macnaghten, *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects Being Address to the Elder Kumars of The Rajkumar College* (London: John Murray, Albemarle, 1896), xxxii.

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.[42] Writing on the subject of education to be imparted 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.[43]

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 reproduce 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 gives no advantage to birth or wealth and even a person from humblest origin was 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."*[44]

Yet Harris in India is known for promoting cricket in Bombay presidency schools despite the opposition from Anglo-Indians. [45] Similarly, Henry George Impey Siddons, the first headmaster of Aligarh Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, promoted cricket as a school sport. He opined

[42] Ibid., xxviii
[43] Ibid., xxxiii-xxxv
[44] Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, *The Ruling Chiefs of Western India and The Rajkumar College* (Bombay: G. Claridge, 1904), 26.
[45] Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport* (Delhi: Penguin Random House India, 2014), 67.

that English sports would impart something valuable to students at Aligarh 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'.[46] Nevertheless, Powell always felt that Indians could never be on par with English boys in body, character, and intellect.[47]

Church Mission Society School, established at Srinagar in 1880, stands out as another exemplar of the 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 the introduction of physical education and sports among Kashmiri pundits to build their bodies and character. Considering the work of Tyndale-Biscoe[48], who was appointed as the Principal of the school in 1880, Baden-Powell wrote that through the boy scout movement, Biscoe succeeded in strengthening the moral backbone of a large numbers of boys in Kashmir and made an effete race manly, healthy, and Christian.[49] 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 the 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 the 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 were considered derogatory for boys

[46] E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Fifty Years Against the Stream: The Story of a School in Kashmir* (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930), 20.
[47]E. E. Reynolds, *A Biography of Lord Baden Powell* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), 262 & RI Biju '(Uni), "Forming Youth: The Scout Movement and Imperialist Ideology,"*International Journal of Science and Research* 9, no. 4(2020): 41-45.
[48] For more on Tyndale-Biscoe, see, *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir--An Autobiography* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1951).
[49] Sir Robert Baden-Powell, "Forward," in Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe, *Character Building in Kashmir* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1920), iii.

of higher caste. Consequently, instruction in drilling and physical exercise had to be abolished by order of the Maharaja.[50]

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 tarnished all sports materials as unclean, and impure.[51] This ruled out the success of cricket, soccer, boxing, and many other sports among the pundits, as balls and gloves were made up of leather. 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.[52]

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'. It was supposed that the boy's playful engagement with boxing gloves would in time eradicate their taboo for leather and instill in them a 'manly' spirit.[53] Besides, once accustomed to boxing gloves, their aversion to football and the cricket ball, both made of leather, would also fade away. While athletics was primarily 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.[54] Mangan has discussed that the introduction of football into northern India was integrated with the colonial projects of the British and with the evangelical objectives of missionary groups. Soccer was considered by the colonizers to carry with it a series of moral lessons, regarding hard work and perseverance, about team loyalty and obedience to authority

[50] E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Fifty Years Against the Stream: The Story of a School in Kashmir* (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930), 3.
[51] "Athletics or Flabby Gentility," in Ibid, 18
[52] Ibid., 18-23
[53] Ibid & *Training in Kashmir* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1932), 1-14.
[54] Ibid, 22

and, involving concepts of correct physical development and 'manliness'. As such, it was used as a tool in the objective to win over local populations and transforming them from their 'uncivilized' and 'heathen' state to one where they might be considered 'civilized'.[55] Tyndale-Biscoe celebrated the occasion when Kashmiri pundit's were taken to football for the first time which he considered triumphant of his sports pedagogy in the following words:

> 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.[56]

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."*[57] Biscoe's programme of creating a new attitude towards physical work also included engaging pupils in civic duties, such as street cleaning and providing assistance during floods and cholera epidemics.[58] 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 changes in the lifestyle of Kashmiri pundits.

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[55] J. A. Mangan, "Soccer as Moral Training: Missionary Intentions and Imperial Legacies," *Soccer & Society* 2, no.2 (2001): 41-56.
[56] Ibid., 20-22
[57] Ibid., 22
[58] E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Fifty Years Against the Stream: The Story of a School in Kashmir* (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930), 54-63.

Young Men's Christian Association: The Beginnings

The America-based Young Men's Christian Association, a worldwide youth federation founded on the principles of muscular Christianity, played a pivotal role in the discourse, institutionalization, and professionalization of physical education in India. Though originally founded in London in 1844 by George Williams, it was initially meant solely *"to improve young men's spiritual condition in the industry."*[59] The genesis of YMCA was during England's industrialization in the first half of the nineteenth century that brought in its wake social disruptions and new cultural formations.[60] Therefore, in the early years, YMCA aimed at instilling health, moral and religious values in the youth of the industrialized countries of the West.[61] The first Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations of 1851 helped to spread the ideas of YMCA to other industrial countries, and by 1865 when the fourth World Conference of YMCA was held in Germany, the importance of developing individual spirits, minds, and bodies had been affirmed. Even though Geneva was chosen as the headquarters of the YMCA, it found a stronghold in America from where its gospel of physical education spread all over the world.[62]

As early as 1857, using the imperial route, YMCA established its branch in Calcutta. However, the evangelical intentions of the first batch of YMCA did not appeal to Indians as its branches were exclusively run by British YMCA members, who strictly followed a policy of maintaining a social distance from the native population.[63] Things began to change when America took the lead of the YMCA movement as its branches multiplied in America in the 1860s, and physical education became an essential component of its evangelical activities. The early focus on organizing prayer meetings, bible readings, tea parties, and Sunday plays was overshadowed by

[59] *The Report of the Thirteenth Triennial International Conference and Jubilee Celebration of Young Men's Christian Associations* (London: Jubilee Council, 1895), xix.
[60] For official history of YMCA, see, Sherwood Eddy, *A Century with Youth: A History of the Y.M.C.A. from 1844 to 1944* (New York: Association Press, 1944)
[61] See, Clarence P. Shedd, *History of the World Alliance of the Young Men's Christian Association* (London: SPCK, 1955), 112-113.
[62] Elmer L Johnson, *The History of YMCA Physical Education* (Chicago: Association Press, 1979), 22-23.
[63] J. H. Dunderdale, *The YMCA in India: 100 Years of Service with Youth* (New Delhi: YMCA Publishing House, 1962), 13.

the programme of community service and recreational physical activities.[64] The policy of the American-dominated YMCA was liberalized, and its objectives were widened to cover the educational, social, and recreational needs of the people. In America, the task of instituting recreational facilities in the YMCA was assigned to the Boston and Montreal associations, which built swimming baths, bowling alleys, and exercise halls.[65] In 1864, H. C. Potter tabled a resolution that was brought before the Boston Convention demanding: *"Any machinery will be incomplete which has not taken into account the whole man. We must add physical recreation to all YMCAs."*[66] Thus, physical recreational schemes became an intrinsic part of the YMCA program of expanding and developing evangelical Christian attitudes and values worldwide.[67] Accordingly, training leaders for spreading such a missionary physical culture program was taken up by the YMCA Training School established in 1885 at Springfield, Massachusetts, headed by Luther Gulick. Gulick integrated sports and religion and presented a program of 'physical efficiency' that was meant to prepare men for taking on the challenges of modern industrial society.[68] Gulick, who played an instrumental role in giving physical education a philosophical foundation, added a physical education department to the school in 1887. In the first decade of the twentieth century, this school became 'International YMCA College,' popularly called Springfield College.[69]

By the end of the nineteenth century, enough progress had been made to enable the Physical Directors of the American YMCA to organize physical education with definite objectives and clear-cut principles based on knowledge of physiology, anatomy, and hygiene. In the first decade of the twentieth century, it started granting graduates and post-graduates degrees in physical

[64] See, William J. Baker, *Playing with God: Religion and Modern Sports* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 50-55 & William J. Baker, "To Pray or to Play? The YMCA Question in the United Kingdom and the United Sates, 1850-1900," *The International Journal of the History of Sports* 11 (1994): 42-62.
[65] Ibid
[66] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet:Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 32.
[67] Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation 1607-1940* (New York, 1940), 201-210 & Sreven J. Overmann, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Sports* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2011) 155.
[68] Clifford Putney, Luther Gulick: His Contributions to Springfield College, the YMCA, and "Muscular Christianity", *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, Vol. 39, 2011, pp. 144-169.
[69] Tomáš Tlustý, "The American YMCA and its Physical Education Program – First Steps to World Expansion," *Studies in Sport Humanities*, no. 20 (December 2016): 39-47.

education.[70] The holders of these degrees were called Physical Directors and were appointed in schools and colleges across the world. YMCA started sending its Physical Directors trained at Springfield College to India from the first decade of the twentieth century with the objective of the 'physical evangelization' of India.[71]

Govindrajulu was one of the first Indians to be trained by YMCA's Springfield graduates,who later become the Director of Physical Education at Annamalai University. Remembering Henry Buck, founder of YMCA School of Physical Education at Madras, he writes:*"... the inclusion of physical education as an integral part of the YMCA was a contribution of no small measure to the creation of the new profession of physical education and the elevation of that profession to the highest field of service- the service of the total man, his Spirit, Mind, and Body."*[72] What is especially noteworthy is that the American YMCA was interested in the whole personality and looked upon physical education in its comprehensive application, including health, physical and mental fitness, physical activity, sports, social participation, and education.[73]

Luther Halsey Gulick, besides editing pioneer physical culture journals likes *Physical Education* (1891-1896), *Association Outlook* (1897-1900), *American Physical Education Review* (1901-1903), also authored several books on physical education that contributed to making physical education a discipline in itself. *Physical Education by Muscular Exercise* (1904), *The Efficient Life* (1907), *Medical Inspection of Schools* (1913), *Health by Muscular Gymnastics* (1916), and *Philosophy of Play* (1920) were some of his works on physical education. For Gulick,*"play has the greater shaping power over the character and nature of man than has any one other activity"* and *"most character-determining force within the people."*[74] Clifford Putney has pointed out that the physical education program of YMCA was more concerned about creating better citizens and moral men than producing winning athletes.[75] Gulick trained many young men at Springfield

[70] Elmer L Johnson, *The History of YMCA Physical Education* (Chicago: Association Press, 1979), 22-23.
[71] For official history of YMCA's work in India, see, M. D. David, *The YMCA and the Making of Modern India: A Centenary History* (New Delhi: National Council of YMCAs of India, 1992).
[72] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 32-33.
[73] See, Toms Tlustý, The American YMCA and its Physical Education Program – First Steps to World Expansion, *Studies in Sport Humanities* 20 (2016): 39–47.
[74] Luther HasleyGulick, *A Philosophy of Play* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1920), xiv.
[75] Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Harvard University Press, 2003), 71.

College; chief among them were John Henry Grey, Harry Crowe Buck, A. G. Noehren, and George F. Andrews, who were sent to India to take up the work of the Indian branch of YMCA. These four figures helped establish physical education and sport as a part of the educational curriculum in India. They extensively wrote on educational values associated with physical education and played a crucial role in the institutionalization of physical education in India.

As already been mentioned, the YMCA established its branch in Calcutta as early as 1857. However, it was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that YMCA began to entrench its hold in India under the leadership of young American missionaries. YMCA'smissionaries were sent to India as part of the evangelical revivalist movement that culminated in establishing the Student Volunteer Movement in Massachusetts in 1886.[76] With David Maconaughy, the first American to hold the secretaryship of YMCA, student volunteers arrived in India in 1889 intending to evangelize the new generation of Indians. Maconaughy revamped the organization from 1890, which resulted in the expansion that was crucial for restructuring the organization. The YMCA began to admit young men without distinction based on race, rank, or belief system.[77] Though the privileges were accessible to all the members, it took a while to quell the conservative British association members who showed reluctance to accept the new rule that contravened the established norms based on the social segregation of natives from the ruling race. Maconaughy launched the journal *TheYoung Men of India* in 1890. This journal became the mouthpiece of the YMCA. It published articles on themes ranging from Christian gospels, education, YMCA works in India, and last but not least had a separate section on physical education. Many of Springfield College graduates who held a position in India, viz. John Henry Gray, Harry Crowe Buck, A. G. Noehren, and George F. Andrews contributed several articles highlighting different aspects of physical education in this journal. Thus, *TheYoung Men of India* promoted the discourse of physical education in India and built the ground for its institutionalization in India.

[76] Harald Fischer-Tine, Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late colonial South Asia (circa 1900-40), *Modern Asian Studies,* Volume 52, Issue 2, Cambridge University Press, 2018, 10.
[77] Ibid

Physical Education for Proselytization: J. H. Gray on Physical Education in India

J. H. Gray, born in 1879 at Pithoragarh, India, of missionary parents, was educated at Springfield College, Massachusetts, where he graduated in 1904. He then received the MD degree from Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1908.[78] After completing his studies at Columbia, the International Committee of YMCA sent him to Calcutta as YMCA India Physical Director and Advisor to the Government of Bengal on the subject of physical training of Indians.[79] After serving in this post for eleven years, he was sent to China in 1919 where he was appointed National Physical Director of China and played a significant role in the institutionalization of modern physical education in the country.[80] In an article entitled 'Physical Department: It's Place and Opportunities in India,' which Gray wrote in 1910 for the YMCA journal, *TheYoung Men of India*, he made a bold assertion that *"physical work is one of the best iconoclastic means at our command."*[81] Firmly believing in physical education's transformative power, he argued that it could cure fundamental social and religious tensions and rivalries in India if Indian youth were induced to take it. Whereas in another article, 'India's Physical Renaissance,' Gray contributed to *The Young Men of India* in 1914, he argued*"... boys who are trained and grow up under efficient physical supervision, are the boys who prove to be leaders in their walks of life."*[82] As the title of the article itself suggests, he sought a physical renaissance of India. He wanted to carry out bodybuilding and character-building programs employing wholesome games and physical activities in educational institutions across the country.[83]

Broadly speaking, Physical Directors trained at Springfield College contemplated physical education as a key to the nation's character building and racial improvement based on Christian ideals of masculinity.[84] In a thesis entitled: *Physical Education in China, India, Japan, Latin*

[78] *Biographical information on John Henry Gray*, College Archive Digital Collection, Springfield College.
[79] H.C. Buck's "Physical Education in India" (c. 1921-1922), *Springfield College Archives and Special Collections*, 1.
[80] See, Guoqi Xu, *Olympic Dreams: China and Sports, 1895-2008* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 25-30.
[81] J .H. Gray, "Physical Department: Its Place and Opportunities in India, Part II," *The Young Men of India* 21 (1910), 76.
[82] J. H. Gray, "India's Physical Renaissance," *The Young Men of India* 25 (1914), 345.
[83] Ibid., 341-347 & H. C. Buck's "Physical Education in India" (c. 1921-1922), *Springfield College Archives and Special Collections*, 2.
[84] For Muscular Christianity in context of sports, see, Clifford Putne, *Muscular Christianity – Manhood & Sports in Protestant America 1880–1920* (Harvard University Press, 2003); John J. MacAloon, ed. *Muscular Christianity and the Colonial and Post-Colonial World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008) & Paul Schwinn, *The Malleable*

America and the Philippine Islands submitted in 1916 to the International Young Men's Christian Association College (Springfield College), Harry L. Kingman pointed out that Gray's coming to India had made a good start as the physical activities suggested by Gray gradually broke down the prejudice against Christianity, outwardly observed caste rules, and the suspicion with which the Indians regard all new ventures.[85]According to Kingman, a large variety of outdoor sports like football, cricket, basketball, and tennis were established for the Indian community that: *"created great enthusiasm and attracted great crowds, revealing to the Association leaders what a tremendous opportunity the athletic program was giving and might give in the campaign to Christianize India."*[86] In his work on YMCA physical education in South Asia, Fischer-Tine has discussed their early efforts on physical education and sports in India and suggests that it was tactically framed to attract native youths towards the YMCA in order to set a climate suited for their conversion.[87]

Meanwhile, Gray took leave from his post in India and returned to Springfield to take a post-graduate degree in Physical Education which was awarded to him in 1916. In the same year, he penned a propaganda paper for the *International Review of the Mission*, titled, 'Physical Education and Missionary Work.' This paper highlights the missionary propaganda of American-based YMCA through the means of physical education. Gray regarded physical education as a new science of the body that is scholarly, vital for modern life, and holding the highest ideals of holy and exalted living.[88] He shed light on the association's physical education activities that were made a regular part of a Christian organization and recognized as having an inherent value for the development of Christian character. Speaking as a missionary that the almighty dwelt in an ideal fit body; he proposed physical education as an essential requisite to build an efficient body suitable for carrying Christian values and character. Thus, Gray offered physical education in the service of Christianity.[89] Gray thought that the physical culture movement originated in

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Man: The International YMCA and Christian Manhood, 1890-1940 (UCLA: Center for the Study of Women, 2009). Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5fm1q70t

[85] Harry L. Kingman, *Physical Education in China, India, Japan, Latin, America and the Philippine Islands* (Graduation Thesis submitted to International Young Men's Christian Association College. Springfield, Massachusetts, 1916), 45.

[86] Ibid., 46

[87] Harald Fischer-Tine, "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late colonial South Asia (circa 1900-40),"*Modern Asian Studies* 52, Issue 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 20.

[88] J. H. Gray, "Physical Education and Missionary Work," *International Review of Mission* 5, no. 1 (1916): 141.

[89] Ibid., 142

America could be carried and spread in India through commerce, education, and religion. It seems he was quite confident about the success of YMCA's fitness gospel in India. As he wrote: *"The multitude of India's young men have felt the inspiration and determined to have a part in this movement, as is indicated by the scores of Indian football teams and the hundreds who compete in one way or another in Calcutta alone."*[90]

Gray's essay 'More than Record Making: What Physical Education Means in India,' published in the August 1916 edition of *Association Men*, a YMCA North America branch magazine, throws further light on missionary propaganda of YMCA's physical education programme in India. He was convinced that physical work in India would *"smash…its way into time-hoary religious and social customs'*, thus paving the ground for YMCA's long-term goal of *"breaking down Hinduism."*[91] Interestingly, Gray also thought that the YMCA's physical education programme would have an equally positive impact in the political realm, inciting India to wake from its state of semi-hibernation and make her capable of assuming a more prominent place in the family of nations. He declared that the YMCA signature games would open up new horizons by offering Indians a real taste of democracy in play, synchronizing with foretastes of democracy in many other realms.[92]

Over and above, Gray concurred with the colonial perception of the Indian body and character as effete and immoral and thought that Indians could not be converted through the lesson of the gospel alone. Therefore, physical education would not only strengthen their body and muscle and straighten up backs but, most importantly, build their mind and character. This view is clearly articulated when Gray speaks before the American Physical Education Association at Chicago. He read a paper titled, 'Physical Education in India' where he claimed:*"And those boys (Indian), because of the natures that come with strong, clean, perfect bodies, are able to fight that awful menace of immorality, so we are putting character as well as muscle into those boys."*[93] Thus, Gray firmly believed that the Orient and non-Christian lands desperately needed the systematic and scientific scheme of physical education for developing vigorous and efficient manhood and womanhood. In an another paper, 'Physical Education and Missionary Work', he argued that

[90] Ibid., 142-143
[91] J .H. Gray, "More than Record Making: What Physical Education Means in India," *Association Men* (August 1916): 610.
[92] Ibid
[93] J. H. Gray, "Physical Education in India," *American Physical Education Review* XXIV, no. 7 (1919): 376.

with an improved physique and strengthened moral fiber, there would appear a type of Christian increasingly energetic, virile, and active exhibiiting practical religious characteristics over the philosophical, metaphysical, apologetic elements that the oriental mind has tended to overemphasize in the past. Gray opined that with physical education instruction along biological, anatomical, physiological, and hygienic lines, India's social evils would ultimately disappear. Racial, class, and caste division were supposed to be temporarily abandoned when men meet in competition or recreation on a common plane.[94]

Most importantly, Gray believed that physical education could lay the foundation of the logical superstructure for virile type of Christian ideals of citizenship, character, and discipline.[95]As such, Grey considered physical education the most favorable and effective means of making contact with and approaching non-Christians. To this end, Gray was determined to get for physical education precisely the same recognition as any other educational subject and wanted to establish it in the curriculum of schools and colleges. As Physical Director of India's YMCA and advisor to the Government of Bengal on the matter of physical training of the students, he recommended a thorough and compulsory physical and medical examination of all pupils and callisthenic drills suited to the local conditions, climate and general health of the community. Games, recreation, and play programs for character development and body development were also proposed. Graded classroom instruction along with the health, hygienic, and sanitary training was also suggested by Gray on the ground that they implicitly had to do with character building and religious instruction.[96]

However, it appears that the YMCA's goal of proselytization of Indians through recreation, sports and physical education did not meet Gray's expectations. Soon, YMCA realized that Indians were interested in their programs of physical fitness, health, hygiene, and sanitation rather than in the Christian gospel. Fischer-Tine refers to the annual report of the National Council of YMCA of India and Ceylon for the year 1919 to show that South Asians' real interest was in the physical education and sports programs of the YMCA rather than in their religious

[94] J. H. Gray, "Physical Education and Missionary Work," *International Review of Mission* 5, no. 1 (1916): 141-147.
[95] Ibid., 144
[96] Ibid., 146

activities.[97] For instance, Bible sessions offered by the Calcutta branch of YMCA were attended by 5337 visitors, whereas their physical activities were frequented 30552 times.[98] Gray himself, before departing for China, read a paper on the condition of physical education in India before the American Physical Education Association held at Chicago in April 1919, where, unlike his earlier pieces, he did not talk about the missionary enterprise in India at all. The essay titled 'Physical Education in India' published in the *American Physical Education Review* discusses the promotion of American ideas and methods of physical education in India. The YMCA's long-term goal of India's evangelization found no mention in this paper of Grey.[99]

It seems by the second decade of the twentieth century, the YMCA's physical education schemes transcended the goal of preparing the ground for proselytization. However, the association authorities continued to see their sports and physical education schemes as instruments of social and religious reforms in India. Grey made a strong argument that physical education in eastern countries was a revolutionary thing that had brought about a sharp change in their thinking. To make his point, he argued that cartridges greased with pigskin caused a mutiny in 1857, but now Indians all over the country feel splendid playing soccer with football made out of old pigskin.[100] He appreciated the 'revolutionary' changes physical education had brought out in India, observing that:

> You can see from that the change that has come about, and the extent to which the whole thing has been turned upside down; and you can appreciate how revolutionary the physical education movement is in the Far Eastern countries, what an upset it is to their whole previous national life; and you can realize what an important part it is going to play in their reconstruction.[101]

Thus, YMCA's evangelization propaganda was abandoned in the 1910s, and instead, the focus shifted to community service through professionalization and institutionalization of physical education in India.[102] There was a change in the YMCA's rationale and objective of physical

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[97] *Report of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of India and Ceylon to the Tenth National Convention at Calcutta, November 23-27, 1920* (Cuttack: Orissa Mission Press, 1920), 142.
[98] Ibid
[99] J. H. Gray, "Physical Education in India," *American Physical Education Review* XXIV, no. 7, (1919): 373-379.
[100] Ibid., 374
[101] Ibid
[102] Mayer N. Zald and Patricia Denton, "Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1963): 214-234.

education in India by the time Gray departed. At the moment of leaving India, he expressed the hope that boys and young men of India would realize that they were the "sickest nation in the world to-day" and should avail themselves of the worldwide physical education movement for their national upliftment. Linking India political struggle for national sovereignty with physical education, Gray wrote: *"They are just as keen on home rule as Ireland is, and just as keen on having their own national life as any country in the world; and they believe that physical education plays a large part in that, and so they are keen for it, and are going after it just as hard as they can go."*[103] Chapter 4 of this thesis explores the place of physical education in the discourse of national education in India.

H. C. Buck and the establishment of Physical Education College at Madras

Among those YMCA Americans captivated by the new spirit of physical adventure in India was Harry Crowe Buck. Born on November 25, 1884, in Pennsylvania, America, Buck promoted the YMCA project for India's character and moral upliftment through physical education by establishing South Asia's first College of Physical Education at Madras in 1920. Like Gray, Buck was an evangelist trained in scientific physical education at Springfield by the physical educator Luther Halsey Gulick. He graduated from the International YMCA College at Springfield, Massachusetts, with distinction in 1910. He then took up service as Physical Director in the Public Schools of Hammond, Indiana. After spending a year at Hammond, he went to Wichita as the head of the high school's physical training department.[104] Albert E. Schell, a classmate of Buck at Springfield and an influential physical educator involved in various schools reforms, recalls Buck's work in Wichita after his demise in 1943 in an obituary published in the *Wichita Eagle*:

> Mr. Buck started right in not only to build good athletes but good men. He instilled in his teams good sportsmanship and real competitive spirit. He taught good, tough competition but insisted

[103] Ibid., 376
[104] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 26-37.

> that every man play the game right. He did not teach victory at any price but victory for the best team. His system of good and fair play built personality and character among his men.[105]

After three years of service at Wichita High School, Buck was appointed the head coach and was in charge of the physical training department at Fairmount College. Harry Buck joined Springfield College again to graduate with a Master's Degree in Physical Education. He was awarded the degree in 1917 with honours. After graduating with a M.P.E. Degree, Buck, for a few months, took up work as a physical director in the public schools of Springfield and Galesburg, Illinois. As a matter of fact, physical education as a discipline had evolved much in the West. Especially in America, educationists customized the notion that training in character and social adjustment was not achievable unless children could play under the direction of physical educators and could learn while playing. Thus, Buck was sent by American-dominated YMCA to India in September 1919 to take up the post of Physical Director at the Central YMCA at Madras.[106]

Fischer-Tiné has explored YMCA army work schemes in South Asia, Europe, and the Middle East during the First World War. The Indian branch of YMCA, in particular, served the Indian soldiers in a variety of ways, like offering voluntary services at army huts, hospitals, and convalescent depots in many Indian cities. Besides, they offered a taste of recreation and entertainment to injured soldiers through sports and educational programs.[107]*The Young Men of India* regularly used to publish a report of its voluntary work during the war period. YMCA's army work schemes were taken as opportunities for their proselytizing mission besides offering lessons for becoming better citizens. Health gospels and physical fitness schemes were also thoughtto be propagated through constructive works during the war. The annual report of the Ceylon YMCA for 1914 observed that *"never in the history of the world, during a great war has the same emphasis been placed on fitness as at present."*[108] Accordingly, when the war ended in November 1918, the gains in goodwill that YMCA earned through its services during the war

[105] Albert L. Schell, "Former Wichita Football Coach Built Character in "His Boys" as well as will to Win" (Quoted from the Wichita Eagle, Sunday Morning, September 5, 1943) in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 172.
[106] "Obituary Comments: From The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon, September 1943," in Ibid., 152
[107] See, Harald Fischer-Tiné, "'Unparalleled Opportunities': The Indian Y.M.C.A.'s Army Work Schemes for Imperial Troops During the Great War (1914–1920)," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47, no. 1(2019): 100–137.
[108] Ibid., 104

were so significant that the YMCA organization acquired a new worldwide reputation.[109] As a result, in many countries where physical education, recreation, play, and playground schemes had not yet been institutionalized and where physical education policies and recreational measures had to be framed, YMCA's physical education scheme found fruitful ground. The demand for Springfield College trained Physical Educators consequently grew during the war and post-war years.[110] In India alone, by the end of 1916, as many as fifteen Physical Directors trained at Springfield were working in a local association branch at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Allahabad, Benares, Bangalore, Trivandrum, Jabalpur and Hyderabad.[111]

Buck, who arrived in Madras in September 1919, took no time in discovering the causes that impeded the work of physical education of the previous educator, J. H. Gray in India. Though like Gray, he too believed that if India had to benefit from any physical education scheme, it would be necessary to set a new and effective plan of action that in content and scope would be worthy of American standards and American aims.[112] But unlike Gray, Buck was quick in recognizing that there were factors fundamentally different from America in India, and any progress in the physical condition of the people depended more on changing their habits, customs, and ideals rather than on any scientific scheme of physical culture.

After Buck commenced work in India, there was a major shift in YMCA's India policy directed towards localizing YMCA in its structure, and in designing physical education programmes. Buck wanted to train Indian youth as physical educators in India and include indigenous physical culture activities in the YMCA programme of physical education. He shifted the burden of responsibility of educating Indians in the pedagogy of physical education from Springfield College graduates to Indians who understood their country's environment and could contribute more fruitfully to their country's physical regeneration. As Buck himself acknowledged in an article 'The Physical Department of the YMCA,' he wrote for *The Young Men of India* in 1921

[109] See, Tomáš Tlustý, "The YMCA Organisation and its physical education and sports activities in Europe during the First World War," *PRACE NAUKOWE Akademi i im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie* XIV, nr 1 (2015): 27–44.
[110] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet:Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 36.
[111] H. C. Buck's "Physical Education in India" (c. 1921-1922)," (*Springfield College Archives and Special Collections*), 2.
[112] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet:Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 40.

that the association could not make much progress until it trains native physical instructors.[113] Thus, with the objective of *"training the sons of India to take upon their own shoulders the task of the physical regeneration of their people,"* Buck proposed the idea of establishing a proper training center of physical education in India on the lines of YMCA Springfield College.[114] A section from his letter to the International Committee of the YMCA in New York, written a year after he arrived in India, clearly indicates his plan for establishing a Physical Education College in India. Buck wrote:

> Some of the reasons why Physical Education and scientifically trained Physical Directors are necessary in India are the following:
>
> 1. Disinclination to Exercises which develop hardihood.
> 2. Need of training in high ideals of Sportsmanship.
> 3. Ignorance of Sex matters.
> 4. Child Marriage.
> 5. Lack of attention to sanitation.
> 6. Improper diet.
> 7. Widespread use of drugs.
>
> But in the last analysis if India is to be saved she must save herself, we cannot for ever bear all her burdens. India and Indians are best understood by her own people. This being so, it seems only proper that this programme of physical regeneration should be carried on by the sons of India-our attempt at depending upon foreign Physical Directors to do the job have been futile the solution lies in training indigenous leadership. However, I do feel that we As a Christian nation in the Christian spirit are called upon to help India to help herself. The fact that Indians can understand and deal with the temperament and Customs of their own people so much better than the Westerners can, the trying climate and the constantly changing personnel along with other factors convince me, as I give myself to this work' of the necessity of -training these men to carry on the work among themselves, among their own people, we need help from America to make this a possibility. America has the money, the man-power and the experiences. All these are

[113] H. C. Buck, "The Physical Department of the Y.M.C.A.," *The Young Men of India* 32 (1921): 340–346.
[114] Ibid., 340

> needed in helping India to help herself, and our prayer is that individuals in America may be made to see this opportunity to serve each according to his talents.[115]

Hence, the School of Physical Education was founded at Madras in August 1920 to train Physical Directors in India with Buck as its Principal. Buck's venture was supported by D. F. McLelland, heading the YMCA's National Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon and five students were admitted to get themselves *"equipped for the task that lay ahead- the vision of a new India with strong and virile men and healthy and happy women."*[116] However, Buck's vision of 'new India' needs to be closely examined as his rationale and scheme of physical education for Indians was intrinsically engaged with it. Before doing so we shall take a brief look at the progress of YMCA's School of Physical Education at Madras.

For the first two years, the training was conducted at the Central YMCA Madras, to prepare a leadership for the association. But there was a new demand for physical instructors from educational institutions viz. elite schools, colleges, and universities. Many princely states, missions, private bodies, and the Indian Olympic Association (founded in 1924) sought the service of YMCA trained physical directors to train youth in the scientific physical education course offered by the YMCA school at Madras. The training facilities at YMCA Madras were found to be inadequate. Consequently, the training center was moved to an extensive 65 acres site at Saidapet in the suburbs of Madras that was offered to them by the Government of Madras.[117] The YMCA's Physical Education College obtained support from John R. Matt of the International YMCA, who extended the plan of physical education of Indians in North America, and Vincent Massey of Canada, donated to the growing institution. In 1931, the school was raised to the level of a residential college offering a degree course in physical education. The demand for courses offered by the YMCA College of Physical Education was so high that students not only from India, Burma, and Ceylon but even from Iraq, Thailand, and Egypt,

[115] N. K. Mia, (Principal, YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet), "Mr. Buck and the YMCA College of Physical Education, February 1947," in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 86.
[116] Ibid., 87
[117] Ambi Harsha, *Development of Physical Education in Madras 1918-1948* (Published by The Christian Literary Society, 1982), 6-20.

enrolled at the college. Buck served as the Principal of the college for more than two decades, from its inception in 1920 until his retirement in 1943.[118]

H. C. Buck's Ideal for Physical Education: Shaping A New Social Order

H.C. Buck extended the American ideal of physical education and its potential for building the values of democracy and citizenship in India. Nevertheless, considering the colonial context of India, he further added inculcation of social values and intelligent leadership in the educational pedagogy of physical education. In developing a scientific scheme of physical education for India to promote the ideal of democracy, citizenship, leadership, and social values, Buck, like his precursor J. H. Gray, sought a desirable shift from the earlier British model of imparting physical education through drills to physical activities that demanded the participation of all.[119] However, Buck firmly believed that physical activities should be necessarily suited to the nature and needs of Indians. After founding the YMCA Physical Education School at Madras in 1920, he launched a monthly journal named, *Vyayam*, to propagate his philosophy of play, physical education, and recreation. Buck also discussed his scheme of physical education for Indians he developed over the years in the journal.

