CHAPTER IV
LALA LAJPAT RAI ON CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION

Lala Lajpat Rai had a deeper and much more serious interest in his contemporary educational scene than on the pre-colonial education patterns. In his article on National Education (1919) he wrote 'Education is the most vital question for us. It is the most important of all our problems. In a way it is the fundamental problem. We cannot afford to have loose and confused ideas about education, the aims and ends of education, and the methods of education. Our whole future hinges on it. It behoves us, therefore, to devote all the mental energy, which we possess, to the right understanding and the right solution thereof. It would not do to be carried away by prejudices and mere sentimentality. The decision must be arrived at by deep, careful and critical consideration of the whole question. A hastily arrived at decision, or one that is founded on prejudice and sentimentality, may materially hinder our progress or, at any rate, slow down the rate of progress'.

Lajpat Rai was of the view that human knowledge is advancing and by co-operation we can make substantial contributions to the progress of humanity. He knew very well that the 'efficiency of a nation depended upon the amount and nature of brain power'.

Lajpat Rai was concerned with education ever since he left school 'I have been actively associated with educational movements. My educational activities are known to my countrymen, and I need not mention them in detail. The study of educational institutions, educational ideals and educational methods has been one of the passions of my life. In foreign countries also I have devoted a substantial part of my time and energy to the study of educational questions, always with a view to their adaptation to the needs of India'. Lajpat Rai added 'In the word education, I believed and still believe, is summed up the whole problem of India. Give me the control of the education

1. Lajpat Rai The Problem of National Education in India Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India 1920. 20
2. Ibid 27-38
4. Lajpat Rai The Problem of National Education Preface

96
department and find necessary to work up my ideas and I could guarantee to you the political emancipation of the country within the life time of one generation.\(^5\)

Lajpat Rai's ideas on education in the colonial period are not found in any one particular book but scattered in his numerous writings and speeches. Most of the ideas collected here are from his major works like, *The Arya Samaj, The Problem of National Education in India* and *Unhappy India*. The speeches delivered by him in Congress sessions, Arya Samaj Sabha and student conferences also reflect his ideas on the subject. Most of the scholars on Lajpat Rai focus their study on his life and times, and his concept of National Education. B.R. Garg in his book *Lala Lajpat Rai as an Educationist* also paid some attention to his ideas on National Education but has largely ignored his views on education in his contemporary times. In fact, Lajpat Rai's response to the colonial education systems has not been the focus of historical studies.

The present chapter focuses on the study of the educational structure in the colonial Punjab in order to understand the views of Lajpat Rai on the then existing educational system. His reaction and response to this pattern, his concerns and ideas, and their gradual evolvement over time, gives us the context in which we can understand his stand on education and its future. The chapter is divided into four sections for a clearer understanding of the theme. The first section looks at the growth of education in the Punjab region under the British. The second section deals with the response of the Punjabis to the new education. The third section focuses on Lajpat Rai's response to the colonial structure of education and fourth section attempts to comment on Lajpat Rai views on contemporary education.

\(^1\)

When the Punjab was annexed in 1849, the indigenous system of education was in existence but according to the Punjab Government records of 1854 was not in a flourishing condition, 'Hindus and Muhammadans, many teachers

\(^5\) J.S. Dhanki *The Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai* New Delhi: Gitanjali Prakashan 1978. 9
instructed for their own pleasures, or what is more likely, under the idea that they were engaged in a meritorious and laudable task.\(^6\) There were three kinds of indigenous schools established and controlled by Indians. First were rote schools, teaching the words of sacred scripture. Second, were elementary schools, taking up mainly a vernacular and an Indian method of accounts and third were advanced schools, teaching mainly Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and other Classical languages. There were Gurumukhi schools, Maktabas, Madarasas, Chatsalas, Patshalas, and girls schools. The village communities maintained these schools. Secular and professional education of accounts and teaching was also imparted out along with religious education.\(^7\)

The State by encouraging and patronising 'men of light', and supporting the village schools with free grants, rendered some material help. During the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the British had set up an English school for the children of his family and sons of the Sardars at Lahore. The system therefore, had began to change from the early 19th century. Education was a sphere that saw several changes under colonial rule which introduced and encouraged a new system of education.

The progress of English education in the Punjab was slow before 1853. The Charter Act of 1813 provided for a lakh of rupees to spent on education but this was not utilized till the formation of a Committee of Public Instruction in 1823. Even then the least money was spent in the Punjab.\(^8\) Thus, upto 1857 education was not given much importance in the Punjab. It is believed that the real foundation of modern education in the Punjab province was laid by Sir Charles Wood’s Despatch of 1854 which was the first 'authoritative

\[^{6}\text{Punjab Record 25th Feb. 1854}\]
\[^{8}\text{P. Banerjee Government Expenditure on Education}\]

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<td>Punjab</td>
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<td>14,487</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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declaration on education on the part of the British Government'. It declared the advancement of western knowledge as its avowed objective and defined all aspects of Indian education from the primary to the university level. With Wood's Despatch the Education Department was organized in 1854. In the Panjab Report written in July 1854, it was declared that the Panjab was ripe for the introduction of educational measures. In 1856 Mr. W.D. Arnold was appointed Director of Public instruction and forwarded a complete scheme for future education in the Panjab. This effort however, did not find acceptance with the colonial government. The statistics on schools collected from all the districts were 'tolerable'.

