

The Advent of British Educational System and English Language in the Indian Subcontinent: A Shift from Engraftment to Ultimate Implementation and Its Impact on Regional Vernaculars

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Abstract

The research study critically traces the historical background of the introduction of the western education system with English as the medium of instruction in the Indian subcontinent and its impact on the teaching of various subjects and local languages in the postcolonial phase. It analyzes the transitional shift from the indigenous/regional vernaculars to engraftment (translating western knowledge into indigenous languages for teaching) and eventual shift to English as the medium of instruction, which thwarted the process of engraftment and development of indigenous languages. The study analyzes that how the education in the subcontinent was affected in the wake of diametrical shift in the British political policy from orientalism, engraftment, conciliation and consolidation to hostility, antagonism and oppression. Although, the study repudiates the popular myth of the revolutionary changes claimed by the British education system in the subcontinent, yet it establishes that how in the longer term it contributed to the academic, literary, social, political and economic advancement of the region. Nevertheless its repercussions for the regional languages were immense. The study reveals that how English, which was the language of power, authority and center, became a means of retaliation, communication and resistance at the hands of natives. The study, in its nature, is descriptive and historical one.

Key Words: British Colonial Education system, Vernaculars, Engraftment, English Language.

Introduction

The undertaken study focuses the introduction of English language in the educational system of the Indian subcontinent in the wake of the British colonization. The region remained under the indirect and direct rule of the British Empire for about three centuries. The colonizers used Eurocentric historical construct, English literature and English-based western educational system to justify and perpetuate the colonial rule. The pre-colonial educational system of the region was based on the indigenous languages viz. Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and other vernaculars. Initially to avoid confrontation and resistance, the colonizers did not interfere in the educational system of the region. In the later period, the approach of engraftment was introduced, in which the content of the western knowledge were translated into the indigenous languages; however, there had been a prolonged controversy and polemical debate between the Conservatives (Orientalists) and the Reformists (Anglicists) over the education system and medium of instruction: the former preferred the oriental educational system and the engraftment of the western contents, whereas the latter were bent upon the introduction of the western educational system with English as the medium of instruction.

The Minutes of Macaulay 1835 settled the issue in the favour of Reformists (Anglicists), and English was introduced as the medium of instruction. Macaulay reiterated that the western English-based educational system would groom a band of the natives who would be Indian in colour but English in taste and intellect and they would play the role of intermediary between the colonizers and the colonized. After the War of Independence (1857), the British government replaced the policy of reconciliation and cooperation with antagonism and oppression. This caused three major losses to the field of education and language teaching: the first, the gradual process of engraftment of western contents was stopped which, if continued, had enriched the indigenous languages with the modern knowledge; the second, the oriental knowledge went into the background as the colonial discourse belittled its worth and scope; the third, English dominated and overshadowed the indigenous languages and halted their progress and development.

When the natives started National Movements against the foreign rule, there occurred a dramatic shift in the status of English from the language of center to the periphery, from the language of power to the tool of retaliation, from the symbol of authority to subversion; moreover, it was altogether transformed from the tool of colonial, imperial and cultural indoctrination to the powerful means of protest and communication at the hands of the natives. This study upholds the issue of occidental versus oriental education system and traces its consequences.

Scope of the Study

The study traces the transitional and historical shift in the educational system of the Indian subcontinent from the oriental to occidental contents and pattern with English as the medium of instruction. The study provides fresh insight into the historical development of language and content teaching in the region. Besides, it also deals with the status, scope, contribution and impact of English language in the academic, political, social, economic and literary realms of the region.

Hypothesis

There is a significant impact of the western education system with English as the medium of instruction on the educational system of the Indian subcontinent in the wake of the British colonization.

The British Colonization of the Indian Subcontinent

After the discovery of the Cape of Hope by a Portuguese navigator in 1498, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French East India Companies landed in the South Asia. The English East India Company dominated in the Indian subcontinent and outdid its rival European companies. The company had its army for the security and protection of the trade; however, the same military was used in the princely conflicts among the small states and the company was paid for it. With the passage of time, the company made contracts with these small states and provinces for their security and persuaded them not to keep their army on the pretext that the company would defend them. It served dual purpose: the company extended its trade in these states and got political power to intervene and settle the political affairs. Robert

Clive defeated the French and their Indian allies and attacked on Bengal. His victory over Siraj-ud-Dawlah in the War of Plassey (1757) laid the foundation of British rule in India. Diwan Act 1765 empowered the company to collect revenue and tax from Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The news of making abnormal profit and misappropriation reached England, for that, Regulation Act 1773 was passed to monitor the business activities of the English merchants in India. The Court of Directors was constituted to deal with the affairs of the company and the members of the court were chosen through election process. Later on, William Pitt moved a resolution in the British Parliament in 1784 for bringing the company under the administrative control of the ministry. Thus, the company through the ministry was responsible to the British Parliament. From 1757 onwards, the British Government indirectly ruled India through the company but after the upsurge of 1857, the British Government terminated the company's power and assumed its rule in India, hence India went under the direct rule of the British government, which ended in 1947. Brian (1996) reveals that the territory of about two hundred and eighty thousand square miles, equal to all Christian Europe, consisting of thirty millions of human race, were under the direct control of the East India Company. However, the native laid the foundation of the anti-British empire movements: both the Muslim and the Hindus, in harmony to the extent, jolted, questioned, frowned, and eventually up-rooted the British empires, which split the then Indian subcontinent into two separate states – India and Pakistan, the latter was further subdivided with the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971.