Interestingly, in an article:'Wanted: Better Muscles and Better Social Values,' Buck published in *Vyayam* in 1924, he envisioned a 'social order' in which physical education has to play a significant role. He noted that the modern interpretation of physical education was premised on the idea that physical activities can educate or modify a person for a better living either physically, intellectually, emotionally, or socially.[120] Considering the scheme of mere body building through drill and gymnastics (British employed drill masters and gymnastic instructors in government schools and colleges in India till the second decade of the twentieth century) narrow, as it neither appealed to the intellect and emotions and did not encapsulate any social values, Buck described how the application of psychology to education had shown that men have personalities and bodies that must cater to interests and desires as well as to the muscles. This

[118] L. K. Govindarajulu, ed.*Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial*(Saidapet:Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 23 & 69.
[119] Harald Fischer-Tine, "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late colonial South Asia (circa 1900-40)," *Modern Asian Studies* 52, Issue 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 30.
[120] H. C. Buck, "Wanted: Better Muscles and Better Social Values," *Vyayam* IV, no. 1 in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 219.

established physical education as an essential component of general education and demanded a comprehensive programme with greater social values and promoted the idea of a more intelligent leadership.[121] Buck firmly believed that the modern tendency of avoiding any physical work would make people soft in muscle and character. Therefore, he advocated including activities that can build physical hardship and *"provide such experiences and such leadership as may produce men and women strong enough in body and strong enough in character to mould a social order in which we may live happily and constructively"* in the educational programme.[122]

Buck's thinking about the development of the social order through physical education was best highlighted in his article, 'Physical Education- Its Place and Value in Modern Life,′ published in *Vyayam*. Here too, he affirms that physical education can contribute to the social order and anything of value to modern life, only if traditional formalized schemes of physical education based on the artificial system of exercises would be abandoned in favour of physical education programs derived from the study of human nature.[123] He asked for a careful selection of the physical activities that could produce desirable values. Elucidating that education and physical education must provide lifelike experiences, he argued that play activities should create personalities capable of adjusting to the present-day social order. As far as Buck's idea of social order is concerned, he thought it rests on values inculcated through physical activities and requires citizens of a good character to possess suitable social conduct. The proper social order, Buck claimed, is made up of people possessing a sense of justice and fair play, a spirit of co-operation, loyalty to worth-while causes, initiative, resourcefulness, courage; physical, mental and moral stamina.[124]These qualities could be developed only if education provided experiences requiring the application of such attributes. Thus, emphasizing the utility of team games in this regard, Buck affirmed:*"The qualities are not inherent in the practice of purely individualistic activities, but in those which call for co-operative effort. Team games, if well organized and well supervised, afford the greatest opportunity for developing the qualities of character which make for good citizenship."*[125]

[121] Ibid
[122] Ibid., 220
[123] H. C. Buck, "Physical Education- Its Place and Value in Modern Life,"*Vyayam* VI, no. 2 in Ibid., 229
[124] Ibid., 232
[125] Ibid

Remarkably enough, during World War II, Buck contemplated the role physical education could play in making the new world order. In his presidential address to the Provincial Physical Education Conference of Madras held in 1940, Buck put forward the idea of social order as an ideal social system on which a new world order should be built. In his vision of the new world order, mere physical prowess would not be celebrated to the exclusion of ethical and moral qualities, and scholastic attainments would not be acquired at the expense of physical and moral attributes.[126] He further argued that the new world order requires more than ever before the harmoniously developed man and women with integrated physical, mental, and spiritual powers. Men and women not only require a hardihood of body but most importantly, hardihood of character as well as moral fiber capable of creating and maintaining mutual understanding, respect, cooperation, and a spirit of brotherhood.[127] For building such a social and world order, a scientific system of physical education and recreation was conceived. As has already been discussed, Buck found the traditional British physical education system of drill and gymnasium entirely defective as he thought it keeps the students physically illiterate and does not inculcate in them character and social values. In the Madras Provincial Physical Education Conference, he again highlighted the narrow conception of physical education practiced in public schools, colleges, and universities of India. Buck called the German, Danish, and Swedish systems artificial with many proponents backing the discourse of physical education in India. He found these systems insufficiently comprehensive to cater to boys' interests and needs and utterly fail to shape men to be ideal citizens of good social order.[128] Hence, he proposed carry-over value programmes of physical education that must include activities that result in knowledge, habits, attitudes, and skills required for the good social order.

To be sure, Buck firmly believed that physical educators have to play a significant part in ushering the desired new social order by taking the responsibility for helping boys and girls to discover the high values of self-discipline. Thus physical education should be designed to suit the interests and needs of those participating in it, providing such physical experiences that would result in improved behaviour and bodies. Physical education for boys and girls should promote organic, vigourous, acceptable skills, desirable attitudes and habits, and good social

[126] H. C. Buck, "Looking Forward in Physical Education (The Presidential Address, delivered at the Eighth Provincial Physical Education Conference of Madras)," in Ibid., 237
[127] Ibid., 237
[128] Ibid., 238-239

conduct. Most noteworthy, Buck argued for a physical education based on sound philosophies of education, psychology, and sociology.[129] The following extended excerpt from one of Buck's articles discusses how his physical education philosophy was intrinsically based on the educational merits inherent in it. He writes:

> If one has in mind only those principles derived from a study of physiology and anatomy, his programme is likely to be made up only of invented artificial exercises which may have a place for the purpose of bodybuilding and posture training. But man is much more than mere muscle and bone and posture. Unfortunately this common narrow conception results in a therapeutic procedure wherein the participants are dealt with as hospital patients rather than as personalities with interests and emotions which must be catered to and moulded by providing activities that have meaning and which call for self-expression resulting in self-discipline and self-development. A comprehensive, educationally sound programme of Physical Education is not confined to a consideration of the principles discovered by a study of physiology and anatomy alone. But in addition, it accepts and applies the facts revealed by psychology, sociology, anthropology, and allied sciences. And is values are attitudes and skills useful and acceptable throughout life, plus the necessary concomitants of health and presentable physique. In brief, Physical Education must not be thought of as a therapeutic measure, but as education. And as such it must conform to all the principles on which any sound scheme of education is based. And it must have just as intelligent leadership as any other phase of education, so that its net result may have truly educational values.[130]

Buck further elaborated educational values of physical education in an article- 'An Interpretation of Physical Education.' He explains that programmes in physical education should be made up of natural big muscle activities through games and athletics that appeal to the participants' inherent interests and desires and equip them to function effectively as members of society.[131] Here, he clearly elaborates on the aim and objectives of physical education. According to Buck, physical education's primary purpose is not to develop star athletes, expert performers, winning teams, or physical marvels, but a national vitality based on character values and physical stamina. Buck further argues that physical education aims at enabling self-expression and self-development individuals and groups by providing stimulating situations out of which shall arise experience

[129] Ibid., 237-238
[130] H. C. Buck, "Physical Education- Its Place and Value in Modern Life," in Ibid., 230
[131] H. C. Buck, "An Interpretation of Physical Culture," in Ibid., 258

abundant in physical, mental, social, and moral values.[132] He enumerates five objectives of physical education that included developing organic vigour, neuro-muscular skills, right attitudes towards play and physical activities, desirable social attitudes and conduct, and correct health habits.[133] With these general aims and objectives in mind, Buck developed the programme of physical education for India. To add more, Buck's wife, Marrie Buck, and a Women Specialist in Physical Education contemplated an ideal of physical education centered on building citizenship. With a view to developing the habits and attitudes that would make pupils happy, healthy, and valuable citizens when they leave school and take on the responsibilities of adult life, she developed a programme of physical education for Indian girls.[134] It is worth mentioning here that Marrie Buck composed a voluminous text titled, *The Programme of Physical Education for Girls School in India* (1938) that drew up a comprehensive scheme of physical education and play for Indian girls aged between 4 to 17 years that included games and races, story play, relays, rope skipping and pandi, kindergarten rhythms etc.[135]

Buck's Programme of Physical Education for India; The Amalgamation of Western and Indian Physical Culture

Buck tried designing a physical education programme for India that must merit and justify the tests of principles and philosophies of education. This predominantly included western games and sports, as can be discerned from his article, 'Modern Policy of Organizing Physical Education in Schools' (1934), published in *Vyayam*. A comprehensive scheme of the physical education programme for India included activities like games for large and small groups; rhythmic activities including free and creative rhythms, singing games, and folk dances; hunting and chasing games; modified athletic contests; stunts, tumbling, and self-testing activities; activities on gymnastic and playground apparatus; mimetic activities and the story plays for elementary schools. The programme of activities for the elementary school was to suit the pupil's interests, needs, and physical capacities.[136] For middle and high schools, he submitted a scheme in which pupils would participate in daily physical education activities. The content of the

[132] Ibid., 259
[133] Ibid., 259-260
[134] Mrs. H. C. Buck, *The Programme of Physical Education for Girls School in India* (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1938), xii.
[135] Ibid., xv
[136] H. C. Buck, "Modern Policy of Organizing Physical Education in Schools," *Vyayam* XIV, no. 3 in Ibid., 223.

programme of physical education in middle and high school was broad and varied. It included a variety of individual and small team sports such as tenniquoits, tennis, archery, handball, badminton, quoits, fencing, boxing, tumbling, wrestling, stunts, pyramid building, gymnastics, drills, marching, efficiency tests, and group competition; track and field athletics; rhythmic activities including folk dances and gymnastic dancing.[137]

However, since the very beginning, Buck made it clear that the YMCA College of Physical Education would not be opposed to any system of physical education. In an address delivered at the time of laying the foundation stone of Massey Hall, in the main building of the college, he pointed out that the YMCA did not cling to one system of physical training but aims to use any and all means which have a scientific and useful basis as the foundation for a man's training. At YMCA College, Madras, no single method of physical education was adhered to.[138] By the late 1920s, the YMCA, under the leadership of Buck, adopted the policy of including indigenous games and physical activities in its programme of physical education. In 1928, Buck wrote a text, '*Book of Rules'* intending to formalize rules and regulations for play that included both, Western sports and Indian games. Patricia Vertinsky and Aishwarya Ramachandran have explored in their work that how Buck tried to bring some uniformity between different indigenous games played across India.[139]

It should be noted here that nationalist assertions regarding indigenous physical culture became apparent by the second decade of the twentieth century.[140] There was a powerful movement for reviving indigenous physical culture from all parts of the Indian sub-continent. The movement's direct outcome was the nationalist enterprise in a physical culture that led to the establishment of gymkhanas, *vyayamsalas* (exercise clubs), *akharas*, and organizations for *khusti* (wrestling), *kho-kho, kabaddi, kalarispaat, bhatratri* movement and the emergence of yoga physical culture. As

[137] Ibid., 224

[138] Ambi Harsha, *Development of Physical Education in Madras 1918-1948* (Madras: The Christian Literary Society, 1982), 21.

[139] See, Patricia Vertinsky and Aishwarya Ramachandran, "The "Y" Goes to India: Springfield College, Muscular Missionaries, and the Transnational Circulation of Physical Culture Practices,"*Journal of Sport History* 46, no. 3 (2019): 363-379.

[140] See, Joseph Alter, "Physical education, sport and the intersection and articulation of 'modernities': The Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 9 (2007): 1156-7; Namrata R. Ganneri, "Notes on Vyayam: a vernacular sports journal in western India," *The Newsletter* no. 69 (Autumn 2014). She has recently completed a project entitled, 'Transforming Indigenous Sport: A Study of Physical Culture Clubs in Western India c. 1900-1950'.

an active participant in the discourse and institutionalization of physical education in India, Buck was influenced by the nationalist assertion in physical culture. In the process, he was acquainted with India's different indigenous games and physical culture. This cross-cultural experience convinced Buck to revise his understanding and professional views on the value and merits of a particular form of physical culture.[141]

Buck's paper `The Place of Indigenous Activities in the Physical Education Programme', which he presented before the All-India Physical Education Conference held in Bombay on December 26, 1938, indicates the need for the inclusion of Indian games in the YMCA programme. He explicitly points out that any physical activity, regardless of the part of the world from where it comes, if it qualifies the principles and educational procedure on which sound physical education is based, should get a place in the modern programme of physical education.[142] *"Our observation and experience over a period of years,"* says Buck, lead him to believe *"that many indigenous exercises and games do meet some of these requirements and that therefore they should be given a place in the physical education programme."*[143] The requirements he was referring to were health and strength, wholesome attitude towards competitions, good social conduct, good ethical character, qualities that make for good citizenship, and the ability to plan and organize satisfying physical recreation for one's self. In addition the cost of equipment, funding, space for playgrounds compelled Buck into improvising in favour of including indigenous exercises and games like *Kho-Kho*, *Atya Patya*, and *Chadugudu* in the YMCA physical education programme.[144] At the YMCA College of Physical Education in Madras, some instructions were also given in *Dundahls* and *Bhaskies*, *Suryanamaskar* (sun salutation), Lathi Play, and Lezim. Buck found these physical activities have educational as well as physical values and also satisfy natural play desires. Remarkably, Buck's scheme for a more diversified curriculum had a place for indigenous rhythms or the practice of Indian folk dances. He found *Kummi* and *Kolattam,* south Indian folk dance suitable to be included in the physical education programme as they

[141] Patricia Vertinsky and Aishwarya Ramachandran, "The "Y" Goes to India: Springfield College, Muscular Missionaries, and the Transnational Circulation of Physical Culture Practices," *Journal of Sport History* 46, no. 3 (2019): 367.
[142] H. C. Buck, "The Place of Indigenous Activities in the Physical Education Programme (Paper presented before the All-India Physical Education Conference. Bombay, December 26 1938)," in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 247-251.
[143] Ibid., 248
[144] Ibid., 249

provided an opportunity for self-expression through rhythm. Thus, he believed that such indigenous activities should be given a large place in physical education.[145]

Broadly speaking, by this time, there was a strain of nationalist thinking that claimed the superiority of indigenous physical pursuits. Buck considered this tendency to exclude so-called foreign physical culture and include indigenous physical activities an unwise method of selecting and discarding the sequence of activities. He argued for a combination of all systems, a wise procedure to develop a sound physical education programme. On yoga asana, which by then emerged as the major contender in the discourse of physical education in India[146], Buck took a skeptical stand and considered postural exercises of a subjective nature which *"do not make such of an appeal to vigorous youths whose chief interest is in activities of an objective nature, such as play and games."*[147] Nevertheless, he left the discussion on yoga asana open and suggested a scientific study on postural exercises that made extravagant claims about their therapeutic value.[148]

Two years later, at the Provincial Physical Education Conference of Madras held in 1940, the question of the merits and demerits of yogic *asanas*, *suryanamaskars*, *dundahls*, and *bhaskies*, and the inclusion of indigenous physical activities and games to the exclusion of all foreign activities was debated at the conference. Speaking at the meeting, Buck impressively underscored the virtue and advantage of combining the best physical exercises of East and West in the development of new world order. He argued that quarreling over different systems of physical education would not help in developing a new world order.[149] An excerpt from his speech at the Madras Provincial Physical Education Conference and another delivered at All-India Physical Education Conference held in Bombay raises the issue of the inclusion and exclusion of foreign and indigenous physical practices against the backdrop of scientific and educational principles, thus emphasizing testing of any system of physical culture on educational lines:

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[145] Ibid., 250-251

[146] For more on Yoga Physical Education in Late colonial period, see Chapter 6

[147] H. C. Buck, "The Place of Indigenous Activities in the Physical Education Programme (Paper presented before the All-India Physical Education Conference. Bombay, December 26 1938)," in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet:Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 251.

[148] Ibid

[149] H. C. Buck, "Looking Forward in Physical Education (The Presidential Address, delivered at the Eighth Provincial Physical Education Conference of Madras)," in Ibid., 239

> We have to be broad-minded, and calmly attempt to determine the place and the value of activities for the programme in the light of scientific and educational principles, and not by their place of origin or traditional usage. Activities must merit and justify a place in the programme by all the tests of all the principles, in the full realization of our ambition for a new order which is certain to call for extraordinary men and women.[150]
>
> In the final analysis we must be prepared to submit all activities, indigenous or otherwise, to a battery of experimental and scientific tests. Those which pass the tests should be retained in our programmes. Those which fail must be thrown into the discard. And the tests applied must be not purely physiological tests, but psychological ones also. For physical education is concerned not only with bodies, but with personalities as well.[151]

Thus Buck's cross-cultural experience in physical education led him to compile 'Rules of Games and Sports' in 1941. The programme of physical education in India was revised to an extent to include indigenous games like *Kho-Kho, Atya Patya*, *Kabaddi*, *Chedugudu*, *Teni-Koit* along with many Western games viz. basketball, lawn tennis, netball, cricket, badminton, handball, volleyball, football, hockey, boxing, and wrestling.[152] Joseph Alter makes a strong argument that any attempt to have rule-bound indigenous games was a process inextricably linked to colonialism as he writes, *"Once a traditional game is defined and played as a modern sport, it becomes an artifact of colonialism even if the motivation to formalize it as a sport was inspired by anti-nationalism and anti-colonial sentiment."*[153]

Nevertheless, Buck and his successor P. M. Joseph in many ways, earnestly work hard to include local games and indigenous physical culture in the YMCA physical education schemes with a view to adapt it to the Indian environment. Puthenpurayil Mathew Joseph, the Springfield graduate of the class of 1931, who, after Buck's retirement, became the Principal of YMCA College of Physical Education, promoted a policy of hybridization of Western and Indian physical cultures.[154] Yoga scholar Mark Singleton points out that Joseph finally made postural

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[150] Ibid
[151] H. C. Buck, "The Place of Indigenous Activities in the Physical Education Programme (Paper presented before the All-India Physical Education Conference. Bombay, December 26, 1938)," in Ibid., 251
[152] See, H. C. Buck, *Rules of Games and Sports* (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1941).
[153] Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga at the Fin de Siècle: Muscular Christianity with a 'Hindu' Twist," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 5 (2006): 759.
[154] For more on P. M. Joseph, see S. Muthiah, Madras Miscellany- Builder of the spirit of sport, *The Hindu* (31st October, 2010).

based yoga asana a part of the YMCA's national syllabus in India.[155] Before joining YMCA College, he served as the first principal of the newly established Government College of Physical Education in Bombay. After independence, Joseph also founded the Physical Education Foundation of India to disseminate scientific knowledge in sports and physical education and draft the National Plan for Physical Education. It was out of this plan that in 1949, Lakshmibai National College of Physical Education was established in Gwalior with Joseph as its first principal, which later became the Laxshmibai National University of Physical Education.[156]

Significantly enough, Buck also wished to establish physical education as a regular subject in educational institutions on the same lines as History, English, and Mathematics. In an essay, 'Modern Policy of Organizing Physical Education in Schools,' Buck demanded an allotment of time for physical education class instruction periods equivalent to the school's regular academic periods.[157] Whereas Buck, in another essay, titled, 'How can Schools make Physical Education vital in the Educational Curriculum,' which he read at the 3rd Provincial Physical Education Conference held at Salem, presents a plan for establishing physical education as an independent subject by allotting it a period in the school's timetable. He proportionately divided physical education into three periods, viz. instructions periods, participation periods, and inter-school competitions. During instruction periods, the pupils should be trained in the skills and techniques of games, and competitive programmes were part of the participation periods. Clarifying that instruction periods are not theory classes, Buck describes them as classes for conducting physical activity in which the teacher develops the skills of pupils that would enable them to enjoy free play and competition. Periods of participation had a central place in the programme that provided an opportunity for character and physical development through play activities. Whereas, Inter-School competitions were supposed to be periods for cultivating representative team spirit and fair play that *"affords the opportunity for directing energies in proper channels, for obtaining educational values, for developing qualities of citizenship, for building moral character."*[158] Buck further proposed that each physical education class period should be of a duration of not

[155] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body The Origin of Modern Postural Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 92.
[156] S. Muthiah, Madras Miscellany- Builder of the spirit of sport (*The Hindu*, 31st October, 2010).
[157] H. C. Buck, "Modern Policy of Organizing Physical Education in Schools," *Vyayam*, XIV, no. 3 (1928): 2-5.
[158] H. C. Buck, "How can Schools make Physical Education vital in the Educational Curriculum," in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet:Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 269-272.

less than 40 to 60 minutes. As far as the strength of the physical education class was concerned, he opined that not more than 30 pupils shall report to the physical education teacher at a time. Considering the fact that scientific and educationally sound physical education does not permit a herd system (mass method), Buck thought that desirable skills, habits, and attitudes could only be developed during physical education periods in group's small enough to facilitate actual teaching and had the scope for individual as well as group attention.[159]

YMCA Comprehensive Physical Education Scheme: Hygiene, Sanitation and Health Education

The YMCA's fitness scheme for India included the programmes of hygiene, sanitation, and health education. As discussed above, J.H. Gray considered India as *"the sickest nation in the world,"*[160] and wanted to develop a comprehensive scheme of physical education for India to solve health problems. Gray was not only educated as physical instructor at Springfield; he was also trained in medicine at Columbia University that led him to combine Luther Gulick's scientific physical education programmes with a knowledge of hygiene, sanitation, and health education. When he held the post of Physical Director of YMCA in India, hygiene, sanitation, and health education became an auxiliary to his physical education programme.[161] His physical and health education programme impressed the British authorities, and they enthusiastically offered him *"... cooperation and financial support,"* as Gray put it.[162] As a part-time advisor to the Government of Bengal on the matter of physical education, he influenced the colonial health policy by serving as a member of the committee of inquiry into hygiene of schools and colleges, framing curricula of health and physical education, and last but not the least introducing many new games and sports in India.[163]

However, by the time H. C. Buck arrived in India, the knowledge of health education, sanitation, and hygiene was becoming an intrinsic part of India's physical education discourse and eventually found a place in the YMCA College curriculum. The services provided by the Indian branch of the YMCA during the First World War have already been discussed. Imparting a

[159] Ibid., 268-269
[160] J. H. Gray, "Physical Education in India," *American Physical Education Review* 24 no. 7(1919): 376.
[161] J. H. Gray, "More than Record Making: What Physical Education Means in India," *Association Men* (August 1916): 610.
[162] Ibid., 611
[163] I. H. Nish, *Y.M.C.A.: A History 1857-1957* (Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House, 1957), 37-40.

knowledge of health, sanitation, and hygiene to troops during the war years was one of the YMCA programmes.[164] Kanakarayan Tiruselvam Paul (1876-1931) of YMCA played an instrumental role in this venture.[165] Paul was the first Indian to become National General Secretary of the National Council of YMCA's India branch. An ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi, Paul simultaneously carried out Gandhi's style of constructive works and community service in South India. His works included rural construction, the organization of a cooperative bank through YMCA, and social services like spreading awareness on public health, sanitation, and hygiene.[166] To an extent, YMCA's direct engagement with the local population through such constructive programmes strengthened their ground in India and rendered their physical education schemes more acceptable in the ongoing nationalist movement. J. H. Gray, many years after his retirement, in a letter to Wuch Chi Tang, talked about the impact of YMCA's physical education programme on the Indian nationalists. He recalled that though many of the Indian nationalist activists and politicians were otherwise critical of emulating anything Western and stressed the value of anything *swadeshi* realized the fact that India was*"physically the poorest country of the world,"* and the YMCA convinced them to recognize *"…the need for racial vitality and gave their support."*[167]

It is essential to mention that since the beginning of the twentieth century, the demand for proper sanitation, hygiene, and health education was a recurrent theme in nationalist politics. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mahatma Gandhi, to mention a few prominent nationalists repeatedly raised such issues. Many of them even included the subject of sanitation, hygiene, health, and physical education in their ideal of

[164] Harald Fischer-Tine, "Unparalleled Opportunities': The Indian Y.M.C.A.'s Army Work Schemes for Imperial Troops During the Great War (1914–1920)," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47, Issue 1 (2019): 116.

[165] K. T. Paul was the voice of Indian Christian in colonial India. He represented Christian community in the First Round Table Conference held in London in September 1930 and served as the president of the All India Conference of Indian Christian. For his involvement in nationalist politics, see, Joseph Thomas, *K. T. Paul and His Contribution to the Discussion on the Relation between Christianity and Indian Nationalism in the First Half of the 20th Century* (Senate of Serampore, 1976) & Harald Fischer-Tine, "The Ymca and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia, C .1922–1957," *Past & Present* 240, Issue 1 (2018): 193–234.

[166] For more on K. T. Paul, see, H. A. Popley, *K. T. Paul Christian Leader* (Calcutta: T.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1938).

[167] Letter by J. H. Gray to Wuh Chi Tang, 22 August 1952, quoted in Harald Fischer-Tine, "Fitness for Modernity? The YMCA and physical-education schemes in late colonial South Asia (circa 1900-40)," *Modern Asian Studies* 52, Issue 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2018): 34.

national education.[168] Therefore, the YMCA's integrated programme of physical education with the provision of knowledge of health, sanitation, and hygiene found approbation in nationalist circles. It appears YMCA aligned its programmes with the nationalist thinking.

After the First World War, when Buck took up the responsibility of YMCA's physical education affairs in India and founded the Physical Education College at Saidapet (Madras), community service like health awareness projects became a part of the integrated physical education programme of the college.[169] The project aimed at improving the living conditions of the communities living in the suburbs of Madras.[170] Buck realized that physical education would *"never make its fullest and richest contribution to the life of India"* until closely co-ordinated with a thorough-going health education programme.[171] He frequently made a point in many of his speeches and articles on physical education that exercise without proper attention to the fundamentals of hygiene and sanitation would be harmful rather than beneficial. He repeatedly emphasized that good bodies and health could not be developed by exercise alone. Nutrition and proper diet, hygiene, and sanitation constitute a vital component of his physical education scheme in India.[172] Thus, Buck asks for every possible effort to introduce and effectively carry on health education in India's educational institutions. By health education, he does not mean the mere study of hygiene and acquisition of textbook knowledge. He instead argued for applying the knowledge of health and hygiene to everyday life through educational programmes. Health instruction and guidance, Buck explains, forms a process of providing not only knowledge but such a variety of experiences in healthy living that it deeply influences attitudes, habits, and skills ensuring personal and community health. Therefore, he calls for health education that consists of a comprehensive set of experiences in health practices that lead to healthy living. Buck's health education programme was composed of medical and physical examinations, health services, health supervision, and health instruction. Significantly enough, Buck believed that

[168] For detail discussion on this, see, Chapter 4 & Joseph Alter, "Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Bio moral Imperative of Public Health," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (1996): 301-322.
[169] F. Weber, "Physical Education in the Association Programme," *The Young Men of India* 45 (1933): 389-391.
[170] "Play that Opens Door," *The Young Men of India* 50 (1938): 251-253.
[171] H. C. Buck, "Looking Forward in Physical Education," in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 244.
[172] H. C. Buck, "Wanted: Better Muscles and Better Social Values," *Vyayam*, Vol. IV, Issue 1 in Ibid., 220

medical and physical examinations would guide physical education programmes.[173] Buck's most expressive articulation on this subject can be found in a paper titled 'Health Education,' published in *Vyayam*. Buck elaborated the aims of health education as follows:

1. To instruct children and youth so that they may conserve and improve their own health.

2. To establish in them the habits and principles of living which throughout their school life, and in later years, will assure that abundant vigour and vitality which provide the basis for the greatest possible happiness and service; in personal, family and community life.

3. To influence parents and other adults, through the health education programme for children, to better habits and attitudes, so that the school may become an effective agency for the promotion of the social aspects of health education in the family and community as well as in the school itself.

To improve the individual and community life of the future, to insure a better second generation, and a still better third generation, a healthier and fitter nation and race.[174] However, Buck proposed to provide a suitable environment and opportunity for promoting health practices so that they could be developed into a habit. Therefore, he outlined methods for health education that are based on medical inspection and health supervision. The school and colleges were supposed to arrange treatment at hospitals, clinics, etc. According to Buck, this part of the programme should be one phase of health education in which both the parents and the children were guided in the preservation and correction of health.[175] Whereas, health supervision dealt with the conditions of the environment and the activities of students, the wholesomeness of the methods of teaching, the sanitation of the building and the grounds, ample toilet and latrine facilities were to be provided with the co-operation of teachers and students.[176]

Moreover, besides classes in anatomy and physiology, the curriculum of the YMCA College of Physical Education contained compulsory courses on Tropical Hygiene and Sanitation, Personal

[173] H. C. Buck," Looking Forward in Physical Education (The Presidential Address, delivered at the Eighth Provincial Physical Education Conference of Madras)," in Ibid., 244-245
[174] H. C. Buck, "Health Education" in Ibid., 234
[175] Ibid., 235
[176] Ibid.,

Hygiene, and Sex Hygiene.[177] Buck's comprehensive scheme also included keeping records of pupil's condition, behavior, and attainment in health and physical education as was done with regular academic pursuits. Buck thought it of immense value as it helped shape the physical education programme according to the nature and needs of pupils. Highlighting the importance of tests and measurements in the physical education curriculum, he writes, *"Tests and measurements in physical education serve the double purpose of obtaining facts that may guide us in our work, and as an incentive to pupils to improve their skills, physique and health. It is one way of motivating the programme, and of placing it on a level with the academic work."*[178]

As far as medical examination was concerned, Buck considered the importance of establishing a working relationship between physical education and medical examination or health services. He thought that the school should work closely with the home to secure the correction of remediable defects discovered during the medical inspection.[179] Thus, a provision of health education constituted a necessary part of physical education in Buck's programme of disciplining the body of Indian pupils.

Conclusion

Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, emphatic efforts were made by British administrator-educators of English public schools in India that compelled Indians into recognizing the effete, docile, and undisciplined body and mind of Indians and transforming them into robust, virile, and obedient bodies. 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. English public schools were established in India on the model of Public Schools of England, where a great deal of importance was attached to athleticism and sports. 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

[177] H. C. Buck, "The Physical Department of the YMCA," *The Young Men of India* 32 (1921): 341.
[178] H. C. Buck, "How can school make physical education vital in the educational curriculum (Paper read at the Third Physical Education Conference, Salem)," in L. K. Govindarajulu, ed. *Buck Commemoration Volume Being A Memorial* (Saidapet: Published by On behalf of the Alumni Association of the YMCA College of Physical Education, Saidapet by the Buck Commemoration Volume Committee, 1949), 274.
[179] Ibid., 268-275

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

However, the colonial administration was not the only one concerned with disciplining the Indian body. The American-dominated YMCA mediated and shaped this process in very crucial ways. Though initially YMCA's physical education programme in India led by J. H. Gray aimed at religious conversion, but soon under the leadership of H. C. Buck, YMCA reoriented their programme towards shaping a new social order employing physical education. The scientific and educational theory of physical education developed at Springfield seemed suited to Indian physical education discourse. With its focus on training responsible citizens, the YMCA's physical educational programme integrated Western pedagogy of team sports with the indigenous physical culture of India. The objective was achieving wider health and societal improvement that also incorporated hygiene, sanitation, and medical examination. Thus, the objective of the physical renaissance of the Indian race as envisaged by J. H. Gray sought to prepare students for a new social order. Buck thought that physical education and team sports not only results in good health and a strong body but inculcates in pupils civic and social virtues of kindness and goodness, fairness and justice, sympathy and forgiveness, brotherliness', freedom, orderliness, equality, team spirit, discipline and respect for rules, devotion and obedience to the leader and the host of other qualities considered essential to the good citizenship. To fulfill such a goal, the YMCA College of Physical Education was established at Madras in 1919 by H. C. Buck. This college was the first of its kind in Asia and played a significant role in the institutionalization of physical education in India by training a cadre of professional of physical instructors that were employed in educational institutions to impart physical education.

CHAPTER 4
THE ENGAGEMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION WITH INDIAN NATIONALISM

The discourse of physical education that commenced in the second half of the nineteenth century was dominated by colonial officials and educators and few English educated Indians driven by distinct motivations. However, the movement for physical education became intensified in the early decades of the twentieth century as it was drawn by national politics. In the hegemonic battle against colonialism during the Indian national movement, the idea of a fit and healthy body became an intrinsic part of the vision of nation building. Thus, many questions relating to educational reforms in India occupied the attention of Indian educationalists. Most educationalists of the time repeatedly argued for compulsory physical education and sports in schools and colleges of India. This included Annie Besant, Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sri Aurobindo, Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee and B.S. Moonje who envisaged a vital role for physical education in their idea of national education. Even though the educational thoughts of Indian nationalists has been worked upon, there is hardly much discussion of their thinking on physical education. This chapter explores the views of some major national educationalists of the early twentieth century on physical education.

