Chapter 3

Pre-Independence Language Policy

3.1. Introduction:

Any language policy is primarily connected to the education system of a country. In Pre-colonial India, the Brahmins not only controlled education but also the language in use in teaching-learning. They also controlled the writing and interpretation of the sastras. Both as priests and teachers, the Brahmins hold sway over all forms of linguistic knowledge. According to Duff (1837), the Brahmins studied and taught in special religious schools such as Tols, Vidyalayas and Chatuspathis. The medium of instruction in the aforementioned schools was Sanskrit. Similarly, for Muslims there were mantabs or madrassas where religious knowledge was imparted to the students in Arabic (as cited in Bolton et. al., 2012).

The Vidyalayas or Chatuspathis were vernacular schools where Sanskrit was also taught unlike the Tols which were schools that imparted teaching only in Sanskrit. In the Vidyalayas, the learners were taught reading, writing, rudiments of arithmetic and were imparted education in religious studies. However women, lower castes and agriculturists hardly received any education. Madrassas were exclusive schools for Muslim boys where they were taught about Islamic religion. These traditional institutions had their limitations for these institutions were far away from offering scientific and secular education. There was no social mechanism to support these schools, for these institutions used to run on either private initiatives or through the patronage of kings, feudal lords etc. The British education policy in India for the first time provided a structural-institutional frame work to education. The British-India education policy and its implementation have political, economic and administrative dimensions that were important to the colonial rulers.
3.2. Reasons for introducing Western Education in India

3.2.1. Political Reasons
The introduction of modern western education in India was primarily motivated by the politico-administrative and economic needs of British in India. It was not merely an accident that in mid 19th century under Lord Dalhousie that important steps were taken for introducing modern western education in British India. Such an action was taken by the British because by this time the British had brought under its control a substantial territory of India and therefore it was felt by the British that introduction of modern western education amongst the natives would help the British to control them better (Grover, 2008). The native learners were introduced to Western education through learning of western philosophy, science and literature. Thus an attempt was made by the British through the use of western education to inculcate western values in the minds of native learners.

3.2.2. Economic and Mercantile Reasons
Furthermore trade between India and Britain became advantageous for Britain and due to discriminatory trade policies and practices, India was reduced to a raw material exporting nation, which exported large quantities of raw material to Britain and imported the finished goods (made from the same raw materials that were exported). However the problem was that the finished British goods and products were meant for a western populace and thus, it did not cater to the needs and tastes of the indigenous population of India. Therefore the British felt that the introduction of western education in India would lead to the emergence of “educated” Indians, schooled in western ideas, philosophies and culture, who would in turn consume western goods and products imported from Europe (especially Britain). Thus the consumption of western goods by educated Indians would expand the market for such goods in India which would certainly help the British manufacturers of such goods in earning more profits on exports to India.

3.2.3. Administrative Reasons:
According to Grover (2008) the British also had to administer a large portion of India’s territory that had been brought under its control. Therefore in order to administer these territories a huge administrative structure was required coupled with administrative officers. Therefore for high ranking positions, British officers were brought from Britain,
however for low ranking officers it was too expensive and politically unviable to get officers from Britain as there were a large number of positions and competence in not only English but the vernacular languages was also required. Therefore the British decided to recruit Indians after providing them with some western education and some general working knowledge in order to fulfill the administrative needs of the British. Moreover due to expanding trade between India and Britain and industries being established in India, British traders, businessmen and capitalists required clerks, agents, managers who knew English. Thus the British decided to introduce western education in India, and establish schools and colleges which could disseminate such education in India.

Similarly according to Chatterjee (1976), there were several elements within the British government who were weary of educating the Indians and introducing English in India because of the loss of America. The view in London was that the introduction of European knowledge systems in the American colonies had led to the spread of mutinous ideas which had further led to the uprising of the colonists who wrested power from the British and established an independent rule in North America. Leading British thinkers like Burke had pointed towards this problem in their speeches and writings. In one of his parliamentary speeches, Burke (1775) had asserted that the high level of education among the Americans had produced a fascination for liberty and freedom.

3.4. Development of a Language Policy in India during East India Company’s rule:

3.4.1 The Three Groups:

If we take a look at the development of a language policy along with an education system in India, we need to realise that it did not develop overnight in India. There were several reasons which limited the development of a policy related to education and language. There were individuals or group of individuals who worked towards establishing a specific kind of language policy. According to Krishnaswamy (2006) the Orientalists and Utilitarians wanted a language policy grounded in the Oriental and Vernacular languages. On the other hand, the Anglicists pursued a languages policy which was grounded in English. There were various individuals who were members of these three groups; these individuals worked in various capacities in the Company or in the British government in Britain and used their offices to pursue their respective linguistic agendas. The following paragraphs
will explore the role played by the aforementioned groups in both limiting and encouraging the emergence of a language policy and education system in India.

3.4.2. Developments which took place in the Nineteenth Century:
The linguistic policy of the British began to change with the turn of the century. The nineteenth century led to a change in the attitude of the British towards Indian traditions and educational systems. As stated in the aforementioned paragraphs, in the eighteenth century, the British viewed the Indian traditions and educational systems with a certain degree of respect and reverence. However the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution led to a change in the existing attitude of the British towards India. The reason for this change in attitude was that both the revolutions had resulted in the development of science and scientific temper, political concepts of liberty and equality. Thus the development in science and technology due to the Industrial Revolution and the advancement in political thought due to the French Revolution resulted in the emergence of a robust economy based on industrialisation and a fledgling democracy. Prowess in technology and sophistication of political system created a since of arrogance in the British which led them to look down upon the traditions and culture of India. The confidence of possessing superior technology and a modern system of governance convinced the British that they had the ‘moral right’ to colonise other countries and civilise them so that these countries (which were mostly located in Asia and Africa) could achieve the scientific and political advancement which Britain had achieved in the wake of the Industrial and French Revolutions. Chatterjee (1976) very succinctly states,

“The Western Europe of this later era (19th century) was proud of its material civilisation, its science and scientific attitude, its political philosophy and equality. This pride made it messianic, belligerent and proselytizing. The pride led to Europeans to support their governments’ stewardship of Asian and African countries, which in turn led to the idea that the European nations were world leaders.” (p. 2)

Such a change in the outlook of the British also led to a change in the linguistic policy of the British East India Company in India. As mentioned in the aforementioned paragraphs, initially the East India Company had encouraged the growth of the Oriental and Native languages out of respect for the Indian traditions and educational systems. Thereafter there
were certain elements in the East India Company and the British government who felt that there was a danger in educating the Indians because education would make them aware of the democratic processes of other nations and of various radical political ideologies and these Indians would demand independence from British rule. The votaries of such a belief gave the example of the loss of American colonies which, according to them took place because the colonists were educated enough to demand independence and democracy. However with the advent and culmination of the Industrial Revolution and French Revolution, there were many British in India and Britain who felt that the countries under their colonial rule had to undergo a process of development similar to which Britain had undergone and therefore for this process to reach its successful culmination, English had to be taught to the Indians.

