

A Historical Analysis of the Language Controversy in Indian Education - 1614 To 1970

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ABSTRACT

India has a rich heritage in terms of languages and every language spoken, even by the most remote areas, is respected by the Constitution through the likes of Article 29 and Schedule VIII. "History demonstrates that, from times immemorial, India has been a multilingual country, each language having a certain region in which it was supreme, but none of these regions truly constituted unilingual kingdom or principality."

Broadly speaking, there are four major groups of Indian languages:

- Indo-Aryan: Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Kashmiri, Nepali, Konkani, Punjabi and Urdu.
- Dravidian: Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu.
- Mongoloid: Manipuri, Tripura, Garo, and Bodo.
- Tribal Language and Dialects: Gond, Oraon, Santal, Mundari, etc.

In ancient India, Sanskrit was the most prevalent language especially during the period of Aryans who introduced it. There are evidences which show that Sanskrit was spoken by elite while the 'low order' people used Pali as a means of communication. With the arrival of Islamic rulers, the language became Persian in most of the regions of the then India. At the regional level, local dialects became popular which borrowed words from other main prevalent languages like Persian, Turkish, Arabic, etc. Gradually Urdu developed as a confluence of Persian speaking classes/foreigners and Sanskrit speaking locals.

1. Education Under British Crown

1.1 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.

When the British came to India, already India had many schools or pathshalas. The medium of instruction in these schools were Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, etc. "In Bengal alone, it is said, there were about the year 1835 a hundred thousand such pathshala." (Singh Y K., 2007:56) In the early days the British didn't paid much attention on the education of the Indian masses. Thus, education continued to be imparted through classical languages. The British government gave funds and rewards to students who pursued

education in classical languages like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian etc. Later on, the missionaries started imparting education via English. "The missionaries used education as a means of evangelization. They propagated for the spread of Christian religion through English medium." (Nurullah and Naik, 1951)

After the Charter of 1813 everyone was confused regarding the education policy of India. Some like H. H. Wilson, H. T. Prince were in favor of Oriental learning which stood on stipends paid to students in Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic and by liberal grants for the publication of works in those languages. Some were in favor of teaching the elements of knowledge in the vernacular tongues, and the higher branches in English. At that time there were many institutions which provided education in the Indian languages. "An illustration is provided in the 1823 report of the collector of Bellary District, enumerating that out of 533 schools in the district, 235 schools employed Carnataca (Kannada), 226 Teloogoo (Telugu), 23 Mahratta (Marathi), 21 Persian, 4 Tamil, one English medium;" (Khubchandani, 2001). But then came to a major turning point in the educational policy of India. This is known as Macaulay's Minute.

Macaulay's Minute:

Many regard Macaulay's minute as a very important education policy of India. Macaulay's stay was not for long in India. During his stay he made two important contributions.

One was the drafting of the Criminal Procedure Code and another was the Minute he wrote in 1835.

The dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India, contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that..... it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. (Thirumalai, 2003, p. 15)

He completely ignored the value of the Indian languages which has been timely honored by many British people like Sir William Jones. In his minute he has mentioned that „I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic“, still he made very harsh comments regarding the languages of India, “a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.” This shows how unscholarly his decision was. So, he gave no place to vernaculars/mother tongues in higher studies. His full support was for English education. His ideas and imagination regarding English was very high and gave many arguments in favor of English, that „English is the language of two great European communities which are rising“. In his minute he also raised questions regarding the choice of students in education. He claimed that students seeking education in Sanskrit and Arabic are not happy with their qualifications and even after getting education they are not able to have a decent living and get very less job opportunities.

The main points of his minutes were:

1. English is worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic.
2. Natives also want to be taught English.
3. The English educated Indian natives will serve as interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern.
4. English stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the west.

Macaulay visualized that English will bring revival and renaissance in the same manner as Latin or Greek did in England. He concluded with these comments, “Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernaculars dialects of the country.” (ibid, p.21)

A strong objection against the Macaulay's Minute came from H. T. Prinsep, another member of the supreme council. His argument against that was “to the great body of people of India, English is as strange as Arabic was to the knights of the dark ages.” But on 7th march 1835 the governor general William Bentinck agreed with Macaulay's Minute, thus making it a cornerstone of Indian educational policy. The government was eager to establish Macaulay's Minute, as it was a stepping stone towards getting cheap English-educated Indian servants. Also, English would serve as a communicating link between the rulers and the ruled.

Wood's Dispatch gave a new direction to the vernaculars as well as to the education system of India. It was recommended:

1. An education department was to be set in every province.
2. Universities on the model of the London University be established in big cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.
3. At least one government school be opened in every district.
4. Affiliated private schools should be given grant in aid.
5. The Indian natives should be given training in their mother tongue also.

After that many Universities were opened at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and many Committees and Commissions had worked on the issue of Education policy of India. During the British rule three pattern of education came into existence:

1. The English medium, in urban centers for the education of the elite, right from the primary stage;
2. The two-tier medium, vernacular medium for primary education and English medium for the advanced stage, in towns;
3. The vernacular medium, in rural areas for primary education.

(Khubchandani, 1983)

Education Commissions and their Recommendations:

Indian education system is the oldest in the world as it dates back to 3rd century B.C. Education has always been an important issue and for that the government has appointed various commissions and committees to look into the issues of education. Education Commissions in India since 1858 are:

1. The Indian Education Commission, or Hunter Commission, 1882
2. The Indian Universities Commission, 1902.
3. The Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19.
4. The Hartog Committee, 1928-29.
5. Abbot-Wood Committee, 1936-37.
6. Zakir Hussain/Wardha Committee on Basic Education, 1938.
7. The Sergeant Report, 1944.
8. The University Education Commission/ Radhakrishnan Commission, 1948-49.
9. B. G. Kher Committee on Primary Education, 1951.
10. The Secondary Education Commission, 1952-53.
11. Official Language Commission, 1956.
12. The university Grants Commission/ Kunzuru Committee Report.
13. The Education Commission/ Kothari Commission, 1964-66.
14. Dr. Trigun Sen/ Higher Education Committee Report, 1967.
15. The Study Group Reports on the Teaching of English, 1967-71.

(Choudhary. S, 2009, p. 518)

16.

Summary of Recommendations given by the Commissions (1948-66):

1. The Conference of the Vice-chancellors of the Universities (1948), recommended the replacement of

English by Indian languages as the medium of instruction at the university level after five years.