Under British rule, the number of government schools increased from 456 in 1856-1857 to 1806 in 1868 and to 7278 in 1911. The number of scholars rose from 6000 to over 54000 in the same period. In the second

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1855-56 Divisions</th>
<th>Indigenous Schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Proportion of Schools to Population</th>
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<td>1860-61</td>
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<td>1,886</td>
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<td>95,965</td>
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10. Ibid. The Lahore Division has in 1882, 861 indigenous schools with 11,867 pupils the population being 2,191,517 but it should be remembered that the statistics of 1854-55 were far less than of the 1855-56 year

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<th>Years</th>
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<th>Indigenous</th>
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<td>95,965</td>
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11. Census of India 1921, 40.
12. Number of schools and pupils in indigenous and Government School from 1856-1879 in Punjab: See Table below.

*This is taken from paragraph 11 of No. 147, dated Lahore, the 13th March 1860, from Secretary, Panjab, to Government of India, acknowledging the receipt of the Educational Despatch of 1859.
half of the 19th century, the number of indigenous schools somewhat declined from over 5,000 in 1856 to about 4662 by 1879. The number of students however, increased from about 30,000 to more than 53,000. The number of government schools at this time increased three-fold with a substantial increase in the number of pupils. The government schools in this phase were just about 1/3rd of the number of indigenous schools, although the number of students in both was about the same. The total number of students went up about 3 times in this period from about 36,000 to over 1 lakh. The government expenditure in education was also increased from around 1 lakh in 1856 to over 13.5 lakhs by 1879. British rule brought about major shift in the sphere of education in the late 19th century by increasing the number of schools and pupils under instructions.

There existed a variety of schools which were broadly grouped into two types of institutions – Government and Aided schools. Government schools was managed by the Education Department and the funds was provided by the Government these included, Board schools, i.e. Municipal Board schools, under the management of District Boards or Committees. Aided school meant a school under private management which received, in any of its departments, any aid whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, from public revenues whether Imperial, Provincial, District or Municipal. Aided schools covered high and middle schools, female schools and normal schools. In another broad categorization were public and private schools. Public school meant a school first in which the course of study conformed to the standards prescribed by the Department or by the University; and secondly which was inspected by the Department, or presented pupils for the public examinations held by the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School</th>
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<th>Government School</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Aided School</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Public School</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Private School</th>
<th>Students</th>
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<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
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<td>1,07,092</td>
<td>13,69,146</td>
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</tbody>
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13. See Table above
14. Selection from Educational Records, 121. School was defined as an institution in which instructions other than collegiate is imparted to not fewer than six pupils.
Department or by the University, and the term was usually applied to a
Government school, a Board school, an Aided school, or an unaided school. 15
Schools under public management were of two kinds first those under the
direct management of Boards exercising statutory powers; and second in
which the staff of teachers was appointed and dismissed by government or by
such officers, committees or Boards. Recognized school was a public school
enrolled on a list maintained by the Department, after it met certain criteria.
Private school meant a school that did not come under the definition of public
school. 16 In night school tuition was given to those who could not attend any
other school for general instruction and who were occupied during the day in
earning a living, or in learning some art or handicraft.

From the point of view of language there were two kinds of schools
Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular schools or English schools where English
was taught as part of the regular course and Vernacular schools where
English was not taught. The Anglo-Vernacular or the Zillah schools
established by the District Officers, including schools at Sialkot and
Ferozepore founded in 1855, were of two classes, viz, superior schools in
which the medium of instruction was English and inferior schools in which
vernacular formed the medium. Schools for general education were classed
according to the standard up to which they taught. primary schools included
lower primary and upper primary schools and secondary schools included
middle and high schools. Government institutions included colleges, high,
middle and lower schools, female schools, normal schools and schools of
industrial art. 17

Government institutions were in larger in number than aided schools.
The institutions imparting education were generally set up at all levels of
administration. There were indigenous schools, village schools, Tehsil schools
and Zillah schools. The village schools were established in the Halqa Bandi

15. Like the general desirability of the school, the constitution of the managing
body, names and designations of members being given, the subjects taught,
the provision and appliances for the instruction, health, recreation, and
discipline of the pupils, the scale of fees, the financial stability of the school,
the number, qualifications, and character of the teachers, the observance of
inter-school rules.