There were several British officials, missionaries and politicians who felt that English was the vehicle through which the journey of modernising the Indians would be completed. Therefore teaching English to Indians was considered necessary by them. The British who supported English education in India felt saw it as a “cementing factor, a sealing bond between Britain and India” (Chatterjee, 1976, p.2). They felt that by learning English the Indians could imbibe the scientific, ethical and political ideals emanating from the West. Furthermore some of the British officials, politicians and missionaries also wanted English to be a vehicle of religious conversion in India; they felt that the influence of English would play an important role in converting the Indians into Christianity.

3.5. Orientalists, Anglicists and the Utilitarians:

One of the British officials who wanted an English based linguistic policy to develop in India was Charles Grant. But Grant was also on a proselytizing mission; he wanted to convert large number of Indians to Christianity. Thus in the pursuance of this goal, Grant became member of the East India Company Board of Directors in 1793. Grant wanted to change India in many ways so that the British Empire could succeed in India. The two ways Grant wanted to change India for the better was by imposing English education and by converting Indians to Christianity. Apart from the Evangelists, another group of British scholars and officials existed in India during this period. These were the Utilitarians. The Utilitarians wanted to teach science, western philosophy and history and sciences to the
Indians instead of concentrating on just poetry and literature (Grover, 2008). The third group that existed was the Orientalists (Grover, 2008). In order to understand the emergence of the Orientalists, it would be pertinent to understand the circumstances in which the Orientalists became a major force within and outside the East India Company. Moreover analysing the role of Warren Hastings in encouraging the Orientalists will also be analysed in detail because Hastings was himself an Orientalist and therefore he played a major role in bringing many Orientalists to India, thus the language policy which developed during Hastings’ period was rooted in the Oriental and Vernacular languages of India. The following paragraphs will analyse Hastings’ and other Governor Generals’ roles in not only shaping the language policy of India but also in encouraging the various groups (Orientalists, Anglicists, Utilitarians).

3.5.1. Hastings and his support to the Orientalists:

Warren Hastings was appointed the Governor General of India in 1773. The East India Company had till then occupied a large part of India and in turn it was ruling this part. Nevertheless an education policy and in turn a language policy never developed then. The reason could have been that the East India Company had ruled India as a de-facto power and therefore in the words of Chatterjee (1976) it had been “slow to awaken to the responsibility of governing and consolidating an empire that it inherited by proxy” (p. 1). Moreover the fear of incurring the wrath of the Indians on account of interfering with their traditional modes of education also inhibited the desire of the Company to establish an educational and language policy for India. However a more potent reason for the Company’s non involvement in the sphere of educational and linguistic policy was the respect it had for India’s rich literature and learning systems. Warren Hastings’ policies respected the traditions, languages and knowledge systems of India. The reasons for this attitude of the British were that the British wanted to win the trust of the Indians and therefore they adopted a sympathetic and reverential attitude towards the Indian traditions and knowledge systems. The British felt that by doing so they would win the loyalty of the Indians. The second reason for displaying such an attitude was connected to the outlook of the people of the eighteenth century. The eighteenth century is called the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ during which discovery of old civilisations and their study was regarded as a scholarly pursuit and therefore the language, knowledge systems, literature etc of other
civilisations were not looked down upon. According to Chatterjee (1976), the eighteenth century was “an age of discovery motivated by the idea of recovering missing links of civilisation, it was an age that displayed perfect equipoise between reverence of the past and pride for the neo-classical civilisations. To the newly discovered Pagan East, its attitude was one of wonder and discovery and even awe and reverence” (p. 2). Moreover the aim was to study the Indian culture, languages, history etc; was to familiarise the West with the special character of the Indian civilisation. Therefore such a reverential attitude towards India’s civilisation and traditions led to the emergence of a policy of encouraging the Oriental and Native languages of India.

Based on this reverential attitude towards Indian traditions, several British scholars and East India Company officials researched the system of education that had existed in India. Thus they realised that an indigenous system of education had existed in India since a long time. This system of education focused on both elementary and higher education; however the elementary education within this system emphasised on practical and vocational education whereas higher education emphasised on literary and philosophical knowledge. But this traditional system of education had disintegrated since the fall of the Mughal Empire. Hence the British Governor General, Warren Hastings decided to promote the traditional mode of learning and in turn established several colleges all over India to promote indigenous learning. The main reason behind establishing these colleges and schools has been best explained by Chatterjee (1976),

“The purpose of the Company’s government and its rank and file was to firmly root their power by indigenating British rule in India in alliance with Indian laws and customs, not to annex it to Christiandom” (p. 5).