A Snapshot of the Pre and Post Colonial Indigenous Educational System

The pre-colonial Indian education system was based on oriental pattern consisting of Pathshalas, the madrassas, the Persian schools called Maktabas, in which Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit were mediums of instruction; later in 1829, Urdu was also added as a medium of instruction. With the advent of the British rule, the western education system based on European scientific knowledge and literature with English as the medium of instruction was introduced. Warren

Hastings, Lord Bentinck, Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay and William Wilberforce influenced the British policy of education in the region. Subsequently, Macaulay's Minutes of 1835, Wood's dispatch 1854, Hunter Commission 1882, Saddler Commission 1917, Hartog Committee 1929, Abbot and Wood Report 1937 and Sargent Report 1944 emphasized the superiority of occidental over oriental system of education.

The Controversy over Educational System and the Medium of Instruction

There had been prolonged controversy and polemical debate between the Conservatives (Orientalists) and the Reformists (Anglicists) over the education system to be introduced in the colonized India. The Conservatives preferred the continuation of pre-colonial oriental education system after translating some content of European learnings into the classical languages like Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit or local vernaculars and they emphasized that these languages, as prevalent, should be continued as the medium of instruction. The Conservatives had the firsthand experience of India therefore they were very cautious and did not want to unnecessarily intervene or meddle with the sensitive issues like religion, culture and language. Conversely, the Anglicists intended to introduce the western education pattern, based on science and literature with English as the medium of instruction.

In addition, the missionary wished to bring the superstitious natives to Light and Truth through Christianity. Spear (1938) maintains though it was missionary that wanted to Anglicize the education system of India, yet the most powerful demand was raised by the champions of utilitarianism and free-trade, who wanted to invigorate the stagnant fabric of the Indian society with the infusion of western learning.

Thus, each faction wanted to reform India in accordance with its ideology and affiliation. The Reformists were the followers Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the founder of utilitarian philosophy, and preferred the education system based on European science and literature. The Orientalists were orthodox hence very much prudent and scrupulous, whereas the missionary ascertained that only Christianity could render salvation to the pagan and superstitious Indians. However,

Thomas Babington Macaulay, the Law Member of Governor-General's Council and the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal, finally resolved the matter in the favour of the Anglicists in his minutes of 1835 by choosing the western line of education with English as the medium of instruction (Ashton, 1988: 23).

The Transition from Oriental to Occident Education System in the Region

In the early period, the East India Company (EIC) took initiatives only for providing education to the European children whose families traveled to India for business and commercial enterprise. Though, some of the upper class Indians enrolled their children in these schools. Benson (1972) mentions that the EIC did not encourage the educational development during the last quarter of the 18th and the first decade of the 19th century. The underlying prudence for employing such approach was the apprehension the company envisaged that the western education based on English language might ensue cultural conflict and subversion in the subjects (David, 1984; Rahim, 1986).

Initially the EIC patronized the prevailing oriental education system in India to avoid any confrontation with the local culture. Hastings' (1773-85) pursuit of establishing the institutes for oriental studies based on Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic languages, was incorporation of that political ideology which was diametrically changed with the arrival of Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General during 1828-1835 (Rosselli, 1974). Viswanathan (1989) maintains that pro-oriental approach was an essential political strategy to harmonize the natives with the expanding British rule in India. To obtain such goals, the refined and acculturated band of English officers was appointed in India for the cultivation of cultural synthesis and forbearing to obliterate the feelings of foreboding (quoted by Pachori, 1990). Kopf (1969) adds that Hastings believed that those officers would have sympathetic outlook and broader understanding of the culture, laws and traditions of the Indian society, hence they would wield their power prudently. However, during the last quarter of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century, this approach was diametrically changed by the liberal reformists and the European education system based on English language was introduced in the

colonized Indian subcontinent. They leveled their arguments on the grounds that the subject should acquaint themselves with western knowledge and culture for their assimilation with the rulers and not the vice versa (Clive, 1973). It indeed was a paradigm shift in the attitude of British towards India from “interest and appreciation to criticism and disdain”, which got momentous effect after the arrival of Lord Bentinck. Macaulay once mentioned in the House of Common that it was better to trade with the civilized people than rule over the savages.

