

The Story of English in India

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Introduction

The Story of English in India is a fascinating story of power and resistance, of invasion and absorption, and of authority and subversion; it is as absorbing as any historical novel. The book outlines the growth and development of English in India, with a view to redefining the aims and goals of teaching English in post-Independence India. It is also meant to create an awareness and an in-depth understanding of the impact of English and English education—their positive as well as negative effects—on the Indian subcontinent. From a symbol of colonialism and imperialism, the English language has become a neutral tool of communication in the new millennium—a global gold mine.

The history of English in India is inextricably entangled with the politics of the Empire, both political and economic. The English language and English literature were central to the cultural indoctrination and transplantation effected through English education. An understanding of the following is provided in this book.

- ◆ How, and with what motives, English and English education were introduced in India
- ◆ How, over the years, English has evolved into the lingua franca of urban India
- ◆ What the role of English was during the struggle for India's independence
- ◆ How, during the freedom struggle, Indians subverted the language from the inside, by using it for purposes other than those for which it was intended by the rulers
- ◆ How the English language has affected India's languages and its culture

- ◆ How English is threatening their very existence
- ◆ How English has brought about immense possibilities for English-knowing Indians in the 'Info-Age', particularly after the IT revolution
- ◆ How the vast majority of the population is yet to reap the benefits of English

The impact of economic globalization has changed the role of English in India. Contemporary India seems to have separated the English language from the English rulers, and the country has shed its colonial complexes towards English. The nation has come to terms with English, and Indians have understood that, with globalization, English has become an economic necessity, and that they have the 'English advantage' over many other countries like China, Japan and Germany. Shall we thank the colonial rulers for introducing English and English education in India? Can we say that India's unity and Indian nationalism are the by-products of English education? The spread of English has started affecting the semi-urban and rural areas of the country, and there is an increasing demand for the teaching of communication skills in English to all. 'English for the masses and not just for the classes' is the new slogan heard everywhere. Will the spread of English result in linguistic globalization and cultural colonization? Will the English 'tidal wave' sweep away Indian languages and Indian heritage? Such issues are the concern of the people of India.

The Story of English in India raises several interesting issues that are worth thinking about. This book is a must for all teachers and students of English. All the important historical documents concerned with the teaching of English in India are included in the volume, to make it more informative. The book will also be extremely useful to anyone interested in the dynamics of the power of English and English education in India. The sources of material in the book are very old and varied, and therefore it has not been possible to trace them all.

We sincerely hope that a full paper on 'English in India' becomes a compulsory subject in the programmes offered at the postgraduate level in Indian universities soon. We also hope to rekindle nationalistic feelings through the history of English in India, so that the Indian society as a whole benefits from English and English education.

Happy reading.

Authors

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1

The Exploration and Transportation Phase

1.1 The Pre-Transportation and Exploration Phase (up to 1813)

1.1.1 Waves and Waves; Layers and Layers

The Indian subcontinent, comprising what are now called India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, has absorbed several innovations in the past.

EARLY SETTLERS

The Aryans came and settled down in the subcontinent. Sometime in the remote past (probably during the second half of the second millennium BC), the Aryans must have entered India. They were part of a group that must have lived in a compact area (the exact location of which is still a riddle), speaking Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, Greek, French, German: a group called Indo-European, Indo-Aryan or Indo-Germanic languages. The Aryans emigrated to India and brought with them their language, Sanskrit or Samskrity (which meant ‘carefully made or perfected’)—a literary language known as the ‘high-speech’. Later, the Prakrits (i.e. the vernaculars or the dialects) developed, and the most important one, Pali, became the language of Buddhist and Jain thought and literature. Sanskrit became a representation of the Vedic civilization and the Prakrits developed into several languages of the common people—Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, and so on. They were written in the Devanagari script. Sanskrit became the language of the learned class.

Even before the Aryans came to the subcontinent, there was a glorious civilization that belonged to a highly developed community flourishing in the Indus Valley. The beginnings of

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this civilization are still a riddle—some trace it to a Sumerian origin and some to a non-Aryan, pre-Aryan or perhaps Dravidian origin. The Aryan wave added one more layer to what was already existent in the Indus Valley.

The early Aryans, who had settled down in the Indus Valley, soon grew in number. This started waves of migration towards the east and the south. The pre-Aryan people too moved towards the east and the south. This long process of Aryanization of the Indian subcontinent is depicted in the epics like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The Indus Valley (now called the Punjab) receded in importance and the Ganges valley became the 'Madhyadesa'.

Literature in Sanskrit deals with dance and drama, philosophy and grammar, history and politics, astronomy and astrology, algebra, medicine, and jurisprudence. There were many important scholars and thinkers like Bharata (*Natyasastra*), Kalidasa (*Sakuntala*, *Meghaduta* etcetera), Valmiki (*Ramayana*), Vyasa (*Mahabharata*), Subandhu (*Vasavadatta*), Panini and Aryabhata.

Then came the Persians. As a result of the expansion of the Persian empire, about the middle of the sixth century BC, emperors Cyrus, Darius and others, leading expeditions against India, came up to the Punjab and Sind. These expeditions, in a way, cleared the way for Alexander's invasion of India. After the overthrow of the Persian empire, Alexander came up to the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Beas, and went back in the autumn of 326 BC. So, Persian and Greek influences are also found in the art and architecture of the Indian subcontinent.

Great revolutions were taking place in the area of religion as well. The search for alternatives to ritual-ridden Hinduism opened the path for religious revolution. During the fifth and fourth centuries BC, Mahavira and Gautama Buddha presented humane religions, open to all. Jainism and Buddhism represented a revolt against polytheism and the spiritual claims of a certain class; these religions were open to all irrespective of age, sex or social status; and they used the vernaculars of the locality and

not Sanskrit, as their language. These religions added more layers to the cultural heritage of the Indian subcontinent.

Alexander's exit, in a way, paved the way for the Mauryan Empire; a great empire built by a succession of emperors like Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka and others. Harsha was the last Hindu emperor of Northern India; after his death, his empire split into a number of small kingdoms.

Contemporaneous with the imperial Guptas, the Vakataka dynasty ruled over central India. It was a vast Hindu empire. The early Chalukyas of Badami, a dynasty founded by Pulakesin and his son Vikramaditya (AD 680) were also Hindus and they developed the 'Chalukyan style' in art. From AD 1200 the Chalukya line gradually declined and they became mere local chiefs in the Konkan region. However, this kingdom of the Deccan left its layers of culture on Indian civilization.

The southern part of the peninsula was not very much affected by the invasions from the northwest, but the waves had their ripples everywhere. The kingdoms of South India, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Pallavas, the Cheras, and the Hoysalas have all left their lasting imprints on art, architecture, music, literature, fine arts, religion and many other areas enriching Indian heritage.

Though there were countless kingdoms, all of them, starting from the Aryans, were settlers; their languages, like Sanskrit, Pali and others, were the settlers' languages; their literature was the settlers' literature. Most of the invaders of the subcontinent settled down in it and contributed to the multiple layers of its culture and heritage. This was the position till the tenth century AD.

The reports by some Arab merchants of the fabulous wealth and luxuries of India, and the eastern expansion of the Arab empire brought the Arabs to the frontiers of India. Repeated conquests were attempted upon the coast of India with the aim of plunder and not settlement. The Rajput chiefs fought these invaders but the interaction had its effects on Muslim culture. All the scientific elements in Arab scholarship in philosophy,

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mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry etcetera were borrowed directly from India during the eighth and ninth centuries.

LATER SETTLERS

Early Muslim invaders crossed the frontier in AD 1000. The lure of plunder brought them to Hindustan and their raids were repeated with remarkable frequency. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni made as many as seventeen raids between AD 1000 and AD 1021 and carried away immense booties of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls. He ransacked the great temple of Somnath and looted the accumulated treasures of the ages that he found in the temple. The subcontinent faced Muslim invasions once again in the twelfth century. Muhammad of Ghori did more or less the same as Mahmud of Ghazni. Only in AD 1200 was the Delhi Sultanate established, with the Slave Dynasty.

The history of the Muslim progress in the Indian subcontinent can be divided into two periods:

1. The period of early conquests and administrative experiments
2. The period of imperial glory and the achievements of the grand Mughals from Babar (1526–30) to Aurangzeb (1658–1700)

The Mughal Empire reached its highest point of expansion, stability, solidarity and prosperity under the great Mughals like Akbar and Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan's reign is sometimes referred to as the 'Golden Age of the Mughals'. Though the early contact of Hinduism and Islam was neither pleasant nor peaceful, the perpetual enmity between them could not continue for long, and the people of the two faiths soon started living as neighbours. At the same time, the two religions were strong, well-developed and virile; each with a marked individuality of its own; and a fusion of one with the other was impossible. Aurangzeb's policy of religious fanaticism, combined with other factors like administrative inefficiency, the invasions of the

Persian king Nadir Shah, the raids of the Afghan king, Ahmed Shah Abdali, and the rise of European power, caused the decline of the Mughal empire. Finally, the triumph of the British sealed its doom. The Mughal Empire was regarded by the vast majority of its subjects as essentially an alien power, and hence, in spite of its Indian setting, could not evoke in the people the feelings of intense loyalty and patriotism that the Rajputs or the Marathas had succeeded in doing. As a result, the Muslim rulers remained part-settlers.

However, the Muslims contributed their share of layers to the cultural heritage of India. Persian was the language of the court and the language of literature; Arabic was the language of their religion, Islam. As a result of their interaction with the languages of India, a new linguistic entity, called Urdu, was born, adding a new layer to the linguistic heritage of the subcontinent. The word Urdu is Turkish and it means 'army' or 'camp'; the name of the language came into vogue only in the late eighteenth century. The language originated in Lahore when the troops of Mahmud of Ghazni 'settled' down there in AD 1027. To begin with, it was old Punjabi with a mixture of Persian; it then spread to Delhi and intermixed with Hindi. The Urdu language represents a linguistic process by which the invaders gave up their own language in favour of the local speech of the subcontinent. The ornate part of the language came from Persio-Arabic words and the daily idiom from Hindi discourse. The Urdu language, which is now the official language of Pakistan, is used only in the Indian subcontinent. Urdu uses the Persio-Arabic script and Hindi, the Devanagari script. The basic vocabulary and the rules of grammar in Urdu and Hindi are more or less the same.

1.1.2 The Advent of Europeans

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

In 1498, Vasco da Gama discovered a new sea route to India. This resulted in the diversion of the European trade with India to the maritime States of Western Europe like Portugal, France

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and England. First came the Portuguese; they established a number of colonies or settlements along the west coast of India. Francisco d'Almeida was the first Portuguese viceroy in the East. His object was to gain control over the African coast and the Malabar ports, divert the export trade of India and East Africa to the Cape of Good Hope route and establish Portuguese monopoly over trade in the Indian Ocean. He planned commercial supremacy based on naval supremacy and wanted to turn the Indian Ocean into a Portuguese sea. Albuquerque, his successor, was the greatest Portuguese viceroy in the East, and laid the foundation for Portuguese authority in India by conquering places like Goa, which was to serve as a fine naval base and colony in India. At the close of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese met with no resistance from any state along the Malabar coast; on the contrary, those states, torn by mutual jealousy, only welcomed the European power. The Pope, Alexander VI, granted the monopoly of trade with the East to the Portuguese in 1493. Portugal had a clear field for nearly a century. However, they soon had to face powerful opposition from Holland and England.

The Dutch, a hardy race of adventurous maritime people, snatched the commercial supremacy of the East from the Portuguese and rose to prominence by the end of the sixteenth century. They established their toehold in Masulipatnam (now, Machilipatnam) in 1605 and built a fort in Pulicat in 1609. They established factories along the Coromandel coast, Gujarat and Bengal. They captured Nagapatnam from the Portuguese. But Dutch power in India was largely jeopardized on European battlefields. The wars of the Dutch with the English and the French during the second half of the seventeenth century drained their resources and weakened the naval strength of Holland.

THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH

The English and the French were the two other powers that competed for a share of the rich trade of the Eastern seas. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 gave a powerful stimulus to the maritime enterprise of the British. Queen Elizabeth

signed a charter on the last day of the year 1600, granting trading rights to the British East India Company, a trading body founded by a group of enterprising merchants of the city of London. The French appeared on the Indian scene long after the English. The French East India Company was formed in 1664; they established factories at Surat in 1668 and at Masulipatnam in 1669. Pondicherry was founded in 1674 and it became the capital of the French settlements in India. The French had also established factories in Mahe, Karaikal, Chandranagore (now Chandannagar) and other places. But the French could not achieve appreciable success in commerce because of the superior British enterprise.

SETTLERS AND COLONIZERS

Unlike the Aryans and the later Muslims, who settled in India and made it their home, the Europeans remained only as colonizers.

The word 'colony' in English, according to etymological dictionaries, was borrowed from Latin and used in the sixteenth century to mean, 'farm, settlement, landed estate etcetera. From it were derived other forms, during the seventeenth century, such as 'colonized', 'colonial', 'colonist' and 'colonization' with emerging European colonies all over the world. In contemporary English, colonialism is the practice of having or keeping colonies in a distant country and by implication the conquest and control of other people's land and wealth. By extension, it means the exploitation of the dominated group by the dominating group. In political terms, colonialism is a practice by which a powerful country controls less powerful countries and uses their resources in order to further its own interests, wealth and power. In that sense, Europeans were colonizers and not settlers.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH

The commercial rivalry between the English and the French led them on to armed conflicts, and the two East India companies—British and French—were also involved in the international

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conflicts of their respective countries. But, in the Indian subcontinent, the British East India Company's commercial superiority and better financial position placed them in an advantageous position—the English company was a private corporation, vigorous and self-reliant whereas the French company was a subordinate department of the government. The success of the English in Bengal, which furnished the materials of war and a firm base of operation, gave them an additional advantage.

The French were confined to the region of Madras. The most important cause for the success of the English was their command of the sea. The appearance of Robert Clive in India marked a turning point in the struggle between the English and the French; by his daring and timely military operations, he destroyed the French forever in India. The English victory in the Battle of Plassey in the famous grove of Plassey in 1757 sealed the fate of the Mughal rule and, in a sense, all of India, and laid the foundations of the British Empire in India. Clive also defeated the Dutch, both by land and by water, and the supremacy of the English was established.

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Fort William in Calcutta in April 1772 and tried to evolve order out of chaos. It was a new government of the Company and Warren Hastings was appointed to restore the authority of the government. As Lord Macaulay said, 'the only quarter in which the British lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the case of Hastings.'

Warren Hastings, the second founder of the British Empire in India, had a genuine admiration for Indian culture in general, and Indian philosophy and literature in particular. He was fond of the Bhagavad Gita and the great epic, the *Mahabharata*, and initiated translation of these works. He tried to stimulate the interest of the Europeans in Indian culture. It was during the period of his office that Sir William Jones, an Englishman who served as a Junior on the Bench of the British Court in Calcutta, postulated a thesis that became the basis for what came to be

known as philology, or later, historical linguistics. Another Englishman, Wilkins, translated the Gita, and Major Rennel, the inventor of printing types for Persian and Bengali scripts, authored the *Bengal Atlas*. Hastings was also responsible for the founding of the Asiatic society of Bengal, which has established a record of service in the cause of Indian history and culture. A solid foundation was laid for British colonialism, which continued for the next one hundred and seventy-five years.

1.1.3 The Charter

“I’ll have them fly to India for gold,
Ransack the ocean for orient pearl!”

[*Doctor Faustus*, I.i]

These are the words of Dr. Faustus in the play of that name written by Christopher Marlowe and entered in the Stationer’s Register the same year that the East India Company (EIC) was formed. On 31 December 1600, Queen Elizabeth signed a Charter granting permission to a group of enterprising merchants of the city of London to trade with India. This trading body was formed for a specific purpose: the EIC and its agents were only ‘birds of prey and passage’, as Burke described them; gold was their watchword and their ‘prey’ was lodged in India. In England they were known as ‘Indian Nabobs’. The EIC remained only ‘jageerdars’ under the Mughal sovereign till 1759. The plunder in Plassey gave them political and military strength, and with the Diwani Act of 1765 (by which the Company was to ‘stand forth as Diwan and collect the revenue in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa through their own English collector’), the EIC became the virtual ruler of Bengal.

The violent ‘shaking of the pagoda tree’ and the wasteful extravagance of the ‘Indian Nabobs’, who squandered their ill-gotten wealth created a stir in England. The people questioned whether a body of British merchants had any lawful right to govern a foreign territory without being controlled by the British government. It became necessary to place the doings of the EIC under national control, since it was felt that it was making

huge profits in India. At the same time, the Company was forced to borrow repeatedly from the Bank of England because it had no financial discipline and its agents traded privately without its knowledge. The Regulating Act was passed in 1773 and it was the starting point of the British administration in India. The members of the Court of Directors of the EIC were to be elected and a Governor General of Bengal was to be the supreme authority with a casting vote. Later, in 1784, William Pitt, the younger, as the Prime Minister, introduced the Pitt India Bill, paving the way for a system of double government by the Company under the control of a minister directly responsible to Parliament. This system lasted till 1858 when the Crown assumed the sole and direct administration of India.

Before 1800, the EIC imparted English education only to the children of the European employees of the Company and some Anglo-Indians. During the early years, the Company did not pay much attention to the education of Indians. The pathshalas the madrasahs, the Persian schools called makhtabs, other institutions teaching through Sanskrit and other Indian languages, the village schools and 'domestic instruction' formed the basis of what the British termed 'indigenous education through the vernaculars'. Only by the end of the eighteenth century, when the EIC brought the Indian subcontinent (except the Punjab and Sind) under their control, did they start thinking about the education of the 'natives'. As the ruling power, the Company thought of civilizing the 'natives'. As Lord Macaulay later said in the House of Commons, to trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. Educating the natives was only a strategy and the ulterior aim was to create a feeling of awe and respect for Europeans among Indians, as this was essential both to the commercial interests of the British Empire in India and England, and to the spread of Christianity in India and the world.

Missionaries became active in the eighteenth century and their aim was proselytization, and the means to that end were the Indian languages and English. For example, William Carey, an

English missionary who was a cobbler in an insignificant village in England, brought out a Sanskrit grammar and an English translation of the *Ramayana*, and started a newspaper in Bengali in 1818, perhaps to attract the native population.

As Reena Chatterji says in *Impact of Raja Rammohan Roy on Education in India*:

The early converts to Christianity came mostly from the lowest stratum of the Hindu society. They were generally illiterate and, as reading the Bible was held to be essential for salvation, 'the Missionaries were required to establish schools in order to teach the new converts to read and write. For the same reason', they had to start the printing press and to print the Bible in Indian languages. They had to start vocational schools in order to provide them a source of livelihood and also due status in society. (Chatterji, 1983)

1.1.4 The First Blueprint

The first blueprint on English education in India was prepared in 1792 by Charles Grant, a director of the East India Company. Charles Grant, described as the Christian Director of the EIC, was also a member of the evangelical party known as the Clapham Class or Sect which had on its roll such men as Zachary Macaulay, the father of Lord Macaulay, and William Wilberforce, a champion of the poor. They were men of religious zeal, keen on spreading Christianity through English, known as the 'Christian tongue' in the early stages of its introduction in India. For an Englishman of that period, acceptance of the Christian faith meant not just the acceptance of a religion with a set of beliefs and rituals, but the cultivation of the mind with the knowledge of the cultural, economic and social achievements of the community.

Charles Grant came to India in 1767 and he wrote his treatise called *Observations on the State of the Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals and the Means of Improving it* in 1792. In this text he suggested a policy of bringing about change in the Indian society—moral, social, and mental—through the English language, Western education and

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Christianity. Naturally, the missionaries found some support in Charles Grant, who came to India as an employee of the company; he is sometimes described as the 'father of modern education in India'. He says:

In considering the affairs of the world as under the control of the Supreme Disposer, and those distant territories providentially put into our hand, is it not necessary to conclude that they were given to us, not merely that we might draw an annual profit from them, but that we might diffuse among their inhabitants, long sunk in darkness, vice and misery, the light and benign influence of the truth, the blessings of well-regulated society and the comforts of active industry? In every progressive step of this work, we shall also serve the original design still so important to this country—the expansion of our commerce. (Ling, 1968: 351)

The evangelist in Grant equates God with the protector of British commerce. The missionary in him equates truth with the English language, Western education and Christianity.

Charles Grant stayed in India from 1767 to 1790 with a break during 1771–3. In 1792, he wrote:

The true curse of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindus err because they are ignorant and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their children and this remedy is proposed from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us. (Syed, 11)

So, with full conviction, Charles Grant recommended:

1. The introduction of English as the medium of instruction, in a Western system of education that included literature, natural sciences, mechanical inventions etcetera, to remove the superstitious beliefs prevalent among the heathens of India
2. The adoption of English as the official language of the Company and the Government for easy communication between the rulers and the ruled

Grant very clearly stated in *Observations* that the Christian faith, through the medium of English, is the only remedy for all the evils in Hindu society and for the liberation of the Hindu mind. He states:

Wherever this knowledge would be received, idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions would fall. The reasonable service to the only and infinitely perfect God would be established: love to Him, peace and goodwill towards men, would be felt as obligatory principles. (Syed, 1895: 113–14)

The English language and the Western system of education were only the means for a cultural and religious conquest of the Hindus, the ultimate aim being trade and political power. The master and the pastor were to be used as tools to bind the Empire. So, Grant pleaded that the British Government forcefully introduce English in India.

Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay, William Wilberforce and others continued to argue relentlessly in favour of English education. Wilberforce moved the following resolution in 1793 before the British Parliament.

That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British domains in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement. (Richter, 1908: 149–50)

It had an operative part too that said:

The Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and committed to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as school masters, missionaries, or otherwise. (Richter, 1908: 149–50)

1.1.5 The Orientalist versus the Anglicist

Wilberforce's resolution was too explicit in its motives and too clumsily worded to be accepted in toto. The House rejected the operative part of the resolution because the British did not want a cultural confrontation with Indians. The resolution also went against the policy of Warren Hastings who, as Governor during 1772–85, had been keen on respecting Indian traditions. His main aims had been consolidation and conciliation. He founded the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781 and the Benares Sanskrit College in 1791, to encourage Oriental learning, both Muslim and Hindu.

The founding of these educational institutions marks the beginning of what is known as the Oriental School of Education Policy in the Government of British India. Even in the Company, one section thought that overt support of the missionary enterprise in India would be counterproductive and it was better to follow the policy of non-interference. On the basis of political considerations, the Court of Directors accepted the views of the Orientalists. The expenditure incurred by the running of the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College was to be borne by the Government of the Company as a matter of obligation by way of charity and conciliation. The general feeling of one section among the Directors of the Company was that 'the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed' (Sharp: 17). In addition, there was also a lurking fear about the dangers of educating the subjects in the colonies. A prominent member of the Parliament said: 'We have lost our colonies in America by imparting our education there; we need not do so in India too' (Mukherji, 1951: 32).

The resolution moved by Charles Grant and his friends, though partly rejected, had one positive effect. In principle, it recognized, for the first time, the Company and the British

Government's obligation to the people of India in the field of education. It partially paved the way for the 1813 Resolution: the Charter Act that bound the government to spend one lakh of rupees every year on Indian education was only an extension of the 1793 Resolution.

However, the missionaries had their own strategies; the operative part of the 1793 Resolution, seeking to send out to India '*suitable persons to serve as school masters, missionaries, or otherwise*', though rejected, shows that the missionaries considered education and the school the most powerful force in religious propaganda and conversion. The missionaries criticised the policies of the Company and the Government; and the relationship between the Government and the missionaries was not cordial. As Nurullah and Naik point out:

Between 1792 and 1813, the East India Company did not ordinarily issue a permit to any missionary to work within its territories, expelled several missionaries as soon as they became active and tried to convert people, put every obstacle possible in the way of the missionaries and did not give any assistance even to mission schools. (Nurullah and Naik, 1951: 69)

But the phrase—in the 1793 Resolution—'religious and moral improvement'—was vague, and the missionaries and the evangelists led by Charles Grant interpreted it to their advantage and criticized the Government for not introducing Christian education for moral improvement. They continued in hostility towards the Oriental learning started and supported by Warren Hastings. The Anglicist faction, who advocated the spread of European knowledge, literature and education and the teaching of English, actively supported by missionaries, had built up a formidable force through the appointment of their supporters like Macaulay's brother-in-law Charles Trevelyan and others. They even sought to reduce the stipends paid to students of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian and the expenditure on publishing works in these languages. In short, they vehemently opposed the practice of patronizing Oriental learning.

The missionaries agitated for the dissemination of Christianity and for permission to carry on their mission in India. They were very upset and offended by the policy of the Company and the Government. *Observations* by Charles Grant was printed and circulated and a number of petitions were placed on the table of the House of Commons in support of the missionaries.

1.2 The Transportation Phase (1813–30)

1.2.1 The Charter Renewal of 1813

In 1805, Charles Grant became the Chairman of the EIC; in 1807 and 1808 he was the Deputy Chairman; in 1809 he was the Chairman again. As a result, the company's policy was actively reviewed during 1805–9. When the Charter of the Company came up for renewal in 1813, the following resolution was passed:

...that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and the happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and those measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs. (Richter, 1908: 150–1)

The missionaries were happy that they were free to enter India and carry on their activities. The 1813 Resolution was an extension of the 1793 Resolution in interpreting the phrase, 'religious and moral improvement' in favour of the missionaries. At the same time, the Company felt that the Government should take the initiative in education and not give the credit to the missionaries. Lord Minto, who was Governor General during 1806–13 wrote in 1811:

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement, which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always

operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, when the learned professions have little, if any other, support... . It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature. (Nurullah and Naik, 1951)

The Orientalists and those who were not in favour of overt missionary activities mounted pressure and the following clause was introduced in the Charter Act of 1813:

It shall be lawful for the Governor General in council to direct that out of any surplus, which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in a manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India. (Sharp: 22)

The supporters of this clause thought that it might be a safeguard against the threatened deluge of missionaries marching to India. The Company and the Government tried to balance the two opposing forces and exercised tactical caution. It must be noted that the 1813 resolution made no mention of the language of education and stated that only the surplus was to be allotted to the 'improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned natives of India'—an ambiguous statement. The expenditure was not mandatory; it was just a legal sanction.

The resolution did not put an end to the Orientalist–Anglicist controversy. The Company and the Government continued a tactical policy of caution. Sir Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Marquess of Hastings was the Governor General (1813–23) and the British were preoccupied with the Gurkha War and the

wars with the Marathas. There was not much serious attention paid to education during this period.

Based on the sections in the Charter Act of 1813, the Court of Directors of the Company sent out a despatch in 1814, stating the objectives of their educational policy. But no action was taken till 1823, when a General Committee of Public Instruction was constituted. The Committee consisted of ten members, including both supporters of Western and Oriental education. Between 1821 and 1833, the Committee gave recognition to the Calcutta Madrassa and Benares Sanskrit College. Another Sanskrit college at Poona (1821), and two more Oriental Colleges at Agra (1823), and Calcutta (1824) were also started. The Committee also undertook the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books and employed Oriental scholars to translate books from English into Indian classical languages. The Committee wanted to create a favourable impression among the people of India, particularly the learned natives.

1.2.2 The Mission of the Missionaries

With the opening of the floodgates for the free entry of the missionaries in 1813, a large number of them entered India with a view to educating Indians and converting them to a new language, a new culture and a new religion. The officials of the Company and the Government indirectly encouraged them. The officials exercised 'cover and caution' and, in a way, used the missionaries as a surrogate force to do whatever was to be done. The Company was interested in trade, and the Government in the expansion of the Empire.

Between 1815 and 1840, a number of Christian schools and colleges were established in different parts of India: the Baptist Mission schools (1815), the Serampore College (1818), the London Mission Society's Schools (1818), the Bishop's College at Sibpur (1820), the Calcutta School Society's schools (1819), the Jaya Narayan Ghoshal's English School at Benares (1818), and the most important one, the General Assembly's Institution (1830) founded by a Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff, who

was very active in India from 1830 to 1843. He was the chief architect of a thoroughly equipped and efficiently conducted educational institution; he was an evangelist who understood the key role of education in the conversion of Indians to Christianity. He felt that education through the medium of English was the right instrument to prepare the educated persons in India for the right type of Christianity. Duff's programme was to spread the message from cities to villages through a select group receiving Christian education.

Duff and other missionaries criticized the 'godless' policy of the Government and their efforts to impart a secular education in India. Though the Christian missionaries were of various shades of opinion, they were all agreed that a thousand agencies should be at work to undermine Hinduism and a thoroughly equipped and efficiently conducted educational system was the most powerful instrument to spread the divine Light on every native in India.

They argued, as John Clarke of the Serampore Mission stated in 1852:

The natives themselves also have always been accustomed to give a very high religious tone to secular education. In fact, among the natives themselves religion is completely identified with education; they go so far as to represent even the very alphabet as having been communicated to men by Gods; and all the knowledge which the natives possess relative to history, geography, astronomy, is given a religious sanction.

As a result of the intensive efforts of the Christian lobby, a great demand for English and English education was created. Even the Committee of Public Instruction was under pressure. Between 1824 and 1835, classes in English were started at the Calcutta Madrasa, the Benares Sanskrit College, Delhi College, Agra College and other institutions imparting Oriental education. Young men were inspired by the new spirit, the new ideas, and the new ethos. They thought this was the Renaissance in India and everybody rushed to these English classes with a lot of enthusiasm and earnestness. They started

writing poems, stories and essays in English and the newspapers started publishing them. Some of them had acquired a command of the English language and a familiarity with English literature that was not found even in Europe. During 1780–95, a number of English newspapers were started in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. This also encouraged Indians to write in English.

1.2.3 Indians Asked for It

The demand for English and English education gave a new twist to the story of English in India. One could argue that English and English education were not imposed on the natives of India by the rulers and that the Indians themselves asked for it. The Hindu College (1817) in Calcutta was started due to individual initiative to impart English education to Indians. It is ironic that Sir Edward Hyde, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, found himself in a peculiar situation when a group of citizens of Calcutta deplored the national deficiency in morals and asked for a college offering European education and imparting English and an English system of morals. Hyde reports that they insisted on receiving a classical knowledge of the English language and literature (Vishwanathan, 1989: 43).

At this stage, looking back, one can say that even great scholars like Raja Rammohan Roy unwittingly played into the hands of the British. The demand by some Indian scholars, like Raja Rammohan Roy, for Western knowledge was conveniently turned into a demand for English as the language of education, the medium of instruction, and the dissemination of Western morals and values. This was also used as a pretext to divert funds allotted for supporting the Indian system of education, educational institutions and the printing of books in Indian languages towards English education.

Raja Rammohan Roy, who is called the father of the Indian Renaissance, was a scholar of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, English, and comparative religion. He wanted a change in the intellectual make-up of Indians, and wanted to rejuvenate ancient learning by injecting into it the modern knowledge

provided by Western education. This interaction, he thought, would modernize the Indian mind, nourish the growth of Indian thought, and widen our vision. He felt that Vedic knowledge, with the other rituals, customs, and empty formulations was stagnating and that the Indians needed exposure to modern thought. When the Committee of Public Instruction was thinking of establishing a Sanskrit college in Calcutta, Rammohan Roy wrote a letter to Lord Amherst in December 1823. He said:

We now find that the government is establishing a Sangscrit school under Hindu pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those that existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessor or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in parts of India... . Again no essential benefit can be derived by the student of Meemamsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Vedas...

(See Appendix I for full text)

As Reena Chatterji (1983) rightly points out, Rammohan Roy wanted a more liberal and enlightened system of education, including mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences as was done in Europe, to raise the position of India. He wanted translations and did not favour the introduction of English as the medium of instruction on a permanent basis. In his zeal to support the cause of utilitarian education, Rammohan Roy was too harsh in criticizing the Sanskrit system of education. That criticism was directed against the orthodox Hindu pundits and their conservatism, and not against the treasure of the Sanskrit language. Mayhew, in *The Education of India* (1927), shifts the responsibility of the mischief done by Macaulay to Rammohan Roy's shoulders and projects him as an earlier version of Macaulay (Chatterji, 36–8).

Rammohan Roy's criticism of orthodox Hindu practices was construed as the rejection of Hinduism. This attack on Hinduism later frightened Rammohan Roy himself. Many Christians believed that he was about to embrace Christianity. Once, when he was introduced to Bishop Middleton, the first Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Bishop, who thought that Rammohan Roy had embraced Christianity, congratulated him on his bold steps in embracing the purer faith. Rammohan Roy, who was shocked at this criticism of Hinduism replied, 'My Lord, you are under a mistake. I have not laid down one superstition to take up another.'

That incident showed Rammohan Roy's true feelings. But it was too late. Rammohan Roy, a great scholar well versed in the classical languages of India and Europe, with a vision of modern India, played into the hands of the Christian missionaries and the Anglicists; they used him in the anglicisation of India. What Rammohan Roy wanted was reform and change, and not Western acculturation. If Western thought and technology could coexist with Christian superstition, it is very well possible that modernization can peacefully coexist with Hindu superstitions. But in colonial politics there was neither time nor scope for seasoned reasoning and sane reflection.

1.2.4 Pulls and Pressures

Different forces were operating in the game of power politics. In the initial stages, the European powers were fighting among themselves to secure supremacy over the gorgeous East, and the rivalry for colonial domination continued for about two hundred years—till the end of the eighteenth century. Then started the other game within the British colonizers. The Government and the Company focused on the enhancement of trade and profit, the establishment of their power base and the expansion of the Empire. The missionaries had their own agenda: conversion and the spread of Christianity. Both groups used education, English education and Western knowledge as powerful tools in furthering their causes; and the Orientalists

and the Anglicists got into a serious debate over ideological issues. Some Indians who supported the modernization of India jumped in and were used as pawns in the power game. Thus, various competing forces and groups, each one with some vested interests and ulterior motives, were operating in the subcontinent. And then came William Bentinck in 1828 and Lord Macaulay in 1834. William Bentinck was a friend of Charles Grant and Lord Macaulay was the son of Zachary Macaulay of the Clapham Sect. With the arrival of Lord Bentinck, we can say, the transportation phase was complete, and the next phase of consolidation and expansion began.