Keeping the aforementioned reasons in mind, Warren Hastings sought the establishment of several schools and colleges in India to teach Oriental and Native languages. Therefore in 1781 Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassa, the aim of the Madrassa was "to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at that date largely monopolised by the Hindus." (Hastings cited in Educational Records, 1781-1839, p.7) It should be noted that the cost of educating the people at the Madrassa was initially borne by Hastings; but after two years he was reimbursed the money
by the government and the institution was handed over to the East India Company. Similarly in 1792, Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, established the Benares Sanskrit College. This college was funded and maintained by the East India Company. Furthermore the Commissioner of the Deccan started a college for Hindu learning at Poona. In the Delhi district Mr. Fraser established schools for the instruction of “children of the zamindars or peasantry, in reading and writing the Persian language, at an expense to himself of about Rs. 200 per mensem.” (Educational records, 1781-1839, p.13). The East India Company had not taken up the responsibility of educating the people of India, the officials working for the Company were trying their best to establish educational institutions to educate the people. The colleges established by the officials provided education in the Indian languages and not in English. One of the main reasons for establishing these colleges was to train young men in native languages like Sanskrit, Persian etc. These men would then join the Company’s administration at various positions. The reason why Indians administrators and officials were required by the Company has been explained before, however it needs to be stated again in the light of Hastings rule that all these colleges were mainly established after Warren Hastings’ appointment as Governor of Bengal. The reason was that during Hastings’ tenure, the Company’s Court of Directors ended the dual system of government and took charge of the revenue and law and order management of Bengal Bihar and Orissa. This meant that the East India Company officials were directly in charge of the revenue and law and order of Bengal. However the Company officials who were British required Indian revenue collectors and law enforcement officials, who knew the language of the province, to help them with the administration of revenue and law and order. Warren Hastings also reformed the judicial system along the lines of the Mughal judiciary. Under the reformed judicial system, the Diwani Adalat was established to deal with civil cases; Hindu law and Muslim law were applicable in the adalat. Similarly a criminal court, the Faujdari Adalat was established. It was headed by Indian officers of the Company who were in turn assisted by Qazis and Muftis. Muslim law was followed in the Faujdari Adalat (Grover, 2008, pp.71-72). Thus Indian judicial officials were required to work in the newly established courts. Thus it can be inferred that even though there was no official language policy during the early rule of the Company, a few individuals and officials realized the need for establishing colleges to train Indians in their native
languages. The importance of Indian officials being well-versed in the languages of the province was of utmost importance for many British officers. Thus perhaps unofficial policy was followed to train Indians in their native tongues. The aforementioned inference is supported by evidence in the form of a letter, dated 25th September 1823, from T.F. Fraser to the Chief Secretary of Fort William. Fraser’s letter states the importance of Indian boys being able to understand something about the British Judicial and Revenue system (as cited in Educational Records 1781-1839, p.13)

Moreover Hastings was also an admirer of India’s past and its traditions. He personally took interest in establishing colleges and schools in India and he also took interest in recruiting a large number of British scholars to study the ancient culture and language of India. These scholars came to be known as the Orientalists. The Orientalists were scholars who were deeply interested in the study of the Orient. Hastings’ policies regarding education and development and use of languages in India were formulated and implemented by the Orientalists. William Jones a scholar who studied Sanskrit was an Orientalist who was recruited by Hastings. However one of the earliest Orientalist who played an important role in implementing the linguistic policy of Hastings at the school level was Horace Hayman Wilson. Wilson sought the establishment of several schools in Bengal, these schools provided education in the native languages to the students because Wilson felt that the diffusion of education could take place in a better manner if the students were taught in their mother tongues. Wilson implemented Hastings’ policy by establishing the School Book Society, the School Society, Hindu College etc.

3.5.2. Hastings’ Successors and the 1813 Charters Act:
Hastings’ successor was Lord Wellesley (1798-1805). Wellesley supported the linguistic policy established by Hastings and therefore he encouraged the Orientalists. The Orientalists still had the responsibility of formulating and implementing the linguistic policies of the East India Company. Wellesley laid the foundation of Fort Williams. Fort Williams was established to train the officials of the East India Company in Indian languages and culture. Unfortunately the Court of Directors of the East India Company didn’t fund this training college and Wellesley had to singlehandedly raise funds to finance the running of Fort Williams. Fort Williams was an effort to further the indigenous
linguistic policy devised by Hastings. Its aim was to train the East India Officials in Oriental and Native languages so that they could communicate with the Indians and understand their culture. Lord Minto succeeded Hastings and continued with the policy of providing encouragement to the growth of Oriental and Indian languages. However Lord Minto was different from his predecessors because he asked for official government funding for establishing educational institutions in India. In 1811 he wrote a Minute which supported government funding to educational institutions established by the East India Company. One of the reasons for writing the Minute was the encouragement given to Minto by Orientalist scholar Henry T Colebrook who was a great supporter of Oriental and Indian languages, he advocated the provision of Sanskrit medium education to Hindus and Arabic medium education to Muslims in Bengal. Colebrook influenced Minto and this led to the Governor General writing the 1811 Minute asking for government funding for education. It would also be pertinent to note here that by 1811 the Evangelists had also established their position in Governor General’s Council. Charles Grant was the most important leader of the Evangelist group which was opposed to the Orientalists. Therefore under the 1813 Charters Act, the British parliament provided one lakh Rupees to fund education in India. The aim of the charter was the “revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India….” (Basu, 1867, p. 6). The charter brought certain changes in the role of the East India Company vis-à-vis its Indian subjects. Thus the East India Company had the responsibility of educating the Indians and the Company also a relaxation of controls over missionary works in India. According to the charter of 1813 and as per the demand of the British Parliament, it was guaranteed that large-scale proselytizing would not be carried out in India. Therefore, initially it was felt that oriental learning should be encouraged in India. Vishwanath mentions that “…British swiftly learned to their dismay; it was impossible to promote orientalism without exposing the Hindus and Muslims to the religious and moral tenets of their respective faiths – a situation that was clearly not tenable with the stated goal of ‘moral and intellectual improvement’” (Vishwanath,1987, p. 377). Moreover the charter wanted the “revival and improvement of literature”. The charter was silent on whether it was oriental or English literature.
3.5.3: Role of the Utilitarians

The role of the Utilitarians in influencing the formulation of a linguistic policy also needs to be analysed. The Utilitarians were mainly based in Britain but they influenced the linguistic and educational policies of the East India Company. The popular Utilitarians of the time were James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill (Grover, 2008). The Utilitarians never wanted English to be implemented in a hasty manner, nor did the Utilitarians want the medium of education to be changed from Oriental/Indians languages to English (Grover, 2008). The Utilitarians’ main aim was to spread scientific learning and teaching in the country and therefore they did not concentrate much on the introduction of English (Krishnaswamy, 2006). However it would be pertinent to note that the Court of Directors of the Company of which the Mill, father and son duo were members, sent a dispatch of 18 February 1824 asking for teaching sciences to the Indians, though the Dispatch never explicitly stated the need to teach English separately, the urge expressed to teach sciences to the Indians indirectly strengthened the case for teaching English, or at least teaching the sciences in English.