The Role of the Missionary

The missionary, though not with official permission, started proselytizing the people in the 18th century. William Carry translated Ramayana and Sanskrit grammar book. Besides, missionary established vocational schools where reading of the Bible was compulsory. The Bible was also translated into the indigenous languages. These institutes provided religious and vocational education to the children of the converts to earn their livelihood. The majority of the converts belonged to the lower Indian class (Chatterji, 1983). Thus, English language and contents first time got their roots in the Indian education system.

Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay and William Wilberforce were in the favour of English education system in India. Wilberforce moved a resolution in the British Parliament in 1773 for introducing English education system in India so that the subjects could be uplifted morally, socially, politically and religiously. The explicit content and intention of converting people into Christianity led the parliament to disapprove the resolution. Besides, the parliament was prudent enough and did not want cultural and religious confrontation with the natives.

The Pro-Oriental Phase

Warren Hastings was appointed as the governor of Fort William, Calcutta in April 1772, he had much reverence for Indian culture and religion in general and Indian philosophy and literature in particular. He believed in the policy of consolidation and conciliation. He took initiatives for the translation of the Bhagavad Gita and the Mahabharata. Wilkin translated the Bhagavad Gita and Major Rennel, the inventor of printing type of Bengali and Persian script, wrote *The*

Bengal Atlas. Hastings founded “Asiatic Society of Bengal” which rendered integral service to Indian culture and history. In addition, Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781 and the Benars Sanskrit College in 1791 to encourage oriental learning for the natives. The Orientalists were not in the favour of any covert or overt support for the promotion of missionary activities in India, because they knew it would be counterproductive and would beget dissatisfaction and confrontation. Some of the parliamentarians were of the opinion that the idea of educating colonies might not be carried further as they had already lost colonies after educating them – the experience of losing America was fresh in their memory.

The First Official Step: Leading from Oriental Knowledge to Engraftment of Western Contents

The first official blueprint for Indian education system was presented by Charles Grant, the director of EIC, in 1792. He is regarded as father of modern education in India. He was pro-Christian and had strong conviction that if the natives accepted Christianity they would adhere to the culture, politics, economic system and language of their rulers without any resistance or contempt. For him, Christianity, English language and western learning were the tools to mould the Indian natives morally, politically, socially, and religiously (Kirshnaswamy and Lalitah, 2006:12). Charles Grants’ treatise: *Observation on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* (1792) was in tune with evangelical stance to convince the British parliament for introducing English education and missionary activities in India for the stability of the British rule.

However, missionaries were not happy with the Oriental system of education. They supported the Anglicists for introducing European knowledge of science and literature with English as the medium of instruction. Although, the missionaries approached the British Parliament to seek permission for conducting missionary activities in India, yet given to the policy of conciliation and consolidation, the parliament did not overtly support the missionary activities in the region.

Charles Grant was appointed as the Chairman of EIC in 1805, Deputy Chairman in 1807-1808 and again was appointed as Chairman

in 1809. This appointment remained in the favour of both Anglicists and missionary. The Charter Act of 1813 determined that English would be incorporated in Indian schools in coexistence with the local vernaculars. Thus, the English education of science and art would gradually be “engrafted” to produce a class of elite that could serve as cultural intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled. Besides, it was envisaged that European education would boost the moral and social development of the Indians. The missionary now overtly continued its activities as the resolution included religious and moral uplift of the natives. Charles Grant made English as the medium of instruction; science, literature and the content of Christianity were used for the cultural indoctrination and transplantation so that the British could rule peacefully over Indians. In the follow up of the 1773 resolution, a Charter was passed in 1823 which made the government bound to spend at least one lac rupees for the education in India.

James Mill, the senior officer of the company in London during 1819-1836, published a book: *History of British India* in 1817 based on the utilitarian outlook upon the Indian society. The company’s dispatch of 1824, written by Mill on the behalf of the company, was imbued with Mills’ utilitarian convictions, and it deprecated the company’s policy of “engraftment”. He reiterated that the objectives of education should not be to disseminate Islamic or Hindu learning “but the useful knowledge.” (Zastoupil & Moir, 1999:116). Though Mill was in concord with Charles Grant regarding the teaching of European knowledge of science and literature and rejected the oriental studies yet he, unlike Charles Grant, did not support the implementation of English as the medium of instruction, but suggested that the translation of European knowledge into classical or local Indian vernaculars would yield fruitful harvest moreover in abundance (Zastoupil, 1994). In the response of Mills’ dispatch, the Committee of Public Instructions submitted the note of dissent that the prevailing dislike against the western education was a hindrance in its implementation. The note succinctly mentioned that any innovation in the education system might invoke the public prejudice and end in confrontation (Zastoupil & Moir, 1999:121). It was further reported that even the elite class nourished in the traditional education system would not favour the western education, until such favour was gained from the

elite class in particular and society in general. The explicit advocacy and implementation of western education would endanger the peaceful rule in India.