The Physical Education in the Discourse of National Education

The second chapter discussed the response of educated Indians, to the colonial construction oftheir effeteness. This they sought to remedy by recovering their lost manhood through physical education. Ashis Nandy argues that Indian elites and the middle-class of the late nineteenth century assumed their British rulers as agents of change and progress and accepted the masculinized character of imperialism. They held themselves responsible for their subordinate status and invented a Kshatriya or warrior model of manliness equivalent to the imperial masculine prototype. This kashtriyahood became the normative model of Indian manhood till

Mahatma Gandhi grounded nationalist politics on a feminized semiotic.[1] Though Gandhi's non-violent nationalism based on moral values became the dominant trajectory of Indian nationalism, it is an undeniable fact that there simultaneously existed revolutionary nationalism founded on revitalizing the lost masculinity of Indians through physical culture.[2] Thus, from the early twentieth century onwards, there appeared nationalists many of them were educationalists as well who were ardent advocates of strengthening the body and mind and inculcating masculinity through physical culture. However, it was not that Indian educationalists of the first half of the twentieth century grounded their idea of physical education exclusively on the rationale of instilling masculinity alone. Their main objective for physical education was embedded in the education and health that it guaranteed. Educational pedagogy worked best with physical education; Indian educationalists thought besides strengthening the body and mind, discipline and ideal of citizenship could be cultivated for national development. Thus, nationalist educationalists raised the subject of the need for physical education against the backdrop of national development in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Swami Vivekananda: Reclaiming Hindu Masculinity

Swami Vivekananda' wrote in a letter, 'The Education that India needs' to Rabindranath Tagore's niece Sarala Debi: *"Alas this frame is poor, moreover, the physique of a Bengali…"* while explaining to her that the education Bengali boys receive was very defective.[3] In a conversation with one of his disciples, he laments saying that, *"The physique of this country is not at all good. If you want to do some strenuous work, it cannot bear the strain."*[4] In another conversation with his disciple named Sharatchandra Chakravarty on the necessity of national education for the country's progress, he spoke: *"If the physique of the parents be not strong and healthy, how can strong and healthy children be born at all?"*[5] The colonial stereotyping of Indians as effeminate people brought such psychological and social turmoil among educated Indians that they ventured

[1] Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[2] See, Jerome Armstrong, "For India's revolutionaries in freedom struggle, gyms & akharas were a cover for politics," *The Print* (2 February, 2020).
[3] "The Education that India Needs," in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Volume 4 (Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1958), 486.
[4] *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Volume 7 (Almora: Advaita Ashrama, 1947), 204.
[5] [Place: Calcutta, Year: 1897, March or April] Conversations and Dialogues, in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Volume 6 (Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1956), 495.

into developing a physical culture.[6] Narendra's (Vivekananda's original name) pursuit of physical culture began in his childhood. During his adolescence, the physical culture movement was in full sway in Bengal, and a section of young Bengalis were attracted towards the newly established *akharas* (gymnasium) to cultivate skills in wrestling and lathi-play.[7] The "spiritual athleticism," as some scholars has called the late nineteenth-century physical culture milieu of Bengal, fostered sporting activities among Bengali middle-class youth.[8] In this background, Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo were deeply disturbed by the colonial discourse of Bengali effeminacy, and sought its remedy in the cultivation of physical culture. Vivekananda attended *akharas* (gymnasium) and mastered sports like horse riding, bicycle riding, cricket, wrestling, and lathi-play. In a letter written from Almora, he mentioned that horse riding, mountaineering and exercise were his daily activities, and he hoped to be a wrestler.[9] He wrote to Swami Turiyananda from Paris that he used to practice push-ups and swimming every morning as he believed that the body cannot function well without regular exercise.[10] In a conversation with one of his disciples, he said:

> You must learn to make the physique very strong and teach the same to others. Don't you find me exercising every day with dumb – bells even now? Walk in the morning and evenings and do physical labour. Body and mind must run parallel. When the necessity of strengthening the physique is brought home to people, they will exert themselves of their own accord. It is to make them feel this need that education is necessary at the present moment.[11]

Thus, an exploration of Swami Vivekananda's speeches and writings reveals his recognition of the physical decadence of India, and he began to reflect upon the ideal of Hindu masculinity. Alter argues that Vivekananda revolutionized Hinduism by propagating self-confident and masculinized spiritualism. He articulated a kind of muscular spirituality based on Vedanta, but

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[6] Ashis Nandy, "The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age, and Ideology in British India," *Psychiatry* 45, no. 3 (1982): 197-219.
[7] John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal," *Past & Present* no. 86, (Feb. 1980): 121-148.
[8] Amitava Chatterjee and Souvik Naha, "The Muscular Monk: Vivekananda, Sports and Physical Culture in Colonial Bengal," *Economic and Political Weekly* 49, no. 11 (2014): 25-29.
[9] Ibid., 27
[10] "Swami Vivekananda Letter to Swami Turiyananda 1st September 1900," in The *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*. Volume 8 (Almora: Advaita Ashrama, 1951), 541-543.
[11] Conversations and Dialogue [Place: The rented Math premise at Belur. Year: 1899.] in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*. Volume 7 (Almora: Advaita Ashrama, 1947), 169-170.

expressed in what he called Raja Yoga.[12] This masculinized spiritualism or muscular Hinduism was expressed through yoga and other indigenous physical cultural practices in colonial India.[13] Most importantly, Vivekananda evoked indigenous masculinity based on the Hindu conception of strength and vigour.The evocation of strength and vigour was fundamental to Vivekananda's conception of physical culture and is reflected in his remarks on football. In a lecture, `Vedanta in its Application to Indian Life,' he spoke of the great Upanishadic tradition and concurrently spelt out the weakness of the Indian body. He argued that physical culture and sports were the means through which physical weakness could be overcome:

> …in spite of the greatness of the Upanishads, in spite of our boasted ancestry of sages, compared to many other races, I must tell you that we are weak, very weak. First of all is our physical weakness. That physical weakness is the cause of at least one-third of our miseries. We are lazy, we cannot work…And are we not ashamed of ourselves? Ay, sometimes we are; but though we think these things frivolous, we cannot give them up. We speak of many things parrot-like, but never do them; speaking and not doing has become a habit with us. What is the cause of that? Physical weakness. This sort of weak brain is not able to do anything; we must strengthen it. First of all, our young men must be strong. Religion will come afterwards. Be strong, my young friends; that is my advice to you. *You will be nearer to Heaventhrough football than through the study of the Gita. These are bold words; but I have to say them,* for I love you. I know where the shoe pinches. I have gained a little experience. You will understand the Gita better with your biceps, your muscles, a little stronger. You will understand the mighty genius and the mighty strength of Krishna better with a little of strong blood in you. You will understand the Upanishads better and the glory of the Atman when your body stands firm upon your feet, and you feel yourselves as men.[14]

Swami Vivekananda's biographer, Shankan Prasad Basu, informs the reader that he not only mastered physical activities such as horse riding, wrestling, gymnastics, dumbbell exercises, fencing, swimming, and lathi play but also endeavoured to make some physical exercises

[12] Joseph S. Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body Between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press), 26.
[13] Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga at the Fin de Siècle: Muscular Christianity with a 'Hindu' Twist," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 5 (2006): 759-776.
[14] "Vedanta in its Application to Indian Life," in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Volume 3. Ninth Edition (Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1964), 228-247.

compulsory in the monastic order namely, the Ramakrishna mission.[15] It is to be noted that Vivekananda was a spiritual monk, and it was with him only that *hatha yoga*, the system of bodily practices used by ascetics in India for spiritual attainment, came to the notice of the modern world.[16] In *Raja Yoga*, the collection of lectures he delivered in the United States of America, Vivekananda interprets Patanjali's Yoga Sutra with the view to adapting hatha yoga's physical postures for a modern audience. He explained the *asanas* or postures as *"... a series of exercises, physical and mental, to be gone through every day, until certain higher states are reached."*[17] Thus, he paved the way for developing yoga into a modern system of physical culture.[18] However, as Alter points out, Vivekananda was not interested in institutionalizing the relationship between sports, physical fitness, yoga and neo-Vedanta.[19] In contrast as we will see next, Sri Aurobindo's project was more elaborate because of the way in which he engages with the body, fitness, sports and physical education.

(i) Physical Education in Sri Aurobindo Idea of *Purna* Education

Swami Vivekananda's references to ancient Hindu sources for building the body and mind, whether cited for spiritual attainment or physical renaissance of a nation, had a great impact on the youth for generations. He became a prophet for revolutionaries who lay great stress on physical culture.[20] His vision of the physical renaissance of Indians inspired many political figures and educationalists of the twentieth century. Sri Aurobindo was one deeply influenced by the philosophy of Swami Vivekananda. Like Vivekananda, Aurobindo also belonged to the same Bengali social class that had been labeled effeminate and feeble. At the age of eight, he moved to England in 1879, where he studied at institutions like the King's College and qualified the Indian Civil Service examination. His interest in physical culture began when he was involved with the Bengal revolutionaries and helped establish Anushilan Samiti (bodybuilding society) in 1902. A casual reading of Sri Aurobindo's writings during the Swadeshi Movement (1905-1910) indicates the existence of a movement for physical training and establishing akharas in

[15] Sankariprasad Basu, *Sahasya Vivekananda* (Calcutta: Naba Bharat, 1974), 14-15/24-25.
[16] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origin Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 4-6.
[17] Swami Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga* (New York: Brentano's, 1920), 18.
[18] For more on this, see, Chapter 5- The Development of Yoga into a Physical Education System
[19] Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga at the Fin de Siècle: Muscular Christianity with a 'Hindu' Twist," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 5 (2006): 762.
[20] See, Sharada Sugirtharajah, "Swami Vivekananda and Muscular Hindu Spirituality," in *Swami Vivekananda: His Life, Legacy and Liberative Ethics*, ed. Rita D. Sherma (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2021), 209-226.

Bengal.[21]Aurobindo described the Anushilan Samiti as a physical training institution whose foremost motive was to improve the physique of the race.[22]

On June 27 1909, Aurobindo delivered a speech at Howrah, published in *Karmyogin.* He described how Anglo-Indians used to scoff at Bengalis as weaklings who were doomed to perpetual slavery because they had no martial gift, nor were physically strong, and whoever chose to strike them expect no blow in return. He further points out that this image of Bengalis declared them unfit for self-government.[23] Illustrating how this perception of Bengalis was changing because of their growing involvement in physical culture pursuits and revolutionary movements, Aurobindo mentions the volunteer associations that grew up for promoting physical exercises and teaching the art of self-defence. He proclaimed: *"If this was the blemish, to be weak, if this was the source of our degradation we determined to remove it…In spite of our physical weakness we have a strength within us which will remove our defects. We will be a race of brave and strong men. And that we may be so, we will establish everywhere these associations for physical exercise."*[24] In Aurobindo's own words, the samitis or associations that encourage physical culture and lathi-play were looked upon by the colonial government as nurseries of violence, dacoity, and factories of bombs.[25] Interestingly, on the matter of government looking at their activity of physical culture with suspicion, Aurobindo remarked,

> It is the Europeans who have trumpeted physical culture as a most valuable national asset, the thing in which the English-speaking nations have preeminently excelled and which was the cause of their success and energy.[26]

Thus, from the beginning of his nationalist career, Aurobindo embraced physical education as an asset of national importance worthy of the task of nation building. Sri Aurobindo, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak were the earliest figures to directly bring physical

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[21] "National Volunteer published in Bande Mataram, Calcutta, May 27th, 1907," in *Bande Mataram: Political Writings and Speeches. 1890–1908 // The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*: Volumes 6-7 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 2002), 447.
[22] "The Anushilan Samiti, *Karmayogin*, Vol. I, Saturday 16 October 1909, no. 17," in *Political Writings and Speeches 1909-1910*. *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*.Volume 8 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press, 1997), 283.
[23] "The Right of Association, *Karmayogin*, Vol. I, Saturday 26th June 1909, no. 2," in *Political Writings and Speeches 1909-1910*. *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*: Volume 8 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press, 1997), 73.
[24] Ibid., 74
[25] Ibid., 79
[26] Ibid., 74

education into the sphere of national politics by engaging with the idea of moral and physical strength needed for self-rule. This engagement's explicit testimony is evident in Aurobindo's article, "British Protection or Self-Protection*"* published in *Bande Mataram* on March 18 1907. A portion of the article reads as follows:

> It is urgently necessary therefore, that we should shake off the superstitious habit of praying for protection to the British authorities and look for help to the only true, political divinity, the national strength which is within ourselves. If we are to do this effectually, we must organize physical education all over the country and train up the rising generation not only in the moral strength and courage for which Swadeshism has given us the materials, but in physical strength and courage and the habit of rising immediately and boldly to the height of even the greatest emergency. That strength we must train in every citizen of the newly-created nation…And the strength of the individuals we must carefully organize for purposes of national defence…It is high time we abandoned the fat and comfortable selfish middle-class training we give to our youth and make a nearer approach to the physical and moral Education of our old Kshatriyas or the Japanese Samurai.[27]

Once again, in an article, 'An Open Letter to My Countrymen', published in *Karmayogin* on July 31 1909, Sri Aurobindo reiterated that in the ideal scheme of national education for Swaraj (self-rule), physical education must be included with intellectual and technical education.[28] Another contemporary of Sri Aurobindo, who greatly emphasized the physical training of Indians, was Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.[29] Savarkar himself developed an interest in physical culture from the age of twelve and regularly practised yoga, suryanamaskar, dumbbells workouts, and several push-ups. He also learned the martial arts of *malla khamb* (traditional Indian pole gymnastics) and kushti (wrestling).[30] Savarkar founded a secret organization, *Abhinav Bharat Society*, in 1904 that kept close contact with Sri Aurobindo during the Swadeshi movement and took a keen

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[27] "British Protection or Self-Protection, Bande Mataram, Calcutta, March18th, 1907." in *Bande Mataram: Political Writings and Speeches. 1890–1908. The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*: Volumes 6-7 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 2002), 223.

[29] In1899, V.D. Savakar organized Mitra Mela, a revolutionary secret society in Nasik where intellectual enrichment, exercise and fitness were compulsory. For the members of the Mitra Mela, it was obligatory to perform physical activity and practise push-ups, gymnastics, swimming, marathons, swimming, running, trekking through mountains and forests with a view to make them ready for struggles that involved languishing in jails, hunger, torture, and back-breaking hard work in captivity.
Vikram Sampath, *Savarkar Echoes from a Forgotten Past 1883-1924* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2019), 88/101.

[30] Ibid., 89

interest in physical training along with the moral and intellectual development of its members.[31] Thus, as can be gleaned from Savarkar's speeches at Poona and Nashik, he considered physical training of Indians a matter of national importance. He firmly believed that by means of mental training and physical exercises, preparation can be made for a successful revolt against British rule.[32]

However, in the purely educational realm, Sri Aurobindo's ideas on physical education developed as a part of his quest for educational theory. His pursuit of educational philosophy began when he sought refuge from active politics in 1910 and settled at Pondicherry. He dedicated himself to educational, philosophical, and spiritual pursuits at Pondicherry. The evolution of his educational thought was part and parcel of his philosophical and spiritual quest. At Pondicherry, Aurobindo propounded the educational theory of *purna* (integral) education. He conceptualized integral education as a complete system of education that continues throughout life. It develops not only the cognitive mind but it develops physical, vital, mental, spiritual, and psychic aspects of the personality.[33] Physical education and sports, in particular, was an essential part of his idea of integral education, which he developed over the years. With his spiritual collaborator, a French lady named Mirra Alfassa, whom he called *'The Mother,'* he established an ashram and experimented with physical education. It seems Aurobindo's educational theory drew from Vivekananda's philosophy as both sought the spiritual salvation of men and the call for an education that leads to the Divine realization of Universal Harmony. Both believed that desired knowledge is always latent within the pupil's mind, and education is a means of uncovering that knowledge. In the realization of this desired knowledge, Aurobindo thought physical education plays a significant role.[34]

Aurobindo's rationale for physical education revolves around two poles. First, the metaphysical concern of perfection of a body for the divine realization of universal harmony, and second, the role physical education could play in nation-building. While the former deals with his spiritual quest of yoga philosophy. The latter is about his concern of educating the body that comprises

[31] Dhananyay Keer, *Veer Savarkar* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966), 16.
[32] Chitragupta, *The Life of Swaatantra Veer* Savarkar (1926), 248
[33] For Aurobindo's Integral Education, see, Aurobindo Ghose, *Integral Education: In the Words of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother Selected from Their Writings* (Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, 1952)
[34] Ibid & Ujjwal Kumar Halder and Shyamsundar Bairagya, *Ideas of Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo on Education: A Comparative View* (Conference Paper: National Conference on Yuganayak Swami Vivekananda, The Educationist Par Excellence - A Great Luminary of Modern Times, 2014).

educative merits of physical education viz. character building, teaching healthy habits, and building a perfect body and a sound mind. As far as his spiritual quest of yoga philosophy is concerned, his theory of spiritual evolution consists of five stages viz. body (inconsistent), life (sub-consistent), mind (consistent), supermind (super-consistent), and *sachchidananda* (consciousness-bliss). Thus, the highest attainment of conscious bliss in his theory of evolution begins with the body. In other words, bodily perfection is the first and foremost step in the ultimate aim of attaining the highest spiritual realization. Through physical training, one needs to awaken the dormant inconsistent consciousness (*suptachaitnya*) residing in the body. Aurobindo's evolutionary model of human development drew a great deal from Yoga and Vedanta philosophy. On the question of how bodily perfection unambiguously helps in the attainment of divine life, he wrote:

> If our seeking is for a total perfection of the being, the physical part of it can not be left aside; for the body is the material basis, the body is the instrument which we have to use. Šarīramkhaludharmasādhanam, says the old Sanskrit adage, - the body is the means of fulfillment of dharma, and dharma means every ideal which we can propose to ourselves and the law of its working out and its action. A total perfection is the ultimate aim which we set before us, for our ideal is the Divine Life which we wish to create here, the life of the Spirit fulfilled on earth…That cannot be unless the body too undergoes a transformation….[35]

It is apparent that in Aurobindo's arrangement of stages of evolution, the lowest rung of the ladder is the body. At Pondicherry, he became a yoga practitioner and found in hatha yoga a medium for perfecting the body for a further spiritual journey of divine realization and universal harmony. In, *Synthesis of Yoga,* he explained that hatha yoga seeks to rectify nature and establish equilibrium that leads a physical frame to sustain the inrush of an increasingly vital or dynamic force of *Prana* indefinite, almost infinite in its quantity or intensity.[36] The yogic bodily movement Aurobindo prescribed was *asana,* and a breathing technique called *pranayama,* as mentioned in hatha yoga.[37] He describes the benefits of asana, saying that fixed postures can cure the body of restlessness and give the body extraordinary health, force, and suppleness. Besides,

[35] "Perfection of the Body," in *Sri Aurobindo and The Mother On Education* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1972), 36.
[36] Sri Aurobindo, *The Synthesis of Yoga.* Volumes 23 and 24, in The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department, 1999), 33-34 & 528-535.
[37] Ibid., 34

asana also liberates the body from the habits that subject it to ordinary physical nature. Whereas pranayama, Aurobindo argues, keeps the body free from impurities and the nervous system unclogged for respiration.[38] Joseph Alter explained such a formulation of yoga as the programmatic modernization of traditional bodily practice directly linked with the problem of the body.[39]

Thus, Aurobindo gave immense importance to the body for spiritual evolution. However, there was an educationalist side of him as well that considered physical education as an essential part of a complete education, what he called- Integral (*purna*) education. His educational philosophy of 'Integral Education' contains five principal aspects corresponding to the human being's five main activities: physical, vital, mental, psychic, and spiritual.[40] All five central elements of education are interdependent and interpenetrated, and even the mental and vital faculty requires sound physicality for expression. That is why, for Aurobindo, the pedagogy of the body should be effective, rigorous, detailed, far-sighted, and methodical.In the bulletin of the Aurobindo ashram published in April 1951, three principal aspects of physical education were described as (1) control and discipline of the functioning of the body, (2) an integral methodical and harmonious development of all bodily parts and movements, and (3) correction of any defects and deformities.[41] When once asked by his disciples about the place of athleticism in his ashram, Aurobindo replied, *"The perfection of the body, as great as perfection as we can bring about by the means at our disposal, must be the ultimate aim of physical culture. Perfection is true aim of all culture, the spiritual and psychic, the mental, the vital and it must be the aim of our physical culture also."*[42] This makes it clear that physical education constitutes an indispensable part of his educational theory of purna education.

In the first volume of *Bulletin of Physical Education* (1949) of Pondicherry Ashram, Aurobindo explains the value of sports, arguing that sporting activities not only improved the health, strength, and fitness of the body but also develops discipline, morale, and sound character. There are many sports, he thought, that are of the utmost value towards achieving this end because they

[38] Ibid.,
[39] Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga at the Fin de Siecle" Muscular Christianity with a 'Hindu' Twist," *The International Journal of History of Sports* 23, no. 5 (2006): 761-762.
[40] *The Mother On Education* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 2002), 12.
[41] "Physical Education," *Bulletin of Physical Education* III, no. 2 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1951): 13.
[42] P. K. Bhattacharya, *A Scheme of Education* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1952), 111.

help to form and even necessitate the qualities of courage, hardihood, energetic action, and initiative or call for skill, steadiness of will, or rapid decision and action.[43] Extracts from Aurobindo's message delivered on December 30 1918, quoted below illustrate how far he was convinced about the utility of sports in establishing harmonious national and world order.

> At any rate, in school like ours and in universities sports have now a recognized and indispensable place; for even a highest and completest education of the mind is not enough without the education of the body. Where the qualities I have enumerated are absent or insufficiently present, a strong individual will or a national will may build up, but the aid given by sports to their development is direct and in no way negligible. This would be a sufficient reason for the attainment given to them in our Ashram…The notion which possesses them in the highest degree is likely to be the strongest for victory, success and greatness, but also for the contribution it can make towards the bringing about of unity and a more harmonious world order towards which we look as our hope for humanity's future.[44]

Thus, Sri Aurobindo values sports because he thought it essential for developing the physical capabilities and emotional and mental skills of an individual. The principles of cooperation and goodwill are the qualities imparted on the playing ground that are valuable in bringing about cohesion, mutuality, and harmony in the society. He saw sports as an instrument for instilling disciplined habits and morale and sound and strong character that could help children adapt to circumstances.[45]Aurobindo and the Mother also believed that physical education offers methodical and regular development of all the parts of the body and its proper functioning. In *Mind of Light*, he describes why these qualities latent in the pedagogy of sports are necessary to stimulate national life. Aurobindo notes:

> These qualities have their value for life in general and not only for sport, but the help that sport can give to their development is direct and invaluable. If they could be made more common not only in the life of the individual but in the national life and in the international where at the present day the opposite tendencies have become too rampant, existence in this troubled world of ours would be smoother and might open to a greater chance of concord and amity of which it stands very much in need. More important is the custom of discipline, obedience, order, habit of team-work, which certain games necessitate. Innumerable are the activities in life, especially in

[43] *Bulletin of Physical Education* I, no. 1 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1949): 6.
[44] Ibid., 10
[45] Sri Aurobindo, *The Mind of Light* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1953), 3.

> national life, in which leadership and obedience to leadership in combined action are necessary for success, victory in combat or fulfillment of a purpose.[46]

Sri Aurobindo concludes that the value of the qualities developed through sports is essential for the national life. He argued that nation which possesses them in the highest degree is likely to be the strongest for victory, success and greatness. Moreover, the qualities that sports inculcate can also make towards bringing about unity and a more harmonious world order.[47] Thus, sports and outdoor games occupied a prominent place in the Pondicherry ashram school. Mirra Alfassa or the Mother even established a separate department of physical education in the ashram in 1945. The Mother also facilitated equal opportunities for girls in the ashram that can be considered radical for those times. She was concerned about developing healthy physical habits in girls through physical education and aimed at awakening their body consciousness to make them fit for spiritual perfection.[48]

Thus, despite interpreting physical education in the mystical and yogic conception of the relationship between body, mind, and soul, Aurobindo adapted the Western ideal of physical education, which supposed to inculcate courage, discipline, and character. It appears western sports were programmatically more practical and valuable for his ashram school. In his school at Pondicherry, Aurobindo arranged a playground, tennis court, volleyball and basketball court, hockey ground, swimming pool, weight training in gymnasium, boxing, and wrestling rings beside the programme of indigenous exercises, yogic asana, and pranayama.[49] Aurobindo's inclusion of Western sports and physical education in his ashram curriculum not come as a surprise. As an educationist, he was aware of the Western physical education systems and their role in the development of many nations. This makes him acknowledge the role physical education could play in nation-building. Describing the relevance of physical education, he clearly stated that:

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[46] Ibid., 4-5
[47] Ibid., 6
[48] For detailed information on physical education programme at Pondicherry Ashram, see, Namita Sarkar, *Memorable Years with The Mother (2 Volumes). The Growth of physical education in Sri Aurobindo Ashram* (Pondicherry: The Golden Chain Fraternity, 2017) & Chitra Sen, *The Mother and Women's Physical Education in Sri Aurobindo Ashram 1946-1958* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Centre for Advanced Research Trust, 2017).
[49] Ibid.,

> In their more superficial aspect they appear merely as games and amusements which people take up for the entertainment or as a field for the outlet of the body's energy and natural instinct of activity or for a means of the development and maintenance of the health and strength of the body; but they are or can be much more than that: they are also fields for the development of habits, capacities and qualities which are greatly needed and of the utmost service to a people in war or in peace, and in its political and social activities, in most indeed of the provinces of a combined human endeavor.[50]

(ii) Lala Lajpat Rai on Physical Education; Progress of Race, Citizenry, and Nation

Among the nationalists who emphasized physical education for national development, Lala Lajpat Rai was the foremost. The educational problems of India were one of the most important concerns of his nationalist politics. Physical education, in particular, formed not only an integral part of his idea of national education but was an important subject of his politics. He talked about the necessity of physical education in India and tried to build public opinion in its favour on numerous occasions. He went on to say that, *"I want my countrymen to realize that the problem of physical education in India is a national problem of the first magnitude, and they should apply themselves to its solution with all the energy and the force of soul they possess."*[51] As an educationist, he introduced physical education in schools and colleges that he helped establish or with which he was associated. For instance, gymnastic exercises were compulsory at Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, founded in Lahore on Rai's suggestion.[52]

Actively associated with the educational movements in India, he seems to have extensively studied educational philosophies and systems of Western nations, especially Britain, Germany, and America, along with Japan. During his travels to foreign countries, he devoted a substantial part of his time and energy studying their educational system, with a view to adapt them in India. Rai resided in the United States from 1914 to 1920, developed an interest in the 'Negro Problem' and established contacts with American educators like W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and Kelly Miller. He read DuBois's *Dark Princess* and extensivelywrote about African-

[50] *Bulletin of Physical Education* I, no. 1 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1949): 4.
[51] George F Andrews, "Physical education in India," *The Journal of Health and Physical Education* 4, no. 2 (1933): 10.
[52] "History of the D.A.V College," in *The Collected Works of Lala Lajpat Rai*. Volume 1, ed. B. R. Nanda (New Delhi: Manoahar, 2003), 100.

American educational institutions. Taking an idea from Du Bois' approach to education, Rai sought to adapt education that had contributed to the development of western nations but was denied to colonised peoples.[53] Thus, he made an intensive study of the American educational system that included physical education as its essential component and tried to understand how far the physical education schemes of America could be adopted and introduced in India.

Based on his readings and study of Ameican and Euopean educational system, Lajpat Rai wrote a monograph titled, *The Problem of National Education in India,* in 1918 while residing in New York. The intention was to reflect on the problem of education in India and help form public opinion for educational reform.[54] The book has an entire chapter, 'The Place of Physical Education,' that discusses its objectives and ideals Rai envisaged for physical education. Considering the diseased health of the Indians a civilizational crisis and the great demands that contemporary life made upon the vitality of the race, he grounded his arguments on physical education centred around the progress of race, citizenship, and nation.[55] Britain and other developed nations recognized that 'children of today are the citizens of tomorrow' and to have good citizens - physically, morally, and intellectually, policies were made to take good care of its children.[56] He described the interest in the health, moral and mental equipment of the children in an entire world that was coupled with the health of the race, community, and the state. In this context, he built an argument for physical education in India. As he wrote:

> It is also necessary that the children raised should be healthy and capable of contributing to the general progress of humanity. Defective persons are only a drag on the race, and involve a tragic waste of human powers, energies and potentialities…Descending from the race to the nation, the importance of children-of healthy, vigorous and potentially resourceful and powerful children-to the latter is self-evident. The children of a nation are its greatest asset. They represent its capital, upon the wise and skillful investment of which depends its prosperity-nay, even its existence and continuance. All the civilized nations of the world have accepted this truth, and are vying with each other in building their present and future position among the peoples of the world.[57]

[53] Babli Sinha, "Dissensus, education and Lala Lajpat Rai's encounter with W.E.B. DuBois," *South Asian History and Culture* 6, Issue 4 (2015): 462-475.
[54] Lajpat Rai, *The Problem of National Education in India* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1920), 9.
[55] Chapter 9- Physical Education, in Ibid., 148-169
[56] Ibid., 148
[57] Ibid., 149

Therefore, Lala Lajpat Rai considers the individual's health, not only their own concern. He firmly believes that it is the responsibility of a nation to look after the health of its people and their mental condition. He argued that the present and future interests of nation required that everyone of its citizen either male of female possess the maximum amount of health and the maximum developed intelligence to enable it to hold its own among the people of the world."[58] Rai thought that 'the state' should not only look at the education and health of its citizens but, in a larger national interest, can also regulate the birth and training of its future members.[59] Not surprisingly, he held the one-sided colonial education system of India responsible for the degraded body of students for the system took no notice of their physical requirements. Health, considered most important to every human being, was criminally neglected in India, argues Rai while criticizing the colonial educational system.[60] Among university graduates, he notes that hardly one in a hundred could be confidently said to be possessed of normal health. Like most of his contemporary nationalists, he too found the educational system in India primarily based on literary learning, in which young pupils engaged in mastering Milton, Shakespeare, Southey, Shelley, Kalidasa, and Firdausi and were never told how to cultivate an erect posture, take care of their bodies, hands, legs, noses, eyes, teeth, ears, organs, muscles and nerves, teeth, and ears. They knew nothing about the hygiene of living, housing, food, dress, and mating. The curriculum of studies in India neither takes any cognizance of these things nor makes any provision for recreation and amusement that can make for a healthy and edifying character.[61]

Explaining the benefits of physical education, Lajpat Rai argues that modern theories of physical education based on physiology prove that people who are fond of physical activities and excel in games and sports possess a good central nervous systems. On the other hand, pupils with little physical skill and no interest in games and sports usually lack organic vigour. In the extreme cases we encounter the recluse and the bookworm. He warned if education remains confined to purely intellectual pursuits, an unstable nervous system may be expected in pupils to the detriment of the development of the organic centres of the nervous system, related to circulation, respiration, and nutrition. Thus, lamenting the negligence of physical education in India, Lajpat

[58] Ibid., 150
[59] Ibid., 150-151
[60] Ibid., 153
[61] Ibid., 151-152

Rai mentioned numerous reports on improving English, mathematics, science, law, and even industrial education. However, he grieved about the fact that nothing was done in India to study the physical condition of students in school and to find out the way to secure an improvement in the health of the students.[62] It is to be noted that it was not until 1927 that India had its first provincial report on physical education.

The physical education scheme that Lala Lajpat Rai envisioned for India was primarily based on his study of the American physical education system. His analysis of several reports and bulletins on the subject led to his promoting a physical education scheme for India. The two documents, from which he had drawn a great deal of knowledge regarding physical education, were Dr Harris's (United States Commissioner of Education) *Report on Physical Education* (1891) and the *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education on Physical Education in Secondary Schools* published in 1918. Besides, he was influenced by Friedrich Frobel's *The Education of Man* (1826), which introduces the fundamental concepts of the Kindergarten system, and G. E. Johnson's *Education by Play and Game* (1905). Rai also read several works on medical examination of students in schools with a view to their adaptation in India. In addition, he also read *Health and medical inspection of school children* (1913) by Walter Stewart Cornell, *Medical Examination of Schools and Scholars* (1910) by Theophilus Nicholas Kelynack, *Medical Inspection of Schools*(1913), *School Health Administration* (1913) by Louis Win Rapeer.

Dwelling upon these reports, bulletins and books, Lala Lajpat Rai discussed the system of physical education as developed in America and its possible implementation in India. He recommended the careful perusal of the *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education on the subject of Physical Education in Secondary Schools*, of more practical use to Indian educational leaders, teachers, and students than volumes of high-class English and Sanskrit poetry.[63] Based upon his extensive reading, Rai makes an appeal that the schools in India must accept the new conditions of the industrial age and provide adequate opportunity for bodily movements related to vocational skills and the fundamental exercises pertaining to health. Arguing that the programme of studies in India was not adjusted to meet the changed needs of the pupils, he

[62] Ibid., 153
[63] Ibid., 154

referred to the scientific explanation of the benefits of physical activity that should be included in the school curriculum:

> The work of the school calls primarily for the functional activity of the higher centres of the central nervous system. It fails to emphasize the principal positive hygienic factor in that it disregards the motor activities related to the lower nervous centres controlling circulation, respiration, nutrition, and elimination. Besides, it neglects an important phase of education in that it minimizes to the vanishing point those motor activities related to good carriage, motor presence, motor personality, and motor consciousness. The attainment of adequate motor control is impossible with the present equipment and time allotment.[64]

Thus, Lajpat Rai suggested making provision for manual training and physical education in schools. Manual training developed neuromuscular mechanisms, and physical education involves the large muscles of the arms, legs, and trunk. Assuming that physical education would lead to fundamental health with enhanced organic, neural, and muscular capacity, he argued for instructions in exercises and games in schools and colleges, which could bring into play the large fundamental muscles of students and should be pushed far enough to stimulate circulation, respiration, and perspiration. Lajpat Rai recommended physiological exercises that involve the big muscles and related to the development of vigour, endurance, and power. He considered physiological exercises the best form of physical education.[65] He further opined that the instruction in physiological exercises should be supplemented by activities that can provide skill, grace, and alertness. At the same time, special attention was given to securing good postural habits while standing, sitting, and exercising. Not surprisingly, Lajpat Raiacknowledged the educative values of sporting activities that became the characteristic feature of physical education discourse in the early twentieth century. Following the modern theories of physical education, he claimed that team games and athletic contests can inculcate in pupil's desirable character-building qualities, social and moral values, honesty, fair play, courtesy, cleanness of speech, alertness and promptness, persistency, and manliness.[66] Thus, emphasizing the necessity of gymnasiums and playgrounds in schools, he proposed that physical exercises be further

[64] Ibid., 157
[65] Ibid., 166
[66] Ibid., 166-167

supplemented by play periods after school of at least one hour duration and setting-up exercises between classes.[67]

Lajpat Rai's scheme of physical education for India followed comprehensive programmes as it was not confined merely to the physical training of the students. It comprised an elaborate system with a careful provision for health examination, which included medical, mental, and physical inspection of the pupil. Along with a well-designed course of physical education, Rai's scheme also suggested a healthy environment at home and school, instruction in health problems, school credit, physical examination, and the physical efficiency tests of pupils to aid in proper grading of their health. Correlating medical, mental, and physical examinations with general studies of the pupil was also proposed. Such examinations were conducted by the medical inspectors, trained psychologists, and the director of physical education in collaboration with each other in America. Rai suggested the adaptation of such a system in India.[68] The idea of such a scheme of physical education drew from the works of western educationalists viz. Joseph Baldwin, S.E. Baldwin, Boaz, Crampton, Hughlings-Jackson, Foster, Godin, Hall, Marro, McCurdy, Stewart, and Whipple.[69]

However, Lala Lajpat Rai knew that introducing such an extensive system of physical education based on the American model was beyond the scope of India. Thus, his real intention behind conceptualizing such a physical education system for India was to draw the attention of educated Indians to the problem of physical education and show them how it contributed to making America one of the advanced nations of the West. Rai wanted Indians to realize that negligence of physical education is a national problem, so they should dedicate themselves to reforming the educational system. As he says, *"It is obvious that we in India cannot copy the United States. But surely we can attend to the gradual application of principles and the introduction of measures to enforce them as circumstances and funds permit."*[70] He thought that to undertake such a comprehensive scheme of physical education in India, it would be necessary to arouse the public to acknowledge that the health needs of young people are of vital importance to society and a nation. Thus, Lajpat Rai's ideal of physical education for India was embedded within the

[67] Ibid., 163-166
[68] Ibid., 161-162
[69] Ibid., 161
[70] Ibid., 169

nationalist aspiration of race, citizenry, and national development. Rai's *The problem of National Education in India* explicitly expresses his concern for physical education in relation to nation-building.