2. The Conference of the Education Ministers of the State (1948), recommended the adoption of mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary and secondary school levels, with the state language when it differed from the mother tongue to be studied as a compulsory subject.
3. The University Education Commission (1949) also known as Radhakrishnan Commission recommended that students at the secondary and university level should know at least three languages, namely the regional language, the link language Hindi and English.
4. The Secondary Education Commission (1952) endorsed the recommendation of the Education Minister's Conference and additionally, it recommended the study of at least two other languages, e.g. Hindi and English, at the higher primary level.
5. The English Review Committee also known as Kunzuru Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission 1955 emphasized to "go slow" on the switch over to regional languages as media of instruction at the university level, and argued the need for continued study of English by all university students even after the switch in media.
6. The Central Advisory Board of Education (1957), suggested what has come to be known as the Three Language Formula, which was adopted by the state Chief Ministers in 1961. This policy recommended the study of
 - I. The regional languages,
 - II. Hindi in non-Hindi areas and any other Indian language in the Hindi area and
 - III. English or any other modern European language.
7. The Education Commission also known as the Kothari Commission (1964-66) looked into the problems faced by the states in implementing the Three Language Formula, and recommended a „modified“, Three Language Formula which won general acceptance and is the language policy currently in force in most of India. (Sridhar. K,1983 :17-19)

But still the development of vernaculars to meet the need of medium of education was very slow. Mahatma Gandhi too during his struggle of independence vehemently criticized English Education. "Mahatma Gandhi in 1933 proposed a scheme for basic education which was practically the antithesis of the rulers' elitist moorings concerning the questions of content, spread and medium."(Khubchandani, 2001:30) So lots of attention has always been given on the educational policy of India but the major problem is of implementation and execution of these policies.

Review of Education Policies after Independence:

The Constitution provides many provisions regarding the medium of instruction and education in general. Article 30 of the Constitution allows linguistic groups to receive education in their mother tongue and to set institutions of their choice for

this purpose. Also, according to the Constitution of India, elementary education is a fundamental right of children in the age group of 6-14 years. India has about 688,000 primary schools, 110,000 secondary schools and 342 universities (211 State, 18 Central, 95 deemed universities) 13 institutes of national importance, 17,000 colleges and 887 polytechnics.

Education policy of 1968:

Education leads a country towards national progress and economic development. The leaders of newly independent India recognized the importance of education for national progress, security and national integration. For achieving its goal, the Government of India had various commissions and committees like the University Education Commission/ Radhakrishnan Commission (1948-49) and Secondary Education Commission, 1952-53 for reviewing the educational reconstruction. Towards the end of the Third five year plan the education commission gave its report which was widely discussed and thus the national policy of education 1968 came into being.

In 1966 the education commission wanted to implement the three-language formula in a very liberal way. In which it asked the students to learn the students at least three languages by the time s/he completes the high school (i.e. class X). The three languages could be mother tongue and two non-native modern languages. But this formula was interpreted differently by different states. But it also failed to have its firm ground in the Indian education system. The language policy of education 1968 was unable to fulfill the demands and challenges of the society.

Throughout history no other country of equal size to India has been occupied by as great a variety of linguistic groups. And today every Indian feel that there should be a common medium of education which would eventually serve as 'the means 'of political, social, economic and religious advancement of the country. Of all the problems that India faces today, the language question stands as a primary one. According to the report of the Education Commission 1964-66:

'Of the many problems which the country has faced since independence the language question has been one of the most complex and intractable and it still continues to be so. Its early and satisfactory solution is imperative for a variety of reasons, educational, cultural and political.[1]

Unless an adequate solution is devised, the Indian language crisis will have a serious impact on education, culture, political order, and even on national survival. As R. B. Le Page puts it: "It is undoubtedly true, the language is the key to education".[2] "Language barriers are also barriers to international understanding".[3] "Language barriers are certainly barriers to economic progress.[4] "The acquisition of language was biologically the basic requirements for man's survival as a species.[5]

India is one of the socio-linguistic giants, representing languages and cultures of diverse linguistic and ethnic groups. These groups will be identified in the latter part of this chapter. In a country, populated by over 547 million speakers, scores of small speech groups consisting of a few thousand people still

maintain their mother-tongues in everyday life in various multilingual pockets.

In ancient India, Sanskrit offered a united language for the majority of India for practical reasons. Sanskrit was the language of literate people. Sanskrit had such an important place that the literate group took pride, in knowing Sanskrit. As Gopal writes "...despite their (the literate's) rich or poor capacity for expression, (they) considered it an honour to adorn themselves with Sanskrit words; that has been the tendency of

writers for a long time.[6] The vernaculars were unstable and were subject to great change.

The Vernaculars, either Indo-Aryans or Dravidian, borrowed many words from Sanskrit. Among the mature languages, only fifteen have been declared as fully developed major languages by the constitution of India. After such a declaration was made, each group of people belongs to the fifteen major languages as the National Language. Thus, arises the controversy.

Indian Languages

Indo-European Languages of the Indic Branch

Hindi
Urdu
Punjabi
Marathi
Bengali
Gujrati
Oriya
Assamese
Kashmiri
Sanskrit

Dravidian Languages

Tamil
Telugu
Kannada
Malayalam

According to the philologists, Indian languages belong to four different family groups namely Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman, and Indo-Aryan. Dravidian, having Tamil as the mother language, is the most ancient and Inborn language of India. If there should be one language as the medium of Instruction In higher education at the national level other than English, it cannot be one but four since the four language groups of India differ basically in their structure and vocabulary. These four language groups have to be put into four different compartments. As Sarkar puts it, "There are fundamental differences in structure and vocabulary among these. (the four language groups)[7]

Each of the Dravidian and some of the Indo-Aryan languages have their own distinctive alphabets, which differ significantly in form and appearance." Hindi may be written in either of two different scripts. Breakdown of these languages according to their genetic affiliations on the basis of the 1961 Census is as follows:

Language family	Languages	Speakers (in millions)	Percentages to total population
Indo-European	59	321.5	73.3
Dravidian	21	107.5	24.5
Austro-Asiatic	20	6.2	1.4
Tibeto-Chinese	98	3.2	0.7

In addition, there are 530 unclassified mother-tongues whose affiliations could not be determined, spoken by 63,000 people. There are also 103 languages of foreign origin spoken as mother-tongue by 315,000 people, prominent among them being English. There are as many as 54 languages spoken by more than 100,000 people each: 27 Indo-Aryan, 11 Dravidian, 9 Austro-Asiatic and 7 Tibeto-Chinese.