Though there was conspicuous pressure from the middle class Hindu for learning in English, but the Committee of Public Instructions, being dominated by the Orientalists, was reluctant to favour the Anglicists. Majumdar (1955) testifies that the establishment of Hindu College at Calcutta for the higher education in English was the manifestation of growing interest of the public in English learning. Frykenberg (1986) adds that the same demand was incorporated in the private schools of Madras to teach rudiments of English language. In addition, the intellectuals like Rammohan Roy also preferred and demanded the education system based on western science and literature (Zastoupil & Moir, 1999).

The controversy between the Orientalists and Anglicists still continued but owing to the Gurkhas and Marathas wars during 1813-1823, the education and other work of development could not receive serious consideration. In 1823, a committee was constituted consisting of the members of both Orientalists and Anglicists to settle the issues regarding education policy and system in India. The committee during 1823-1833 recognized the Calcutta Madrassa, Benares Sanskrit College and established Sanskrit College at Pona in 1821 and two Oriental colleges at Agra in 1823. The Oriental schools were asked to translate the books from English into Indian classical languages. The EIC was interested in trade, the British government endeavoured for the expansion of empire, whereas the missionary strove for conversion. Their interests were mutually dependent therefore missionary also succeeded in getting covert support from the government.

The Establishment of Missionary Schools

The missionary schools were established in India during 1815-1840 that included the Baptist Mission School 1815, the Seramore College 1818, the London Missionary Society's School 1818, the Bishop College at Sibpur 1820, the Calcutta Society's School 1819, the Jaya Narayan School and Ghoshal's English School at Benars 1818. The most prominent one was the General Assembly's Institution 1830

founded by the Scottish missionary headed by Alexander Duff, who was of the opinion that for converting people in Christianity, European knowledge and English language could be used as tools in the Indian education system. Duff and the missionary were very critical of “godless policy” of the British government in India.

The English-based Schools vis-à-vis the Demand of the Natives

The government started English classes at Calcutta Madrassa, the Benares Sanskrit College, Delhi College and Agra College during 1824-35. The young Indians were very much keen interested in English education based on the knowledge of science and art. They regarded it as Indian Renaissance. The English newspapers were published in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay during 1780-95. They Indian were incentivized to read and write in English. Owing to the increasing demand, the natives established the Hindu College in 1817 in Calcutta to impart education in English. The then chief justice of Supreme Court of Calcutta entertained a petition from a group of people who demanded for the provision of education based on European knowledge of science and art.

Raja Rammohan Roy, the prominent Indian figure and now regarded as the founder of modern India, also demanded for the education of science, mathematics, medicine, law and art, because he was of the opinion that Indian society could not progress until it was provided with the modern education. He supported English utilitarian approach in education and opposed the orthodox system dominated by the pundits, but he did not oppose the knowledge of Sanskrit. He was liberal and enlightened who struggled against the tradition of *satti*, self-immolation by a wife at the funeral pyre of her husband, child marriage and he fought for the rights of women in property and equal treatment in the society (Reena Chatterji, 1983). Thus, the demand for the education based on European subjects translated into Indian classical languages was manipulated to start education in English language. Lord Bentinck, who was friend of Charles Grant, was appointed as governor-general in 1828. He took initiatives for making English as the official language in India. Besides, both the company and British government also needed natives having skills in English language to run the affairs of government and company, because the

number of English present in India did not meet the requirement. The committee, constituted for the settlement of line of education and language in India, remained divided in two ideological factions and the Orientalists and Anglicists could not reach to any feasible conclusion unanimously.

Frykenberg (1988) reveals that owing to mounting pressure from both the Indian and the British reformists during the first quarter of the 19th century, western knowledge and English language as the medium of instruction were introduced in the Indian subcontinent. With appointment of Lord Bentinck as the Governor-General and Charles Trevelyan, the brother in law of Macaulay, at the London office of GCPI in place of Wilson, the Orientalists were relegated in the background and Hastings' policy of conciliation and consolidation was thwarted (Washbrook, 1999).

The Minutes of Macaulay (1835)

Lord Bentinck was appointed to squeeze the expenditures of the company. In the pursuit of the same, he introduced some reforms in which the traditions of *satti* and child marriages were abolished. Meanwhile, Charles Trevelyan after assuming his charge in London depreciated the oriental model of education in India (Fisher, 1919) and called the oriental pattern as "sleepy, sluggish, inanimate machines" (Hilliker, 1974:282). He further corresponded with Lord Bentinck for the Romanizing of Indian vernaculars and implementing "our language, our learning, and ultimately our religion" (Philips, 1977: 1239). For educational reform, he appointed Thomas Babington Macaulay, the Law Member of Governor-General's Council, as the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal, who finally resolved the matter in the favour of the Anglicists by choosing the western line of education in his minutes of 1835 regarded as "the manifesto of English education in India".