Important Dates and Events

1498	The discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama
1600	31 December—The East India Company was formed. Queen Elizabeth signed the Charter.
1639	The EIC acquired Madras on lease from the Indian ruler.
1651	The EIC was permitted by the Mughal rulers to trade at Hoogli in Bengal.
1668	The EIC acquired Bombay from Portugal. Bombay was fortified to become the EIC's centre on the west coast of India.
1689	In England, Parliament became supreme as a result of the Bill of Rights.
1691	The EIC resumed its activities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.
1600–1700	Till the end of the seventeenth century, the EIC was trying to get a foothold on the Indian subcontinent. It had to face its rivals in England, its European rivals in India—the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, and the Indian rulers. Missionaries were allowed to come to India for the benefit of Europeans stationed in India. The EIC was subservient to the Indian rulers whose permission they petitioned to begin and carry on trade. They were 'petitioners' in the Mughal courts.

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- 1698 The EIC built Fort William around its factory; the three villages around that came to be known as Calcutta.
- 1717 The EIC secured permission to extend trade in Gujarat and the Deccan.
- 1757 The Battle of Plassey. The English won the battle and that sealed the fate of the Mughal rule in India.
- 1765 The EIC secured the Diwani (right to collect revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- 1780–95 English newspapers started during this period:
India Gazette, Calcutta Gazette, Bengal Journal, Oriental Magazine of Calcutta Amusement, and Calcutta Chronicle (from Calcutta); *Madras Courier, Harkaru, Madras Gazette, Indian Herald* (from Madras); *Bombay Herald, Courier, Bombay Gazette* (from Bombay)
- 1781 Calcutta Madrassa (an educational institution for higher learning) founded by Warren Hastings
- 1784 The EIC brought under the control of the British Parliament by the Pitt Indian Act
- 1791 Benares Sanskrit College established
- 1792 Tipu defeated by the British; the EIC became strong in the south of India. Charles Grant published *Observations*.
- 1793 Resolution asking the EIC to accept responsibility for education in India partly accepted
- 1794 William Carey, an English missionary, started the first school in Bengal where the medium of instruction was Bengali.
- 1795 Censorship of newspapers introduced in Madras
- 1797 Charles Grant persuaded the EIC and the parliament in England to impart English education to Indians.
- 1799 Tipu died in battle; Mysore conquered by EIC

1800	Bengali elementary school opened at Serampore, Bengal
1813	Charter Act Renewal; education made the responsibility of the EIC; missionaries allowed to go to India
1817	The Hindu College, Calcutta, started due to individual initiative; imparted English education
1821	Sanskrit College, Poona
1823	Agra College, Agra. A general committee of Public Instruction was formed. Raja Rammohan Roy wrote to Lord Amherst.
1824	Sanskrit College, Calcutta
1826	William Bentinck arrived in India.
1829	College at Delhi (All these colleges were started to impart Oriental education. But soon they also started English classes to meet the demand from Indians.) Bentinck wrote to the committee on introducing English as official language of the Government and that of education.

Governors and Governor Generals during this period

Robert Clive	1757–1760 (First Governorship) 1765–1767 (Second term)
Warren Hastings	1772–1785
Lord Cornwallis	1786–1793
Marquess Wellesley	1798–1805
Lord Cornwallis	1805–1806 (Second term)
Lord Minto	1806–1813
The Marquess of Hastings	1813–1823
Lord Amherst	1823–1828
Lord William Bentinck	1828–1835

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The Consolidation Phase: The Grand Design

2.1 Renewal of the Charter

By 1830 it was becoming increasingly difficult for the Company to run the administration with only English officials and without the appointment of English-knowing and loyal Indians. At the same time, the evangelists found a great supporter of their cause in William Bentinck, who became the Governor General in 1828. William Bentinck was a friend of Charles Grant. Bentinck wrote a letter to the Committee of Public Instruction on the need to make English the official language of the Government and the language of education:

... his Lordship in Council has no hesitation in stating to your Committee and in authorizing you to announce to all concerned in the superintendence of your native seminaries, that it is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country, and that it will omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practical degree of encouragement to the extension of this project. (Edwards, 1967: 114)

Earlier, in 1824, the Committee received a despatch in which the Court of Directors of the Company had stated their aims and objectives regarding the medium of instruction, and their intentions in granting one lakh rupees for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. The Despatch of 1824 made it very clear that the provision made in the Act of 1813 was only 'to make a favourable impression by our encouragement of their literature upon the minds of the natives' and 'the great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning but useful learning' (Sharp, 1911: 91–2).

They very clearly stated that 'in professing on the other hand to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mohammedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small reminder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned' (Sharp, 1911). This despatch was the first document that clearly stated the language policy of the Company. It was more in tune with the tone and spirit of Grant's *Observations*. Its language smacked of arrogance and imperialism. William Bentinck's letter of 1829 was only a confirmation of the 1824 despatch.

The Court of Directors addressed a letter to the Governor General on 29 September 1830 asking him to introduce English as the language of public business in all its departments (Mukherji, 1951: 354). As a result, when the Charter of the EIC came before the Parliament for renewal in 1833, the following clause regarding the employment policy of the company was found:

That no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.

Lord Macaulay had taken part in the framing of the clause, and he was very proud of it (Macaulay, 1898: 582–3).

This opened up employment opportunities in government services to Indians with suitable qualifications. This tactical move linked English education with Government and Company employment.

In 1832 the Select Committee of the House of Commons was also carefully examining the impact of the educational policy in India. At that time, Charles Grant Jr, the eldest son of Charles Grant, was a member of Parliament and also Chairman of the Board of Control of the Company. His father's ideas were fresh in his mind.

2.2 Comes Macaulay

Lord Macaulay came to India in June 1834. He was the first member of the Governor General's Executive Council, and was appointed President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. There was an impasse between the factions of the Committee—the Orientalists and the Anglicists. So far, the Committee had pursued a policy of compromises, on the one hand patronizing Oriental learning according to the tradition established to Warren Hastings and Lord Minto, while simultaneously fostering the extension of English education. This policy of 'half-measures' was becoming increasingly difficult and impractical because of the demand for English and the opening up of employment opportunities in government services.

William Bentinck's accession to the Governor Generalship in 1828 altered the situation considerably. Bentinck, Macaulay, and Charles Grant Jr made a good team. Also, Macaulay's brother-in-law, Charles Trevelyan, became a member of the Committee. Macaulay and Trevelyan were Bentinck's favourite political officers. The Orientalist–Anglicist controversy was at its climax. The Anglicist faction (those who supported European ideas and knowledge, and English education) opposed the practice of Oriental learning. The former faction sought to reduce the stipends paid to students of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and the expenditure on publishing works in these languages. On the other hand, the Orientalists (those who favoured the Indian systems of knowledge and Indian language and literatures) on the Committee fought this proposition and cited the language of the clause in the Charter Act of 1813, which stipulated that funds should be spent on the 'revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives'. They argued that the expression 'learned natives' could mean only persons cultivating Oriental literature—i.e. literature in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.

Both the parties agreed on one thing—the ultimate medium of instruction for the masses of India must be the vernaculars. But Trevelyan argued that it was unclear what language was to be the classical language in the meantime and from what source the vernacular languages of India were to be ‘enriched’ and ‘improved’.

According to the Anglicists, only English could be the language in the meantime, and only from English could the vernacular languages of India be enriched and improved. But the Orientalists proposed the classical and literary languages of India as the source from which the vernaculars were to be enriched. By 1835 the quarrel had produced a deadlock within the ranks of the Committee; the ten members were evenly divided between the two contending factions and the Committee failed to agree on a plan of action as required by the Government regarding the language of instruction.

William Bentinck solved the problem by appointing Macaulay, Law Member of the Council, President of the Committee of Public Instruction. Macaulay had the casting vote and Bentinck asked Macaulay for a ruling on the debated sections of the Charter Act of 1813. This was the occasion that gave rise to the celebrated Minute of 2 February 1835, the ‘Manifesto of English Education in India’.

2.3 Macaulay’s Minute

Macaulay did not say anything new in his Minute; Charles Grant and many others had already said whatever he did. But Macaulay was too much of an enthusiast, and used a rhetorical style full of superlatives in spite of the timely warning by his father, Zachary Macaulay, against the loudness and vehemence of his tones and his superficial gibes: ‘His pronouncements are too glib, too confident, too unqualified and sometimes are against good taste’ (Mayhew, 1928: 16–27).

Macaulay was the Secretary of the Board of Control in 1832 when Charles Grant Jr (later Lord Glenelg) was Chairman of the

Board. Macaulay, Charles Grant Jr and William Bentinck had formed a good team. James Mill, a noted British historian, wrote the history of British India—a three volume history—without ever visiting India, and it was published in 1817 (James, 1911: 31). This book played a major role in introducing a particular image of India to the British rulers of India such as Bentinck and Macaulay. Mill, in his book, rejected every claim ever made on behalf of Indian intellectual and cultural traditions; he disputed and dismissed even the scientific and mathematical works in India and their contributions. In addition, Charles Grant Sr's *Observations* and the zeal of evangelism had their own impact on the thinking of Macaulay. Macaulay had taken an active part in the proceedings of the House of Commons on the question of Indian administration. For Macaulay also, education was only a prelude to proselytization and, in 1836, soon after the acceptance of the Minute, he wrote:

No Hindu, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be affected without any effort to proselytize; without the smallest interference in their religious liberty; merely by the operation of knowledge and reflection. (Mayhew, 1928: 15–16)

Macaulay was a trusted soldier of an imperialist regime that was interested in trade and power. He was loyal to his Government. It was under those circumstances that he wrote his famous (or infamous) Minute on Education that became the Manifesto of English Education in India.

2.3.1 The Stated Objectives

Macaulay's Minute is very clear and unambiguous about the goals of English education in India:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons,

Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to redefine the vernacular dialects in the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

Macaulay's attitude was that of a typical colonial administrator—a ruling master. 'The rulers were in need of a class of English-knowing urban 'baboo's—Western-educated bureaucrats who would be loyal to their masters. Educating that class and allowing them to 'educate' the masses was the British policy.

Earlier, in 1833, in the House of Commons, Macaulay spoke on the need to admit Indians to positions in the government.

We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office... I am far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this most delicate matter. I feel that, for the good of India itself, the admission of natives to high offices must be effected by slow degrees. But that, when the fullness of time is come, when the interest of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our own power, this is a doctrine of which I cannot think without indignation. (Macaulay, 1898: 583)

Macaulay visualized India 'to be a dependency of England, to be at war with our enemies, to be at peace with our allies, to be protected by the English navy from maritime aggression, to, have a portion of the English army mixed with its sepoys, since he felt 'India cannot have a free government, but she may have the next best thing, a firm and impartial despotism' (Macaulay, 1898: 555–6).

That was why he wanted a class of administrators to help the British masters. But, the second part, sometimes referred to as the 'filtration theory' (i.e., educating the classes and asking them to educate the masses), was part of the imperial plan, designed to carefully destroy the indigenous system of education by neglecting it or leaving it to the classes who would be 'English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect'. The 'colonial

educational economy' was willing to train only the 'baboo's by funding only that layer of the society.

Macaulay argued:

It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits that we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us, that the peoples of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings, but wearing our brand cloth, and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their Salams to English collectors and English magistrates, but were too ignorant to value or too poor to buy English manufacturers. To trade with civilized men is definitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would, indeed, be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it an useless and costly dependency, which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves. (Macaulay, 1898: 584)

After stating the objectives of colonial education, he took up the question of the medium of education. He wrote in the Minute:

All parties seem to be agreed on one point: that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from other quarters, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them.

What then shall the language be? One half of the committee maintains that it should be the English [language]. The other half strongly recommends the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

Having dismissed the Indian languages as 'poor and rude' with neither 'literary nor scientific information', Macaulay planned his strategy to resolve the Orientalist–Anglicist controversy. This could be done only after demolishing Oriental knowledge, languages and their literature. So, in his Minute, he makes sweeping generalizations:

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated of Arabic and Sanscrit works.

I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in Eastern languages... I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the oriental plan of education.

All the perfumes of Arabia cannot 'sweeten' Oriental literature, according to Macaulay!

He further adds in his own characteristic way:

It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information, which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language, is less valuable than what may be found in the paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same. How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest, which Greece has bequeathed to us... Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. ... Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science we shall teach systems which by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound Philosophy and

true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, Astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, History abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long and Geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Macaulay's attack on Indian systems of knowledge and culture was vigorous and powerful. Indians would feel terribly hurt by his uncharitable remarks about India but we must understand that he was presenting his point of view within the colonial framework. One section of the colonial rulers had only utter contempt for India. They imagined that India was in the state Europe was in during the fourth or the fifth century. Macaulay belonged to that section; he thought India had 'all the evils of despotism, and all the evils of anarchy, pressed at once on that miserable race.'

So, in his Minute, he continued his tirade against India, its language and literature, and its religion and culture:

It is said that Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred million people are written and that they are, on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly, it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant, but also neutral on religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature includes the most serious errors on the most important subjects is a course hardly reconcilable with reason. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine because we find them in company with false religion. We, abstain, I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably and decently bribe men out of the revenues of the State to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what that of the Vedas they are to repeat, to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

Macaulay also mentioned practical matters in his Minute.

Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the Committee by several

ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had studied in the college ten or twelve years; that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindu literature and science; that they had received certificates of proficiency; and what is the fruit of this? "Notwithstanding such testimonials," they say, "we have but little prospects of bettering our conditions without the kind assistance of your Honorable Committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them". They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor-General for places under the Government, not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. "We want means," they say, "for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot obtain without the assistance of Government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood." They conclude by representing very pathetically, that they are sure that it was never the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

So there was a popular demand from the educated Indians and the British government had to be sympathetic and listen to their request.

Macaulay very carefully put the seal on Indian education;

I hold this lac of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of promoting learning in India in any way, which may be thought most admirable. I hold his Lordship to be quite as free to direct that it shall be no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit as he is to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished, or that no public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral.

Regarding the printing of books in Sanskrit and Arabic, he says:

We are a Board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank, for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology.

He categorically asserts:

But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books, I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College at Calcutta.

Macaulay interpreted the word 'literature' in the Charter Act of 1813 to mean 'English Literature' and the expression 'learned natives of India' to mean scholars who had learnt English literature and Western science and philosophy. Since he questioned the quality and value of oriental philosophy, sciences, and literature, he argued the case for cutting off all the 'useless' expenditure on them.

Finally, he threatened to resign his position as the Chairman of the Committee if the Governor General did not agree to his proposals in the Minute. In fact, there was no need for such a threat. Lord William Bentinck was waiting for the Minute, it gladdened his heart to the utmost and, without any hesitation, the Governor General accepted the Minute on 7 March 1835. A declaration was made the same day. The declaration read as follows:

First: His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

Second: But it is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any College or School of native learning; while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and his Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice, which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the general nature of things, would

be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third: It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be employed.

Fourth: His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to the government with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose. (Sharp, 1911: 130–1)

This declaration of reforms ended all the controversies, indecisions, evasions, and policy of indifference to education. Right or wrong, a decision was made.

Maculay earned blame and appreciation in equal measure. Some said that neither India nor Arabia would ever forgive Macaulay for the monstrosities that he perpetrated through his ignorance of not only Indian but Asiatic culture also. His arguments reveal the British snob at his worst and we have the menace of the colour bar almost in sight (Mukherji, 1952: 90). Many condemned the 'evil genius' of Macaulay. Some praised him for his famous Minute and some thought that the colonial masters made use of his Minute as a weapon to suit their convenience. Though he condemned Oriental literature, religion, and knowledge, his intensions were not dishonorable and 'it is always good to forget and forgive' (Nurullah and Naik, 1951: 141).

Lord Macaulay returned to England 'in full vigour of life with a fortune' that he made in India, according to his own confession in his letter to his sister.

2.3.2 Transplantation versus Evolution for a Fair Assessment of Macaulay

We must look at the alternatives available at the time. Macaulay's approach to education was the transplantation approach. As Norman Jeffares says in his *Introduction to Commonwealth Literature*:

The famous Minute written by Macaulay on Indian education in 1835 was dictated by an educational, indeed, a literary aim. A culture was to be transplanted to promote progress; so English became the possession—as also, as anyone who has taught in India will agree—the delight of educated Indians.

Cultural transplantation was the aim: the English language, its literature and its religion were made central to the cultural enterprise of the Empire and expansion of their trade. The firm establishment of the Empire was the ultimate aim of the Macaulayan transplantation approach. For that he systematically debunked all Indian systems of knowledge, language and literature; the aim and objectives of Grant, Bentinck, Macaulay and his class were very clear, and their tools sharp and deadly. They deliberately humiliated the natives of India with a view to making them perpetually dependent on the British. Charles Trevelyan did not approve of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* as a text for study in Indian schools and colleges since, according to him, 'the more popular forms of Oriental literature are marked with greatest immorality and impurity'.

The real or hidden goals of English education were clearly exposed by Horace Wilson, an arch foe of Macaulay and a noted nineteenth century Sanskrit Scholar, who called Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* the jewel of Indian literature. There cannot be a more forceful statement of the colonial rule and its plan of education.

By annihilating native literature, by sweeping away all sources of pride and pleasure in their own mental efforts, by rendering a whole people dependent upon a remote and unknown country for all their ideas and for the very words in which to clothe them, we should

degrade their character, depress their energies and render them incapable of aspiring for any intellectual distinction.

The British rulers totally ignored any point of view which did not suit their plans. The Orientalists were even prepared to compromise and make English an optional medium along with the classical Indian languages. But the Anglicists wanted the English-only policy to be accepted and implemented. They totally ignored even English scholars who respected Indian systems of knowledge, its languages and literature. The rulers were deaf to the contributions and statements of their own countrymen about India; they had with them Sir Charles Wilkins' translation of the Gita, the tributes of William Jones and Wilson to Sanskrit literature, Edmund Burke's tribute in 1783 to 'a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life while we were yet in woods' and the statement of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras (1819–1827) about Indian civilization, that 'if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that England will gain by the import of the cargo' (Wilson, 1836).

At least some of them might have read the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who was the earliest Buddhist pilgrim to visit India during the Golden Age of the Guptas; the writings of Hiuen Tsang, another Chinese pilgrim who visited India during the seventh century; the travel records of Marco Polo (13th Century), or the history of India *Ta'rikh al-Hind* written in the eleventh century by Alberuni, an Iranian mathematician, who came to India and studied Sanskrit and Indian texts in mathematics, natural sciences, philosophy, religion and literature. Alberuni wrote clearly on the invention of the decimal system in India, and about Aryabhatta's theories on Earth's gravity and related subjects. Several Indian works on medicine, mathematics, science and philosophy had Arabic renderings by the ninth century, and reached Europe. The British rulers did not recognize any one of them because they were interested in transplanting their culture for the benefit of

trade and political power. Political and commercial interests were the prime motives of the British rule.

The alternative to Macaulay's transplantation approach was the evolution approach that advocated the utilization of all existing and indigenous resources of elementary character and their fusion with such organizations as European experience might suggest. This approach might have enriched education even at the grassroots level by bridging the gap between the two cultures.

An Englishman, William Adam, who was ridiculed by the evangelists as the 'Second Fallen Adam', became the primary spokesman of the evolution approach. Adam's Reports, submitted to Lord Bentinck, proposed an alternative to Macaulay's 'filtration theory' or the 'top-down' policy and the culture-transplantation theory in his Minute. Adam advocated an indigenous education of a national character and not one of a foreign character; he believed that a country's education must be native in character and based on its own culture and traditions. He very categorically stated in his Reports that the traditional form and institutions presented 'the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations; we may improve, enlarge and beautify the super structure; but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised'. On the other hand Macaulay's plan was to raise the super structure without the foundations. Adam suggested a 'bottom-up' system from the roots to the top. Therefore, he said:

On the contrary, the efficiency of every successive grade of institution cannot be secured except by drawing instructed pupils from the next lower grade, which, consequently by the necessity of the case, demands prior attention. Children should not go to colleges to learn the alphabet. To make the super structure lofty and firm, the foundations should be broad and deep; and thus building from the foundation, all classes of institutions and every grade of instruction may be combined with harmonious and salutary effect.

To labour successfully for them, we must labour with them; and to labour successfully with them, we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently with us. We must make them in short, the instruments of their own improvement. And how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions. (Adam, 1868)

Macaulay's policy overlooked all native systems of education, Hindu as well as Muslim, which had existed for centuries before the British rule and continued to exist even after the British came to India. The Macaulayan plan ignored all these systems and transplanted the alien system. Mahatma Gandhi stated in October 1931: 'The British administrators when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out. They scratched the soil and began to look at the root like that, and the 'beautiful tree' perished. The village schools were not good enough for the British administrator, and so he came out with his programme.' (Dharampal, 1983). That was exactly what Macaulay did.

Macaulay, as a member of the Governor General's Council, commented on Adam's Report, saying that it was not practical to follow the measures suggested in the Report.

I am a little inclined to doubt, however, whether we are at present ripe for any extensive practical measure, which he recommends. I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent, or supply their place as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy. Our work is to educate the schoolmasters for the next generation. If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers... I doubt whether we have the men, and I am sure that we have not the money. (Macaulay, 1868)

Macaulay was for educating the classes and Adam the masses. Macaulay's scheme fitted very well with the imperial design and Indian education has, even today, a huge super structure without the proper foundations.

2.3.3 The Curriculum

The standard fare in the 'secular' Government curriculum of mid-nineteenth century was as follows:

Poetical selections (Goldsmith, Gray, Addison and Shakespeare), Milton's *Paradise Lost* (the first four books), Pope's *Iliad by Homer*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Macbeth*, Addison's *Essays*, Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Goldsmith's *History of England*, Bacon's *Essays*, and prose readers prepared by Macaulay when he was the President of the Committee.

However, Alexander Duff, the Scottish missionary (who ran the General Assembly Institution in Calcutta from 1830 to 1843), and other missionaries did not approve of the 'godless education' that the Government institutions were imparting in the name of secular education in English. Duff's curriculum included the Bible, Paley's *Nature Theology*, Plato's *Dialogues*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost* but excluded Addison, Johnson and Pope.

The students were expected to acquire a critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton and Shakespeare, a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the higher branches of mathematical science, some insight into the elements of natural history, and the principles of moral philosophy and political economy, together with considerable facility of composition, and the power of writing in fluent and idiomatic language an impromptu essay on any given subject of history, moral or political economy. (Bose, 1896: 180–1)

2.4 The Aftermath of the Minute

English was made the official language of education in 1837. The Government's policy was to establish English schools or Anglo-vernacular schools in each district. The Anglo-vernacular schools used the vernacular besides English. Good English schools were given the status of colleges. There were a number of mission schools that taught English. According to some

figures presented to the House of Commons in 1845, there were 30,000 missionary schools. The lure of government appointment attracted many young men to English medium schools, especially those run by the Government, because there was a feeling that those educated in government schools would be given preference in government appointments. All funds that were available were directed to English education only.

Lord Auckland, who followed William Bentinck in 1836 as the Governor General, was in India till 1842. He wrote a Minute on Macaulay's Minute.

The fact indeed is, as is to be presumed from the evidence, which has been recorded on the subject, that knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For more instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) through the vernacular medium, it may it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools, who now resort to them. (Nurullah and Naik, 1951: 146)

The wording was clumsy compared to Macaulay's but the intention was very clear. There was no demand for vernacular education. Lord Auckland preferred the Macaulayan path because he thought *that the denial of English and English education meant the denial of education.*

Lord Hardinge's declaration in 1844 made the intentions of the Government very explicit.

The Governor-General, having taken into consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them; a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the state to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the results of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies has resolved that in every possible case a preference

shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and specially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

English and English education got firmly consolidated by 1850 and some sections of the people 'the Brahmins and a section of the middle class' were very enthusiastic about learning English; the greatest desire for English and English education was in states like Bengal and Madras. The Hindu College, Calcutta, started by individuals, was taken over by the Government in 1854 and renamed Presidency College.

However, there was considerable resistance to English as the medium of instruction and Western modes of education. The Macaulayan plan of education envisaged English as the language of administration and trade with a view to creating a class of loyal Indians who would be Indian only in blood and colour but different in everything else and who would help the rulers in administration and business with their competence in English. Secondly, Macaulay's English education was only for the classes in the urban areas and not for the masses because the masses would be educated in the 'dialects' of the country by the classes; under his 'filtration theory' knowledge was to percolate and reach the larger section of the natives. He felt that neither the classical languages of India nor the vernaculars had the resources or competent teachers to handle the problem of education in India.

The situation in the Indian subcontinent, however, was very different and was not conducive to the absorption of the Macaulayan plan of education. Even a cursory survey of the history of the Indian subcontinent shows that it is not just one language that was used by the people but always more than one; Sanskrit and Persian were the most prominent ones that were used for long periods of time for various administrative and legal functions. Secondly, in the subcontinent, printing was not involved in education because learning was mostly imparted through the oral mode. The concept of a printed

book that could be bought and read did not exist until the Europeans brought the printing press to Indians in the sixteenth century. The written mode offered a new patterning principle in the education of the subcontinent. The subcontinent was entrenched in the oral tradition; even when modern Indian languages were committed to writing, the written mode was used chiefly for high functions (i.e. literary), and their distinct scripts did not lead to mass literacy. This was the environment in which printed books in English were introduced in India. Indian printers were faced with the additional problem of representing Indian languages and their scripts in the written form. Thus, there was no homogeneous field for the vernaculars of India, an advantage that English had.

The Indian subcontinent, before the British, was mostly used to local feudal loyalties—the small kingdoms and the rajas, maharajas, local chieftains, nawabs and zamindars. Loyalties depended on lineage and not on what may be called the State. The British period brought in this new notion of the State and the relationship between the people and the State was to be mediated in economic and administrative terms, which were carried out by the State through the written mode. The interrelationship between the State and the written mode was something new to the vast subcontinent. The switchover from the oral to the written mode made the vast majority of people ‘illiterate’. A vast area deeply entrenched in oral tradition and religious practices for centuries was suddenly converted into an ‘illiterate’ country by print-capitalism and English education that equated education with literacy.

Religious traditions were also not in favour of the English language, the Christian tongue, and Christian education. The Muslims did not favour English education. Though English classes were started in the Calcutta Madrasa, there were very few students. Many Muslims protested when English was made the official language of the Government in 1837 as it was considered ‘the devil’s tongue’. They preferred their children being educated only in the madrasahs. Even orthodox Vedic

Hindus were not in favour of the alien English education and the English language. Rural India, however, was untouched by English education and English. The rulers were also not interested in mass education. English and English education were getting well established mostly in urban areas, and the rest of the country was following the simple indigenous systems.

The spread of English education in urban areas is very clearly reflected in the number of newspapers and periodicals started during this period; some of them were owned and managed by Indians. Of the 130 newspapers and periodicals, some important ones were:

Name	Year of establishment
<i>Times of India</i> , Bombay	1838
<i>Calcutta Review</i>	1844
<i>Examiner</i> , Bombay	1850
<i>Guardian</i> , Madras	1851

Some Indians of the period, like Michael Madhusudan Dutt (Calcutta), C. V. Boriah (Madras), Krishna Mohan Banerji (Calcutta) and Kashiprasad Ghose (Calcutta), are credited with literary writing in English.

In 1853, the Charter of the EIC came up before the Parliament for renewal; the Court of Directors wondered why there was no loyalty towards a Government that was doing all it could in the field of education for the benefit of the natives. Charles Wood, later known as Lord Halifax, was then the President of Control of the EIC. He prepared a despatch, known as the Wood's Despatch.

2.5 Wood's Despatch

Wood's Despatch of 1854, sometimes called the Magna Carta of English Education in India, was the first policy statement of the

British Government and the Company on education. The Despatch was the result of the parliamentary investigation that preceded the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. The Directors, in a way, felt the pulse of the situation, the growing gulf between the people and their rulers, and the feeling of alienation among the vast masses. The despatch, to a large extent, sought to dispel the suspicions and fears of the people and tried to tone down the harsh imperial rhetoric of Lord Macaulay.

Wood's Despatch emphasized the following points:

1. The English language would be taught where there was a demand for it, and that it also would be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district. English was not to replace the native languages.
2. The subject of Christian religion would be provided out of school hours and only if asked for voluntarily.
3. Teachers must be trained.
4. The importance of female education.
5. Introduction of grants-in-aid through the Department of Education so that local bodies could be encouraged to take control of education.
6. The establishment of universities
7. The government's keenness in developing Indian languages
8. Extending European knowledge throughout all classes of people in India

The preamble to the despatch gave reasons for developing education in India. The ruling power had a sacred obligation to confer upon the natives the blessings, both moral and material, which would flow from the general diffusion of 'useful knowledge'. Furthermore, education promised to supply the Government with natives of great intellectual fitness and moral integrity in Civil Service positions. And, finally, it would help to promote England's material interests in India since European

knowledge would show the natives the marvellous results of employing capital and labour, stir them to emulate the English in developing the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and ultimately confer upon them all the advantages that accompany the growth of wealth and commerce. As a result, England would also be assured of a large supply of articles necessary for the manufacturers and consuming public, besides gaining an almost inexhaustible demand for the output of British labour.

The tone of the despatch is very different from that of Macaulay's Minute. The despatch gives more convincing arguments in an effort to make the British educational policy more acceptable. However, in spite of the soft tone, the basic aims of education—material interests of employment and capital, the development of the vast resources of India for a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for the manufacturers in England—continued to be the same. The despatch, however, made several useful recommendations to the government for the improvement of education and English education in India.

- (a) One of the most important recommendations was about English and the vernaculars.

In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it. But such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language. While the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction through it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes, who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with English. This can only be done effectively through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves knowing English and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their fellow countrymen, through the medium of their mother tongue, the information which they have

thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original composition of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language and the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a schoolmaster possessing the requisite qualifications. (Aggarwal, 1984: 17)

A very lofty ideal to be followed even today!

- (b) Another important recommendation was about the training of teachers.

We cannot do better than to refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this subject, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation in India. It mainly consists in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for the instruction out of school hours), their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in these normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as school masters. This system should be carried out in India, both in Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection.

- (c) The idea of Government control and inspection was introduced through the scheme of grants-in-aid.

We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contribution from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local

exertions and combination of local purposes, which in itself is of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.

We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State.

The idea of aided institutions at all levels with a Department of Education to give them financial aid and control them through inspection was introduced by this despatch.

(d) The despatch also recommended the establishment of universities in India.

The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainment shown by the native candidates for Government scholarship and by native students in private institutions, in the successes of the Medical colleges, and the requirement of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time has now arrived for the establishment of universities in India.

The despatch stated that religious instruction, particularly the subject of Christian religion, would be voluntary in Government institutions. This was made clear to remove misapprehensions from the minds of people; at the same time, Bible instruction was allowed if the pupils asked for it of their own free will from the masters. The despatch also recognized the importance of the education of women in India. It pointed out that 'Our Governor-General-in-Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support.' The despatch also recommended considerable increase in expenditure for the expansion of mass education. Thus, Wood's despatch of 1854, in a balanced and mild tone, presented a plan for general education in India that envisaged an orderly expansion in the field of education in India.

2.6 In Theory and in Practice

Wood's despatch of 1854 very carefully and clearly stated the laudable aim of making English and the vernacular languages the instruments for the diffusion of European knowledge. The Directors also envisaged two types of schools, Anglo-vernacular and vernacular, for the purpose of the diffusion of Western knowledge. Earlier, in 1853, when the Charter Act came up for renewal, the Civil Services were thrown open to competition and Indians were allowed to appear for the Civil Services Examination; English was also made the language of administration. All these made English a commodity that was in great demand. English and education in English had already become a premium commodity, and were available in the market for those who could pay for them. Vernacular education was also there in the market for the less fortunate ones who could not afford English education. This was the position in 1854 when the despatch, which voiced the need for mass education, came out.

The despatch was free from the Macaulayan contempt for Indian beliefs, customs, languages and literature. It also declared that it was the duty of the government to educate the people. But the ground realities were very different—one kind of education for the classes and another kind for the masses. By the time the policy was formulated, missionary schools, private schools, and District Schools run by the EIC had begun to provide English education at the school level. There was a wide gap between English-entrenched English education at the higher levels and the inadequate level, or complete lack of English education at lower levels.

Three universities were started by the British in the Presidency cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857, the year of the 'Great Mutiny', called the Sepoy Mutiny by the British. This clearly shows the 'top-down' policy of the British government. The despatch, therefore, appears to be more of a political

document than an educational one considering the gap between theory and practice.

2.7 India: A Trial Ground

It is interesting to note that English was first offered as a *subject of study* in England only in 1828, and even then it was not offered in the two prestigious universities—Oxford and Cambridge—but at the newly started University College in London that had been founded in 1826. The course offered was not on English literature but on the English language. It was only three years later, in 1831, that English literature was first offered as a subject of study at King's College, London (which later became London University). Before 1828, only classics in Greek (the classical language of Europe) and Latin (the language of the Church), theology and mathematics were taught as subjects at Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford and Cambridge did not allow the new subject of English literature to be taught till the end of the nineteenth century; literature, at that time in England, meant only the study of great books in classical languages like Greek and Latin and not mere 'chatter about Shelley'. English was only a vernacular. Oxford allowed English as a subject of study only in 1894 and Cambridge in 1911, but in the three universities started in India in 1857, English was both a medium of instruction and a subject of study right from the beginning. British colonialism used its colonial territories, particularly India, to devise teaching methods (Pennycook, 1998) and testing techniques (Spolsky, 1995), as well as to establish its literary canons (Viswanathan, 1989); all of which were then not only exported to other colonial territories but were imported to Britain as well.

In all fairness, it must also be stated that expecting the government to provide a system of compulsory education for the masses in a vast country like India would be asking for the moon; it is something that is beyond the reach of any government. At that time, education was not compulsory even

in England; education at lower levels was imparted mostly by missionaries and philanthropic bodies, which were run through the system of grants-in-aid. Financial considerations were very important in taking decisions on educational matters; there was not enough money to provide even elementary education for all. There were no trained teachers to teach English. Therefore, in practice, only the classes continued to get the benefits of English education and European knowledge and, ultimately, they replaced the colonial masters.

