

Study of Language Controversy in Indian Education

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ABSTRACT

Language is not only a medium of imparting education but it is also a subject matter of education. In earlier days due importance was given to language instruction. Earlier the literary language was considered fit for imparting education. There was no place for vernaculars. The language of the common man was considered impure. So, today's classical languages were used as a medium of instruction.

Education in India can be traced back to 3rd century B.C. At that time education was mostly imparted via Sanskrit language. Also, the education mostly depended on caste hierarchy. Education was only confined to the upper caste people. There were two competing system of education the *pathashala* and *gurukul* (homes of teachers) system. It was when Buddhism spread in India, education became available to everyone and this led to the establishment of some world famous educational institutions Nalanda, Vikramshila and Takshashila. There were two stages of education: the primary and the secondary. The language of the common people was given due importance at that time. "The medium of Buddhist education was the common language of the people." (Jayapalan, 2005:22)

During the medieval period, the Muslims had *maktabs* (primary schools) and *madrassas* (for higher education) system. The medium was basically Persian and Arabic and even the Hindus adopted Persian in order to get jobs in the Mughal courts.

1. Introduction

Language is a means of gaining knowledge. Language is also an important medium of imparting education. There is not much difference between knowledge and education. They are co-related. Education leads to knowledge. Knowledge can be self-driven. But education needs proper planning and policy which predefines set of rules, regulations and curriculum. For this institution are involved for imparting education. Education helps in the process of socialization. Education plays an important role in molding the character and personality of a person. Education is a process of learning which can be done via language. The main problem is of deciding which language will be used as the medium of instruction. It is education which can bring national integration in a multilingual nation. Also, education is a good means of maintaining multilingualism and maintaining national integration.

Education in India can be traced back to 3rd century B.C. At that time education was mostly imparted via Sanskrit language. Also, the education mostly depended on caste hierarchy. Education was only confined to the upper caste people. There were two competing system of education the *pathashala* and *gurukul* (homes of teachers) system. It was when Buddhism spread in India, education became available to everyone and this led to the establishment of some world famous educational institutions Nalanda, Vikramshila and Takshashila. There were two stages of education: the primary and the secondary. The language of the common people was given due importance at that time. "The medium of Buddhist education was the common language of the people." (Jayapalan, 2005:22)

2. Review of Literature

Research cannot be undertaken in isolation of the works already done on the problems, which are directly or indirectly related to the study planned by the investigator. A careful perusal of the research abstracts from journals, books, these and other sources of information for relevant studies is one of the important steps in the planning of any research.

Review of related literature, besides, allowing the researcher to acquaint oneself with current knowledge in the field s/he is going to conduct the research, enables the researcher to define the limits of the field. By reviewing the related literature, the researcher can avoid unfruitful problem areas and unintentional duplication of well- established findings.

2.1. Related Indian Studies

Study No. 1

Investigator : **Joshi (1984)**

Title : **Factors Influencing English Language Abilities.**

The objectives of the study were: (1) To ascertain the growth level of comprehension, vocabulary, translation, grammar, language usage and spelling abilities of English language among eighth graders belonging to the scheduled castes and non- scheduled castes varying in intelligence level, socio-economic status, sex, locality, and schools administered by private agencies, missionaries and the state government; (2) To find out the common errors committed in translation, grammar, language usage and spelling by eighth graders belonging to different sex, locality, intelligence, socio-economic status and types of institutional administration;

The normative survey study was conducted in Moradabad and was confined to urban and rural schools managed by private agencies, missionaries and the state government. A sample of 720 students from both the sexes representing scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes was selected using the stratified random sampling method. The sample was then grouped for different strata with 30 students in each stratum. The data were collected administering Progressive Matrices (Raven), SES (urban) Scale (Udai Pareek), Sixteen Personality Factor Inventory (Cattell) and English Language Ability Test (Sharma). The statistical techniques used for analyzing the data were mean, percentage, t-test and correlation.

The findings of the study were: (1) The scheduled caste students were found to attain average growth level in each one of the six English language abilities whereas students of the non-scheduled castes were found to be slightly higher than average in these abilities. (2) The growth status of language ability was a function of structural factors operating within (intelligence, sex, etc.) and outside (socio-economic status, locality and type of school) the individual; (3) There existed a significant relationship between intelligence and growth of various English language abilities;

Study No. 2

Investigator : Banatwala, Ayesha (1989)

Title: Exploring the Relationship between Classroom Interaction and Uptake in EFL (English as Foreign Language) Teaching Classes in order to Provide Better Learning Opportunities.

The objectives of the study were: (1) To investigate the process whereby learning opportunities are created; (2) To investigate how uptake relates to the interactive nature of learning opportunities; (3) To find out whether uptake of individual learners differs and whether the characteristics of classroom interaction and the nature of learning opportunities can themselves predict uptake;

The data were collected by tape recordings of ten lessons given by the teachers and transcripts were prepared. The learners and teachers were interviewed and transcripts of those interviewed were prepared. First each uptaken word was traced back in the tape transcript of the lesson and the treatment it received in terms of specific categories was noted.