Fourteen Indian languages, plus English, enjoy official recognition at the administrative level in different parts of the country. At the federal level, Hindi is the declared official

language, until non-Hindi speaking, regions are equipped to accept Hindi. But the day of acceptance is not in the near future since the language issue has created a great turmoil in the country among the different language groups. As the editor of India News has mentioned, "A great controversy has been going on over the issue of national language or languages among various pressure groups in the count." [8]

Though not impossible, it is very difficult to have any Indian language as the national language when there is a strong feeling among the language groups. In 1966 Punjab is divided into Haryana with the Hindi speaking people and Punjab with the Punjabi speaking people. While stability was impossible for the bilingual state of Punjab, is it Possible to think about one Indian language as the national language? As Sachs puts it, "There is very considerable resistance to the adoption of Hindi in the Dravidian language areas of South India as well as in some of the Indo-Aryan speaking areas, especially Bengal.[9]

The Indian constitution lists 15 major literary languages (often called national languages) for developing them as regional media. These include twelve state languages plus Kashmiri Sindhi, and the classical language, Sanskrit. The population of these languages from 1961 was as follows.

In addition to the 18 languages mentioned above, there are over 25 languages in which newspapers and periodicals are published. According to the 1961 census returns, English ranks first among the contact languages with 26 per cent of the total bilingual persons in the country declaring English as their first subsidiary language. The Editor of India News stated that, "English in the present setup still continues to be an important part of the communication matrix of urban India.[10]

Languages	*Speakers in Million total population	Percentage to
1. Hindi	129.2	29.4
2. Telugu	37.7	29.4
3. Bengali	33.9	7.7
4. Marathi	33.3	7.6
5. Tamil	30.6	7.0
6. Urdu	23.9	5.3
7. Gujarati	20.3	4.6
8. Kannada	17.4	4.0
9. Malayalam	17.0	3.9
10. Oriya	15.7	3.5
11. Punjabi	10.1	2.2
12. Assamese	6.8	1.6
13. Kashmiri	2.0	0.5
14. Sindi	1.4	0.3
15. Sanskrit	2,500	----

Additional Administrative Languages:

16. Konkani	1.4	0.3
17. Manipuri	0.64	0.2
18. English	0.22	----

The presence of vernacular languages, Sanskrit, and English has produced a chain of bitter controversies that have characterized Indian education since the advent of the British in the country. It can be brought out here that after the achievement of independence suggestions have been given to make Sanskrit an official language or at least to make it a compulsory subject of study at the secondary stage of education. This view is not worth commenting on when it is evident that it is a dead language and was spoken by only 2,500 people out of 439 million people in 1961. No doubt Sanskrit has been antique, in the past but it ceased to be in use among the people even in such a distant period as the sixth century B.C., for we find we find the Buddha preaching then to the people, not in Sanskrit, but in the Pali and the Ardhamagadhi languages. But according to Appadurai, "Sanskrit is not only a dead language but one that infects with its own numbing and death-dealing touch every living language with which it comes in contact." [11] However, being a classical language of India, Sanskrit should be paid some attention.

India was given into the hands of the British in 1857. India then was not an Empire by herself, but a part of the British Empire as Britain once was a part of the Roman Empire. For the first time in history, India was reduced to the position of a dependency. Eventually Persian had to be replaced by English as a ruling language.

When the Persian language was abandoned, the Muslims were greatly disturbed. They thought that the introduction of English would threaten their language and eventually their religion. According to Zellner: "They became suspicious of the British Government and looked askance to Western education as likely to lead to infidelity to Islam." [12] The attitude of the majority of the Muslims towards English education from the

beginning has been already clearly stated in the previous chapters.

In the beginning, the British Government was reluctant to teach English because of political reasons. The so-called Brahman scholars also rejected English as a language of the foreigner. The Brahmans thought that they would be under an obligation to teach Sanskrit, the sacred language, which was learnt only by them, if they happened to learn English. As Nehru puts it, 11 No Brahman would agree to teach the sacred language to a foreigner and an intruder even though handsome rewards were offered. [13] Thus, Sir William Jones, a European was unable to learn Sanskrit until a non-Brahman Vaidya (medical practitioner) agreed to teach 11 on his own peculiar and stringent Conditions". [14]

On the other hand, there was a growing enthusiasm in learning English among groups other than the Muslims and Brahmans, in the middle of the nineteenth century, for two major reasons. As Spear puts it: There was the practical desire to master English because its knowledge gave good prospects of worldly success. And there was the intellectual desire to master English as the key to the new knowledge of the West. [15]

This enthusiasm became ten folded when English took the place of Persian in the higher law courts in 1957. Again, in the words of Spear: The principle public professions of the law and Government studies demanded western studies and the further linking of Government service with the University degrees sent very ambitious youth to the new colleges for regular course of study. [16]

English education was much stressed by the rulers themselves. The views of Macaulay were either shared or compelled to be shared by later British administrators. Griffiths wrote: Ellenborough, an erratic and aggressive Viceroy, so distrusted by the Court of Directors that they recalled him before his time, spoke frankly in 1853 of his belief that the English must continue to rule India. [17]

Lord Ellenborough's dispatch of 1858 stressed the downward filtration theory of Macaulay. However, this theory was a great failure for it created only a vast gulf between the elite group and the mass. In a way, English education enslaved Indians in that period.

Although Lord Stanley's dispatch of 1859 supported the downward filtration theory, it also gave emphasis to the elementary education through vernaculars. As a means of provision for elementary education, it suggested special tax on land. The most important object of secondary education was to impart a knowledge of the English language with a view to prepare candidates for the Universities.

During the 1860s, both English and Urdu were alternatively used in any institution. But the language of the High Court was only English. In 1861, the Zamindars and some other inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa submitted a memorial to the Viceroy requesting that the proceedings of the newly created High Court should be conducted in Urdu.

According to Ahamad : "Even the British rulers used to deliver their speeches on various public occasions in Urdu".[18]

In 1867 Hindi was made the alternative court language. This stimulates the Hindi agitation in Bihar in the same year. It had its second triumph in 1900 in Utter Pradesh where through the patronage of Sir Anthony Macdonald, Hindi was made the alternative court language.

In 1878 Lord Lytton the Viceroy passed the Vernacular Press Act which aimed at pressing down the expression of Indian sentiment through vernaculars and it was extremely distasteful to the educated Indian. Zellner puts it: "Even though it (the Vernacular Press Act) was not invoked in practice, feeling against the Act was high. [19] Lord Ripon revoked the Odious Vernacular Press Act shortly after he arrived in India.