> the state of physical education within the subcontinent had become a matter of national concern, a problem of the first magnitude that required all Indian men to apply themselves to its solution with all the energy and force of soul they possess. A nation that is physically weak and degenerated can never achieve true freedom, and if freedom comes to such a nation it will never be able to preserve and maintain it.[71]

(iii) Annie Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee on Physical Education

Annie Besant was a theosophist, mainly concerned with girls and religious education among Hindus.[72] She was one of the early educationalists to weld physical education with nationaleducation discourse. She emphasized the need for India to develop a national spirit to take its place among the nations of the world. To achieve those ends, she wished to develop educational methods founded on Indian ideals. In her educational ideas for India, physical training of students was one such education deeply linked with the logic of national development. She assumed physical education as an essential ingredient for the development of India as a nation. In a lecture delivered in 1902 at the South Place Chapel in Finsbury, she pointed out defects in the Indian educational system. She said these faults neutralize much of the value of the education given to Indian students and need to be corrected. Besant was a staunch promoter of India's ancient ideals, and thought that physical training that was neglected in the present educational system was carefully pursued in ancient India.[73] She found Indian students naturally studious, having the slightest inclination for physical pursuits. She spoke:

> It has been forgotten that the Indian student is naturally studious and not playful enough, that his inclination is to work a great deal too hard, that what was wanted was the stimulation to play

[71] Patricia Vertinsky & Aishwarya Ramachandran, "Imperial benevolence and emancipatory discourse: Harry Crowe Buck and Charles Harold McCloy take the Y' to India and Chain in the early decades of the 20th century," in *Critical Reflections on Physical Culture at the Edge of Empire*, ed. Francois Johannes Cleophas (Sun Press: 2021). 104.
[72] See, C. L. Singh, "Educational Ideas of Annie Besant," *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 6, no.2 (2019): 255-271.
[73] Annie Besant, "England and India," in *For India's Uplift- A Collection of Speeches and Writings on Indian Questions* (Madras: G A. Natesan & Co., 1918): 143-162.

> more than the stimulation to study, that the physical training of the boys was more necessary to be seen to than the intellectual training.[74]

Besant discloses the limitations of the Indian educational system on the physical side, highlighting that the system takes no notice of physical training and everything that was done in schools and colleges is to force the intellectual side unwisely, by cramming rather than by organic development of the student. Universities also lack physical education, and their degrees have become the only passports to Government employment and the professions at large.[75] Her emphasis on physical education concerning national development found an unambiguous expression in the lecture `Education as a National Duty', which she delivered at Bombay in March 1903. She proposed a system of national education for India that included physical education as an integral part of the programme.While answering what kind of schooling Indiarequires, she described the nature of Indian boys. She argued that unless a boy's body is not made strong and healthy, he cannot serve his country as a man. Therefore, she thought that training the boy's body is as necessary a part of education as training his mind. His body should be kept frugally, strong and healthy and not lazy. Besant suggested that boys should be taught gymnastic exercises and games of every kind and prepared to regard their bodies as instruments for working in the world.[76] Besant's rationale for physical education was intrinsically linked with the national interests:

> His (boy) duty to his body is a part of his duty to his country and to himself. No school, no college does its duty where physical training is not definitely a part of its curriculum. The physical training does not really stop with the body, as when we speak of the training by games. Has it ever struck you, while scrutinising Indian character, what are some of the qualities that most need to be developed in the young? They are: quickness of thought, alertness in understanding the situation, swiftness of decision, promptitude of action, and accuracy of judgment. These qualities are wanted to make a good citizen and a useful man, and these are the qualities which are largely developed on the playing field, in the games. The boy learns in the games alertness and quickness in seeing his opportunity, and promptitude in using it. He learns to work with others by subordinating himself to a common object, and to subordinate his own success to that of his side. He learns the very qualities which are wanted in the man of action, in

[74] Ibid.,151
[75] Ibid.,151-152
[76] Education as a National Duty, A lecture delivered in Bombay on March 9, 1903, in Ibid., 22-24

> the true patriot.I would rather at present see an Indian boy skillfully playing on the playground than working in his class-room; because there is no doubt about the brilliancy of his intelligence, but there is a very great doubt about his practical capacities. This is often too lying dormant. Rouse it then by training and development.[77]

For Besant, quickness of thought, alertness in understanding the situation, swiftness of decision, prompt action, and accuracy of judgment were the qualities that are required to be a good citizen and useful man. And these qualities, she claimed, were developed mainly on the playing fields. Therefore, she thought it necessary to incorporate physical education into an ideal scheme of national education. As far as physical education of Indian girls was concerned, in Besant's educational thought, it embodied the late nineteenth century orthodox ideal of womanhood. Her idea of girl's education in India explicitly carried the anxiety of orthodox Hindus concerning loss of feminine virtues (*patrivrata dharma*) and docility. Besant's objective of the education for Hindu girls, as Singh has discussed in her work was to groom girls for their future roles as wives and mothers.[78] Thus, her concern for the physical education for Hindu girls was not aimed at their fitness for their own body's sake rather it was related to making them fit and healthy to take the future responsibilities of wife and mother.[79]

Besant suggested physical education for Indian girls, arguing that the movement for girl's education must be carried on national lines as according to the Hindu conceptions of women's place in national life. Indian girls were to be physically instructed to become noble wives and mothers, wise and tender rulers of the household, educated teachers of the young, helpful counsellors of their husbands, and skilled nurses of the sick.[80] In a pamphlet titled, 'The Education of Indian Girls' (1904), Besant proposed five types of education desirable for the Indian girls, viz. religious and moral education, literary education, scientific education (the study of hygiene, knowledge of simple medicine, and value of foodstuffs, arithmetic), artistic education and lastly physical education. Physical education of girls would train and strengthen their bodies so that they can adequately fulfill their role as future mothers. To achieve this end, bodily exercises of a kind appropriate with the modesty of a girl were suggested as part of the

[77] Ibid., 23
[78] Chandra Lekha Singh, "Making "ideal" Indian women: Annie Besant's engagement with the issue of female education in early twentieth-century India," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no. 5 (2018), 606-625.
[79] Ibid., 616
[80] Annie Besant, "The Education of Indian Girls," in *The Birth of New India: A Collection of Writings and Speeches on Indian Affairs* (Madras: Theosophical Pub. House, 1917), 150.

school curriculum. This included performing some complicated exercises on the line of Swedish physical education. At the same time, the games that require movement of a pleasant and active kind were considered best suited for Indian girls.[81] Besant admired *kolattam*, a popular South Indian dance based rhythmic movement as a form of exercise which *is "pretty, ingenious, graceful, and needing great accuracy and promptitude."*[82] Emphasizing that physical exercises are conducive to the health of young girls, she argued that it provided grace of movement, and removed awkwardness. On the other hand, the lack of physical activity leads to many chronic ailments in womanhood and premature old age.[83] According to Besant, such should be the outline of education, adequate to the needs of Indian girls that can train them to be useful and cultured women, heads of happy households, and "lights of the home" in the national interest of India.[84]

Another distinguished educationist to include physical education in an ideal scheme of national education was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Being a scholar, journalist, social reformer, educationalist, and an important leader of the Indian nationalist movement, he analyzed the distressful condition of Hindus and the need of a nation. As an educationalist, he observed Indian education as primarily literary-based, catering to the subordinate administrative requirement of British rule and education in science and technology, agriculture, medicine largely neglected. He also found physical education missing in the schools and colleges of India. All these conditions of education alarmed Malaviya, and he formulated a national education scheme that included moral lessons, oriental studies, commerce, science and technology, engineering, agriculture, medicine, music and physical education as its essential components.[85] Banaras Hindu University, the largest residential university in Asia, founded in 1916 by Malaviya, has a colossal gymnasium named *Shivaji Hall* in the centre of the premises surrounded by Oriental, Science and Technology, Agriculture, Commerce, and Medical Colleges. Shivaji Hall built in 1926 caters to the student's physical training for gymnastics and malkhamb (gymnastic practice of

[81] Ibid
[82] Annie Besant, *Wake Up, India: A Plea for Social Reform* (Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1913), 226-227.
[83] Annie Besant, "The Education of Indian Girls," in *The Birth of New India: A Collection of Writings and Speeches on Indian Affairs* (Madras: Theosophical Pub. House, 1917), 154-155.
[84] Ibid., 155
[85] See, S. L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, *History of the Banaras Hindu University* (Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University Press, 1966).

performing aerial yoga, gymnastic postures and wrestling grips in concert with vertical stationary or hanging wooden pole, cane, or rope).[86]

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, since the beginning of his political and educational career, was committed to the cause of physical education in India. Raising the question of physical training on several occasions, Malaviya lamented the deteriorated body of Indians. Considering *"the deterioration of the national physique"* a matter of grave concern, he called for paying attention to physical education for building a strong and healthy nation.[87] As early as 1907, speaking before the United Provinces Legislative Council, he regretted the abandonment of the culture of physical education, which was once prevalent in India. As a nationalist legislator, he had drawn the attention of the colonial rulers towards the need for inclusion of physical exercises and games in government schools and colleges and demanded a proper provision of physical and health education. Malaviya argued that in the higher and middle classes of India, educated in colonial schools, the taste for physical exercise had perceptibly diminished. The consequence of lacking physical culture, he explained, aggravates people's weakness when hit by plague and famine. The people are not so healthy, so they succumbed to disease much more easily.[88]

Hence, Malaviya appealed for reviving the interest of the people of India in physical exercises. He urged parents to encourage their children to participate in school and college tournaments and advised elders who even had passed out of colleges to devote some time and attention to the preservation and promotion of a healthy and robust physique. He asked Indians to observe Englishmen who, even at the age of sixty, participate every day sports like badminton, tennis, cricket, or some other exercises.[89] He firmly believed that for any educational scheme to be complete, comprehensive, and all-embracing it must include physical education and sports. As such, he was behind the movement to revive the indigenous gymnasium called *akharas* in north India and established and *Kashi Vyayamsala*in Banaras. Modest physical education was greatly encouraged at BHU, as is evident from the fact that it was practically compulsory for university

[86] V. A. Sundaram, ed. *Benares Hindu University 1905-1935* (Benares City: The Tara Printing Works, 1936), 233.
[87] "Discontent in India & Reform Proposals," in *The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya His Life and Speeches* (Madras: Ganesh & Co. Publishers, 1919), 148.
[88] Ibid., 146-148
[89] Ibid., 148

students. Besides, on the instruction of Malaviya, extensive playgrounds for cricket, hockey, football, and tennis were built in the University.[90]

Malaviya was also instrumental in leading the movement for forming the University Training Corps in India. The current NCC (National Cadet Corps) had its roots in the University Training Corps (UTC). The origin of NCC can be traced back to the 'University Corps', which was created under the Indian Defence Act 1917, with an aim for second line of defence and also to have a supplier of trained youth available for employment into the Armed Forces. In 1920, when the Indian Territorial Act was passed, the University Corps was replaced by the 'University Training Corps (UTC).'[91] Malaviya played a pivotal role in this programme. The aim was to raise the status of the UTC and make it more attractive to the youth. The university students enrolled in UTC dressed like the army. It was a significant step towards the Indianisation of the armed forces.[92] Accordingly all universities of colonial India constituted their respective cadet corps. BHU had the largest UTC in colonial India. The students enrolled in the University Training Corps undergo fine military training and drill exercises. Besides, serving as a source of healthy physical exercises, the University Training Corps, Malaviya argued would instill discipline, comradeship, and sportsmanship among the students.[93] Eventually, National Cadet Corps was conceptualized and raised before independence, mainly with an aim to groom the youth, boys and girls both, nurture them and channelize their energy towards nation building by making them responsible citizens. A committee headed by Pandit H.N. Kunzru recommended a cadet organization to be established in schools and colleges at a national level. The National Cadet Corps Act was accepted by the Governor General and on 15 July 1948 the National Cadet Corps came into existence.[94]

Pandit Malaviya was one of the earliest Indian to pioneer the Scout Movement in India. The scout movement started by Baden-Powell in 1908 was dedicated to social, educational and physical training of youth to make them ideal citizens in the service of the nation. In the era of

[90] "Pandit M M. Malaviya's Address and A Record of Progress," in *Benares Hindu University 1905-1935,* ed. V. A. Sundaram (Benares City: The Tara Printing Works, 1936), 479/ 581.
[91] See, *NATIONAL CADET CORPS ACT (Act XXXI of 1948*) & India, NCC. "Hand Book" indiancc.nic.in. NCC
[92] "Lord Rector's Address," in *Benares Hindu University 1905-1935,* ed. V. A. Sundaram (Benares City: The Tara Printing Works, 1936), 464-465.
[93] Pandit M.M. Malaviya's Address, in Ibid., 479-480
[94] See, *NATIONAL CADET CORPS ACT (Act XXXI of 1948)* & India, NCC. "Hand Book" indiancc.nic.in. NCC

nationalism, the scout movement was conceived worldwide to arrest national decline by bolstering morality, character, discipline, and physical fitness.[95] The scouts programme of informal education with emphasis on physical training, outdoor activities, camping, and team sports were enthusiastically received by educationalists in India. A growing interest in the boy scouts movementin India was reflected in the formation of scout troops or associations that emerged at Central Hindu College in 1910 established by Annie Besant. Other educationists in the United Provinces like Hridya Nath Kunzru also took a keen interest in boys scouting. Madam Mohan Malaviya, in particular, founded *Seva Samiti Scout Association* (Humanity Uplift Service Society) at Allahabad in 1915.[96] He founded another scout based organization called, *Servants of India Society* in 1916 that organized the United Provinces Educational Conference at Lucknow, presided over by Malaviya himself.[97] Thus, Malaviya as a nationalist leader believed that 'deterioration of the national physique' was a serious problem, and vehemently argued for paying attention to any such methods through which the body of the Indians can be strengthened. Physical education, University Training Crops, and Scout were considered educational instruments for educating the body and mind by Malaviya.

Like Pandit Malaviya, education for Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee was the instrument for attaining independence and nation-building. The youngest vice-chancellor of Calcutta University, Mukherjee imbibed the principle that education liberates from political, social, economic, and physical suffering.[98] Thus, physical education of Indians occupied an important place in his idea of national education. As he spoke at the Calcutta University convocation in March 1935: *"What is Education worth if our youths, in general, are physically weak or unfit, unable to stand the stress and strain of modern life? What is education worth if we cannot turn them into men physically strong and well-equipped as they should be intellectually sane and*

[95] See, Sam Pryke, "The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement," *Social History* 23, no. 3 (1998): 309-324; F. Graeme Chalmers and Andrea A. Dancer, "Art, Boys, and the Boy Scout Movement: Lord Baden-Powell," *Studies in Art Education* 48, no. 3 (2007): 265-28 and Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920," *The English Historical Review* 101, no. 399 (1986): 376-398.

[96] Carey A. Watt, "The promise of 'character' and the spectre of sedition: The boy scout movement and colonial consternation in India, 1908–1921," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* (1999): 37-62.

[97] Sitaram Chaturvedi, *Mahamana Malaviyaji* (Benares: 1936), 157.

[98] See, Anirban Ganguly and Avadhesh Kumar Singh, *Syama Prasad Mookerjee: His Vision of Education* (New Delhi: Wisdom Tree, 2017).

robust?"[99] He was so concerned about the physical education of Indian youths that he supported the resolution regarding compulsory physical training and military drill in all schools and colleges of Bengal. The resolution was placed before the Bengal Legislative Council on 7-8 August 1929, in support of which Dr. Mukherjee made strong arguments. The central argument in support of the resolution was based on the premise that physical training of youths is a matter of national importance and national interest. He declared that India could not hope to advance unless it could turn out men capable of shouldering the burdens of self-government and defence. Physical training was considered a necessity to prepare them for the purpose.[100]

For national defence, Dr. Mukherjee was also in favour of imparting some military training to students. In 1924, on his motion, Calcutta University appointed a committee to inquire into the question of imparting physical training and, if possible, also military training to the students. Based on the committee's study, he recommended some form of a drill or physical exercise to be made part of the school curriculum, and the colleges were asked to introduce compulsory drill or games. He also called upon school authorities to see to the proper nutrition of students in their charge. The second suggestion that he proposed was that military training should be made compulsory for all students in colleges affiliated to the University and all students of the University. He believed that education for the purpose of spreading military training and the inspiration for military service among men in India should commence in schools. For university students' military training, he argued for the scheme of development of the University Training Corps.[101] Accordingly, Calcutta University established such a unit of University Corps.

According to Dr. Mukherjee, the colonial education system deprived students of the necessary qualities of courage, resource, initiative, and free-thinking. Therefore, being a national educationist, students' health and welfare were his utmost concern, and he took several steps in this direction. He was instrumental in founding the Student's Welfare department in Calcutta that medically investigated the causes affecting student's health. The student welfare department dealt with the preventive and curative side of the problem, including the supply of medicines and

[99] "March 2, 1935- Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee," in *University of Calcutta Convocation Address*, Vol. VII, 1936-1938 (Published by the University of Calcutta.1939), 14.
[100] *Council Proceedings Official Report, Bengal Legislative Council*, Thirty-third Session.1929, 5th to 9th August, 1929, Vol. XXXIII (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1929), 213-217.
[101] Ibid

larger provisions for sports, games, and scientific physical education. His outspoken stress on the necessity of physical education was coupled with the educational value of character building. Addressing the convocation ceremony of the Calcutta University on March 8 1935, Mukherjee said:

> I have abundant faith in the glory of youth and what I ask from the authorities in the name of the students of Bengal is that they be given a chance to live, an opportunity to enjoy life and the amplest facilities for the development of their health and character so that in the days to come they may be real assets in the furtherance of the highest interests of our motherland.[102]

Syama Prasad Mukherjee, believing in the modern physical educational philosophy, argues that attention paid to the students' health and body would stimulate mind growth and endow discipline and capacity for corporate work. At the 1936 convocation address of Calcutta University, he urged for developing the habit of playing games and participating in sports among students. Exhorting the moral lessons latent in sports, he spoke: *…remember that in sport, as in life, victory or defeat is not the supreme factor; what is of paramount importance is that in every sphere we must bring into action our best and cleanest effort, which should be unceasing and un-yielding in character.*[103] Thus, in his vision of nation-building, Mukherjee envisioned a comprehensive system of national education that can cater to the needs of all stages of national development. With this objective, he included physical education from primary to university levels in his idea of national education.

(iv) Physical and Military Education for Martial Regeneration and National Defense: B. S. Moonje and Bhonsala Military School

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya pioneered organizing University Training Corps in India and Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee talked about physical training of youths based on military drill, but it was with Hindu Mahasabha leader Balakrishna Shivram Moonje that military training of Hindu youths formally began. Moonje sought the physical rejuvenation of the Hindu community by providing them military-based physical education. The supposed emasculation of the Hindus became the major concern of the Hindu revivalist movement from the early twentieth century.

[102] "March 2, 1935- Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee," in *University of Calcutta Convocation Address*, Vol. VII, 1936-1938 (Published by the University of Calcutta.1939), 15.
[103] "The 22 February 1936 –Syamaprasad Mookerjee," in Ibid., 39

Indians responded with varying intensity to the colonial stereotyping of Hindus as an effeminate and un-martial race. Moonje appears to responded most aggressively. His unflinching insistence on military education for the physical and martial regeneration of Hindus seems to be part and parcel of Swami Vivekananda's ideal of 'Hindu masculinity', aimed at reclaiming their lost military spirit. Most importantly, it was not that Moonje wanted to impart military training to Hindu boys alone, the bill he introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1928 demanded compulsory physical training, military drill and rifle practice for all Indian boys between the ages of 12 and 20 years in educational institutions. Analysing the Bill in the context of its aims and objectives reveals that it was prepared to bring about the training of the educated *'young men of India'* for the defence of the country.[104] Moonje's Bill was returned by the colonial government on the ground that "Defense of India" was primarily a concern of the army rather than a subject of education, which was made a provincial transferred subject in all its branches in 1919. The colonial government of India replied to Moonje's query as to why the bill was refused:

> There is a clear line of distinction between compulsory physical training and drill on the one hand and compulsory training in the use of arms of precision on the other. But while the army department would have no objection to the first and every objection to the second, a Bill providing for either in educational institutions would appear to be ultra vires of the Central Legislature and unconstitutional.[105]

Though Moonje's effort of introducing compulsory physical and military training in schools of India was denied, but under the aegis of the Hindu Mahasabha, he continued building public opinion on the military training of Hindus. In November 1929, in a presidential speech delivered at the Andhra Provincial Hindu Conference, he called for training in the art of self-defence such as lathi, wrestling, boxing and even rifle-shooting. He thought that qualities such as confidence, fearlessness, and courage could be instilled into the Hindu youth by physical and military training.[106] In the same year, the Hindu Mahasabha, at its Lahore session, passed two resolutions on physical training of the Hindu youth concerning the physical improvement of the community. The resolutions contained Moonje's plan of establishing akharas and gymnasiums for imparting

[104] The Indian Boys Compulsory Physical and Military Training Bill by Dr. B. S. Moonje, M.L.A. Previous sanction to the introduction of the Bill refused Department-Legislative, File No. 302-I/28/C & G, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1.
[105] Ibid., 3
[106] Moonje's Presidential Address, Youth Conference, Madras, 2–3 January 1934, *Moonje Papers*, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, Speeches/Articles/Statements, Sr. No. 4.

physical training, military drill and rifle practice to Hindu youth and popularizing and organizing indigenous games to curb their physical decay. The Hindu Mahasabha also proposed to organize the Hindu youth movement to prepare Hindus to take their full share in the defence of a country. Thus, they wished to organize physical training, military drill and rifle practice among Hindus.[107] Accordingly, Moonje was elected president of a sectional conference called 'Military Training and Physical Culture' at the second All-India Hindu Youth Conference and demanded the establishment of a military college at Nagpur. In his effort of physical and military education of Hindu youths, he was backed by M. R. Jayakar, Congress leader and first vice-Chancellor of Poona University, who was also convinced of the 'weak, divided and pestiferous' condition of Hindu society and thought it necessary to ameliorate the condition of Hindus from gradual degeneration and make the community' alert and enduring in order to face the difficulties ofmodern life.[108] Jayakar as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly supported Moonje's bill that demanded compulsory physical and military education for Indian boys in government schools.

Moonje writing to Jayakar in 1929 lamented the absence of any institution for the training of Indians in the armed forces. He informed Jayakar that he wanted to start a hostel in Nagpur where boys were imparted physical training given to the British boys in the public schools of Britain.[109] With this goal in mind, Moonje campaigned for military schools and toured government military schools at Jullunder and Dehradun. During his visit to England in 1931 to attend the second round table conference, he made an extensive trip to military training institutions of Britain, Germany, Italy and France, studying the physical training systems with a view to adapting them in India.[110] Moonje was finally able to establish a military school, he named the 'Bhonsala Military School' on June 15 1937, at Nasik.

In October 1938, *The Times of India* published an article of Moonje, titled, 'Bhonsala Military School: Training Hindu Boys for the Army' where he discussed various aspects of the school,

[107] Military Training, *Indian Quarterly Register* I, nos. I & II (July–December 1929), 343.
[108] Jayakar M.R. Jayakar, *The Story of My Life*, Vol. II, 1922–1925 (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959), 634.
[109] Moonje to Jayakar, 26 July 1929, *Jayakar Papers*, NAI, File No. 437.
[110] Moonje to Wedgewood Benn, 8 March 1931 (written from Berlin), *Moonje Papers*, NMML, Subject, Files No. 21.

viz. aims, naming, scheme, governing body, progress, and finance.[111] Inspired by a philosophy of realism, Moonje established the 'Central Hindu Military Educational Society' in 1935 under the management of which the Bhonsala Military School functioned. He described that society and school embodied the realization of the old Vedic Law of education that, along with the training of the mind and the development of the intellect, put equal emphasis on developing the body and training in the science and the art of personal and national deference. The object of the society in establishing this school was to make it a feeder institution to the Indian Military Academy at Dehradun. Moonje thought this school to be founded on the lines as suggested by Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, who gave an idea of institutions that can provide a constant supply of first-class material for recruiting officers in the Indian army. Besides this immediate objective, the ultimate goal of the Bhonsala Military School as described by Moonje was:

> to bring about the military rejuvenation of the Hindus; so that the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial classes amongst the Hindus may be eradicated and Hindus may be enabled to supply soldiers for the defense of their homeland in the same proportion in which other communities can which are not so caste ridden.[112]

The Bhonsala Military School was entirely residential following the rules of European military schools used to admit boys in the age group of 10 to 16 years. The whole course of physical and military training was made compulsory for all boys that comprise the physical training, both indigenous and western, that includes surya namaskar and physical exercises of a western type, organized games such as hockey and football, swimming and life-saving, horse-riding, indigenous arts of self-defence such as wrestling, lathes, sword, spear etc. At the same time, the military training included rifle-shooting, training of selected boys in rifle-shooting competitions, squad drill, arms drill, musketry, platoon-command, company-command, etc. Most importantly, caste distinctions were not observed in the school as it was opened to all castes of Hindu society. Moonje, in a way, tried to reinvent the ancient martial conception of 'kshatriyahood' as he proclaimed that all students of the school, irrespective of the caste they belong to, would get admission in the school and be regarded as Kshatriya.[113] In accordance with the principle set by Moonje, all boys of Bhonsale Military School sit together for dinning in the general dining hall

[111] "Bhonsala Military School Training Hindu Boys for the Army," *TheTimes of India* (19 October 1938), Divali supplement, 21.
[112] Ibid
[113] Ibid

on benches and tables without any caste distinctions. Moreover, incorporating modern European methods of warfare as imparted in their military schools, Bhonsala Military School envisioned infusing British virtues of militarism in Hindu boys without anglicizing or denationalizing them. Moonje believes this would ultimately strengthen Hinduism. Describing his hope for the school, he writes:

> We start with the conviction that our fighting men, speaking impartially and without passion or bias, do not lack ardour for fighting, or courage, or dash, or leadership. But it is equally a fact that, without training in the European methods of warfare or their modern implements of warfare, their fighting virtues do not yield the results that they ought to, in proportion to the courage or dash or the causalities they suffer in warfare. The military school of the Central Hindu Military Education Society is intended to be an attempt however rudimentary at removing these defects; so that our boys may vie with British boys on battle-fields without the inherent handicap of consciousness of inferiority either in their training or in their implements of warfare. In short the school will attempt to infuse British virtues of militarism in our boys but without anglicizing them or denationalizing them. In fact it will strengthen their Hinduism in its pristine purity. Such is our hope and ambition.[114]

It should be noted that about the same time, a similar move was made by Muslims as well, who also called for the military education of Muslim boys. For instance, Mirza Yar Jung Sami Ullah Beg, presiding at the Hyderabad Educational Conference in 1925, discussing the educational problems of India, appealed for military training of Muslims. Considering that 'our boys' require some training for developing character, discipline, self-respect and manliness, Beg proposed introducing military training in high schools and universities. He goes to an extent to suggest that no entrance or school leaving certificate or even college diplomas be awarded unless the students pass the subject of physical and military training. Giving a reference of Germany where he describes schoolmasters, traders, and professors were all found in armies, he even argued that government jobs should be given to only those who have taken manly sports and games and shown proficiency in military training. Beg argued that military training produces certain traits of character which help man in every department of life.[115]

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[114] Ibid

[115] Mirza Yar Jung Sami Ullah Beg, *Educational Problems of India* (Hyderabad-Deccan: 18 December, 1925), 42-45.

From the third decade of the twentieth century, Muslim militaristic bands such as the *Khaksar* and *Razakars* vehemently called for the militarization of Muslim youths. The volunteers of the Khaksar movement, founded by Allama Mashriqi in 1931, were imparted military training and participated in a daily military parade.[116] Razakars, a private militia organized by Qasim Razvi of Hyderabad in 1926, openly gave military training to Muslim youth intending to form a paramilitary group.[117] Aga Khan, an ardent supporter of the cause of Muslim physical education, also appealed for a military school for Muslims and collected donations that poured in from all over India. In 1935, M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, in a lecture at the Bombay Presidency Educational Conference held at Poona, emphasized the military training of Muslim students from a nationalistic point of view. Believing that military training creates a habit of discipline and obedience, Ahmad considered militarism the foundation of modern nationalism. He argues that any nation that wants to survive must prepare to defend itself against its enemies by acquiring knowledge in modern instruments of attack and defense. Considering it a national necessity, he suggested physical training of a military nature for apprehending and responding to actual situations. Ahmad, therefore, called for those games such as riding, athletics of various kinds, drills and organized movement, which involve equally the exercise of the muscles as well as intellect. With this objective, he appealed for compulsory physical and military training of Muslim boys at any cost.[118]

Interestingly, G. A. D. Wasif, in an article, 'Muslim Military Education' published in *Times of India* on June 9 1936, welcomed Moonje's Bhonsala Military School. Given the over-crowded state of professions like law and medicine, Wasif considered the military school of Nasik a step in the right direction. He thought military training was bound to open up new and extra fields of occupation to students in the army, navy, police, forest and air services. Above all, Wasif viewed the Bhonsala Military School oriented to create a spirit of national discipline and national defence. He does not want Muslims to lag in this direction. Thus, Wasif appeals to open a central model schools for Muslim boys with complete full-time facilities of special military training that

[116] See, Sadia Sumbal, "Al-Mashriqi's Khaksar Movement: Orthodoxy and Contesting Religious Authority," *JRSP* 58, no. 2 (April-June 2021): 42-50.
[117] See, S. Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly, "The Jihad Paradox: Pakistan and Islamist Militancy in South Asia," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (2012): 111-141.
[118] M. M. Zuhuruddin, *Present Day Problem of Indian Education (With Reference to Muslim Education*) (Bombay: 1935), 53-57.

can provide camp life and army training during the vacations on the lines of the University Training Corps.[119]

(v) Rabindranath Tagore's Quest for a Physical Education; Judo in India

Rabindranath Tagore is known throughout the world as a poet, novelist, painter, composer, philosopher, and educationalist. But little is known that he introduced the Japanese martial art of Jujutsu or Judo in India. In Tagore's educational philosophy, the physical well-being of children occupies a vital place. He called for the self-realization of man as the ultimate goal of education to establish harmony with nature, the universe, and the entire human race. Tagore, who sought the equilibrium of nature and the civilized forces in man, considered education a medium of training the children to control all those impulses that are anti-social.[120] Thus he approached education aesthetically to equally appeal to children's emotions, senses, and intellect. Therefore, his educational philosophy carries the values of unison of man with nature, creative self-expression, freedom of mind, universal brotherhood, humanism, and cosmopolitanism.[121] It is entirely appropriate to say that, for Tagore, the moral, intellectual, spiritual, and physical development of children should infuse these values into them.