The findings of the study were: (1) Adequate treatment generally facilitated uptake while inadequate treatment can relate with poor uptake; (2) Besides quantum, variation and quality of treatment, the source of treatment played a significant role in facilitating uptake; (3) Words that were inherently easy to speak and had easy equivalent in English and/or, in the mother tongue of the learner were more easily up taken and vice versa;

Study No. 3

Investigator : Mazumdar, Angira (1992)

Title : Relationship between Attitude towards English and Achievement in English of Standard IX Students in Guwahati City.

The objectives of the study were: (1) To construct an achievement test in English for standard IX students in Guwahati city; (2) To construct an attitude scale for measuring the attitude of standard IX students towards English;

The sample selected for the study was 500 students of standard IX selected from 10 high schools of Guwahati city using stratified random sampling technique. The tools used were an Achievement Test in English for Class IX students prepared by investigator and an Attitude Scale. The collected data were treated using descriptive statistics, 't' test and Pearson's Product Moment Correlation.

The findings of the study were (1) There were statistically significant differences between the achievement scores as well as attitude score of students attending government and private schools with the latter category of students showing higher scores; (2) There were no significant differences between boys and girls in respect to their achievement and attitude scores;

Study No. 4

Investigator : Joycilin Shermila (2000)

Title : A Study of Skills of Reading Comprehension in English developed by Students of Standard IX in the Schools in Tuticorin District.

The objectives of the study were: (1) To find the level of attainment of standard IX students in Reading comprehension in English and its dimensions in terms of gender, community, religion, school nature, school locality, parental education, parental annual income, and having kindergarten education; (2) To find the impact of gender, community, religion, school nature, school locality, parental education, parental annual income, and having kindergarten education over the level of attainment of standard IX students in Reading comprehension in English and its dimensions;

156 schools were stratified on the basis of Type of school (Boys', Girls' and Co- educational) and Locality of school (Rural, Urban and Semi-urban). Thereafter from each stratum 5% - 7% schools were taken by random. After fixing the schools, fifteen standard IX students from each sample school were randomly chosen to form the sample of the study. Test on Reading comprehension, Test on Reading readiness, Tool for Reading attitude, and Tool for Cognitive style were used for collection of data. Percentage analysis, correlation coefficient, 't' test, ANOVA and Chi-square analysis were used.

The findings of the study were: (1) The level of attainment of standard IX students in the schools in Tuticorin District in Reading comprehension in English is moderate. That is 61% of the sample falls under this category; (2) Standard IX students' Reading comprehension in English with regard to Reading the lines is moderate. That is 70% of the sample comes under this category; (3) The level of Reading comprehension in English with regard to Reading between the lines is moderate (61%); (4) The level of Reading comprehension in English with regard to Reading beyond the lines is moderate (62%);

Study No. 5

Investigator : Meera (2000)

Title: Language Aptitude, Select Attitudinal and Motivational Variables as Correlates of Achievement in English of Secondary School Students.

The objectives of the study were: (1) To find out the main effect and interaction effect of select independent variables on Achievement in English - Vocabulary, grammar and comprehension; (2) To estimate the extent of relationship between achievement in English and each of the independent variables selected for the study of total samples based on gender, locale and type of management of schools;

The sample consisted of 750 students selected on the basis of gender with 1:1 ratio, locale of the school (Rural / Urban) with 2:1 ratio, type of management (Private / Government) with 2:3 ratio and instructional efficiency as A:B:C-1:3:1 ratio (A-pass percentage above 75, B - pass percentage above 40-60 and C - below 20) through stratified sampling. Research tools like Language Aptitude Test (1996), Attitude towards English (1993), Scale of Attitude towards English Teachers (1996) and Achievement Test in English (1996) developed by the investigator and Attitude towards Education (1983) developed by Pillai and Ayshabi and Achievement Motivation (1993) developed by Pillai and Salim Kumar were used for data collection. The collected data was subjected to Mode, Skewness, Kurtosis, 't' test, ANOVA, Pearson's Product Moment Correlation.

The findings of the study were: (1) Language aptitude and attitude towards education were the best correlates of

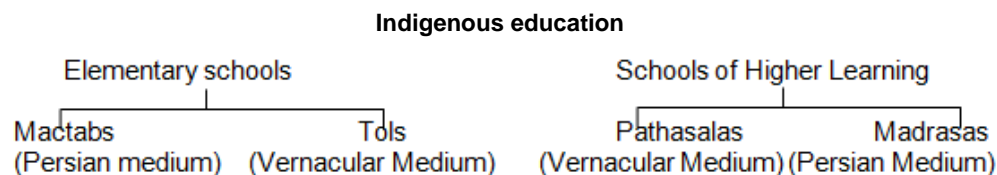
achievement in English; (2) Attitude towards English teachers and teaching had significant relationship with achievement in English and Achievement Motivation did not show any significant relation with achievement in English;

3. Indigenous Education

3.1 Introduction

Prior to the British education, all the educational systems of India had only the indigenous languages as the medium of instruction. Based on these languages, the pre-British elementary schools were classified as Bengali, Persian, Arabic and Persian-Bengali. The Bengali schools had Bengali as the medium of instruction, and the children who spoke the particular language were confined into it. Ultimately there would not have been much chance for this system to share the vast knowledge of the world, and this can be illustrated by the words of Adam who reported on vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar in 1835 and 1836. He says that in the Bengali schools the popular mind was necessarily cribbed and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas and those of the most limited local and temporary interest. While the Persian schools were comparatively better than the Bengali, the Arabic schools were of no use.