However the General Committee of Public Instruction felt that the aforementioned dispatch was belittling Oriental learning and therefore it advised the Governor General to introduce Western learning in the form of science, math and European literature in Oriental and Indian languages, however the Indian teachers would be expected to learn English. Thus following this policy the Sanskrit college was established on the order of the General Committee on Public Instruction. The medium of instruction at Sanskrit College was obviously Sanskrit. The General Committee on Public Instruction provided a set of instructions to the management committee of the Sanskrit College to formulate certain aims on the basis of which the College would be run. The instructions clearly show that the aim of the East India Company, through the General Committee on Public Instruction was to spread Western education through Oriental and Indian languages. The instructions state

“…. it is in the judgement of the Lordship in Council, a purpose of much deeper interest to seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge. It seems indeed no unreasonable anticipation to hope that the higher and the educated classes among the Hindus shall through the medium of their sacred language, be imbued with a
taste for the European literature and science. General acquaintance with these and the language whence they are drawn, will be as surely and as extensively communicated as by any attempt at direct instruction by other and humbler seminaries”. (GCPI cited in Chatterjee, 1976, p. 12).

In 1824 John Stuart Mill sent a dispatch to the General Committee on Public Instruction instructing it to focus on spreading Western education in India, though it did not explicitly call for spreading English in India, the members of the Committee felt that it dispatch favoured the spread of English language in India and therefore wrote a letter to the then Governor General of India, Lord Amherst. In the letter, the Committee unequivocally stated that forcing an alien language on the people would go against the interests of the British Empire and therefore creating the necessary environment was necessary for introducing English language in India. The letter further stated that it was necessary to have a section of elite educated Indians who would be used to spread English in India and therefore it was necessary to educate the elite of the country and then think of providing English education to the masses.

It should also be noted that not only the Court of Directors but even the respective Governor General’s of the three presidencies of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay favoured the diffusion of the English language amongst the people of India. Lord Bentinck of Bengal was the biggest votary of the English language followed by Elphinstone of Bombay and Thomas Munro of Madras. Thus it can be said that in the 1820s there was a perceptible change in the language policy of the East India Company, the policy started favouring English, this was due to the efforts of the Governor Generals, the presence of the Anglicists and the indirect efforts of Utilitarians also even though they were not explicitly in favour of introducing English in India

3.6: Influence of the Educated Indians on the Language Policy:

Another reason for a change in the linguistic policy of the Company was the efforts of the educated Indians involved in setting up various colleges in Bengal which taught English. The Hindu College was established by Sir Hyde East at the behest of several Indian parents in Calcutta. One of the reasons behind setting up such colleges were, Many of these parents were educated under the indigenous language education system established by Hastings
and others. This is so because such parents were employed in the service of the Company as pleaders and low ranking civil servants. After attaining education in vernacular languages and attaining a certain status in society due to their government jobs, these parents wanted a better education for their children and also better jobs. Thus they realized that an education in English and Western subjects would enhance the prospects of their children in securing better jobs. Thus the new schools and colleges established by the Indians consisted of students who came from the newly emerged professional classes of India. Palit represents this fact in his book, *New Viewpoints on Nineteenth Century Bengal*, He states, “as early as 1830, sons of Diwans, brothers of clerks, nephews of accountants or grandsons of Sarkars dealing with the auction and sales of goods joined the Hindu College in bulk to qualify as cadets for professions” (Palit, 1960, p. 61). Furthermore Palit has also given a list of the professions of the parents or guardians of the students studying at the Barisal Zillah School in 1870; 24.6 percent of the parents were Zamindars or Talukdars whereas 33.3 percent of the parents were pleaders in the courts (Palit, 1960, p. 61).

The medium of instruction in the colleges were Bengali and English. Raja Rammohan Roy suggested Sir Hyde with the concept of a school. “The establishment of the Hindu College was followed by that of a large number of institutions, both in and outside Calcutta, for teaching English and imparting a system of liberal education” (Majumdar, 1960, p. 28). Mr. H. H. Wilson states in 1836 that when he left Calcutta; there were about 6,000 youths studying English (Majumdar, 1960, p. 28). Many schools and colleges were set up by the individual efforts of Indians with the support of several British officials. The students of Hindu College in turn established several schools to impart education in English and Bengali.

The demand for English education came from the educated class of India. In a letter written by Raja Rammohan Roy to the Governor General Lord Amherst, Roy stressed the importance of having a liberal education system which focused on Western subjects instead of native subjects like Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian (Basu, 1867). Similarly an article appearing in a Bengali journal named *Sambad Sudhakar* on September 7, 1833, states:
The Government pays no heed to the newspaper articles on the spread of education. It no doubt spends a lakh of Rupees on education through Education Society, but we are at a loss to understand the benefits accruing from it. The amount spent on Sanskrit College or School is of no benefit to the people in general, for only Brahman students are admitted there. Besides, institutions for teaching Sanskrit were never wanting in this country, and Sanskrit education would not have suffered much even if Government had not extended its patronage to it. It is further to be remembered that Sanskrit learning only enables a man to prescribe Sastric rules, and serves no other useful purpose. Therefore the Government should sow the seeds, all over the country, of that type of learning which can remove the darkness of ignorance and makes a man fit for administration and other public activities. It is necessary to establish an English school for this purpose in every village. This would involve a huge cost and to meet this we suggest that the Government orders each villager to pay a subscription according to his ability ranging from one to four annas. The balance may be met out of the funds placed at the disposal of the Education Society. (Majumdar, 1960, p. 31)

Thus the educated Indians were dissatisfied with the educational and linguistic policy of the British East India Company because the Company was patronizing the vernacular medium colleges established by various Company officials, this was the reason why these Indians took the decision of establishing colleges for providing Western education through the medium of English language to their children. Therefore it would not be wrong to state that the educated Indian class supported the English language like the Anglicists did and therefore they were on the side of the Anglicists.

The demand of English education was there but it should also be noted that Indian students who studied English excelled in the subject and got good grades in English and subjects taught in it. The students mastered the language and studied advanced texts in English. The British had initially felt that the Indians would learn a smattering of English, which would be enough to work as a clerk. However it came as a surprise to the British that a large number of Indian students became fluent in English (Bolton and Kachru, 2007). A Bengali weekly in 1828 commented on this issue-

“Formerly the English believed that the Indians pick up a smattering of English just enough for serving as a clerk. But it now transpires that they are learning English like their own language”(cited in Majumdar, 1960, p. 35).
The same weekly also reported in March 1829 on the occasion of the Bhawanipur annual school examination-

“The efforts made during the last five or six years for spreading English language and learning in this country are really remarkable. Formerly we heard that Indians only learnt a little English for securing jobs as clerks. But we now find with surprise that Indian boys venture to study the most advanced texts and the most abstruse subjects in English and have mastered even the most difficult branches of English learning. The students of Hindu College and of the schools founded by Rammohan Roy and Jagamohan Basu have recently been examined by Englishmen in English language. If we repeat the praises we have heard from these examiners we may be accused of flattery. But we may say that the Englishmen have been very pleased with the results of these examinations and it is their desire that the English education may be further spread in this country”. (cited in Majumdar, 1960, p.35)

Hence it can be discerned that the English language was popular amongst the Indians and they excelled in learning the language. Thus at least amongst the elite educated Indians, English language education had become popular by the 19th century.