More and more universities were established where education was imparted through the medium of English. Lahore University (1869), Punjab University (1882) and Allahabad University (1887) came into existence. The universities were only affiliating and examining bodies on the pattern of the University of London. The result was that English education became more and more city-centred and university-centred—centred around the Presidency cities Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and other cities like Allahabad and Lahore. A university degree became a passport to sure employment and the school-leaving certificate was a passport to the university. So, English medium schools sprang up in and around the university towns. Wherever there was a demand, there was supply.

The recommendations of Wood's Despatch remained only on paper, invoked, in vain, from time to time, to draw attention to the evils of elitism and the importance of mass education and instruction in native languages. But English gradually became the language of education, commerce, and the administration; the vernacular languages of India ceased to have any market value; so there was no economic motivation at all. By the end of the century, with more and more English medium schools, colleges and universities getting established, English had become the 'prestige' language of India, the language of power and money, completely replacing Persian and other Indian rivals. At a later stage, it even became the medium of interaction for the nationalist movement.

In spite of what the despatch said, there had been no clear administrative policy to guide and plan educational expansion. Recruitment for the Civil Services was not systematic; it was done by higher officials of the EIC. The link between British bureaucracy and English education got well established and consolidated. On paper, Oriental education was encouraged, but education at the lower levels suffered neglect. The urban 'minority-use' of English was fast expanding; British bureaucracy and Indian servants of the British Government usurped the powers of the native rulers and administrators; English, thus, gradually took over the functions of native languages.

In addition, the expansion of the print-media also fanned the growth of English in urban areas. The print-media was used to publish essays—even those of school boys, the annual reports of colleges, write-ups that dealt with the influence of English education on Indian youth, proposals for publishing translations of ancient Hindu texts, reviews of plays, critical literary studies etc. This type of 'creative writing' in English was induced by English education. Indians were proud of their competence in English.

The introduction of railway lines and telegraph and postal services in select areas encouraged communication in English. The widening urban network with the new communication facilities helped English, Western technology and trade. There was a strong desire to learn English.

At the academic level, the old controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists continued. Some experiments were conducted in places like Bombay to show the effectiveness of the vernacular tongue as the medium of instruction and the use of Sanskrit and English to enrich the vernacular. This 'three-language' formula had no takers because of the lack of demand in the market: Sound academic principles always get marginalised by market forces. English was the language of business and administration; so it had to be taught and learnt;

the enrichment of the vernacular languages and the education of the masses could always wait.

The figures given below will show the ground realities; the number of educational institutions imparting education through English continued to grow during the period after the despatch.

Year	No. of schools & Secondary Schools	No. of students
1860-1	142	23,165
1870-1	3,146	2,06,300
1881-2	4,122	2,56,242
1891-2	4,872	4,73,294

Year	Colleges	No. of students
1860-1	17	3,182
1870-1	44	3,994
1881-2	67	6,037
1891-2	104	12,985

The political environment and market conditions were favourable to English and the vernacular languages were losing the battle against English.

It was in this climate that the government appointed an Education Commission to study the impact of Wood's Despatch on Indian education.

2.8 The Indian Education Commission of 1882

In 1858, the Crown took over from the EIC and nothing much happened in the field of education.

On 3 February 1882, Lord Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with Sir William Hunter, Member of

the Viceroy's Executive Council, as its Chairman. This Commission, also known as the Hunter Commission, submitted its report in 1884. Most of the recommendations in Wood's Despatch were not actually implemented. For instance, the grants-in-aid scheme in the despatch was not implemented by the Government, and private educational institutions did not get any help from the Government as suggested in Wood's Despatch. Christian missionaries were managing a number of schools and colleges and they were badly hit by the lack of financial support from the Government. First, the missionaries tried their best to get financial support from the government but their efforts did not bear any fruit; so, they started an organization in 1878 in London, known as the General Council of Education in India, and approached the Government for financial support. This was the immediate motive for the appointment of the Commission. The Commission confirmed the policy of grants-in-aid without any hesitation and gave guidelines for the system. The Commission said that the missionaries were showing what private effort could accomplish and that 'they should receive all the encouragement and aid that private effort could legitimately claim'. The Commission stated that the missionary institutions were 'the outcome of private effort'. It also recommended 'a periodically increasing provision in the educational budget of each province for the expansion of aided institutions'. Even now, aided schools and colleges follow the pattern of grants-in-aid; this has tightened the control of the Government over educational institutions, which was one of the aims of the colonial Government.

The Commission did not take up the matter of university education. It recalled the 'filtration theory' found in Macaulay's Minute, that the English-educated elite should take upon themselves the role of diffusing the benefits of European education to the masses below. The Commission did not suggest any clear-cut plan or programme on education. It generally reiterated the ideas in Wood's Despatch. The Commission said that at the lower levels, education through the vernacular was preferable. In their enthusiasm for English,

many middle schools taught English as a subject too early and switched over to it as a medium too soon because English was the medium in many high schools and examinations were conducted in English. The Commission did not approve of this. It said:

Hence it becomes of the utmost importance to consider whether, to such pupils, the use of English or of the vernacular is most advantageous as the medium of instruction. For them, at any rate it would appear that the employment of the vernacular is preferable. A boy would in such a case receive a sound vernacular education suited to his station in life and he would acquire a useful, if elementary, knowledge of English in addition.

At the same time, the Commission, in the same report, argued:

To a boy so educated even an elementary knowledge of English is of unquestionable value, not only by reason of mental training, which its acquisition has involved, but also in regard to his business or other relations with the outer world.

As a result of this ambivalent attitude, the Commission did not propose any specific recommendation regarding the medium of instruction. In a way, the Commission allowed the market forces to decide this, knowing full well that English was the language of the Government. The Matriculation examination was the entrance examination to the university and it was conducted in English; middle school instruction was preliminary to high school education; so English continued to be considered the most important language. This continued and the Commission did not suggest any measures to break this circle since there was a demand for English and English education (Indian Education Commission Report: 210-11).

But the Commission suggested an alternative. It recommended a commercial or what is now called *vocational stream*—‘In the upper classes of high schools there can be two divisions: one leading to the entrance examination of the universities, the other of a more practical character intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits’—hoping that a practical

or commercial education would acquire a real and independent market value, and suggested that while working out the scheme, railway companies, banks and other commercial establishments may be consulted.

It was a very useful suggestion and some provinces implemented the scheme and accepted either of the alternative courses as sufficient general test of fitness for public services. However, even in these courses, English was made a compulsory subject, and the vernacular only a second language. The alternative course was not very popular, since most students opted for the main stream that enabled them to qualify for the entrance examination to a university. Thus, no viable alternative to English was found. Thus Wood's Despatch of 1854 and the Indian Education Commission's Report of 1883 failed to have any impact on vernacular education in India. As Nurullah and Naik say:

There was hardly any achievement between 1882 and 1902 on the issue of adopting the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage. The idea of developing high school teaching through the medium of the mother tongue was definitely abandoned, and by 1902 the teaching of English came to be regarded as the prime object of the Secondary course. (Nurullah and Naik, 1951: 304)

Important Dates and Events

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1828–35 | Lord Bentinck's Governor Generalship—He voiced the opinion that Western education should be imparted to Indians through English. |
| 1828–40 | The Bombay Native Education society set up District English Schools in Bombay. |
| 1833 | English introduced as a subject in the Agra college and the Calcutta Madrassa due to the demand of some Indians; District English Schools were set up in Delhi and Benares. |
| 1835 | Macaulay's Minute on Education that later became the Manifesto of English education in India |

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- 1837 Missionaries began to provide a significant part of the facilities for learning English; English became the language of administration, and soon after that, the language of the judiciary.
- 1841 A high school called 'The University' was set up in Madras; it imparted education in English. It was turned into a university by a Government order in 1853.
- 1844 Office jobs (subordinate positions in the British bureaucracy) thrown open to Indians
- 1853 Charter Renewal; Civil Services were thrown open to competition and Indians were allowed to appear for the Civil Service Examination.
- 1854 Wood's Despatch, the first education policy of EIC, expresses the need for mass education and visualizes a system:
1. Starting universities in the Presidency cities
 2. Setting up institutions to train teachers .
 3. Introducing a system of grants-in-aid of to encourage private enterprise.
 4. Education Department as a unit to supervise and inspect educational institution
- 1857 Three universities are established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The 'Great Mutiny'
- 1858 The Crown takes over; transfer of power from the EIC to the Crown
- 1859 Lord Stanley, the first Chief Secretary of the State under the Crown; Wood's Despatch confirmed as the official education policy
- 1882-7 Universities of Punjab and Allahabad established
- 1882 Indian Education Commission (Hunter Commission) set up to review the progress of education. Its report confirms the policy found in Wood's Despatch.

1884	Lord Ripon's Self-Government Act; Municipalities, District Boards, Taluka Boards came into being; local self-government
1885	Indian National Congress founded
1892	Indian representation in the legislature. Dadabhai Naoroji was elected to the British Parliament as India's representative.

English Newspapers and Periodicals on the Increase

Name	Year of Establishment
<i>Pioneer</i> , Lucknow	1865
<i>Mail</i> , Madras	1867
<i>Amrit Bazar Patrica</i> , Calcutta	1868
<i>Sathia Varthamani</i> , Madurai (English-Tamil bilingual newspaper)	1870
<i>USI Journal</i> , New Delhi	1870
<i>Indian Witness</i> , Delhi	1871
<i>Subodh Patrika</i> , Bombay (Marathi-English)	1873
<i>Bihar Herald</i> , Patna	1874

Governor Generals and Viceroys During this Period

Lord Auckland	1836–1842
Lord Ellenborough	1842–1844
Lord Hardinge	1844–1848
Lord Dalhousie	1848–1856
Lord Canning	1856–1858 (Governor General) 1858–1862 (First Viceroy)
Lord Elgin	1862–1863
Lord Lawrence	1864–1869

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Lord Mayo	1869–1872
Lord Lytton	1876–1880
Lord Ripon	1880–1884
Lord Dufferin	1884–1888
Lord Landsdowne	1888–1894
Lord Elgin	1894–1899
Lord Curzon	1899–1905

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3 The Dissemination Phase

3.1 Then Came Lord Curzon

The Empire was expanding and India was gradually becoming one unit. Dalhousie's 'Doctrine of Lapse' was used to annex a number of small States that were 'misgoverned' according to the British. States like Satara, Sambalpur, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jhansi, Nagpur, and Oudh were annexed and confiscated. Many Indian rulers like the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawab of Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore and others became only figureheads. By the end of the eighteenth century, the British were able to bring the entire subcontinent under their control. Many administrative and social reforms were imposed to civilize the 'ignorant and apathetic' Hindus. These annexations, social reforms, educational reforms and scientific innovations introduced from the West had their repercussions.

On the one hand, the use of English in India brought a different kind of awareness to the minds of urban Indians. The British Empire was getting established more and more not only as a territorial empire but also in the minds of men as a result of Western education and the English language. It was the Empire of the language through education. The establishment of universities in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad and Punjab was a clear indication of this 'linguistic and cultural empire'.

In fact there was a lurking fear back in England that the spread of Western education and the English language among the Indians might make them challenge the alien rule. Sir John Malcolm, the biographer of Clive, told the Lords' Committee in 1832 that 'our Indian subjects might desire from the general diffusion of knowledge and the eventual abolition of castes, a consciousness of which would naturally incline them to throw

off the yoke of a foreign power.' He argued, 'Our power rests upon the general division of the great communities under the government... . While they continue to divide in this manner no insurrection is likely to shake the stability of our power' (*Parliamentary Papers*, Vol 1, 1832). The British saw the extension of knowledge as a source of danger, but at the same time, they wanted to produce clerks and useful subordinates to run the administration. It was from considerations of 'enlightened selfishness' that the British 'unified' India and imparted some sort of education to the 'swarthy' heathens of India.

The rumblings were there in the form of mutinies, the most prominent one being the 'Sepoy Mutiny' or the 'Great Mutiny' that happened in 1857, the same year the three universities were started. The mutiny failed but English education succeeded.

England was also facing other serious difficulties at that time, because of her preoccupation with the Crimean War, the Chinese wars and the Persian Wars. The British had to divert their attention and resources there. There was a general feeling of hostility and distance between the British and Indians on account of the bitter memories of the mutiny.

The Crown took over the administration from the EIC in 1858 and the Government of India came under the control of the British Sovereign. Lord Canning, who came to India as the Governor General in 1856, was made the first Viceroy under the new Act of 1858. No action was taken on Wood's Despatch and nothing much was happening in the field of education, due to political turmoil. It was only when Lord Ripon (1880-84) came that a scheme of local self-government was introduced, on the model of English Country Councils and Rural District Boards. Lord Ripon was keen on introducing regulations for 'the increase and improvement of Primary and Secondary schools'; the commission of 1882 that he appointed emphasized the State's responsibility to encourage and finance education

by encouraging private enterprise through grants-in-aid. But the demand for English and English education was on the increase; indigenous education was slipping into oblivion and primary education was totally neglected.

The British Empire was getting more and more well-established as a territorial empire and English and English education also got established in the minds of men, particularly in urban areas, as the 'English Empire'. The expansion of communication facilities, the printing press, the railways, the post and telegraph network, and the print media supported both the territorial and linguistic empires. It was at that time Lord Curzon came to India as the Viceroy.

Lord Curzon's views on education were as strong as those of Macaulay. He convened an Education Conference at Simla in 1901. Addressing the conference, Lord Curzon said that education in India was 'required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning but as the *key to employment*, the condition of all national advance and prosperity'

He further added:

We started by a too slavish imitation of English models, and to this day, we have never purged ourselves of the taint... English is the vehicle of learning and of advancement to a small minority; but for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue which they do not speak and rarely hear. If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be willing to recommend them. But, we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature.

Referring more specifically to Macaulay, Lord Curzon said:

Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined.

He added emphatically, 'Everywhere it was words that were being studied, not ideas', and that Indian education was just a 'mere shell with no kernel in it'.

At the same conference, he said:

The reproach has been brought against them (i.e. the colleges) that their lecturers are not teachers, but are merely the purveyors of a certain article to a class of purchasers, that this article happens to be called education, and the purveyor stands not behind a counter but behind a desk. There may be exaggeration in this description, but there may also be a grain of truth. (Raleigh, 1906)

Curzon was blowing hot and cold in the same breath. This championship of vernacular education was prompted mostly by his colonial concern that English-educated people had started revolting against the British governing class as a result of Western ideas like liberty, equality and fraternity. So, he felt that English education itself was elitist and dangerous. He advocated the cause of Indian languages and vernacular education for the wrong reasons; he took a lot of interest in drafting the resolutions of the Simla conference that formed the Government of India's Resolution on Education Policy (1904).

The Indian Education Commission appointed in 1882 did not take up the matter of university education and left it untouched. After the universities were established in India in 1857 and later, there were a number of problems connected with their administration, and defects were noticed in the system. Moreover, London University, which served as a model to Indian universities, was only recognized in England in 1898, and it became necessary for Viceroy Lord Curzon to review the system in India with a view to tightening government control on higher education and the provision of funds.

3.2 The Indian Universities Commission

The Indian Universities Commission was appointed in 1902, resulting in the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The Commission was basically appointed to draft proposals to improve the working of universities in India, and to recommend measures to raise the standard of university education. Unfortunately, the commission's recommendations merely rehabilitated and

strengthened the existing system. The Commission recommended measures to supervise and control universities and colleges, without recommending any measures to improve the quality of higher education.

The Commission of 1902 made the following observations about the state of English in the Indian educational system:

Notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the course, the results are most discouraging. Students, after Matriculation, are found to be unable to understand lectures in English when they join a college. In some cases, the difficulty is said to disappear after a short time; but it appears to be the case that many students pass through the entire University course without acquiring anything approaching a command of the language, and proceed to a degree without even learning to write a letter in English correctly and idiomatically. Even those who have acquired a considerable felicity in speaking and composition are, as we ourselves had many occasions of observing, lamentably deficient in pronunciation.

The Commission blamed school education for the state of affairs in colleges and universities and suggested, as a remedy, the improvement of English at the school level.

Unless, however, a good training in the vernacular is given in the schools, no effort of the University will avail. At present the subject is frequently neglected and teaching is relegated to ill-paid and incompetent instructors. As in the case of English, so in the case of the vernaculars, better teachers are a primary need. Every boy should, on the completion of his school course, be required to pass an examination severe enough to show that he has knowledge of his own language sufficient to enable him to express himself with ease and propriety. (The Indian Universities Commission Report)

The Commission noted that, in most states, the study of modern Indian languages was neglected. But it did not recommend any remedies for the situation. The Commission was somewhat concerned about the development of the Indian vernaculars and not about their use. An argument about the

development of Indian languages was repeatedly made in its report. Like all other reports, the content was educationally sound. But, since the intentions were politically motivated, implementation suffered.

Lord Curzon used the Commission's report to tighten Government control on educational institutions. Lord Curzon was highly bureaucratic and had utter contempt for Indians and Indian opinion. No Indian was invited to the Simla conference of 1901. He did not give any representation to Indians in policy making. He centralized even school education under a Director-General of Education. He gave the full support of the Government to schools, and arranged for grants.

But the ground realities were different. Schools grew and disappeared like mushrooms but literacy among the masses did not improve. In all fairness, it must be said that the Government established a number of schools to teach the vernacular but the attempt did not meet with any success. In Bengal, one hundred and one native language schools were established, but they failed because the local people were unwilling to support a 'traditional' school. All these experiments to improve education in vernacular languages failed because of the rising tide in favour of English coming in great force, particularly from Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

3.3 The Government of India Resolution of 1904

The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 recommended that English not be introduced as a medium of instruction before a child was able to understand what was being taught in that language. Lord Curzon was very impressed by this and the Government of India passed a resolution in 1904 called the Government Resolution on Educational Policy. The resolution stated:

It is time that the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands, and the fact that the final examinations of the high schools are conducted in English, cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English *as a language* and its use *as the medium of instruction*; while for the same reasons the study of the vernacular in these schools is liable to be thrust into the background.

The resolution strongly recommended that 'this tendency required to be corrected in the interests of sound education.' That marks the beginning of the revival of vernacular education.

The resolution suggested that the following steps be taken to correct this tendency:

1. English should not be taught as a language until the learner had received a thorough grounding in his/her first language.
2. English should not be introduced as the medium of instruction prematurely; it could be introduced as the medium of instruction only when the learner was able to understand what is taught in English.
3. English should not be introduced as the medium of instruction before the age of 13. Even then, the study of the vernacular should continue till the end of the school course.

All three suggestions were academically sound, and they were implemented. The Government of India Resolution became the policy statement of the Government. So, after 1902, a number of schools introduced English as the medium of instruction only around the age of thirteen. The study of the vernacular was allowed in the initial stages and only after three or four years of schooling in the mother tongue, was English taught as a language.

Thus, there were schools where a child could continue in the vernacular medium up to the age of twelve or thirteen; there were also schools where a child could study in the vernacular medium up to the age of eight or nine before taking up English

as a subject. These streams were available in addition to the English-medium schools. Lord Curzon's policies had their effect and Indian vernacular languages were used in a number of schools (variously called primary, elementary, middle, upper primary, lower secondary etcetera in different parts of the country) up to the age of eight or nine, and in some up to twelve or thirteen. This policy gave much-needed impetus to vernacular education. Lord Curzon's intentions might have been otherwise but the policy had its impact on school education. The Government also felt that students who had been through a complete vernacular stream were exceptionally efficient mentally. But English was the medium of instruction at the secondary school level and at the higher levels.

3.4 The Indian Universities Act

The recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission and the Government of India Resolution of 1904 resulted in the Indian Universities Act of 1904. This Act, by and large, embodied the recommendations of the commission and the resolution. It only dealt with administrative and procedural matters and not with the medium of instruction, development of vernacular education, and other academic matters.

The Act enlarged the scope of universities by introducing teaching departments; the universities were allowed to appoint teachers to do teaching and research. Till then, the universities were only affiliating bodies with the duty of conducting examinations. The Act also codified the rules and regulations regarding the functioning of the Senates, Syndicates and other executive bodies of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and fifteen other cities. In addition, the territorial jurisdiction of each university was fixed. All this increased official control though it created a more efficient structure. Lord Curzon's reforms made university education develop a stereotyped pattern with no scope for creativity; the reforms actually stifled university education, and English continued to be the language of higher education.

3.5 The Growing Demand and Uniformity

Official policies apart, the demand for English and English education was spreading like wildfire; more and more Indians were asking for English and English education, and the rulers were subtle enough to encourage them. The following table shows the nature of the demand and expansion:

Data for 1901–1902

Type of Institution	No. of Institutions	No. of students
<i>Arts colleges</i>		
English	140	17,048
Oriental	5	503
<i>Professional Colleges</i>		
Law	30	2,767
Medicine	4	1,466
Engineering	5	190
Teaching	4	865
Agriculture	3	70

The expansion was highest in the Arts Colleges, which offered subjects like English literature, History, etc. Professional Colleges formed a negligible part of the educational system; there were hardly any takers for Oriental education.

An important feature of the colonial educational system imposed on India by the British was its uniformity, allowing only minor provincial variations at the level of secondary education. The British were interested in making India a viable administrative unit so that they could rule the country as one unit, and university education was used as a powerful tool towards that aim.

The principle of uniformity and control conditioned the scope and character of collegiate education throughout the

subcontinent. Oriental colleges were few in number and too weak to alter the educational scenario. Even the Indian Education Commission (1882) had noted the uniformity in higher education. Everywhere, European literature and science formed the core of the curriculum and English was compulsory; English was the medium through which all examinations were conducted.

The chief instrument in the attainment of cultural uniformity through education was the mechanism of the Universities Act of 1904. The new Act gave universities a decisive authority over the teaching in the colleges that lay within their limits; the universities directed their curricula, virtually dictated the tone and character of the instruction in all institutions and examined their teaching; standards in the colleges were guided by the universities and high schools had to follow suit in order to prepare students for the colleges. Thus, the universities determined the structure and content of collegiate as well as secondary education. Control was exercised through the entrance examination, the gate through which all prospective students had to pass before commencing their collegiate studies; they were examined in English, a classical language or a vernacular language (i.e. modern Indian language), history, geography, mathematics, and in some areas of physical science. Even candidates from the vernacular medium stream were examined in English and required to answer questions from the same stock of European knowledge and cultural immersion as others from the English medium stream. By subjecting all students to the same testing standards at the entrance level, the university system tended to produce a body of Indians who had received the same kind of intellectual discipline. Thus, the entire system was becoming a huge machine for manufacturing degree holders fit to be clerks; there was no scope for creativity or original thinking. The Hunter Commission of 1882 noted that the recipients of collegiate instruction were not the 'crown and flower of Indian humanity'. Many degree holders suffered from defects of personality,

superficial learning, and pretentious self-assertion, even though they were hardly to blame for much of this. At the same time, a university degree served as a passport to the civil service.

It must also be said that more and more Indians were asking for a uniform type of English education. Though there were occasional attacks on European education and Western influence by individuals, groups and associations, there was no sustained effort to halt the dissemination of English and English education. Even the Hindu cultural nationalism that found fault with the Western system never consisted of more than a few editors and their followers; there was practically no opposition to cultural indoctrination through education; native Indians were satisfied with the material benefits of the system.

The following resolution, adopted on 2 July 1870 at the Town Hall of Calcutta, shows the wide support that English education enjoyed among the urban population of India.

That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the people of India have derived the greatest benefits—social, moral, and intellectual—from the system of education through the medium of the English language inaugurated by the late Lord William Bentinck, and encouraged and supported by successive Governors-General; and this meeting would regard as a political calamity, the withdrawal or diminution of the assistance now afforded by the State to English schools and colleges.

Indians wanted uniformity and financial support in the form of grants-in-aid to all English medium institutions. With all its shortcomings the English education system symbolized the high promise of Western civilization to the impoverished and caste-ridden people of India.

The impressive growth of higher education actually accelerated the growth of secondary level English education; obviously, the maintenance and extension of an efficient system of secondary education became essential for the university system to function properly. Arts colleges and professional institutions depended on high schools to supply the stream of candidates for the

university entrance examination. Hence, the secondary schools constituted the base of the English educational pyramid, which was crowned by the university system.

The standards of secondary schools were higher than those of primary schools and there was no clearly defined standard that could cover and control secondary education in all provinces. The standards were determined by the Matriculation standards of the universities, since those were the pre-requisite to a course at the college; the lower limit was not determined. Primary education had no such content or structure.

3.6 English as a Unifying Agency

The uniformity brought about by English education promoted unity, as an unexpected by-product, within the ranks of the educated class. When Indians were dependent on the vernacular of their particular region, there was not much scope for the interchange of ideas even between the educated groups from different parts of the country. Earlier, an educated Marathi or Gujarati from Bombay, for instance, as soon as he stepped beyond his region found himself a perfect stranger, unable to speak or understand the language of another region like Bengal or Madras. But English education and the English language produced a binding value and a common medium of intercourse. The common language and the print media assisted the growth of unity of thought among the members of the widely-scattered English-educated class. The English language was, in a way, beginning to become the lingua franca of India, and the educated class started appreciating the value of the unification as well.

The actual size of the educated class at the turn of the century is a matter of guesswork; it was very difficult to determine the actual size of the English-educated class as accurate statistics of even educational institutions were not recorded. The Hartog Committee (1928) found that there were almost a hundred arts and professional colleges in which 9000 students

were enrolled; according to official estimates, 486 secondary and middle schools had an enrolment of more than 60,000 students.

But the size of the English-educated class, who had been instructed in English literature, science, the history of Europe, and Western philosophy was very limited. According to the census of 1881, British India had about 198.5 million inhabitants; this means that proportion of children attending secondary and middle schools out of the entire population was 1: 3,300, while the proportion of students in the arts and professional colleges was only 1: 22,000 of the population. Thus even about sixty or seventy years after the initial steps to introduce English education and European learning, both were limited to a tiny fraction of India's population. This fraction was steadily growing, but even now it is only an insignificant proportion of the vast population of India.

At the same time, the religious and racial composition of the educated class was heavily weighted in favour of the Hindus, and the Muslims formed but a small and disproportionate minority. An appendix to the report of the Education Commission quoted from a representation given by a Muslim:

I think it is the neglect of English education, and this neglect is the consequence of their prejudices—they used to show hatred towards English education, they did not make themselves qualified, they ever supposed that English education would greatly demoralize their character. This false notion, although greatly removed either by the pressure of time or change of their opinions, is still hovering over the minds of some country Mohammedans. ... The Mohammedans of India have lifted their hands against themselves, and they have become the cause of jeopardizing their own interest neglecting at the beginning the study of the English language.

The Muslims looked upon English education with contempt and aversion, and even those who managed to get into English education found themselves left behind by the Hindus. While the Hindu was content with learning his vernacular and English, adding Sanskrit for religious purposes when required to do so,

Muslims could not get on without the languages handed over to them by their religion and race. Persian was to them what Greek had once been in Europe, and Arabic took the place of Latin. So they were at a disadvantage in their habits, mental structure, and linguistic heritage.

The result was that only a microscopic section of the population knew English, and they were entering the administration.

In addition to the unity forged by English and English education, the English-educated class came into close contact with the main currents of the English and European civilizations. Newspapers, magazines, books and other publications in English from England found increasing favour with the Indian public; Indians started taking a lively interest in everything relating to England and Europe; they visited England for purposes of education and business or simply out of curiosity. Many young graduates, who received degrees in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other cities, went to England in order to complete their education at one of the British universities or at the Inns of Court in London. Indians aspiring to positions in the Indian Civil Service (ICS) also went to England to prepare themselves for the ICS Examination.

3.7 Unification and Destruction

On the one hand, English and English education became a unifying factor; on the other hand, they had a destructive effect on traditional Indian values and occupations. The Hindu intellect had been inclined to support the religious and cultural fabric created over the centuries; but English education brought the Indian youth in contact with a body of knowledge that openly questioned many traditional faiths and values; European learning and English education brought about a critical temper. This conflict created social tensions and some felt that English education was the source of all our woes, while some others thought that it was the fountainhead of all our development, prosperity and happiness.

The following letter written by Doorga Mohan Doss, a Bengali, in *The Statesman* in the year 1878, makes interesting reading.

Europe-Returned Hindoos

To,

The Editor.

Sir,

It is well known that at the present moment the position of the native gentlemen who have visited Europe, as regards their families and orthodox Hindu relations, is anomalous and unsatisfactory. On the one hand, the orthodox Hindus, however they wish to do so, cannot receive their 'Europe-returned' relatives into their houses, until the young men have performed the usual rites and ceremonies of being purified. On the other, the young men consider it *infra dig* and hard to be called upon to perform outrageous ceremonies when they assert that, in visiting Europe for education and improvement, they have not discarded the faith of their fathers. The consequence is that there is an estrangement between father and son, between brother and brother, between uncle and nephew. To bridge over the gulf, which is gradually widening, between the young men and their relatives, and to place the former in their legitimate positions among their countrymen and their relatives, some of the leading men of the orthodox native community, who are well known for their enlightenment, patriotism and sympathy for the progress and well-being of their country, and who are alive to the necessity of allowing an opportunity to those native gentlemen who have returned from Europe to be taken back into the bosom of their families, have placed themselves in communication with some of the principal pundits and adhyapaks of Calcutta, in order to obtain from them, some authority from the Shastras, some *vyavस्था*, which will enable both parties to come to an understanding on the vexed point without infringing caste rules or violating the provisions of the Shastras ...

Doorga Mohan Doss

Such conflicts also had the effect of producing sentiments of nationalism among educated Indians; in schools, colleges,

and universities students read and absorbed the principles of freedom, liberty and fraternity that run through every line of English literature. In 1878, Surendranath Banerjee, a Bengali intellectual, said:

English education has uplifted all who have come under its influence to a common platform of thoughts, feelings and aspirations. Educated Indians whether of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, or the North Western Provinces are brought up under the same intellectual moral and political influences. Kindred hopes, feelings and ideas are thus generated. The educated class of India is thus brought nearer together.

The seeds of nationalism were sown by European knowledge and English education; the English language brought educated Indians together and they found a common language in which to express their nationalistic sentiments. However, English education proved to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it created a new awareness and helped the unity of the educated people; on the other hand, it destroyed the traditional occupations in the Indian agrarian system.

The generality of the type of education imparted to the Indian students under the university system tended to restrict their options to either the government service or something similar. Consequently the administrative, legal and judicial professions were getting overcrowded, while other professions related to research in chemistry or botany and other practical subjects relating to agriculture and industry were neglected. The stress placed on general studies to produce clerks and junior administrative staff at the expense of technical and industrial training ruined vocational education and research; even skilled artisans from the country tried to become clerks in a government office. The traditional occupations of their fathers ceased to be remunerative as a consequence of the humanistic education under the British rule.

Agriculture held little appeal, while manufacturing and commerce were closed for lack of skill, dearth of capital and the inequality of the terms on which Indians had to compete

with the British. A career in politics was not open to Indians. What else could be done except to qualify oneself for a clerical position in a government office and be one of the interpreters between the rulers and the ruled? The Act of 1833 opened the doors of the Civil Service to Indians and the demand for subordinate posts in the government service increased. Government service became the most desirable occupation and a mark of status in India among the educated class.

Foreign acculturation was implicit in the whole educational system. Educated Indians exhibited surprising prowess in mastering English literature.

Sir Charles Trevelyan observed: 'A young Hindu who has made the most of his time at college will write by the hour a somewhat florid and stilted English with perfect ease and accuracy, and will read, enjoy, and criticize any of our authors, from Chaucer down to Robert Browning and Carlyle.' Most students had read Gibbon, Shakespeare and Milton, knew Shelley almost by heart and had a good knowledge of Keats, Byron, Dr. Johnson, Longfellow and the Lake poets then so popular. They had read all of Scott, Dickens and Thackeray, and possessed a fair idea of the history of European civilization. A Bengali gentleman wrote, 'If you happen to be travelling in a railway carriage in India, you will find scores of Bengali gentlemen reading English books as a matter of recreation, and some perusing *The Times* newspaper...'. They were accustomed to carry on conversation in English and felt at home in English. Even the British found no difficulty in communicating with the gentlemen and ladies of India. Some Englishmen found 'cultivated' natives in the principal towns of India, who spoke with an elegance and eloquence that few could surpass. Thus, English education was producing 'gentlemen-clerks' of the 'most obedient' type in India.

Educated natives had not taken part in the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857 and remained 'faithful and loyal' to the British rulers, but the situation had changed by the end of the century. The English-educated Indians were becoming aware of the destruction of their country, its agriculture, trade and village industries and

how the rulers were plundering their country and exploiting them. They began to think and agitate—influenced by Western education.

The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885; and in 1892 Dadabhai Naoroji was elected to the British Parliament as India's representative.

These and other 'million mutinies' were brewing in several parts of the country. That was the time when the English educational system was, though inadvertently, forging the unification of the Indian subcontinent and bringing educated Indians together through a common language, English. 'All differences of race and religion, and rivalry are gradually sinking before this common cause,' wrote Dadabhai Naoroji in 1882; he declared, 'Hindus, Mohammedans and Parsees are alike asking whether the English rule is to be a blessing or a curse', and added, 'This is no longer a secret, or a state of things not quite open to those of our rulers who would see.' The use of a common language helped the native intelligentsia to exchange ideas with comparative ease, and reinforced the forging of unity within their ranks. One can even say that what a common religion was unable to do, was, in a way, accomplished through English education, the English language, the English press, the communication and transport network, and a material culture, which the British government introduced to 'enlighten' the natives.

3.8 The Government of India Resolution of 1913

Gopala Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915) was a patriot and a staunch advocate of compulsory primary education in India; he was a professor and the Principal of Ferguson College, Poona, and President of the Indian National Congress in 1905. He founded the Servants of India Society. As a nationalist and educationalist, he made heroic efforts to make the government accept the principle of compulsory primary education. He

introduced a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911, but the bill, as expected, was rejected. However, the Government could not ignore the popular demand for mass education. The seeds sown by Gokhale came up for harvest in the form of a Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy in 1913. Through this resolution primary education in India got some recognition and the Government promised to make funds available for primary level education. It recommended the starting of primary schools at proper places and teacher training programmes for teachers of primary schools during vacations. A number of recommendations regarding the improvement of the curriculum and the mode of examination at all levels were made. The resolution also provided for the expansion of university education and recommended the starting of fifteen more universities. The existence of 5 universities and 185 colleges was considered insufficient; as a result the number of universities increased to nineteen by 1946–47; and the number of colleges to 231 in 1921 and 385 in 1939.

