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Thomas Babington Macaulay, in his famous *Minute on Education* of 1835, envisaged a class of persons in India who were Indian by birth and Indian in the complexion of their skin, but English in manners and customs. The creation of this body of *Homo sapiens* was the administrative need of the day, because it was becoming cost-ineffective for England to import ‘babus’ from home to run their jewel in the crown. But here I would like to mix my metaphors. I would like to think of the India of that time as an Orwellian animal farm where, ostensibly, all the animals were equal, but in truth some were more equal than others. As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, it became clear that Macaulay’s English-educated segment of the population were more equal than their non-English-educated brethren. Their knowledge of English was itself facilitated by the presence of Christian missionaries who set up schools on the soil, and later by the establishment of the presidency universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1853. Orwell imaginatively chose the species to which his unequal animals belonged. They were pigs with all the characteristics that these vile creatures possess, and pigs, let us remember, are offensive to some religions such as Islam. My metaphor would imply that Macaulay’s English-educated Indians, too, were ‘pigs’. This would become evident a few years later, in 1857, during the country’s Great Uprising, which some historians refer to as the War of Independence. During the Uprising, English-educated Indians did not support the rank and file in the British Indian

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army who had initiated the revolt. The revolt itself was allegedly triggered off by a new set of cartridges introduced by the British in India, greased with cow fat and pig fat, which required being bitten into before they could be used (the cow is a sacred animal to the Hindus). India’s unequal English-educated pigs did not back the soldiers of the Great Uprising in 1857 for a simple reason: they did not want freedom from British rule. Why would they, when Britain had proved to be their milk-cow? Development in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century India is akin to today’s development in the globalized world. Under British tutelage, India rapidly transformed from an agricultural into an industrialized nation. However, it is common knowledge that the transformation, like the globalization of today, benefitted the classes (or, in India, the privileged castes) more than it did the masses. When Independence finally arrived in 1947, it did so under the stewardship of Gandhi, who had voluntarily relinquished his own status as a ‘pig’ ever since he was thrown out of a First-Class train carriage in South Africa for racist reasons. Gandhi then joined the lesser breeds on the animal farm.

Macaulay’s ‘pigs’ were a great force to reckon with in post-Independence India. They had proved Orwell’s prophecy to be true, and had come to replace their English masters in all spheres of life: social, political, economic, scientific, and cultural.

But what was the profile of the ‘pigs’? The postcolonial cultural theorist Aijaz Ahmad calls them the “‘national’ intelligentsia”3 and points out that they hailed predominantly from the upper and middle castes (as opposed to the lower and untouchable castes). They were also from occupations and sectors familiar to the colonizer such as the bureaucracy, education, English-language journalism, the law, and trade and commerce. Ahmad suggests that English in the colonies led to a sort of hierarchical bifurcation of the intelligentsia, with the national branch characterized by its facility in the language, and the regional branch marked by its unfamiliarity with it, though they did possess a mastery of indigenous languages. This divisiveness, in Ahmad’s formulation, was watertight; thus, bilingualism, according to him, was on the decline. However, I wish to refute this point later on in my essay when referring to two bilingual Indian poets, Dilip Chitre and Arun Kolatkar, who wrote with equal élan in English and Marathi. Both of them straddled the worlds of the two intelligentsias with ease. And what I attempt to show is that, while our animal farm is essentialist, both

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