3.6.1. Macaulay’s Minute:

The work of the Anglicists, Governor Generals and educated Indians finally led to the introduction of Macaulay’s Minute during Lord Bentick’s tenure as Governor General. However before going into the Minute it would be pertinent to note that the effort of the educated Indians in influencing the language policy of the British East India Company succeeded finally. It did take some time for them, but due to the successful efforts on the part of the Indians at establishing a large number of schools and colleges imparting English education and the success of the Indians at not only learning but also mastering the English language. The appointment of Bentinck was a boon for the Indians and it was during Bentinck’s period that English education emerged in India. Thus till the 1900s, the Indians were generally happy with the system of education imposed on them by the British. The views of the educated Indian on language policy converged with the views of the British government. Coming back to Macaulay’s Minute, Lord Macaulay was a member of the Governor General’s Executive Council and President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. It was during Lord Macaulay’s tenure that the Anglicist view point was
strengthened. Macaulay was a very close advisor of Bentinck and therefore he easily influenced Bentinck’s views on language policy. It was during this period that there were several changes which took place within the language policy of the East India Company. Moreover “the policy of half measures was becoming increasingly difficult and impractical because of the demand for English and the opening up of employment opportunities in government services” (Krishnaswamy, 2006, p. 29). All the aforementioned causes led to the presentation of Macaulay’s famous Minute. The Minute led to important changes in British language policy, especially related to education. The government started establishing English and Anglo Vernacular schools, where English was taught. All funds that were available were diverted to English education.

3.7. The Wood’s Dispatch:
Bentinck was succeeded by Lord Auckland in 1836. Auckland supported English and therefore he furthered the agenda of Macaulay’s Minute. Auckland supported the Anglicist viewpoint and therefore he famously said “the denial of English and English education meant a denial of education” (Auckland quoted in Krishnaswamy, 2006, p. 44). Auckland was succeeded by Lord Hardinge who continued with Auckland’s policies. Concurrently there was support for the government policies by the educated Indian class. Thereafter a formal policy of education came into being in the form of the Woods Dispatch. The Dispatch tried its best to tone down the “harsh imperial rhetoric of Macaulay” (Krishnaswamy, 2006, p. 48). The Dispatch recommended English language would be taught where there was a demand for it and it would also be taught along with vernacular languages. However the Dispatch did ponder upon the point of teaching in vernacular languages to a large number of students because a large number of people in India were not acquainted with English.

The Woods Dispatch gave recommendations on the basis of which English became the language of the administration in India. Therefore it was all the more important to impart education in English in order to produce English speaking graduates who would in turn join the administration in India. Therefore the Court of Directors decided to establish Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools. Anglo Vernacular schools provided education in
English and the vernacular language; similarly Vernacular schools provided education in the vernacular language. The Woods Dispatch had also recommended the establishment of universities, therefore in 1857, the year of the Mutiny; three universities were established in the Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (Krishnaswamy, 2006).

The establishment of universities and various schools took place because of an important document called Wood’s Despatch 1854 that led to the opening of three universities in India. It would be pertinent to analyse this dispatch or document in detail because it brought a lot of changes in the language and education policy of the East India Company. In paragraph 7 of the dispatch, it was clearly mentioned “…..we must emphatically declare that the education that we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its objects the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge” (Richey, 1922, para. 7). On the other hand in paragraph 8, it was clearly stated that the knowledge and development of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were important and necessary.

Similarly in paragraph 11 of the Wood’s Dispatch, it was mentioned that “a knowledge of English will always be essential to those natives of India who aspire to a high order of education” (Richey, 1922, para. 11). However, on the contrary in paragraph 13, it is argued that the English education cannot be taught to the great mass of population and, therefore, the majority of the people would require the vernacular languages for education in paragraph 17, it was stated that an Education Department would be established in each Presidency. The Dispatch mainly ponders on the way through which the Education department can be administered. Furthermore in paragraph 24, it was recommended that universities should be established in India. This was a cutting edge recommendation in this Dispatch because by establishing universities, not only a higher level of knowledge would be imparted to the Indians but a higher level of knowledge of language would be required to attain this knowledge and in the light of this development the Company would have to device a specific language policy which would have to train people in attaining knowledge of a specific language through which they could study at a university.
The Dispatch gives detailed information about how universities were to be structured and the manner in which they would function. The Dispatch wanted to replicate the University of London model in India which essentially means that universities established in India would follow the University of London structure and model. The Dispatch recommended an entrance exam for gaining entry in the universities which would be established instead of a matriculation examination. The Dispatch also gave detailed recommendations about the regulations of the degrees, affiliation of colleges and so on. The Dispatch talked about the introduction of various streams of education in the universities, like Engineering, Law, Social Sciences and Humanities, at the same time it also recommended the introduction of Oriental languages like Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit in the universities. This means that the Dispatch showed concern for the growth of the Oriental languages in India. The Dispatch also showed concern for school education because it had a direct bearing on the quality of students who would join the universities. Therefore the Dispatch recommended the use of vernacular languages in majority of the schools in India. The dispatch also talks about the grants-in-aid system which could evolve in India. It recommended that in addition to the grants-in-aid from the government, wealthy and benevolent natives could also contribute for the development of education. There are 11 paragraphs on the process of grants-in-aid to educational institutions (Bolton and Kachru, 2007).

Thus as seen in the aforementioned paragraphs, the Dispatch recommended the establishment of universities in India. The universities were to be established in the three presidencies of India- Bengal, Madras and Calcutta. The discussion of this dispatch is important because the implementation of the recommendations of this dispatch brought several changes in the language policy of the Company. The Dispatch had clearly mentioned that the medium of instruction in the three universities would be English, though vernacular languages would also be taught, but the primary medium of instruction would be English. This essentially meant that the various university subjects like Engineering, Law etc would be taught in English. This would have a major impact on the education system and the language policy followed by the Company because changes in language policy at the school level would have to be brought in order to have university students capable of pursuing undergraduate education in English. The government would have to change its
policy of officially encouraging vernacular and Oriental languages. Thus the Wood’s Dispatch had one of the most revolutionary set of recommendations for the East India Company.