According to the Raleigh Commission of 1902, a European language examination was compulsory in the Matriculation, Intermediate and Bachelor of Arts level examinations. Madras University, representing South India, was an exception in that it included an Indian language as an alternative. From the beginning, Madras University was very strong in its continued policy of emphasizing vernacular education. As a consequence of these educational arrangements, a new middle class developed as the carrier of the Western culture. Highly westernized graduates of English universities and colleges were convinced of the utter futility of any attempt at imparting higher education through the medium of the vernaculars. The theory of downward filtration of education, the domination of the Universities, the encouragement of English by the Government, and the emergence of a new middle class favorably disposed to Western education were the major causes which were responsible for the steady decay of vernacular languages in the Indian educational system. The situation was deeply felt by some Indians interested in vernacular education. Thus, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, an organization to advance the cause of Hindi, was founded in 1910. Gandhi also took active part in the Hindi-Campaign throughout India in the same year.

According to the educational policy of Lord Curzon (1913), the chief defect of education through a foreign medium was a tendency towards cramming and unintelligent learning. However, there was an undeniable fact that: it encouraged 'cram' at the cost of real merit or none for originality it invited third class men from England to fill the highest positions in the educational service of the country and place the best native intellect and talent under them to starve and not for want of opportunities.[20]

Though Lord Curzon's policy appealed to favor Indian Education, the underlying result was different. According to Rai: Lord Curzon's policy was the tightening of Government control, the strangling of all independence in matters educational, and the eventual weakening of all national movement and national sentiment.[21]

Rai continued that: "The fact that he (Lord Curzon) admitted no Indian to the meeting of the Secret Educational Conference held at Simla when he formulated the Government policy strengthened that idea".[22]

According to Chib: "The National Congress Movement after 1920 wanted to replace English by the vernaculars in schools and colleges". [22] As an opposition to this, the Report of the Punjab University Inquiry Committee in (1932-33) said that "in institutions supported by the State English and no Sanskrit or Arabic should be medium of instruction". [23] The Indian Universities Commission in 1902, the Calcutta University Commission in 1917, the Punjab University Enquiry Committee in 1932-33, and scores of departmental reports have pointed out the inadequacy of textbooks in the vernaculars during these periods. Hence the report of the Punjab University Enquiry Committee had to be accepted at least in the State aided institutions. Appadurai mentions that, "the congress adopted Hindi as the National language in 1922". [24] This was done only as a protest against English and not for Hindi in the contest of the situation' in 1922.

Until the Kanpur session of 1925, English was dominant and Official language of the Congress sessions. But in 1925, the Congress amended Article 33 of its own constitution to read: "The proceedings of the congress shall be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani. The English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak Hindustani or whenever necessary.[25]

"The proceedings of the Provincial congress committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province concerned. Hindustani may also be used." [26] This, therefore, was the first time in Modern Indian history when English was repudiated. In its place at the provincial level, the language of the province was substituted. At the national level, Hindustani was to be used. Here Hindustani was stressed for the reason that India wanted to be free from the British rule. This did not imply a hatred of English but was part of the freedom struggle. As Kumaramangalam puts it, "It was that the struggle for the adoption of Mother-tongue as the official language became a constituent part of the struggle for freedom". [27] In 1931 the Congress Government strongly supported Hindi in the name of Hindustani. As Ahamad puts it:

The Congress Government following the congress resolution of 1931 apparently supported Hindustani but really furthered the cause of Hindi in the guise of Hindustani,[28]

In April 1936 the first session of the Bharatya Sahitya Parishad was held at Nagpur under the Presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi who declared "Hindi Athwa Hindustani" as the language of the Parishad and by implication as the future language of the country. But Hindi cannot become the language of books. In opposing Hindi as the language of books presiding at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, in April 1936, Rajendra Prasad said, "the Hindi which is now a days used in books in the mother-tongue of very few people." [29]

It goes without saying that in order to make education fully fruitful it can be done only through the medium of the vernacular of the child and certainly by no other language. This was brought out by the Government report of 1937-38 in Bengal:

It is reported moreover that the changes in the medium of instruction have brought about a change in the atmosphere of the class. The interest in a lesson is at once noticeable, answers to the question are more assured and interrogation by the boys are intelligent.[30]

In October 1938, the All India Muslim League passed a resolution in favor of Urdu at its Lucknow Session. This resolution was never accepted by the non-Muslim majority.

India is a free country and everyone has freedom to discuss language matters. But Dharendra Varma in 1940; said:

What I would like to emphasize is that the problems connected with Hindi language and script should be examined by the Hindi people themselves and that too from the point of view of their own advantages and disadvantages. The opinion of foreigners-specially of such from our own midst who are alien culturally"-should be taken with great caution.[31]

Alien is a dirty word which should have been taken from the lexicon long-long ago when the world itself is striving for international unity. The view of Varma reflects the narrow mindedness of the external forces that misguided him.

In 1944 the Sargent Report came against the downward filtration theory. The Report felt that the primary requisite of any system of public education for a democracy was that it should provide for all its members and not for a few only. At the minimum, it should provide at least such training as may be necessary to make its citizens reasonably good. According to the Sargent report: The medium of instruction in the basic school as in the high school will be the pupils mother-tongue but for obvious practical reasons while the junior basic school is wholly vernacular the senior basic may be two kinds - vernacular and anglo-vernacular.[32]

The Sargent Report did not talk about the medium of instruction in the University level since popular opinion was divided. But as Siqueira wrote, "Sir John Sargent whose name is popularly associated with this scheme was not its sole author". [33] It should be noted here that the Sargent plan was approved by the Government of India after independence and most of its suggestions relating to the language of instruction were put into practice.

1.2 Gurukul University Of Arya Samaj (1902)

Arya Samaj in North India was founded by Dayanand Saraswati in 1875. In O'Malley's point of view: "... it was frankly and avowedly antagonistic to Christianity". [34] O'Malley found: its ... Gurukula at Hardwar, where the study of Hindu literature and traditions and the conduct of a school life on ascetic Hindu lines are influenced by Western educational methods, and its girls' schools have given social reform a religious poet sufficiently free from foreign influence to satisfy racial pride.[35]

The Gurukul University of the Arya Samaj, established in 1902, tried to weld together the educated and the uneducated class by encouraging the study of Sanskrit and the vernaculars and to impart moral and spiritual instruction in the spirit of the

Vedic tradition. As Saint Thomas Aquinas said, the greatest treason is to do the right thing for the wrong reason.