Of all, the Persian-Bengali school served best since the majority of the people of the region had Bengali as their vernacular. Since Persian was the language of the court of law, Hindus felt the need for Persian. Generally, the Indigenous Educational system can be broadly classified as shown below:



Regarding the higher education taking only Hindus and the Muslims into consideration, the Hindus had Pathasalas or colleges with Sanskrit as the medium of instruction. This is the main reason why Brahmins who had Sanskrit as their mother tongue were able to dominate educational institutions. In such a situation the Dravidian languages were basically different from Sanskrit. There was of course, a little fusion between the languages with an exception that Tamil which never allowed the fusion of languages.

The Muslims had Madrasas as the school of higher learning and were more organized than that of Hindu schools. Both of the schools were religiously oriented and were organized to preserve and perpetuate the appropriate learning of their faith through the two particular languages mentioned. Gyan C. Sharma puts it: The main ideal of Brahminical education seems to have been preparation for the future life. Naturally this objective helped to put Brahmin educators more out of touch with the ordinary everyday life of the world and consequently rendered them unfit for moulding the Indian peoples in the paths of progress and general culture. [1]

As Moehlman puts it, "Muslim education brought an emphasis upon the Koran as a basic educational reference." [2]

Both the Hindu and the Muslim educational system did not serve the physical needs of the society for they were based on the unchallenged, unquestionable scriptural authority and were taught in languages foreign to the masses who did not have the spirit of free enquiry. O'Malley has written about the systems that, "higher education in India was conducted in languages other than the spoken languages of the people. [3]

The Persian schools had Persian language as the media. Since it was foreign to both the Hindus and the Muslims it threw equal pain on all the pupils. It ultimately avoided the suppression of one group over the other. On the other hand, Hindu education gave exclusive privilege to the Brahmins, the so-called priestly class. The Persian language was not rich enough to serve major educational objectives. People had always felt that Persian was completely a foreign language and were ready enough to take education in Sanskrit rather than in Persian. It is clear from the words of Gopal, "The feeling that

Persian was a foreign language persisted and whenever there was option Sanskrit was preferred". [4]

Because of the disabilities inherent in Persian as a foreign language it could not wholly fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of Sanskrit from the official status. In such a situation Persian served as the official language and Sanskrit continued to be the medium of social and cultural intercourse. In the course of time Sanskrit was completely abandoned and Persian became the sole language for the obvious reason that the official language held out opportunities of greater pecuniary gains and social privileges. For about three quarters of a century, after the foundation of British rule in India had been laid, Persian enjoyed an official status along with English in the north. This factor "gave it (persian) a better place among educated people." [5]

Although foreign to Indians, Persian was the court language until 1837. As quoted by Gopal from the Bengali weekly of January 26, 1828, "Persian is now the language of the court all over Bengal. It is now the language of the court. It is not the language (Mother-tongue) of the judges, pleaders, plaintiffs, defendants or witnesses." [6]

In the vernacular (Sanskrit) schools the preceptors taught by rote what they had learned by rote. O'Malley wrote that, "in the Sanskrit school's study by rote has carried on from the time when the Vedas were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation." [7] Though the scarcity of printed matter and writing materials were the reasons for such learning it is also due to the fact that the "understanding" which is essential for learning was missing since the language was alien to the pupils. It was the same condition with regard to the Arabic schools. As the above author wrote, "In the Arabic schools also, rote was the rule it is common to meet Muslims who can recite large tracts of the Koran without the knowledge of the language in which it was written." [8]

Before the advent of the Muslim education in 1180 the whole educational system was in the hands of the Brahmins. Muhammad of Gohr, who settled in Delhi in 1192 made a great change in the system of ancient Indian education. He replaced temples with mosques and pathshalas with makhtabs (primary schools) and madrasas (higher schools) with Persian as the medium. Kutb-Ud-Din, Altamash, Sultana Raziya, Nazirud-Din and Balban encouraged makhtabs and madrasas attached to mosques. In the beginning only, Arabic was used as the medium of instruction in madrasas. It was during Moghul rule that Persian was introduced. Mudaliar wrote that, Muslim rulers encouraged the establishment of the madrasas in which the medium of instruction was mainly Arabic. The teaching of Persian seems to have been introduced some time during the Moghul rule. [9]

Before the British rule actually began in India some of the indigenous schools were established by the English rulers. Thus, Warren Hastings established the Calcutta madrasa for the study of Arabic and Persian in 1781 and Jonathan Duncan the Benares Sanskrit College in 1794. Being a European, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta madrasa not because he felt that he should do something good for the people in the

field of education but for utilitarian purposes. As Mudaliar puts it "His (Warren Hastings's) motives may have been partly utilitarian but he helped in 1781 to found the Calcutta madrasa for Islamic studies." [10] Warren Hastings was thoroughly aware of the fact that the major part of the North India was under Muslim rulers and it would have been possible for them to pave the way for the fall of the English rulers if they put their effort together. And of course, the Hindus had little political power. Hastings policies were not only objected to by the Hindus but also by his successor. What Hastings had done for the Muslims, his successor was prepared to do for the Hindus. This is evident by the following words of O'Malley. "We find Lord Cornwallis in 1782 supporting the establishment at the cost of Government of a Sanskrit college in the sacred city of Banaras," [11] which meant for Hindu studies.