16. For details see G.W. Leitner History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab
Since Annexation and in 1882 Patiala; Languages Department Punjab 1971
system. The instruction imparted in the village schools was of the most elementary character, including the 3 Rs. i.e. reading and writing Urdu and elementary arithmetic, but it was well-adapted to the requirements of the people. In the Tehsil schools, the education consisted only of the rudiments of history, geography, arithmetic, and grammar. The curriculum of Zillah schools comprised the vernacular studies prescribed for Tehsil schools, but on a higher scale, and it embraced a variety of subjects. English classes were also to be formed of the instruction of those pupils who might be desirous of learning the English language.

In measures adopted in 1871-72 the district schools, English formed a subject from the lowest class, while the course in Town schools was purely vernacular, though provision for the study of English existed in the most schools. The district schools were under the direct management of the Department and were maintained at the expense of Government. The town schools comprised schools under Deputy Commissioners and Cantonment schools. Vernacular schools, under Deputy Commissioners, were maintained almost entirely by funds out of local sources.

During this period the Department established a high schools at almost every District headquarters, about two Anglo-Vernacular middle schools in every district, and 128 Vernacular middle schools for mass education. The first High school at Lahore was started in 1859-60 and a Government College at Lahore was established on 1st January 1864. A college at Delhi was opened in the same year to impart a fair English and the highest order of 'Oriental' education. Though Natural Science was one of subjects of the studies but all the candidates appeared in the examinations on the Arts side. Industrial and technical education also received attention—medical and veterinary, law schools, engineering schools and railway technical school were opened. In Punjab in 1881-82 there was only 1 Art College under Public Management with 103 students and in 1884-85 one aided college was added with 39 students. In 1881-82 there was no professional college, one

18. For details see G.S. Chabbra Advanced History of the Punjab 400-405.
19. Syed Mahmood A History of English Education in India 1781-1893 Aligarh: M.A.O. College 1895. 120

102
medical college was opened in 1884-85 with strength of 188 and in 1886-87 a law college was opened with strength of 71.20

Education expanded tremendously in the colonial period. The British administration of the Punjab gave importance to education in English literature, western sciences and social studies. They started a network of schools throughout the province. These schools were of several categories and met a variety of requirements of the people. It included a basic literacy in vernacular, a middle and higher level with or without English, vocational training and schools for girls. The indigenous education system declined as new opportunities demanded the new system of education. Urdu was introduced as the medium of education in government schools upto the matriculation level, but classical languages received less support.21 The British did however, introduce vocational training and professional courses, even night schools, some degree of higher education, albeit restricted according to the colonial policy was also a part of this new education.

II

With the establishment of British rule there began a process of political, social and cultural change which initiated a chain of responses from the Indian people. In the new environment of late 19th and early 20th century Punjab, a wide range of religious traditions – Islam, Sikhism, Christ and the Arya Samaj, all of them egalitarian in ideology – were locked in competition with each other as well as with orthodox Hinduism. This resulted in the emergence of socio-religious reform movement like the Nirankaris, and Namdharis, Singh Sabha, the Dev Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ahmadiyas which focused on a search for identity and advocated religious and social reforms. Some of them paid attention towards education as well and introduced programmes in this sphere.

The Christian missionaries were the first new non-official agency in the field of education. After the annexation of the Punjab, the Christian Missions, especially the American Presbyterian missionaries and the Church of England

20 Syed Mahmood A History of English Education in India 1781-1893 20
21. J.S. Grewal The Sikhs of the Punjab 124-130
Communion, established schools. The Christian missionaries had expanded their proselytizing activities into the territory occupied by the British government before the annexation of the Punjab, their major station beyond Delhi was Ludhiana. In 1834, John C. Lowrie, an American Presbyterian founded the Ludhiana Mission which rapidly became a centre of education, publishing and proselytization. The American Presbyterians led by Reverend John Newton and the Reverend C.W. Forman, arrived in Lahore with a staff of six missionaries and by December 1849, they had opened both a mission station and a school. After 1857-58 Christian missionaries greatly extended their system of stations and intensified their proselytization.

Education remained the major force for conversion of Christian evangelism, though missionaries also carried out direct proselytizing through street and bazaar preaching, through the publication and dissemination of religious tracts and journals, and developed new methods and new dimensions of proselytization with time. By 1881, Christian converts numbered 3,912 and were heavily concentrated in the central districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sialkot, in addition to Delhi. Together these four districts contained 2,168 converts. Within ten years, from 1881 to 1891, the Christian community expanded to 19,750. Insignificant numerically, this marked an increase of 410 percent. By 1901, the convert community totaled 37,980 and by the following decade, 1911, it had grown to 1,63,994. The Christian missionaries were seen as a part of the Government machine and had a 'hard' impact on the people of Punjab. Punjabis saw Christianity and British rule as inter-linked. They strongly resented zanana missionaries for

22. R.C. Majumdar & K.K. Datta English Education 77
24. It is to be noted that in the 1860s the Church Mission Society opened medical missions. These missions attracted numerous patients but few converts. The zanana mission extended missionary activities and attempted to reach women in the seclusion of their homes. It was decided in the 1860s to send female missionaries to individual homes. The British officers and officials also supported the Christian missionaries by donating money: Ibid 8-9
25. It is to be noted here with the missionaries had less success in the princely states, the west-central districts of Montgomery, Jhang and Shahpur, and the border districts of Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan: Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 10
‘tampering with their womenfolk’ and ‘violating the sanctity of their homes’. The zanana mission produced not only the cry of ‘religion in danger’, but also ‘subversion in the homes’. The Christian missionaries had opened separate schools for the depressed classes and there were 30 such primary schools with 665 pupils in 1901-02. By 1907 in Lahore alone the Presbyterians ran 6 boys schools, 2 girls schools, the Forman Christian College and the Rang Mahal High School with 4 branches in the city.