The 1913 resolution was silent on English as a language or as the medium of instruction. The question of introducing Indian vernaculars as the media of instruction at the secondary stage arose before the Imperial Legislative Council in 1915. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya suggested that a committee be appointed to study the problem in detail, but the proposal was opposed and dropped, not on the basis of sound educational policy or educational psychology but on the basis of educational economy.

The usual arguments given were:

1. Suitable textbooks were not available in the Indian languages; there was no technical vocabulary in subjects like science, mathematics etcetera in the vernaculars.
2. There were no suitable teachers for teaching technical subjects in the vernaculars.
3. There was no demand for vernacular education.

4. There was not enough money; it would be very expensive to introduce Indian languages as the media of instruction.
5. The exposure to English would be reduced.

So, there was no change in the policy of the government, and English continued to be the medium of instruction and examination in most secondary schools and in colleges.

The government of India convened a conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi in January 1917, and a meeting of the representatives of local government at Simla in August 1917. Both the conferences considered the question of introducing the vernaculars as the media of instruction at the high school level; it was ultimately decided by the majority of the delegates that the study of English as a language should be introduced early and that English should be adopted gradually as the medium of instruction in the highest two, three or four classes of the high school. However, it was felt by many that the students must have the option of answering the examination at the end of the high school course in English or in the vernacular in all subjects except English. But there was no unanimous agreement on any one of the issues raised. So English continued to be the medium of instruction as well as examinations.

3.9 Calcutta University Commission (1917–19)

As recommended by the Government of India Resolution of 1913, a commission was appointed to study the problems of Calcutta University, but the problems studied were more or less common to all Indian universities. The Chairman was Dr M. E. Sadler, so the commission is also known as the Sadler Commission. Like all other commissions, the Calcutta University Commission (CUC) also stressed the importance of the mother tongue in education and, at the same time, reiterated the principle of educational economy.

The CUC boldly pointed out the mismatch between the *intentions* of the government and the *implementation* regarding mother-tongue education and the development of the vernacular languages of India. The CUC said:

In spite of emphasis laid by government ever since the time of Macaulay upon the importance of serious study and systematic development of the vernaculars, the study of the mother tongue has been gravely neglected alike in the schools, in the colleges, and in the university; the demand of vernacular knowledge made upon the students being of the most inadequate and perfunctory character. The results of this have been unhappy, since it has involved a neglect of any proper development of the student's natural medium of thought. (Report V)

The Commission pointed out that rigorous training in the mother tongue was not only essential for the training of the mind, but a necessary preliminary to the study of English as well; it also said that the training of the mind was very essential to a proper knowledge of English. In the Commission's point of view the mother tongue and English are only complementary to each other and that they are not rivals.

We regard a severe training in the use of the mother tongue not as a dangerous rival to training in English, but as a necessary preliminary to such training. It may be that by postponing the use of the English medium the supply of ready-made English phrases will come a little later; but, when it comes, it will come to boys better able to understand and to use them. If we are to make a choice between a better education and more English words then we prefer education to mere vocabulary. (Report V)

The CUC emphasized mother-tongue education as a preliminary to the effective use of English:

The use of the mother-tongue in India as an instrument of mental training has long been neglected in the school system. The neglect is, in part, we believe, due to the premature introduction of English as the chief medium. There is much evidence in support of Sir Harcourt Butler's view that the boys who are taught through the medium of the vernacular until the highest stages of the high schools

are reached show markedly greater intelligence than those whose earlier education has been more largely conducted through the medium of English. The premature use of a foreign, and half understood, medium in teaching the ordinary subjects of the school curriculum tends to produce intellectual muddle, which is concealed more or less at the matriculation test by remarkable feats of memorization, but made plain where the new stage of the university is reached. But even for those boys who are trained in the vernacular medium, full use is not made of the mother-tongue as an instrument of mind-training. (Report V: 29–30)

The Commission very clearly and unambiguously stated that there was something unsound in a system of education that left a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother tongue fluently and correctly. It argued that ‘no young man in England would be considered to have received a sound and good education unless he possessed a mastery over his own vernacular, had learnt to avoid grammatical errors and had acquired a taste for the niceties of the idioms of his mother tongue’ (Report V: 59–60).

The commission pointed out that an English student in a foreign university could take down notes of lectures given in French or German in his own language, English. This was not possible for an average student in India. So, the Commission strongly condemned the excessive use of English as the medium of instruction in secondary schools, to the detriment both of the pupil’s education and of the rational use of both media. It said:

We think it would probably be desirable as a rule to use the vernacular as the medium throughout the secondary schools for all subjects other than English and Mathematics.... The candidates, except in English and in Mathematics, should have the option of writing their answers either in English or the vernacular. (Report V: 29–34)

The Commission recommended that Intermediate classes be separated from universities and the stage of admission to a university be Intermediate and not matriculation. It felt that

the Intermediate stage should be a terminal as well as a preliminary stage for entrance to a university, and that English should be the medium of instruction as well as examination at the Intermediate level. The vernacular was to be studied as a subject, and Muslims could study Urdu, optionally. The CUC recommended that 'English should be used as the medium in the university for all subjects except such languages as Sanskrit, Pali and the Vernacular itself,' it also recommended a curriculum spreading over three years for the degree of B.A.

The CUC was strongly in favour of bilingual education. It pointed out:

It suited that the policy laid down in the despatch was enunciated in perfectly unambiguous terms. That policy is to make English and the Indian vernacular languages co-ordinate factors in working out in India a harmonious combination of Eastern and Western civilization. It is a matter for surprise that notwithstanding the generous policy boldly outlined by the Court of Directors; the claims of the vernaculars have not been adequately recognized. Indeed, in the University of Calcutta, where successful attempts have been made only in recent years to encourage the study of vernaculars, their claims have received what cannot but be deemed reluctant recognition. (Report V: 59-60)

The CUC made the following academically sound recommendations:

1. The vernacular should be used in general throughout the high school, except for the teaching of English and Mathematics, which during the four years of the course, should be conducted in English.
2. At the high school examination (corresponding to the matriculation) candidates should be permitted to answer either in the vernacular or in English, except in the subjects of English and of Mathematics in which English should be compulsory.
3. The medium of instruction and examination in the Intermediate colleges and in the University should be

English (except in dealing with the vernacular and classical languages).

4. Phonetic methods should be employed in the teaching of spoken English and there should be a viva voce test in English both at the Intermediate colleges and at the University examination in that subject.
5. In the University, a distinction should be made between the teaching of English for practical and for literary purposes; teaching of both kinds should be available for all students; but a uniform course in English literature should not be a compulsory subject for all students in the faculty of Arts.
6. The scientific study of the vernacular should be encouraged in the University. (Report V: 344–5)

The CUC made academically sound and psychologically valid recommendations, but the principle of educational economy negated all that. In addition, there were also political and cultural reasons that favoured English and English education. The relative importance of English and of Indian languages was not just academic; it was mixed up with religious, political, cultural, economic and other practical considerations. The CUC said that the issue of the medium of instruction:

...raises questions of the welfare of the different communities within the province, of patriotism, and of high politics, beside which the questions of educational psychology and of the linguistic capacities of the vernaculars, though factors, fade in intensity in the eyes of not a few of our witnesses in comparison with those other factors; and many of the three hundred or so replies which we have received reflect in their warmth of expression the deep interest taken by the educated public of Bengal in this matter.... (Report II: 272)

The Muslims in Bengal opposed the introduction of Bengali as the medium of instruction; they argued that Mohammedan boys who studied Urdu, Persian and Arabic in place of Sanskrit would not be in a position to follow the lectures in Bengali. Hindu boys with a knowledge of a sort of Sanskritized Bengali with Sanskritic ideas and Hindu myths would be at an advantage

and Muslim boys would not only suffer in competition but also lose their Muslim identity. The CUC Report quoted the complaint of a Muslim teacher that the vernacular system, by compelling all Muslim boys to learn Bengali, mostly under Hindu teachers, had so greatly changed their ideas, manners and customs that about fifty percent of the Muslim boys in secondary schools believed in the transmigration of souls. So, Muslims strongly felt that English should be the sole medium of instruction from class V onwards.

Sanskritized Bengali was the vernacular of the Hindus and was spoken in West Bengal; but the Bengalis of East Bengal spoke a Bengali which consisted of a large number of words from Urdu, Arabic and Persian. Hindu Bengalis and Muslim Bengalis did not have a common vernacular. Though Muslims did not favour English, the devil's tongue, and English education, they did not like Indian vernaculars and Indian languages as the medium of instruction since that would teach Hindu values and give the Hindu boys an advantage in competitive examinations and in government service. This deep difference in perception helped the British to 'divide and rule' even in the field of education. The English language divided the country at some levels and united it at some other levels. Though the CUC report favoured Indian vernaculars, English became the medium of instruction because it gave a similar disadvantage to all sections of society. The rivalry among the small kingdoms and chieftains gave the British a political advantage. Similarly, the rivalry among the various linguistic groups gave the English the linguistic advantage.

The situation in the rest of the country was more or less similar to the situation in Bengal. India, being a multilingual country, could not think of any one language as a rival to English. The various linguistic groups in India were suspicious of each other. They were even prepared to accept English rather than give an advantage to another Indian language. In addition, there were problems connected with multilingualism; in multilingual areas, it was not possible to provide different vernacular media for

financial reasons. Secondly, even in one class, there were students with different mother tongues and it was not possible to teach them in different languages. Moreover, the lack of trained teachers to teach scientific subjects in Indian languages, scientific terminology in Indian languages and suitable teaching materials were the practical difficulties in the use of Indian languages as the media of instruction. More importantly, the university system used only English as the medium of instruction and the matriculation examination and the Intermediate course were regarded only as preparation for university and not as a self-contained and terminal programme. The university qualification was a passport to government service. Knowledge of English was essential for any public employment; the entire system of English education was aimed at clerical and sedentary work and not inclined towards technical or industrial pursuits.

The auxiliary committee of the CUC pointed out this problem:

There can be little doubt that one of the main attractions of the universities and colleges to men who have no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications for pursuing them, is the insistence on a university degree by the Government and other employers as a passport to service. If the Government were to abandon that requirement for all appointments for which it is not readily needed, the pressure on the universities and colleges would probably be lessened.

In spite of all the problems mentioned above, the CUC Report had some impact on education. Between 1921 and 1937, quite a few provinces introduced modern Indian languages as the media of instruction and/or examination at the high school stage; Bombay, Bengal, Madras, Central Provinces and U.P introduced the mother tongue of the learners or the Indian language commonly used in the area as the medium of instruction in teaching subjects like history and geography, but, in practice, the instruction was given in a mixture of English and the mother tongue or the regional language. However, in the majority of the schools English continued to be used as the medium of

instruction for two to four years at the secondary stage and as a subject for four to five years at the lower secondary/middle stage.

3.10 The Swadeshi Movement

A revolt against foreign rule was brewing on the national scene as a result of the awareness created by ideas found in Western education. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 as a political force. The Arya Samaj was founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati to represent the revolt of Indian thought against the invasion of Western ideas. Many other organizations like the Brahmo Samaj (under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen), Sadharana Brahma Samaj, and the Prarthana Samaj were active in Bengal, attempting to create a new vision of India. The warrior prophet of India, Swami Vivekananda, appeared in Chicago at the inaugural meeting of the Parliament of Religions in September 1893, addressed the sisters and brothers of America in English and declared that he was 'proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth' and that 'if the Hindu fanatic burns himself on the fire, he never lights the fire of Inquisition.' (Works: 3–18)

All this created a new awareness in the field of education. The 'Swadeshi Movement', a product of this awareness, advocated the growth of the vernaculars as the medium of education; a demand for 'Swadeshi education' also favoured the imparting of education through the medium of the vernaculars, English being a compulsory subject. The National Council of Education was organized in March 1906; though it was registered in Bengal, it spread to other parts of the country soon.

Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene and declared: 'I therefore regard it as a sin against the mother-land to inflict upon her children a tongue other than their mother's for their development.' He was not against English; he favoured it for international communication. That was why he declared:

I do not want my house to be walled in all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. (Narayan, 1962: 18)

A resolution passed at the Nagpur Congress in 1920 advised the 'gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government, and in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces'. In the course of less than four months, the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Gujarat Vidyapith, Bihar Vidyapith, the Kashi Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Quami Vidyapith in Lahore, and a large number of national schools with thousands of students on the rolls were started in various parts of the country. This gave great impetus to the growth of Indian languages and 'Swadeshi education'. The National Education Movement emphasized the following:

1. Indian control of education
2. The teaching of the love of the motherland
3. No imitation of the West

A number of leaders like Dr. Annie Besant were involved in this movement; subjects like Indian literatures, Indian history, Indian achievements in science, in art, in medicine, in commerce, in astronomy, etcetera were taught. National education was controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, conducted by Indians, to uphold Indian values and ideals.

At the same time, the National Education Movement also used English as a language of transaction because, by then, English had become an 'imposed national necessity'. English had assumed an inter-regional character and it was also used as the language of negotiation with the British rulers.

3.11 The Two World Wars

There were also other forces affecting the educational scene in India and the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century the balance of power in Europe was no longer stable. From 1870, Germany had rapidly grown in military and industrial importance and her imperial ambitions were regarded as menacing by other imperialist powers like Britain. The Germans were aspiring to build their empire and they wanted to establish colonies all over the world. This resulted in the two world wars—the First World War (1914–18) and the Second World War (1939–45).

The wars had their effects not only on the global economy but also on the linguistic scene. The English language became a global phenomenon. English-speaking soldiers were all over the world, and, as a result of the global interaction, a number of new varieties of English came into being. The American variety was heard in different parts of the world and it competed with the British variety for recognition. In India, a number of local varieties like Cantonment English, Butler English, Bearer English and Bazaar English were heard as a result of the interaction with the armed forces, particularly in the military-occupied areas. In the course of the interaction, Indians borrowed English words from the soldiers' usage and the latter borrowed words from Indian languages.

3.12 Reports and more Reports

As a result of the intense military and political activities in India and the rest of the world, there was not much attention paid to education in India. Under the pressure of the university education and the demand for English, English education was fast spreading all over India; at the same time, under the intense pressure of nationalism and anti-British feelings the National Education Movement was also gaining momentum.

3.12.1 Hartog Committee (1928–29)

In May 1928, the Simon Commission, a Statutory Commission for inquiring into the social, political and economic progress of India, was appointed. The commission in turn, appointed an Auxiliary Committee popularly known as the Hartog Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog, who was also a member of the Calcutta University Commission and a Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, to review the progress of education in India. The Hartog Committee reviewed all aspects of education—primary, secondary and university—and concluded that quantitative expansion in the field of education had been effected at the cost of quality, and that the immediate need was to improve quality rather than increase the numbers further. The Committee condemned the policy of ‘hasty expansion’ and recommended ‘consolidation and improvement’ in quality.

The Auxiliary Committee did not make a direct recommendation about the medium of instruction; the report concentrated only on organizational matters. But the Chairman of the committee, Sir Philip Hartog, in a lecture delivered at the London Institute of Education, talked about the problem of English as the medium of instruction in India. He referred to the observation of the Calcutta University Commission and said that ‘it was in the interest of India that English should be a compulsory second language’. This was a very diplomatic way of handling the problem and indirectly encouraging English and English education.

In 1935, the Government of India Act made education a state or provincial subject, except for certain categories like education in the Defence forces, education in Centrally Administered Areas, the administration of the Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University, and other institutions controlled or financed by the Federal Central Government.

3.12.2 Abbot-Wood Committee (1936–37)

In the same year, the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) was revived and it recommended the appointment of a committee to make recommendations for the reorganization of education. Two experts, Mr Abbot, former Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, Board of Education in England, and Mr S.H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, Board of Education in England, were appointed to study the problem and make recommendations. They submitted their report in June 1937; this report is known as the Abbot-Wood Report. The report had two parts, Technical and General; and it was based on the experience of the two authors during their visit to UP, Delhi and the Punjab. The report said that technical education was in no way inferior to general education; it recommended that technical education be linked to industry and agriculture. As a result of the Abbot-Wood Report and a subsequent report by a special committee of the CABE, the All India Council for Technical Education was formed in 1946.

The Abbot-Wood Report did not say anything new about languages; it just remarked:

The mother-tongue should, as far as possible, be the medium of instruction throughout the high school stage, but English should be a compulsory language for all pupils at this stage. But the teaching of English should be made more realistic.

Due to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, no action was taken on the recommendations of the report.

3.12.3 Zakir Hussain Committee on Basic Education

Mahatma Gandhi wrote, in the July 1937 issue of the *Harijan*, 'By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit... literacy itself is no education. I would, therefore, begin the child's education by teaching a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it began its training. Thus, every school can be made self-supporting... '

In October 1937, a conference of national workers was called at Wardha under the Presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi. The conference appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain, to prepare a plan for an Indian style of education. A scheme, known as the Wardha Scheme of Education, was prepared and it included a seven-year Course of Basic Education. The important features of the scheme were:

1. Free and compulsory education should be provided on a nation-wide scale for seven years.
2. The medium of instruction should be the mother tongue.
3. Education throughout the seven-year period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, largely related to the environment of the child.

The seven-year Course of Basic Education was to include the basic crafts like spinning and weaving, carpentry, agriculture and gardening, leatherwork, and other crafts, locally useful. It emphasized the importance of the mother tongue, mathematics, social studies, general science, drawing, music, and Hindustani. This Course of Basic Education was adopted as the National System of Education.

The Course of Basic Education emphasized the importance of the mother tongue. It stated:

The proper teaching of the mother tongue is the foundation of all education. Without the capacity to speak effectively and to read and write correctly and lucidly no one can develop precision of thought or clarity of ideas. Moreover, it is a means of introducing the child to the rich heritage of his people's ideas, emotions and aspirations, and can therefore be made a valuable means of social education whilst also instilling right ethical and moral values. Also, it is a natural outlet for the expression of the child's aesthetic sense and appreciation, and if the proper approach is adopted, the study of literature becomes a source of joy and creative appreciation.

Unfortunately, the Second World War broke out in 1939 and it lasted for about six long years. India helped Britain with men,

money and materials during the First World War (1914–1918); in the words of Lord Hardinge, who was the Viceroy at that time, ‘India was bled absolutely white.’ This was done willingly, to bring about the defeat of Germany; naturally enough, India’s political leaders were determined to obtain for their country the place to which it was entitled among the victors; the result was a sustained effort to secure self-government for India. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League (founded in 1916), the National Liberal Federation (founded in 1919) and Mahatma Gandhi launched various forms of resistance to awaken the national consciousness—passive resistance, non-cooperation, boycotts, civil disobedience—the country was in a state of widespread unrest. When the Second World War broke out in September 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow (1936–1943), pledged India’s support to Great Britain without consulting the Indian General Assembly; Indian leaders were told that they were nobodies and had better behave. This created a lot of understandable resentment and even open opposition to the Government. *Satyagraha* or civil disobedience and the ‘Quit India’ movement were started. At the same time, the war efforts were on, and India helped the allies with men, money and materials. But this time, the readiness of the Indian people to offer their services in defence of Britain’s cause was not due to patriotic feelings; the majority of men who offered their services were wage-earners and they went as soldiers and as workers in labour camps or as factory hands. The war interrupted the efforts in the field of education.

3.12.4 The Sargent Report (1944)

In 1944, the Central Advisory Board of Education in India (CABE) published a report, or a plan of action, on the post-war educational development in the country. John Sargent, the then Educational Advisor to the Government of India, prepared this report, called the Sargent Report. It outlined the type of education desired for India.

The report restated the importance of basic education for India and said that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue. It said that basic education should comprise a course of eight years, consisting of two stages of five and three years each. It stated that English should not be introduced even as an optional subject in the basic schools. Unfortunately, this report was drafted at a time when the techniques of perspective planning were not sharp enough to project the national goals; no proper research was done to project the growth of the population or the rate of economic growth. The plan proposed in the Sargent Report was not acceptable either to the Centre or to the states. It remained an academic exercise.

3.13 During the Struggle for Independence

3.13.1 The Development of Nationalist Doctrines in India

It is obvious (and even the British stated it) that the British brought their language and literature as an important tool to their colonial project; in fact, any country that invades another brings in its own language and literature to be imposed on its subjects. The Aryans did it and brought in the Sanskrit language and literature. The Mughals did it and brought in Persian and Arabic; the British also did the same.

The Macaulayan plan of education was intended to train a class of interpreters and administrators to help the rulers build and consolidate their Empire; that was the stated objective, and in order to do that they had to demoralize the Indian subjects, debunk their language, literature, religion, culture and values, and destroy their self-esteem. At the same time, it can be argued that if India is a nation today, it happened partly through the efforts of the British to build an Empire, their able administrative machinery, and mostly as a result of the anti-colonial movement. It can reasonably be said that Indian nationalism did not germinate of its own accord in the soil of

the country; it was an exotic fruit of the interplay between the seeds sown by the kind of European knowledge that was imparted through English and English education and the nurture found in the Indian soil. That was why Indian nationalism, which ironically owed as much to contact with European knowledge and English as to the inner urge of the nation to mould its destiny, did not show any real interest rejecting English and English education either during the struggle for freedom or even decades after independence. Thus, one can say that without the existence of the British regime and the element of foreign imperialism and oppression implicit in that system, the beginnings of Indian nationalism would be difficult to imagine.

Before the British came, India was ruled by hundreds of feudal lords, who had their own territories, and fought with each other frequently to prove their valour and might; India was never a country even during the Mughal period. The British, by a combination of power and administrative ability, united and controlled the subcontinent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, as it happens in any country subjected to foreign rule, the atmosphere in India during the first half of the twentieth century was favourable to the growth of nationalist sentiments. English, English education and European knowledge created an Indian intelligentsia among whose ranks the language and ideas found a ready welcome. It may be difficult to swallow the fact that it was the foreign hand that prepared India for the reception of the nationalist ideology; but the truth is that it is the 'foreign influence' that moulded the content of early nationalist doctrines.

This was what some of our Indian thinkers said:

1. One of the most remarkable features of the British rule in India has been the fact that the greatest injuries done to the people of India have taken the outward form of blessings. Of this, education is a striking example.

Ananda K. Coomarswamy

2. Were not the great leaders of the French Revolution, Voltaire and Rousseau, Diderot and Helvetius, men more or less imbued with English ideas and sentiments? England has introduced a revolutionary agent of mighty potency into this country. The revolutionary agent is English education.

Surendra Nath Banerjee

3. The first effect of this unity of a new and quite opposite civilization was the destruction of much that has no longer the power to live... . It gave three needed impulses; it rehabilitated life and awakened the desire to a new creation; it put the reviving Indian spirit face to face with novel conditions and ideals and urgent necessity of understanding, assimilating and conquering them. The national mind turned a new page on its past culture, re-awoke to its sense and import and also at the same time saw it in relation to modern knowledge and ideas.

Sri Aurobindo in *The Renaissance in India*

4. Our language has, in fact, no word corresponding to the English word 'nation'... . And the reason is that our social synthesis practically stopped with the race-idea ... we never had therefore, this nationalist aspiration before.

Bipin Chandra Pal in *Nationality and Empire*

The great variety of races and languages, of caste, custom, of religion and tradition and various conflicting interests in the Indian subcontinent were a sufficient safeguard against any attempted unity in the land. The unity was forged partly by anti-British feelings. But there is no doubt that the content of early Indian nationalist thought was very much influenced by European education. The study of European and British history and political doctrines indoctrinated the Indian intelligentsia; such notions previously had no currency in the land of kings, feudal lords and religious doctrines. The Bengali, the Malayali, the Punjabi and the Tamilians are as much people of different 'countries' or 'nations' as the English, the French and the German or the Italians.

3.13.2 A Counter-view

At the same time, one cannot deny the sense of unity and oneness that is found in the subcontinent; one encounters a sameness everywhere from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas, with slight differences arising from the fact that people of different geographical regions follow different ways of living. But the same classics, the same *Puranas*, the same philosophical thoughts, the same traditions are found from one end to the other of Bharat. There are bound to be local variations; even other religions and philosophical streams merge with the main stream of life again with some variations that suit their faiths. Everywhere one finds the same substantive civilization. Such sameness proves that the subcontinent was designed by nature to form a grand national unity as given in the following passage:

Nature never destined India to be other than the abode of one nation. The Himalayas, the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the seas clearly demarcate one vast empire, the continuity of which is scarcely broken up even by the great chain of mountains, which run through it. The principal groups that inhabit it, are the Hindus and the Mussulmans, who have promiscuously settled all over the vast country. Disunion was the potent cause, which attested the downfall of their supremacy. (A letter to the Editor in *India Mirror*, 13 February 1885.)

The unity that was inherent and dormant was, in a way, activated by foreign learning and interaction. For example, the study of Sanskrit by Sir William Jones, Max Mueller and other European scholars, in a way, showed how Europeans and Indians were really distant cousins, since both were descendants of the same tribes that once grazed their flocks on the grasslands near the Caspian Sea; their studies showed the greatness of the Aryan civilization that had flourished in upper India. The English-educated class in India showed a reverence of their ancient past and wanted a regeneration of their country through the revival of the ancient Hindu values and ideas. Underneath, there was also a sublime dislike for the Muslim influence in, what was basically a 'Hindu India'. That was *Hindu cultural nationalism*.

There were other distinct strands in the fabric of early Indian nationalist doctrines. One school held that India was not really prosperous under the British rule; their argument was that India was in *economic* and *industrial slavery* in addition to *political slavery*. They felt that owing to the ruin of India's manufacturing potentials and the passing of economic and industrial control into the hands of the British capitalists, India's wealth was drained away into England. All the raw materials were taken away to support British industries and manufacturers. The case of cotton production in India, which was adding to the wealth of English manufactures without improving the economic condition of India's people, was given as an example. That was *economic nationalism*.

There were others who championed *political nationalism*; for them, the only unifying factor was political ideology. Gandhiji's denunciation of the Empire as a satanic creation was the starting point. They argued that Indians should take advantage of the 'favourable circumstances' brought about by the British rule to unite the Indian subcontinent. They said that in a way, the impact of European education and the common language, English, had prepared the country for national unity.

People from all strands of nationalism were English-educated and they were in the forefront of the nationalist movement. The English language itself, the linguistic and literary core of English education, contained the message; the medium was the message. But, schooled in a foreign culture, speaking a foreign language when occasion demanded, indoctrinated with political, social, cultural and economic concepts and inspired by the dream of the ancient glory of the Indian civilization, the English-educated native intelligentsia developed aspirations very different from those envisaged by Grant, Macaulay, Bentinck, Trevelyan and others. Instead of serving as the henchmen of British imperialism, the natives turned into its bitter critics; instead of begging for the benevolence of the rulers, they found fault with those in authority and raised cries of 'Quit India', 'India for the Indians', and so on. They started building their own

political and cultural organizations. Political agitation started, both violent and non-violent.

3.13.3 Unexpected Reversals

The roots of English education did produce some unexpected reversals as anticipated by some among the British rulers. Bentinck, for example, saw danger in the spread of knowledge in India. He was desirous of anglicizing Indians or rather preventing them from forming a homogenous nation. Sir John Malcolm, the biographer of Clive, told the Lords' Committee that 'our Indian subjects might desire from the general diffusion and the eventual abolition of castes, a consciousness of which would naturally incline them to throw off the yoke of a foreign power.' He argued that 'our power rests upon the general division of the great communities under the government ... while they continue to divide in this manner, no insurrection is likely to shake the stability of our power.' The opinion was that 'we had just lost America from our folly and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.' They perceived the extension of knowledge to be a source of danger, but, at the same time, they wanted to produce cheap clerks and useful subordinates to run the administration.

It was from considerations of 'enlightened selfishness' that the British imparted some sort of education to the 'swarthy heathens' of India. But the tools of enlightenment that were put into the hands of the 'slaves' by the 'benevolent masters' were effectively used by the natives for purposes other than those for which they were intended.

Michel de Certeau, a French social philosopher, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, explains the reversal tactics:

Thus the spectacular conquest of Spanish colonization over the indigenous Indian cultures was diverted from its intended aims by the use made of it; even when they were subjected, indeed when they accepted their subjection, the Indians often used the laws, practices, and representations that were imposed on them by force

or by fascination to ends other than those of their conquerors; they made something else out of them; they subverted them from within—not by rejecting them or by transforming them (though that occurred as well), but by many different ways of using them in the service of the rules, customs or convictions foreign to the colonization which they could not escape. They metaphorized the dominant order; they made it function in another register.

What Certeau says of ‘indigenous Indian cultures’ in America is also true of the cultures of the Indian subcontinent. The hostility toward British colonialism brought together regions, religions and linguistic and ethnic groups, which the colonial machine had assembled into a state called India—an administrative unit for the purposes of ruling convenience. The emotional India that emerged as a ‘nation’ was brought about by anti-colonialism. The English language helped this process in a big way.

In Shakespeare’s *Tempest*, Caliban, a West Indian who is seen as a creature outside civilization ‘on whose nature, nurture can never stick’ (IV. i. 188-9) and whose status is denied by European perceptions, is like the natives of India. Prospero’s claim that in exchange he has given Caliban the gift of language is the prototype of the European civilization that wants to enlighten the natives. Caliban’s response is very significant:

You taught me language; and my profit on’t
Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid you,
For learning me your language!

(I. ii. 365-7)

It has to be read in the context of India’s struggle for freedom and English education; it is to be read as an example of a culture that imposed its language and knowledge on another culture with a view to enlightening the natives. Indians learnt the language and ‘the profit on’t’ was that they cursed the British in their own tongue. Indians asked for the very freedom and liberty that their European knowledge gave them. Indians projected their identity in English.

Starting with Swami Vivekananda, who presented India and its spiritualism to the world, most Indian leaders projected India, its culture and values, its sensibilities and its identity in English. Sri Aurobindo projected Indian spirituality in English; Radhakrishnan presented Indian philosophy in English; Mahatma Gandhi explained his philosophy of non-violence in English; Jawarhalal Nehru 'discovered India' in English so that the outside world could discover it too. Tilak, Gokhale, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Ambedkar, Sarojini Naidu, Tagore, Jinnah, and a host of others projected India's aspirations and its quest for freedom in English. Rajagopalachari presented the Indian epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—in English. Writers like R. K. Narayanan, Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand, Ahmed Ali and many others expressed their literary creativity in English.

Henry Kissinger, in an interview (*India Today*, 28 February 1985), rightly pointed out 'India, precisely because it speaks English, is a democracy and all of us know Indians.' We may not agree with the statement that India is a democracy because it speaks English, but, certainly, the world outside knows India because Indians use English. India, its heritage, its aspirations and dreams, its problems and strengths were effectively presented to the outside world by the leaders during the freedom struggle in English. But all that happened only outside the formal educational system—the universities, colleges and schools. The formal educational system continued to be colonial in content and character. The educational system failed to cash in on what the independence struggle did with English and English education; the educational system was not decolonized.

3.14 English Becomes a Second Language

The educated Indian class became considerable in number and emerged as a group in the late nineteenth century and twentieth century. The craze for government service and a university degree also produced a large number of semi-educated Indians

who had a miserable existence as quill drivers in business houses and government offices in the larger towns of India, lacking social position and unable to rise above the status of petty clerk. They formed a kind of rootless 'educated proletariat' whose dissatisfaction with their lot was simmering. Intellectually superior Indians, the educated class, who had degrees from British Universities or one of the older Indian Universities also nursed a grievance against the haughty foreigners who had monopolized all the highly paid posts in the government service. Dislike of the British bureaucracy brought about the alliance of the educated and the partly-educated class. Therefore, it was not hard to appeal to the vast majority of Indians with the slogan 'India for the Indians'; political agitations began to bear fruit in the form of more and more enthusiastic native recruits. English, any Indian language or any combination of languages worked in the changed atmosphere. Interaction between various groups of Indians from different parts of the country increased, and the medium of interaction was English; at the same time, the interaction in English with native users of English was getting restricted to certain limited areas like political negotiations; patriotic feeling was, in a way, restricting the interaction with the British.

The English language arrived in India with the East India Company and, later, came to represent the British Empire; it symbolized power and it was promoted more as a culture. It was a language that was meant for mind-training and sophistication. Advocates of Western education and the teaching of English drew on the parallels of acculturation from European history: how Greek antiquity was passed on to Rome and how Rome civilized Europe; advocates of English education were confident of inducing an epicycle of European history in India and some in India shared that belief. The teaching of English as a culture, as a foreign language and the importance attached to English education in midwifing an acculturated elite sprang from a long-range imperialistic concern. This picture drastically changed during India's struggle for independence.

The English language was stripped of its culture and class character; the subversion was subtle, and educated Indians used English for a different purpose and made it function in a different register. In the tradition of India, the English language was absorbed as another tongue in the Great Indian Language Bazaar. It was turned into a second language, one more tongue to project Indian identity and India's aspirations. Indians, particularly those who were involved in the freedom movement, did not use the English language to learn or express British culture; instead, they used the language to abominate and debunk the white man's culture. Instead of India getting acculturated, the English language was getting acculturated.

The growth of the print media accelerated the use of English as a second language: there were only thirty-two English dailies in 1937 and the number increased to fifty-one in 1947; there were only thirty-two English weeklies in 1937 and it increased to 258 in 1947. The print media too, which was urban-based, was using English more as a second language.

'Macaulay's children', the English-educated class, took over the English language and started changing its character. The number of Indians using the language and the struggle for freedom stripped the language of its British culture and made it a tool for communication and a tongue for projecting national aspirations and sensibilities.

On 15 August 1947, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his 'Tryst with Destiny' speech before the Constituent Assembly announcing the rebirth of India as a nation, declared:

At the stroke of midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of the nation, long suppressed, finds utterance....

That utterance was in 'English' that tryst was in the English of a Cambridge-educated Indian.