1.3 Visvabharathi

Tagore founded Visvabharathi in which he introduced education through the medium of vernacular (Bengali) as a reaction against English education. Shrimalai writes:

The poet (Tagore) after his own personal experience as a teacher came to the conclusion that a foreign language could not become a true medium of education.[36]

It was his (Tagore's) firm belief that unless the mother-tongue or the regional language become the medium of education and culture the creative urges and thoughts of our people could not find full and free expression.[37]

Tagore thought that as long as English continued as the medium of instruction that it would be of very little interest to write books in regional languages. But it should not be forgotten that if the regional languages become the medium of instruction there will be no interchangeability of students and teachers from one University to another and this will also make the education narrow and parochial. In Chib's view: "What is distinctive and original about Visvabharati is ... where Indian culture would be taught, Indian manners and customs respected.[38]

1.4 OSMANIA UNIVERSITY (1919)

Osmania University was established by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1919 with the fundamental principle that Urdu should form the medium of higher education in the working of the university. At the same time a knowledge of English as a language should be compulsory for all students. According to Chib the "Nizam of Hyderabad established Osmania University in his state with the avowed object of imparting instruction in Urdu instead of English. [39] Chib continued that "In less than fifteen years they are able to carry on teaching in a 11 arts and science subjects in Urdu.[40] The above statement of Chib is in contrary with that of the association for the Advancement of the National language of India with regard to the mentioned University. The Association said "we cannot think of translating all of them at any rate within half a century and at a cost and effort which would be more or less thrown away." [41] The Radhakrishnan Commission was not at all impressed by the Bureau of Translation which was spoiling the original works. In that period as Siqueira writes, "... the latter (Osmania University) is the only University in India to use Urdu as the medium of higher education.[42]

1.5 University of Aligarh

Generally, Muslims were antagonistic to the English which took their positions as the ruling group. However, Sir Syed Ahamad Khan, a Muslim, felt the need for English education as a means of competing with the Hindus. He established a new college on the model of an English University which was eventually to become the University of Aligarh. He felt that

education in Urdu would not cultivate intelligence; lucidity of ideas, and force of expression.

1.6 The Jamia Milliyya Islamia

The Jamia Milliyya Islamia which is otherwise called as the National Muslim University was founded by Muhammad Ali at Aligarh in 1920 as an expression of the desire of the Muslims to make their education entirely national in character and free from alien influences. It is for sure that this people forgot that it is only that English education that led Indians to be critical in their walks of life. According to Siqueira, "It was contact with the British and the study of English that led Indians to be critical of many of their customs manners and ideas.[43] Jamia was also started as a rival to the Aligarh University of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Though Jamia was against the British schools, English was a compulsory subject in it. However, the medium of instruction was only Urdu.

1.7 Basic Education

Gandhi was strongly opposed to English Education. It was not that Gandhi hated English but rather that he loved India. He wrote: It is worth nothing that by receiving English education we have enslaved the nation. Hypocrisy, tyranny, etc., have increased; English knowing Indians have not hesitated to cheat and strike terror into the people. Now, if we are doing anything for the people at all we are paying only a portion of the debt due to them.[44]

He wrote again: "I think that we have to improve all our languages". [45] Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language if a Hindu, Sanskrit; if a Mohamedan, Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian and all, Hindi.[46] Gandhi agreed: "A Universal language for India should be Hindi with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagri. [47]

In the time-table drawn up by the Zakir Hussain Committee 3 1/2 hours out of 5 1/2 are to be given to the handicraft the rest being divided between civics, music, arithmetic, reading and writing the mother tongue, elementary science and drill.[48]

However, it seems that there is no theoretical originality in this scheme for education through manual activity was already well known since Pestalozzi.

2. Education After Independence

2.1 INTRODUCTION

India gained her independence on August 15, 1947. As it is shown in the previous chapter, during the pre-independence period, there were a number of educational movements in India with an avowed aim of replacing English by the modern languages. Immediately after Independence, strong steps were taken to make the vernaculars the chief medium of instruction. Eventually, people of different regions started claiming that their own regional language was a proper substitute for English. The major reason for the rapidity in seeking to replace English was that Indian languages had been greatly neglected under the British crown. In the maneuvering to select a right language to replace English, the spirit of nationalism emerged

among various linguistic groups. Eventually this leads to the formation of linguistic states. On 27th November 1947, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced his Government's acceptance of the principal of linguistic provinces. Thus, the principle of dividing provinces according to their major languages claimed superiority over provincial languages.

The educated class will be created only by the uneducated class. And it is not created by the medium of instruction. However, it is impossible (practically) for any country to educate every one, and thereby close the existing gap between the elite and the mass.

The University Education Commission of 1948 too, felt that English was an improper medium. With Doctor S. Radhakrishnan as Chairman, this Commission was appointed by the Government of India on November 4, 1948 to report on Indian education. The Report said that it was educationally unsound to make a foreign tongue the means of acquiring knowledge. While advocating the use of the regional language as a medium, the Report did not define what was the regional language of Madras, Nagpur, or any other region. It did not answer the all-important question, whether a University teaching and examining everything in a regional language would be a University in the true sense.

Again, it was likely to create problems for minority groups speaking languages other than regional languages. Thus, as quoted by the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53), the Central Advisory Board of Education considered in 1949 the case of pupils belonging to certain minority groups whose mother tongue was different from the regional language and passed the following resolution:

That the medium of instruction in the Junior Basic stage must be the mother-tongue of the child and that where the mother-tongue was different from the Regional or State language, arrangement must be made for instruction in the mother-tongue by appointing at least one teacher to teach all the classes, provided there are at least 40 such pupils in a school. The Regional or State language where it is different from the mother tongue should be introduced not earlier than Class III, not later than end of the Junior Basic stage. In order to facilitate the switch over to the Regional language as medium of instruction in the secondary stage, university children should be given the option of answering questions in their mother-tongue for the first two years after the junior basic stage.

The Secondary Education Commission appointed by the Government of India in terms of their Resolution No. F. •9-5/52-B-I dated 23rd September 1952 was inaugurated by the Minister of Education Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the 6th October 1952 in New Delhi. When the Commission pointed out the defects of the then existing educational system it said that:.... until comparatively recently" English was both the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject of study. Students who did not possess special linguistic ability was therefore greatly handicapped in their studies. If a student did not fare well in English he could neither pass the School Final Examination nor find any post in Government service. The

other subjects which were psychologically and sociology important or congenial were not given greater attention.

The Commission classified the languages into five different groups: (1) The Mother tongue; (2) the Regional language when it was not the mother tongue; (3) the official language of the center more commonly called the Federal language; (4) the classical languages, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Latin, etc., and (5) English, which was recognized as an international language. It should be noted here that in those areas where the regional language was the mother-tongue and the language of the Union was the same, the number of languages to be taken into consideration were limited to three As, quoted by the Commission:

The constitution lays down that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi and that for a period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement.