At this period the Sanskrit educational system was not at all welcomed by the majority of the people for it was partial and one sided. Some of the intellectual giants like Ray were against such an educational pattern and thus he said: We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pandits (teachers) to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. The Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness. [12]

But this college deteriorated in 10 years since it was unwanted and inefficient. When O'Malley writes about the Banaras College he mentions that, "the Banaras College so far from improving on indigenous institutions of the same kind run at a small fraction of the cost had become by 1804 an object of public ridicule." [13] Of -course the madrasas records are not better than that of Pathshalas. Its record shows in 1788 grave misconduct, in 1791 disorder, in 1811 and 1815 inefficiency.

If we should say that the sole cause of the destruction of the indigenous education was due to a single person, it was Lord Macaulay who completely neglected the lower-class masses of illiterate people. In the Minutes of February 2, 1835, he stated " ... all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." [14] He further stated in his Minutes of July 31, 1837: We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower class of the people of the country. We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope be the means of diffusing among their countrymen. [15]

In 1837, Urdu replaced Persian as the court language. Mauli Abdul Haq maintains that "until 1857 Urdu was universally accepted as the most widely spoken common language of the Hindus and Muslims and no one ever protested when in 1837 it was made the court language". [16] He further states "when in 1837 Persian was replaced by Urdu as the court language not a single voice was raised in protest." [17] These statements may be true since Persian (a foreign language) was not a powerful language in 1837. The rulers were Urdu speaking people, and Urdu was spoken by the majority of the population.

And besides India was not then free as it is today when people have the right to question. Anyhow this situation was not true when the modern languages began to develop as

substitutes for Persian. When Amaranathan Jha writes about this situation he states: The modern language (like Hindi) began to grow in importance after the decision in 1837 to replace Persian by the Provincial language as the language of the law courts. This was looked upon by the Mohammedans as a serious blow to their prestige. [18]

In 1875, Gordon Young of the civil service was appointed Director of Public Instruction. He and his staff had to fight antagonism against vernacular education. As Zellner quotes, "One of the significant moves he made was to set up model vernacular schools in the backward district. He stressed the training of Gurus (teachers)" [19] In 1877 there came an important change by putting schools on the vernacular basis. According to Zellner: Within six years, the directors of Public Instruction printed out that the distinction did not hold. Weak English schools dropped into the vernacular class and strong vernacular schools made their pupils eligible for Middle English Scholarships. [20]

With regard to Indigenous schools the Hunter Commission recommended on February 3, 1882, that all indigenous schools, whether higher or lower, be recognized if they served any purpose of secular education. They desired to see a steady and gradual improvement in these schools. The Committee "... stressed the fact that there was little or no recognition of the Pestalozzian principle which requires due and regular exercise of the external senses for the reception of knowledge." [21]

It seems that there were three parallel systems of education existing side by side for almost a hundred years without that interpenetration which is necessary for developing a common look. If at all some Hindus studied Arabic and Persian means that they did it only for economic and political reasons. And so, did a Muslim who studied Sanskrit. Of course, one who had English education was screened from the knowledge of tools and makhtabs. "The Sanskrit tols and the Arabic makhtabs remained separate worlds closed to the men who had studied English." [22]

Many of the indigenous educational systems disintegrated before the advent of the British educational system. In O'Malley's words: The Indigenous systems continued in a state of feeble animation and one or two public institutions stood to assert the interest of the Government and to reveal the undoubted fact that it had not been exercised to any very useful purpose. [23]

4. Education In India

4.1 Beginning Of English Education (1614-1857)

About the primary concern of the British, Zeller states, "the British first came to India were traders primarily and assumed little or no responsibility for the welfare of the people of that country". [24] Perhaps the East India Company which appeared in 1600 A.D. for the first time on the commercial stage of India should not be blamed for its reluctance in education for its main object was commerce and not education. According to Lewis: the original aim of the East India Company in trade with India was the typical aim of the monopolist Companies of Merchant

capital to make a profit by securing a monopoly trade in the goods and products of an overseas company. [25]

Henry Martyn who belonged to Anglican Mission reached Calcutta in 1806. The first Anglican Bishopric of Madras was created in 1835. The American Board of Foreign Missions started sending out missionaries of various denominations as early as 1812. Alexander Duff was the first missionary of the Established Church of Scotland. Doctor John Wilson, a colleague of Duff, founded Wilson College in Bombay. Both Doctor William Miller of the Madras Christian College and Father Francis Bertran of Saint Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, later founded Loyola College in Madras. The Revolt of 1857 brought about a crisis in the fortunes of Indian Christians.