Ghosh (1995) argues that there is no documented proof, but it cannot be ruled out that Macaulay before writing his minutes must have read Charles Grant's "*Observation*". As the minutes were very much tuned with line of action presented in the work of Charles Grant. Clive (1973) adds that Zachary, Macaulay's father, was close associate of Charles Grant. Charles Jr., the son of Charles Grant, was intimate

friend of Macaulay, therefore, the evangelical influence cannot be ruled out altogether. The Bentinck-Macaulay educational reforms were already planned and pre-conceived. Macaulay just officially produced it in black and white form and even its time was also decided. Bentinck knew that there would be much hue and cry in the wake of implementation of western education pattern and English language. Therefore, he chose the time when his tenure of governor-generalship was at end. Because, in past when he introduced some reforms in Madras, at the protest of the people he was removed from his office. So avoiding the replica at the end of his tenure, he implemented the recommendations made in the minutes of Macaulay without further delay and discussion.

Macaulay founded his arguments on the bases of inherit quality of western knowledge of literature and science. He provided a justification for imposing English language that it was another anomaly as it was strange phenomenon the British government ruled a country, thousands miles away having no cultural, social, linguistic and political affinity or sound reasons, where the subjects belonged to different caste, colour, religion, culture and political system. As the rule of British was an exception likewise the decision of making English as the medium of instruction was another strange step in the midst of prevailing political anomaly (Bailey, 1991:137). Besides, he further emphasized that Indian natives also demanded for English to build their career in the government services.

Lord Bentinck approved the minutes forthwith and sent to the Board of Directors, John Stuart Mill critically deprecated the proposal and suggested for the continuity of the past policy of “engraftment”. The proposal of Mill was sent to Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board and an ardent admirer of Macaulay. He directly contacted the Directors and asked them to give their assent without any comments or critique. After two months Sir John Hobhouse showed strong objection on the draft of Mill in his letter to James Carnac, the Chairman of the company (Zastoupil & Moir, 1999). Thus, in the follow up of the minutes, the resolution was passed in which promotion of European science and literature was made essential and all the funds were reserved only for English education (Zastoupil & Moir, 1999: 195). It all was done to have political and social control

over the subjects by mesmerizing and influencing them with European knowledge (Pennycook, 1994:102-03).

The Impact of Macaulay's Minutes on the Classical and Local Languages

The minutes, in clandestine manner, suggested for the abolition of Sanskrit College and Calcutta Madrasa. It was explicitly mentioned that the funds for the printing of books in Arabic and Sanskrit and the stipends of the students pursuing oriental studies should be discontinued. As a result, the institutes imparting education in the classical and regional vernaculars were affected: their funds were curtailed on the pretext of investment in English education system. Besides, the stipends granted to Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian language students were also curtailed. English language replaced Persian in office, court, administration and diplomacy. Onwards, only those having western education and competence in English language were able to qualify job requirements, which increased the demand of English in the region. To reduce the expenditures of the company, Bentinck wanted to replace the British expatriates with Indian natives, for that he introduced educational reforms and got this sub-clause included in the Act of 1833 that appointment in government post will be purely on qualification "irrespective of religion, birth, descent or colour" (Adams & Adams, 1971:167). The job incentives aggrandized the demand of English in India (Mukherjee, 1989).

Cheshire asserts that English was used as a political tool to colonize and exploit but it has become the symbol of social superiority and status after the end of colonization (Cheshire, 1991: 6). But Kachru (1986b:136) maintains that it depends that who used English language, it was a tool in the hands of the colonizers for economic exploitation, cultural indoctrination, dislocation of indigenous culture and lingocide; whereas for nationalist, it became medium, link and window to the world to champion their cause and instill political awareness in the nation during the movement of liberty and independence to dismantle colonization.

Three Phases of the Introduction of English Language and Its Development

Kachru maintains that English was introduced in three phases: the first, by Christian missionary around 1614. The second, at the demand of the public and important figures in the 18th century, Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) and Rajunath Hari Navalkar (fl.1770) were the chief exponents who supported the western education system, as they believed, it would strengthen the people socially, politically and economically, whereas, the knowledge of vernaculars would not help the native to obtain these goals (Kachru, 1983:67-68). Roy, in his letter to Lord Amherst (1773-1857) written in 1823, suggested that the investment should be made for the western knowledge on priority basis than the vernaculars. This letter was presented as the proof of public demand for western knowledge. Roy considered European knowledge essential for the social development and uplift. He believed that English language would serve as a “key to all knowledge”, which would be useful for Indian (Bailey, 1991:136). Roy wanted Indians to be educated with the knowledge of mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences (Kachru, 1983:68). The third phase began with the Government policy in 1765, when the East India Company’s authority was stabilized (Kachru, 1983: 21-22).

Lord Bentinck, the governor-general in India, supported by Lord Macaulay initiated some social reforms in India in the beginning of the 19th century. English was used as official language in higher courts, for record-keeping and as the medium of instruction for the cultivation of western learning and science (*The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (NEB), 1974: 403). Thus, English was used as the medium of instruction in law, higher education, administration, commercial enterprise, science, technology, business and trade because the indigenous vernaculars did not have adequate stuff to meet the nature of demand these fields posed so for.