The Punjabis interaction with the British began in 1827 with the introduction of English education in the Old Delhi College. It was in the cities that the initial cultural interaction took place. The Indians drawn into daily contact with their English rulers were compelled to create a new world of their own. Those who could bridge the gap between their own culture and that of their British rulers, who would learn the ways of Englishmen and become adapt in their language, constituted a new class in the Indian society.

Alienated and marginal men found it impossible to feel comfortable with many of the customs, values and attitudes of their surrounding society. They tried to reorder their own sense of identity and relate it to the realities of the changed situation. This search for self marked the beginning of a process of cultural adjustment. With the first generation of college-educated Indians, the visions of different individuals, provided a variety of bases for social and religious movements dedicated to remould Indian culture. Alienated and marginal men accepted a particular vision, elaborated it, and produced an ideological explanation of their place in history. Identity for the individual became ideology for the group. This process of identity formation created in the late nineteenth century Punjab a period of intense dynamism, ideological and religious conflict amidst an increasingly polemical atmosphere, as each

26. Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 8-9
27. C.W. Webster The Growth of Christian Community in British North India 29
28. It is to be noted that the students came to Delhi from the surrounding areas to study and by the 1830s a small group of educated youngmen formed the nucleus of a new anglicized elite in the city: Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 22
29. Ibid 4
30. It is to be noted that in its first stages members of the anglicized class were too few and too scattered to support movements of change. Instead, they generated prophets of a new world who existed as loners and voices without an audience. Ibid xii

105
group within a given religious community, the Hindu, the Sikh or the Muslim, sought to project its own concepts and in the process struggled with others within their own community and beyond.31

The greatest asset to social and religious progress were those distinguished Bengalis who came to settle in Lahore, and who actually formed the vanguard of public life in the city. A small contingent of educated Punjabis and leaders of the Kayastha emigrants from the North-Western Provinces joined with these Bengalis and they provided new models of adaptation.32 The Brahmo Samaj of Lahore was founded in 1863 by a small group of Bengalis with a few Punjabi enthusiasts.33 Babu Novin Chandra Ray, Keshab Chandra Sen, Devendra Nath Tagore, Pandit Shiv Narayan Agnihotri and S.P. Narasimalu were the active member of the Brahmo Samaj. Branches of the Brahmo Samaj were opened in Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Multan, Rupar, Simla and Dera Ghazi Khan. but only the parent Lahore Samaj and the Simla Branch remained active.34 The most notable contribution of the Brahmo Samaj in the Punjab, was the starting of the English newspaper, The Tribune in 1881 and setting up the Dyal Singh College, at Lahore, in 1910 and Dyal Singh Library.35

The Lahore Hindu Sabha came into being in 1882 by the efforts of the Hindus of Lahore, spurred by the successful organizational activities of Sayyid

31. It is to be noted that unable to relate to the orthodox world around them, they sought to redefine that world, and in so doing created new ideological systems encompassing a reinterpretation of the past and present, and a new vision of the future. Elaboration, defence and dissemination of these ideologies produced both group consciousness sand a heightened awareness of separation, of distance between those who accepted the new beliefs and all others: Kenneth W. Jones 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya-Sikh Relations 1877-1905' 457
32. Kenneth W Jones Arya Dharm 13-14
33. Ibid 16. See also, Spencer Lavan The Ahmadiyah Movement New Delhi: Manohar publications 1974 34. Khushwant Singh however, gives 1864 as the year of its inception: A History of the Sikhs Vol II Delhi : Oxford University Press 1977 140. It is to be noted here that the Brahmo Samaj was established in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy: M.N. Srinivas Social Change in Modern India New Delhi : Orient Longman 1977. 77. Har Bilas Sarda however, gives 1830 as the year of the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj; Life of Dayanand Saraswati: World Teacher Ajmer 1968. 502
34. Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 16
Ahmad Khan and by the general political excitement of the times. Led by Raja Harbans Singh, the Sabha, was to protect Hindu interests by adoption of measures calculated to promote and enhance brotherly feelings among the different sections of the Hindu community and it aimed at the establishment of schools for the education of Hindu children and encouragement of Hindi, the ‘vernacular of India’.36