It was the missionaries who paved the way for English education in India and not the East India Company or the British Government. As Zellner puts it: the idea that it was the duty of the English Government to communicate her intellectual and moral conceptions by the channel of education came from missionaries rather than from statesmen and administrators. [26]

4.2 A Brief Survey of the Western Missionary Education In India- (Before 1857 A.D.)

Saint Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Jesus, who came to India in 57 A.O., is considered to be the first missionary who came to India. Another Thomas landed in Malabar with a group of Christians from Iran about 345 A. D. In the eighth century, King Alfred sent two priests with gifts to the Christians of India in honor of Saint Thomas. In the thirteenth century both Marco Polo and John of Monte Corvino visited South India. Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498 A.O. In 1500 A.O., Franciscan missionaries were sent to India. Goa was created a Bishopric in 1534. Saint Francis Xavier reached Goa in 1542, and spent 10 years in India. Father de Nobili reached India in 1605 -and established himself in the ancient town of Madurai.

Protestant missionary work began in India in 1705 through Danish Lutheran missionaries. The Baptist Mission was established by William Carey in 1792 at Serampore Carey mastered Bengali, Sanskrit, Hindi, and Marathi and translated the Bible into these languages. It was from the same Serampore press that the first Bengali newspaper, Samachar Darpan was published in 1818. Nehru has written that, "The desire of the Christian missionaries to translate the Bible into every possible language thus resulted in the development of many Indian languages." [27] Perhaps the richness of the Indian literatures of various languages would not have been brought to light unless the missionaries had entered India with the main object of propagating the Bible in the vernaculars. As Father Jerome D'Souza states, "the contribution of the missionaries to the development of the vernacular literatures of India was of exceptional importance." [28]

The propagation of Bible was carried out also in English. The Hindus, who resented the use of the Persian language in the administration of the country, evinced a greater desire for English education, instead of Persian. In 1839, Charles Edward Trevelyan wrote that, "the curiosity of the people is thoroughly

roused and the passion for English knowledge has penetrated the most obscure and extended the most remote parts of India." [29] In somewhat exaggerated prose, Kabir states: The first contact with English about a hundred and fifty years ago dazzled the minds of a section of the Indian people. It swept them off their feet to such an extent that some of them sought to give up their own language and culture. [30]

In 1792, Charles Grant who is referred as the father of modern education in India, fought against this policy and wanted to bring about a great change. He therefore left that the social condition could only be improved through English education and conversion to Christianity. Grant believed that the English education would not only regenerate Indian civilization but would also lead the Hindus to embrace Christianity. Grant in his book entitled *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* has stated that "Great Britain should effect the regeneration of India by introducing knowledge of the Christian religion, of the English language, and of English literature". [31] But in 1813, under the influence of Charles Grant and of Wilberforce, Parliament included in the reissuance of the Company's Charter, a clause designed to initiate a regular educational policy. This issue favored indigenous education. According to O'Malley: It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (Rs. 7.50 = \$1/-) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement 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 in India. [32]

The Committee of Public Instruction in 1813 were personally inclined to encourage Indian rather than English education for the simple reason that they were mostly Indians and the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

According to Siqueira:

..... the act of 1813 had ordered the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the Directors had in 1814 ordered the promotion of Sanskrit studies and the publication of Sanskrit books. [33]

The Committee strongly opposed the policy and the pedagogy of the East India Company when the Company tried to impart education through English medium. Siqueira further states that, "The Committee also believed that it was bad policy and bad pedagogy to force Indians to learn the language and literature of a foreign country." [34]

Until 1765 when the Company established its political power the subject of education was not given importance. To consolidate its power in India, to win the confidence of the people, and not to create diversity among Hindus and Muslims, the Company had to establish two different kinds of school. Among the institutions established to attain these objectives, the Calcutta madarasa for the Muslims and the Benaras Sanskrit College for the Hindus are the most important. As O'Malley states, with the influence of the educational policy of 1813 "the Government for want of anything better to do, were pushing themselves with open eyes along the old blind road

and preparing for the -establishment of a Sanskrit college in Calcutta". [35] This college was meant for Hindu studies. This new policy naturally favored the missionaries in carrying out their plan of propagating the Bible through vernaculars:

"Missionaries were making use of their new freedom, teaching, translating, (and) experimenting." [36] The purpose of the established institutions was to provide a liberal education which might lead to the purification of the Hindu life. English was to be the language of study. As O'Malley views it "now for the first time since Charles Grant proposed it in 1792 we have English brought forward as the instrument of reform." [37]

It is not only the Englishmen who were the strongest advocates of English education but also the Indians themselves. For example, Ram Mohan Ray opposed the indigenous educational system especially the Sanskritised type of Education. In Lamb's view, the Indian reformer Ram Mohan Ray was among the strongest advocates of the English education". [38] He believed that only English education could encourage social reform. Ray, the greatest Indian of the period, insisted upon the importance of English and realized that contact with Western literature and science alone could regenerate Oriental culture, correct its follies, and give it new meaning and direction. Out of enthusiasm, he started an English school in 1816 and maintained it with his own funds. In Ray's view:

The Sanskrit language is so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. [39]

In 1823 Mount Stuart Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay encouraged the study of English. In O'Malley's view, "Elphinstone was the first of the Governors to encourage the teaching of English". [40] On his retirement, the people of Bombay themselves started a fund ultimately amounting to cover two lakhs of rupees (Rs. 7.50 = \$1/-) as an endowment for three professorships of the English language and the European arts and sciences to be designed the Elphinstone professorships.