The Outcome and Implication of the Educational Reform

After the declaration of English as the medium of instruction and administrative affairs, it anglicized the education system of India even in alien sociolinguistic and cultural settings. Moss reported that the British government allocated funds for uplifting education in 1813.

The Hindu college was set up in Calcutta in 1816, followed by the Calcutta Medical College. In the 1840, and 1850 under Lord Dalhousie there was a great emphasis on primary education and high schools. Three universities were opened by 1857 as well as the Roorkee College of Engineering (Moss, 1999:76). Mubarak (2008) adds: "For the subservience of the mind of the local people, the British government introduced English as medium of instruction in the schools and colleges especially in the higher educational institutions. In the pursuit of the same, the universities were founded in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, Punjab in 1882; while in 1887, more universities were set up in Allahabad. These universities catered knowledge to the students belonging to the upper middle class who had deep craving for government jobs." (P: 5).

The missionary from America and England initially established colleges for boys, but in the 20th century colleges for women were also founded in Madras, Lucknow and Lahore to cater education to the children of the converts along with their financial support. The English reformists also provided western education in their institutes with no intention of conversion. Henceforth, English was the language of office, court, press, middle bourgeois class and administration. The English newspapers started receiving wide readership and Indian literature in English also remarkably developed as being the logical consequence of encounter with English language (Kachru 1983: 69). He further mentions that English established its significant role in politics, court and in the domain of national administrative institutes, which remained dominant over the vernaculars even after the cessation of colonization (Kachru, 1986a:8). During the National Movement in 1920, despite anti-English sentiment, English was used as the language of protest and upsurge against the colonizers. Political leaders like Gandhi, who endeavored for the revival of local vernaculars, also chose English to communicate the upper class (ibid, p.8).

In 1880, approximately eight thousand pupils passed high school education, whereas the number of secondary education pass-out was almost 500,000 (five lac) (James, 1994). Vohra (2001:94) presents the education classification and pattern prevalent in the British India. The students after passing vernacular primary education joined Anglo-vernacular high school for the secondary education. At the completion

of the secondary education, they had the possibility of seeking admission in one of 140 state-run or private colleges. In 1901, about 17000 students were enrolled in these colleges. The education system, British government introduced in India, groomed a number of intellectual figures but it also produced “a vast class of semi-educated, low-paid English speaking subordinates.” (ibid, p.68). Vohra mentions that English language provided a common means of communication to the people of India where there were “179 languages, 544 major dialects and thousands of dialects” (Vohra, 2001:94).

The Attitude of the Hindus and the Muslims towards English-based Education System

The Hindus, particularly Brahmans, were very much inclined to the British education system, whereas the Muslim refused to join these schools for long period, because they were hostile to English language as it replaced Persian language and the Muslim-ruler-introduced education system. They cherished the nostalgia of past education system and strove for its revival. The English dethroned the Muslim Mughal king, snatched power and colonized the land, therefore, they always held the Muslims in suspect. Because of this, the English interpreted the Muslims as the perpetrator of 1857 upheaval. The edge in education strengthened the Hindu community, and they dominated the politics of the country but Brahmans were again at lead. Thus, the education provided a way for social, political uplift and upward mobility, but it was the matter of opportunity for those who could avail it. Those, who failed to have access to the British education owing to whatsoever reason, lagged and lingered behind and could not acquire high slot in the social vertical or horizontal mobility. Dumont (1980:323) mentions that the Muslims were not happy with the replacement of Persian with English, they remained detached from both English education system and English language. As a result, the Hindu dominated the political and administrative fronts.

The Legacy of the British English

The British India government's priority was rather running administration and draining wealth by developing trade than making arrangement for the learning of the Queen's English. However, the

present Indian English is very much influenced by the British English, especially Scottish English dialect, which has a pronounced “r” and trilled “r”. The Received Pronunciation (RP) or BBC English is also emulated by some people; nevertheless, the Indian dialect has also established its recognition as a distinct dialect even during the period of British imperialism. Besides, the British and Indian dialects, the American English has also got official acceptance, when the Indian students went to study in the universities of America rather than UK. The American English spellings and structures are common phenomena in scientific and technical scholarship and research studies; whereas the British English still pre-dominates the other fields of life. The survey conducted reveals that 70% preferred RP as the suitable pattern for Indian English, 10% opted American English and 17% liked distinctive Indian dialect (Das and Patra, 2009: 29-31).

The legacy of the East India Company still pervades the modern day Indian official correspondence: the phrases like “do the needful” or “you will be intimated shortly” still find frequent mention in the official correspondence. Malcolm Muggeridge, the English Journalist, writer and wit, added witty remarks that the last Englishman would be Indian (Das and Patra, 2009:30). In Pakistan, RP is preferred in English medium schools however the impact of local accent cannot be altogether ruled out.