Important Dates and Events

1901	The Education conference at Simla
1902	Indian Universities Commission
1904	Government of India Resolution of 1904; Indian Universities Act
1906	Muslim League founded
1911	Capital moved from Calcutta to Delhi; Bengal partitioned by Lord Curzon was reunited
1912	Resolution on Educational Policy; recommends the need for establishing new universities—six more were established during 1913–20.
1914–8	First World War
1917	Declaration of self-government; Calcutta University Commission (Sadler Commission)
1920–2	Non-cooperation movement; Nagpur Congress and Swadesi education movement
1921	Department of Education transferred to the control of Indian ministers
1925	Inter-university Board established
1928–9	Hartog Committee
1928–30	Dandi March
1935	Government of India Act: more powers to provincial Legislatures
1937	Provincial Autonomy: Congress ministers assume power; Abbot–Wood Report (1936–37)
1938	Zakir Hussain Committee on Basic Education
1939–45	Second World War
1942	Quit India Movement
1944	The Central Advisory Board of Education's plan; Sargent Report

1946–7	Expansion of education
1947	India's political independence

Viceroy's during this period

Lord Curzon	1899–1905
Lord Minto	1905–1910
Lord Hardinge	1910–1916
Lord Chelmsford	1916–1921
Lord Reading	1921–1926
Lord Irwin	1926–1931
The Earl of Willingdon	1931–1936
Lord Linlithgow	1936–1943
Lord Wavell	1943–1947
Lord Mountbatten	1947 (The last British Viceroy)

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4

The Identity Phase

4.1 The White Ruler Departs

World War II ended in 1945; in spite of the War and the Bengal famine in which more than 1,50,000 people died of hunger and epidemic disease, the political situation in India did not ease. The 'Quit India' demand became more widespread; India was in a state of confusion. The solution to the Indian problem was made possible by the defeat of the Conservative party in the British elections of 1945, and the coming to power of the Labour Party, whose main concern was to come to an agreement with Indian leaders. Lord Wavell was the Viceroy at the time; he set up an interim government, which assumed power in September 1946 with Jawaharlal Nehru as the head. At first, the Muslim League refused to take part in the Government, in October, it reluctantly consented to join; but in December it withdrew again from the Government. The Constituent Assembly opened without any representatives of the League. Mr Clement Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister, declared on 20 February 1947, in the House of Commons, that the British government intended to transfer power and responsibility to the Indians by a date not later than June 1948. Lord Wavell was recalled before the completion of his Viceregal office and Lord Mountbatten assumed office in March 1947; he was the last of the British Viceroy in India.

Lord Mountbatten realized that there was an unbridgeable gap between the Congress and the League, and, on the basis of the recommendations made by the Cabinet, he advised the partition of the subcontinent into two States: India and Pakistan. The Mountbatten plan was accepted and, on 1 July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act. On 15 August 1947, there came into existence two States: India and Pakistan.

The King of England ceased to be the Emperor of India; the office of Viceroy lapsed and in its place India and Pakistan had each a Governor General appointed by the King. Thus, on 15 August 1947, a new era began in Indian history. At this time, India was not like a finished house ready for occupation; the building was only partly erected. The Indian princes were given the right to join the newly established Dominion of India or to remain outside it. In a way, they were ordered to join the Indian union by Sardar Patel; all complied, except Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir. Hyderabad was compelled by force to yield, while Jammu and Kashmir joined the union when it was threatened with invasion by the northern tribes. The new constitution was approved and adopted on 26 November 1947, and India became a Republic on 26 January 1950.

The White rulers left but the English-educated brown 'Sahibs', creations of Macaulay, took over; the Republic of India, to a large extent, used English. The Indian constitution was written in English; the administration and the judiciary used English. The British left a network of railways, post and telecommunication and a formidable bureaucracy, all transacting their business mostly in English.

4.2 Reverence and Abhorrence

After Independence, the language issue became an emotional one; hatred of the British got mixed up with dislike for the English language; and hatred of the British and their language became a symbol of nationalism for some. They thought that English and English education were the symbols of the 'eternal slavery' and degradation of Indians; they argued that English was the root cause of all the woes of India and they wanted to throw the baby out with the bathwater. They declared that the English language should be thrown out along with the British and they even called the English-educated 'brown Sahibs' and 'Macaulay's Children'. They were responsible for the *Angrezi Hatao* campaign.

There were others who thought that Indian nationalism was a by-product of English education and that Indians got their ideas of freedom and democracy from the West, through English and English education; some of them even argued that India became a nation thanks to the British administrative network and anti-British emotions. Some pointed to material benefits like the railways, the telecommunications network, the printing press and other communication facilities that unified the country. There were still others who thought that the British master somehow gave the Indians a tongue to curse them, 'if not a song at least a tune'.

Some English-educated bureaucrats, who enjoyed the 'status' given by English education, pointed out the efficient administrative network and the hill-stations developed by the British for their comfort and convenience. They enjoyed the power and status given to them by a knowledge of English.

Once the British rulers left, the forces that united at the time of the freedom struggle started struggling to establish their own separate identities. Extreme positions were taken and the language issue was mixed with patriotism and linguistic chauvinism. Language agitations and the demand to recognise the states on linguistic grounds also started. The net result was a confused picture, without any clarity regarding the position of English in free India.

There were others who had a balanced approach to the problem. C. Rajagopalachari, the first and last Indian Governor General of Independent India, once remarked that 'The English language is Goddess Saraswati's gift to India, a blessing which Indians were privileged to receive.' One can reasonably say that the English language helped the freedom struggle to some extent; leaders from various linguistic regions were able to talk to each other and exchange their ideas in English; they were also able to tell the British about the aspirations of the Indians in effective English; easy communication was made possible thanks to English. In other words, the English language, which is a

product of the colonial rule, was a blessing in disguise. It is also true that Indian nationalism and the Renaissance of the arts and sciences in India were, in a sense, unexpected reversals of the aims of British education, or, at the most, the by-products of European education. Others can also argue, obviously, that the tools of 'enlightenment' were deliberately put into the hands of the subjects by the masters at the risk of endangering their own position; but, there is always a gap between the message intended and how it is received and used; that gap itself helps subversion. That was what happened to the intentions of the British rulers that were subverted from the inside by the Indians.

With the advent of Independence, India should have, as America did after independence, redefined its goals and priorities in education, in European education, and the role of the English language. That was not possible because the situation in India was too complex to be handled.

4.3 Lessons from History

Some scholars pointed to the parallel situations that existed in other countries regarding the position of and attitude to language. Years ago, even in England, there was a similar linguistic situation. Britain was subjected to the domination of foreign languages twice. First from AD 43 to AD 410, when the island was subjected to the rule of the Romans, Latin was the official language; it was the language of Christianity. During the second spell from AD 1066 to AD 1362, the island was under the rule of the Normans and French was made the official language. English was only a vernacular and not a respectable language. Latin and Greek were a part of the cultural transplant and French became the court language, the language of administration, and a status symbol. English was the language of the masses. The situation was similar to that of India. The Anglo-French nobility, like the Anglo-Indian class, were more loyal to the ruling class; French was the language of the cultural class and the middle class in England started learning French. The situation in England

during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was very much like that in India during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the situation in England changed; there was a strong national sentiment and the movement 'England for the English' started. Ultimately, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, England found its native voice in English, the King's or the Queen's English. Then they started singing 'Rule, Britannia! Britannia rules the waves! Britons never shall be slaves'. The Englishman was proud to be an Englishman:

He is an Englishman!
 For he himself has said it,
 And it's greatly to his credit,
 That he is an Englishman!
 For he might have been a Roosian,
 A French or Turk or Proosian,
 Or perhaps Italian.
 But in spite of all temptations
 To belong to other nations,
 He remains an Englishman!

(W.S. Gilbert. *H.M.S. Pinafore*. II)

The English tried hard, developed their language and made it the medium of instruction not only in their own land but also in India.

England assimilated foreign rule but rejected the foreign languages; India, on the other hand, rejected the foreign rule but, reluctantly, retained the alien language. The English language assimilated the influence of the French language; but, in India, English and Indian languages got mixed up. Something different was (and is) happening in India. England was a small country and more of a monolingual area; India, on the contrary, is a *multiverse*: multilingual, multicultural, multireligious,

multi-ethnic, and a vast area, a subcontinent. No single solution will be acceptable to all.

Comparisons were made with the erstwhile USSR which had 130 spoken languages, twenty of them with a written form, and only four—Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, and Armenian—with their own scripts; there were five scripts—Russian, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Vigur Mongolic. There were different ethnic and religious groups. In the old Soviet Union, language policy was the theory that was consciously influencing language development, which was politically motivated. There was considerable resistance to language reform and socialist unification. The Communist party of the Soviet Union with all its tight control could not succeed in the experiment, and the USSR ultimately broke up, partly due to linguistic reasons. Even China, a vast area like the Indian subcontinent, has variations, if only in the spoken form of Chinese; the written form is the same for all the dialects of Chinese. Some compare India with Japan, but Japan is a small country and is monolingual.

So, these comparisons have only limited parallels. India is the world's largest democracy and democracy brings with it the uncertainties and diverse points of view that go with the freedom of expression. That was why there was no clear-cut stand towards English. Jawaharlal Nehru's famous statements capture the pangs of 'English India'. He declared that it was the Government's policy to shake India free of English within a generation; but, he 'declared' again:

.... For an indefinite period—I do not know how long—I should have, I would have English as an associate, additional language which can be used, not because of facilities and all that, but because I do not wish the people of non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance are closed to them because they are forced to correspond—the Government, I mean—in the Hindi language. They can correspond in English. So, I could have it as an alternative language as long as people require it and the decision for that—I would leave not to Hindi-knowing people, but to non-Hindi-knowing people. (Nehru, 7 August 1958)

Earlier, he had 'declared' during the parliament discussion on the report of the States Re-organization Commission:

I recognize that the language of the people is a vital matter for their development, whether it is in education, administration or any other matter. But there is a distinction between developing the language to the fullest extent and their passion for building up a wall around a linguistic area and calling it a border. I completely accept the statement that people cannot really grow except through their language, but it does not follow that in order to make their language grow, a barrier must be erected between them and others. (Nehru, March 1953)

4.4 More Commissions and Committees

In post-Independence India, there has been no clarity regarding the goals of education in general, English education in particular, and the status of English. All the commissions and committees appointed to study the problem of education in India have emphasized the importance of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction and the study of English as a subject; these were emphasized earlier by all the committees and commissions, starting with the Wood's Despatch. It is interesting to note that most of the recommendations found in the reports written after 1947 are also found in the reports written before 1947. All the recommendations point to the fact that English and English education are well entrenched in the educational system of India; English got institutionalized in India and it got its own identity after 1947.

The following commissions, committees, and events are worth mentioning in the context of the history of English in India.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1948-9 | The University Education Commission.
Popularly known as the Radhakrishnan
Commission |
| 1951 | Committee on Primary Education |

1952–3	The Secondary Education Commission. Popularly known as the Mudaliar Commission
1956	The Official Language Commission
1958	All India Language Conference
1961 (August)	Chief Ministers' Conference
1961 (October)	National Integration Conference
1963	The Official Language Act (Amended in 1967)
1964–6	The Education Commission, popularly known as the Kothari Commission
1968	NPE : National Policy on Education
1969–71	The Study Group Report on the Teaching of English, popularly known as the Gokak Committee Report
1979	The Draft National Policy on Education by the Government of India
1986	NEP and POA: National Education Policy and Programme of Action (NEP is also known as NPE: National Policy on Education)
1989	CDC Report : The Report of the Curriculum Development Centre
1990	Acharya Ramamurti Commission

4.4.1 The University Education Commission (1948–9)

Following the colonial educational policy, immediately after Independence, a commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr S. Radhakrishnan, a distinguished

philosopher and the former Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, who later became the President of India. The Commission consisted mostly of intellectuals and educationalists. It considered the role of University education in broad, universal terms, emphasizing goals like awakening the innate ability of men and women 'to live the life of the soul by developing wisdom', training for self-development and the development of values 'like fearlessness of mind, strength of conscience and integrity of purpose.' Dr. Radhakrishnan, being a great philosopher, outlined the aims of education in idealistic terms.

The report first outlined the benefits given by English education:

Now it is true that the English language has been one of the potent factors in the development of unity in the country. In fact, the concept of nationality and the sentiment of nationalism are largely the gift of the English language and literature in India. This debt alone is considerable, and the fear that, in the absence of the binding force of English, there will be reversion to old differences and divisions is so great that many advocate the retention of English as an instrument for the continuance and fostering of the unity which it has helped to create. But, in addition, English has supplied us with the key to the fundamental ideas of modern civilization, modern science and philosophy, and what is even more important, for all practical purposes English will continue to be the principal means of maintaining contact with the outside world. Besides, English is an international language and, if catastrophic events do not alter the present posture of world forces, it will soon be the world language—English has become so much a part of our national habit that a plunge into an altogether different system seems attended with unusual risks.

But, the Commission said that the risk must be taken:

English cannot continue to occupy the place of state language as in the past. Use of English as such divides the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other, and mutually uncomprehending. This is a negation of democracy. (Report: 319–25)

The Commission recommended that Hindi should be the alternative:

There is no other alternative but to choose a language spoken by a high percentage of the people of India, to give it the status of state language, and to develop it for the chosen task. ... National needs compel the recognition of Hindi (Hindustani) as India's federal language. (Report: 319–25)

At the same time, the Commission emphasized the importance of English:

English however, must continue to be studied. It is a language which is rich in literature—humanistic, scientific and technical. If under sentimental urges we should give up English, we would cut ourselves off from the stream of ever growing knowledge—our students must acquire sufficient mastery of English to give them access to the treasures of knowledge, and in the universities, no student should be allowed to take a degree who does not acquire the ability to read with facility and understanding works of English authors. (Report: 319–25)

Regarding the medium of instruction, the Commission made the following recommendations:

1. The federal language should be developed through the assimilation of words from various sources and the retention of words which have already entered Indian languages from different sources.
2. International technical and scientific terminology should be adopted, and the borrowed words be properly assimilated.
3. English should be replaced as early as practicable by an Indian language as the medium of instruction for higher education. This language cannot be Sanskrit on account of vital difficulties.
4. (a) Pupils at the higher secondary and university stages should be made conversant with three languages—the regional language, the federal language and English (the last one in order to acquire the ability to read books in English),

and (b) one script, Devanagiri, should be employed and for the federal language, some of its defects be removed.

5. English should be studied in high schools and in the universities in order to keep in touch with the living stream of ever growing knowledge.

The report of the Radhakrishnan Commission was full of high-sounding expressions and lofty ideals (like rediscovering the glory of our cultural heritage), and contradictions. It says Hindi is the language of a minority and there are languages like Tamil, hallowed with age:

Hindi is a language of the minority, although a large minority. Unfortunately, it does not possess any advantage, literary or historical, over the other modern Indian languages. Tamil, for instance, is hallowed with age and possesses a literature which vies with that in Sanskrit. Marathi goes back to the thirteenth century and Bengali claims a continuous growth since the ninth.

The report says that English has 'become so much a part of our national habit', but, in the same breath, points out that the use of English 'has divided the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other and mutually uncomprehending, which is a negation of democracy.' The Commission rejected English but accepted the debt we owe to the language. There were a number of important issues like the development of Indian languages, the time required to replace English and how it was to be done that remained unanswered in the report. It is one thing to declare that English must go but the educated people and the intellectuals brought up in the Macaulayan tradition were fully aware of the implications of such emotive declarations; it is not so easy to discard overnight something that has been with the country for more than a hundred years. In a way, the Radhakrishnan Commission raised the old question found in every report right from Macaulay's Minute—English versus the Indian languages. Lord Macaulay, as could be expected, opted in favour of English but free India could not afford to say that for reasons of patriotism.

The Radhakrishnan Commission Report, the first one to study the language problem in India, inadvertently sowed the seeds of the Hindi versus non-Hindi controversy and language conflicts; the non-Hindi areas perceived a grave threat to their languages, the balance of power, and even employment opportunities.

4.4.2 Committee on Primary Education

The next committee, appointed in 1951, under the chairmanship of Mr B.G. Kher, the then Chief Minister of Bombay, was the Committee on Primary Education. The Committee recommended mostly administrative measures and the creation of educational institutions in small municipalities and panchayats. It did not go into academic matters connected with primary education.

4.4.3 Secondary Education Commission (1952–3)

The Secondary Education Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, the then Vice-Chancellor of Madras University; it submitted its report in 1953. It is popularly known as the Mudaliar Commission. It concentrated only on school level education. The Commission recommended the diversification of courses after the middle stage, the establishment of multipurpose schools, and the improvement of teacher training programmes.

The Commission recommended the following regarding the study of languages.

1. The mother tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage, subject to the provision that special facilities should be made available for linguistic minorities on the lines suggested by the Central Advisory Board of Education.
2. During the middle school stage, every child should be taught at least two languages. English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the junior basic stage, subject to

the principle that no two languages should be introduced in the same year. At the high and higher secondary stage, at least two languages should be studied, one of them being the mother tongue or the regional language.

3. At the end of the middle school stage, pupils should be allowed to choose to continue the study of Hindi or English at the high or higher secondary level, depending on the nature of the course they wishes to pursue.

The Commission assumed that Hindi would be the federal language and English would continue for some time as the language of the union and the medium of instruction at the university level. So, it said that, in view of the fact that English was the medium of instruction in the universities, the continuance of English as the medium at the school level was inevitable.

The Commission felt that we should not be dogmatic on an important issue like the choice and study of languages. It gave several examples of countries like Switzerland where German, French and Italian were recognized as official languages and Canada, where English and French were used; they also referred to South Africa where Afrikaans, Dutch and English were commonly used. But the Commission concluded that 'until books written in the regional languages replace books now available in a foreign language, it is inevitable that students will need to have a good knowledge of English to study the subjects in the books available in that language' (Report: 73).

The Commission recommended a number of improvements in the quality of education; but the ground realities and the market forces took education mostly along Macaulayan lines. It was the university system and the demand for a university degree that decided the fate of school education. The bureaucratic hold did not allow any radical departure from the colonial pattern of education. As a result, the educational system continued to drift even after independence.

4.4.4 Official Languages Commission

In 1956, the Official Languages Commission submitted its report, which was accepted in 1958. The report said that English would be replaced by Hindi after 1965, and English would continue only as a subsidiary language. So, on 17 April 1960, a Presidential Order was issued that contained the modalities for implementing the recommendations of the report. According to the order:

1. Hindi would be admitted as an alternative to the Union Public Service Commission's recruitment
2. The language of the Supreme Court would be Hindi and it would be the language of all the High Courts in the states.

Immediately, there were repercussions in the non-Hindi areas. An All India Language Conference was convened at the initiative of C. Rajagopalachari. Representatives of Assamese, Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil and Telugu took part in the conference. They felt that Hindi was as much a foreign language as English was to the non-Hindi speaking people and that they did not want the imposition of Hindi on them. Therefore, they demanded that English continue as the language of the union without any time limit.

In 1965, anti-Hindi riots broke out. In the south, the DMK led the anti-Hindi movement; several regional and national leaders like Kamaraj Nadar, C. Rajagopalachari, Frank Anthony, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, C.N. Annadurai and others were involved in the movement. At the same time, the *Angrezi Hatao* campaign was intensified in some parts of India. There was an urgency to sort out the emotional issue. To remove any misapprehensions in the minds of the people of the non-Hindi speaking states, Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was then the Prime Minister of India, said that he would fully honour Nehru's assurance that English would be used as long as the people wanted it. He gave five assurances.

1. Every state would have complete freedom to transact its business in the language of its own choice, which could be the regional language or English.
2. Communication from one state to another would be either in English or would be accompanied by an authentic English translation.
3. The non-Hindi states would be free to correspond with the central government in English.
4. English would continue to be used in the transaction of business at the central level.
5. The All India Civil Services examinations would continue to be conducted in English.

Thus, English continued as the official, associate language.

The Conference of Chief Ministers held in August 1961 recommended a three-language formula. This meant:

1. The regional language or the mother tongue when different from the regional language
2. Hindi, or any other Indian language in the Hindi-speaking areas
3. English, or any other modern European language

The sense of equity behind this solution was not in question, the intention being to make the load of learning equal in all parts of the country and also to achieve national integration. But, it was, to say the least, an unrealistic formula, as it ignored both the lack of motivation among learners in the Hindi-speaking north to learn any other Indian language and the sentiments of the people in the south. Perhaps, it was consequent to the political opposition, particularly in Tamil Nadu, to the imposition of Hindi, as it was viewed there. No wonder the three-language formula was not uniformly adopted, at any rate not in the areas where it mattered most. The compromise was widely accepted by various language groups as a political solution to the vexed language problem.

4.4.5 National Integration Conference

The formula was endorsed by the National Integration Conference in October 1961. The Constitution was amended in 1963 to the effect that notwithstanding the time limit of fifteen years for the continuation of English, the English language *may* continue to be used, in addition to Hindi, for all official purposes of the Union and in the Parliament. But the non-Hindi areas were not happy about the use of *may* and they wanted *may* to be replaced by *shall*. So, the Official Language (Amendment) Act was passed in 1967 to remove all ambiguity in the Act. It said 'English will continue as an associate official language for an indefinite period'. Thus, English got official status even in free India.

4.4.6 The Education Commission (1964–6)

After the report of the Secondary Education Commission, there were a number of committees that examined various issues like basic education, Sanskrit education, science education, women's education, religious and moral instruction, student indiscipline, emotional integration, child care etcetera; there was even a committee on school buildings. They produced reports and more reports.

The sixth important commission on education was appointed on 2 October 1964, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, and it submitted its report in June 1966. It was a voluminous report, covering every aspect of education; it was appropriately entitled 'Education and National Development'. Professor D.S. Kothari was its Chairman; so, it is popularly known as the Kothari Commission. The report examined several aspects of education, such as education and life, the needs and aspirations of people, education and productivity, vocationalization, education and national integration, education and modernization, education and secularism, etc. It made several important recommendations like the 10+2+3 pattern of education.

The Commission did not say anything specific about the medium of instruction but discussed the problem of language

in the complex educational scenario in India; it did not recommend any one language as the medium of instruction for the country as a whole.

The report said:

It has been sometimes argued that there should be a single medium of education at the university stage—English for the time being, to be ultimately substituted by Hindi—on the grounds that it would promote mobility of teachers and students from one part of the country to another, provide for easy communication between academic men and administrators, further intellectual cooperation among the universities and help in other ways in developing a corporate intellectual life in the country. We are inclined to think, on the balance of considerations, that this solution is not feasible. In practice, it will probably mean the indefinite continuance of English as the only medium of higher education, a development that we cannot support in the larger interests of the country. The adoption of Hindi as a common medium of education in all parts of India is not possible for some years to come, and in non-Hindi areas, it will still have some of the disadvantages associated with the use of a foreign medium and is likely to be resisted. It would, therefore, be unwise to strive to reverse the present trend for the adoption of the regional languages as the media of education at the university stage and to insist on the use of a common medium in higher education throughout the country. (Report: 14)

The same dilemma persisted—English, being an alien language, cannot be the medium of education; Hindi was not acceptable to non-Hindi areas and Indian languages were not fully developed to take over the functions of English. This is the same song, in all the reports, with different tunes.

The Kothari Commission recommended that regional languages be developed and used increasingly at the higher levels too; at the same time, for all-India institutions, English be continued as the medium of instruction and Hindi be developed. It even recommended that a limited number of institutions be developed with world languages as the media of instruction with a view to promoting international cooperation and understanding. The report said that English should continue as a *library language*,

and a channel for international communication. A reasonable degree of proficiency in English was to be stipulated as essential for the award of a degree. The report also said that special units should be set up for teaching English as a language skill, as distinct from teaching it as literature.

The Kothari Commission strongly recommended that regional languages be made the official languages of the regions concerned; it even suggested that a feasible programme suitable to each university or group of universities be worked out so that the change-over could be effected as early as possible, and the regional languages be made the media of instruction. The report pointed out that the present drift in the policy was harmful. Unfortunately, the commission's report could not stop the drift.

4.5 Other Developments in English Teaching

At the international level, during and after the two World Wars, there were a number of important developments in the area of linguistics and language teaching. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the 'grammar-translation' method, which was no method but a kind of bilingual work with focus on grammar rules and literary texts; as a result the Direct Method was advocated. Henry Sweet, Harold Plamer, Michael West (who worked in India and produced his *New Method Series* and other text books), A. S. Hornby, Daniel Jones, P. C. Wren, Otto Jespersen, Champion and others influenced the growth of the Direct Method. Structural linguistics, behavioural psychology, and the World Wars saw the emergence of many language-teaching methods like the audio-lingual method, oral-aural method, situational method—all part of what came to be known as the Structural Approach. The emergence of these methods, in India too, necessitated the need for teacher training. Pre-service training for school level teaching was given importance, with changing labels like L.T., B.T., and B.Ed., and there was no focus on in-service training. Usually, the school inspectors were the interpreters of these methods and as a result, these

methods became the methods of the School Directorate and bureaucratic control increased. The college and university level was not thought fit to require any training. Pre-service training in the Colleges of Education did not keep pace with the growth of knowledge in the field; at the same time, some English Language Teaching Institutes were established in collaboration with the British Council, which remained in India even after the British left the country. There was some importance given to in-service training at the school level.

The Structural Syllabus prepared by the London School was brought to India by the British Council and introduced in Madras in 1952. The Madras English Language Teaching (MELT) campaign, adopting a 'snowball' scheme, was planned, with the support of the British Council, to train 27,000 teachers at the primary level. It was a 'snowball' brought from England (and not 'home-grown') and the MELT campaign started in 1959 melted away by 1964 in the tropical climate of Madras.

The first English Language Teaching Institute (ELTI) was established in Allahabad in 1954 with the collaboration of the British Council. In 1957, an All-India Seminar was held in Nagpur, and that constituted the first move to suggest a new syllabus for teaching English at schools at a national level. The Structural Approach was accepted in India. The Central Institute of English (now called the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages) was established in Hyderabad in 1958, in collaboration with the British council, because of the initiative taken by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; its objective was to train teachers of English, produce teaching materials and help improve the standards of teaching English in India. The institute has two Regional Centres at Shillong and Lucknow to serve the needs of the eastern and northern regions. The MELT campaign in Madras resulted in the establishment of the Regional Institute of English, South India (RIE) in Bangalore in June 1963, with financial support from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, to improve the standards of teaching English in the south. One more RIE was set up in Chandigarh

and a number of ELTIs (more than twelve) all over India. The Institutes were initially active, conducting teacher training courses and producing teaching materials, but, very soon, they became like bullocks attached to a country oil press, got into a rut, going round and round. Most of them suffered from political and bureaucratic interference, financial constraints, non-rational use of resource material, money and human resources. Some states started State Institutes of English, others appointed Special Officers for teaching English, attached to the Directorates of Education. District centres were also started for the training of teachers at the school level in some states.

The result of all these developments was a 'lang-lit' controversy, a myth that was created; those who claimed that they were teaching 'literature', the canonical texts based on the Macaulayan syllabus, claimed that only 'great' and 'serious' literature should be taught and not language. They even wanted 'language studies' to be excluded from 'English studies'. Though the situation in India and the world had changed, the Teaching of English Literature (TELI, as it is called), continued to be a humanistic discipline which was supposed to have ennobling, uplifting and mind-training properties. At least, during the colonial period (the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century), the standard canon of English literature from Chaucer and Shakespeare, through Milton, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley to Browning was read in original for its elevating and enlightening functions. But, later, during the second half of the twentieth century, bazaar notes replaced the original texts, and most students read only the notes for the sake of 'getting through' the examination. Job-seekers were in a great hurry to get a degree somehow, and there was no time or need to read the original texts or get ennobled. English had 'glamour' and offered jobs; so there was a rush. Quite a few universities allowed private candidates to appear for the M.A. examinations; many others started correspondence courses and 'Open Universities' that allowed people to appear without any age limit. These schemes

were money-spinners for the universities, and degree seekers made use of these schemes for quick results. There was no quality control and universities became graduate-manufacturing factories. There were graduates all over without any professional competence either in literature or in language. The so called language-literature controversy weakened both. Some who did not have even a reasonable competence in English even became 'ELT experts'. The departments of English in some universities were divided into two—'a cell for language and a prison for literature'. The 'lang-lit' controversy became a hot topic for many seminars and conferences and quite a few were busy attending conferences and workshops. The advocates of language teaching debunked all literature teaching and the TELI camp ridiculed the 'ELT-wallahs'. Both of them forgot to teach English; they forgot the fact that what the students wanted was competence in English. Some attempted a compromise, teaching language through literature. These controversies and experiments were confined to the departments of English in the universities and colleges. Outside, in the employment market, the demand for good communication skills in English was increasing.

Even as the 'lang-lit' debate was going on, in the sixties of the twentieth century, some marginal changes took place in the teaching of English literature in India. American literature, Indian writing in English and Commonwealth literature were introduced in some universities. The demand for teaching either American literature or Commonwealth literature did not originate on Indian soil. Meenakshi Mukherjee in an article in *Provocations* (1993) says:

American literature, for example, can hardly be regarded as having been introduced in Indian universities out of conviction within academic circles in the country that this was a significant body of writing that needed to be studied. The introduction of American literature was considerably aided by Fulbright fellowships, USEFI sponsorship and PL 480 funding. To this day, many research students, who choose to work in the area of American literature, do so because better research facilities are available within the country

in the form of books, journals, microfilms in the American Studies Research Centre library (ASRC) at Hyderabad—and possibilities of further research in the USA exist through scholarships. (Mukherjee, 1993: 25–35)

So, only material factors like opportunities to go abroad and better jobs in the universities influence the study of American, Commonwealth, and the late entrants, Canadian, and Australian literatures. The concept of the study of these literatures was bestowed upon us by outsiders, since even now we look up to British, American, Canadian and Australian ‘experts’ for academic leadership and intellectual recognition.

Occasionally, ritualistic noises are made about the importance of literatures in Indian languages, literatures in translation and Indian Writing in English but the basic framework in the universities remains the same; only cosmetic changes are attempted.

Universities in India still follow the colonial pattern of education; it is deeply entrenched in the colonial system. Teachers of English are not willing to change their mind-set. They do not want to accept the changing role of English in the world. English is no longer projected as a study of culture for humanistic purposes; English has become an important tool of international communication. Moreover, even after independence, ‘men, methods and materials’, whether in the teaching of literature or language, were either ‘imported’ or influenced by experts from outside. The British left India but the British Council remained here; many other foreign agencies operate in India to give a false sense of modernity. No serious attempt was made to evolve indigenous approaches to the teaching of English in India. There was no attempt to redefine the goals of teaching English in post-colonial India; all this resulted in an aimless drift. There was no political will or proper administrative skill to implement the policies outlined by the various commissions. There was no co-ordination among the various agencies—Central, State, the UGC, universities, colleges and colleges of education, School Education Directorates, CIE(FL), RIEs, ELTIs, etc.

4.6 National Policy on Education (1968)

However, some vague picture was evolving in the country about the role of languages: the regional language as the medium in the region concerned, at least at the school level, and the study of English as a language, Hindi and/or English as the link language and as the medium at the higher levels, and English as a library language for reading and comprehension.

In 1967, the Government of India constituted a committee of Members of Parliament to draft a statement on the National Policy on Education; its aim was to have a broadly uniform educational structure like the 10+2+3 pattern in all parts of the country. This was done on the basis of the recommendations of the Kothari Commission; the National Policy was meant to provide guidance to the State Governments and local authorities in preparing and implementing educational plans. The document was published in 1968 and it is called the NPE: National Policy on Education.

The Policy statement more or less reiterates what was said by many in the earlier reports. This was what the document said on the development of languages:

Development of Languages

(i) **Regional languages.** The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a *sine qua non* for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people, and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain, if not widen further. Regional languages are already in use as media of education at the primary and secondary stages. Urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as media of education at the university stage.

(ii) **Three-language formula.** At the secondary stage, the State Governments should adopt, and vigorously implement the three-language formula that includes the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking States, and of Hindi along with

the regional language and English in the non-Hindi-speaking States. Suitable courses in Hindi and/or English should also be available in universities and colleges with a view to improving the proficiency of students in these languages up to the prescribed university standards.

(iii) **Hindi.** Every effort should be made to promote the development of Hindi as the link language; due care should be taken to ensure that it will serve, as provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution, as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India. The establishment, in non-Hindi States, of colleges and other institutions of higher education which use Hindi as the medium of education should be encouraged.

(iv) **Sanskrit.** Considering the special importance of Sanskrit to the growth and development of Indian languages and its unique contribution to the cultural unity of the country, facilities for its teaching at the school and university stages should be offered on a more liberal scale. Development of new methods of teaching the language should be encouraged, and the possibility explored of including the study of Sanskrit in those courses (such as modern Indian languages, ancient Indian history, Indology and Indian Philosophy) at the first and second degree stages, where such knowledge is useful.

(v) **International languages.** Special emphasis needs to be laid on the study of English and other international languages. World knowledge is growing at a tremendous pace, especially in science and technology. India must not only keep up with this growth but should also make her own significant contribution to it. For this purpose, the study of English deserves to be specially strengthened.

4.7 The Study Group Report on the Teaching of English (1969–71)

The most comprehensive and detailed report on the teaching of English in India is the report of the Study Group on English appointed by the Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Government of India, in March 1969. It was asked to prepare

a working paper outlining a practical programme of action for improving the teaching of English at both the school and university stage. Professor V. K. Gokak, former Director of the Central Institute of English and then Vice Chancellor of Bangalore University, was the Chairman; the other members included Professor G. C. Bannerjee of Bombay University, Professor Ramesh Mohan, the then Director of the Central Institute of English, Shri C. S. Bhandari, the then Director of the ELTI in Allahabad, and Professor Sarup Singh of Delhi University.

The report gave a general survey of the position, followed by sections on men, methods, materials, etc. The full text of the report is available in Appendix III.

4.8 National Policy on Education (1986)

The next significant landmark was the National Policy on Education and the Programme of Action 1986. This document merely reiterates the 1968 National Policy and says:

The Education Policy of 1968 had examined the question of the development of languages in great detail; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are as relevant today as before. The implementation of this part of the 1968 policy has, however, been uneven. The policy should be implemented more energetically and purposefully.

One important step that the Programme of Action (POA) recommended was the establishment of rural institutions, i.e. schools, colleges and universities in rural areas, with the objective of idealising and promoting excellence. The establishment of these schools, however, met with mixed response. Thus the NEP and POA 1986 resulted in one more report. (The National Policy of Education is also popularly known as NEP i.e. National Education Policy.)