Thus the Wood’s Dispatch led to the establishment of three universities in India. On 24\textsuperscript{th} January, 1857 the Calcutta University came into being. The Calcutta University was established along the line of the University of London. It consisted of a chancellor, a vice-chancellor and ex-officio and other fellows. The Governor-General of India was to be the chancellor of the University. The Calcutta University was divided into four faculties- Arts, Law, Medicine, Engineering. Education in each of the faculty was to be provided in English from 1862 except for departments related to the teaching of Oriental languages. This policy was in stark contrast to the policy followed by the Company regarding school education where the emphasis was on providing education in Oriental and Vernacular languages. If we analyse the various examinations held under the aegis of the Calcutta University we will get an idea of the emphasis provided by the University on the learning of English. A clear description of the examination is here.

Under the Arts Stream, the first examination was called Entrance Examination. The University had a vast jurisdiction. The ‘chief examination’ was to be held in Calcutta but candidates could be examined at Berhampore, Kishanghur, Dacca, Chittagong, Cuttack, Ajmere, Lahore and any other places appointed by the Syndicate.

The candidates for the Entrance examination were examined in the following subjects:
1. Two of the following languages of which English must be one. The other languages were Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Bengali, Ooriya, Urdu and Burmese.
2. History and Geography and
3. Mathematics
   A candidate could answer the papers on History and Geography and Mathematics in any living language in which the candidate was examined”(p.7).

The next degree was the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. A student had to study for three years in any affiliated colleges of the University. The subjects for the B.A. examination were
1. English and any of the languages listed for the Entrance Examination.
2. History
3. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy
4. Physical Sciences and
5. Mental and Moral Sciences
   There was a detailed syllabus and the books to be used for teaching were listed along with the syllabus.
Any student getting first division could be examined for Honours, where he had to take some extra subjects. Every candidate immediately after passing the B.A. Honours examination would be entitled to the Degree of M.A. There is a detailed course content for the degree of Bachelor of Law (B.L.), Medicine, Honours and Doctor of Medicine and finally Master of Civil Engineering and Honours in Civil Engineering. Section V of Regulations specifies the course content for each subject for a particular examination. (R.N. Bakshi, 2013, pp.7-8).

The medium of instruction was changed to English in Calcutta University in 1862. English was the medium of instruction for teaching of Geography, History, Arithmetic and Science. School education in India at this point of time was very different from the university education envisaged by the Wood’s Dispatch. Even though there were certain high schools which provided English medium education, primary schools still offered education only through the vernacular medium of education. The reason for the importance of English was absorption in a government job depending on one's qualifications.

3.8. The Hunter Commission:

In 1882 the Hunter Commission was set up to review the progress of education in India. The recommendations of the Hunter Commission were:

1. Primary education to be imparted through Vernacular languages. The responsibility of primary education was to be with the District and Municipal Boards.
2. Universities should be autonomous of the government control and they should have autonomy to have their own curriculum.
3. Secondary education should either lead to University education or to vocational studies.
4. There should be secular education at all levels.
5. There should be libraries in schools.
6. There should be support given to female education (Hunter Commission cited in R.N. Bakshi, 2013, p. 9)

On the basis of the Hunter Commission two universities were established- The Punjab University and the University of Allahabad. However both these universities were a bit different in nature from their predecessors because they both didn’t focus on providing education exclusively in English only.

It needs to be noted that with the establishment of Calcutta University, there was a demand for the setting up of more universities in India and therefore the Hunter Commission took note of it and the Punjab University was established in 1882. Punjab University was
different from Calcutta University because the main medium of instruction in this university was Punjabi instead of English, moreover Indian classical languages, Oriental languages were taught at Punjab University. Moreover Western Literature and the Sciences were also taught through Punjabi thus Punjab University was very different in nature from the three universities, namely Calcutta, Bombay and Madras universities established during the earlier period.

3.9. Indian Universities Commission 1902:

However with the appointment of Lord Curzon as the Governor General, things changed. Curzon appointed the Indian Universities commission in 1902 and it gave its report in 1904. The University Commission was set up “to enquire into the conditions and prospects of the Universities established in British India….” (The Report of the University Education Commission, 1962, p.19). The main recommendations of the Commission were as follows:

1. The Universities should be teaching bodies and the jurisdiction of each University be defined.
2. The Senate, the Syndicate and the faculties be reorganized and made more representative than before.
3. The rules for affiliation of Colleges to a University be framed so that the affiliation was granted to academically sound Colleges.
4. Each College should have a properly framed Governing Body.
5. An attempt be made to have residence for students in University and Colleges. (University Commission cited in R.N. Bakshi, 2013, p. 10)

Apart from the aforementioned facts the report of the commission pointed towards the problems faced by matriculated students in understanding English lectures at the college. This was a problem because the students would have to pursue their undergraduate education in English at the University of Calcutta. Therefore the report of the commission also stated that many students would complete their university education without acquiring any knowledge of English. Such students lacked the ability to read and write English correctly. The Commission felt that the schools were to be blamed for such a sorry state of affairs. The commission regarded bad teaching as the primary reasons for the lack of competence of English amongst the matriculates. Bad teachers were responsible for the shoddy state of affairs. In order to rectify such a situation the commission report talked
about an exam which every boy matriculating from school would have to take. The boys
would be admitted to the colleges subject to passing the matriculation exam. The
recommendations of the commission led to the implementation of the Government
Resolution on Educational Policy. The resolution was influenced by the recommendations
of the commission. Thus the resolution brought the rule of conducting high school exams in
English and introducing English in schools only after the students had achieved a thorough
grounding in their first language. Moreover the resolution also suggested that English
should not be introduced as the medium of instruction before the age of 13.