Antithetical Status of English Language: From the Tool of Power to the Means of Protest and Communication

The story of English in the Indian subcontinent had antithetical characteristics: it was introduced by the British colonizers as the language of power, but it was used as the language of retaliation during the national movement in India. It was the language of invaders but was absorbed by the natives at great deal. It was the language of authority at the hands of the colonizers but the natives subverted its course. It has evolved from the tool of imperial, colonial and cultural indoctrination to powerful means of communication. English was used as the medium of instruction in the British Indian westernized education system, yet it served to the cause of both of the colonizers and the colonized: from central to the periphery and vice versa. The center, the British, used it to create a class tuned with the western

outlook to regard the colonizers as the true benefactors; conversely, the periphery, the colonized, subverted it to translate their grievances and abhorrence against the colonialism. English, in the Indian subcontinent, immensely influenced the cultural outlook with ambivalent phenomenon of both loss and gain. However, after the revolution of information technology, the role of English language has remained highly powerful, which enables the people of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to have direct interaction with the international community by employing English language as a neutral source of communication. In this connection, they have even excelled the advanced nations like China, Russia and Japan. After realizing its importance and shedding the colonial indifference, the countries of the Indian subcontinent are using it as economic, political and social necessity. The English language has been separated from its master, the colonizers, and it has been brought down to serve the cause of the masses; henceforth, it has no longer remained the language of classes but of masses.

Annika Hohenthal (2003) maintains, "In the same country the English language can be characterized by different terms representing the power of the language: Positive/Negative, National identity, Anti-nationalism, Literary renaissance, Anti-native culture, Cultural mirror (for native cultures), Materialism, Modernization, Westernization, Liberalism, Rootlessness, Universalism, Ethnocentrism, Technology, Permissiveness, Science, Divisiveness, Mobility, Alienation, etc."

There has been a great deal of Indian natives who had astonished command over English, whose speeches and creative writings bear strong evidence of their mastery of style and articulation of language. Among them: Nobel prize winner in literature (1913) Rabindranath Tagore, C Rajagopalachari, Sri Aurobindo, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohandas Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda, R.K. Narayan, the eminent novelist, and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. Following these precursors, there emerged some prominent figures who claimed world-wide recognition in the contemporary literature which include: Vikram Seth and Salman Rushdie, the Booker prize winner, Arundhati Roy, the author of international bestseller "*The God of Small Things*" (1997), Kiran Desai, Jhumpa Lahiri, Pulitzer Prize Winner, and V.S Naipal, the Noble Prize Winner (2001). From Pakistan,

Ahmed Ali, Mumtaz Shahnawaz, Bapsi Sidhwa, Sara Suleri, Tariq Ali, Muhammad Hanif, Zaib-un-Nisa Hamidullah, Rukhsana Ahmad, Bina Shah, Tahira Naqvi, Uzma Aslam Khan, Kamila Shamshie and many other writer of international acclaim have showed the hallmarks of their ingenuity and creative verve in English language with distinctive mark of creative use of language, variety of style and deep artistic innovation.

In post-independence period, English has claimed significant importance in office, court, science, technology, trade, commerce, business, law, state affairs and transaction of whatsoever nature. English is the medium of instructions in all up standard schools, colleges and universities. English has asserted its significance in the national literature and national language policy. Realizing its global significance, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have equally and unequivocally effected relentless pursuit for the acquisition of the language competence and skills. India is considered the third largest English book producing country after the US and the UK, and the largest number of books is published in English. India is a vast nation and in term of number of English speakers, it ranks third in the world after the USA and the UK. An estimated 4 percent of the population uses English; though this may seem like a small number, it consists of about 40 million people and this small segment of the population dominates the domains of professional and social prestige. Kachru (1997:68-69) states that there is an overwhelming majority consisting of 350 million in Asia that uses English. India is the third largest English-using country after the United Kingdom and America. The Indian English is closer to the British English, because it originated from that style. With the influx of globalization, American English has also influenced the youth and other sphere of professional fields. However, Indian English can neither be classified as American nor British English because after being intermingled with other Indian languages it is emerged with its own distinct flavor. This has made several scholars realize that it cannot be equated with either. In Pakistan, English language significantly dominates every walk of life, yet its scope and usefulness for the Pakistani English writers is still of the greater importance.

Conclusion

The education and English language policy in the Indian subcontinent varied from time to time and was subject to the political and ideological affiliation of the British government representatives in the region. As Warren Hastings was in the favour of orientalism, engraftment, conciliation and consolidation, whereas Cornwallis thwarted that approach and preferred the gap between the rulers and the ruled ones. He asserted the superiority of the English race and kept the colonized in abject humiliation. He did not trust the natives to be appointed at higher positions. With the appointment of Richard Wellseley, the policy of Hastings was revived and his successors followed him but Lord Bentinck along with Thomas Babington Macaulay hit the last nail in the coffin of Anglo-oriental controversy and by abandoning the policy of “engraftment” officially imposed the western education system with English as the medium of instruction.