The Official Language Commission of 1956 submitted its report to the President on 31st July 1956, which was laid on the table of parliament on August 12, 1957. A three-language formula was submitted by the Commission and according to the formula all the school children are supposed to take three languages (including Hindi) in the non-Hindi speaking regions. Children belonging to Hindi speaking regions were to take any Indian language besides Hindi and English. This formula: established equality with regard to the study of languages between the Hindi and the non-Hindi areas by recommending that as against the third language Hindi which pupils in the non-Hindi areas have to learn another Indian language (beside Hindi and English) should be studied by pupils in the Hindi areas.

According to the Report of the Education Commission of 1964-66, "... the three- language formula has led to several difficulties and it has not been very successful." While the Commission stressed this formula on non-Hindi regions, the same emphasis was not given in the Hindi speaking areas. As Kumaramangalam put it:

In the non-Hindi speaking areas the regional language shall become the official language of the State, the language of the courts, and the medium of instruction in all educational institutions. The second language shall be English and the next shall be Hindi. For instance, in Tamilnad, Tamil, English and Hindi shall be the three languages. In the Hindi speaking areas Hindi, English and any other Indian language shall be the three languages. On this basis the utilisation of three languages shall contribute to the unity of India, shall help replace English inside each State by the regional language in the country.

All the fifteen major regional languages had been accepted as fully developed languages. Educated people considered that these languages are quite developed in order to be used for higher studies. But according to the statement of the language Commission on University Education medium:

Universities should have the freedom to decide for themselves whether they would adopt the regional language or Hindi as the general medium in their respective Universities.

THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE AT SCHOOL
(CLASSES I-X)

		Mother-tongue Hindi			Mother-tongue - Regional Language (other than Hindi)					
		H I N D I	E N G L I S H	M. I. L.	R E G I O N A L	E N G L I S H	H I N D I	R E G I O N A L	H I N D I	E N G L I S H
SCHOOL CLASSES	X									
	IX									
	VIII									
	VII									
	VI									
	V									
	IV					A N			A N	
	III									
	II									
	I									

The Figure was taken from the Government of India, Report of the Education Commission 1964-66. (India: Government of India Press, 1966) P• 194.M.I.L. Modern Indian Languages.

The first group {from the figure) represents the child belonging to the Hindi speaking region with Hindi as its mother-tongue. The second and the third group represent the children belonging to the non-Hindi speaking regions.

According to the figure the child belonging to the first group learns Hindi from the first grade, English from fifth and any modern language from the eighth grade. This child has more opportunity to master Hindi which is the more powerful language, since it is the national language. The child will be almost equally fluent in the associate official language (English) too. The children belonging to the II and III group learn only through the regional medium. These children have been given the choice to learn English or Hindi at fifth grade and to learn the one not chosen, from the eighth grade. The children belonging to the II and the III group having a mother-tongue different from the regional language will have to learn four languages instead of three.

2.2 New Three Language Formula for Indian Schools

The Central Board of Secondary Education announced a new three language formula in July 1970. Under the formula only one of the three languages need be studied at the higher level and the other two at lower levels. All recognized Indian languages and some foreign languages are included in the new formula. Hindi, as before, will remain the compulsory subject at the lower or higher level. Explaining the implications of the new formula: "the chairman of the board, Dr. P. S. Shakla said there is now greater flexibility and freedom of choice to the students".

Until around the 1950's, English was used as the medium of instruction in some of the secondary schools. When the Indian constitution recognized fourteen languages as major language, the medium of instruction was completely switched over to the regional languages. However, the medium in the colleges remained the same (English) until recently. This switch over of medium in secondary schools created greater problems. The pupil who had his education through the regional medium up to high school has to have English as the medium when he gets into college. Thus, a high school student became lost when he entered higher education. As Kabir put it:... pupils who study through an Indian language in a secondary school are suddenly confronted with English as the medium of instruction in the colleges and Universities.

The University Grants Commission appointed a Committee of experts in 1958 to go into the whole question of general education in Indian universities. The report of the committee was completed in November 1960 and was submitted to the University Grants Commission. The Committee is aware of the fact that even the best general education programmes will be useless if the students have not developed adequate language skills by the time they enter the university. Enough attention is probably not given to this in schools.

A team under Govindarajulu was formed in 1957 in order to study "Language studies" in other countries. This team visited the United States in 1957.

The Guru Committee which visited the United States of America with the same purpose, in 1958, under the auspicious of the University Grants Commission stated very strongly that "every student must have courses in literature, in an Indian language as well as in English." On the other hand the Education Commission of 1964-66 emphasized only the regional languages and Hindi. It said:

We are convinced of the advantages of education through the regional languages. We regard the development of regional languages as vital to the general progress of the country and as an important step towards the improvement of equality in education. To avoid any mis-understanding we would emphasize that this does not mean the shutting out of English or other world language. In fact, we will profit from these languages all the more when our education becomes more effective and useful.

The above Committee proposed that:

The knowledge of another foreign language (especially Russian) besides English should be a requirement for a doctorate degree.

It further proposed that:

The country will need in increasing numbers a small but extremely proficient group of persons in important foreign languages and their literature. From this point of view, it would be necessary to establish a few schools which will begin teaching right from an early age important foreign language referred to above and use them also as media of education. The admission to these schools should be on a selective basis and there should be an adequate provision of scholarships.

When Hindi became the official language of the Indian Union on 26th January 1965 and English was reduced to a subsidiary position, it aroused the greatest resentment among the students. During the past few years, they had been brought up to look upon English as the passport for their advancement in life. As a matter of fact, there were many casualties in non-Hindi States, such as Madras State in particular, connected with this language issue. Though the different States (non-Hindi States) vary in their opinion regarding the language issue, they all agree that English is the only weapon with which the Hindi offensive can be met.

2.3 Education through Regional Languages

The Commission of 1964-66 tried energetically to introduce the regional languages in universities. But the Commission felt that: the tendency of regional language to become the media for university education though desirable in many ways well lead to the isolation of such universities from the India unless there is a link in the shape of an all-India language.

If the regional language is adopted as the media in the Universities:

Teachers and students will not be able to migrate easily from one university to another and the cause of education will suffer for lack of a common link between universities in different linguistic areas.

Unless otherwise the regional languages can stand by itself in imparting education and scientific and technical subjects in particular it is impossible for those languages to become the medium of instruction in the University level. In Gopal's view:

The changeover to the regional languages as a medium of education will only be effective when such language has adequately developed for the purpose of modern education and especially for scientific and technical subjects.