3.9.1. The Universities Commission and the English School Education system:

The report of the Universities Commission clearly shows us that all was not well with the
English school education system. The educated Indians had supported the education system
which began during Bentinck’s period. But now there was resistance amongst them. Somehow the support for the government’s language and education policy was eroding amongst the Indians. Somehow a large number of Indians could not cope up with the exacting demands of policy which expected them to master a foreign language. As early as the closing decade of the nineteenth century the English system of education as prevalent in India since the time of Lord William Bentinck (1835) came up for sharp criticism at the hands of many Indian leaders and intellectuals. Gooroo Dass Banerjee, the first Indian Vice-Chancellor, was one of the first, who sought to draw public and governmental attention to the numerous deficiencies of the existing system of University education in course of his Convocation Addresses (1890-1892) and suggested, among others, the urgency of the introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction (Mukherjee, 1957, p. 5). Similarly Rabindra Nath Tagore in his paper on Shikshar Her-Fer, published as early as in 1893 in Sadhana, pointed out in a clear manner the inadequacy of the prevailing system of education under British rule and pleaded for the acceptance of Bengali as the medium of instruction. (as cited in Mukherjee, 1957, p.5). Another charge leveled against the English education system was that it was foreign in nature and ill suited to Indian conditions. Valentine Chirol observed “The fundamental weakness of our Indian educational system is that the average Indian student cannot bring his education into any
direct relation with the world in which, outside the class or lecture room, he continues to live. For that world is still the old Indian world of his forefathers, and it is as far removed as the poles asunder from the Western world which claims his education" (Chirol, 1910, p. 2).

Another problem with English education was that there was a lot of emphasis on learning the language and literature but no emphasis on technical and scientific training. Moreover the training of English was also faulty, it tested the student’s knowledge of words and terms only. The British philosopher, Herbert Spencer, stated. "the amazing folly of an Examiner who proposes to test the fitness of youths for commencing their higher education, by seeing how much they know of the technical terms, cant phrases, slang, and even extinct slang, talked by the people of another nation. Instead of the unfitness of the boys, which is pointed out to us, we may see rather the unfitness of those concerned in educating them" (The Dawn, June, 1899, cited in Mukherjee, 1957, p. 8). Moreover the educated Indians were also unhappy with the less emphasis given to Indian philosophy and religion and culture in the English education system. Satishchandra observed in August, 1899: "The encouragement and promotion of oriental thought and learning have never been the object of the British Government. That object has been in the first place political ; in the second, administrative ; and so far as it has had an educational aspect” (as cited in Mukherjee, 1957, p. 10). Satishchandra further goes on to say, "the cultivation of higher Eastern thought and learning was as much imperative in the interest of national advancement along evolutionary lines as a wider appreciation and assimilation of a higher culture from the West." He further added that "Government policy since the time of Lord William Bentinck, and indeed from even earlier, has subordinated this higher educational factor in the interests of mere administration and political purposes. (as cited in Mukherjee, 1957, p. 11).

3.9.2. The Universities Act 1904:

In 1904, the new Universities Act brought certain draconian rules as far as English was concerned. The pass mark in English under the new Act was raised from 33 per cent to 37 percent. The increase in the pass percentage in English was set to serve as a brake upon high percentage of passes and to control the expansion of higher education. Even when the
pass percentage in English was 33 per cent, there was "a general massacre" of 50 per cent of the candidates appearing in the Entrance Examination (Mujherjee, 1957, p.16). Therefore Indian leaders feared that an increase in the pass percentage from 33 to 37 percent would surely lead to the failure of about 80 or 90 per cent of the candidates, and the ten or twenty per cent who would successfully pass through the ordeal. It was also feared that in the higher examinations,—the F.A., the B.A., and the M.A. examinations,—there would be correspondingly higher percentages of failures.

Motilal Ghose, observed that "in the Entrance exam, students 80 or 90 per cent will fail when they appear at the examination. Thus, a large number of our lads will never again enter into the precincts of a college hall and know what higher education is. Every year their number will swell, and our country will be filled with tens of thousands of half-educated men belonging to respectable classes, who will either be useless or dangerous members of the society." (as cited in Mukherjee, 1957, p. 16-17)

Finally, the Act of 1904 targeted private Indian colleges which would be shut down in the absence of a decent number of F.A. passed candidates. Thus Indians were suspicious of the Universities Act and of Curzon’s intentions. "The least that Lord Curzon was charged with", observed Valentine Chirol, "was a deliberate attempt to throttle higher education in India."(as cited in Mukherjee 1957, p.17)

3.10. Indians against the British Language Policy in the Education system:

Thus Indians were not only suspicious of British intentions due to the tweaking of the education and language policy under the Universities act but they were also angry. The partition of Bengal in 1905 acted as a catalyst in unleashing a parallel education movement. This education movement also propagated an alternate language policy. During the Swadeshi movement a large number of young school and college going boys were mobilized by the nationalist forces. Universities were boycotted and instead an endeavour was made to establish a parallel education system with its own linguistic component. The wrong policies of the government, especially those related to the English language exams etc had angered the youth which led to their involvement with the Swadeshi movement.
“The youthful votaries of the Swadeshi Movement, influenced by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, soon declared themselves for a boycott of the Government-controlled Calcutta University, beginning with the boycott of the impending P.R.S. and M.A. examinations to be held in November-December, 1905. Rabindra Narayari Ghose, the best M.A. candidate of that year, assumed leadership in the boycott” (Mukherjee, 1957, p. 23).

The mobilization of students during the Swadeshi movement must have been huge. It was the first time in the history of British India that such a huge mobilization of students had taken place. In order to deal with the growing mobilization of young men, a circular had to be issued by the District Magistrates to all heads of schools and colleges in the district. The contents of the circular have been quoted (Mukherjee, 1975, pp. 27-28):

1. The use which has been recently made of schoolboys and students for political purposes is absolutely subversive of discipline and injurious to the interest of the boys themselves. It cannot be tolerated in connection with educational institutions assisted or countenanced by Government.

2. I am therefore to state for your information and guidance that unless the school and college authorities and teachers prevent their pupils from taking public action in connection with political questions or in connection with boycotting, picketing, and other abuses associated with the so-called Swadeshi movement, the schools or colleges concerned will forfeit their grants-in-aid and the privilege of competing for scholarship holders, and the University will be asked to disaffiliate them. Where they loyally desire to prevent such conduct on the part of their pupils and are unable to do so, they must immediately submit a report to the District Magistrate, giving a list of boys who have disregarded their authority, and stating the disciplinary action taken to punish them.

3. I am also to point out that should there be any reasonable apprehension of disturbance on the part of schoolboys or students, it will be necessary to call on the teachers and managers of the institutions concerned for assistance in keeping the peace, by enrolling them as special constables. Their services as such will be specially valuable as the boys are bound to respect them and they will be able to identify those who may offend.

4. The gentlemen to whom this circular letter is addressed are requested to explain the above to their subordinates. The District Superintendent of Police will please instruct his
thana officers to report instances of misconduct on the part of boys of the nature indicated
in the first paragraph above."