Tagore seeks a system of physical education that would be in accordance with his educational philosophy. At his dream institution, Visva-Bharati in Santiniketan, founded on a forest university model, significant attention was paid to play activities, exercises, and folk dances for bodily and sensory training. Tagore believed that a child needs to express their sentiments through perfect and graceful movements of the body. He argues that at school, a child can learn healthy habits of the body thoroughly in natural companionship with the mind.[122] In discussion with Leonard Knight Elmhirst, a British philanthropist and agronomist who worked extensively in India and active in progressive education and rural reconstruction, Tagore talked about the importance of expressing thoughts and feelings in physical movement. Tagore, who

[119] G. A. D. Wasif, "Muslim Military Education,"*Times of India* (June 9, 1936), 14.
[120] V. R. Taneja and S. Taneja, *Educational Thinkers* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2004), 92.
[121] Alex Aronson, "Tagore's Educational Ideals," *International Review of Education* 7, no. 4 (1961): 385-393 & Swati Lal, "Rabindranath Tagore's Ideals of Aesthetic Education," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 18, no. 2 Special Issue: Defining Cultural and Educational Relations - An International Perspective (1984): 31-39.
[122] *Rabindranath Tagore, Pioneer in Education; Essays and Exchanges between Rabindranath Tagore and L.K. Elmhirst* (London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, 1961), 103-104.

comprehended physical activities as a means of self-expression and mind-body coordination, wrote to Elmhirst:

> It is a function of the body, not merely to carry out vital actions so that we may live and move, but so that we may express, and not with the face alone, but with the legs, the arms and the hands. All our limbs have their own power to express…We often take a brisk walk when we are agitated because thought needs bodily expression if it is to perform its work freely and fully. Children must dance. They must be restless. When they think, the body becomes restless and ripples with a variety of movement that helps to keep their muscles in harmony with the mind.[123]

Tagore emphasized the importance of physical activities like play, games, dance, exercise, craft making, and manual work at his institution. He advised Elmhirst, who was planning to open a school in England, about the idea of having a walking class, which he himself implemented in Santiniketan. He thought that boys-girls and their teachers should become accustomed to talking and learning while walking. They should not just sit like statues in a museum all week. For walking can also be the most natural accompaniment to thinking. Tagore believedthat lessons or ideas can be assimilated more efficiently, and talk becomes organic in physical movement.[124] Tagore so emphasized educating the body that he said, *"However great a scholar maybe, if he has not educated his body, he has to live a life of dependence on others – in many ways he is an incomplete man. There is a close and inseparable connection between the faculties of mind and body. If the education of the body does not proceed along with the education of the mind, the latter cannot gather strength."*[125]

Tagore's involvement with physical culture began in his childhood, as he recalled in his autobiographical work, *My Boyhood Days* (Chelebela), the experiences of learning the art of wrestling from a celebrated one-eyed wrestler.[126] He also mentioned learning gymnastics and exercising on the parallel bars in his childhood.[127] The British had for long stereotyped Bengalis as the most effeminate and degenerate people of India.[128] Thus, from the second half of the

[123] Ibid., 104
[124] Ibid
[125] Ratna Ghosh, M. Ayaz Naseem and Ashok Vijh, "Tagore and Education: Gazing beyond the Colonial Cage," in *Decolonizing Philosophies of Education*, ed. Ali A. Abdip (Netherland: Sense Publishing, 2012), 67.
[126] Rabindranath Tagore, *My Childhood Days* (Calcutta: Visva-Bharti, 1945), 39.
[127] Ibid., 43
[128] See, Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The Manly Englishman and the Effeminate Bengali in the late Nineteenth Century* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

nineteenth century, the Bengali elites strove to overcome their alleged physical degeneracy by pursuing physical culture and undertaking a self-conscious movement for physical culture with the goal of reclaiming their lost masculinity.[129] Tagore's involvement in physical culture in his childhood can be understood as the Bengali elite's self-conscious attempt to revitalize their physicality. Whereas, Tagore of the early twentieth century, who was working on his educational philosophy, was in search of an ideal physical education system that could improve the physique of the children and, most importantly, would also be compatible with his educational philosophy.

Tagore's effort to introduce Judo in India

As early as 1902, Tagore's search for a perfect system of physical education for his ashram at Santiniketan took him to Japan. It was the Japanese physical culture of Jujitsu or Judo, the philosophy and pedagogy of which Tagore found to be in conformity with his ideal of physical culture. He comprehends Jujitsu not as an ordinary game but as a comprehensive physical education pedagogy for inculcating self-discipline, moral, mental, and physical values in children. Jujitsu, one of the martial arts and exercises in which the Samurai classes were trained, was developed into a modern physical system of Judo in the late nineteenth century by Kanō Jigorō (1860-1938).[130] Kano's efforts in the art of judo led to its international recognition in the early twentieth century and made it the first martial art to become an official Olympic sport.[131] Kano had developed the philosophy of Judo, which we will see had convinced Tagore of its merit as an ideal physical culture system.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Judo found its way to Britain and elsewhere.[132] The introduction of Jujitsu in Santiniketan goes back to the year 1902 when Tagore met Kakuzo Okakura, the renowned art critic of Japan and the author of *Ideals of the East with Special*

[129] John Rosselli, "The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal," *Past & Present* 86, no. 1(1980): 121-148.
[130] Kanō Jigorō in a paper title, 'Jujutsu The Old Samurai Art of Fighting without Weapons' read on April 18th, 1888 before The Asiatic Society of Japan gave a historical sketch of Jujitsu providing account of the various schools to which it has given rise and how it developed into a form at the present time. He describes how with some important modification, Jujutsu was developed into system athletics and valued as a method for physical training. See, T. Lindsay and J. Kano, "Jujutsu The Old Samurai Art of Fighting Without Weapons [Read April 18th, 1888]," *Transaction of The Asiatic Society of Japan* XVI (1889), 192-205.
[131] See, Brian Watson, *The Father of Judo: A Biography of Jigoro* Kano (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2000).
[132] See, Brian Christopher Goodger, "*The Development of Judo in Britain: A Sociological Study*," (Ph.D. Thesis., University of London. 1981).

Reference to the Art of Japan.[133] Tagore's admiration for Japan is a well-known fact. The intensity of his adoration for Japan was best reflected in his speech *Spirit of Japan*, which he delivered in 1915.[134] When he was developing his ashram into an educational institution in the spirit of universal brotherhood, Tagore looked at Japan and China as civilizational nations and made arrangements to study their culture in his institution.[135] It was in this background, he requested Okakura to send Japanese scholars to his ashram. Responding to Tagore's request, Okakura sent two of his students Arai Kampo and Shaokin Katsuta, to teach Japanese art and S. Kusumato to teach carpentry in Santiniketan. Kusumato, who also used to teach elementary Judo, impressed Tagore to the extent that he made a further request to Okakura for sending a well-trained judo teacher to Santiniketan. In 1905, Jinnotsuke Sano, a full-fledged judo/jujitsu teacher who was a student of Keio University, was sent to the Tagore ashram, where he stayed for three years teaching Judo to students.[136]

It is worth noting that Tagore's interest in Jujitsu coincided with the Japanese triumph over Russia in 1904, the event celebrated as the victory of Asian civilization over Western imperialism. It is also a well-known fact that Japan's success sparked the nationalist spirit in the Indian intelligentsia and became a source of inspiration for young revolutionaries active in the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal.[137] Thus, for Tagore and many of his generation, Jujitsu was perceived as an essential part of the Japanese educational system and an icon of Japanese nationalism. Pulin Behari Das, the revolutionary who founded Dhaka Anushilan Samiti in 1906,

[133] Okakura's book, Ideals of the East introduced Asian art before the English speaking world and made significant influence on the western understanding of the internal consistencies and strengths of East Asian aesthetic tradition. The book that declared "Asia is one" was so well received in India and West that Swami Vivekananda disciple Sister Nivedita later wrote the introduction to it.
See, Kakuzo Okakura, *The Ideal of the East With Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (London: John Murphy, Albemarle Street, 1905)

[134] Rabindranath Tagore, "The Spirit of Japan," in *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore: Volume Three, A Miscellany*, ed. Sisir Kumar Das (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 2006), 364-375.

[135] Indra Nath Choudhuri, "The Conflict between the Other Asia and the New Asia: Rabindranath Tagore, Liang Qichao and Kakuzo (Tenshin) Okakura and the Politics of Friendship and a Love Story," *Indian Literature* 60, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 154-164.

[136] Supriya Roy, *Makers of a Mission* (Calcutta: Rabindra Bhavana Publication, 2009), 38.

[137] See, T. R Sareen, "India and The War," in *The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War*, ed. Rotem Komer (New York: Routledge, 2009), 240-241 & Irving S. Friedman, "Indian Nationalism and The Far East," *Pacific Affairs* 13, no.1 (1940): 17-29.

was also a student of Jinnotsuke Sano. He secretly learned Jujitsu from Sano, synthesized it with indigenous martial arts, and called it *"Bhartiya Jujutsu."*[138]

Mahatma Gandhi, the most important leader of India's nonviolent independence movement against British rule, was also amazed by the Japanese victory over Russia and even attributed the Japanese success to Jujitsu. Immediately after the Japanese victory, he wrote an article- 'Jiu-Jitsu' in *Indian Opinion*. He tried to understand how 'well set up and tall' Russians proved powerless before the 'short and thin Japanese.' Gandhi argued that the Japanese had shown that not much depends upon a man's physique and gave thought to the matter that Europe was very much behind in physical culture and knowledge of the laws governing the body.[139] For Gandhi, the knowledge of 'law governing the body' was the cause of Japan's triumph over Russia and this was expressed in Jujitsu. He writes,

> The Japanese understand very well how the various joints and bones of the (opponent's) body can be controlled, and this has made them invincible. Many of our readers must be aware of the effect produced when a particular nerve of the neck or leg is pressed during an exercise. This very science the Japanese have perfected…And *jiu-jitsu* is the Japanese name for it.[140]

In an article, 'Education in Japan' published in the September 1910 edition of *The Modern Review*, Lala Lajpat Rai, discusses the physical culture imparted in Japan's educational institutions. He writes that in Japan, physical culture is not given solely to strengthen the bodily frame of the pupil but also to prevent them from falling into inactive and idle habits. He reported that in the 19th year of the Meiji Restoration (1886), the hours for gymnastics increased in most schools, and military drills were made a part of the regular lessons, by which means it was hoped that a martial spirit would be aroused and bodily growth be promoted, while habits of order and discipline were also fostered.[141] Commenting on the disciplinary training through traditional Japanese martial art, Lajpat Rai writes, *"Judo (the art of self-defense) and Kendo (fencing), military exercises of samurai from the most ancient times in Japan, in particular, were*

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[138] Deeptanil Ray and Nikhilesh Bhattacharya, ed. *Astracharcha- Collected Works of Pulin Behari Das (1877-1949)* (Calcutta: Jadavpur University Press, 2017), 33 & The Nippon-shio of Rabindranath Tagore (2016, June 3). *The Indian Express*, from https://indianexpress.com/article/lifestyle/life-style/the-nippon-shio-of-rabindranath-tagore/

[139] "Jiu-Jitsu" published in Indian Opinion on 22-4-1905, in *The Collected Work of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume Four *(1903-1905)*, (New Delhi: The Publication Division, 1960), 418.

[140] Ibid

[141] Lajpat Rai, "Education in Japan," *The Modern Review* VIII, no. 1 to 6 (July to December 1910), 299.

encouraged, not merely as an accomplishment but as a help towards maintaining the national spirits."[142]

Tagore himself, at least in the early phase of his connection with Jujitsu, seems overwhelmed by the nationalist impulse in his project of launching Jujitsu in India. As he reminisces, *"Father had bought a jujitsu expert from Japan. We took lessons from him in order to prepare ourselves to fight the British! Had not the spirit and training of Judo helped the Japanese to win the war?"*[143] However, Tagore's initial move of introducing Jujitsu in his ashram did not succeed as Jinnotsuke Sano left Santiniketan in 1908 after teaching Jujitsu to students for three years. After this setback, it took more than two decades for another drive to reintroduce Jujitsu at Santiniketan. In the meanwhile, Tagore ashram was developing into the forest university of Visva-Bharti. Many scholars from China and Japan flocked into the institutions in the 1920s and '30s. In 1929, during his stop over in Japan on returning from America to India, Tagore visited Kodokan Judo Institute, the main centre of Judo in Japan, founded by Kano Jigoro in 1882. He met ShinzoTakagaki, a highly qualified sensei (judo teacher) who was awarded the highest grade in Judo from Tokyo Kodokan and persuaded him to come to India to popularize Judo in the country. Takagaki was then a Japanese state scholar at the University of British Columbia. Tagore was so concerned about judo popularization in India that he himself bore the cost of Takagaki staying in India.[144]

Takagaki joined Santiniketan in November 1929 and stayed there for two years, teaching the craft of Judo to students.[145] He was instrumental in building a gymnasium equipped for imparting lessons of Judo in Visva-Bharti. Tagore even composed a poem, *Sankocher Biwhalata*, in 1931 in the presence of Takagaki and dedicated it to the cause of jujitsu teaching in Visva-Bharti.[146] An account of ShinzoTakagaki's activities at Visva-Bharti can be gleaned from Kazuo Azuma's work, the Japanese Tagore scholar who was at Visva-Bharati as a Reader and Head of

[142] Ibid
[143] Supriya Roy, *Makers of a Mission* (Calcutta: Rabindra Bhavana Publication, 2009), 58.
[144] "Takagaki," in *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore: A Miscellany*, Volume Three, ed. Sisir Kumar Das (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 2006), p, 999.
[145] Ibid
[146] See all about Rabindra Sangeet from http://www.geetabitan.com/lyrics/S/sankocher-biwhalata-lyric.html

the Department of Japanese language and literature from 1967 to 1971.[147] Azuma in *Ujjal Surjo*, a biographical work of Tsusho Byodo, who established Nippon Bhawan at Visva-Bharti, also throws light on Takagaki's teaching Judo at Santiniketan. He writes that Takagaki, as a sensei, was affectionate to his students and used to teach Judo techniques until students became adept in the craft.[148] The remarkable feature of Jujutsu at Santiniketan was that girls were equally encouraged to take part in the training along with boys. Tagore thought Judo useful for girls from the perspective of self-defence.[149] During his stay at Santiniketan, Tagagaki prepared a Judo textbook, later published with the title *Techniques of Judo*.[150]

With the purpose of popularizing Judo in India, Tagore sent Takagaki to attend the All Asia Educational Conference at Benares Hindu University from 26 to 30 December 1930. Tagore knew that the conference would be attended by educationalists from all around India, along with educationists from different parts of Asia and Europe.[151] He saw the event as an opportunity to popularize Judo and sent Takagaki to Benares to give lectures and Judo demonstrations at the conference. Takagaki, accompanied by his wife Maki Hoshi, delivered a speech entitled "Judo and Its Importance*"* at the conference and organized a display of Jujutsu on behalf of Tagore's University before the dignitaries.[152] Young Indira Gandhi also attended a judo demonstration at Benares.[153]

Tagore's commitment to the cause of the popularization of Judo in India is reflected in his attempt to get financial and moral support for Judo.He wrote a letter to Subhas Chandra Bose, who was one of the most prominent leaders of the Indian national movement and Bidhan Chandra Roy, the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation. It seems Tagore's plan to popularize Judo did

[147] Azuma's biggest contribution is bringing out Japanese translation of Tagore's works. He was behind the translation of Tagore's complete works directly from Bengali into Japanese which he started in 1973 with a team of Japanese scholars. The work published in 12 volumes by Daisanbummei Publications.
[148] Kazuo Azuma, *Ujjal Surjo: A Collection of Bengali Essays* (Kolkata: Subarna Rekha, 1996), 3-10.
[149] "Jujutsu in Santiniketan," *The Modern Review* XLVIII, no. 5 (November 1930), 582-583.
[150] Shinzo Tagagaki & Harold E. Sharp, *The Techniques of Judo* (USA: Tuttle Publishing, 1954), 1.
[151] To mention some distinguished figures of modern Asian history who attended the conference at Benares were Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Bhagwan Das, S. Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman. J. C. Bose, Ziauddin Ahmad, M. R. Paranjape, S. K. YegnanarayanaIyer, Margaret S. Cousins, A. H. Mackenzie, Kengi Keneko. Representatives from Japan, China, Siam, Hong Kong, Burma, Persia, Egypt and South Africa also attended the conference.
[152] S. Takagaki, "Judo and Its Importance," in *Report of All Asia Educational Conference (Benares, December 26-30. 1930)*, ed. D. P. Khattry (Allahabad: The Indian Press Limited, 1931), 629-630.
[153] John Stevens, *The Way of Judo: A Portrait of Jigoro Kano and His Students* (Boston: Shambhala Publication, 2013).

not capture wider attention in Bengal. Tagore's letter to Roy deserves attention as it reflects a degree of his concern for Jujitsu's future in Bengal. His letter was an attempt to persuade the Calcutta Corporation to take up Takagaki's finances and help create an awareness about Judo in Bengal.[154] He felt disappointed about Bengali indifference towards Jujutsu as they did not take advantage of Takagaki's presence in Calcutta. A portion from his letter is worth quoting here:

> May I now put before you the case of Professor Takagaki, whom as you know, I brought from Japan specially for the purpose of giving a thorough training in the art of Jiu-Jitsu to the students of Bengal. Professor Takagaki comes of a highly distinguished family in Japan and is one of the most well-known experts in Jiu-Jitsu in that country. When I found that our countrymen did not properly realize the importance of the visit of Professor Takagaki to our country, I had to take up myself the entire financial responsibility of his travel and stay in this country. I engaged his service for two years and boys and girls of our institutions have received instruction from him with remarkable results….It will be a great pity if Professor Takagaki has to be sent back to Japan without the student community in Calcutta ever getting the opportunity of mastering from him the art of self-defense and physical training which I need hardly point out is specially required by our boys and girls. Professor Takagaki has to make definite arrangements from now for his future programme, and therefore I am writing to you requesting the Corporation to take advantage of his presence in our country and to engage him for giving instruction to the students in Calcutta. Professor Takagaki is willing to remain in Calcutta for the purpose if suitable arrangements are made for him. I do hope that my appeal will find response in the Calcutta Corporation and that both yourself and Subhas Chandra Bose will consider the proposal favourably and retain the service of Professor Takagaki for a cause which concerns the well-being of the students of Bengal.[155]

Remarkably enough, Japanese instructing Indians in the art of Judo is celebrated as Japanese cultural diplomacy.[156] As a part of this diplomacy, R. D. Khaniwale of Maharashtra went to Tokyo in 1929 and enrolled at Kodokan Judo Institute and learned Judo from none other than Jigoro Kano. He was awarded a Black Belt (Sho-dan) from Kodokan in 1934 and, after returning

[154] "Santiniketan, 25 April, 1931," in *Selected Letters of Rabindranath Tagore*, eds. Krishna Dutta & Andrew Robinson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 400.
[155] "Takagaki- Rabindranath Tagore letter to Dr. B. C. Roy on 1931," in *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore: A miscellany* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1994), 795-796.
[156] "Japan's Cultural Diplomacy," *The Modern Review* LXIII, no. 2 (August 1935), 229.

to India, started a Judo Club in Amravati, Maharashtra.[157] Ramnath Biswas, a Bengali, also went to Japan in the early 1940s to learn Judo. Based on his experiences of learning Judo in Japan, he wrote a book in Bengali, *Jujutsu Japan* in 1945.[158]

Why was Tagore impressed by Judo?

The larger philosophical question that arises is that why was Tagore so keen to introduce Jujitsu in India. Why did Tagore find Jujutsu to resonate with his educational philosophy? As already been mentioned, Judo was developed into a modern physical culture by Kanō Jigorō(1860-1938), who founded a dojo- *Kodokan Judo Institute* in 1882 in Tokyo. Jigorō developed the Japanese traditional practice of Jujutsu into a physical, mental, and moral pedagogy of Judo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[159] The principles of *seiryokuzenyo* (maximum efficiency, minimum effort) and *jitakyoei* (mutual welfare and benefits) were central to Jigorō's Judo philosophy.[160] The main principle of Jujitsu, as described by Jigorō himself*, 'being not to match strength with strength, but to gain victory by yielding to strength'* which in addition to a system of athletics developed into a means of mental and moral training.[161]

It appears that the philosophy of Judo was getting the attention of Indian intelligentsia as *The Modern Review* published an article byKanō Jigorō- 'The Moral Value of Judo' in November 1922. Kano described Judo as physical culture and treated it as a pedagogy for imparting mental and moral culture to the pupil. He asserted that Judo's practice could instill qualities such as discipline, courage, perseverance, kindness to and respect for others, impartiality, and fair play, as emphasized in Western athletic training.[162] Kano dwells on the moral phase of Judo in the following words:

> In this connection let me explain how the principle of the Maximum Efficiency in Use of Mind and Body helps in promoting moral conduct. A man is sometimes very excitable and prone to

[157] This information is taken from the official website of Maharashtra Judo Association.
[158] Ramnath Biswas, *Jujutsu Japan*, (Calcutta: Bengal Publishers, 1945).
[159] See, Syd Hoare. *A History of Judo* (London: Yamagi Press, 2008) & M. Maekawa and Y. Hasegawa, "Studies on Jigoro Kano; Significance of His Ideals of Physical Education and Judo," *Bulletin of the Association for the Scientific Studies on Judo, Kodokan*, Report II, (Tokyo: 1963), 1-12.
[160] Naoki Murata, complied and translated Nancy H. Ross, *Mind Over Muscles: Writings from the founder of Judo Jigoro Kano* (Tokyo: Kondansha International, 2013), 70-71.
[161] T. Lindsay and J. Kano, "Jujutsu The Old Samurai Art of Fighting Without Weapons [Read April 18th, 1888]," *Transaction of The Asiatic Society of Japan* XVI, (1889), 192/204-205.
[162] "The Moral Value of Judo," *The Modern Review* XXXII, no. 5 (November, 1922), 637-638.

> anger for trivial reasons: but when he comes to consider that to be excited involves an unnecessary expenditure of energy, benefiting nobody and often doing harm to himself and others, the student of Judo must refrain from such conduct. Judo advises such a man to try and find out the best he can do under existing circumstances…Thus the teaching of Judo may lift a man from the depths of discouragement to vigorous activity with a bright hope in the future. The same reasoning applies to persons who are disconnected. Disconnected persons who are often in a sulky state of mind and blame other people, without properly attending to their own affairs. The teaching of Judo makes such persons understand that such conduct is against the principle of the Maximum Efficiency in Use of Mind and Body.[163]

Tagore himself corresponded with Jigoro Kano and met him in Tokyo.[164] Moreover, Shinzo Takagaki's lecture 'Judo and its Importance,' cited earlier, was also an attempt to introduce Judo's philosophy to Indian educationalists. Takagaki defined Judo in the physical culture sense as the maximum efficient use of the mind and body for attack and defence. But in its broader significance, he defined Judo as a life philosophy of applying the principle of maximum and efficient use of mind and body to the affairs of the individual and social life and a means of intellectual, physical, and moral upliftment.[165] Further, he expounded the merits of Judo in its movements and combinations suitable for all classes, young or old, male or female, strong or weak, and its practice not restricted to any particular climate.

On moral training associated with the practice of Judo, Takagaki speaks, *"its value as a moral training lies not in its being a dry, dogmatic instruction, but in the fact that it inculcates moral training unconsciously in the mind of the student. To be brief, a real student, as a result of his training in Judo, becomes the rare possessor of the fine qualities of virtue, sincerity, faithfulness, and a keen sense of duty and responsibility to himself and to his nation."*[166] Explaining Judo's merits, he further describes how Judo respects impartiality in the decision of contests and teaches kindness to others in daily exercises. The training in Judo, he argues, makes a man kind and impartial in dealings with society, and as a whole, the spirit of Judo is based on the principle of

[163] Ibid., 638
[164] John Stevens, *The Way of Judo: A Portrait of Jigoro Kano and His Students* (Boston: Shambhala Publication, 2013), 71.
[165] S. Takagaki, "Judo and Its Importance," in *Report of All Asia Educational Conference (Benares, December 26-30. 1930)*, ed. D. P. Khattry (Allahabad: The Indian Press Limited, 1931), 631.
[166] Ibid., 630

attaining one's goals gently and reasonably. It accords with civilization's spirit in contrast to achieving the end by force and with injustice.[167]

Thus, with its emphasis on promoting moral values through maximum efficiency of mind and body, Judo seems to resonate with Tagore's educational philosophy. Tagore sought a physical education to build the pupil's physique and possess the virtues of discipline and moral values. Therefore, he found Judo appropriate for Visva-Bharati in particular and India in general. Besides, his fascination with Japanese culture and his idea of establishing a seat of learning based on universal brotherhood where the best of all cultures should be churned may have induced him to introduce Judo to India.

Conclusion

Without any doubt, modern physical education and sports was introduced in India by British educators and administrators. However, Indian educationists of the first half of the twentieth century were aware of the role physical education played in the development of western nations and Japan. As such, physical education became an integral part of their national educational philosophies. Sri Aurobindo, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, thus appropriated and subverted in the course of time colonial sports and physical education into nationalist framework.The objective of physical education that was brought into operation through pedagogical games and physical exercises in school, colleges, and universities were reinterpreted and redefined by Indian educationists in the national interest. Thus, the political agenda of physical agenda was different for nationalist educationists of the early twentieth century. Indian educationalists adapted colonial sports, modern physical education and other such pedagogical activities like the scout movement and University Training Corps. Malaviya and Mukherjee were instrumental in constituting University Training Corps in India. The Scout movement was also supported by Annie Besant and Malaviya. Sri Aurobindo promoted western sports in Pondicherry ashram school and Lajpat Rai’s physical education scheme for India was drew upon the American physical education system. Tagore, as an admirer of Japan, introduced and popularized Judo in India. B.S. Moonje’s endeavour was the military education of Hindus boys on the line of British and German military schools. However, one

[167] Ibid

commonality among these Indian educationalists was that, they all envisaged that physical education pedagogy could create en environment, facilities and the guidance that enable the individual to develop his capabilities in the interest of the nation. In the hegemonic battle against colonialism during the Indian national movement, the idea of a fit and healthy body became an intrinsic part of the vision of nation building. Their agenda for physical education was to make children physically fit to establish a stable, enlightened citizenship capable of performing social, vocational and moral obligations incumbent upon citizens. Hence, physical education was drawn into the nationalist struggle.

CHAPTER 5
THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOGA INTO A PHYSICAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

The nationalist demand for a physical education system of its own led educated Indians to revive many traditional pre-colonial forms of physical culture. It served two purposes; first, it rendered bodily exercises as a way of strengthening their otherwise degraded body. Second, it offered a cultural anchor on which national pride could be developed. Yoga was one such pre-modern physical culture of India that was revived and reformulated into a modern system of physical education in the early decades of the twentieth century. Lord Shiva, who is also called Adi Yogi, personifies the practice of yoga and believed to be the father and founder of yoga. As Yogeshwar, the great lord of yoga, Shiva rules over all aspects of yoga relative to body, mind and consciousness.[1] Yoga that developed into a one among the six philosophical schools of classic Hindu philosophies in ancient India acquired a new meaning from the last decade of the nineteenth because of the phenomenal success of Swami Vivekananda. In the early decades of the twentieth century, through the efforts of modern yoga gurus, it developed into a fitness regime based on postural physical exercises and rhythmic breathing. Thus, the chapter examines the formulation of classical yoga into a system of modern physical education against the backdrop of the national movement. In the process, the chapter will discuss the efforts of some early yoga gurus who endeavored to revive and establish yoga as a physical education system based on scientific evidence. The particular version of yoga physical education as proposed by early yoga gurus of India is also explored in the chapter.

[1] For ancient origins of Yoga, see, David Frawley, *Vedic Yoga: The Path of the Rishi* (United States of America: Lotus Press, 2014) & Georg Feuerstein, *The Philosophy of Classical Yoga* (Vermont: Inner Traditions International, 1996).

The Introduction of Yoga Philosophy in Modern Times; Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) and Swami Abhedananda (1866-1939)

The revival of yoga began in the last decades of the nineteenth century, most notably through Swami Vivekananda's teachings. However, it was not until the late 1920's that yoga entered into the discourse of physical education in India. By and large, yoga was viewed in India and the West as some sort of obscure ritual practise of by ascetics that included black magic, sorcery, pseudo-supernatural trickery and wired twisting of bodies in pursuit of spiritual goals.[2] In the 21st century yoga all around the world is known for its health benefits, but in the early twentieth-century yoga connoted esoteric feats meant for those who renounced the world. In 1922, the Indologist John McKenzie, in *The Religious Quest of India Hindu Ethics,* wrote about the public perception of yoga.

> The ignorant and the misinformed have come to believe that Yoga is some form of white or black magic, obscure sorcery, pseudo-supernatural trickery, physical and mental mortification or orgies of secret ritualism through which, in some unaccountable manner, miraculous feats are performed. These misconceptions thus have frightened many; and they are still frightening not a few. Much harm has also been done by the circulation of such tendentious and ill-founded opinions as suggest that the practice of Yoga is extremely dangerous, that the same is intended for only a few who have renounced the world, that the technique usually employed consists of injurious and irrational acrobatism of body and mind, and that it is unsuited to all others except the Hindu mind. The laymen both in India and elsewhere therefore remained indifferent to all its virtues and some actually abhor it as something anti-social.[3]

Thus, it is evident that early-twentieth-century yoga philosophers and professionals had to address the misconceptions about yoga common among the public. The task of reintroducing yoga before the modern world was first undertaken by Swami Vivekananda. In reintroducing the ancient practice of yoga, Vivekananda redefined it in the light of modern values. Late nineteenth-century cultural interlocutors were compelled to culturally redefine their historical legacy in the contemporary world. Therefore, the process involved the novel interpretation and redefinition of religion, rituals, social customs, and cultural practices. Swami Vivekananda delivered a series of

[2] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 64-70.
[3] John McKenzie, *Hindu Ethics: A Historical and Critical Essay* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), 251.

lectures in America published as '*Raja Yoga'* in 1896.[4] In *Raja Yoga*, Vivekananda interpreted the *Yoga Sutra* (500BCE-200BCE) of Patanjali and drew on a neo-Vedantic interpretation in such a way that it was well received in American urban circles. A section of American urban society dealing with the existential crisis of modernity adopted yogic practices and Vedanta philosophy enthusiastically.[5] Raja Yoga presented Vivekananda's understanding and interpretation of Patanjali's *Yoga Sutras* and contains a selection of 'Hatha Yoga' teachings - the branch of yoga that deals with physical postures. To suit his western educated audience's needs and aspirations, he drew upon the traditional philosophical conception of yoga, the ideas of modern science, occultism, transcendentalism, idealism, and esotericism to assemble neo-Vedantism.[6]

In Raja Yoga, Swami Vivekananda offered a practical means for spiritual attainment and the realization of the divine. For this purpose, he divided *Raja Yoga* into eight steps, viz. *Yama* (non-killing, truthfulness, non-stealing, and continence); *Niyama* (cleanliness, contentment, mortification, study, and self-surrender to God); *Asana* or posture; *Pranayama*, or controlling the vital force of the body through breathing; *Pratyahra*, or making the mind introspective; *Dharana*, or concentration; *Dhyana*, or meditation; and *Samadhi*, or super-consciousness.[7] To reach divine realization, Swami Vivekananda suggested practicing: *"a series of exercises, physical and mental, to be gone through every day, until certain higher states are reached."*[8] The physical and mental exercises that Vivekananda referred to were asanas (postures) and pranayama (rhythmic breathing) of the Hatha Yoga tradition. After elaborating the technique of assuming the pose, he claimed that his version of postural yoga is similar to that of hatha yoga, which he says *"deals entirely with the physical body"* and the aim of which *"is to make the*

[4] Vedanta Philosophy: *Raja Yoga Being Lectures by the Swami Vivekananda*, New Edition (New York: Brentano's, 1920).
[5] Anil Sooklal, "The Neo-Vedanta Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda," *Nidan: International Journal for Indian Studies* 1993, no. 5 (1993): 33-50 & Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patanjali and Western Esotericism* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd., 2004), 149-150.
[6] For yoga in neo-Vedanta, see, L. P. Mishra, "Main Characteristics of Neo-Vedantic Movement," in *Prahuddha Bharata* (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1971); S. Chatterjee, "Swami Vivekananda's Neo-Vedanta and its Practical Application," in *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Memorial Volume*, ed. R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta: Swami Vivekananda Centenary, 1963); James Madaio, "Rethinking Neo-Vedānta: Swami Vivekananda and the Selective Historiography of Advaita Vedānta", *Religions* 8, no. 6 (2017): 1-12; Chaturvedi Badrinath, *Swami Vivekananda, the Living Vedanta* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2006) & Jason Birch, "Råjayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, Issue 3 (2013): 401–444.
[7] Swami Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga or Conquering the Internal Nature* (Sixth Edition, 1923), 12-29.
[8] Ibid

physical body very strong."[9] He reiterated in a lecture delivered at Tucker Hall in Alameda, California that hatha yoga provides fitness, health, and longlife and establishes perfect control over the muscles and mind.[10] It is to be noted that, though Vivekananda's assessment of hatha yoga centred on health goals, it was merely just one step in the spiritual attainment and not a system of physical culture that he thought to introduce to the world. On the whole, he made it clear that hatha yoga alone does not lead to any spiritual growth.[11]

Swami Vivekananda's close associate, Swami Abhedananda, who was also a disciple of the mystic Ramakrishna Paramahansa, played an important role in the popularization of yoga in India and the West. At the request of Swami Vivekananda, he took the responsibility of establishing the Vedanta Society at New York and authored several books on the theme of Yoga and Vedanta. Abhedananda's' *Vedanta Philosophy; How to be a Yogi*' published by the Vedanta Society of San Francisco in 1902, that explained Vedanta to a western audience pioneered establishing yoga on the scientific lines, and in doing this, he was implicitly serving two purposes. First, he sought to present yoga as a modern science invented by the ancient Indian seers. By establishing Yoga and its physical part called Hatha Yoga on scientific lines before the world, it seems he sought to assert India's spiritual greatness. He writes:

> Thus we see that this science (Yoga), like all others, was based on experience; while the method used in it was same as that employed by modern science in making all its discoveries of natural law- the method of observation and experiment. This method is regarded in the West as a distinctly modern innovation, but as a matter of fact it was adopted in India in very ancient times by the "Rishis," or Seers of Truth. Through the process of close observation and constant experiment they discovered the fiber forces of nature, as also the laws that govern our physical, mental, and spiritual being.[12]

For Abhedananda, the first concern of yoga was to enforce proper obedience to the laws of moral and physical nature, upon which depend the attainment of perfect health and moral and spiritual

[9] Ibid., 18
[10] Swami Vivekananda, "Science of Yoga (Delivered at Tucker Hall, Alameda, California, on April 13, 1900)," in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Volume 7*, Sixth Edition (Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1964), 428-438.
[11] Swami Vivekananda, *Raja Yoga or Conquering the Internal Nature* (Sixth Edition, 1923), 18.
[12] Swami Abhedananda, *Vedanta Philosophy How to be a Yogi* (San Francisco: The Vedanta Society Ashram, 1902), 30-31.

perfection.[13]According to him, the physical part of yoga, called hatha yoga, is devoted to the control of the functions of the body and the mastery of the physical forces. It's ideal being a sound constitution, well suited to overcome those physical and environmental conditions which stand as obstacles in the path of material and spiritual progress.[14] Thus, he defined hatha yoga as that branch of the science of yoga, which offers instruction on how to conquer hunger, thirst, and sleep; how to gain perfect health and cure disease without using drugs, and how to arrest untimely decay of the body resulting from the waste of vital energy. Explaining the primary objectives of performing various *asanas* (postures) described in hatha yoga, he argued that its practice could help gain control over the involuntary muscles of the body, which is impossible for ordinary men. He further claimed that all men possess this power latent within them, but hatha yoga was the first to discover a scientific method by which it can be developed.[15] When practised with special breathing exercises, each of the asanas acquires certain powers latent in the nerve centres and the different organs of the system. Some hatha yoga exercises increase the stomach and liver's action, while others regulate the other organs' activities. Tremors of the body and restlessness of the limbs, which are such frequent obstacles in gaining control over the mind, may be easily removed by the practice of asanas.[16] For Abhedananda, perfect health and longevity were the immediate benefits of the hatha yoga practices.