The Directors’ dispatch in 1841 was a retreat from the strict stance of Macaulay (Carson, 1999). In 1854, Sir Charles Wood dispatched for the enrichment of indigenous vernaculars and making them worth-instructing for the western learnings. Woods emphasized that the core of argument lied in the fact that main objective was the diffusion of the learning of western science and literature in the Indian education system not the promotion of English language. Therefore, the indigenous vernaculars should be enriched for medium of instruction through the translation of the European knowledge. Woods policy remained central until the Act of 1919 was passed, in which the control of education was handed over to the Indian ministry and provincial legislation. In the Education Conference of 1927, the pro-vernacular policy received endorsement (Whitehead, 1991). Mwiria (1991) maintains that policy of promotion elementary vernacular education was also devised to perpetuate the British rule in India. Despite all efforts, Indian education was regarded as second rate in comparison with the education provided in England. It remained rather quantitative than qualitative. It could not produce the class of cultural intermediaries, Macaulay envisaged; however it ended with the hordes of Babus – the band of semi-educated cult taught and trained for routine office work.

The British education system, for what there was much debate and consumed much attention of the British Parliament, could only literate a small number of the natives. The literacy rate in 1911 was only 6%, which gained two points up to 1931 and became 8%. In 1947, when India became independent its literacy rate was only 11%. The enrollment in universities or the degree-awarding institutes was also very low. In 1935, only 4 out of 10,000 people were enrolled in any degree awarding higher education institute. Besides the literacy rate, the quantity of published books and number of publications also help to estimate the real standing of a nation. In 1935, only sixteen thousand books were published for the nation consisting over 350 million people, the ratio stands: one book for twenty thousand people.

English influenced Indian subcontinent religiously, culturally, socially, politically and academically. The indigenous vernaculars were affected, as the emphasis shifted to English language. As a result, the translation of western knowledge into local vernaculars remained inadequate. It introduced innovation in teaching pedagogy, but owing to religious prejudice or differences, the religious education institutes remained stuck to age-old contents and methodology. It was the parsimony of British government in India, which wielded adverse impact on the local vernaculars, if the government had allocated sufficient funds, there had been no reason for the Anglo-Oriental controversy; the both could have developed in parallel. The low standard of Indian elementary education was because of negligent, parsimonious and apathetic attitude of the British towards India (Mayhew, 1926). Perhaps, it could not produce the class of cultural intermediaries as Macaulay envisaged, but it nourished the hordes of babus – the semi-educated clerical staff for routine office work.

English and European learnings served the cause of both the colonizers in the beginning and the colonized in the end. English was a socio-political tool at the disposal of the colonizers to wield power and exercise their writ. Later on, the same was used by the periphery against the center to challenge its writ and vent their dissatisfaction. The mass education mitigated the difference of class; urbanization integrated the people of various factions and classes. English provided a common communication ground to the people of different religions and vernaculars, to some extent also united them. Such cultural

synthesis was manifest in the national movement of independence, in which the Hindu, the Muslim and the Jain strove against the British rule. Besides, English was used to record their grievances, dissatisfaction and protest at national and international level.

English provided access to the modern knowledge and rich expository of science, technology, literature, medical sciences, philosophy and art. It has its share in the economic development and business exposure, in which India has excelled and Pakistan is pressing hard to reach the socio-economic pinnacle. The Anglo-Indian literature led the natives to creative ingenuity in English, hence Indo-Anglican literature came into existence, which initially was an explicit retaliation and repulsion to the act of colonization, but after independence, the literature produced in English in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh has claimed international interest and recognition. The creative impulse and ingenuity of the diasporas and the writers at home have added new branch of English literature to the bulk produced in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In the wake of globalization, it has got fresh stimulus in international perspective, and the revolution of information technology has its own share and role. Thus, it provides edge to the people of these countries over the natives of even developed nations like Chinese, Japanese and Russian. Presently, the children of elite upper class, upper middle class are enrolled in the English medium institutes, which have its own pros and cons. The cultural dislocation, alienation would cast its grey repercussion in future. The vernaculars have received fatal blow in the aftermath of English language dominance, these vernaculars have been heavily Anglicized. The amalgamation of English words in the vernacular articulation is the most common phenomenon even at the level of mediocre layman.

It will be befitting to wind up the argument that the story of English language in the Indian subcontinent is the matter of loss and gain: it has given much to the region, at the same it has taken very much from it. However, it is an obvious fact that with the shift in the medium of instruction from the classical or local vernaculars and “engraftment of contents” to English as a medium of instruction, the classical languages and the local vernaculars of the subcontinent were adversely affected. If the practice of engraftment of the western

knowledge and science into the classical languages and local vernaculars had been continued, presently these languages would have been infinitely rich in semantics, contents and concepts to keep pace with the modern era of science and technology. However, the upcoming time will account the ultimate impact of this innovation in the region.

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