This circular was called the Carlyle Circular and in response to this circular, an Anti
Circular Society was established by the nationalists

3.10.1. Evolution of an Indigenous Language Policy:

In response to the British policies regarding education and language, the nationalists
involved in the Swadeshi movement decided to take matters in their own hands and held an
education conference in September 1906. A decision was taken in the conference to
establish a National Council of Education and to organize a system of education which
would be scientific and technical in nature. A provisional committee was established to
further the objectives of the council. According to the committee education would be
imparted through vernaculars whereas English would be a separate compulsory subject.
Moreover there would be special emphasis on imparting technical education. The National
Council of Education was established in 1906 and a Society for Promotion of Technical
Education was also established in 1906 which in turn established the Bengal Technical
Institute. At this institute the medium of education was in the vernacular, furthermore
knowledge of a vernacular language was one of the criteria for admitting matriculated
students. The curriculum of the N.C.E. was broad-based and involved the study of various
languages. Under the NCE, “studies was to be imparted in three stages: Primary (including
a three years' course commencing from the 6th year of the student), Secondary (including a
seven years' course commencing from the 9th year) and Collegiate (including a four years'
course commencing from the 16th year)” (Mukherjee, 1957, p. 50). The Primary stage of
learning involved the teaching of vernacular language; English was not a compulsory
subject. In the secondary stage, an English reader was introduced but the contents of the
reader mainly dealt with Indian thoughts and things. At the collegiate stage students could
choose to study subjects from various areas like Linguistics, Science, Maths etc. If a
student chose the Linguistics group then he had to study English language and literature
along with one Oriental language. Thus it can be ascertained that the National Council of Education along with the Society for Promotion of Technical Education endeavored to provide education through the medium of vernaculars and English was the compulsory second language. This system was very different from the British system in which education was provided in English medium.

Indians had faced the draconian rules of the University Act 1904 regarding the pass percentage of the English language exam. Moreover a large number of students who after matriculation joined colleges and universities had difficulty in understanding and writing English. Thus it could be easily inferred that English posed as a barrier for many Indian students who wanted to successfully complete their education. This was the reason why the Indians were unhappy with the language policy of the British under which the medium of instruction was English from the level of secondary education and the pass percentage for clearing the English paper in the entrance or matriculation exam. Therefore the Indians decided to establish their own institutions and frame their own policies. One of the important decisions taken by the movement was to impart education through the vernacular medium. The teaching of English was not sacrificed, in turn English was made a compulsory second language subject and suitable text books in vernacular had to be prepared.

The decisions made by nationalist elements during the Swadeshi movement had far reaching implications. The seeds sown during the Swadeshi movement germinated in the future. It would also be important to state that there was hardly any change in the language policy of the British government in later years. In 1915 in the Imperial Legislative Council, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wanted a committee to be set up, which would look into the question of introducing vernaculars as the medium of instruction at the level of secondary education in India, unfortunately this proposal was shot down by other members of the Council.

3.10.2 The Hartog Committee:
The Hartog Committee set up in 1928-29 was set up by the Simon Commission to review various aspects of education (Krishnaswamy, 2006). However it did not make any form of
recommendation regarding the language used as medium of instruction. The Abbot Wood Committee appointed in 1936-1937 made a recommendation of using vernaculars till the high school stage along with English as a compulsory language, but not as medium of instruction. However these recommendations were never implemented by the British government. The Sargent Report submitted in 1944, made recommendations along the lines of those made by the Abbot Wood Committee, but the recommendations were again never implemented by the government (Grover, 2008). Thus the language policy of the British hardly changed even in the face of immense opposition from the Indians.

However the language policy of the Indian National Congress in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century was very different from that of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century Congress. When the INC was formed and before, the leaders were in favour of English, not only as the official language but also as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. However with the emergence of the Swadeshi movement in 1905, the viewpoint of nationalist parties like Congress, towards language changed. The viewpoint in 1905 and after was vehemently in favour of vernacular languages. This viewpoint did not change with the emergence of new leaders in the Congress like Gandhi, Nehru, Rajagopalachari etc. This was so because the Congress needed a common language to reach out to the masses that did not have any knowledge of English. Moreover an indigenous instead of a foreign language was needed as the medium of communication, by the Congress. Thus Gandhi was in favour of having ‘Hindustani’ as the common language of India. Nehru had stated that the common language of the country would be Hindustani, which would be used at the national level whereas provincial languages would be used at the provincial and local level. Nehru was also of the opinion that provincial languages helped the Congress to build a better network at the local level and it was able to communicate its messages to every nook and corner of the country. Thus Nehru opined that the education system and public work of Indian would be based on provincial languages. At the same time Nehru never discounted the importance of English, however he was of the view that English could not hold the status of being a common language of the country since it was of foreign origin. Instead Nehru advocated the use of a simplified form of English called Basic English. C Rajagopalachari also wanted Hindustani to become the national language of India.
3.11. Conclusion:
The British initially introduced a language policy which focused on encouraging vernacular languages. In order to implement this policy Company officials and some individuals established colleges in Bengal, Benaras, Delhi etc, where the medium of instruction were the vernacular languages. Initially the Indian elites were happy because they had access to formal education and immediately found employment in the newly established administrative and judicial offices. However some Indians also had the opportunity of getting Western education through the medium of English, either in India or abroad. These Indians valued Western education and the English language and spread the awareness amongst others. Suddenly a large number of elite Indians started demanding government support for English education. However for a long time the British did not pay heed to Indian demands. This situation changed when Bentinck became the Governor General of Bengal. With the support of Anglicists like Macaulay, Bentinck was able to provide government support to education in English medium. In the mean time Indians studying in private English medium schools not only learnt the language but also mastered it, this proved that Indians were ready to experience education through the English medium. However this experience was not wholesome for every Indian. Many of them faced problems in learning the language and therefore found it difficult to graduate from colleges and universities where the medium of instruction was English. This caused a lot of resentment amongst many Indians against British language policy. Therefore the demand for education in vernacular medium emerged. This demand became louder during the Swadeshi movement when a large number of students not only left the schools and colleges where they were studying but also joined indigenous educational institutions which were opened by the leaders of the Swadeshi movement. Thus the Swadeshi movement involved a revolt against the language policy of the British. This revolt and subsequent formulation of an indigenous language policy by the nationalists was followed in the future by other national leaders, especially by those who belonged to the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress wanted a common Indian language, they wanted a national language which was not foreign in nature like English. Thus the INC chose Hindustani as the national language of India.