About the university textbooks of Malay, Sharma mentions: Hardly any Malay textbooks exist at the University level for the science and the faculties of science, Engineering and Medicine in the University of Malaya.

In spite of many experiences:

at their (Vice Chancellors of the Universities) meeting in April 1969 the Vice Chancellors of the Universities in the country urged the need for such a reform (teaching through regional languages in the higher education) in our educational system.

Madras State started switching over the medium of education in universities from English to Tamil in 1960. As of 1970, most of the Government colleges had only the Tamil medium. Sri Bhaktavatsalam, the then chief Minister of Madras, said that the dictum that the colleges should switch over to Tamil as the medium of instruction by 1962-63 was not a practical proposition. He said that it was not in the interests of

national integration, not in the interest of higher education, and not in the interest of the students themselves.

When the writer interviewed Mr. Sundaravadivelu, the Vice Chancellor of Madras University on Sept. 12, 1970 during his visit to the United States he was told that the Vice Chancellor himself would prefer to have a two-way track rather than one by Tamil medium alone. However, the end of such a decision will be determined mainly by the ruling party. It seems that each State is vigilant enough to introduce its regional language as the medium of instruction in its corresponding universities:

Out of the 86 Indian Universities about 52 Universities have already introduced its regional language or Hindi as the medium of instruction.

Such a system of regional languages as the medium, has created "regionalism" uniting the people speaking a common language. This system overlooks the right of linguistic minorities, compelling them to get educated through regional languages alone. Naturally every one tends to claim the superiority of their own regional language over the other. It is sure that such undue effects can considerably be taken out of the Indian society only when English be continued as the medium in Indian education.

In the finalized Fourth Five-Year Plan, (1970-75) education has been allocated a sum of Rs.8400 million (Rs.7.50 = \$1) or 5.8 per cent of the total plan outlay. It seems that the Government has to spend large amounts of money only for the promotion of the language rather than for the education itself.

The annual report of the Ministry of Education and Youth Services for 1969-70 says that one of the highlights of the year's activities was the development of languages.

3. The National Language

3.1 Introduction

Hindi became the Official language of the Union on 26th January 1965, and English was reduced to a subsidiary position. The National Government may try to introduce and try to develop Hindi but its development is purely left to the people. Unless there is the will, there will not be any way. As Chib wrote, "A national government could develop it but what is important is whether the people want to develop it or not. That the people of South India will certainly not have the will to learn Hindi in their lifetime is made crystal clear by the statistics of the Hindi Prachar Sabha of Madras which indicated that only 250,000 had attained a working knowledge of Hindi during the years 1918-58. This is only a small percentage of the population of the non-Hindi speaking States. As Nehru said, an "attempt to force the growth of a language in a particular direction is likely to end in distorting it and crushing its spirit."

From the fact that the Indian constitution includes Hindi and Urdu in its article 344(1) and 351 as two different major languages it is clear that there are major differences between these languages. 11They (Hindi and Urdu) are two of the 14 languages recognized in our constitution." Hence for

statistical purposes Hindi and Urdu should not be put together. Sindi was included as the 15th major language only recently.

Hindi has been taken as the national language among the fifteen languages with an assumption that it is the language spoken by forty percent of the population. But Mr. Annadurai, the late Chief Minister of Madras State had pointed out the fallacy of this statistics. "Mr. Annadurai rejected the argument that Hindi was spoken by 40% of the people". According to the last available statistics (1961) which took the then fourteen languages and the fifteen major states into consideration, the number of Hindi speaking people were 120,792,275 against 247,685,587 people who spoke the rest of the 13 languages. "It does not seem to be a sound judgement to take number alone into account in such a vital matter." Although Hindi is spoken by the largest single group of people in India it is not the vast majority:

Hindi indeed is spoken by the largest single group of people in India. But those who speak it naturally are a minority in relation to the whole of India.

Of course, in the quantitative point of view Hindi has got some value. But it is an undeniable fact that Hindi does not have the quality at this time though it may acquire it in the far future which is beyond our control. As Chaudhuri puts it:

No speaker of Hindi will claim cultural superiority over the rest of India and regard to political power the speaker of Hindi has only quantitative and not qualitative superiority.

The language issue has produced a heavy language thrust in non-Hindi speaking States, especially in Tamilnad (Madras State) which has opposed the imposition of Hindi from the very beginning. People of Tamilnad feel that: "One should congratulate the students of Madras for protesting against the heavy language load thrust on them in the Tamilnad colleges. In Kannan's point of view, "This threat of Hindi domination is hanging as a Damocles' sword over the non-Hindi states particularly Tamilnad".

3.2 Arguments against the National Language

Hindi was made the national language with English as a subsidiary language. The views of the political and educational leaders regarding the validity of Hindi will be analysed in the following pages of this chapter.

3.3 Hindi is Immature

A National language should be full fledged, matured, and sufficient for all purposes. Modern Hindi is still in the incubation period and has not yet attained its full growth. As Ahamad says, "It was only at the beginning of the 19th century that Modern Hindi started its career." Again Ahamad says, "A study of the origin and growth of Modern Hindi can lead only to one conclusion namely that the language is only 135 years old." A journalist of the Indian Express wrote:

The official language propagated by the Government is a very much Sanskritised Hindi which some complain is not

understood even by the Hindi speaking people themselves. This language is known as 1 Khari Boli 1 Hindi which had no existence prior to 1850 A.O. The very well-known Indologist Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says Khari Bali Hindi with which we are concerned had no existence prior to 1850 A.O., which may explain its existing state of development and the greater development of languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi and Bengali.

3.4 Hindi is not Rich in its Literature

In order for a language to be really rich enough to be used as a medium of instruction, it first has to have a well-developed literature. If we analyse it from this point of view, Hindi does not have a considerable impressive literature. As Lamb puts it, "Hindi is a relatively new language with a less impressive temperature."

Only a language which has grace and style can become the medium of instruction. It is insufficient if it is solely a means of communication. Hindi does not have much grace and style:

Hindi is a language which does not have much grace and style. Language is after all a means to an end and the end is to facilitate the acquisition and of thought with efficiency and ease not forgetting grace and style.

3.5 Hindi Is Inadequate for Scientific and Technological Studies

Hindi is at present inadequate for the proper expression of modern scientific, political, economic, commercial and sometimes even cultural ideas. The Governor of Madras, Sardar Ujjal Singh, when addressing the technical students of Guindy, said that "any hasty replacement of English would amount to putting the clock and retard the progress already achieved". He further pleaded "for the retention of English as medium of instruction for scientific and technical education".