4.9 Acharya Ramamurti Commission (1990)

The Acharya Ramamurti Commission, appointed to review the 1986 NEP and POA, submitted its report in 1990. The report must be commended for making, perhaps for the first time, a frank analysis of the problems in the implementation of the three-language formula. It observed however, that whatever the difficulties or the unevenness in the implementation, the three-language formula had 'stood the test of time' and that it was not 'desirable or prudent to reopen it'. About the learning of Hindi and English, the Ramamurti Commission Report also made the pertinent observation reiterating a statement made by the Education Commission Report (1964-66), that the criteria should be, not years of study, but hours of study and, even more importantly, levels of attainment. The Ramamurti Commission made the suggestion that the Kendriya Hindi Sansthan (KHS), the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) and the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore (CIIL)—the three national level institutions charged respectively with the development of Hindi, English and modern Indian languages—should come together, and, in consultation with the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and the State governments, 'spell out modalities of ensuring uniformity in the matter of acquisition of language competence by students in the school system'. The objectives of such a consultation, said the report, might be

1. Specification of the objectives of teaching different languages
2. Specification of levels of language proficiency to be reached in respect of each language
3. Specification of the class from which and the duration for which the three languages will be taught

On the question of the language of instruction for higher education, again, the report made specific recommendations about the steps to be taken to effect a smooth changeover from English to the regional languages:

1. Production of university level books in Indian languages
2. Options to be given to students to take examinations at all levels in the regional language media

The Ramamurti Commission also stated the need for a fresh linguistic survey of India.

4.10 Curriculum Development Centre (1989)

One more report to be mentioned in our brief survey of policy statements with regard mainly to the place of English in education in India, is the report of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) which was set up by the University Grants Commission in 1987, and submitted its recommendations in 1989. The CDCs that were set up in various subjects at different universities were given certain directions:

With increasing awareness of the importance of the learning process a more learner-oriented or enquiry-oriented teaching method should be introduced in the instructional system, which enables the learner to engage himself in creative and divergent thinking, problem solving, self-learning and to explore new avenues of communication, productive work as well as innovation through such methods as simulation, games, project work and the like. Accordingly, the main thrust of the proposed curriculum should aim at shifting the emphasis from teaching to learning, which has to be an important element in the new approach to education. This will necessitate re-organizing the curriculum packages, possibly in a modular form. Greater emphasis should be placed on the student's motivation to learn than on the teacher's ability to lecture. Further, the curriculum should be so designed that it would make the education more meaningful to the needs and aspirations of its beneficiaries as well as to make it socially relevant.

(Introduction to the Report of the CDC)

In 'A Note on the New Curriculum' the CDC Report on English says that the new undergraduate curriculum (i.e. for the degree classes like B.A., B.Sc., B.Com. etcetera) comprises a General English Course and a Special English Course. It adds:

To cater to the heterogeneous tertiary level student population (the range of linguistic competence is extremely varied since students from both English-medium and regional-medium schools come together at this level), the General English Course is conceived of as comprising different units and modules suited to the different levels of learners. The patterning of the course is such that students, depending on their linguistic competence at the time of admission, would not only begin their General English Programme at different levels but also reach different levels at the time of graduation.

It is strange that no committee or commission has so far asked the beneficiaries (i.e. the learners/students/consumers) what they expect from the courses meant for them, what materials they prefer, how they want to learn, what they want to learn, how they want to be tested, etc. We just talk about learner-centered teaching only on paper, but in practice, follow the same 'top-down' colonial practice. The CDC report on English too, after talking about learner-centred teaching has suggested the streaming of only the learners on the basis of some test (not 'standardized') administered; it fails to note that *streaming of teachers* is equally important, since not all teachers have the same competence to teach all the streams of learners. Secondly, the concept of streaming the learners has been applied only to the teaching of English but not to other languages like Hindi, or the teaching of other subjects like mathematics, science etcetera where, as everyone knows, there is a 'heterogeneous tertiary-level student population'. In mathematics too there are gifted students, and average and below-average students. Moreover, the 1986 Report said that 'methodologies will be developed for evaluation of teacher performance through self-appraisal, through peer groups, and also by students'. This part has been completely and conveniently forgotten and no teacher evaluation has been implemented.

It is encouraging to note that the CDC report on English says the following:

If education was to be viewed as an instrument of human resource development then, it was argued, why an M.A. Programme in English literature (and that too, chiefly British literature) only.

It was felt that we should introduce a multiplicity of M.A. courses in English such as M.A. in British Literature, M.A. in American Literature, M.A. in Comparative Literature, M.A. in Creative Writing in English, M.A. in Modern English Language, M.A. in English Language Teaching and so on, as several universities in Britain and America currently do. While there was a broad agreement on this view, it was felt nonetheless that the time was not yet ripe for such diversification—chiefly because we do not have the human resources necessary to implement it.

Don't we have the human resources in a country that provides human resources to even developed countries like the USA? Or is it that we do not have the will to do it?

Central universities, deemed universities, the CIEFL, RIEs, ELTIs, CIIL, KHS, CBSE, NCERT, Navodaya Vidyalayas, Kendriya Vidyalayas, NCTE, autonomous colleges, Curriculum Development Centres, Academic Staff Colleges, refresher courses, open universities and schools, DIETs, Operation Blackboard, Education for All, Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), language laboratories, National Testing Service, action plans etcetera, are all big names and high sounding words.

In post-independence India, more than a hundred commissions and committees prepared reports on various aspects of education. The forty-second amendment to the Constitution in 1976 made education a concurrent subject and education became the joint endeavour of the Central and State governments. 'Experts' in the field planned, some more theorized and theorized, unmindful of what was happening in the field where the 'great drift' was continuing.

Teaching was (and is even now) carried on mechanically as a ritual without any involvement whatsoever on the part of teachers or learners; the whole exercise was (and is) examination-degree-centred and market-driven. Teachers tried (or try) to finish teaching the syllabus because there was (or is) a syllabus and with great difficulty, they somehow did so (or do so). Learners got enrolled because they wanted a degree. The lifeless exercise continued without any crisis because of the enormous numbers involved in the ever expanding mega industry called education.

The low rate of literacy in India, contempt for manual work, emphasis on humanistic and literary education at the cost of technical and vocational education, the craze for university degrees and government jobs, political and bureaucratic interference in education, the increasing corruption in educational institutions and society, malpractice in examinations, the vastness of the country, the urban-rural divide, the class barrier between the English-knowing and non-English-knowing classes, the freedom that democracy allowed the market forces, and other such factors made English a premium product. The colonial legacy continued. The masses continued to be masses and the classes became well-entrenched in the seats of power. The few English-educated Indians had vested interests in continuing the existing superficial system though it was (and is) totally irrelevant to our socio-cultural and economic needs and contexts; they use education in power games and as a tool to retain their hegemony and perpetuate the power structures. Some 'scholars' and teachers of English argue that some 'abstract standards' should be maintained in higher education, whatever the ground realities be, and that we have to carry on this ritual. These ritualists do not realize that they are actually performing the 'last ritual' and that the future generation will not pardon them for their lack of vision and sensitivity. They continue to teach the same old syllabus and try to produce 'graduates' but the degrees get devalued. Free India, as a result of all these factors, is free only politically and not educationally.

John P. Lewis rightly said in *Quiet Crisis in India*: 'Indians are better talkers than doers, better planners than executors. This very condition means they already have heard everything—and tried very nearly everything, after a fashion. But too often the execution is half-hearted, inept, or bogged down in cross-purposes. As a result, there is a rapid deterioration of good policy ideas; they grow shabby before their time... '

4.11 The English Boom in India

The number of problems was increasing. In 1947, there were only nineteen universities, by 1988–89, the number of universities increased to 183; now there are more than 250.

		1950-51	1988-89	2004
1	No. of Universities, deemed to be universities and institutions of national importance	27	183	About 300
2	No. of colleges (excluding junior colleges)	695	6500	About 13,000
3	Curriculum Development Centres		27	—
4	Student enrolment	362, 325	38,82,000	About 200 million
5	Teachers (at all levels)	18,700	242,000	About 2 million

The chart on the previous page is intended to give an idea of the growth in the number of educational institutions and the 'development' of education—basically English education—in post-Independence India.

Similarly, there was an enormous increase in the number of publications in English. About one third of books published and one fifth of all periodicals were in English; but most English newspapers were published from urban centres and their circulation and sale were in urban and semi-urban centres. English literacy rate was also on the increase; according to some estimates it was about 7%.

The two important legacies of the British rule in India actually accelerated the English boom in the country. In the full-blown bureaucratic network and the educational institutions within the well-established framework of the Macaulayan system of education, English continued to be the dominant language even after 1947. In post-1947 India, the English-educated Indian elite, who struggled to oust the British, have established their power over the vast masses—a section that did not come under the category of English-educated people. Even the urban population that constituted the minority had migrant workers from rural areas, labourers and other poorer sections of society who were either illiterate or barely educated. Therefore, only a miniscule minority of the total population controlled education and the bureaucratic network, and through their knowledge of English and the printed word, ruled the country. Education, as we know, feeds into the domain of bureaucracy, which in turn governs and regulates education. The full-blown Indian bureaucratic network, which is supposed to be the largest in the world, covers the entire socio-economic areas of governance and planning in the form of advisory boards, committees and commissions, ministries and various government departments, the legislature and the judiciary, government-controlled non-governmental organizations like educational institutions, autonomous bodies, banks, registered companies, and trusts

and societies. In all these areas the 'Babu culture' got entrenched throughout the country. Indians with the colonial mind-set ruled the country for Indians; they were only Indian in blood and colour. The system did not change.

These factors were responsible for a phenomenal expansion in areas like education and mass communication; there is also an international market for English. Mass media, information technology and communication networks have brought about radical changes in national and international contexts. These developments also reinforced English and English education, and the demand for English is increasing. Western technology, which in turn re-introduces English as a tool of communication in international contexts, forces India to catch up with the rest of the world. English in India has become more international-oriented than British-oriented.

There is also a boom in literary areas, like Indian writing in English; the Non-Resident Indians, with their command of English and knowledge of India, have created a market for India. Indian culture, Indian spiritualism, yoga, herbology, alternative medicines like ayurveda, Indian dance and music, and even intellectual areas like post-colonial studies have become commodities in the international market that India sells in English.

While all these 'explosions' were taking place in the English-knowing world, 75 to 80 per cent of the rural and semi-urban population, with their high rate of illiteracy, were becoming more and more illiterate. These people, who were brought up in the oral traditions of the social milieu, became illiterate even in their mother tongue with the introduction of the printed word; they became illiterate vis-à-vis English and English education, and, worst of all, computer illiterate. They are being pushed to the margins of the English-educated society in their own country. The boom is booming but, at the same time, the gap is widening, not just in socio-economic areas, but also in

knowledge areas and the use of English. There is an ever-increasing disparity in every walk of life.

Then again, there are levels and levels in the so-called English-knowing population, there is a continuum from, 'Babu-English' to near 'native English' among bureaucrats, educationalists, administrators, media persons, teachers and students, business people, writers and readers. The quantitative increase has also resulted in a qualitative decline, which is a by-product of the boom.

The English boom has also induced, what may be called the imitative function—a tendency to imitate the successful English-educated Indian elite, who in turn imitate the 'bold and the beautiful' of the West. As a result, quite a few people in India have started using English in areas where it is neither necessary nor appropriate. In addition, such people have made the code-mixed variety a fashionable register, mixing an Indian language with English. In a way, the 'imitative use' and 'code-mixing' are producing a language-less generation that shows a desire to be successful in life. This mimic generation, one can say, is neither here nor there; they do not have any Indian language as a mother tongue, and they claim that English is their mother tongue. Some say that they do not have any 'cultural roots' in the conventional sense but they are comfortable only with English but, again, that English is not 'native English' in the conventional sense. These 'displaced people' are only in urban areas. There is nothing derogatory about displacement or the hybrid culture that is being created; maybe they are products of attempts to create new cultures and new languages; maybe the 'inner domain' that remained impenetrable during many other linguistic and cultural invasions will get weakened because of the new phenomenon called globalization. Time alone will decide this issue.

4.12 The English of Indians or 'Indians' English'

This enormous increase in the English-using population resulted in the use of English of Indians, by Indians, for Indians. After independence, there was not much contact with the native users of English like there was before independence. As pointed out earlier, cut off from the native variety and driven by nationalist sentiments, Indians during the freedom struggle were using English as second language, and not as a foreign language to understand or express British culture. This shift in focus, combined with the large number of English-using Indians necessitated a new variety of English with local adaptations. By the turn of the twentieth century, according to some estimates, there were more users of English in India, about seventy million, than in Britain. Of course, 'their sounds range from *pukka* 'Oxbridge' in communication to the obscure pidgins of the street. A country has re-made English with many voices' (McCrum, et al, 1986). Those voices range from Malayali English, Tamilian English, Punjabi English, Bengali English, Hindi English to 'standard Indian English'. In addition, there are also a number of sub-standard varieties widely used: Butler English, Bearer English, Baboo English, Bazaar English, Cantonment English, and several code-mixed varieties of English with local variations. If all these local and regional varieties of English are included in the use of English, there are more users of English than the users of some recognized Indian languages like Assamese, Oriya or Punjabi. English is also the state language of states like Nagaland and Meghalaya. English is not included in the twenty-two officially recognized languages of India—Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi (with various dialectal variations), Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Maithili, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Nepali, Konkani, and Manipuri (the last three were added to the list in 1992.) English, the language not found in the official list, is the 'associate' official language

and the language of the learned class. Linguistic nationalism has always been a vexed issue in India, and no Indian language was acceptable to all as a national language. After the formation of the linguistic states, English was becoming the *de facto* national language, at least of the elites.

The Indian variety (or varieties of English) is the one taught and learnt in all educational institutions in India. The media, managed by Indians, also uses only the Indian variety; that is the variety used in the administration and judiciary. So, the wide-spread use of English in India and the large number of Indians using it has resulted in a distinct variety that may be called 'Indians' English' or, as some people call it, 'Indian English'.

The question came up as a result of growing nationalist sentiments in several parts of the world. If there can be American English and Australian English, why can't there be Nigerian English, Malaysian English, Singaporean English, Pakistani English, Sri Lankan English, Indian English, etcetera? This is just like every country floating its own airlines—Air India, Singapore Airlines, Malaysian Airlines, etc. Even small countries like Nepal have their own airlines. Thus, national sentiments projected several national varieties of English, both native and non-native.

This trend was in turn supported by structural linguistics and its branch, dialectology. In the 1960s and 1970s structural linguistics was projected as the scientific study of languages; it gave every variety a special status and claimed that every dialect is as good as any other dialect; there are no inferior varieties of language. The Western notion of language or dialect as a discrete and well-defined entity also fanned the recognition sought for the various national dialects. Thus, the very notion of Indian English was, in a way, induced by Western linguistics, supported by some Non-Resident Indian linguists working in the West. English-knowing linguists in India trained in the Western tradition also supported this notion. A number of

research projects were started and studies were undertaken to support this claim.

Thus the following three factors greatly influence the notion of 'Indian English'.

1. Nationalist sentiments that favoured linguistic nationalism and the recognition for our variety of English
2. The growth of structural linguistics and its branch, dialectology, which supported the notion that dialects should also be given recognition
3. The growing number of users of English in India and their desire to get it recognized by the West

But it is very difficult to define what is Indian or to specify what it is that makes something Indian. As in the case of any Indian (whose passport says he/she is an 'Indian'), Indian English has multiple identities. There are many regional varieties of English; only some speak a non-regional variety of English and they aim at British or American, a native variety, as the target and mimic it. Secondly, English is only an urban phenomenon and it is not the language of the masses.

Even those Indians who use English in their professional or academic discourse do not pray or make love or cry in English; it is not their intimate language. There is no baby-talk in 'Indian English' to make it a home language. Even those very few metro-Indians who use English at home, prefer to listen to Indian classical music, Hindi film songs or film songs in their own regional language for their own 'soul' satisfaction; very few listen to Western music. The miniscule minority that claims English as their mother tongue in the Indian context may be, in the words of Michael West, language-less. For the vast majority, even of the English-educated people, English is more of a 'street or office' language than a home language; English in India is mostly domain-specific and register-based—for bureaucratic, administrative, academic, legal, technical and scientific purposes, for creative writing and journalism, and for some

limited social purposes. Maybe the situation will change after some years as a result of the opening up of the economy and globalization.

Some scholars have projected creative writing in English as Indian English. This cannot be the case since creative writing in English has got a specific purpose and a market, and such a register is not used in day-to-day life. Creative writing in English is only one facet of the English of Indians; it is certainly not the totality of Indian English, even if there be one.

The unidentifiable identity of English in India, in a way, is reflected in the name of a premier institution started by the government of India to improve the standards of English in India. That institution is now called the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages. It is not called the Central Institute of English *and Other* Foreign Languages because English is not considered a foreign language in India. At the same time, it is not considered an Indian language and is not included in the languages handled by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) nor is it included in the list of officially recognized list of the languages of India. The status of English in India is unique.

Those who claim an identity for Indian English as part of the projected World Englishes will have to think of some important issues: can there be a native speaker of Indian English like a native speaker of a native variety like British English? How can there be a native speaker of a non-native variety? The English of Indians is only a local adoption. Just because there are local adoptions, for example, we don't refer to Christianities or Islams. Christianity is Christianity and Islam is Islam. Similarly English is English with local flavours. Why talk only about English?

English, a non-native variety of English that can be legitimately called 'Indians' English' (i.e. the English of Indians) no doubt, is a sort of link language in India, but, at the same time, it does not, at present, link rural India with the rest of the country. English, as a tool of communication and not as culture, is fast

spreading from urban to semi-urban and even rural areas. The demand that English is also for the masses is gaining ground. It is now estimated that about 150 million children at primary school stage will be learning English in India. This tidal wave and India's move away from an elitist use of English might change the demographics of the English speaking population in India and that of the Anglophone world as well. Then English may truly become a second language for most Indians in all registers without any restrictions. English, then, will be absorbed as another language used in the Great Indian Language Bazaar; we cannot at present predict what its identity will be.

The globalization phase of English will certainly affect the identity of 'Indians' English'. The polity and the global market are forcing all varieties to take a neutral form and the Indian variety is no exception to this; again, we cannot say whether English is for the masses or for the classes; that may also emerge in the globalized context.

Important Dates and Events

1947	India became politically independent. C. Rajagopalachari, the first and last Indian Governor General. The Ministry of Education was constituted in Delhi.
1948-9	University Education Commission with Dr. Radhakrishnan as its Chairman.
1949	India's relationship with the British Commonwealth of nations defined; India's Constitution was adopted.
1950	India became a Republic on 26 January. Constitution grants English the status of associate official language for fifteen years—Hindi to be spread and promoted
1952-3	Secondary Education Commission (Dr Mudaliar as Chairman)
1953	University Grants Commission (UGC) formed, with autonomous status granted in 1956
1955	Indian Council for Secondary Education formed

- 1956 States Re-organization Act—States formed on the basis of regional languages. Report of Official Languages Commission notes that literacy in English constitutes 6.41 per cent of that of the total population; recommends the continuation of English without time limit for all or official purposes of the union.
- 1957 Kunzru Committee Report (setup by the UGC) recommends the following: (i) the change from English to an Indian language as the medium at the university level should not be hastened; (ii) even when the change is made, English should continue to be studied by all university students; (iii) the teaching of English should be given special attention in the pre-university class; (iv) the teaching of English literature should be related to the study of Indian literatures to promote critical thinking and writing in Indian languages; (v) English be retained as a properly studied second language at the university level
- 1958 The Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, established with the cooperation of the British Council and the Ford Foundation
- 1960 Committee of Experts (Chairman: G.C. Banerjee) set up by the UGC to examine issues involved in the teaching of English. A Central Hindi Directorate set up for evolving Hindi terminology, preparing dictionaries, etc.
- 1961 National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) formed. Report of the Working Group set up by the UGC regarding the switch-over from English to an Indian language as the medium of instruction recommends that the switch-over should not be hastened and that English should be retained as an alternative medium
- 1961–2 Emotional Integration Committee (Chairman: Dr Sampurnanand); recommends that the two link languages—English and Hindi—be effectively taught at university level.
- 1962 Official Language Act. English to continue as an associate official language even after 1965 without any time limit

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- 1964–6 Indian Education Commission (Chairman: Dr Kothari)
- 1967 Official Languages Amendment Bill—Continued use of English as long as non-Hindi areas want it to continue. Study Group Report (Chairman V.K. Gokak)
- 1968 National Policy on Education
- 1976 Constitutional Amendment places education on concurrent list
- 1979 Draft National Policy on Education; three-language formula to be implemented at the secondary stage in the entire country. The target set for implementation of NPE is envisaged: 1986–7.
- 1986 NPE and POP. Academic Staff Colleges started; delinking degree requirement for employment; development of English Language Teaching Institutes; establishment of Navodaya Vidyalayas in rural areas for promoting excellence; more coordination among agencies
- 1989 Curriculum Development Centres
- 1990 Acharya Ramamurti Commission set up to review NPE and POA; endorses the 1986 report; suggests the development of Hindi, Sanskrit, foreign languages and English

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5

The Globalization Phase

5.1 From Agrarian Life to IT Revolution

There was a time when life was family-/village-/community-centred. People interacted with each other in their own lingo within their community; everybody knew everybody. Feudalism was an accepted way of life with heads or leaders of families and communities; local loyalty was appreciated. Some feel that life in agrarian societies was simple and that local cultures flourished.

Then came the Industrial Revolution with its urbanization, capitalism and consumerism; life became more urban and migratory, living became more repetitive with routine jobs in factories, workshops, and offices. Men and materials constituted the capital and the individual became a machine. Groups that wielded power imposed their strength and power on others in the name of modernization. The Euro-centric universe emerged and Western notions became universal; industrial life itself became accepted as a universal concept even in areas where there was no industrial revolution. The world became more and more Euro-centric and the two World Wars helped the establishment of Western hegemony.

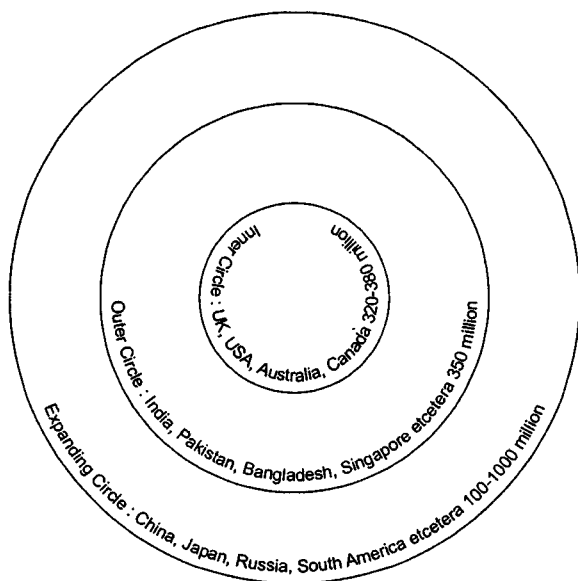
Then came Information Technology with, what is called, the IT revolution; repetitive tasks were shifted to machines like robots and computers, and human beings were left with more time for self articulation, critical and creative thinking. Knowledge became the capital, and the distinction between home and office got blurred. The electronic revolution gave birth to the post-modern world with its virtual reality. The world started 'shrinking' and became a 'global village' in terms of communication.

5.2 English as a Global Language

The English language has become a part of the IT revolution. English, a language that came from nowhere, is set to conquer the world. Two thousand years ago, the English language was confined to a handful of savages, now forgotten tribes on the shores of Northwest Europe; there was no English in England. Today, it is used, spoken or written in some form or the other, by perhaps 1.5 billion people around the world; of the English users, three hundred and fifty million use it as the mother tongue, and the rest as a foreign or second language. It is the only language widely used from China to Peru, and more scattered than any other language in the world. It is estimated that there are even more users of English than of the Chinese language, a language spoken in eight different varieties but written in the same way by 1.1 billion people.

David Crystal's *English as a Global Language* (1957) gives the estimates about users of English taken from various sources. According to these estimates, of the 1.5 billion people who 'know' English in some form or the other, about 337 million use English as the first language (L_1) and about 350 million use it as a second language (L_2) in countries like India, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Nigeria and Sri Lanka; in addition, there may be about 1 to 1.5 billion people who are actively learning and trying to use English in countries like China, Japan, Russia, and in many other countries in Europe and South America; this will constitute about a third of the human race. Even the European Common Market has resolved to use, what they call 'Euro-English' as the common language for communication. As a result of all these developments, even the USA, the largest English-speaking nation, has only about 20% of the world's English users, and the UK about 5%.

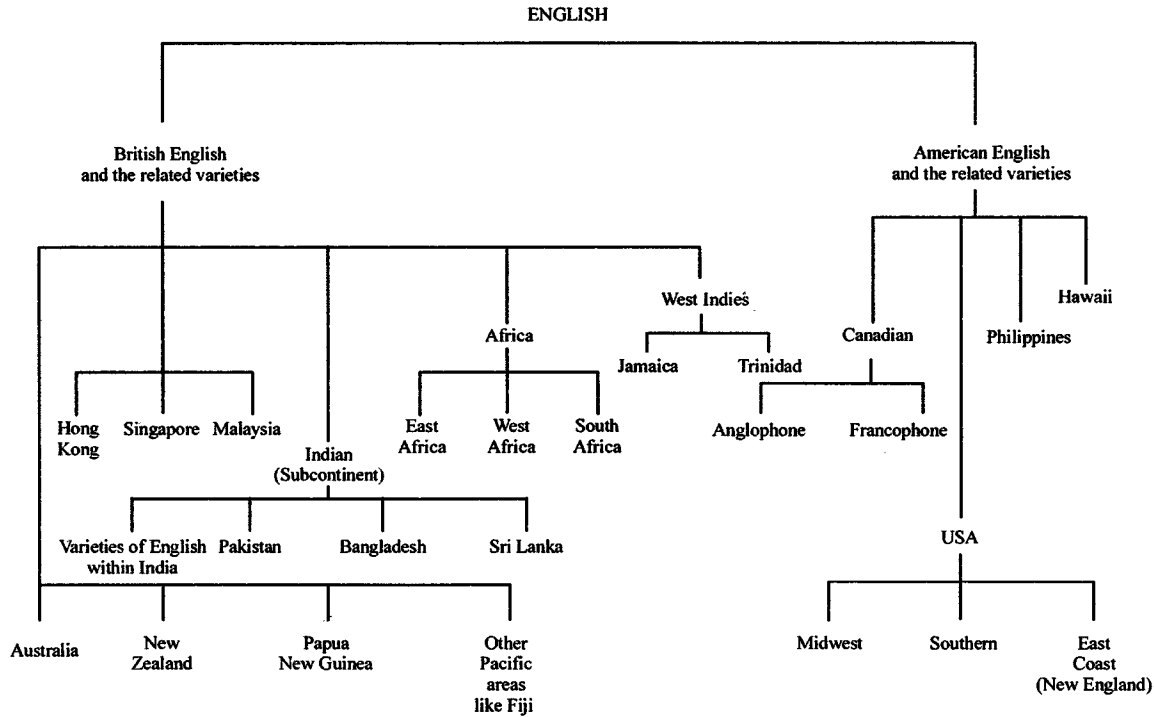
Another kind of analysis is given by Braj Kachru, an Indian-American linguist teaching in the USA. He classifies the



The 'three circles' of the English family

varieties of English in terms of three circles. The 'inner circle' refers to the traditional bases of English where it is used as L_1 . The 'outer circle' shows the earlier phases of the spread of English (maybe due to the establishment of colonies, trade etcetera) where the language is an important '*second language*' (L_2 or SL). The 'expanding circle' involves those countries and areas where English is recognized as an important international language and is taught and learnt as a *foreign language* (FL).

The fact that English has become a global phenomenon has resulted in a *family* of its own with all kinds of varieties (or *Englishes*, as some people call them) within the family; this is unavoidable, considering the use of English all over the world. The following figure shows the international family of English and its members.



The international family of English

This global phenomenon called English is a unique case. Even linguists find it difficult to handle this phenomenon, the growth of English. Are they all dialects of English, varieties of English, or as some scholars say *Englishes*? Americans do not want to consider their English a dialect of English; they call their English, the American Language. Others also would like to call English by different names—Australian English, Canadian English, Nigerian English, Indian English etcetera but they are all English.

The information explosion in the world has happened in the English language, and so it has become the language of the Info-Age. English has become a global commodity like oil and the microchip; without petrol (i.e. gas), computers and the English language, the world will come to a halt. It is no longer the language of one or two nations. As Huntingdon observes, 'English is the world's way of communicating internationally and interculturally just as the Christian calendar is the world's way of tracing time, just as the Arabic numbers are the world's way of counting, and first as the metric system is, for the most part, the world's way of measuring' (Huntingdon, 1996: 6). The English language is no longer a language of national or cultural or class identity; it has become a language of technology, of communicational necessity.

The English language is the language of the Internet; it is estimated that nearly eighty per cent of all websites use English and three quarters of the world's mail, telexes and cables are in English. The USA has far more computers than the rest of the world combined and the USA uses English; English literacy and computer literacy have become inseparable and interdependent. The bulk of software is in English and all the IT giants, like Microsoft and IBM, are based in English speaking countries. Even countries like China and Japan—that are strong in computer technology and hardware—are forced to use English. The world has become not only Euro-centric but also 'Windows-centric'.

English has few rivals and no equals; neither Spanish nor Arabic, both international languages, hold sway globally. Germany and Japan may have matched the commercial and industrial rigour of the USA, but their languages have been invaded by English.

English is the language that contains all the knowledge and information regarding all disciplines in the world and it is easier for anyone to learn one language, English, in order to get access to knowledge and information, and get job opportunities anywhere in the world. English has become the language of capitalism in the present century. Even China has adopted a national policy to make every student literate in English by the year 2008. Singapore has already declared English as its common language. The 'English tsunami' (i.e. tidal wave) is lashing every country in the world.

5.3 The Changing Role of English

As a result of the widespread use of English, the very character of the English language is changing; it is slowly being stripped of its culture, class, and even race. During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, English was more of a culture-, race- and class-marked phenomenon. The IT revolution has stripped the language to its bones. Now, English is a tool for international communication. This is something unique; normally, a language goes with its culture; since English has become international, it is not attached to any one culture. Americans, even before the IT revolution, detached it from British culture and made it their own. The same thing is also true of Australia; and a number of African and Asian countries too, though English is used as a second language in these areas, have made English a vehicle of their own culture. Now, English as the language of the Info-Age has, in a way, become culture-neutral. This very apparent neutrality of the English language and its global market value has made it desirable and acceptable to a vast majority of people all over the world.

English during the colonial period—in most British colonies English literature *per se*—came to be regarded as a culturally marked item whose study was confined to a particular segment of society. Those who were ‘culturally sophisticated’ and educated in English used knives and forks, learnt table manners, used tissue paper, kept dogs as pets and often quoted the ‘bards’ like Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Keats and others, like the character Mr Banerji in Desani’s *All About H. Hatter* (1948: 231–2); he says: ‘I am a member of the English Tail Waggers—I have just arrived from dear England... I do not belong to the backward India... Arise awake, advance. I already believe in the European sanitation and the water-closet. Mrs Banerji and I are also using forks and knives, which is better than eating with sweating fingers in this summer. A decent quality of toilet paper has already been ordered...’ Even now, in most university departments of English, only literature in English is taught as a continuation of the colonial legacy.

Though English was introduced in colonies like India basically for the study of literature and culture, the market value for literary studies has gone down steeply in the present-day world. Only effective communication skills in English—both spoken and written—have a market value. All multinational companies, corporations and outsourcing centres ask for competence in communication skills and everyday use of English—not for English literature.

English for professional purposes, like facing interviews, writing resumes, writing reports, conducting campaigns, writing letters, participating in meetings, seminars, conferences, and discussions, is demanded; English for social roles and interacting in social contexts is considered essential. Call-centres are appointing English trainers and conducting accent-sensitizing and accent-neutralizing programmes. The ability to communicate one’s ideas and attitudes—agreeing, disagreeing, convincing, narrating, requesting, ordering, explaining, apologizing—is the expected skill and not the ability to interpret a literary text. It is communication skills in English

that have a worldwide market, because English has become the language of business and commerce, trade and technology, journalism and electronic media, the Internet and IT-enabled services. If one is proficient in communicative English and if one's accent is internationally intelligible, the market is wide open. The gift of the gab in English can take one to all corners of the world. The study of literature has become a specialized field, and only those who are interested in it are taking it up seriously because of their special interest in that area; the market is only for communication skills in English.

This situation has also been aided by the institutionalization of linguistics, applied linguistics, language teaching in its various forms like EFL (English as a Foreign Language), ESL (English as a Second Language), TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) etc.

5.4 India at Peace with English

The changing role of English, the liberalization of the economy, the opening up of the market and the increasing employment opportunities for English-knowing educated Indians have made the English language acceptable to a vast majority of Indians in contemporary India. Familiarity with English has become India's selling point in the international market; the 'English advantage' that India has, thanks to Macaulay and the colonial legacy, is being appreciated by many in India, even by the populist politicians, who were earlier inciting their followers and the masses to chant *Angrezi Hatao*, particularly in the northern parts of India. All shades of opinion now favour the learning of English. At last, the whole of India is at peace with English because it has become a global language.

Earlier leaders like Rammanohar Lohia of the Socialist Party wrote extensively in the late 1950s and the mid-60s on the language issue, calling for the banning of English; Lohia viewed English as a barrier to class equality and to the economic development of the poor. Some viewed English as the 'Christian

tongue' and some as the 'devil's tongue'; some ridiculed English-knowing Indians as Macaulay's children. That phase is over now. Even a leader like Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar, maybe as part of his populist policies, is promoting English and its re-introduction of English in the school curriculum. Laloo's English language policy, English for the masses, is consistent with his anti-elite ideology. Even states ruled by communists have changed their English language policy; the West Bengal Government reintroduced English from standard III after twenty two wasted years, may be they realized that they were creating another class—an English knowing class—which is against their ideology; so, English for all is the new slogan. A BJP-ruled state like Gujarat has made the teaching of English compulsory from standard V and, soon, they may introduce English from standard III; the Government of Gujarat is encouraging special classes for adults to facilitate the growth of information technology in Gujarat. Many other states like Maharashtra are trying to introduce English from the primary/upper-primary level.