The formation of the Dev Samaj was announced by Satyanand Agnihotri on February 16, 1887.37 It was largely a religious reform movement which took some interest in educational activities. At first, this organization was considered an extension of the Brahmo Samaj, but it soon began to deviate from their doctrines. Agnihotri rejected Brahmo rationalism and believed that only the guru could provide a path of eternal bliss. The Dev Samajists were educated men and had a large percentage of literate women. The Dev Samaj held regular services consisting of hymns, a sermon, and readings from the Dev Shastras. It taught a code of honesty in public and private. The Dev Samaj encouraged the education of women and opened a coeducational school in Moga (Ferozepore District) on 29th October 1899.38

The Sanathan Dharma Rakshini Sabha (The Society for the Protection of Eternal Religion) was founded by Pandit Bhanu Datta and Pandit Shraddha Ram.39 The Bharat Dharma Maha Mandal (Great Society for Indian Religion) came into existence by 1887. Led by its secretary, Pandit Din Dyal, the Bharat Dharma Maha Mandal sponsored debates, lectures and publications in defence of orthodoxy.40

36. The Regenerator of Arya Varta December 10, 1883. 5. cited in Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 65-66
37. It is to be noted that the movement had three classes of members, including sahaiks or sympathizers and nava jiwan yalta or those who had found a new life. The former joined the Dev Samaj, paid Rs.10/- per year and accepted the leadership of Pandit Shiv Narayan Agnihotri (Satyanand Agnihotri). The latter members were expected to follow a moral code which stressed honesty, cleanliness, vegetarianism and temperance. They also had to reject all caste distinctions and all false religious symbols, and to donate one tenth of their income to the Samaj. A third category of members included those who had taken strict religious vows dedicating themselves to the pursuit of Dev Dharm: Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 115-16
38. Kenneth W. Jones Social Religious Movement in British India 103-106
39. Kenneth W. Jones Arya Dharm 36
40. Ibid 109
The Sikhs of the Punjab also responded to the changed situation in different forms such as the Namdhari or Kuka Movement, the Nirankari Movement and the Radha Soami. These movements took up social and religious issues but had separate identity and thus checked the process of their absorption into Hinduism.\(^{41}\) The organization of the Sikhs which took up considerable interest in education was the Singh Sabha founded in 1873. On March, 1892, the Lieutenant Governor, Sir James Lyall, who had taken personal interest in the venture, laid the foundation stone of the Khalsa College at Amritsar.\(^{42}\) The Chief Khalsa Diwan had came into existence on October 30, 1902, to unify the various Singh Sabhas, to concentrate their energies and to guide and control their activities.\(^{43}\) The proposal for a Khalsa College at Lahore had been made in 1885 but a hot debate on its location delayed the foundation which eventually took place at Amritsar in 1892.\(^{44}\) The Khalsa College soon became the premier institution of the Sikhs.

When the Khalsa College went into the hands of the government in 1908 most of the leaders of the Khalsa Diwan withdrew from the management of the college and came to found a new institution, the Sikh Educational Conference, which was as important as the college. It was controlled by the Educational Committee of the Diwan, and held its sittings annually in different centers.

The most important aspects of the Singh Sabha Movement were educational and literary. From 1908 onwards, an Education Conference was convened every year to take stock of the progress of literacy in the community and to collect money for more schools. Wherever it met, it left a school behind and within a few years it opened number of primary, middle and high schools. It held 30 sittings and dispensed Rs. 499548 to different schools in the form of aid and Rs. 69200 as stipends to needy student with the opening of this

\(^{41}\) Kenneth W. Jones *Arya Dharm* 125
\(^{42}\) Ibid 144. Teja Singh *Essays in Sikhism* New Delhi: Siddarth Publication 1989. 106. and *'The Singh Sabha Movement'* 38. R.C. Majumdar & K.K. Datta, however, gives 1897 as the year of the foundation of the Khalsa College at Amritsar *'English Education'* 78
\(^{43}\) Gurdarshan Singh *Chief Khalsa Diwan – Fifty Years of Service (1902-51)*' 59 and *'Origin and Development of the Singh Sabha Movement: Constitutional Aspects'* 55 and N.G. Barrier *The Sikhs and Their Literature* xxiv. Out of about 150 Singh Sabhas, scattered all over the Punjab only 29 agreed to join. For detail see Professor Teja Singh *'The Singh Sabha Movement'* 38
\(^{44}\) K.W. Jones *Socio-Religious Reform Movement in India* 156
conference. The number of schools increased tremendously for boys – 5 colleges, 61 high schools, 35 middle schools, 2 lower middle schools, 45 primary schools, 7 hostels, 6 miscellaneous institutions were opened. For girls – 3 colleges, 4 high schools, 25 middle schools, 150 primary and 111 mixed school were established. The teaching of Gurmukhi and the Sikh scriptures was compulsory in these Khalsa Schools. The Singh reformers propagated the use of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script rather than Hindi in Devnagri or even Urdu. They argued that school education should be based on the language of the people. They welcomed English education and appreciated western science and technology. They were also keen to teach Sikh tenants and Sikh history in addition to western education largely to counteract the Christian instruction in mission schools. The Anglo-Sikh educational system of was an important plank of reform.