However, like his associate Swami Vivekananda, Abhedananda did not intend to present and introduce hatha yoga as an alternative physical culture. Though he tried to give a scientific explanation of yoga's physical and breathing practices, nevertheless, rather than establishing it as a system of physical culture, he sees in its course a way of reaching ultimate truth, i.e. the highest attainment in the philosophy of Raja Yoga.[17] In this league, the name of Yogi Ramacharaka (1862-1932) also deserved to be mentioned. Yogi Ramacharaka, whose real name was William Walker Atkinson was an American occultist associated with the New Thought Movement have written some earliest manual on yoga physical culture.[18] Unlike Vivekananda and Abhedananda,

[13] Ibid., 32-33
[14] Ibid., 41-42
[15] Ibid., 45
[16] Ibid., 53-54
[17] Ibid., 61-62
[18] His books included, The Hindu Yogi Science of Breath: A Complete Manual of the Oriental Breathing Philosophy of Physical, Mental, Psychic and Spiritual Development (1903), Yogi Philosophy and Oriental Occultism (1904), The Science of Psychic Healing (1905), and Raja Yoga: The Yogi Philosophy of Mental Development (1906),

Ramacharaka offered yoga as a physical culture for fitness. Thus, the novel interpretation and definition of classical yoga as done by these three figures, established it as an important knowledge system of India. Most importantly, their interpretation of yoga rooted out many prejudices and misconceptions prevalent among the western educated public that paved the way for early yoga gurus to launch it as a physical education system.

Making Yoga a Physical Education and Health Program; Shri Yogendra (1897–1989) and The Yoga Institute at Bombay

Shri Yogendra (1897-1989) was one of the earliest figures to develop classical yoga into a modern physical education system. In 1918, he founded a yoga centre named *The Yoga Institute* in Bombay. This was the first modern yoga centre to be established. Born as Manibhai Haribhai Desai, in the village of Anavil near Surat, Yogendra attended Amalsad English School. He then joined St. Xavier's College in Bombay but was not able to complete his education. In 1916 he found a guru in Paramahamsa Madhavadasji who taught him Yoga in an ashram at Malsar near Vadodara.[19] For more than two years, under the supervision of his guru, Yogendra learned the practical application of yoga in the treatment of sickness by methods resembling natural health cure techniques - a distinctly European system of treatment that became popular in India in the early decades of the twentieth century. About Yogendra's training at Madhavadasji's hermitage, Rodrigues, his biographer, writes, *"Much of the training was related to practical and pragmatic use of Yoga and the application of it in various situations of sickness and suffering. The cause of these problems had to be first studied and an intuitive skill of analysis had to be developed."*[20]

Rodrigues also informs his reader that Yogendra was very fond of wrestling and quite active in sports at the English school he attended. According to Joseph Alter, Yogendra's childhood exposure to sports and his experience at Madhavadasji's ashram certainly set the stage for his

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Hatha Yoga or The Yogi Philosophy of Physical Well-Being with Numerous Exercises' and 'The Hindu-Yogi Science of Breath' (1904).

[19] Madhavadasji was educated at Scottish Church College of Calcutta in the 1850s and was trained in law. After practising law for some years, he renounced the world and became an itinerant ascetic, teaching a devotional mysticism based on the bhakti tradition of Chaitanya. According to some accounts of his disciples, he lived and travelled in the Himalayas for many years and became an enlightened master of hath yoga and used yogi techniques of asana, pranayama, kriya, and suddhi (purification) to treat the health problems of people who came to his hermitage at Malsar.

For detailed information on Madhavadasji and Shri Yogendra, see, Santan Rodrigues, *The Householder Yogi – Life of Shri Yogendra* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1997).

[20] Ibid., 47

subsequent development of a program of athletic yoga and the incorporation of yoga physical fitness and ethics into the rubric of muscular Christianity, a broad-based reform movement that linked morals, ethics, and character development to ideals of fitness, fairness, hard work, and self-improvement.[21] Interestingly, unlike the traditional ascetics, Yogendra chose a quasi-spiritual role, not a full-time yogi or mystic, living within the society as a yoga teacher. Against the wish of his guru, who wanted him to be his successor, he left the ashram, and with the support of Homi Dadina, son in law of Dada Bhai Naoroji, he founded the *Yoga Institute* in December 1918 in Dadina's farmhouse at Versova in the suburbs of Bombay.[22] This Yoga Institute was an instant success as the middle-class and Bombay elites were looking for an alternative natural therapy and physical fitness program. In the following year Yogendra and Dadina travelled to Europe and America intending to popularize Yoga and set up a branch of their institute. In December 1919, Yogendra reached New York, where he met Lala Lajpat Rai, who at the time was studying the American physical education system. He stayed in America for four years and set up the Yoga Institute at Harriman in New York and established professional ties with figures like Benedict Lust, one of the founders of naturopathic medicine, and Avant-grade doctors John Harvey Kellong and John. W. Fox of White Memorial Hospital, California.[23] He wrote his first yoga manual, *Light on Hatha Yoga*, and a volume on Rabindranath Tagore in America. It is worth mentioning that earlier on the request of Madhavadasji, he translated Tagore's Geetanjali into *Gujarati* and was in regular correspondence with the poet, who also praised his effort in developing yoga into a system of physical education.[24]

Shri Yogendra returned to India in December 1922 and resumed his work of professionalizing yoga as a physical culture system. His travels to America and Europe acquainted him with gymnastics and callisthenic physical culture systems, physiological and hygiene science, and the natural cure movement. In America, he even conducted X-ray studies on some yogic practices; one such was the *sutra netikriyas*, a technique to clean the nasal cavity. After returning to India, he pursued the investigation of yoga breathing and postural health benefits by conducting

[21] Joseph Alter, "*Shri Yogendra: Magic, Modernity, and the Burden of the Middle-Class Yogi,"* in *Gurus of Modern Yoga*, eds. Mark Singleton and Ellen Goldberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 65-66.
[22] Vijayadev Yogendra, *Glimpses from the life of Shri Yogendra: Father of Yoga Renaissance* (Melbourne: Yoga Education Centre, 1972), 19-20.
[23] Stefanie Syman, *The Subtle Body: The Story of Yoga in America* (New York: Published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 185.
[24] Shri Yogendra, *Life Problems* (Mumbai: The Yoga Institute, 2004).

experiments on modern lines. The network he built with physicians, doctors, and naturopathists in America remained intact. He was in touch with the renowned philosopher Surendranath Dasgupta with whom he used to discuss yoga and even conducted research on the concept of *prana* (vital force) in yoga in 1924.[25] Yogendra's experiences in America and England convinced him of the need for scientific and academic collaboration to certify the yoga practices that he learned at Madhavdasaiji's ashram. As Rodrigues writes:

> It was the time for more research in Yoga. The West was a witness to the wonders of Yoga but more proof of a scientific nature were [sic] required to make a lasting impact. ShriYogendra set his mind on looking for documented evidence. Not much was known about the history of Yoga and he decided to find out more to make the history more factual. The apocryphal sources had to be verified and an academic investigation seemed to be the only way to leading authenticity to the ancient lore.[26]

Yogendra realized that there were many misconceptions about yoga. He understood that if yoga was to be popularized as physical culture, public discourse around it must be built in the print culture. This task demanded the acquisition of the literature on classical yoga. After a fruitful discussion on yoga with Surendranath Dasgupta, Yogendra in March and April 1923 visited many places in the Himalayas in search of texts on hatha yoga, intending to collect materials to write books on yoga. In the remote hermitages at Bohar and Tillah, he made notes on hatha yoga and came in contact with Natha Yogis of the traditional school of Goraksha and Matsyendra.[27] He began to publish yoga manuals from the mid-1920 based on his studies of classical yoga texts and yoga techniques.

Yogendra's, first work on yoga, entitled *Yoga Physical Education* published in 1928, starts with a quotation from the classical hatha yoga Sanskrit text, *Hatha Yoga Pradipika,* written by Svatmarama (he traces the hatha yoga lineage to Matsyendranath of the Nathas sect) reads: *"Slim (lissome) body, joyous face, sonorous voice, sparkling eyes, positive good health virility, exuberance of vitality and radiance, and purity of the nervous system are (a few of) the*

[25] Claudia Guggenbühl, *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta- The History of their Encounter, Dasgupta's Life, his Philosophies and his Works on Yoga* (Zurich, 2008), 12-14.

[26] Santan Rodrigues, *The Householder Yogi – Life of Shri Yogendra* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1997), 120.
[27] Ibid.,122-126

(physical) characteristics (endowed by the practice) of Hathayoga."[28] The book's title testifies that Yogendra wished to project yoga as a system of physical education. Despite interpreting yoga in a modern idiom, Yogendra claimed that some of the modern physiological and psychological findings were known to ancient yoga. Thus, he called yoga a culture of science that, in striking contrast to all other systems of philosophy, which rejected the idea of physical health as essential to spiritual experience. On the contrary he set a definite value on physical education. Referencing Yajnavalkya, Svatmarama, Goraksha, and other ancient teachers of yoga, Yogendra not only argues that no higher spiritual experiences are possible without the aid of good health but claims that the ancient yoga maxim accords well with the modern principles of physical education.[29]

Yogendra published another yoga manual, called *Yoga Personal Hygiene* in 1931with a preface written by Dr. John. W. Fox. Fox notes that Yogendra's manual gives a comprehensive presentation of ancient hygiene and physical prophylaxis in a scholarly, scientific, and popular style besides incorporating the modern conceptions of personal hygiene. Yogendra's claim that yoga is the best physical culture system was endorsed by Fox as well, who put forth the orientalist argument when he says, *"We of the West pride ourselves upon the advances we have made but the men of the East may pride themselves upon the heritage of knowledge which they possess. Only a few hundred years ago we discovered the circulation of blood, while the Yoga recorded it thousands years ago"*.[30] However, Yogendra was not dogmatic about the claims made about yoga and always felt the necessity of confirming these claims through modern science. Yogendra argued that yoga was a constant source of inspiration even to positive sciences such as anatomy, physiology, biology, therapeutics, psychology, mental hygiene, psychotherapy, and psychoanalysis.[31] He believed that yoga since time immemorial occupies an unparalleled and distinct place as the only practical system of physical, mental, moral, and spiritual culture in the cultural history of India. Its elaborate system of practical training or kriya yoga sublimates man's quest for divinity by a scientific scheme of education that affects the conscious and the subconscious planes. Yogendra inferred from his studies on yoga that

[28] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education,* First Edition May 1928(Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Seventh Edition, 1956), 13.
[29] Ibid., 26-28
[30] Ibid., 17- 18
[31] Ibid

elaborate yogic physical education techniques, hygiene, and auto therapy endow exuberant health and contribut to longevity. Yoga's intricate psychosomatic and mental practices habituate one to moral and mental discipline, and its subliminal psychic education and processes culminate in positive and lasting happiness and peace.[32]

Such views of Shri Yogendra on yoga may lead to falling him into the category of a cultural nationalist. However, his other views on yoga should also be considered to reach any conclusion. In another yoga manual entitled, *Yoga Asanas Simplified* (1928), he argued that yoga technique is suited to all grades of aspirants in so much so that the sick and the healthy, the good and the bad, the intelligent and the ignorant, the believer and the non-believer can profit by its practice. He writes:

> Above all, [Yoga] is the only practical, scientific and catholic culture that is not limited to any sex, race, nationality, religion or creed. One may continue to be a Hindu, a Christian, a Mohamedan, a Russian or an American, a Socialist or a Fascist, a Theosophist or a Freemason or whatever one happens to be or styles himself and he can still follow Yoga and receive the fullest benefit. It does not require one to disown his beliefs, creed, religion or heritage.[33]

Yogendra's biographer, Rodrigues, rightly put the case when he writes that "for him yoga was never a religion. He always went about it in a very scientific way, demystifying it, de-linking it from religion, salvaging it from the forests and the withdrawn ascetics."[34] In this context, Yogendra defined yoga as 'a comprehensive practical system of self-culture,' formulated through the interchangeable harmonious development of one's body, mind, and psychic potencies that ultimately leads to physical well-being, mental harmony, moral elevation, and habitation to spiritual consciousness.[35] Presenting Hatha Yoga's postural, breathing and purificatory exercises as "yoga physical education" that enables one to preserve or obtain good health, in Yogendra's words, what yoga physical education aims at *"is physiological soundless- pure radiant health conducive to immunity against disease and the promotion of longevity."*[36] Hence, his brand of yoga physical education was fundamentally grounded on yogic bodily movements- *asana*, *pranayama*, *bandhas*, and *mudras*. He intends to popularize traditional hermetical hatha yoga

[32] Ibid
[33] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Asanas Simplified* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1929), 26.
[34] Santan Rodrigues, *The Householder Yogi – Life of Shri Yogendra* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1997), 228.
[35] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, May 1928), 20.
[36] Ibid., 44

practices in his Yoga Physical Education scheme by bringing them to a wider audience. At the one level, he tried to demystify hatha yoga in the light of modern scientific developments to suit the temperament of English educated class, while at another level; he always felt the compulsion of claiming the antiquity of yoga physical culture. As he goes on to write:

> It should now become clear to the rationally-inclined seeking after good health through physical education that, for healthful living of an ideal type, no better system of physical culture has ever been investigated than the great science of the ancient yogins. The jargons of metaphysics and association of various religious traditions never disturbed its technique; the secrecy of ages about its practice has been lifted with the aid of science; and the various yoga processes are now available to the public- through the authorized and illustrated publications of this Institute (Yogendra is referring his Yoga Institute of Bombay) - and may, with great benefit, be incorporated in the daily personal hygienic duties.[37]

In 1931, Yogendra authored a separate manual on hatha yoga, titled *Hatha Yoga Simplified* where he presented a comprehensive yoga education program that included hatha yoga postural movements and rhythmic breathing along with yogic hygienic, dietetics, and therapeutic practices.[38] He called his scheme a complete package of physical education- a methodical scientific yoga that begins with postural training and rhythmic breathing used by ascetics as preventive measures and auto therapy, the process of nerve purification (*nadisuddhi*), and body control for longevity. It also included the technique of rejuvenation through hormonal and humoral stimulation, eliminative and nutritive hyper energy followed by complete rest to all the vital organs in a state of quasi-hibernation (*khecari*). Yogendra explained that this aspect of yoga is technically known as *asana* and was elaborated into a very comprehensive scheme of physical culture by the later hatha yoga authorities in the medieval period.Yogendra's brand of hatha yoga also included *ghatsaya yoga,* which he described as the physiological aspect of yoga aimed at getting a healthy body. Significantly enough, for those who are not fit enough to take hatha yoga, his system is based on yoga-therapeutics and an elaborate physical culture method comprising hygiene, dietetics, and auto immunization processes.[39]

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[37] Ibid., 58
[38] See, Shri Yogendra, *Hatha Yoga Simplified* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1931).
[39] Ibid & Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education,* First Edition May 1928(Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Seventh Edition, 1956), 21-22.

Rhythmic breathing in Yogendra's system is none other than *pranayama*, what he defined as the respiratory movements for regulating the bioenergy of the life force (*prana*). Explaining yoga breathing practices, he demonstrated how yoga as a system of physical culture in conjunction with respiratory and nervous control enables an individual to regulate his biological living by conserving bioenergy.[40] In *Hatha Yoga Simplified* (1931), he discussed the different yogic methods of breathing with the technique of their practice and the health benefits associated with them. His breathing exercises scheme included as many as five classical pranayamas- *sunyaka*, *puraka*, *kumbhaka*, *recaka*, and *anulomaviloma*. Not surprisingly, he tried to provide modern scientific validation of the benefits of yogic breathing exercises.[41] In his scheme of hatha yoga comprehensive fitness regime, *dhyana* followed postural and breathing exercises. *Dhyana*, i.e.,control of mind, Yogendra argues, involves the methods of pure and applied psychology, psychoanalysis, parapsychology, mental hygiene and therapeutics, and psychic enfoldment that ultimately avail all conscious and subconscious potentialities to reach the highest.[42]

Yogendra's scheme of Yoga Physical Education has an important place for hygiene. On the subject of hygiene, he wrote a monumental volume with the title *Yoga Personal Hygiene.* John W. Fox of the Whift Memorial Hospital in California, who was also the Scientific Cooperator Yoga Institute, remarks that Yogendra in this work deals with the subject of personal hygiene as practised by the Indian yogis. It offers a comprehensive review of hygiene from the yoga point of view regarding the care of body, comparing this then with the modern developments in science.[43] Yogendra argues that yoga hygiene deserves special attention and admiration for two distinct reasons.

> (1) Its antiquity which can hardly be doubted representing the earliest attempts at personal prophylaxis which secures for it the topmost place in the history of preventive medicine and hygiene and (2) its exceptionally wholesome practical and scientific outlook upon the subject of individual hygiene surpassing in certain details, e.g. the processes of internal purification and self-treatment even our present knowledge and investigations in these matters.[44]

[40] Ibid., 22
[41] Shri Yogendra, *Hatha Yoga Simplified* (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1931), 33-64.
[42] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education,* First Edition May 1928 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Seventh Edition, 1956), 24.
[43] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Personal Hygiene* (New York: Yoga, 1931), vii.
[44] Ibid., 1 & 7

Based upon the classical hatha yoga texts and experiments he conducted at his Yoga Institute at Bombay, Yogendra gave a vivid description of yogic hygiene practices mentioned in classical hatha yoga texts such as *Yogasutra*, *Gherandasamhita*, *Hathayogasamhita*, and *Hath Yoga Pradipika*. Remarkably, he tried to authenticate each of the yoga hygiene practices referring to modern scientific work on hygiene and physiology. Thus the manual had references to several Western works on physiology, hygiene, and psychology that were cited to verify the authenticity of yoga hygiene practices. Yogendra described in great detail that the care of teeth, mouth, tongue, and ear could be taken through *dantadhoouti* (yoga practice of purification of teeth), *juhamulasodhanam* (yoga practice of the purification of the roots of the tongue), and *karnadhouti* (purification of ears), *karnarandhradhouti* (purification of two holes of the ear). For keeping the air sinuses clean, he suggested *kapalabhati* or internal cleansing of the forehead as the exercise suitable for the purification of the frontal air-sinuses, *vatakramakaplabhati*, a method for cleansing the upper respiratory, and the process of *kapalarandhradhouti* for curing certain diseases arising from the derangement of the phlegmatic humors.[45]

Shri Yogendra further describes the yogic exercises for the care of the nostrils that consists in the practice of *neti* or nasal cleansing, divided into three distinct modes viz. *jalaneti* or the ordinary nasal douche, *samanyaneti* or the threading of the air passages, and *gharsauaneti* or the dilation, friction and rubbing of the nostrils. Besides, *vyutkrama* (nasal irrigation) and *sitkramajalaneti* (a reverse process of sucking the water through the mouth and throwing it out through the nostrils) is also suggested to take care of the nose. Yogendra called the systematic yogic practice of eye exercises -eye gymnastics. The yogic practice of harmonious development of eye muscle known as *trataka* was minutely explained with techniques and illustrations. The *trataka* or forms of fixation are of various forms such as *nastikagra* (gazing on the tip of the nose), *bhrumadhyatrataka* (gazing on the space between the eyebrows), *daksinajatrutrataka* (the right shoulder gaze), *vamajatrutrataka* (the left shoulder gaze), and *candradhyana* and *surryadhyana* (moon and sun gazing) distinguished as sthula or gross form of concentration. After trataka exercises, Yogendra instructed an eye bath, dipping the eyes in cold water three or four times. He argued that dropping the water on the open eyes has the same physiological effects upon blood circulation, lymph, and nerve currents as the vibratory massage recommended by modern

[45] Ibid., 40-50

physical culturists.[46] The care of the stomach and other digestive organs is also argued to bebenefited through the yoga method of cleansing the alimentary canal known as *vamanadhouti* or stomach wash and by performing certain specific yoga asanas and pranayama known as *plavini*, and the intra-abdominal compression technique called *uddiyanabandha*. The care of the lower section of the alimentary canal, chiefly the intestines, Yogendra said can be made possible through suitable postures such as *pavanamuktasana* (wind-relieving pose), *sarvangasana* (shoulder stand), *sirasana* (headstand), and *dhanurvakrasana* (bow pose). Intestinal activation and cleansing can be done with the aid of *sakticalanamudra, uddiyanabandha,* and an enema with *uddiyana* in imitation of *basti*, yogic purification mudra for the colon.[47]

It is worth mentioning that Shri Yogendra's close associate, Shrimati Sitadevi Yogendra, who was the Medical Director-in-Charge of the Ladies Section of Yoga Institute, devised a yogic physical education scheme for women.[48] In 1934, she wrote a yoga manual exclusively for women, titled, *Yoga Physical Education (For Women)* where she put forth the course of rhythmic exercises that consist of certain postures and their varieties which were found to be of special hygienic value to women.[49] Prepared on a physiological basis, scientific physical education based on yoga was proposed for girls over the age of ten years onwards. Considering the physiological and vital differences between the sexes, Sitadevi in her scheme included varieties of *prarthanasana* (prayer poses) viz. *ekapadasana* (one leg pose), *talasana*, *padmasana* (lotus pose), *yastikasana* (stick pose), *parvatasana* (mountain pose), *trikonasana* (triangle pose), and *garudasana* (eagle pose). She considered prarthanasana suitable for women and interpreted these relaxed yogic postures as the corrective gymnastics of western physical education.[50] For slimness, suppleness and elasticity, *hastapadangustasana* (toe-finger pose) and hastapadasana (hand-leg pose) were recommended for women of all ages. According to Sitadevi, *matsyasana* (fish pose), *paryanasana* (hams-pose), *ardhasarvangsasana* (semi reverse pose), and *vipritakaanimudra* (technique of retofusion) were the poses that contribute to the health of the sex organs. Whereas, *bhujangasana* (snake pose), *halasana* (plough pose), *ustraasana* (camel

[46] Ibid., 52-64
[47] Ibid., 65-85
[48] For more on Shrimati Sitadevi Yogendra see, Emily Miranker, *Sitadevi's Sutra* (https://nyamcenterforhistory.org/2016/05/12/sitadevis-sutra/) & "Mother Sita Devi Yogendra: A Brief Profile," *The Yoga Institute* (May 29, 2013).
[49] Smt. Sitadevi Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education (For Women)*, First Edition May 1934 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Third Edition, 1947).
[50] Ibid., 40

pose), *makarasana* (crocodile pose), *savasana* (corpse pose) were suggested as yogic exercises for the spine.[51]

Another feature that can be noticed in Yogendra's plan of introducing yoga before the world is that he wished to prove the superiority of yoga over other modern physical culture systems. Considering modern physical cultures more as a scheme of muscle and body training rather than exclusive neuromuscular education for simultaneous development, harmony, and health of the internal organs, Yogendra in *Yoga Physical Education,* comments, *"Worse still, much has been added progressively to this false evaluation by the pseudoscientific advocates of non-yogic systems of physical culture, of strength, of sports, of games, and even of beauty, seeking to achieve their respective objectives through the development of strong bulging muscles."*[52]

He firmly believed that except in the case of yoga, no great importance has been attached to the acquisition of pure good health through systematic physical education in any of the modern physical culture systems. Yogendra closely examined European physical training systems to prove the superiority of yoga to show where and how they fail to meet the requirements of an ideal scheme of good health and longevity in terms of impersonal logic and science. He considered gymnastics exercises characteristically aimed at muscular perfection and a robust physique inspired by militant spirit.[53] In fact, he was of the opinion that the system of physical education that demands extraneous physical exertion breeds militarism, animality, and anti-socialism. An extended excerpt from Yoga *Asana Simplified* (1928) highlights the objective of Yoga Physical Education in the context of its superiority to Western physical culture systems.

> The central objective of the yoga physical education is the cultivation of and habituation to the spirit of non-violence. Any system of physical training which is likely to breed militant spirit is, in terms of true Yoga, amoral and, for a long range point of view, anti-social… Divorced from mental and moral, what are all systems of physical education, if not mere sources of biologic and mechanical enlargement of animality? According to Yoga, physical education which metamorphoses man into a robot is vulgar, anti-human and pervasive. Thus, Yoga firmly believe in good health and therefore in a system of physical education which endow it, it certainly regards

[51] Ibid
[52] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education,* First Edition May 1928 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Seventh Edition, 1956), 66-67.
[53] Ibid

> the enlargement of animality as detrimental to human progress and happiness not to speak of spiritual evolution. Viewed from higher levels of life, the yoga insistence on moral and mental purity as the guiding line in formulating any scheme of physical training is at once prophetic and full of significance. This is so because it is extremely far-sighted, scientifically precise, culturally ideal and, above all, immaculately realistic.[54]

Such a critique of modern physical education was indeed very rare in the discourse of physical education in colonial India. It is quite important to mention that Yogendra published most of his Yoga's manuals almost at the same time when physical education took an aggressive and militant turn in the wake of the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan, and communism in the Soviet Union. Interestingly, he was not only critical of western physical culture forms, as he considered that even Indian physical culture systems received an impetus from patriotism. Either it is Indian physical culture of *danda-baithaka* or Guts-Muts, Sokal, Pentathlon and the Greek, Roman, Danish, German, Swedish, French and Japanese gymnastics, Yogendra considered them all concerned with strength, and therefore, with the external muscular development without any regard for the internal harmony, growth, and finer reactions on all other planes of life.[55]

Moreover, discussing the psychosomatic effect of Western gymnastic exercises, he argues that they create a preferential tendency for strength, thus minimizing the fundamental objective of good health, besides exposing an individual to the susceptibilities of mass psychology and adding to his orgiastic boisterousness. Yogendra further criticized Western athletics, games, and acrobatics because they involved a considerable amount of strain and even violence. In comparison, mass drills tend to create submissive psychology and automatism, which can be highly derogatory to subjective initiative and harmony. Last but not least, he even found European callisthenics as problematic on physiological grounds.[56]

Shrimati Sitadevi Yogendra also pointed out the advantages of yogic physical education over other system of physical education, especially in relation to the specific needs of women. She argued that on account of glaring defects of modem systems of physical culture which overdeveloped the women body and obscure their feminine beauty, yoga, on the other hand, is fundamentally different from rough and muscular gymnastics and can contribute beneficially to

[54] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Asanas Simplified* First Edition 1928 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1956), 101-102.
[55] Ibid., 76- 83
[56] Ibid., 81

the physiological and psychological requirements of women.[57] According to Yogendra and Sitadevi, what is desired of physical training is not merely grace, ease, and rhythm- the qualities modern physical culture system promised to offer, but also a contribute to the external and internal growth of the human body hardened to all possible interactions in health as well as in disease. As Yogendra argues, such training requires calculated movements of the body capable of maximum internal reactions, which stiff and playful movements of callisthenics, drills, and gymnasiums fail to provide fully.[58] In the yoga manual, *Yoga Asana Simplified,* he proclaimed that "*in striking contrast to the modern physical culture system, the yoga posture exercises stand in bold relief significantly because they truly comply with scientific precision all the essentials of an ideal scheme of daily physical education for the health and development of the organic systems."*[59]

Thus, Yogendra distinctly made a bold assertion that no other physical training system other than yoga can eliminate physiologic irregularities and pathological conditions that can hinder good health. Most importantly, he projected postural-based yoga bodily movements as a non-violent and non-fatiguing disposition in contrast to all other modern physical culture systems of the West. Considering non-violent and non-fatiguing disposition as the most distinguishing feature of yoga physical education, he says, *"For pure health, Yoga precludes exercises involving violence, strain or fatigue."*[60] Yogendra, thus, developed classical hatha yoga into a system of physical education in the early decades of the twentieth century and made it an important player in the ongoing discourse of physical education. However, his contemporary Swami Kuvalayananda firmly established yoga in the discourse of physical education and tried making it a part of the school curriculum.

Scientific Research in Yoga and Making Yoga a Part of School's Physical Education Curriculum; Swami Kuvalayananda (1883-1966)

The next important figure to play a significant role in developing yoga into a physical education system was Jagannath Ganesh Gune (1883-1966), later known as Swami Kuvalayananda. A

[57] Smt. Sitadevi Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education (For Women)*, First Edition May 1934 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Third Edition, 1947), 35-39
[58] Ibid & Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Asanas Simplified*, First Edition 1928 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, 1956), 81.
[59] Ibid., 83-84
[60] Shri Yogendra, *Yoga Physical Education*, First Edition May 1928 (Bombay: The Yoga Institute, Seventh Edition, 1956), 124.

contemporary of Shri Yogendra, Kuvalayananda also learned the yogic bodily practices of asana and pranayama from none other than Madhavdasji. He too began scientific research in yoga in the 1920s and launched a journal titled *Yoga Mimamsa* in 1924 to publish his research on yoga. This magazine popularized yoga as a system of physical culture and naturopathy. Kuvalayananda's journal brought physical yoga into the larger discourse of physical education in India and abroad by bringing fundamental scientific aspects of yogic methods to the notice of the public. Born in 1883 at Dabhoi in Gujarat, Kuvalayananda attended Baroda College and graduated from Bombay University in 1910.[61] During his college days, he was attracted to the national movement and was deeply influenced by the personality of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Sri Aurobindo. Though never involved in any direct political movement against colonial rule, he became an ardent nationalist sympathizer and dedicated himself to educational and social services.[62] Throughout his life, he was in contact with congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, and Jawaharlal Nehru and even advised them on their health issues.

Kuvalayananda's interest in physical culture goes back to his college days at Baroda, where in 1907, he met Professor Manikrao and joined Jummadada Vyayam Shala.[63] His significant contributions to physical education were his formulation of mass exercises (sanghik vyayam), the codification of rules for local exercises, and coining words for commands in Hindi. In addition to mastery in *malla* and *shastravidya*, he was also well trained in Urani and Ayurveda systems of medicine and *astisandhanvidya* or the knowledge of bone-setting.[64] He also performed at the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1906, where he was declared champion in the art of fencing. The Congress used to organize an Industrial and

[61] For Swami Kuvalayananda biography, see, *Yogi and Scientist: Swami Kuvalayananda* (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama, 2012).

[62] Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga and Physical Education: Swami Kuvalayananda's Nationalist Project," *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 3, no.1 (2007): 21.