The directors of the East India Company remarked on October 24, 1832 about the Hindu College of Calcutta stating that, ... to an extensive command of the English language the pupils add a complete conversancy with English literature with and modern history with geography and the rudiments of astronomy natural philosophy chemistry and mathematics. [41]

On February 2, 1835, Macaulay produced his famous Minute in which he adopted and defended the views of the English party with all weight of his influence and all the power of his pen. Zellner writes that, "Perhaps the importance of Lord Macaulay's Minute on education in India has been exaggerated in the history of education as determining the pattern in that country." [42] Of course Macaulay's was not a voice crying in the wilderness that was suddenly heard in the cause of English education. Lord Bentinck who had become Governor General was bent on such a course. On February 2, 1835, Macaulay's

Minute on education came out. Promptly on the seventh of the following month Lord Bentinck confirmed the Minute and it became law.

However, it is ridiculous that the man who did not know the a b c of the Oriental education condemned the whole educational system, advocated a purely western educational system, stopped the grants for Oriental colleges, and further stated that all the funds appropriated for educational purposes would be employed best on English education alone. According to Zellner, "the pity of the matter was that it was penned by an individual who admittedly did not know anything about Oriental culture and was not interested in it". [43]

It seems that Lord Ripon was against the policy of Macaulay and this is made vivid from the speech given by him as quoted by Zellner, "I sympathize with your (Lord Ripon) desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poor class." [44] These words reveal that Macaulay was strongly inclined to promote only the education of the higher-class people through the English medium and not that of the poor mass whom he believed would be enlightened by the other.

Of course, there were many supporters for the Macaulay's Minute who thought that it would really work out. Zellner states that, "Macaulay's dream of giving the same status to the English language in India was as Latin enjoyed in Europe throughout the Middle Ages found many supporters among Indians. [45] When Humayun Kabir writes about the permeation theory (theory based on enlightening the mass by educating a few through English medium) he mentions that:

Since Universities could not function unless students came up from secondary schools, Secondary schools were also established on an increasing scale. They in their turn led to an expansion of primary education. [46]

Thus, it seems that the "permeation" theory worked to a certain extent as it was expected. However, it is true that the primary and the secondary education never prepared them for a particular vocation but for the Universities. Kabir writes, "Secondary schools concentrated on preparing students for the Universities. [47]

On the other hand, when English was introduced as the medium the strong opposition came not only from the vernacularism but also from the missionaries who had a hard time in learning the vernaculars and started teaching the Bible-centered education through vernaculars. As Siqueira puts it: With the introduction of English ... another rival arose ... These were championed chiefly by the missionaries who had from the start themselves learnt the spoken languages of the people and taught them in their schools. [48]

The downward filtration theory was disliked not only by the native vernacularisms but also, by the British themselves. As Zellner quotes from the Hunter records in Mayo's biography: If you wait till the bad English which the 400 Babus learn in Calcutta filters down into the 14 million, of Bengal you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retiring judge. Let the

Babus learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to rural Bengal. [49]

The plan of Macaulay was destructive rather than constructive, revolutionary rather than reforming. It tended to sweep away all that pertained to the past and to start afresh on different lines. The education given has frequently been referred to as a "Godless" one because the government pledged neutrality in religious matters, prevented direct religious instruction in its schools and ignored character development. McKee felt that, "the foreign nature of the education given tend to denationalize and despiritualize Indian youth. [50] The system was considered by many to be too official, too rigid, and too highly centralized. The whole educational organization has been in many ways as foreign to Indian student as the Western learning it had espoused.

Macaulay's plan emphasized higher education for a few and thus educational preference was given to a limited class of potential leaders rather than to the whole population. The policy of providing a foreign education for a limited group led during the years that followed its inauguration to several undesirable results. It produced a vast gap between educated class and the mass by the differences between divergent cultures. As a result, many of the educated class were divorced from their homes, their communities, and their racial tradition. According to Kabir: The increasing preoccupation with English tended to create a gulf between the newly educated classes and the rest of the people. This weakened the strength of social fabric and showed itself various undesirable stress within the Indian community. [51]

Macaulay's views were endorsed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck who issued an order in Council which declared: ... 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 purposes of education should be best employed on English education alone. [52]

Perhaps it was only through Lord Bentinck that English education which was a formidable agent of Westernizing influences was initially stabilized in India. In Smith's view "Bentinck became a major apostle of the West in India." [53] According to Bentinck's issue no stipend was given to Sanskrit college and Muslim madrasas. This caused a bitter resentment among the students of these organizations. A strong opposition came from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, devoted to researches and studies in Oriental civilization, stating that the company should change its policy completely since such a policy would greatly damage the cause of human civilization.

In spite of its deficiencies, English education achieved a number of noteworthy accomplishments. The introduction of English education eventually paved the way for the breakdown of the evils of the caste system and the tyranny of the higher caste. English education was regarded as the best way of putting an end to the tyranny of the learned caste and bringing modern European knowledge within the reach of many Indians. In his book Vinoba criticizes English education when he states, "Since the advent of the English rule in India people have been divided into two classes." [54] Vinoba, who knows that English

divided the people into two classes, neglected to mention the number of classes that India had before the advent of English. He should have said that English reduced the Indian classes to two.