The impetus given to education stimulated in turn the publication of books, magazines, tracts and newspapers. The earliest venture in Punjabi journalism was the weekly Khalsa Akhbar. In 1899, the Khalsa Samachar was founded. Its circulation increased under the editorship of Bhai Vir Singh. Bhai Vir Singh also started the Khalsa Tract Society and published literature on different aspects of Sikh history and Sikh religion. A large number of books on Sikhism, both in Gurmukhi and English, were published. Gyani Gyan Singh's Panth Prakash and Tawarikh Guru Khalsa and Kahan Singh’s voluminous Encyclopaedia of Sikh literature, Guru Sabdaranakar Mahankosh, were of lasting significance. M.A. Macauliffe’s monumental work on the life and teachings of the Sikh gurus were also published at this time (1909). The Singh Sabhas also initiated the Gurmat Granth Pracharak Sabha of Amritsar, Gurmat Granth Sudhark Sabha, Khalsa Dharma Prachar Sabha, Khalsa Tract Society, Central Khalsa Orphanage and Sikh Educational Conference. Education was one of the significant aspect of the Singh Sabha programme. Important was the Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya founded at Ferozpur by Bhai Takht Singh in 1892. Girl’s Schools were also opened at Lahore, Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Ropar. Other educational institutions included high Schools

45. Khushwant Singh A History of the Sikhs Vol. II.145-46
in the cities and some towns, a college was established at Gujranwala, and by the 1920’s, the number of such centres was more than sixty.

During the 1860s and 1870s several new organizations dedicated to improve education also emerged among the Muslims. Anjuman-I-Punjab was founded in 1865 and had a scheme for an Oriental University. The Anjuman-i-Islamia (Islamic Society) was founded originally at Lahore for the purpose of protecting Muslim religious endowments. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Defence of Islam) was led by Muhammad Shafi and Shah Din. The Anjumans opened schools which included Western education and English language in its curriculum and had an emphasis on female education.46 The Ahmadiyah Movement founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, established in April 1915 the Anjuman-i-Taraqq-i-Islam for the propagation of Islam. Its purpose was to establish primary schools in various districts of the Punjab and a training college for Muslim missionaries at Qadiyan and to translate the Holy Quran with copious notes, both in Urdu and English.47

The Arya Samaj contributed significantly to the cause of education and changed the face of education in the Punjab. The Aryas adopted a 10 point programme. The eighth of the Ten Principles of the Samaj enjoins upon an Arya to endeavour ‘to diffuse knowledge and dispel ignorance’. After the death of Swami Dayanand in 1883 the members of the Arya Samaj founded schools in his memory. Many causes were responsible for the origin and rapid development of the Arya Samaj movement in the Punjab. The Arya ideology filled the psychological vacuum felt by the marginal and alienated men who were striving to relate their parental world to the new anglicized reality of British India. It stressed literacy and the need for Vedic knowledge, with its focus on education as the path to spiritual and worldly success.48 The lack of religious fanaticism and narrow-mindedness among the Punjabis also became the cause of the rapid development of the Arya Samaj Movement.49 Moreover,

46. It is to be noted that Muhammad Shafi and Shah Din were the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Khan* Spencer Lavan The Ahmadiyah Movement 10
47. Ibid 113
49. Indra Vidyavachaspati Arya Samaj Ka Itihas Part 1 102
the personality of Swami Dayanand had a deep influence over the Punjabis.\textsuperscript{50} The Arya Samaj spread throughout the Punjab and beyond by a combination of forces, a mixture of missionary zeal and official policy of D.A.V. institutions.

The development of the Arya Samaj, from 1883-1947 can be divided into three broad phases- from 1883-1898, from 1898-1912, and from 1912-1947.\textsuperscript{51} The first phase ended with the division of the Arya Samaj. Both the wings of the Arya Samaj carried on their work of propagation upto 1912 but after that, the Arya Samaj began to lose its intensity. The establishment of an Anglo-Vedic School was proposed by the Lahore Arya Samaj when it organized a condolence meeting at the death of Swami Dayanand. The proposal was formally put before the public for the first time and approved on November 8, 1883.\textsuperscript{52} The Arya Samaj contemplated establishing an Anglo-Aryan School, in which English and Sanskrit were to be taught, with very little or no Persian at all. It was thought that the advantage of western culture, combined with a good knowledge of Sanskrit would produce most gratifying results. Thus, Swami Dayanand’s views regarding education were absorbed. The Aryas largely accepted the existing structure of the government schools with the addition of Vedic studies. It can be said that the Arya Samajists established a considerable number of schools throughout the Punjab, although the number of institutions run by them was not as large as the government schools. Out of the 288 institutions established by Arya Samaj, 52 institutions were at Hoshiarpur, 31 at Kangra, 17 at Ambala, 16 at Rohtak, 14 at Lahore, 12 at Jullundur and in the rest of the districts were 10 institutions.\textsuperscript{53}