[63] Prof. Manikrao of Baroda (1878-1954), popularly called "Bhishmacharya" was an important figure in the history of physical education in India due to his effort in reviving indigenous physical culture. He restored the tradition of akhadas by turning them into vyayammandirs. Manikraorao was instructed in various martial arts involving the use of the sword, lance, dagger, malkhamb, and wresting by Jummadada, a wrestler under the patronage of the ruler of Baroda who founded an akhada in 1853. After his demise in 1904, Manikrao entrusted the responsibility of the akhada and named it Jummadada Vyayam Shala.
See, B. S. Fansalkar, "Professor Manikrao of Baroda, Founder of Vyayam Mandir, To Celebrate Diamond Jubilee Next Year," *The Bombay Chronicle* (December 5 1937) & Guru Jummadada (about 1784-1904) https://www.professormanikrao.in/jummadada.php

[64] Ibid

Agricultural Exhibition during its sessions in which competitions in physical cultures also used to be organized. At the Congress session, he was awarded a gold medal and was honoured with the title of *Professor*.[65] Alter points out that assigning the title of 'Professor' to a physical instructor was common practice among physical culturists of that period.[66] Many of his contemporaries even considered him the most important physical culturist of his time who initiated the renaissance of Indian physical culture.[67]

From 1907 to 1910, under Professor Manikrao, Jagannath Gune (he adopted the name Kuvalayanand in 1920) learned *shastravidya* (the art of playing weapons) and experimented with wrestling along witha series of exercises and diets associated with training. He was also trained in lathi (stave) drill, a unique form of exercise that Manikrao developed, and in other movements distinctly of a martial character. However, after practicing Manikrao's brand of physical exercises for some years, he found them exhaustive and turned his attention to yoga. He learned yoga from Madhavadas of Malsar, under whom Shri Yogendra picked up yogic practices.[68] Before going to Madhavadas' hermitage at the end of 1918 to learn the advanced yoga techniques, Kuvalayanand, for three years, worked for Khandesh Educational Society in Amalner. He was made in-charge of the society's physical culture department, and it gave him ample opportunity to study the physical and therapeutic problems of children. His biographer Gharote informs us that inspired by the idea of national education, he introduced physical exercises of various types, both indigenous and foreign in the school's curriculum. He took an interest in training the youths on military lines infusing in them the spirit of nationalism.[69]

Swami Kuvalayananda established *Kaivalyadhama Health and Yoga Research Center* at Lonavala and started a quarterly journal named '*Yoga Mimansa'* in 1924 to publish research on the therapeutical and physical cultural side of yoga. Kuvalayananda published a pamphlet in the journal's first issue where he discussed the objectives behind the foundation of Yoga Research Centre in detail. Interestingly, he saw in yoga the ability to bring about spiritual reconstruction in

[65] Manohor Laxman Gharote & Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala: The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 30.
[66]Joseph S. Alter, "Yoga and Physical Education: Swami Kuvalayananda's Nationalist Project,"*Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 3, no.1 (2007): 21.
[67] D. B. Kothiwale, *Sharirik Shikshaanacha Vikas- Part* II (Pune: Shri LekhanVachan Bhandar, 1965), 4.
[68] Swami Kuvalayananda's Recollections dated 29th July, 1956, in K.B. Mahabal, *Guruvarya Prof. Manikrao Yanche Charitra* (Nasik, 1957), 117-116.
[69] Manohor Laxman Gharote & Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala: The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 12-15 & 27.

society. He wished that social structure be premised upon a spiritual foundation so that economic, political, and even moral values were embedded in spiritual values.[70] Kuvalayananda thought this could be achieved only if yoga would be propagated in coordination with modern sciences and brought to everyday life. However, beyond this social cum spiritual ideal, as an early yoga guru, his real intention was to confirm the physical and mental benefits of classical hath yoga practices employing the modern sciences of physiology and psychology. As he expressed several times that being trained in yogic practices, he experienced abnormal phenomena - physical as well as mental that an average man cannot understand because they had no scientific explanations.[71] Therefore, he wanted to understand yogic phenomena on physiological, psychological, and pathological grounds. Kuvalayananda did not only extensively read classical yoga literature and works on modern psychology, physiology, anatomy, pathology but had contact with experts in modern medicine with the idea of finding a scientific interpretation of yogic practices. With this objective in mind, he performed several laboratory experiments in his Yoga Research Centre at Lonavala and published the findings in the journal- *Yoga Mimansa*. An extract from his pamphlet is worth quoting at some length, as it puts Kuvalayananda's argument of establishing coordination between Yoga and modern science in perspective:

> If the laboratory methods were used in investigating the yogic phenomenon, the results would not only enrich such sciences as Physics, Biology, Physiology, Anatomy, Therapeutics etc. but also would make it possible to reconstruct philosophy in many of its aspects. The truth discovered in this research would scientifically explain the method applied to spiritual and physical culture in Yoga would render it possible to determine the relative worth of these methods and the methods obtaining in other cultures of a similar nature. The yogic culture has also a therapeutical side which constitutes a system of naturopathy. The scientific study of Yoga would not only give a scientific basis to this system but also would show how it compares with other systems working in the same field.[72]

Kuvalayananda wished to scientifically explain the therapeutical side of yoga asanas that he believed can cure some of the health problems of the practitioner. Yoga practices of asana,

[70] Swami Kuvalayananda, "Towards Foundation and After- a Pamphlet, 10th June 1924,"*Yoga Mimansa*, Vol. 1, no. 1(October 1924): 304.
[71] Ibid
[72] Ibid., 312-313

mudras, kriyas, bandhas, and pranayamas were subjected to laboratory experiments, chemical, X-ray, microscopic and other tests. Some of the experiments that were conducted at *Kaivalyadhama Health and Yoga Research Center*and published in *Yoga Mimamsa* are as follows: X-Ray Experiments on Uddiyana (1924), Barometric Experiments on Nauli (1924), X-Ray Experiment on Nauli (1925), Madhavadas Vacuum (1925), Position of Colon during Nauliat a glance (1925), Blood pressure experiments on Sarvangasana and Matsyasana (1926), Blood Pressure experiments on Shirshasana, X-Ray Experiment on Dhauti (1926), Experiments on Intra-gastric pressure (1928), Pressure Experiments in Pranayama (1930), CO2 elimination in Pranayama (1930), O2 Absorption and Co2 Elimination in Pranayama (1933), and Alveolar Air Composition Experiments (1934).[73] The laboratory experiments done by Kuvalayananda investigated the effects of asanas on blood pressure and heart rate, and the physiology of pranayama helped remove many misconceptions about Yoga prevalent during those days. Thus the publication of Kuvalayananda's scientific experiments on different aspects of yoga in *Yoga Mimansa* brought to public notice the therapeutic application and physical cultural side of yoga.

It appears that the journal *Yoga Mimansa* was received very well. It drew the attention of Congress leaders, pubic intellectuals, scholars from Indian and foreign universities on the possibility of yoga as physical education and naturopathic therapeutics to treat diseases. Kuvalayananda's experiments on yogic postures through the digestive tube, manometer, and x-ray impressed Rabindranath Tagore and Jagdish Chandra Bose. Tagore wrote a letter through C. F. Andrews on Kuvalayananda's scientific experiments on yoga, the work he found *'interesting and worth further investigation'*, and the methods scientifically sound. J. C. Bose also praised the experiments and advised Kuvalayananda not to give up his research.[74] New York-based, The American School of Naturopathy journal *The Naturopath* observed about the Yoga Mimansa, *"In appearance, language and style it reminds one of the staid old London scientific quarterlies; the photographs and X-ray pictures with which it is abundantly illustrated also create the impression at first that one is dealing with a product of modern Western civilization instead of an*

[73] See, Swami Maheshnanda & Dr. T. K. Bera, *Abstracts and Bibliography of Articles on Yoga Part 1, Part 2 and Part 3* (Lonavla Pune: Kaivalyadhama S.M.Y.M. Samiti, 1999).
This thee volumes are a compilation of abstracts of the articles published in Yoga Mimamsa of Kaivalyadhama upto December 1998.
[74] Swami Kuvalayananda, "Towards Foundation and After- a Pamphlet, 10th June 1924," *Yoga Mimansa*, Vol.1, no. 1(October 1924): 304-306.

organ of Hindu culture."[75] Other distinguished figures who praised Kuvalayananda's research on yoga were Mahatma Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, Sankaran Nair, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. W. Burride, Professor of Physiology at Lucknow University, Dr. Leo M. Fleischer of Prague University, Dr. Wenger of California University, Dr. Bachi of Michigan University, and Dr.CitborDostalek, Director of Czechoslovak Academy of Science.[76] Motilal Nehru also showed his concern for developing yoga into a system of physical education and the broader circulation of Yoga Mimansa.[77] In a note dated 14 March 1930, Motilal Nehru wrote:

> I have been very much impressed with the work of Swami Kuvalayananda. He has opened out an entirely new field of research and has already shown that the different aspects of yogic culture and therapy can not only stand the fierce light of modern sciences but are well in advance of all that has so far been discovered in the West.[78]

Kuvalayananda's scientific experiments on yoga asanas and pranayama were also received well in western nations. In California, Dr. Caldwell of Caldwell Health Home found the effects of yogic poses and breathing seminal. Whereas, The Quest Society of London called Kuvalayananda's experiments *"systematic and practical study of Hath-Yoga by applying to it Western methods of observation with a view to demonstrating its raison d'etre and its high physical culture value."* Dr. Rissom, Professor of Physical Culture at Heidelberg University in Germany, also appreciated his experiments on yoga.[79] Yale University also showed an interest in scientific studies of yoga. In 1931 Department of Psychology of Yale University awarded K. T. Behanan (1902–1963) a Sterling Fellowship to conduct a scientific study of yoga in India under Swami Kuvalayananda.[80] Behanan worked on the scientific aspect of yoga at Health and Yoga Research Center in Lonvala and received his doctorate under the supervision of Walter R. Miles in 1934.[81] Based in part on his PhD thesis, he published an influential book, *Yoga: A Scientific*

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[75] "Naturopath, New York City, August 1925," in Manohor Laxman Gharote & Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala: The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 31.
[76] See, Some Appreciations (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama S.M.Y.M. Samiti, 1948) &R.V. Sathe, *Swami Kuvalayananda and His Mission* (Lonvala: Kaivalyadhama Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1975).
[77] Ibid
[78] "Pandit Motilal Nehru's Note," *Yoga- Mimansa*, Vol. IV, no. 1 (July 1930), 3.
[79] Manohor Laxman Gharote &Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala: The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 54-55.
[80] Kovoor T. Behanan, *Yoga A Scientific Evaluation* (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1937), xiii.
[81] K. T. Behanan supervisor, Walter Richard Miles (1889 –1978) was famous American psychologist and a president of the American Psychological Association.

Evaluation in 1937. This work, in particular, not only brought due recognition to the scientific side of yoga but also paved the way for scholarly, scientific, and psychic research in this field. The scientific study of yoga done under the supervision of Kuvalayananda as discussed in Behanan's book was featured favourably in international magazines like *LIFE*, *TIME*, and the *New York Review of Books*.[82] Another appraisal of Swami Kuvalayananda's scientific research in yoga came from Dr. Leo M. Fleischer from Prague who praised his works in follows words:

> You have set yourself the task of investigating and expounding the ancient Yoga doctrine in all its aspects (physical, mental and spiritual) by means of exact modern scientific methods, a stupendous and well-nigh superhuman task…Your Journal Yoga Mimamsa, a scientific Yoga Magazine published by you with X-ray photos and clear, systematic analysis of the Yogic phenomenon, reveals this secret domain of science to Western Scientific circles-more than that it became an authoritative text book on practical Yoga.[83]

It is worth mentioning that Kuvalayananda was also the yoga advisor of Mahatma Gandhi. When Gandhi was suffering from high blood pressure and other health issues in 1927, Kuvalayananda prescribed him the yoga therapy treatment. Gandhi took some time off from his public activities and went to Nandi Hills near Bangalore to consult Kuvalayananda, expressing interest in asanas and other yogic practices for his recovery. Kuvalayananda visited Nandi Hills on April 1927 to see him, and after conducting some tests, prepared a chart of yogic therapy to be followed by Gandhi. The treatment continued through correspondences as they exchanged many letters during this period. Kuvalayananda's prescription included a breathing technique called *ujjayi*, *shavasana* (corpse pose), *sarvangasana* (shoulder stand), massage of the spine and abdomen, and heart along with saline, enema, and dilutes milk. He clearly instructed the time duration for each asana and the angle to which they should be performed.[84] However, Gandhi did not get much benefits from the treatment and cast doubts on shavasana and abdominal and heart massage. His suspicion was not on the ability of yoga, instead, he doubts that either he was properly performing the asana at a degree instructed by Kuvalayananda or not and about the time

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See, W.R. Miles & K. T. Behanan, "A metabolic study of three unusual learned breathing patterns practiced in the cult of Yoga," *American Journal of Physiology* 109 (1934): 74-75.

[82] "Speaking of Pictures," *Life* (8–9. April 19, 1937) & "Yale's Yogin," *Time* (24. April 26, 1937).

[83] "Letter of Dr. Leo M. Fleischer to Swami Kuvalyananda," in *Some Appreciations* (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama S.M.Y.M. Samiti, 1948), 3.

[84] "Prescription for Mahatma Gandhi dated 5. 5. 1927," in *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. III, no. 3 (July 1927): 96.

duration of practicing asanas.[85] Despite not getting substantial results from yogic exercises, Gandhi still holds faith in yoga. In one of the letters to Kuvalayananda, he wrote:

> I have told you that in the physical application of Yogic exercises I propose to go by faith in you. Whilst I shall present my doubts to you so long as I do not understand your explanation, they shall be final for me. I want to give the practice of these exercises a full trial only because I regard them of all the method of medical treatment to be the freest from danger. You please send me further instructions, you may think desirable.[86]

Kuvalayananda very well knew that any lapse in the treatment of figures like Gandhi could have a severe blow for the reputation of yoga in general and on his own project of establishing yoga as a system of therapeutics treatment and physical education in particular. A close look at the correspondences between both reflects how cautious and serious Kuvalayananda was in Gandhi's treatment. In a number of letters, he tried to convince Gandhi of the utility of yoga postural exercises and asked him to follow his instructions properly. Gandhi's successful treatment through yogic methods was of utmost concern for him as it may lead to its popularization and acceptance in the larger public. On the other hand, if Gandhi's treatment fails, then there was a great chance of yoga losing the scope of naturopathy treatment and physical education.Kuvalayananda's letter to Gandhi, dated July 4, 1927, is worth here to be quoted as it brings out all his concern for yoga.

> I am anxious to see that you regain your lost vitality as much for your own sake as for the sake of the nation. But my greatest anxiety is to see that the results of your single case are counted as result of one case only and that no one tries to jump at any general conclusions on the strength of these results which are being affected by the peculiar circumstances of your life. Already the Yogashastra stands condemned at the hands of the educated people who do not want to give it hearing in its defense which is allowed even to the worst of criminals. I only want to bring to your notice the danger to which Yogashastra is likely to be exposed either for my miscalculations or

[85] For more on Mahatma Gandhi yogic treatment by Swami Kuvalayananda, see Manohor Laxman Gharote & Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala:The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 57-58, 64-65, 96-99 & Eliot Goldberg, *The Path of Modern Yoga The History of an Embodied Spiritual Practice* (New York: Inner Traditions, 2016), 97-99.

[86] C. P. Mehra, "Swami Kuvalayananda-Yoga Advisor of Gandhiji," in *Swami Kuvalayananda Birth Centenary Souvenir* (Lonavla: Kaivalyadham, 1984), 16-18.

> yours. So for God's sake, do not do anything that might lead to your own trouble or to the trouble of Yogashastra.[87]

Although Kuvalayananda wants to establish yoga as a system of naturopathy treatment, but his main concern regarding yoga was to develop it into a physical education system. For this purpose, he conducted many research on yogic postures and breathing exercises (asana and pranayama) from the physical culture point of view and published the reports in *Yoga Mimamsa*. Based on his studies of classical hatha yoga texts and experiments on various yogic asanas and pranayama, he proposed his own brand of yoga physical education. In addition to *Yoga Mimamsa*, his yoga manual written in two volumes with the title *Asanas, Part I and Part II* (1931 & 1934) significantly contributed in establishing yoga into the discourse of physical education in India. The experiments that Kuvalayananda has done on yoga poses proved so valuable that two provincial Governments of the time thought it desirable to take advantage of his knowledge on physical education.[88] However, before discussing his role in institutionalizing physical education as a discipline in educational institutions of India, a close look at his brand of yoga physical education is very important.

In an article, 'The Rationale of Yogic Poses' published in the October 1926 edition of *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kuvalayananda discusses what an ideal system of physical education should be. He described as many as five aims of physical education based on his physiological experiments. The first aim should be to secure the largest percentage of energy resulting from the smallest amount of energy spent undergoing the exercises. The second aim should be securing the maximum increase in the vital index. Explaining that the vital index of an individual is obtained by dividing his lungs capacity by his weight and the vitality of an individual mainly depends upon his lung capacity, he argued that physical culture should be graded according to the increasing effect in the vital index. The system which can show the most significant increase could be considered as the best physical cultue system. The third aim of an ideal system of physical culture, Kuvalayananda elaborated, should be building a healthy nervous system. He

[87] "Letter dated 4.7.1927 from Swami Kuvalayananda to Mahatma Gandhi," Manohor Laxman Gharote & Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala: The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 64-65.
[88] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body The Origin of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 115 & 203.

thought that of all the systems responsible for the health and activities of the human body, the nervous system is universally acknowledged to be the most important, and hence a sound physical culture system must have special provisions for nerve-building. A physical culture that takes care of endocrine and ductless glands and ensures the health of the body's excretory organs is considered the fourth aim. Then comes the exercises that take care of the circulatory systems. Kuvalayananda writes, *"Not only must the arteries, veins, and capillaries but also the heart and the vasomotor centers be looked to."* Thus, the fifth aim of physical culture was to take care of the circulatory, heart, and vasomotor centers. The final goal of physical education, according to Kuvalayananda, should be to develop the muscular systems.[89]

It is crucial here to mention that in most of the physical education systems of the hen time, either Western or indigenous, the exercises that build a muscular physique were given excessive importance. As against this practice, Kuvalayananda argued that muscles should not disproportionately be attended to. Though he acknowledged that well-built muscles give grace, health, and strength to the body, but at the same time, care should be taken to recognize the limits to which this be pursued. He explained through physiological science that muscles should never be expanded to the degree that would decrease the vital index and should be in proportionate balance with other systems and especially to the respiratory system.[90] Kuvalayananda demonstrated how far the aims of an ideal system of physical culture could be cultivated through the yogic poses. He did this by drawing comparisons between the yogic and other systems of physical culture. He conducted several physiological experiments and published reports in *Yoga-Mimansa* to show that the yogic system marked the characteristic features of the aim of an ideal system of physical culture. For instance, in an article- 'Yogic Poses and Blood Pressure' a detailed discussion was provided to show that yoga postural movements require the least expenditure of energy for being practised.[91] Whereas in another article titled, 'Blood Pressure Experiments on Sarvangasana and Matsyasana,' the effect of these yoga asanas on the circulatory system was reported. Taking the idea from experiments done in the circulatory system reported in medical journals such as the American Journal of Physiology, Edinburgh Medical Journal, and British Medical Journal, Kuvalayananda researched how yogic exercises

[89] "The Rationale of Yogic Poses," *Yoga Mimansa*, Volume II, no. 4 (October 1926): 259-263.
[90] Ibid., 263
[91] "Yogic Poses and Blood Pressure," *Yoga-Mimansa,* Vol. II, no. 2 (April 1926): 119-133.

control blood pressure.[92] Similar kinds of more experiments were conducted on different yoga asanas at Kaivalyadhama Health and Yoga Research Center at Lonavala. To mention few such experiments: *Blood Pressure Experiments on Sirshasana, CO2 Elimination in Pranayama, Appendicitis & Yogic Remedies* and *Can We Develop Mechano-Yogic Therapy?*[93] In Mechano-Yogic Therapy, Kuvalayananda proposed a system of treatment where physiological advantages of yogic exercises could be secured.[94] Apart from postural-based asana, he also published articles on other yogic practices, viz. pranayama, bandhas, mudras, and kriyas. In an article, 'Physiological Aspects of Meditative Poses and Pranayama' published in *Yoga-Mimansa* in October 1928, taking a reference from the classical yogic texts, Kuvalayananda described the different varieties of pranayama as mentioned in the texts and attempted to show that oxygen and nerve culture value involved with it.[95] In 1930, he conducted many laboratorial experiments on pranayama to bring it in conformity with modern physiology.[96]

Based on the scientific experiments done on different yoga practices, Kuvalayananda formulated a graded course on physical education that he named *Complete course of Yogic Physical Culture for the Average Man of Health* in 1926. His scheme included as many as eleven asanas, two bandhas, two mudras, two pranayamas, and one kriya.[97] He describes at great length the technique and benefits of all postures of his yogic physical culture. Later in 1930, he introduced a short course in yogic physical culture.[98] As his yogic physical culture programme acquired visibility, he composed a yoga handbook in two volumes entitled *Pranayama* and *Asana* in 1931 and 1933. In *Asana*, Kuvalayananda gave a detailed description of the technique of nearly every asanas that has a physical and cultural value. To make the description more appealing, each asana was fully illustrated. He offered his yoga handbooks on pranayama and asanas to the general public as well as to the students of physical education as a reliable and competent

[92] "Blood Pressure Experiments on Sarvangasana and Matsyasana," *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. II, no. 1(January 1926): 12-38.
[93] "Appendicitis & Yogic Remedies," Yoga Mimansa Vol. II, no. 1 (January 1926): 48-54; "Blood Pressure Experiments on Sirshasana," Yoga Mimansa Vol.II, no. 2 (April 1926): 96-116; "Can We Develop Mechano-Yogic Therapy," *Yoga-Mimansa*, Volume II, no. 4 (October 1926): 248-256; "CO2 Elimination in Pranayama," *Yoga Mimansa* Vol. IV, no. 1 (November 1930): 95-122.
[94] "Can We Develop Mechano-Yogic Therapy?" *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. II, no. 4(October 1926): 248.
[95] "Physiological Aspects of Meditative Poses and Pranayama" & "Pranayama" *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. III, no. 3 & 4 (July-October, 1928), 258-284 & 245-250.
[96] See, "Pressure Experiments in Pranayama," *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. IV, no. 1 (July 1930): 9-69.
[97] "Complete course of Yogic Physical Culture for the Average Man of Health," *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. II, no. 4 (October 1926): 288-292.
[98] "A Short Course in Yogic Physical Culture,"*Yoga Mimansa*, Vol. IV, no. 1(1930): 70-71.

guide.[99] The first and last chapter of *Asana* offers an idea of all the asanas and their functional benefits in scientific terms.[100]

Like Shri Yogendra, Swami Kuvalayananda, too, wished to prove the superiority of yoga over other physical culture systems and tried to locate yoga's antiquity. The discourse of physical education and its institutionalization in India was never a linear process as it involved rivalries among the different physical culture systems. Each party sought to portray its system better than the others. Max Sick (1882–1961), a German gymnast who developed the Maxalding system of bodybuilding through muscle control and author of *Muscle Control* (1910) and *Heath Strength and Will Power* (1919), supposed to have discovered the best system of muscle culture. Kuvalayanand, in a series of articles, refuted Max's claim on muscle culture. The cultural nationalism seems to overwhelm him when he proclaims that *"ancient savants of India who invented and formulated yogic exercises had a clear grasp of the principles that the Western physical culturist thinsk he is the first man to discover."*[101] The Western physical culturist he was referring to was Max Sick. Explaining that unlike Western physical cultures that generally pay attention to the external body, he argued that ancient yogic savants cultivated muscles for physiological perfection and never thought it desirable to develop a system of the western type.[102] However, Kuvalayananda was open to the developments taking place in physical education in the West and put forward his claims on yogic physical culture in a scholarly fashion. The extract below from one of his articles from *Yoga-Mimansa* demonstrates the point.

> The comparisons incidentally introduced between the Yogic system and the system of the West, should not give the impression, that we do not appreciate the efforts of the Western physical culturists in the field of physical culture. We have a high regard not only for their industry and organization, but also for the way in which they are bringing their scientific knowledge to bear upon the art. What we want to suggest is that their systems are suffering from some serious

[99] Srimat Kuvalayananda, *Asanas, Part I* (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama SMYM Samiti, 1933) & Srimat Kuvalayananda, *Pranayama* (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama SMYM Samiti, 1931).
[100] See, "Scientific Survey of Yogic Poses," in Srimat Kuvalayananda, *Asanas, Part I* (Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, Bombay), 130-152.
[101] "Rationale of the Yogic Exercises,"*Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. III, no. 1(January 19289), 45-52 & "The Rationale of Yogic Poses," *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. III, no. 2, (April 1928): 121-125.
[102] Ibid.,121

> disadvantages from which the Yogic system is entirely free and that the Yogic system can stand comparison with them very favourably![103]

Kuvalayananda's Yogic Physical Culture drew the attention of physical culturists in India, and the West. The Governments of Bombay and United Provinces appointed him to work on Physical Education Committees of their respective provinces.[104] In 1927 the Government of Bombay appointed a committee to inquire into the problems of physical training in schools. Kuvalayananda was appointed a member of this committee. In a report submitted to the Government, the Physical Training Committee found yoga physical education as systematized by Kuvalayananda as per the principles of modern physical education. The Provincial Government of the United Provinces, in the summer of 1928, deputed to the Lonavla ashram their Deputy Director of Public Health, Dr. A. Sousa. With a view on the possibility of introducing yoga in schools and colleges of the province, Sousa studied yogic bodily movements from the scientific and educational points of view. Founding yogic postures that satisfied the standards of the scientific physical education system were recommended to the schools of United Provinces.[105]

In 1937, when the Bombay Presidency Government formed a Physical Education Committee to recommend program of physical training for primary and secondary schools, Kuvalayananda was appointed the chairman of the committee.[106] At the beginning of his career, Kuvalayananda, with Professor Manikrao, started a girl's school named *Kanya Arogya Mandir* at Baroda. Indigenous physical activities, collective gymnastics or mass exercises, and commands in Hindi developed by Manikrao were taught at Kanya Mandir. Inspired by Professor Manikrao, Kuvalayananda introduced mass participation in yogic exercises. Based on his experiences, he wrote a textbook on yogic exercises titled *Yaugik Sangha Vyayam* in 1936. In this yoga manual, he proposed the scheme of yoga physical education as suited to schools and colleges.[107] The Bombay Physical Education Committee recommended the programme of physical training as offered in this text and practised in Kanya Arogya Mandir. As the Physical Education Committee chairman, Kuvalayananda also defined the ideal of physical education in the following words:-

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[103] Ibid., 125
[104] Kovoor T. Behanan, *Yoga A Scientific Evaluation* (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1937), 251
[105] "The Kaivalyadhama A Review of its Activities," *Journal of Ayurveda*, Vol. VII, no. 9 (March 1931): 348.
[106] *Report of the Physical Education Committee 1937* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Oriental Press, 1938), 1-2.
[107] See, Swami Kuvalayananda, *Yaugik Sangha Vyayam* (Lonavala: Kaivalyadhama Ashram, 1936).

> The ideal of physical education is not merely to build up a powerful body, but also to evoke and foster those personal and civic virtues in pupils which would make them better citizens whether they choose to be civilians or soldiers in their after-life. Leaders of physical education all over the world recognize the closest association of body and mind, and came to the conclusion that the education of one cannot be divorced from the education of the other. No physical education can have any abiding value unless it contributes also to mental and moral education. According to this ideal, therefore, physical education and intellectual education are complementary to each other and must be integrated in such a way as to form an organic whole.[108]

To achieve this ideal, the committee recommended a two-fold plan. First, to provide physical education teachers to secondary schools and second, to introduce physical education as a compulsory subject in all schools. For the training of physical instructors, 'Training Institute for Physical Education' at Kandivli was proposed where a year course for graduates was thought to be offered for the training of physical educationalists. Other recommendations suggested by the committee were creating the Board of Physical Education in Bombay Province, the appointment of Inspector for inspecting physical education, and recognising gymnasia for grant in aids. Besides, Kuvalayananda strongly advised the revival and inclusion of indigenous physical culture activities in schools. Thus, he called for the inclusion of indigenous games in the physical education programme along with yoga. In his comprehensive physical education programme for schools, the activities he proposed to include were *dandas*and *baithaks*, *kusti*, *lathi*, *hututu*, *atyapatya*, *kho-kho*, *yoga asanas*, *pranayama's*, *logoria*, *jambia*, Indian clubs, *mallakhamb*, and rhythmic movements as in folk dances like *tipri* and *lezim*.[109]

For institutionalization of yoga physical education in schools, Kuvalayananda recommended appointing specialist assistant masters or instructors of physical training on the staff of each normal and central training school. He also suggested sending village schools teachers for summer vacations of two months duration to undergo the Yogic courses under the Director of hisYoga Institute. He thought a minimum period of two months training would be required for an instructor who has already qualified in some form of modern physical education. After or

[108] *Report of the Physical Education Committee 1937* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Oriental Press, 1938), 15.
[109] Ibid

simultaneously with the spread of the yogic bodily exercises in village schools, he thought that it would be more practical to introduce yoga in urban schools.[110]

The Government of Bombay in 1945-46 again felt the necessity of physical education committee to plan schemes in conformity with the post-World War II reconstruction programmes. Following the government resolution, the educational department of Bombay appointed a Physical Education Committee in April 1945 to report on the general state of physical education in the province. The committee once again elected Swami Kuvalayananda as the chairman of the Board of Physical Education.[111] The committee under Kuvalayananda, taking into consideration the fact that extreme physical education in many nations led to militarization and threatened world peace, set up the ideal of International Citizenship. Thus, the syllabus framed by the 1945-46 committee included activities that can develop social and civic virtues which could foster national and world citizenship.[112]

Moreover, Kuvalayananda also proposed organizing an All India Board of Physical Education that could co-coordinate physical education works of different provinces.[113] Accordingly, after the independence of India, the Government of India formed the 'Central Advisory Board of Physical Education and Recreation' in 1948. In its draft of the First Five Year Plan, the National Planning Commission took up the matter of physical education and appointed a committee to offer advise on the establishment of a National College of Physical Education. Kuvalayananda, who was appointed a chairman of this committee as well, suggested upgrading the Training Institute for Physical Education into a National College of Physical Education. Considering the relative merits of yoga postural and breathing exercises from the psychological, physiological, social, and educational points of view, it was included in the syllabus of the college.[114] In sum, it can be say that Swami Kuvalayananda as a yoga guru revived and transformed classical hatha yoga into the modern physical education system and played a pivotal role in the institutionalization of physical education in India.

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[110] Manohor Laxman Gharote & Manmath Manohar Gharote, *Swami Kuvalyananda: A Pioneer of Scientific Yoga and Indian Physical Education* (Lonavala: The Lonavala Yoga Institute, 2019), 111-112.
[111] *Report of the Physical Education Committee 1945-46* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1947), 2-3.
[112] Ibid., 11-12
[113] Ibid., 89
[114] See, A *National Plan of Physical Education and Recreation*, Prepared by The Central Advisory Board of Physical Education and Recreation (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1956).

Bhavanarao Pant Pratinidhi (1868-1952): Promoting Surya Namaskar as a Physical Education

Surya Namaskar or Sun Salutation, a sequence of twelve connected asanas (postures) performed in one set, is regarded as one of the most essential exercises in yoga. However, as against the popular perception that beholds Surya Namaskar as an ancient yogic practice, the history of Surya Namaskar as we performe it today can only be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Earlier though, there was a reference to physical exercises resembling surya namaskar; nevertheless, it was Bhawanrao Pant Prathinidi (1868-1952), the ruler of a small princely state of Aundh, who modernized the ancient practice of sun adoration and developed it into the modern form of physical education that today is known as Surya Namaskar. The origin of surya namaskar exercises is uncertain. Most probably it developed from the Vedic ritual of honoring sun as the source of energy. Yoga scholars have pointed out that none of the classical hatha yoga texts viz. Patanjali's Yoga Sutra, Hatha Yoga Pradipika, Shiva Samhita, or Gheranda Samhita mentions any postural-based practice called surya namaskar.[115] Interestingly enough, not even Shri Yogendra and Swami Kuwalayanand considered surya namaskar as yogic exercise and therefore it was not included it in their respective scheme of yogic physical education.