The desire for English education among Hindus began to decline during the years 1835-54. There was only a very slow improvement in the New English education in the country among both orthodox Hindus and Orthodox Muslims due to religious considerations. According to Siqueira "there was inevitably severe opposition from both. Orthodox Hindus and Orthodox Muslims who thought their religion was in danger of contamination by foreign languages and culture". [55] But it seems that in the latter period of 19th century the interest of the people in the indigenous education decreased, and they themselves got into the new system of English education. It is clear from the words of Siqueira. "In 1882 only one in every forty was at such a school (indigenous school) and the old Hindu pathshalas had been abandoned in favor of the new schools." [56]

Because of English education, the Hindus were not able to attach themselves to their religion sincerely. Of course, no man can serve two masters. Macaulay wrote in 1836 "no Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion." [57]

When Lord Auckland succeeded Bentinck as Governor General in 1836, he heeded the formal petition for the restoration of funds by the students of the Government Sanskrit College. Auckland was not worried about the medium of instruction but wanted to experiment with it. As Zellner states, "Auck-land did not tamper with the problem of the medium of instruction in the Government schools but he said he was very much interested in the two great Experiments". [58] Thus the educational institutions of India became the lab of the untrained technicians of Europe. Auckland recommended English education only for 'Superior Colleges and retained English as the medium of instruction in the secondary schools. About one fourth of the students in the Oriental colleges were given assistantships.

Lord Hardinge (1844) was one of the great men who showed greater interest in vernacular education than in English education, with an interest for the poor mass. When Siqueira writes about Lord Hardinge he states that, "in 1844 Lord Hardinge started 101 vernacular schools in Bengal alone and got them to teach a fairly high curriculum through the medium of Bengali". [59]

Though he was interested in the elementary education through vernaculars, he also gave a strong direction towards English education. He stated in his Resolution that preference would be given to those educated in English school and thus the sole cause of education became preparation for Government service. "As a result of Hardinge's Resolution the aim of almost the whole system of education in India became training for Government service". [60]

However, he had paid a constant attention towards vernacular education. One of the Government resolutions on

education under the viceroy ship of Lord Hardinge runs as this: "The continuation schools known as middle or secondary vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied". [61]

In 1854 Wood's Commission came to the stage with a great change. "Wood's Dispatch which came out in 1854 had effects which were far-reaching though not immediate. [62] It stated that the aim of education was to disseminate European knowledge and improve the vernaculars as necessary for the study of Hindu and Muslim law. The Commission further said that, "the medium of education is to be the vernacular languages of India into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated." [63] However, the vernaculars cannot be made the sole medium of education. Hence the dispatch further pointed out that both English and the vernaculars should be used to develop a sound and effective educational system. The above Commission said that, "the existing institutions for the study of classical languages of India are to be maintained and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they demand". [64] It also inaugurated the Indian University on the model of University of London conducting exams and conferring degrees. It also instituted professorships in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and the vernacular languages.

The Commission was not in favor of a pure English instruction and it criticized the whole system of education which can be brought out by its comment on the problem: Among other disadvantages the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction for school boys both fetters the discretion of those who prescribe syllabuses and set and correct examination papers and forces undue reliance on textbooks by teachers and pupils alike even to the point of encouraging the latter to memorize whole passages from them. [65]

The Dispatch of 1854 was soon followed by the Mutiny of 1857 causing a vast political change in the administration of the country. As a result - of the severe criticism of the Company, the administration was transferred to the British crown.

4.3 Anglo-Oriental Controversies

In 1765, the Oriental policy, guided by political and religious considerations, emphasized that there should not be any hasty attempt to introduce English. To maintain religious neutrality, missionary activity should not be supported. The safe source would be to follow the footsteps of Hindu and Muslim rulers by encouraging Sanskrit and Arabic. It further stressed that since the ancient traditional education was enough for the practical purposes, that the Company should not disturb political stability.

These policies were readily accepted by the Company in 1765. Education reflected Company policy and it remained on traditional lines with Sanskrit and Arabic until the year 1813.

In 1839 Lord Auckland tried to effect, a compromise between the Oriental and Western parties. He recommended English education - for the Superior Colleges and retained English as the medium of instruction in the secondary schools. One fourth of the students of the oriental colleges were given scholarships. However, the vernaculars did not become the vehicles of education because of lack of encouragement and support from the government. Lord Auckland's significant contribution was to relax Bentinck's resolution in favor of

classical learning thereby saving it from complete collapse and extinction.

4.4 Language Controversy in the Educational System of Bengal

Though the Oriental policy was accepted by the Charter Act of 1813, the company carried out its educational policy in its own way using the downward filtration theory and the theory of engrafting. According to these theories once the influential classes had been educated, learning and culture would seek a downward course and penetrate the masses. Thus, European knowledge would be engrafted on that of India.

Because of social, economic, and political prestige attached to the language of the rulers of the land, the public in Bengal was rapidly growing in favor of English education. But eventually, there was a controversy within the Company itself; one group favored the oriental policy and another Western knowledge through the medium of English.

In 1819, both the English and the Indian members of the Calcutta school society started English schools to promote English education. Although the prevailing tendency was to concentrate upon English education only in Calcutta, the Protestant missionaries worked hard to spread it far and wide. In 1830; Alexander Duff, a missionary from Scotland, established both elementary and higher educational institutions. Duff insisted upon English as the medium in higher education. According to Father Jerome D'Souza "Alexander Duff was the foremost pioneer in the remarkable work of Christian missionaries in the field of higher education." [66] Then John Wilson; a man of profound learning, organized an English school on the model of Duff's institution in Calcutta, which developed into an upper school and then a college.