A politician like Pramod Mahajan of the BJP, when he was the Minister for Information Technology and Communication, in a meeting held in Bangalore to welcome the visiting British Prime minister, Tony Blair, is reported to have said: 'We are grateful to the British for ruling India and teaching us English, a fact the Chinese are repenting now' (*The Hindu* on-line, 6 January 2002).

The change in attitude does not mean that Indians have become less patriotic; it only shows that they have become more pragmatic. Indians have realized that English has become a goldmine which is a legacy of colonial rule. They have also realized that English is no longer a symbol of colonialism and it has become a tool for international communication and a key to employment in the global market. As Kumaravadivelu says: 'India has come to a painful realization that the colonial history of the language should not be allowed to become an impediment to the economic health of the nation' (Kumaravadivelu, 2002: 46). The English language itself has become a different tongue,

different from its 'colonial cousin'. It was earlier thought that to speak a language was to adopt a culture. Now the English language is perceived not as one with its cultural baggage but as a culturally neutral tool of communication. The old concept—one culture, one language—has now been replaced by a new concept, one culture and more than one language. Since English is used all over the world people in different countries have made it a medium to express their own cultures. Writers like R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, Arundhati Roy and several others in India, Chinua Achebe in Nigeria, and scores of others have effectively used the English language to portray socio-cultural nuances and cultural identities that are totally different from the culture of the West. This culture—a free concept of language that has freed English from the narrow and limiting view of language-culture connection—in a way, has made the English language more acceptable to the vast majority of people who are learning and using English all over the world. Now, people realize that modernization and learning English to communicate do not mean Westernization, and one need not lose one's identity by learning English.

English literature, which was once central to the cultural enterprise of the Empire, has lost its hold on English as a technology-oriented communicative tool. Unfortunately, the university system in India is not sensitive to the changing needs of society outside; departments of English in universities and colleges have not cashed in on the changes that are taking place in the world. As pointed out earlier, even during the struggle for India's independence, departments of English in universities and colleges continued to be 'colonial islands' while the rest of India was using English differently for a different purpose. Similarly, when the outside world is using English for international (intranational in certain cases) and intercultural communication and technological purposes, colleges and universities in India still follow the Macaulayan syllabus and teach texts like *The Spanish Tragedy* (sixteenth century), *Everyman in His Humour* (1596), *The Alchemist* (1610) or some other ancient

text that neither the teachers nor the students understand or are interested in. What shall we say? Is it tragical or comical?

The situation in the world outside is very different; English for communication is the mantra everywhere. Outsourcing centres, call centres, medical transcription centres, bookkeeping for various multinational companies in different parts of the world, software development etcetera—thousands and thousands of jobs are created all over India, in the big towns, and from the big towns spread to small towns. In a city like Bangalore alone, it is said there are about 75,000 persons employed in call centres, many more of which are being set up in other towns; outsourcing, it is said, is going to create millions of jobs in the near future for English-knowing educated Indians.

It is true that economic globalization and the opening up of the global market are bringing the global market particularly to India, and, in a big way, a knowledge of English is helping this process. Some people argue that India is providing 'cheap' skilled labour to multinationals and rich countries; the whole of India is becoming a 'sweat shop' for developed countries and Indians are only 'techno-coolies'. It is pointed out that in outsourcing centres a trained Indian can be employed for about US\$400–500 a month, whereas an American with the same skills will demand about US\$4000–5000; the multinationals employ English-knowing trained Indians to reduce costs and maximize their profit. At the same time, it can also be argued that by taking up a call centre job a computer-trained Indian gets about 10,000 to 15,000 rupees a month in India, though working for twelve hours, even in night shifts; otherwise, he/she will be unemployed. An income of Rs.10,000–15,000 is helpful in the Indian context. It is also said that working in call centres for twelve hours, particularly at night, deprives young people of their social life, and that creates physiological and psychological problems. That is why most young people do not stay for long in call centres and BPOs (Business Process Outsourcing Organizations); they have to work for more than twelve hours in most companies. In spite of all these problems,

IT-enabled services have reduced educated unemployment in India and provided the motivation for becoming computer-literate and English-literate.

In addition, English teaching in India is becoming a big business. Every street corner has institutes for spoken English and grammar; many call centres are appointing English trainers to train people in the appropriate use of English, style polishing, accent sensitising, accent neutralizing, English fluency, and cross-cultural communication; medical transcription centres are also appointing English teachers. People who are good at spoken and written English are absorbed in the media and print journalism.

Highly qualified Indians are teaching English in many parts of the world—the Middle-East, Africa, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, and even the USA and the UK. English is being exported from India. It is true that competent and trained Indians are available at a 'cheaper rate' but considering the total population of India and the rate of educated unemployment in the country, one can readily say that computer technology, computer-enabled services and English have proved to be a boon to many English-educated Indians.

Moreover, the English language has created a market for Indians and Indian 'products' all over the world. Whether it is yoga, herbal medicines, Indian spiritualism or Indian writing in English, there is a global market for these products, provided they are marketed in English. Indian gurus who use English have become globetrotters. India has become a product in the world market and, it is said, India will soon become an economic superpower, thanks to English. It is also reported that many foreigners are coming to India to have the computer-software experience, for medical treatment, to learn yoga, and even for employment, all because India speaks English.

5.5 Indians' English: An Outline

It is not only the attitudes and contexts that have changed, but also the content and style of the English that Indians use.

In the pre-transportation phase, the interaction in English was between the Indian rulers with their politicking, intrigues and internal feuds for maintaining territorial control, and the British merchants who were trying to become colonizers. This interaction mainly related to political usurpation of the Indian States which gave the EIC the territorial control to trade, which induced the use of English for some restricted written functions—like writing petitions, commercial dealings, advertisements by Indian merchants etcetera—that were earlier performed in Persian. The inadequate knowledge of English, the ostentatious Persian style with its royal formality, and the deeply entrenched feudal mentality resulted in an ornate style in the earlier forms of the English of Indians; this ornate style is found even today in written correspondence, especially in the official correspondence of Indians using English. This register may be called the 'Lordship Register'. Expressions like 'your most friendly letter', 'your most humble servant', 'I humbly request your honour', 'your Lordship has written', 'your honour will be pleased to know', and such other 'friendship and humbleness' vocabulary were found in this register. During the transportation phase the political domain weakened; the British bureaucracy usurped the powers of the native rulers and, consequently, the communication between the Indian rulers and the EIC diminished. Instead, there was more communication within the domain of bureaucracy, between Indians and the British bureaucracy. The higher officials of the EIC, with their clear administrative policy, formed the bureaucracy. Missionary schools, private schools, and District English schools, started by the EIC began to provide English

For a detailed study see Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998): *The Politics of Indians' English: Linguistic Colonialism and the Expanding English Empire*. New Delhi: OUP.

education at the school level. This also strengthened the link between an English education and the British bureaucracy. The use of English in the print media and in literary writing started earlier than formal English education in India. The urban, 'minority-use' of English started during this period: English was then learnt and used only as a foreign language in India.

There was a higher degree of comprehensibility in bureaucratic writing during this phase; the availability of English education and changes in the policy of the EIC, resulting in the opening of bureaucratic jobs to Indians, and the increasing bureaucratic correspondence with the British bureaucracy firmly established the 'bureaucratic register'. The print media was used to publish essays, annual reports of colleges, other write-ups, and commercial advertisements. One can say that the major domains of the use of English in India, which are documented throughout the history of English in India, emerged during the transportation and consolidation phase. The domains were: bureaucracy, education, print-media communication, commercial and some intellectual/literary writing. Even today one can see mostly the bureaucratic style of writing with its officialese in Indians' English.

English education, during this phase and in the consolidation phase, enabled Indians to use English to get a job in the Government. The British bureaucracy created economic and administrative needs that were to be met through the use of English. English education, besides feeding into the bureaucratic domain, also induced communication needs in the print-media. There was not so much of an ornate style in the English of Indians but it used a number of bureaucratic expressions, fixed phrases, and a large number of passive constructions. Expressions like the following were widely used:

1. Beg to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen
2. Honoured and Dear Sir
3. My Lord, Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are...

4. Respect will be paid
5. I beg leave to assure you that
6. My opinion having been desired
7. Respectfully solicited
8. The public are hereby informed
9. To favour them with your company
10. May allow insertion to my report

The style was very ostentatious with archaic words and odd expressions. Some Indian themes like a 'Hindustanee Maid' were used in creative writing. Raja Rammohan Roy's letter addressed to Lord Amherst in 1823 (given in Appendix I) is a good example of serious intellectual writing during this phase.

The Crown took over from the EIC and the British Government with its various departments and bureaucracy gradually got firmly established in the subcontinent; universities were established. This resulted in the expansion of the use of English and its 'show-off' value in society. English became the language of the Government and the Indian 'subjects' accepted the language of the rulers. This resulted in the stabilization of English and its further expansion and dissemination. English, as in the previous phase, was learnt and used only as a foreign language and communication was between English-educated Indians and the British bureaucracy.

All the major domains and features observed in the earlier phases became stable during the consolidation phase; the restricted nature of the domains in the use of English got stabilised but there was expansion within the domains because there were more Indians using English. There were more compartments within the bureaucracy and more departments were formed; more Indians were appointed at various levels. The British controlled the system through the written word.

Indo-Anglian writing was emerging as a literary activity and there were debating societies and associations formed by English-educated Indians, particularly in cities like Calcutta. Socio-intellectual activities in English were on the increase. But the English language did not interact with the 'finer and inner' areas of life like religion, arts, social customs etcetera; moreover, English was confined to urban areas and did not make any impact on the rural/native civilization of the subcontinent. Even in the urban areas, Indians had the problem of accommodating English with its socio-economic advantages with the native socio-cultural patterns. Thus, the bureaucratic domain became a typical 'module' for the impersonal style of communication and this 'modular function' is an important pointer to the development of English in Indians even in the later phases. The domains during this phase were: bureaucracy, education, print-media communication, commercial, socio-intellectual, and literary.

Within the domains mentioned above, there was a competent handling of English by the English-educated Indians. There was more officialese but English was handled with more flexibility. English officers were addressed as 'Honoured and Dear Sir'; other fixed expressions like 'we humbly desire', 'will you kindly send and oblige', 'you are requested to appear', 'anything and everything', 'my most sincere congratulations', 'hoping you will live long', 'hereby informed', 'thanking you in anticipation' etcetera were common. Adjective piling was very frequent in the written English of Indians. Some odd expressions like 'bosom of families', 'party feeling' etcetera were also found.

There were also amusing specimens like the one given below.

Dear Sir,

I am arrive by passenger train at Ahmedpore station and my belly is too much swelling with Jack-fruit. I am therefore went to privy. Just I doing the nuisance, that guard making whistle blow train to go off and I am running with lotah in one hand and Dhotie in the next when I am fall over and expose all my shookings to man, female, woman on platform. I am got leaved at Ahmedpore station.

This is too much bad. If passenger go to make dung, that dam guard no wait train five minutes for him. I am therefore pray your honour to make big fine on that guard for public sake. Otherwise I am making report to papers.

Your faithful servant,

Okhil Ch. Sen

This letter was very effective! It led to the introduction of toilets in trains in the year 1891.

More Indian themes started appearing in literary writing in English; 'A Hymn to Surya' by A.M. Kuta is an example; and more are found in *The Golden Treasury of Indo-Anglian Poetry* (1828–1965) edited by V. K. Gokak. The piling of adjectives and a verbose style of writing were prominent but some of that might have be part of the literary strategy.

During the Dissemination phase (1904–1947), factors like the two World Wars, English going international, the intense political activity in India, the freedom struggle and the Swadeshi Movement changed the role and the character of English in India. During the Swadeshi Movement, English was gradually becoming more of a second language and being used for communication between Indians from different parts of the subcontinent. If stability was the main feature of the phase between 1830 and 1904, 'detachability' must be stated as the important feature during this period. In the third phase, Indians seemed to have taken a definite stand on the role of English in India for certain purposes, but their identity remained rooted in their cultural heritage; in that sense, English in India was 'detached' from the polemics of cultural confrontation and was treated as one 'module' in the multilingual subcontinent, according to the needs of the users. Indians had handled many languages in the past—Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Urdu; they handled many religions and cultural forms; in the same way, and by extending the same strategy, Indians made English a 'domain-restricted' language in India.

With more and more Indians using English, more Indian entrepreneurs in business, with the number of English newspapers increasing, the use of English in all the domains increased. Political activity involving national leaders and members of political parties and political awareness made the print media powerful. Indian writing in English—prose, poetry, fiction, non-literary, intellectual and academic writing—became well established; publishing centres were started in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and Madras. India-induced writing was on the increase.

The number of Englishmen as interlocutors even in domains like bureaucracy and education reduced on account of the quantitative expansion in the use of English. More and more Indians were using English among themselves even in social domains. The patriotism-induced use of English increased during this phase.

The general domains like bureaucracy, education, print-media, commercial communication, intellectual and literary writing and social communication continued in this phase, with their specific features; there were also other allied areas like the judiciary and legislature and several other departments with their own department specific registers. Consequently, the number of mistakes and unacceptable and odd expressions also increased: 'I want to go myself from the village', 'to do bad things in village', 'they determined to kill my son', 'the train was well filled with passengers' 'I'll be highly obliged if you will kindly give me scope in your office', 'thanking you in anticipation', etc.

A number of expressions from Indian culture were used in Indians' English:

Bengali month of Chaitra, Puja or Worship-festival, nautch or dance, tithi or lunar date; and other expressions like 'deityship', 'drums beating', 'hook-swinging festival', etc.

Poems like '*Sita-Rama, Sita-Rama Ho!*' started using the Indian linguistic repertoire to create to an 'Indian rhythm of the Indian milieu'. Indo-Anglian literature was getting more established.

After India's independence, during the identity phase, the full-blown bureaucratic network, a legacy of the British, was fully taken over by the English-educated Indians. An institutionalized English education within the framework of the Macaulayan system, particularly in higher education, started producing more and more English-educated Indians to be fed into the other domains. The Indian elite, who struggled to oust the British, established their power over the vast majority of the masses. There was a phenomenal expansion in areas like education and mass communication. With the increase in the national and international market for English in print as well as the electronic media, and in many other domains like the commercial and the social, there was a great demand for English-educated people and Western technology. India was forced to catch up with the rest of the world and English in India became more 'internationally oriented' than 'British oriented'.

There was also a boom in literary areas like Indian writing in English and intellectual areas like Indian culture, philosophy, yoga, herbology, etc. and 'India' was becoming a fast-selling commodity, particularly during the turn of the twentieth century.

While this 'explosion' was taking place in the English-knowing world, 75 per cent of the rural population remained illiterate. The gap was widening in socio-economic areas and there was more migration from the rural areas to the big cities. There was a (de)cline in the intelligibility of English in each domain with the ever-increasing number of users; the widespread use of English also resulted in several regional and local varieties of English like Malayali English, Bengali English, South Indian English, Filmi English, etcetera; where there is a quantitative increase, a decline in quality is unavoidable. With the advent of the IT revolution, the demand for English has increased and the movement 'English for the masses' is gaining ground; expansion is taking place without the proper infrastructure—trained teachers and effective materials—but the 'English invasion' is taking place. English is here, there, everywhere in

India. One can come across all varieties of English in India, from a 'near native variety' to the 'Bazaar variety', from the standard variety to amusing specimens.

English, in certain areas, is displacing other languages and cultures. In the case of some sections of the urban population, one can say a hybrid culture has been created; these 'displaced sections' of the urban population—linguistically and culturally—are living in their 'own settlements', some call them the 'mini-West', 'mini-Americas', etc. Non-Resident Indians, who are relocating to India for various reasons, are also adding to these settlements.

Still, there is an 'inner core' domain in many parts of India that remains intact. The modular strategies of the common people enable them to keep their identities in a 'multi-modular' framework. This 'multi-modular cultural and linguistic osmosis' has been variously described by many as 'segmented identities', 'fluid identity', 'mosaic identity', 'salad-bowl arrangement' etc. The essence of it all is that there are several identities for any Indian. These identities, in the form of 'modules', have been developed over centuries as part of the evolution of the civilization of the subcontinent. For example, one can, according to one's passport, be an Indian, and at the same time, an inhabitant of Bengal and, by religion, a Muslim, speak Bengali as the mother tongue (L_1), use Urdu and Arabic as the languages of religion, use Hindi in local business, and English in social and international circles without any conflicts; this 'multi-modular' operation comes naturally to most Indians. One can be a Brahmin by birth and pray in Sanskrit and perform the puja in the morning, go to university and teach English literature in class, talk to one's friends in Hindi, give instructions to the servants in Tamil, and debunk English literature as alien and immoral later in the club while praising Tamil and Sangam literature. Most Indians operate within various 'modules' and the 'English life of Indians' is one of these modules. That is how, in a complex multiverse like India, one handles the various languages, cultures and religions and restrict the place of each

to a particular domain. This happens, in the case of English too and for most middle and upper class Indians. English is a module for it has to be used in certain areas; the English of Indians is neither a foreign language nor a second language nor a dialect of English—it is a *modulect*, a ‘lect’ that works as a module.

5.6 English and Indian Languages

The interaction between English and Indian languages has had its impact on both. The fascination of Europeans with India—its people and culture—resulted in a substantial adaptation of a number of Indian words and phrases into English, right from the beginning. Words like *rajah*, *curry*, *brahman*, *bungalow*, *coolie*, *pundit*, *juggernaut*, *jute*, *toddy*, *jungle*, *chaukidar*, *verandah*, etcetera had entered English even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Later, the English bureaucrats kept adding more and more words to their vocabulary, words like *guru*, *shanti*, *chuntney*, *puja* etc. Even after the British left India, the English-speaking world keeps borrowing words from Indian languages, words like *bandh*, *hartal*, *mantra*, *karma*, *avataar*, *kundalini*, *maya*, *ahimsa*, *ananda*, *bhagawan*, *bhakti*, *devi*, *dharma*, *dvani*, *ghee*, *hatha yoga*, *kali*, *maha*, *moksha*, *mudra*, *muni*, *ojas*, *rasa*, *sadhu*, *tapas*, *vēda*, *Kamasutra*, etcetera are commonly used even in international English. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists about 1000 words of Indian origin and some dictionaries list more than 2000 words in their supplements. ‘India’ going international, and economic globalization have also added to the liberal borrowing of words. *Hobson–Jobson: A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, compiled by Colonel Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell and published in 1886, is a classic that pioneered the recording of the mingling of the two cultures during the colonial period. English is not the only borrower and it was not one-way traffic. English has influenced all the Indian languages in a big way. More than a thousand words are used in every Indian language as though they are words native to them, particularly in areas where modern technology matters most. Even in rural areas words like *bulb*, *switch*, *motor*, *car*, *lorry*, *bus*, *auto*, *train*, *pump*, *cinema*, *court*, *school*, *college*, *office*,

stamp, letter, e-mail, post-office, bank, collector etcetera are used by people as part of their mother tongue. With more and more technological invasion, the English vocabulary is on the increase: *TV, computer, internet, telephone, STD, ISD, cable, electric*, and many more. These words from English are becoming basic to Indian languages. English has also affected many literary forms in Indian languages. English is responsible for creating literary forms like the short-story and the novel etcetera in Indian languages. In the electronic media, many programmes like soaps, talk-shows, and quiz contests are modelled on programmes in the channels in the Western media. It has become a two-way process—the Indianization of English and the ‘Englishization’ of Indian languages. This is a continuous process that was accelerated by the onset of globalization; it is getting more and more rigorous with more Indians going abroad and some Indians coming back to India. At present, even the rural areas, under the influence of films and the electronic media, are being affected by the English wave. English is truly becoming one more tongue through which all Indians can express their multi-facted culture.

5.7 Neo-colonialism, Globalization and English

Globalization, the spread and impact of English, has given birth to another kind of colonization. Colonialism and power have different avataars or manifestations. Power need not always be political power; it can be money power, military power, muscle power, language power, discourse power, etc. Similarly colonialism and imperialism can take the form of cultural colonialism, linguistic imperialism etcetera popularly called McDonalidization, Coca-colonization, media-militarization, etc. The Empire is gone but the imperialism of the West is there in several incarnations. Earlier, the British claimed that the sun never set on the British empire; but, now, as the linguists, Quirk and Widdowson, claim, ‘English is the language on which the

sun does not set, and whose users never sleep'. The Empire of the English language is well established; the continuing dependence on Western content in independent India, particularly in higher education, has made the country depend on 'received knowledge' in every aspect of life. The colonial mind-set is well set.

Colonial rule has crippled the thinking of many Indians; Western values are getting so deeply rooted in India that most educated Indians are willing to get enlightened only by the West. Like in the case of 'received pronunciation', whether it is the therapeutic effect of yoga, the nutritive value of rice and yoghurt or the medicinal value of neem or turmeric, Indians will accept them as 'scientific' only after some Western 'authority' or 'experiment' authenticates them as good and effective; otherwise they are not taken seriously. In linguistics, one has to quote Bloomfield, Saussure or Chomsky in order to be credible; in language teaching, it has to be Michael West, Palmer, Widdowson or Brumfit and in grammar teaching 'Wren and Martin'; in literary criticism, it has to be I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, T. S. Eliot or Derrida. Even to know that in India there was a great linguistic tradition, one needs a William Jones or a Max Mueller; to know that India had a great philosophy of language, one needs a Harold Coward to tell us that there are parallels between Derridian deconstruction and Bhartṛhari's and Nagarjuna's theory. Even when one says that his/her articles are published in 'international' journals, it only means journals published in the West; the term 'international' has come to mean 'West'. In every branch of knowledge, as Macaulay said, 'the relative position is nearly the same, be it economic or physical theory, mathematics or medicine'; all wisdom is, and comes from, the West. India has become a great consumer market—for products as well as ideas—and Indians have become great consumers, in every sense of the term.

Macaulay's mission was accomplished. He, very successfully, created a class of 'trishankoos', who are 'rootless,' languageless or, in other words, global citizens and 'netizens'. Territorial

colonization is gone but minds are colonized; Indians in independent India even now privilege Western traditions, values and literature, as though our literatures 'are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was, while it was blank' (Macaulay). Even today, in the departments of English in Indian universities, most teachers of English think that *Hamlet* and *Othello* are greater than Indian classics; and they successfully reproduce what Aristotle said about a tragic hero and the tragic element. They do not even care to know that Ravana was a great tragic hero in the *Ramayana* or Karna in the *Mahabharata*. Those who know English are ignorant of 'vernacular' literatures (be it in Sanskrit or Tamil or in any other Indian language) and those who are 'Pundits' (a term with a contemptuous connotation) in 'native' literature cannot express their ideas in English. This 'great divide' or 'communication gap' created by the colonial rule is much worse than the partition of the subcontinent and the gap is yet to be bridged.

The soul of India is kept prisoner. As N'gugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan novelist and key thinker in the study of linguistic oppression, says:

A new world order that is no more than a global dominance of neo-colonial relations policed by a handful of Western nations... is a disaster for the peoples of the world and their cultures... The languages of Europe were taught as if they were our own languages, as if Africa had no tongues except those brought there by imperialism bearing the label *MADE IN EUROPE*. (Thiong'o, 1993: 35)

What he says of Africa is also true of India:

In my view language was the most important vehicle through which that power (the power of the colonizers) fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of physical subjugation. Language was the means of spiritual subjugation. (Thiong'o, 1986)

According to him, the 'cultural bomb' is the biggest weapon that annihilates people's belief in their own languages, in their unity, in their capacity and ultimately in themselves. The same disaster was predicted by Horace Wilson in 1836.

It is good to examine critically some of the notions that are projected as the emerging new world order. For example, English is projected as the language of the new world; but no one says that only a tiny fraction of the population of most countries in the world, including those that are described as the ones in the 'outer-circle'—in Asia and Africa—actually use English. As Phillipson says:

There are many terms in the sociology of language that are grounded in implicit, covert, value judgments. We need to be constantly vigilant in reflecting on the ideological load of our concepts and how they relate to, and probably serve to underpin and legitimate a hierarchical linguistic order. (Phillipson, 2000)

The term 'global English' is a product of the process called globalization. Ideally and ideologically 'globalization' should mean delocalization and denationalization. However, notions like 'nation' and 'patriotism' are so deep rooted in the minds of people that it is very difficult to visualize a denationalized world; only a thinker like J. Krishnamurti can say that 'when there is intelligence, then nationalism, patriotism, which is a form of stupidity, disappears' (Krishnamurti, 2000).

People cannot easily give up these notions. So, what is happening in the name of globalization is only economic globalization, that too the creation of an international market for a few multinational companies. This process is, in turn, helped by English, the 'global language'.

Another important notion that has been built up by the English-using 'inner circle' nations is the myth called the 'native speaker'. This myth is one of the pillars of the new English empire and of globalization. In Saussurian linguistics, there are two important concepts—*langue* and the 'native speaker', who is the privileged normalizing subject. In structural linguistics, monolingualism is taken as the norm and not bi/multilingualism. The native speaker must be a monolingual. Secondly, only orality is taken as qualification for the native speaker since speech is taken as primary in structural linguistics.

The question 'who is a native speaker?' has not been satisfactorily answered. Medgyes (1994) shows that all the criteria that have been proposed to describe/define a native speaker are fuzzy. He argues that a child born in an English-speaking country, who acquired the language during childhood can move into a non-English speaking country and forget the language acquired. It is also difficult to specify the duration of childhood—will it be nine or thirteen years? What about a child in a family where the mother speaks English and the father Hindi/French/Chinese? What about a native speaker of English who cannot read and write the language effectively? Such a person will literally be a *speaker* and not a *writer* or a *reader*. Paradoxically when we talk about teaching a foreign/second language, four skills—listening, speaking, reading and writing (LSRW)—are considered important but, while formulating the concept 'native speaker', reading and writing are left out. Can we consider an illiterate or semi-literate person, whose linguistic competence is only partial, a native speaker? What about creative writers like Joseph Conrad, Wole Soyinka, Nabokov or even Salman Rushdie and Naipaul? Are they native speakers? According to Noam Chomsky a native speaker is an abstraction or an ideal because only an *ideal native speaker-hearer relationship that too in a homogeneous speech community* can be described. What is real cannot be described because of too many variables and what is ideal is an abstraction. So, the *ideal native speaker* will be a 'cultural monster'.

Moreover, there are bilingual and multilingual communities where different languages have different functions; in some cases, learners acquire two or three languages simultaneously as 'native languages' and it is difficult to say which one is the first language. Such linguistic richness is an asset and it becomes part of the user's linguistic competence. Neither the native speaker nor the community need be monoglot. In India, there are a number of bilingual communities. How do we characterize bi/multilinguals? Can there be bi/multilingual native speakers? If we talk about World Englishes and different varieties of

English, can there be native speakers of non-native varieties of English? Will the native speakers of the native varieties of English accept the linguistic intuition of an Indian speaker of English as valid?

The West, particularly the English-speaking world like the USA and the UK, wants to keep the multi-billion dollar global English-teaching industry in the hands of a small group of Anglo-American native speakers of English; their English alone is 'standard' and it is race/class marked. That English is English with a capital E and all other non-native users of English use *english*, with a lower case 'e', since they are 'children of lesser gods'. Revathi Krishnaswamy rightly argues that the 'native-speaker of English, however illiterate or however unintelligent he/she may be, has become the unquestionable norm by which all non-native speakers are judged as either successful or failed mimics' (Krishnaswamy, 2001). The hegemony of the native speaker of English is felt all the time by non-native users of English.

This hegemony is called 'linguistic globalization' and there is a huge volume of literature on English as the world language. But, there is an alarming absence of literature on the *linguistic genocide* that is taking place all over the world and in India. Many languages are disappearing from the face of the earth as the English-tidal wave sweeps away not only the other languages but also their cultures—minority languages are being slowly eliminated. A large number of words from English, even where there are words in the local languages, are mixed and used as part of the Indian languages and code-mixing has become fashionable. In the near future, some languages used by small (or even big) communities will either disappear or take a different, distorted form. 'Global English' has endangered local languages and cultures.

Cultural globalization will then be the inevitable outcome of economic and linguistic globalization; already, in some sections of the population, the Indian social fabric is changing. The

cultural values, family relationships, respect for elders, respect for knowledge, ability to be happy even without material comforts, and philosophical and religious values of Indians are being replaced by 'foreign' values; it is more and more one-way traffic—from the West to the East. The electronic media is also helping this process and English is the language of 'pop culture'.

It is very difficult to imagine the magnitude of the pressures on the ordinary people of the vast subcontinent, as vast and as varied as Europe, and understand the multi-faceted phenomenon called neo-colonialism. A vast area deeply entrenched for centuries in the oral tradition and religious practices was converted into an 'illiterate' society by print-capitalism, the IT revolution and English; the written word established its colony and power over the 'voice' of the people and education was equated with literacy. The masses have been exploited by various groups through a written constitution, written rules and regulations, written records—all designed and evolved by the Macaulayan clan—call them 'urban elites'. 'leaders', 'politicians', 'bureaucrats' 'babus', 'Euro-Indians' etc. English speaking 'Brown Sahibs' are spread all over the country; they have taken over the 'masks of conquest' from the British and have painted them with various nationalist colours and patterns. They are there in education, in government offices, in the judiciary, in the media, in the administration, in politics—*thinly distributed but visible* and exercising their domination over others, over the 'ordinary people', who do not know the 'chosen tongue'. The invasion of the satellite network, the emerging pop-culture, the all consuming consumerism, and such other onslaughts—all in the 'global language'—are taking their toll all over the country. How many will be swept away and how many will become 'refugees', we cannot say.

The people of the Indian subcontinent have handled many such waves, both linguistic and cultural; they know how to contain the onslaught of these waves and live in peaceful coexistence. They did it earlier in the case of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Urdu and also handled several cultures and religions, absorbing,

adapting, and containing their operational field. That is why there are layers and layers in the complex civilization of the Indian subcontinent. But the English phenomenon is unique. The earlier waves came with religious and cultural labels like in the case of Sanskrit and Persian. The 'English tsunami' has come with an economic incentive backed by modern technology and in a global sweep; this did not happen earlier. Employment opportunities throughout the world, the media and Internet-lelling, and the status that goes with a command of English are making English a sought-after commodity. Even in the villages in India, what is called the 'mummy-daddy' culture along with a sprinkling of other words from English is prevalent. So, it is very difficult to predict and say how far Indians can handle the English wave and preserve their 'own' languages and cultures. Maybe they will convert English into one of the many tongues of their motherland and express their 'Indianness' in English, or get converted; at least some sections of the population will. Time alone can decide this, and the English phenomenon is going to be a challenge to the strategies of the people of the Indian subcontinent.

5.8 Teaching English in Post-Independence India: A Search for Alternatives

The onslaught of English can be met if proper planning is done to handle the teaching of English in post-Independence India. The 'Great Indian Renaissance' can be effected in English and the English language and Western knowledge can be turned to our advantage, if we chisel out a new pattern of education to suit a country like India instead of allowing market conditions to take over education. It is well within the power and purpose of the Indian people to fashion a country of their choice, if English can be used as a servant and not allowed to be the master. Local wisdom can be activated in the search for alternatives; the intuition of the 'Great Indian People', their traditions and practices, can be used to get ideas and inspiration in planning an alternative educational system.

An educational system, as it is obvious, should meet the aspirations of the people and, at the same time, change society; education must become an instrument of social change and truly educate people. No doubt the systems must produce highly competent professionals—doctors, engineers, managers, teachers, artisans etcetera—but, at the same time, it must also train them to critically examine and question, in a creative way, ‘professionalism without social commitment’. This is a dual responsibility the components of which, though they appear to be incompatible, are in fact, complementary. The social component is to make the professionals as conscious as possible of the dangers of professionalism without any social responsibilities. In other words, education must be market-oriented as well as society-oriented. The Consciousness Raising component (CR), which was missing in the colonial plan of education, is to remove ‘illiteracy’ among the literates and make them truly educated, contemplative, and thinking citizens. The colonial pattern of education, which was meant to promote and protect the interests of the rulers, was a transplanted model that was implanted in India without taking into account the earlier systems of education that were ‘native’ in character; the colonial system was not a continuation of the older systems but had different aims and objectives. It was an imported model that conditioned us to live on *received theories* and *received knowledge*.

The decolonized system of education should encourage a critical contemplation of the impact of European education, cultural colonialism, linguistic imperialism and globalization, and expose the imperialistic designs hidden in the imported, alien model. On the one hand, it must encourage a searching scrutiny of our dependence on Euro-centric approaches to education and life, and free the mind from the colonial cussedness that is so very deeply rooted in our thinking, so that the Indian mind can come out of its ‘cultural amnesia’. On the other hand, the new system of education must reactivate and recognize the knowledge systems of the subcontinent and make them relevant and beneficial to our present-day world; it must enable society to

restore destroyed confidence and character so that the deep-rooted inferiority complex in Indians is shed.

The alternatives must strike a balance between romanticizing our past and condemning all that is modern; we don't have to assume that all that is modern is Western and we need not ape the West to be modern. The alternatives we are to think of must make use of modern technology and science, and even colonial legacies like Western knowledge and the command of English, to our advantage. We do not have to walk into the ancient past and try to re-establish a Nalanda or a Takshashila, the ashrams and pathasalas and establish a gurukula-type of education. This is just not possible or practical. With the population crossing the one billion mark, an enormous pressure is brought on the resources of the country. Secondly, the present-day bureaucracy was not present in the ancient past; there was no University Grants Commission in those days and universities like Nalanda and Takshashila did not have Accounts Officers, Controllers of Examinations, or Registrars. The problem of numbers must be taken into account in our planning and we must strike a balance between the old and the new, and get the best of both. Thus, the interactive discourse in education must take place not only between the East and the West but also between the old and the new within the country. It must also take place among the various linguistic groups, religious communities, and regions and between the urban and the rural people. Only then will the unity in the plurality emerge. Only such a discourse will prevent the hegemony of one over the other. In a land of multiple modules, no one system or layer can be privileged over the other. India is not Sanskrit India or Hindi India or urban India.

Another important task in the new educational system is the bridging of the gap between the languages of India, on the one hand, and English and the English-educated Indians, on the other. A proper, matured dialogue based on the 'yoking' of the cultural and literary productions of the two systems concerned will narrow the communication gap created by the 'colonial

divide' and result in a productive ploughing of our fertile field. Such 'yoking' will be beneficial to society at large and create a level field for the non-English-knowing population. English-knowing Indians must be made to realize that English literature is no longer central to our educational or cultural enterprise, and that great literature exists even outside English.