Swami Kuvalayanand, in an article 'The Rationale of Yogic Poses' published in Yoga-Mimansa in July 1926, discussed surya namaskar as non-yogic physical culture. He referred to it as 'a type of exercise' which is current in Maharashtra and is claimed by its advocates to be an 'entire system of physical culture.' He further writes that *"this system of exercise has been in vogue in Maharashtra at least for a few centuries and is very much favoured by the upper classes of the society. In the eighteenth century it was not unusual to find youths making as many as twelve hundred prostrations every morning. Among the youths were to be seen some of the Brahman rulers of the land."*[116] Whereas Yogendra calls surya namaskar as 'indiscriminate' mixing of a sun salutation with yoga as 'ill-informed'.[117] Dattatraya Chintaman Mujumdar of Baroda from 1933 to 1948 published ten volumes of a Physical Culture Encyclopedia in Marathi and traced surya namaskar exercises to Samartha Ramdas (1608-1651), a seventeenth-century saint whowas

[115] Joseph S. Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 23.
[116] "The Rationale of Yogic Poses," *Yoga-Mimansa*, Vol. II, no. 3 (July 1926): 212.
[117] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 180-181 & 205-206.

also the guru of Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. Ramdas in the latter half of the seventeenth century revived and spread namaskara in every nook and corner of Maharashtra. He was a man of such formidable strength that he used to practice 1200 namaskar daily.[118] According to Mujumdar, in the nineteenth century, zeal for namaskar gradually deteriorated, and many people practically neglected it, until Bhavanrao Pant Pratinidhi Raja of Aundh, who with the inspiration of Shrit. Balasaheb Mirajkar, the late Raja of Miraj, systematized the science of namaskar, analysed it and put it in a book on the namaskar-exercises with illustrations.[119]

Bhawanrao Pant Pratinidhi's engagement with the physical culture began in his childhood when he studied wrestling and practice of *jor*, *baithaks*, and Indian clubs under well-known professional wrestler of Punjab Iman Uddin. As early as 1897, he read about famous German body builder Eugen Sandow[120] and purchased his equipment and books. For ten years, he practised regularly according to Sandow's instructions, with the result that the chest measurement remained the same, while that of the waist and abdomen showed a reduction.[121] Bhawanrao's disillusionment with Sandow's bodybuilding regime led him to look for another system that he found in Surya Namaskar. From 1908, he regularly and systematically performed surya namaskar every day with Bija Mantra and Vedic hymns. The result of continuously doing surya namaskar for years, in Bhawanrao'swords, was *"remarkable lightening of body, buoyancy of mind and a general feeling of youthfulness which had be experienced to be understood.*"[122] Sharing his and others' experience of the benefits of performing surya namaskar for twenty years, he proclaimed that they never suffered fevers, cold or cough, and other ailments even though his state was subject plague inoculations four times. His years of experience with the sun adoration exercise qualified him to speak with a measure of authority that*"of all the systems of physical culture, the Surya Namaskars stand first and foremost in promoting vigorous bodily and mental*

[118] D. C. Majumdar, ed.*Encyclopedia of Indian Physical Culture- A Comprehensive Survey of the Physical Education in India Profusely Illustrating Various Activities of Physical Culture, Games, Exercises Etc., as handed over to us from our Fore-fathers and Practiced in India* (1950), 453.
[119] Ibid
[120] Eugen Sandow was the German bodybuilder, who pioneered modern bodybuilding. He visited India in 1904-05 and performed in many cities that were received very well by the Indians. His visit to India greatly influenced the course of physical culture in India.
For more on Eugen Sandow and India, see, Carey A. Watt, "Cultural Exchange, Appropriation and Physical Culture: Strongman Eugen Sandow in Colonial India, 1904–*1905*," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 33, no. 16 (2016): 1921-1942.
[121] Bhavanrao Shrinivasrao, *Surya Namaskars (Sun – Adoration) For Health, Efficiency & Longevity* (Aundh: Published by R.K. Kirloskar, 1929), 80.
[122] Ibid

health and in endowing one with that equanimity of mind which is not ruffled even under extreme conditions."[123]

To popularize surya namaskar, Bhavanrao Pant Pratinidhi, from the second decade of the twentieth century, wrote articles in the Marathi Magazine named, *Purusharth*. Those articles were widely appreciated, and in 1924 the editor of *Purusharth* compiled all of his writings and published them as the first book on Surya Namaskar. This monograph explained the fundamental principles and method of doing surya namaskar. The book went through three editions in a short time. The success of this Marathi work on surya namaskar played a pivotal role in establishing sun adoration as a system of physical culture in India, as there was a growing interest in this exercise all over the country by the late 1920s. This convinced Bhavanrao Pant to bring produce a manual on Surya Namaskar in English and other languages as well. Inquiries and requests from non-Marathi districts for an English edition poured in, and he wrote an illustrated book with the title, *Surya Namaskars (Sun-Adoration) for Health, Efficiency & Longevity* in 1928. The first edition was received so well that all copies were sold out within a few months of publication, and Pant published the second revised and enlarged edition in 1929. The technique and modus operandi of performing the namaskar exercise was fully and thoroughly explained in this edition with forty illustrations, twenty-one tone pictures and nineteen pen and ink ones, all made in Aundh. Surya Namaskar popularity in other parts of India can be discerned from the fact that Bhavanrao'sbook was translated into as many as seven languages, viz. Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese by 1929. Remarkably enough, intending to give the public an idea of the namaskar exercise described in the book, Pant even made Namaskar Cinema Film, exhibited in different towns, cities, and colleges.[124]

The Surya Namaskar was made popular in the West through the works of Louise Morgan, a women journalist working for a British newspaper *News Chronicle*. Morgan interviewed Pratinidhi and even learned sun adoration under his instruction.She also wrote a series of articles on sun salutation exercises for the News Chronicle. In 1928, she compiled all her interviews of Bhavanarao Pant and published it into a book titled, *The Ten-Point Way to Health- Surya Namaskars*. Morgan herself had written the introduction of the book. The text was taken so well

[123] Ibid., 80-81
[124] Ibid., 9-10

in Britain that by 1938, the fifth revised editionof the published. This edition also contains the new information on surya namaskar, Morgan got from Shrimant Appasabib Pant, son of Bhavanrao Pant Pratinidhi, then studying in London. The Ten-Point Way to Health- Surya Namaskar informs that a section of people in Britain tried this exercise after reading Morgan's articles on sun adoration in News Chronicle and received many benefits from its practice.[125]

Thus, Surya Namaskar was established as one of the important physical culture in India and even became popular in England. The Hindi translation of Bhavanrao Pant's Surya Namaskar went through the fifth edition by 1937, reflecting the popularity of sun adoration exercise in the physical culture circle. Bhagwati Prasad Pandey of Allahabad, who translated Pant's *Surya Namskaars (Sun-Adoration) for Health, Efficiency & Longevity* into Hindi, mentioned that translation comes out because a sun salutation exercise was getting much attention in northern India. Pandey also presents surya namaskar as an ancient physical culture of India. He called it the creation of ancient sages of India, who he argues were the first to experience the interrelation between physical and spiritual health.[126] Giving references from ancient literature, Pandey shows that ancient sages knew the effect of the mind on the body. He further explains how *pranayama* and *mantra* produce positive energy in the internal organs of the body. Thus, he rightly said that western physical cultures are backward as they do not take cognizance of men's mental, religious, and spiritual needs and solely consider the physical development of the body.[127]

Bhavanrao Pant Pratinodhi also dealt in great length with the limitations inherent in Western physical exercises over surya namaskar. Explaining the disadvantages of other modes of physical training, he explains that surya namaskar develops the limbs, muscles, and internal organs of the body and promotes mental and spiritual development. Arguing that all games and physical culture systems, whether Western or Indian, requires grounds, apparatus, play appliances, costumes, and companions, surya namaskar, on the contrary, involves nothing like that and canbe performed in a short time, anywhere without necessitating a companion.[128] He also

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[125] Louise Morgan, ed. *The Ten-Point Way to Health- Surya Namaskars* (London: J. M Dent & Sons Ltd. 1938), 11.

[126] पंडित भगवती प्रसाद पांडेय, *सूर्य-नमस्कार अथवा स्वास्थ्य, सामर्थ्य तथा दीर्घायु प्राप्ति के लिए सर्वोत्तम व्यायाम-पद्धिति*, पांचवाँ संस्करण (Allahabad: Printed and Published by Krishna Ram Mehta at the Leader Press, 1937), 3.

[127] Ibid., 3-4

[128] Bhavanrao Shrinivasrao, *Surya Namaskars (Sun–Adoration) For Health, Efficiency & Longevity* (Aundh: Published by R.K. Kirloskar, 1929), 15.

pointed out that surya namaskar develops externally in shape, size, and strength and brings into play the limbs and organs that improve the internal functions, endurance, and power of resistance to disease because of the vigorous and healthy circulation of the blood. This unique feature of the sun salutation exercise, led him to comment that no other single exercise can approach the Surya Namaskars in this respect.[129]British journalist Louise Morgan, also being convinced of the benefits of surya namaskar, argued that this physical culture has a healing, strengthening, and revitalizing effect on the entire being- on mind, body and spirit. She also believed in the superiority and antiquity of surya namaskar over western physical cultures as she remarks that*"We westerns are a young people. The East goes back a very long way!"*[130]

What Shri Yogendra and Swami Kuvalayananda did in the case of yogic postures and rhythmic breathing, Bhavanrao Pant Pratinodhi did the same for surya namaskara. He, too, tried to confirm the health benefits and educational value of surya namaskar employing the modern theories of medical and hygienic science together with physical education. He warned about blind imitations of the west. He lamented that those having *"full faith in the Mantra-Shastra and studied our books, such as Rudra Yamala, Patanjali's Yoga Shastra etc., were not able to make their teaching acceptable by presenting it in terms of modern medical and hygienic science."*[131]Thus, to bring surya namaskar in accordance with modern physical culture, he repeatedly referred to the works of physical culturists of the New Thought Movement of America, Natural Cure Movement, and Physical Culture Movement. Bhavanrao Pant strategically appropriated statements of renowned physical culturist's viz. Frank Channing Haddock, Auguste Rollier, Bennarr Macfadden, and J. P. Muller to validate his own arguments on the claims of Surya Namaskar. For example, AugusteRollier (1874-1954), pioneer of Heliotherapy (sun therapy) who founded 'School in the Sun' in Switzerland, on the theory that sun lights cure certain diseases, was taken as proof of the scientific value of sun adoration. He argued that such a sun therapy was known to ancient sages of India.[132] However, Bernarr Macfadden (1868-1955), an American physical culturist who combined body-building with nutritional and health theories, was most cited by Pant. Macfadden's magazine *Physical Culture*launched in 1899 that had a

[129] Ibid., 53
[130] Louise Morgan, ed. *The Ten-Point Way to Health- Surya Namaskars* (London: J. M Dent & Sons Ltd. 1938), 14-15.
[131] Ibid., 63-64
[132] Ibid., 73

worldwide circulation played a crucial role in spreading the gospel of health and fitness in countries like India and China.[133] Bhavanrao Pant quoted from many issues of *Physical Culture* to show that surya namaskarsatisfactorily fulfills the principle enunciated by BernarrMacfadden.[134] The assertion that Hindus, since the ancient times, have mastered to control the mind and the body through an advanced system of physical culture based on strengthening the muscles and nerve simultaneously attempted to be given credibility by BernarrMacfadden book *The Book of Health* (1926). Bhavanrao Pant's *Surya Namaskars for Health, Efficiency & Longevity* quoted from Macfadden's book that read as follows:

> The nerves like all other parts of the body, can only be strengthened and invigorated by constant use, and to this end all exercises are useful. In fact, scientific instructors now-a-days argue that the most important function of exercise is the strengthening of the nerves. To ensure this the mind must be thrown into the exercise, the movements must be consciously directed, so that the mind is actually transferred, as it were, for the time being into the parts of the body; which are being exercised. Roughly speaking, the nerves are the intermediate link between mind and muscle. It is along their course that the mandates of the will are carried. Hence the more consciously we direct the muscular energies, the stronger will the nerves become. This point is now insisted upon very strongly by army instructors. Physical exercises are given only partly to strengthen the muscles. They are designed at the same time to strengthen and invigorate the nerves.***The Hindus, who have studied bodily control for many centuries, contend very strongly that man should be master of every action of his body. They carry this to the extent of controlling the action of the heart, the digestion, the secretions, &c, which are normally unconscious and beyond our control.*** (emphasis mine)[135]

It is essential to mention the controversy that doing yoga and surya namaskar makes a person a Hindu, or its practice is against the tenet of any religion appeared in the late colonial period. But the way Bhavanrao Pant Pratinidhi deals with this controversy was indeed remarkable. Some non-Hindus opposed surya namaskar on the supposition that it is fundamentally a Hindu religious rite. Bhavanrao without denying the religious appearanceof surya namaskar argued that

[133] See, Ernst, Robert, *Weakness Is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr Macfadden* (Syracuse University Press, 1991) & Adams Mark, *Mr. America: How Muscular Millionaire Bernarr Macfadden Transformed the Nation Through Sex, Salad, and the Ultimate Starvation Diet* (New York: Happer Collins, 2009)
[134] Bhavanrao Shrinivasrao, *Surya Namaskars (Sun–Adoration) For Health, Efficiency & Longevity* (Aundh: Published by R.K. Kirloskar, 1929), 116.
[135] Ibid., 40

hygiene, breathing, and bodily movements were always a part of Hinduism's sacred duty. He vividly explained that rules of health are intrinsic to the Hindu way of life, and Hindus regard practices like bathing and deep breathing as religious duties, as they give cleanliness, health, and energy. To put an end to this irrational controversy around sun salutation, he questioned, "*Is bathing or deep breathing then ever taken objection to by atheists and non - Hindus? We must, with discretion, make a clear distinction between things essentially religious and those, which being good in themselves, are for that reason included in daily religious duties, and are, therefore, onlyapparently religious."*[136] Thus, Bhavanrao Pant tried his best to resolve this meaningless controversy, appealing that healthy habits should never be abandoned on the ground of religious faith and dogma. On the matter of objection over chanting the Bija mantras and Vedic hymns while performing surya Namaskar, he suggested non-Hindus to substitute it with any vowelsounds of their choice. This he hoped would smooth the non-Hindus' unnecessary opposition towards surya namaskar and led them to the path of health, efficiency, and longevity.[137]

P. A. Inamdar, Minister of Education at Aundh, considering the necessity of a healthy nation and sun salutation fulfilling all the physical needs in a suitable manner, called it a national system of physical culture. He attended the All Asia Education Conference held at Benares in December 1930, where he delivered a speech titled, 'National Health and Surya Namaskars' to popularize this exercise.[138] Thus, as the sun salutation exercise became universally popular in India, Bhavanrao Pant thought to make it a part of the educational curriculum as physical education. He purposely omitted the Vedic hymns from the practice so that all may perform surya namaskar unhesitatingly- Hindus, Parsees, Christians, Muslims, etc. He then tried to convince people about the benefits of physical education in general and surya namaskar in particular. To make surya namaskar a part of school education, Bhavanrao Pant passed a resolution that made it compulsory in all the primary, middle and high schools of the Aundh State. He expected rulers of other princely states and educational authorities in British India to adopt the sun salutation exercises as physical education. Aundh state schools never ignored outdoor games, sports,

[136] Ibid., 79
[137] Ibid.
[138] P. A. Inamdar, Minister of Education, Aundh. "National Health and Surya," In Report of All Asia Educational Conference (Benares, December 26-30. 1930), edited by D. P. Khattry (Allahabad: The Indian Press Limited, 1931), 618-621.

wrestling, gymnastics, athletics, swimming, and riding, and a daily compulsory surya namaskar was performed singly or en masse all the year-round in order to lay a lasting foundation of normal health and strength. Pant found namaskar exercise very appropriate for girls. Looking at the deplorable health of Indian girls, he contemplated in *"a scientifically designed course of physical culture like our Surya Namaskars"* the remedy.[139] Therefore, he recommended making the namaskar exercises compulsory in all schools and colleges of India with a firm belief that its practice would grant health, strength and endurance to the students.

Conclusion

The importance of traditional physical culture lies in the possibilities they offered for cultural and national assertion. Besides, they also develop the inner, private space as a basis for opposition to colonial imperialism. Thus, yoga philosophical system of ancient India was transformed into a physical culture regime in the first half of the twentieth century. In introducing neo-Vedanta philosophy before the world, Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda interpretedHatha Yoga, the physical side of yoga, as an essential bodily practice meant for preparing oneself for higher spiritual realization. However, it was with Shri Yogendendra and Swami Kuvalayananda, yoga entered the physical education discourse, and its professionalization commenced. They popularized yoga through writing manuals that removed many misconceptions associated with it among the educated class of the time. Moreover, their respective brand of yoga based on classical yoga literature and scientific experiments done on postural and rhythmic breathing, helped establishing it as a a system of physical education and naturopathy treatment. Kuvalayananda, in particular played a significant role in making yoga part of the school's curriculum.

Surya Namaskar or Sun Salutation also emerged as one of the major component of the physical education discourse in the 1920s through the efforts of Bhavanarao Pant Pratinidhi, who was the ruler of the princely state of Aundh. He developed the ancient Vedic ritual of honoring the sun as the source of energy into surya namaskar and promoted it as an Indian strength-training physical education system as an alternative to Western gymnastics and callisthenics. Firmly believing that namaskar exercises grant health, efficiency, and longevity to practitioners, he made it

[139] Louise Morgan, ed. *The Ten-Point Way to Health- Surya Namaskars* (London: J. M Dent & Sons Ltd. 1938), 14-15 & 66-68.

compulsory in the schools of Aundh and appealed to others to introduce it as physical education in the educational institutions.

In conclusion, the emergence of yoga and surya namaskar as a physical education system in late colonial India was part and parcel of a movement aimed at the revival of indigenous exercises backed by nationalist sentiments of the time. Educated Indians wanted to reclaim their lost masculinity by reviving the indigenous physical traditions. Yoga, in particular, came as a physical culture system that not only claims to grant a healthy body and mind through simple bodily postures but at the same time also gave much-needed confidence to nationalists that India had a developed system of body practice since the ancient times. Shri Yogendra, Swami Kuvalyananda, Bhavanarao Pant Pratinidhi, other yoga gurus, viz. T. Krishnamacharya (1888-1989), K. V. Iyer (1897-1980), S. Sundaram (1901-1994) and Indra Devi (1899-2002) developed postural based yoga and rhythmic breathing practices into a system of physical education in the first half of the twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

Physical education in the modern sense of the term had its roots in the nineteenth-century European interest in the cultivation of the body to regenerate the moral and physical characteristics in the age of nation-state building. As discussed in the introductory chapter, Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723-1790), Friedrich Guts Muths (1759-1839), Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852), and Adolph Spiess (1810-1858) in Germany, Pehr Henrik Ling (1776-1839) and Lars Gabriel Barnting (1799-1881) in Sweden, Franz Nachtegall (1777-1847) and Niels Bukh (1880-1950) in Denmark, Archibald Maclaren (1820-1884) in Britain, George Barker Winship (1834-1876), Dio Lewis (1823-1886), and Dudley Allen Sargent (1849-1924) in America were instrumental in introducing physical education into schools, colleges and universities. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth-century physical education as an organized discipline was firmly established in the educational institutions of Europe and America. Introduced in different countries under different socio-political circumstances, physical education had one thing in common all over the world. Its introduction was based on the premise of cultivating "a healthy mind in a healthy body". This proposition was intrinsic to most educational philosophies that developed in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the goal of 'disciplining the body' of the citizenry in national interest was another essential feature of physical education philosophies. However, as discussed in the chapters of this thesis, 'disciplining the body' had different meanings, interpretations, and ideals in the age of colonialism and nationalism.

Scholarly works on body politics in colonial India have shown that throughout the colonial period, the Indian body in colonial discourse was characterized by the stereotypical attributes of effeminacy, effeteness, languorous, etc. Chapter 1 discussed the colonial construction of a discourse of the effeteness of the Indian body that was employed to justify Indian subjugation and legitimization of their rule. This dominant discourse persisted till the end of the colonialism. However, this discourse was very complicated as it involved a set of patterns of reconfiguring physical hierarchies of natives from time to time. The reconfiguration of hierarchies was an outcome of the changing relationship between colonizers and colonized against the backdrop of

the changing political and economic imperatives of colonial rule. Thus, initially, English-educated Bengalis referred to as Babus were the objects of the colonial discourse of femininity, but by the turn of the nineteenth-century the dichotomy of the masculine colonizer and the effete Indian embraced the entire country. The emergent Indian anticolonial political leadership was labeled as effeminate. After all, English-educated middle-class Indians were leading the political agitation against British rule. By the beginning of the 20th century the national movement had taken a great leap forward. Therefore, the physique of Gandhi, in particular and middle-class Indian leaders in general, became a matter of ridicule for late colonial officials. This colonial discourse of the Indian body disqualified the supposed martial and warlike Indian races from taking government responsibility on the ground that they were uneducated and undisciplined.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, educated Indians simultaneously invested in and contested the colonial discourse of the effeminacy of their body. This was manifest in the politics of collaboration and contestation. As there was a shift in the politics of Indian leaders from collaboration to criticism of specific colonial policies, social and quasi-politicized Indians, despite being convinced of their effeteness, endeavored to decipher the causes responsible for their condition. They critically examined the literary-based English educational system that took no consideration of their body and created a society that regarded physical exertion as beneath their dignity. The belief that *"If you study (read and write), then you would become a nobleman/respectable person. If you play, then you'll become spoilt"* seems to have crept into the minds of Indians through colonial education.

There was also a revivalist tendency among educated Indians evoking an imaginary of a golden past of physical culture. They strategically employed a trope of decline that explained India's civilizational decline in different aspects of life, viz. political, social, economic, and the physical. Such arguments were directed towards a demand for physical education in India's educational system and the revival of indigenous physical culture, emphasizing the importance of strong bodies. To a large extent, physical culture both in and outside the indigenous schools, must have declined over the passage of time and was neglected, especially by the English educated class following the political, social and economic decline of the country. However, Indian physical culture of club swinging acquired popularity in Britain and America by the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus, the colonial construction of the Indian body was deeply problematic.

From the 1850s, an idea of education based on the intrinsic relationship between the body and mind became part of the discourse of education in India. Broadly, this trend can be attributed to the educational developments and reforms taking place in Europe where physical training, along with intellectual and moral education, had an increasingly important place in educational philosophies. Hereafter, inspired by such educational philosophies, English-educated Indians seen as effeminate by the colonial regime raised the subject of the necessity of physical education in India. A class of Indians emerged who were critical of the colonial educational system asking for science, technical, agricultural, and physical education in India. Though the demand for physical education lagged behind science, technical, agricultural, and university education in the general discourse of education in India, nevertheless, from time to time, there appeared a voice for physical education as well.

Modern educated Indians like Soorjo Coomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty, Babu Kisary Lal Sircar, Kally Kumar Das, and Abdus Salam in Bengal made a demand for physical education. Chuckerbutty as early as 1854 thought that mental culture, combined with physical education, would produce results in India as significant as in any part of Europe. Salam, on the other hand, described the object of physical education to preserve health and life, which constitutes the basis of other structures, such as intellect, wisdom, piety, wealth, power, rank, and frame. In Madras and Bombay, many educated Indians talked about the need for the introduction of physical education in India. For instance, S. Satthianadhan, a Cambridge graduate, argued to devote at least an hour each day for sports in school and colleges so that students could avail themselves of the advantages of physical education. In Bombay, Muncherjee Framjee Patell, not only warned of the baneful effects if physical culture continued to be neglected in India but also explained the importance of physical education through physiological science. It is interesting to note that most of the educated Indians considered the importance of physical education in the light of modern discoveries of physiology. Sections of Indian society ascribed the superiority of England in particular and Europe in general to their physical education system. It is quite apparent that the scheme of physical education and sports that educated Indians proposed in late nineteenth century drew a great deal from their experience and study of the system of physical education developed in the West.

Colonial educators such as Mary Carpenter and H. L. P. Wynne catalysed the discourse of physical education in India and influenced educated Indians on the matter. Carpenter's opinion that want of physical education in India would be *"permanently injurious to the physical development of the race"*[1] and Wynne's argument that physical education developed the student's presence of mind, the decision of purpose, and self-reliance; the character attributes she believed necessary for the regeneration of any nation. This idea had a significant impact on the Indian intelligentsia. However, colonial administrators like Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had different concerns regarding the introduction of physical education in government schools and colleges. He was more concerned about improving the physique of the colonized subjects for administrative ends rather than sought to strengthen their body for race regeneration or had any intention of providing physical education for educational ends.

Public schools and independent agencies like Young Men Christian Association had more complex and entangled rationales for introducing physical education in India. Colonial educators and administrators associated with English public schools in India made emphatic efforts to transform the effete, docile, and undisciplined body and mind of Indians into robust, virile, and obedient bodies. 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. English public schools were established in India on the model of Public Schools of England, where a great deal of importance was attached to athleticism and sports. 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., the imperial order.

The American-dominated YMCA mediated and shaped the process of disciplining the Indian body in very crucial ways. Though initially YMCA's physical education programme in India led by J. H. Gray aimed at religious conversion, but under the leadership of H. C. Buck, YMCA reoriented their programme towards shaping a new social order employing physical education.

[1] Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India Vol. II* (London: Longmans, Green, And Co., 1868), 124.

The scientific and educational theory of physical education developed at Springfield suited the discourse of education in India. With its focus on training responsible citizens, the YMCA's physical educational programme integrated Western pedagogy of team sports with indigenous physical culture of India. The objective was achieving wider health and societal improvement that also incorporated hygiene, sanitation, and medical examination. Buck thought that physical education and team sports not only resulted in good health and a strong body but inculcates in pupils civic and social virtues of kindness and goodness, fairness and justice, sympathy and forgiveness, brotherliness', freedom, orderliness, equality, team spirit, discipline and respect for rules, devotion and obedience to the leader and the host of other qualities considered essential to good citizenship. To fulfill such a goal, the YMCA College of Physical Education was established at Madras in 1919 with H. C. Buck as its principal. It admitted graduates to a one year's course in physical education and granted its own diploma which was recognised by the Education Department of the Madras Government. An undergraduate was admitted to a two years' course for the certificate examination. Teachers who took the diploma or the certificate from this institute found employment as physical training instructors in schools in India and elsewhere.

Physical education, in conformity with general education, became a part of the movement of national education aimed at demanding an education that was denied to Indians by the colonial government. Thus physical education was not only demanded but also became an integral part of educational philosophies of almost all major nationalist educationalists of the first half of the twentieth century. Annie Besant, Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sri Aurobindo, Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee and B.S. Moonje deliberated on physical education in relation to the task of nation building. They all envisaged physical education to provide the environment, facilities and the guidance to enable the individual to develop his capabilities in the interest of the nation. The purpose of physical education was to make children physically fit to establish a stable, enlightened citizenship capable of performing social, vocational and moral obligations incumbent upon citizens.

Annie Besant was one of the early educationalists to weld physical education with the national education discourse. She emphasized the need for India to develop a national spirit in order to stake its place among the nations of the world. To develop national spirit, she thought that the

body of students should be strengthened though the proper provision of physical training in schools. Physical education was also an essential part of Sri Aurobindo's educational philosophy, what he called- Integral (*purna*) education. As an educationist, he encouraged physical education at his ashram school at Pondicherry. Aurobindo explained the value of sports, arguing that sporting activities not only improved the health, strength, and fitness of the body but also developed discipline, morale, and sound character of the students. Whereas Lala Lajpat Rai who considered the matter of physical education in India as a national problem of the first magnitude, contemplated physical education for the progress of race, citizenship, and nation. Associated with educational movements in India, he had extensively studied educational philosophies and systems of Western nations, especially of Britain, Germany, and America, along with Japan and wrote a book entitled *The Problem of National Education in India* in 1918. The book has an entire chapter, 'The Place of Physical Education,' that discusses the objectives and ideals Rai envisaged for physical education. Based on American physical education, he proposed a scheme of physical education for India that included physical training of the students with an elaborate system endowed with a careful provision for health examination, which included-a medical, mental, and physical inspection of the pupil.

The physical education of Indians occupied an important place in the idea of national education of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee. Malaviya not only promoted physical training of students in Banaras Hindu University which he established in 1916 but was pioneered establishing University Training Corps (UTC) and the scout movement in India. Both were considered educational instruments for educating the body and mind by Malaviya. Mukherjee, on the other hand, thought that India could not advance unless it could turn out men capable of shouldering the burdens of self-government and defence. For national defence, Mukherjee was also in favour of imparting some military training to students. He recommended some form of a drill or physical exercise to be made part of the school curriculum, and the colleges were asked to introduce compulsory drill or games. However, it was with B.S Moonje that military training of Hindu youths formally began. For the purpose, he established Bhonsala Military School at Nasik in 1937. Moonje's objective was to bring about the military rejuvenation of the Hindus; so that the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial classes amongst the Hindus may be eradicated and Hindus may be enabled to supply soldiers for the defense of their homeland without any caste distinction.

Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda endeavored to spread yoga philosophy in the modern world. In introducing neo-Vedanta, Swami Vivekananda and Swami Abhedananda defined and interpreted yoga to suit the interests of modern industrial society. Neither intended to establish Hatha Yoga, the physical side of yoga into a system of physical culture, as for them, it was just the means of preparing oneself for higher spiritual realization. Nevertheless, they did talk about health benefits inherent in the practice of hatha yoga postural bodily movements. However, it was with Shri Yogendra (1897–1989) and Swami Kuvalayananda (1883-1966), yoga truly entered into physical education discourse, and its professionalization commenced. Both yoga gurus, through popular writings, helped remove prejudices and misunderstandings attached with yoga among the educated class of the time. Their work appears to have revived the old claim of the Yogic physical culture that besides preserving health and developing physique, it was also a system of physical education and naturopathy treatment.

Kuvalayananda, in particular, had been a member of many Physical Education Committees of different provinces, and played a significant role in making yoga part of the school's curriculum. The Kaivalyadhama Institute established at Lonavala played a pivotal role. The United Province Government deputed in 1928 an officer of the Public Health Department to visit the institute. His report considering yoga in the educational curriculum was published by Government. The UP Government had also invited him, early in 1932, to give a demonstration of his methods before a class of selected teachers assembled at Lucknow. Besides, Kuvalayananda was also appointed chairman of Physical Education Committee appointed by Government of Bombay in 1937 and 1945. As chairman, he took into consideration that extreme physical education in many nations led to militarization and threatened world peace. Thus, he set up the ideal of International Citizenship as the ultimate goal of physical education.

Surya Namaskara or Sun Salutation emerged as one of the major contenders in physical education discourse in the 1920s. Through the efforts of Bhavanarao Pant Pratinidhi (1868-1952), who was the ruler of the princely state of Aundh, surya namaskara became a full-fledged system of physical education. Disillusioned by Eugen Sandow's bodybuilding scheme, he adopted surya namaskar and promoted it as an Indian strength-training physical system and an alternative to Western gymnastics and calisthenics. Importantly enough, he passed a resolution that made surya namaskar compulsory in the schools of Aundh and appealed to other princely

states and the British government to introduce it as a system of physical education in the educational institutions of India.

The emergence of yoga and surya namaskar as a physical education system in late colonial India was part and parcel of a movement aimed at the revival of indigenous exercises backed by the nationalist sentiments of the time. Educated Indians wished to reclaim their lost masculinity by reviving indigenous physical traditions. Yoga, in particular, came as a physical culture that not only granted a healthy body and mind through simple bodily postures but at the same time also gave much-needed confidence to nationalists that India has had such a developed system of body practice since the ancient times. Shri Yogendra, Swami Kuvalyananda, Bhavanarao Pant Pratinidhi, with other yoga gurus, viz. T. Krishnamacharya (1888-1989), K. V. Iyer (1897-1980), S. Sundaram (1901-1994) and Indra Devi (1899-2002) developed postural based yoga and rhythmic breathing practices into a system of physical education in the first half of the twentieth century.

Thus, physical education became a part of the educational curriculum by the end of the period of colonial rule. The debates and discourses discussed led to the formulation of policies regarding the provision of physical education in schools, colleges and universities of colonial India. At the policy level, it was the Hunter Commission of 1882 that first recommended physical training in the education system of British India. It recommended physical development by encouraging native games, gymnastics, school drills, and exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.[2] Following the enactment of the Universities Act of 1904, the Saddler Commission (1917-19) was appointed to study the condition of the secondary education that needed to be improved in order to improve the standard of university education. This commission inquired into the question of physical training and for opportunities of physical exercises and training proposed gymnasiums and grounds for colleges.[3] Then in 1929, the Hartog Committee submitted its report on the growth of education in British India described the state of physical education in different provinces of British India.[4] The Central Advisory Board of Education in a report on

[2] Report of the Indian Education Commission (Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Press, 1883), 127/296-297

[3] Health and Physical Development of students, in Report Volume XII (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1919)

[4] See, Review of Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Committee (Delhi: Printed by the Manager Government of Indian Press, 1929), 118/141/151/174.

Post-War Educational Development in India expressed the conviction that opportunities for civil and social training should be given in schools and colleges inside as well as outside the classroom. Thus, recreational activities, hiking, scouting, dance, outdoor games and sports were suggested for boys and girls studying in schools and colleges.[5]

From the late 1920s onwards, many exclusive conferences and committees on physical education were appointed by provincial governments of British India. The object of these conferences and committees was to discuss matters pertaining to the improvement of physical education by recommending measures to be taken for the provision of physical education in schools and colleges. Director of Public Instruction of Madras Presidency proposed a conference on physical education that was held on 14th and 15th of October 1927. It published a report discussing various aspects of physical education.[6] Two years later, the Government of Madras appointed a committee on physical education that submitted a definite recommendation for the improvement of physical education in secondary schools for boys in Madras presidency.[7] In 1927 a Physical Education Committee was appointed in Bombay with Swami Kuvalyananda as one its members. This committee made some useful recommendations regarding the establishment of a Board of Physical Education, and the training of physical education teachers.[8] In 1937 when the Congress ministry was formed in Bombay, a minister of education appointed a committee to advice government on the question of physical instruction in schools. This committee suggested physical education as a compulsory subject in all schools, revival and inclusion of indigenous physical culture in schools and establishment of an institute at Kandivli for training of teachers of physical education.[9] As a post-war reconstruction scheme, Bombay government once again appointed a committee to report on the state of physical education in the province with Kuvalyananda as its chairman. A full-fledged College of Physical Education was founded at Kandivli. On the recommendation of this committee, Bombay University instituted a Faculty of

[5] *Post War Educational Development in India. Report by the Central Advisory Board of* Education (Shimla: Printed by the Managers, Government of India Press, 1944), 83-87.
[6] See, *Report of the Conference on Physical Education* held at Madras on the 14th and 15th October 1927 (Madras: Printed by the Superintendent Government Press, 1928).
[7] *Government of Madras Law and Education Department*. G.O. No. 111, 15th January 1929, 1-16.
[8] *Report of the Physical Education Committee 1927* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1928).
[9] *Report of the Physical Education Committee 1937* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Cental Press, 1938).

Physical Education and offered a degree course in physical education. The Bombay University also encouraged post-graduate research in physical education.[10]

Government of Central Provinces and Berar and United Provinces also constituted a Physical Uplift Committee to review the facilities and arrangements in respect to physical education. They considered the ways and means to assist local bodies in organizing physical training schemes in their respective schools. The committees also suggested the modified form of training in physical welfare activities of all teachers in normal schools; institution for hosting refresher courses for teachers serving in schools. Besides they considered simplifying the syllabus of physical training for various grades of schools and the enforcement of compulsory physical education for all the students.[11] While the Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and Assam governments also passed resolutions regarding the provision of physical education in schools and colleges of their respective provinces and appointed committees on physical education to recommend policies the matter.[12] After India became independent, the question of physical education was taken up more seriously and several committees and educational commissions appointed to address the issue of physical education.

The limitations of this study could be that reports on physical education as referred to above were not looked into to examine the process of institutionalization of physical education in colonial India. The Legislative Council Debates of different provinces of British India viz. Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar, Punjab, Sind, Assam and Orissa could serve as an important source for future studies on institutional history of physical education in British India. The subject of physical education was debated in the legislative councils and they passed resolutions on the subject from time to time. Separate case studies of distinct universities could be done to explore University Training Corps (UCC). Besides the history of the scout movement in India also needs to be explored. These sources could be used in future research on institutionalization of physical education in colonial India.

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[10] *Report of the Physical Education Committee, 1945-1946* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1946).

[11] *Report of the Physical Uplift Committee. Central Provinces and Berar* (Nagpur: Government Printing, C.P. & Berar, 1938) & "Physical Culture and Physical Education," in H. N. Wanchoo, *Studies in Indian Education* (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1934), 114-135.

[12] See, *Physical Education in schools and Madrasahs*, Education Department (Education). File No. 13-P-114 of 1934. Nos. 1-19 (West Bengal Archives, Kolkata).

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