The Arya Samajists were encouraged by the results of the DAV High School in 1889 and this led to the desire to open the first year college class by the establishing of DAV college at Lahore to provide higher education. They opened a Theological department for conducting a Vedic class. In 1883, the

\textsuperscript{50} Ram Chander Javed \textit{Punjab Ka Arya Samaj} 3
\textsuperscript{51} B.R. Garg \textit{Lala Lajpat Rai as an Educationist} Ambala Cantt : \textit{The Indian Publication Bureau} 1973
\textsuperscript{52} For detail see Indra Vidyavachaspati \textit{Arya Samaj Ka Itihas} Part 1. 104
\textsuperscript{53} S.R. Sharma \textit{Our Education Mission: an Account of The Educational work of The Arya Samaj under the Arya Pradishik Partinidhi Sabha.} Lahore : \textit{The D.A.V} 1925
Samaj passed a proposal to found the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Colleges as a memorial to Swami Dayanand and proceeded to collect funds for the same and finalize details on the organization of the college. In 1886 the DAV High School at Lahore was opened to tremendous response and soon proved to be successful. The DAV college too found wide acceptance and prospered. The Aryas now turned their educational efforts to the countryside and in 1888 founded a school at Lun Miani in Shahpur district, and another at Jalandhar. They were not satisfied with the academic education only and paid attention to professional education like teacher training and training in medicine, industry, engineering and commerce but they could not achieve complete success. In the field of female education the Arya Samaj can be said to have performed pioneering work. In 1889, a girls’ school was opened at Ferozepore and later at Gujrat and Jalandhar. They also established a Kanya Maha Vidyalaya after prolonged debate on its emphasis and curriculum. Another area where the Arya Samaj had given its close attention was the education of so called untouchables or depressed classes and opened schools for them. The contribution of Arya Samaj for the betterment of the people through education was indeed commendable. The second stream of Arya Samaj educational institution was the Gurukul. In ‘Gurukuls’ the emphasis was upon life; fellowship with life in Nature; fellowship with great ives in History, fellowship with teachers (‘gurus’) – men of purity, institution and wisdom.

The Arya Samaj came up with the Anglo-Vedic System of education where English literature, western sciences and social studies were combined with Sanskrit and Hindi. The Arya concept of education was to offer the best of two worlds—the new knowledge of the Anglicized world combined with Vedic truth’. They recognized the demand for English literacy and sought to provide it in an ideal educational pattern within the milieu of revived Hinduism. The experiments in education found general acceptance in the community as they provided ‘safe, Hinduized education’. Gradually, all the Samajes

maintained both a girls and boys school in their localities, such as in Shimla, Ambala, Jalalpur, Rawalpindi, Kangra Hissar among others.

After the split within the Arya Samaj, the Moderate group decided to concentrate on education. In addition to this Anglo-Vedic curriculum the management strengthened its educational system by introducing the study of Ayurvedic medicine, a theological department to research and study the Vedas, and engineering.

There were three stages of school education in the DAV scheme. The Primary Department (1st and 2nd year class), Middle Department from 3rd to 7th class) and upper department from 8th to 10th year class). The study began by learning Hindi, reading, writing and arithmetical tables. Arithmetic was introduced in the 2nd class, Sanskrit and Geography in the 3rd class, English in the 4th class, History, Sanitation, Urdu and Physical Science in 5th class. The same subjects were taught in next five classes. Dharam Shiksha was introduced in higher departments. The syllabus of the 8th class included the Ramayana and Mahabharat, the life and work of Swamiji and the Arya Samaj, and a comparative study of religion as well as religious ceremonies.55

The DAV institutions were different from State-owned schools as they professed to enforce and encourage the study of Hindi and Sanskrit languages and had one set of fees for all. Under Lala Hans Raj the new Dayanand Anglo-Vedic college prospered. Enrollment grew in both the school and college, but it tended to level off after 1889. By 1890, thirty-eight students were on the rolls of the college and in 1893 the college opened its first B.A. degree classes. The Managing Committee could claim to have succeeded in its basic goal of creating a college in memorial to Swami Dayanand. The school and college were both recognized by the general public and the government. In fact, they had become models for others, both within the Samaj and without. During the 1890s the Aryas built an educational system throughout the entire province, from the primary grades through college. The educational programme of the Aryas was supported by several leaders with

varying emphases. Among them, Lajpat Rai was the most articulate about educational matters.