Taking into account all the factors mentioned above, the roles assigned to English in contemporary India need to be reformulated, depending on the needs of the changing conditions. Indians need English but it depends on what they are going to do with it. The changing scenario from *coloniality* to *globality* entails a shift in the aims and objectives of teaching English in India. They can be stated as follows:

1. The *market-driven utilitarian function* (i.e. taking into account the global market, English must be taught for global communication, career opportunities, and mobility)
2. The *welfare-driven social function* (i.e. using English as a 'source' for Indian languages, Indian knowledge systems, and the lives of the vast majority of people who have been marginalized and exploited so far)
3. The *ideology-driven identity projection function* (translating and projecting India so that English becomes a 'window on India')

5.8.1 Market-driven Utilitarian Function

In free India, Indians have understood that English is not the only language for shaping one's aesthetic sense, cultivating universal humanistic values, cultivating creative and critical thinking, or getting 'civilized'. All these functions were/have been/can be more effectively performed by Indian languages and their literatures with their rich and ancient traditions; they have an age-old humanistic tradition and we do not need English for these purposes.

English is necessary for mobility, career advancement, opportunities and social and economic purposes. English is the language that opens the door of a global market. As an international language, English has a lot of 'surrender value' throughout the world and learners of English can cash in on that. That is why there is a great demand for courses on *Spoken English*, *Written English*, *Business English*, *Management English*, *English for Information Technology*, *Technical Writing*, *Medical Transcription*, *Communication Skills in English* and so on. The market for literary English and literature-based courses is fast dwindling, making such efforts purposeless. English departments in universities must change their content and style of teaching to suit market conditions; otherwise, they will be marginalized.

5.8.2 Welfare-driven Social Function

Learners of English in India have realized that English is a 'window to the world'—an access to the growing fund of knowledge in science and technology. As the Study Group Report says, '... with our long tradition in the use of English, we should be able to exploit the richness of this language to the advantage of major Indian languages.' The English language has the necessary information in every branch of knowledge—agriculture, economics, commerce, business, engineering, space-technology, bio-technology, information-technology, consumer products etcetera—which is readily available (quite often at the click of the mouse on the Internet). English is an 'exploding language' in a world of 'information explosion'. We need to profit from the stock of knowledge and information in English.

Indians know that they need English for technological purposes and for modernization. That is why English is retained as the language of instruction in our agriculture universities, though English is not the language of agriculture in India. We need English in management and engineering and that is why English is retained as the medium of instruction in courses on management and engineering in the IIMs, IITs, engineering colleges etcetera though English is not the language of day-to-

day transaction in the management of business or workshops at most levels.

Indian languages are rich in certain areas like philosophy, religion, literature etcetera and English is not going to replace Indian languages in such areas or in the areas of intimacy. English can never be the home-language for the vast majority in areas like religious discourses, prayer etc. English will be a powerful market-language or street language, the language of transaction, of modernization (and not of Westernization).

We need to intelligently use the resources of English to enrich the major Indian languages; we need to activate the 'process of percolation' from the 'lab to land' by using English as a source language. English should play a *catalytic role* or a *socially transforming role* in contemporary India, and not a literary role as in the days of the British Raj. An 'interface' between English and Indian languages will be to the advantage of the vast majority of non-English-knowing people in India, who, at present, are exploited by the English-knowing minority in urban areas. Rural India should get the English advantage as well as the technological advantage, which is now available only in 'English-India'. Rural India must also be empowered with English and the masses must get the advantage. The teaching and learning of English in India should become an agent of social change and social transformation; adapting Macaulay's unutilized 'filtration theory', we must produce a *class of Indians, not only in blood and colour, but also Indian in tastes, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect—a class of Indians who will be socially responsible, productive and committed to the cause of nation-building*.

To achieve all these goals, it will be necessary to produce competent people in the art and science of translation. We need to produce not only translated versions of the best books available in English to help those who are not able to profit from the books in English, but also create original texts in Indian languages, particularly in science, technology, and commerce. We need to train an army of translators and materials producers to effectively accomplish this 'Himalayan task'.

5.8.3 Ideology-driven Identity Projection Function

Learners of English in India have realized that English is necessary to talk about their own identity (or identities), their languages and literatures, their cultures and values, their land and their heritage, their contribution to the commonwealth of knowledge so that the world outside (not only outside India but also outside their own state or linguistic community) may know what they mean and what they stand for; this 'projection of one's identity' can be done only effectively in an international language like English.

This 'identity-projection' function was effectively activated during the struggle for independence; this function should become one of the important objectives of teaching English in India. This, in a way, reverses one of the roles that English has played so far, that of being a 'window on the world'; we must use English to create a 'window on India' so that India is not viewed just as a land of Maharajas, god-men, snake charmers, magicians, and beggars. The world must know that India is the land of Panini, Bhartahari, Nāgārjuna, Śankara, Rāmanuja, Madhva, Āryabhatta, Bhāskara, Jayadēva, Tolkāppiyar, Bharathi and a host of others. In addition to being a storehouse of talent in software and low-cost human power, India is a land that offers alternative lifestyles, alternative medicines and alternative human values. India is a land of intellectual giants, who can engage the best in Western thought. But this image of India has not been properly projected in English.

This involves an in-depth understanding of our own country, its culture, heritage and values, languages and literatures, and the massive project of 'translating India'; we need to translate India in the eyes of the world. This also involves a massive translation project, from Indian languages to English—a project that has to be incorporated in our educational system. It is meant to translate India to the West and to translate and interpret one's own community to the rest of India, so that a proper understanding and interaction may take place at various

levels. Only Indians who are competent in English can do it effectively; the departments of English in our universities should realize that it is not just that commonwealth literature to be taught, but we have to create a common wealth of literature.

A dynamic model of English teaching, as outlined above, can promote the creative process; it is a process of creative construction. An 'indigenous approach' based on our own needs and requirements, on our own wisdom, suitable to a multi-cultural and multi-lingual context must be evolved for teaching English in India. Decolonizing the colonial English educational pattern in India is also an attempt to examine and study certain fundamental issues like the suitability of Western models as universals, problems in adoption and adaptation, and how adept we are in handling neo-colonialism. Fundamental issues like decolonizing the mind and understanding power-dynamics are involved in this project. Our attempt in India will be a case-study, and this experiment in the process of decolonization could serve as a model for many other areas in the world that are struggling to get rid of exploitation in various forms. Like India's experiments in non-violence that inspired many in the world, our decolonization enterprise can be a source of inspiration to the rest of the colonized world.

No doubt, it is a massive operation that can be compared with the freedom movement in India; it should be called the *second freedom movement*. The subcontinent was colonized through education backed by gunpower; the gunpower is gone but the education system is deeply rooted in our country. *Colonialism is established in the minds of men and women, and only in the minds of men and women can the foundations of anti-colonialism be built; it is education that can start the process of decolonization.* It cannot be done in a day or two; colonialism was built up over a period of time and decolonizing the mind and the system will take time—maybe a century or two. But, someday, somewhere, a beginning must be made. The second freedom movement must be started—the sooner the better.

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Appendix I

Raja Rammohan Roy's Letter to Lord Amherst on Western Education

(Source: *Indian-English Prose: An Anthology*, Edited by D. Ramakrishna)

Year: 1823

To

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble William Pitt, Lord Amherst

My Lord,

Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of the government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances, as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

The establishment of a new Sanscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of the government to improve the Natives

of India by Education—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful; and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

We now find that the government are establishing a Sangsrit school under Hindoo pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those that existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the masses or to society. There, pupils will acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

In representing the subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant and land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

I have etc.,
RAMMOHAN ROY

Appendix II

On Education for India

Thomas Babington Macaulay

(Source: 'Thomas Babington Macaulay on Education for India', in *Imperialism*, ed. By Philip D. Curtin, New York: Harper and Row, 1971, pp.181–91.)

- i As it seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction, that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813, and as, if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will be necessary to warrant a change, I have thought it right to refrain from taking any part in the preparation of the adverse statements which are now before us, and to reserve what I had to say on the subject till it should come before me as a member of the Council of India.
- ii It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can, by any art of construction, be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied. A sum is set apart "for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature, the Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanscrit literature, that they never would have given the honourable appellation of 'a learned native' to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the Metaphysics of Locke, and the Physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such

persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity. This does not appear to be a very satisfactory interpretation. To take a parallel case; suppose that the Pacha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were to appropriate a sum for the purpose of 'reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt,' would anybody infer that he meant the youth of his pachalic to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency, if, instead of employing his young subjects in deciphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?

- iii The words on which the supporters of the old system rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This lac of rupees is set apart, not only for 'reviving literature in India,' the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also for 'the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories,' —words which are alone sufficient to authorize all the changes for which I contend.
- iv If the Council agree in my construction, no legislative Act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will prepare a short Act rescinding that clause of the Charter of 1813, from which the difficulty arises.
- v The argument which I have been considering, affects only the form of proceeding. But the admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument, which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change.

They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system, and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanscrit, would be down-right spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differed in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanatorium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatorium there, if the result should not answer our expectation? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice, now unhappily too common, of attributing them to things to which they do not belong. Those who would impart to abuses the sanctity of property are in truth imparting to the institution of property the unpopularity and the fragility of abuses. If the Government has given to any person a formal assurance; nay, if the Government has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or a learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests—I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a Government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be exploded, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instructions, from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these

funds as unalterably fixed. But had it been otherwise, I should have denied the competence of our predecessors to bind us by any pledge on such a subject. Suppose that a Government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should, to the end of time, be inoculated for the small-pox: would that Government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery? These promises, of which nobody claims the performance, and from which nobody can grant a release; these vested rights, which vest in nobody; this property without proprietors; this robbery, which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine. I consider this plea merely as a set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.

- vi I hold this lac of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council, for the purpose of promoting learning in India, in any way which may be thought most advisable. I hold his Lordship to be quite as free to direct that it shall no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit as he is to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral.
- vii We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?
- viii All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes

of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

- ix What then shall that language be? One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing.
- x I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.
- xi It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit languages is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

- xii How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence, with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equaled, with just and lively representations of human life and human nature, with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives of the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

- xiii The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, Astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, History abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and Geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.
- xiv We are not without experience to guide us, History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are, in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society, of prejudices overthrown, of knowledge diffused, of taste purified, of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.
- xv The first instance to which I refer is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost everything that was worth reading was contained in the writing of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Thucydides and Plato, and the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman French, would England ever have been what she now is? What the Greek

and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments—in history for example—I am certain that it is much less so.

- xvi Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities. I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class abounding with persons fit to serve the State in the highest functions, and in no ways inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire which, in the time of our grandfathers, was probably behind the Punjab, may in the time of our grandchildren, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change effected? Not by flattering national prejudices; not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old women's stories which his rude fathers had believed; not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas; not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or not created on the 13th of September; not by calling him 'a learned native' when he had mastered all these points of knowledge; but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

- xvii And what are the arguments against that course which seems to be alike recommended by theory and by experience? It is said that we ought to secure the co-operation of the native public, and that we can do this only by teaching, Sanscrit and Arabic.
- xviii I can by no means admit that, when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary, however to say, anything on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence, that we are not at present securing the cooperation of the natives, it would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither. We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock-learning which they nauseate.
- xix This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh this undisputed fact, that we cannot find in all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him.
- xx I have now before me the accounts of the Madrassa for one month, the month of December, 1833. The Arabic students appear to have been seventy-seven in number. All receive stipends from the public. The whole amount paid to them is above 500 rupees a month. On the other side of the account stands the following item.
- Deduct amount realized from the out-students of English for the months of May, June, and July last — 103 rupees.

- xxi I have been told that it is merely from want of local experience that I am surprised at these phenomena, and that it is not the fashion for students in India to study at their own charges. This only confirms me in my opinions. Nothing is more certain than that it never can in any part of the world be necessary to pay men for doing what they think pleasant and profitable. India is no exception to this rule. The people of India do not require to be paid for eating rice when they are hungry, or for wearing woollen cloth in the cold Season. To come nearer to the case before us, the children who learn their letters and a little elementary Arithmetic from the village schoolmaster are not paid by him. He is paid for teaching them. Why then is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages, the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.
- xxii Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the Committee by several ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had studied in the college ten or twelve years, that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindoo literature and science, that they had received certificates of proficiency. And what is the fruit of all this? 'Notwithstanding such testimonials,' they say, 'we have but little prospect of bettering our condition without the kind assistance of your Honorable Committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them.' They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor-General for places under the Government, not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. 'We want means,' they say, 'for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot

obtain without the assistance of Government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood.' They conclude by representing very pathetically that they are sure that it was never the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

xxiii I have been used to see petitions to Government for compensation. All these petitions, even the most unreasonable of them, proceeded on the supposition that some loss had been sustained—that some wrong had been inflicted. These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated gratis—for having been supported by the public during twelve years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. They represent their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the Government for redress, as an injury for which the stipends paid to them during the infliction were a very inadequate compensation. And I doubt not that they are in the right. They have wasted the best years of life in learning what procures for them neither bread nor respect. Surely we might, with advantage, have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable. Surely, men may be brought up to be burdens to the public and objects of contempt to their neighbours at a somewhat smaller charge to the State. But such is our policy. We do not even stand neuter in the contest between truth and falsehood. We are not content to leave the natives to the influence of their own hereditary prejudices. To the natural difficulties which obstruct the progress of sound science in the East, we add fresh difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth, we lavish on false texts and false philosophy.

xxiv By acting thus we create the very evil which we fear. We are making that opposition which we do not find. What

we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth. It is bounty-money paid to raise up champions of error. It goes to form a nest, not merely of helpless place-hunters, but of bigots prompted alike by passion and by interest to raise a cry against every useful scheme of education. If there should be any opposition among the natives to the change which I recommend, that opposition will be the effect of our own system. It will be headed by persons supported by our stipends and trained in our colleges. The longer we persevere in our present course, the more formidable will that opposition be. It will be the effect of our own system. It will be every year reinforced by recruits whom we are paying. From the native society, left to itself, we have no difficulties to apprehend. All the murmuring will come from that oriental interest which we have, by artificial means, called into being and nursed into strength.

- xxv There is yet another fact, which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The Committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanscrit books. These books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries, or rather the lumber-rooms, of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, I should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanscrit books during those three years has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime, the School Book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes

every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing but realizes a profit of twenty per cent on its outlay.

xxvi The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanscrit books, and the Mahomedan law from Arabic books, has been much insisted on, but seems not to bear at all on the question. We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a Law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the Code is promulgated the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a moonsiff or a Sudder Ameen [i.e. the traditional Indian books of law will be of no use to Indian judges]. I hope and trust that, before the boys who are now entering at the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College have completed their studies, this great work will be finished. It would be manifestly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood.

xxvii But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we

reasonably and decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the State, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what texts of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

xxviii It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this. But they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling-book education. They assume it as undeniable that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and Arabian literature and science on the one side, and superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains sufficiently to relish even the more delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the Continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at the Sanscrit College, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and even to imitate not unhappily the compositions of the best Greek authors.

Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophocles ought to enable a Hindoo to read Hume and Milton.

xix To sum up what I have said, I think it is clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English and not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

xxx In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

xxxi I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books. I would abolish the Madrasa and the

Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahminical learning; Delhi of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanskrit College at Benares and the Mahomedan College at Delhi we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught.

xxxii If the decision of His Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there—I feel also that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends not to accelerate the progress of truth but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose

education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceedings, I must consider, not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

Appendix III

Report of the Study Group on Teaching of English

(Ministry of Education and Youth Services,
New Delhi: 1971.)

A. General Survey of the Present Position

1. A number of Committees and Study Groups have in recent times given anxious thought to the place of English in our system of education. The teaching of this language at various stages, its role in school and at the university, *its share in the time tables*, and its contribution to the teaching of other subjects, form part of a problem which has become increasingly important as well as controversial *with the passage of time*.
2. Most aspects of the problem were reviewed by the Study Group appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1964. That Group examined the situation in the light of the changed circumstances and the *changed position* of English both as a subject of study at school and as the medium of instruction at the university stage. (It made a number of recommendations on policies and programmes, syllabuses, methods and materials.)
3. Most of these recommendations are yet to be implemented by the authorities responsible for the making of policies and their implementation at various levels.
4. (During the last five years the situation has changed at a much greater speed than ever before.) In several states, especially in the *north*, the most conspicuous feature of the changing policies with regard to English is their speed. We

have examples of more than one state where, only a few years ago, English was taught as a compulsory language and, however low the competence attained, pass marks had to be secured in the English paper in order to get through the High School examination. Today, largely because of the mounting concern caused by an *alarmingly high percentage of failures* in the subject at different end-of-the year and school-leaving examinations, the Governments have decreed that success in English should no longer be considered essential for admission to the undergraduate courses at the university.

Considerations such as these have resulted in several other changes, all of which tend to create the belief that there is no need for effective teaching of measurable competence in English. In a few states, English has been made an *optional* subject, and in some it is *an additional paper* and the marks secured in it do not in any way affect the examination result. In at least one state, if a student chooses to take this paper, the fact is merely *recorded on* his result sheet.

The upshot of all these changes, and several others that are becoming known with the passage of time, is that very soon, in certain parts of India, the college entrant will know no English, not even the alphabet.

5. The 'explosion of opportunity' which forms part of a modern democracy also aggravates the problems of English teaching and indeed raises many other important problems in our system of education. We have, of late, witnessed a tremendous expansion in primary and secondary education. Many more children now enter school and receive instruction at various levels and a large percentage of them come from uneducated families. (Their environment does not provide them with any opportunities of using English outside the classroom.)

(Growth in numbers has necessitated the recruitment of many more teachers both in primary and in secondary schools. Our training programmes have failed to keep pace with the

mounting needs for teacher education and training. The teacher, especially at the primary and middle stages, is therefore, in many instances, not adequately qualified or trained for the specialist tasks of teaching a foreign language at the earlier stages. The result is that, even where English is taught in school, its teaching is not done by teachers who have an adequate knowledge of the language and of language-teaching methods.)

6. Cumulatively these changes have produced a situation which causes great concern and which, if left to itself, will result in a further lowering of the standards of English and of education as a whole. (With the acquisition of bad English or no English at school, the teaching of English at the university presents an entirely new set of problems.) Much time has to be devoted to repairing the damage done or in building the foundations that are necessary for the minimum essential use of this language at the undergraduate and post-graduate stages.
7. Two questions have to be answered as a preliminary to the formulation of new policies and programmes for the future teaching of English at various stages in the country. The first is: what are the reasons for the non-implementation of some of the major recommendations of the previous committees and special bodies? The second question is: what are the new needs for which the sub committees should work out new programmes and methods?
8. The study group suggested the following answers to the first question. The decisions have not been implemented, in the main, for the reasons set out below:
 - (a) There is a grave shortage of trained and fully qualified teachers of English at almost all stages of the educational system.
 - (b) There have been frequent *changes* in government policy towards the teaching and learning of English in several States.

- (c) The State Education Departments have been slow in taking decisions, and, even where decisions have been taken, *adequate resources* are not available to carry them out. Very often departments have not been able to utilize fully the facilities available at various specialist centres, and to organize their own courses for re-training or in-service training.
 - (d) In general, the facilities available for reform and reorganisation have been inadequate. The result is that curricular changes have been very slow. In these circumstances, even trained teachers have been unable to make any great contribution to the improvement of the teaching of the subject.
 - (e) The supervision of English teaching in schools has continued to be neglected, with hardly any trained specialists engaged in this task.
 - (f) In the majority of schools there is a *great gulf* between the avowed approach and the actual practice. The aural/oral approach, which of course ought not to be depended upon as the sole key to success, has not found its way at all into the ordinary classroom. (Most teachers make free and often unsystematic use of the pupils' mother tongue on the lines of the old grammar-translation method.) Neither guidance nor material is available to help teachers make a systematic and judicious use of a bilingual method wherever the situation so demands.
9. The success of our future efforts in the field, will, in large measure, depend on the removal of the deficiencies, failures, implicit or explicit, set out in Para 8 (a)-(f) above. Every effort, both at the Centre and in the States, should, therefore, be made to remove the inadequacies and remedy the defects in the existing structure.
 10. The new needs are, in the main, related to the changed conditions referred to earlier in this chapter. But some of them have also come into existence because of the general

recognition of fresh roles assigned to English in our educational system.

As a free nation, we are committed to the enrichment of Indian languages, so that they may serve all those purposes for which we now use English. To do so, however, we need to profit from the existing stock of knowledge in English. And with our long tradition in the use of English, we should be able to exploit the richness of this language to the advantage of major Indian languages.

For some time to come, we must depend on English to provide a 'window on the world', an access to the growing fund of knowledge in science, technology and humanities.

11. Three different but related demands have thus to be met in framing the programmes for the future of English teaching in this country. These are:

- (a) the changing conditions and the need to answer the problems created thereby;
- (b) the role of English as a 'source' language; and
- (c) the place of English as a 'link' with the outside world for the acquisition of new knowledge.

To meet the first demand the Group considers it essential to design courses that can satisfy different kinds of 'consumers' at various levels of learning. (These courses should be varied enough to offer several alternatives – *general and specific*, long-term and short-term, elementary and advanced, in speech and writing.)

12. To use English as a 'source' language with a view to enriching our own languages, it will be necessary to produce competence, at high academic levels, in the skill of translation. Translation as a specialist skill can be effectively taught only at the intermediate and advanced stages of language teaching, but even at these stages it must be taught systematically as well.

The teaching of translation should form part of all intermediate and advanced courses, and translation of graded passages from English into the learner's language should be made compulsory in at least the advanced courses. Translation should also be given a place in post-graduate courses.

One immediate purpose in emphasizing the importance of translation is to produce translated versions of the best books available in the English language to help those who are not able to profit from them because they lack the necessary competence in the language. (To help in this direction the Group considers it necessary to reiterate one of the recommendations made by the English Review Committee of the University Grants Commission (1965), that "there could be no objection to the award of a Ph.D. degree on the translation of well-known Indian classics with suitable editing and biographical details".)

13. For an effective use of English as a 'link' with the wider world of thought and discovery, our university student should be able to use it 'in the library'. He must learn how to read meaningfully all that appears in his *field of specialist* study, he must become an effective *note-taker* and must master the art of successful silent reading with speed and comprehension. Training in the use of English as a 'library language' is therefore greatly desirable and should be given a place in all kinds of courses at both the school and the university stage.

At the university stage it will be also necessary to help the student to use English for subjects other than English 'in the library'. A suitable machinery will have to be provided to organise courses for them. The Group feels that such a machinery can be made out of close collaboration between the English department and selected members of the other departments.

14. New commitments and new courses are necessary to halt the *deterioration of standards* on the one hand and to

effectively introduce much-needed improvements on the other. All these require a strong complex of '*feeder institutions*'. Vital even to minor improvements in a system are such requirements as pure and applied research, adequate teacher-training both short- and long-term, good materials for teachers and learners, and classroom equipment. This can come only through the cooperation of high-level institutions. The strengthening and, if necessary, creation of such 'courses of excellence' must be considered among the first priorities in any programme of reorganization and reform in the teaching of English.

15. The Group feels that three factors are mainly responsible for the success or failure of a teaching programme. In their order of importance these three cardinal factors are 'Men' 'Materials' and 'Methods'. Each of these factors calls for thoughtful care and careful planning, and each, in its present state, in this country is in need of reform. We shall devote the next chapter to discussing and defining the nature and extent of such reform, keeping in view the needs of today and the hopes of tomorrow.

- (i) Having reviewed the problems and the urgencies in the teaching of English as a foreign language in this country today, the Group wishes to emphasize the need to design courses that can satisfy different kinds of 'customers' at various levels of learning. These courses, as envisaged, will be taught under various curricular arrangements that exist at different places and may have to be modified to suit the needs of different States and different kinds of institutions. Uniformity of policy in regard to the introduction of these courses is, therefore, not a practical possibility.

Although the Group stands against any rigid all India pattern and favours the use of specially tailored programmes and materials for every major area of use, it also feels that a set of model syllabuses, one for each known need, will usefully serve the large number of

bodies and institutions which may wish to adopt them or adapt them to their own particular requirements.

- (ii) Syllabuses have been prepared for the various courses that the Group wishes to suggest and they form Part II of this Report. A brief Introduction to each course is given below together with some notes on when to use it and for what purposes.

- (a) **English at the School Stage:** The teaching of English should not begin earlier than Class V, the first year of the middle or upper primary stage. It should be an examinable subject and those who choose to study it should be required to take an examination and pass it. The minimum level of attainment detailed... should form the basis of the regular courses at the school stage. (For pupils whose performance or aptitude justifies it, there should also be a course available at an advanced level.)

States should be free to adopt this course or any other course involving a higher level of attainment in English according to their requirements. The expert services of the Central Institute of English should be available to all States, Universities and State Institutes of English for working out the details of their courses and the preparation of textbooks and other teaching and testing materials.

- (b) **English at the Transitional Stage:** It will be an advantage to have a transitional stage, preferably of two years, between the end of the school stage and the beginning of the first degree course. Such a stage already exists in some states. One of the major objectives of this stage should be to prepare students for advanced work at the university level by helping them acquire a reasonable command over English...

- (c) **English as a Library Language:** Students now come to the Intermediate and first-year degree classes with varying degrees of attainment in English. The spectrum is disquietingly wide, from students educated at English medium schools at the one end to those who have not studied it at all at the other. Measures should, therefore, be taken to introduce courses to suit the needs of students at different levels of attainment and help them attain a command whereby they can use English as a 'library language'.

The best and most effective period for the introduction of this course is the period between the high school and the first degree stage. The students will, by that time, have chosen their course of study and can be helped to achieve competence in the areas of language relevant to their specializations. This will necessitate work in two related fields: (i) the description of the 'register' of each subject area, especially the syntactic structures and the most favoured collocations, and (ii) the organization of suitable courses for the successful implementation of the programmes. Institutions that run such courses will have to bring together specialists in various subjects of study. Wherever possible, at least in large institutions, there should be a member of the staff with training and qualifications in English language teaching, to coordinate the language work of different departments and to help evolve suitable courses. The possibility of attaching teachers of English as consultants to the various subject departments should be explored.

- (d) **English as Medium of Instruction at the College Level:** There should be a course for students going to all-India institutions, colleges

of technology and similar institutes, who will have to use English as a medium of instruction and examination. It should have as its target the standard of the Higher Secondary Course. As its starting point it will have to take various levels of achievement from no skill in English to skills at the high level. The objectives of the course should be to help students (i) follow lectures in English (ii) to read text books in English (iii) speak to teachers in English and (iv) make notes and write examination answers in English. Provision should be made for an intensive course during the first long vacation and a thinly spread course during the first year.

- (e) **Course in English for Students who Wish to be Teachers of English or Study English Literature:** There should be a course for students who want to take up English literature as their special field of study or become teachers of English. Students taking this course should be given a thorough grounding both in language and in literature. The course should give students an adequate command of the use of English, and introduce them to a critical appreciation of English literature. Students who undergo this course should be able to teach English at High/Higher Secondary Schools and Junior/Intermediate Colleges.
- (f) **English Language and Literature for Students of Literature in Indian Languages:** There should be an optional course in English language and literature for students studying literature in an Indian language at the B.A. Honours or M.A. level. This introduction of English literature will sharpen their literary sensibilities and encourage comparative literary studies. The

general objectives of this course should be (i) to help students acquire an adequate command of English in order to appreciate literature in English, (ii) to acquaint them with the significant aspects of English literature and literary criticism, including Indian writings in English, through the study of appropriate texts, and (iii) to stimulate comparative studies of English and Indian literatures. Translation should form part of this course, particularly translation from English into an Indian language.

(g) English at the B.A. Honours and M.A.

Levels: It is assumed that there will always be students specializing in English literature. The present types of courses in English literature for such students need to be changed. At the post graduate level optional courses may be offered in Indo-English, American and Commonwealth literatures. The study of Linguistics and Phonetics with special reference to English and methods of second language teaching should also be introduced in the B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. Syllabuses.

- (iii) The courses listed above should generally form part of the regular curricula in schools, colleges and other institutions of higher learning. At some establishments, however, because of present-day exigencies, special arrangements may have to be made outside the normal timetables and during the long vacations. The Group also sees the need for special courses to meet the growing demands for English teaching for specific purposes.

(iv) General Courses:

Certificate and Diploma Courses: The elements of knowledge and skill presented in these two

syllabuses are basic to a reasonably competent user of the English language. It is therefore recommended that as far as possible, these two courses should be taught as part of regular full-time courses. The two courses can also be organized as part-time courses outside the normal curriculum for undergraduate studies, or during the summer vacation preceding the postgraduate course.

The Certificate Course: This course should be open to two categories of students: (a) Those members of the general public who are above fifteen and who have no knowledge of English but wish to acquire a certain proficiency in the language for which they may feel the need owing to vocational, professional or other reasons. (b) Students at the High School or the Junior/Intermediate College stage who have had no instruction in English, but who need a knowledge of English, either as a 'library language' or as a requirement in their university courses.

The duration of this course should be one year. There should be eighteen periods of work per week at the rate of three forty-minute periods a day. Where this course is not provided at the school level, it should be given at the university level. At the end of the Certificate Course a student should be able to (i) read simple passages of prose at a fair speed and with good understanding, (ii) understand a talk in straightforward English on subjects within his experience, and (iii) express himself with a reasonable degree of accuracy in speech and writing in English on subjects within his experience.

The Diploma Course: This course should be available to those who have successfully completed the Certificate Course. It should be at the level of the higher secondary course in English. At the end of this course a student should be able to (i) understand the

main statements or ideas in a written passage and be able to reproduce them in English, free from gross errors, (ii) express himself in writing with relevance and a fair measure of accuracy on a topic within his experience and on a topic chosen from a curricular subject with its own special vocabulary, (iii) understand a talk (which may be a radio or tape recorded talk) or a subject of general interest within his experience, and (iv) carry on a conversation on a simple topic.

In addition to these two courses, there should also be a Diploma Course in Advanced English including, in addition to the contents of these two courses, an advanced study of modern English usage and advanced general comprehension. It may be a part-time course and any university student may be permitted to take it up in addition to his regular studies.

(iv) **Special Courses:** Two categories of courses are included under 'Special Courses'. The first category is one of general command, either of spoken or written English. The second covers different professional needs, e.g., the needs of students of commerce or those of teachers of English.

a) *Course in Spoken English:* For students and other people who wish to improve their proficiency in Spoken English for their professional needs and for effective oral communication, a part-time course in Spoken English should be provided. It is assumed that people admitted to this course will have successfully completed the Higher Secondary Course in English or the proposed Diploma Course in English.

b) *Course for Teachers of Spoken English:* The teachers who give the specialized course in Spoken English should have received training in Phonetics and Spoken English as part of their M.A. course in

English or have attended a one year course at the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad. The objectives of this course should be (i) to give teachers of English an introduction to General Phonetics, (ii) to acquaint them with the phonology of English, and (iii) to give them speech training in order to improve their own pronunciation and their competence as teachers of Spoken English.

- c) *Course in Written English:* There should be a special course in written English. Its main objective should be to help students write an internationally acceptable kind of English on academic matters. This course will assume as initial requirement a relatively good proficiency in respect to written English at the High School level.
- d) *Course in Commercial English:* There should be a specialized course in Commercial English designed to help students (i) understand commercial correspondence, commercial documents, and textbooks and reference books on commercial practices, (ii) write commercial correspondence and commercial documents in an English of international acceptability, and (iii) carry on business affairs both in face-to-face conversation and on the telephone in an English of international acceptability. The entry requirement for this course is a good High School Certificate or success in the proposed Diploma Course in English.
- e) *Teacher Training Courses:* Teacher training should have high priority in any programme of reform in English Language Teaching. There is urgent need for a review of the existing courses with a view to making them effective instruments of radical change and reform. The following courses are suggested as models:

- i) *A Course in English for Non-graduate Teachers*: For non-graduate teachers it is desirable to have a course in both language and methods. It should be designed both to improve the pupil teachers' skill in English and to train them to become proficient as teachers of English. The proposed syllabus consists of two parts. The first part, which is a content course in English, is intended to improve the pupil teacher's use of English and is to be given during the first year; the second part, i.e., the Methods Course, should be given in the second year. Practice teaching, which is to be conducted in the second year, should be organized in such a way that each learning teacher teaches at least twenty-five lessons in the course of the year (including a block of about ten lessons taught in the same class during a period of two weeks.)
- ii) *A Course in Methods of Teaching English for the B.Ed. examination*: There should be a much fuller course than exists at present in Methods of Teaching English for the B.Ed. degree examination. In order to make teachers competent in the use of English and to train them to teach it effectively, it is recommended that the time allotted to Methods of Teaching English should be raised to at least five periods per week. Similarly the status of the course in the scheme of examination should also be raised. The paper in Methods of Teaching English should carry a hundred marks and be of three hours' duration. It is recommended that the B.Ed. curriculum should allow the trainees to specialize in one subject only, instead of requiring them to study the methods of teaching two school subjects.

Appendix IV

Committees, Commissions and Reports in Chronological Order

English Period

1. Macaulay's Minute	1835
2. Adam's Report	1835
3. Wood's Despatch	1854
4. The Indian Education Commission (Hunter Commission)	1882-3
5. The Indian Universities Act	1904
6. The Calcutta University Commission (Sadler Commission)	1917-9
7. The Auxiliary Committee Report (Hartog Committee)	1928-9
8. Abbot-Wood Report	1936-7
9. Zakir Hussain Committee	1938
10. The Sargent Report	1944

After Independence

11. The University Education Commission (Radhakrishnan Commission)	1948-9
12. Committee on Primary Education	1951
13. The Secondary Education Commission (Mudaliar Commission)	1952-3

14. Official Languages Commission	1956
15. All India Language Conference	1958
16. Conference of Chief Ministers	1961
17. National Integration Conference	1961
18. The Education Commission (Kothari Commission)	1964-6
19. All India Seminar, Nagpur	1957
20. National Policy on Education	1968
21. NPE	1986
22. Acharya Ramamurty Commission	1990

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