Having the system inaugurated officially by Macaulay and Lord Bentinck in 1835, the General Committee for Education of Bengal insisted on education through the medium of English hoping that Lord Auckland will not be against it. But it should be noted here as it is in the writings of Zellner, the instruction which was going on in the vernacular medium in existent schools was not prohibited by the Committee, (general Committee for Education of Bengal)." [67] At the same time, Thomason outside Bengal achieved considerable success in encouraging the development of indigenous schools. The highest education was provided in the College of Calcutta, under Government sponsorship in 1854. O'Malley writes that, "in this college, students might take advanced courses in English or Oriental learning or professional courses in law, medicine, or civil engineering. [68] Perhaps in the nineteenth century, the Hindu college of Calcutta was the best college in India as far as the Western learning was concerned. According to Garratt, "The Hindu college of Calcutta was the premier seat of Western learning in the nineteenth century." [69] This can be further brought out from the words of Zellner that, "in Bengal from 1855 to 1882 English high schools rose from 47 to 209. [70] Only two colleges under private management were found during that time.

According to O'Malley, the policy in 1843 in Bengal was "pursued of establishing an English or Anglo vernacular school

at the head-quarters of each district of developing a few of the more progressive of these to the [71] status of college." Bengal which took the lead in English education not only flourished in this field but also in vernacular education. According to O'Malley, "Vernacular literature flourished and attained its highest development in the province (Bengal) in which English education was most advanced. [72] Probably Bengal is the only State that welcomed and took advantage of English education. As Nehru, the late Prime Minister of India, said: The great difference between the State of Bengal and that of Northern and Central India in the middle of the century is brought out by the fact that while in Bengal the new intelligentsia had been influenced by English thought and literature. [73]

Since only Bengal produced the first English educated Indians, the rest of the country had to use them. As Nehru put it: "Bengal produced the first groups of English-educated Indians, who spread out to other parts of India under the shadow of the British power." [74] Thus the English-speaking Bengali gained prominence throughout India.

The situation in Bengal was similar to that of Madras where English education was mostly taken by the Hindus and not by the Muslims who were the ruling class. Nehru writes that, "the Muslims avoided English education ...the ... rulers ... were afraid that the remnants of the old ruling class might give trouble. [75] This situation promoted the English education of the Hindus of Bengal and eventually there was a monopoly of Hindus in Government services Thus Nehru writes that, "the Bengali Hindus ... acquired almost a monopoly in [76] the beginning in the subordinate Government service.

The Committee appointed by Lord Bentinck recommended, after investigating the Calcutta Native Medical Institution, that a new institutor be established along European medical lines. The plan was accepted and implemented in short order. As quoted by Zellner, "in time the native type of medical instruction was gradually discarded, (in Calcutta). [77] Though Calcutta University was concerned much about the Western thoughts and ideas, it gave a liberal choice to the students with regard to the medium. Thus as Chib writes:

The Calcutta University has taken the lead by the decision to allow candidates at the 1937 Matriculation examination to answer the papers in all subjects in their respective vernaculars. [78]

Most of the students preferred answering in English rather than in their own vernaculars. However, this was objected to by the Inter-University Conference.

4.5 Language Controversy in the Educational System of Bombay

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, vernacular education was not given importance in Bombay. The missionary educators lacked the needed funds to do so. The first English elementary school was established by American Board of Missions in 1817. In the following years, a few English schools were set up by the Church Missionary Society, the Bombay Education Society, and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. With the co-operation of the Government,

the Bombay Native Education Society established District English Schools and vernacular secondary school in 1822. In 1823, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay started the University of Bombay. He insisted upon using English only classically and not as the sole medium of instruction. Elphinstone believed "if English could be at all diffused among persons who have the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio".[79] Francis Warden, a member of the Governor's Council, violently opposed this view.

4.6 Language Controversy in the Educational System of Madras

Christian Swartz, a man with a broad intellectual interest who belonged to the Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge, established a number of English schools between 1772 and 1787 in Madras presidency. Imparting instruction in English began to be considered by Munro in Madras in the years 1822-26.

Since the Madras Presidency was mainly divided into four major linguistic groups namely Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, there was an urgent need to have a common medium of intercourse not only for Europeans but also for

Dravidians themselves. This need provided additional support for the cause of English education in Madras. In each region, instruction was given in both the regional language and English.

5. Conclusion

From the analysis made so far in various periods of Indian educational history, it was found that the language problem has been always connected with religion, politics, regionalism, socioeconomic mobility, linguistic groups and national unity. People who oppose English argue that it is an alien language and hence should be replaced. But history shows that it is practically impossible to replace English by any other Indian language. When Indian languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic (which is one of the Indian languages though not indigenous), and Urdu became official languages of India, these were not accepted whole heartedly by all the people of India. There had been always instability in the educational field. Since one's language is alien to another, a language alien to all has to have official status in order to throw an equal burden on every one. This can be no other language but English, on which the Indian Educational system has been already established. Further than that, education through English will certainly be advantageous and will advance Indian society in all walks of life.

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