3.6 The Demand for Hindi is Purely Political

Hindi has been demanded as the national language for the political reason that it is the language of the capital and nothing else. According to Humayun Kabir as quoted by Ahamed, "the language of the capital tends to radiate on all sides". The language problem has been for a considerable length of time one of the worst sources of political mistrust and dissensions. As quoted by Ahamad, Abdul Haq said, "The problem of language has not been able to escape the influence of politics which dominates every aspect of our national life today.

The politicians do not want to place the language issue into the hands of academicians since they are aware that most academicians favor English. However, this is not true with a few Hindi speaking academicians. The warning of Gandhiji as quoted by Kumaramangalam stands as an evidence for it:

".... this matter should not be left to the 'academicians' to decide for they have a sort of vested interest in the retention of English".

3.7 The Language Issue is Divisive

Quite often voices come from the political stages for emotional integration without the way being paved for it. Emotional integration can only be brought about if all Indians feel that they have genuine equality of opportunity. If the non-Hindi regions feel that the speakers of Hindi are being favored, there can be no emotional integration. There will be only bitterness, envy and ultimately hatred. The language issue should be settled by the will of the people and not by a few politicians. Unless there is the will there is no way at all. The unnatural way of learning the language will have its drastic effect on non-Hindi speaking people. As Nehru said,

Attempts to force the growth of a language in a particular direction are only to end in distorting it and crushing its spirit.

3.8 The Language Issue is the Will of the South

The Hindi speaking areas have already been strengthened in all fields in comparison to the rest of the country, the majority of the political leaders since independence have been Hindi speaking. Furthermore, the adoption of Hindi in the future will create a worse situation. According to the report of the All India Language Conference:

The Hindi speaking community is already strong politically, economically, and otherwise. Their position will become nearly unassailable if Hindi comes to be adopted as the sole official language of the Indian Union.

4. Beginning of English Education (1614-1857)

4.1 Introduction

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". [49] 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. [50]

During the period of Muslim Education, the medium of instruction was purely through a foreign language such as Arabic and Persian and this led to an easy replacement by another foreign language like English for the quick and effective promotion of Western knowledge. English education began early in 1614 when the East India Company recruited Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen by imparting an education that would enable them to carry out their work effectively.

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.[51]

The East India Company did not favor propagating the Bible among Indians because of political reasons. Perhaps the activities of the missionaries were the first step not only in teaching Christianity but also in developing many Indian languages.

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.

The first book printed in India in an Indian language was brought out in Cochin by the Jesuit Brother John Gonsalves, in 1577. There were three distinct Missions to the court of Akbar from 1580 to 1605, and the Jesuits continued to work in the Moghul empire during the succeeding reigns.

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." [52]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." [53]

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." [54] 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. [55]

Until 1765 the missionaries were welcomed but when the East India Company gained political power it began to discourage missionary enterprises. The Company wanted to maintain strict religious neutrality since Christianity was not welcomed by Indians. The relation between Company officials and the missionaries were extremely strained when the government asserted that the Hindus already had as good a system of faith and morals as most people. Company officials asserted that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give than any more learning. 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". [56] 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. [57]

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 pro motion of Sanskrit studies and the publication of Sanskrit books. [58]

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." [59]

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 Banaras 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". [60] 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." [61] 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." [62]

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". [63] 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. [64]

Sir Thomas Munroe in 1822 proposed that The Government establish in each collector ate two principal schools: one for Hindus and the other for Muslims, based on the vernaculars. But his view was opposed by his successors who preferred only English education rather than vernacular education.

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". [65] 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.

An important feature of education between 1823 and 1833 was the increasing popularity of English as a medium of higher education in preference to Arabic or Sanskrit. Hindus felt that education through Arabic was meant for Muslims, and the Muslims thought that Sanskrit education was meant for Hindus. The continuing tension between Hindus and Muslims that created an atmosphere among Hindus that was conducive to English education.

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. [66]

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." [67] 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". [68]

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." [69] 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.[70] 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.[71]

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. [72]

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.[73]

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.[74]

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. [75] 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.[76]

Lord Bentinck supported Macaulay's Minute and strengthened it by his following views: Bentinck said that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and Science. He further added that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education should be employed on English education alone. And no money should be spent on the printing of Oriental works.

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.[77]

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." [78] 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." [79] 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". [80] 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 pathsalas had been abandoned in favor of the new schools." [81]

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." [82]

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".[83]

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".[84]

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".[85]

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".[86]

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.[87] 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." [88] 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".[89] 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. [90]

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.

Charles Grant and William Wilberforce worked together with greater energy in order to disseminate European knowledge through the English medium. The thought that Europeanization could be done only through the missionaries. By their effort the Government relaxed the rules in 1813 and gave a free hand to the missionaries to pursue their activities without the fear of the company's officials. The territories of the company were then divided into three major Presidencies namely Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

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 grafted on that of India.

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." [91] 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)." [92] 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. [93] 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." [94] 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. [95] 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 [96] 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. [97] 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. [98]

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." [99] 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. [100] 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 [101] 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). [102] 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.

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". 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.

5. Conclusion :

It is impossible to replace English throughout India with a new common medium in the area of Higher Education. However, the provincial languages can replace English in the provinces. As Ahamad says, "Our (Indian) system of education and public work must therefore be based on the provincial languages". Hence the possible solution is to have education based on provincial languages up to the secondary education

and English in the higher education. If English should be the national language certainly it is not going to be the language of the masses until a generation has passed. Ahamad argues that "English cannot develop into an all-India language known by millions". This statement cannot be absolutely a correct one. It is time to make English the language of the masses in India. When English is continued as the medium of Higher Education it will be necessary to make English a compulsory language in High schools. Time will come when everyone gets a minimum of high school education. A free and compulsory education up to the age fourteen is already in force in some of the states. The achievement of literacy in India has been slow but it is steady. College education is slower. If there will be a change in the medium it will further reduce the momentum.

India is like a vast garden with various plants bearing beautiful fragrant flowers. If all the plants grow and blossom

without encroaching on each other's nourishment the garden will rise in splendour. If few start living at the expenses of others, they may themselves blossom more but they will render many branches barren and ugly. Even so if India wants the garden of its languages to flourish and to remain evergreen, Indians shall have to keep bringing into it a new plant (English) allowing all of them to grow in beauty side by side.

As Chesterton, a great English writer puts it, man is always between the choice of two evils and he has to choose the lesser evil. For an Indian, it is to take English and keep the solidarity of the democratic country with the rest of the blessings rather than to take Hindi and undergo the consequences of it forever. The past experiences have showed that no indigenous languages can become a National Language. Something that cannot be mended should be ended.

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