III

Lajpat Rai was a product of the colonial education system and in his writings makes several comments on its nature and functioning. He points out some positive elements in government’s policy but at the same time noted its limitations. He admits that education and educational efforts were matters of supreme importance to a country like Indian where ignorance and superstition depended upon the amount and the best of education we receive.\textsuperscript{56} In the 1880’s, in an open letter to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Lajpat Rai wrote that ‘India is no longer what it was thirty years ago. In the cause of this period it has made a marked advance towards a higher civilization. The natives of India are no longer, with very few exceptions, ignorant or uneducated. The rays of education are penetrating and shedding their whole some light inside most Indian homes’, hundreds of thousand of Indians are as well educated as any average English gentleman ...\textsuperscript{57} He was well aware of the expansion of education by the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century. In 1905 Lajpat Rai, while addressing the people of Lahore said that the country was in need of a determination to push on education from all side at all costs ...’ He further wrote ‘salvation of India depends upon education’.\textsuperscript{58} Lajpat Rai accepted that the British English had no doubt provided some schools and colleges for educating Indians. There was no doubt that between 1871 and 1882 there were more than two million and a quarter of pupils under instruction in the public institutions.\textsuperscript{59}

By the turn of the century however, Lajpat Rai views changed and he writes ‘I wonder how can the English talk with any pride of their work of spreading education in India when after a century and a quarter of their rule in some parts of India, we find that more than ninety percent of the population of

\textsuperscript{56} The Punjabe 7th July 1906
\textsuperscript{57} Originally appeared in the Urdu weekly Kohinoor of Lahore and translated into English before 1888
\textsuperscript{58} In a farewell address at a representative gathering of citizens of Lahore on 8th May 1905. Reproduce from The Punjabee 15th May 1905
\textsuperscript{59} The Tribune 9th October 1906

114
those parts is still entirely illiterate and unable to either read or write'.

Till 1908, Lajpat Rai believed that somekind of education was better than no education. His opinion underwent a great change and he felt that while the colonial education did a certain amount of good up to a certain point, it was backward and had been productive of 'positive harm'. It has helped in the multiplication of intellectual and economic parasites and retarded our progress towards freedom'. Lajpat Rai admitted that 'no education under the aegies of a foreign government would be solely for the benefit of the country governed. It is natural that an imperial government should be dominated by imperial principles. The education we were receiving was not likely to further the interest of nationalism, but was found to hamper it, and uproot the foundation.

Lajpat Rai was well aware that the colonial system of education had serious limitations. Up to 1882 they had wanted to extend their influence and suppress 'demoralizing' practices to gain the general sympathy of the Indian people. They needed public servants for their administrative system and to exploit the vast resources of the country. The government dominated the education policy of the country for the purpose of strengthening their hold over the people. He further wrote 'the history of English education in this country shows that originally the framers of government educational policy were actuated partly by selfish and partly by philanthropic and high motives'. Lajpat Rai at the same time wrote 'we found forty years ago that the education we were receiving was not likely to further the interests of nationalism, but was bound to hamper it, that it went to the root of the nation and we thought that it was an attempt to uproot the foundation by which the nation has stood from time immemorial and without which the nation could not exist as an

60. Address deliver by Lajpat Rai at a meeting held in the stock port labor Church, Lancashire on 27th July 1905. Reproduce from The Punjabee 31st August 1905.
61. Hardayal Our Educational Problem Madras: Tagore and Company 1922.IX
62. The Indian Review Vol. II.1920. 41
63. Lajpat Rai 'Education Under State Control' Modern Review January 1981. 131-132
64. Lajpat Rai The Man In His Word Madras: Ganesh & Company 156-179
individual nation. He also wrote 'The foreign education had created schism in society but also enlightened and improved thousands of minds. Lajpat Rai was happy to note the Montague and Chelmsford report of 1919 and felt 'one of the great obstacles to India's political development lies not only in the lack of education among its people taken as a whole, but also in the uneven distribution of educational advances. The report had pointed out the lopsidedness and shortcomings of government institutions.

Education under colonial rule according to Lajpat Rai was a denationalizing system, emasculating, and creating a gulf between the educated and the non-educated classes. In the All India College Students Conference at Nagpur on 25th December 1920, Lajpat Rai said 'the educational system at present followed in the government schools and Colleges, aided and unaided, or controlled by official universities, is a denationalizing system. It is meant more to enslave us than to free us.' In 1917 in *England's Debt to India* he wrote 'the nineteenth century brought almost a complete revolution in the education in Britain, but the Government in India had made no provision for mass education and no professional education'. He listed the problems facing education as - lack of expenditure, neglect of vocational training, no training for skilled labour, modern languages and modern commerce. Later on in 1920s he felt that the 'education institutions neither enable a student to think independently nor to act independently. It does not lead to honest living.'

Lajpat Rai was happier about the state of primary education which he felt in 1906 was in better condition. The Government of India recognized their duty and contributed towards its growth and extension. There was also a considerable increase in the number of pupils receiving primary education in India. However, by 1917 he noted that primary education in India was in the worst position. Her felt the time spent under primary education was meager. He also pointed out that the government was unwilling to spend sufficient

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65. Lajpat Rai 'Message of Young India' Excerpts from the presidential address at the All India College Student Conference held at Nagpur 25th December 1920
66. Ibid
67. Lajpat Rai *England's Debt to India: A Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India* Delhi: Publication Division Govt. of India 1917/1967. 209
amount from its own revenues on primary education and therefore could not meet the existing object of life is to be good and efficient as a citizen and as a member of society.68

He was critical of the British policy to secondary education. He presented the contrast between the situation in Great Britain and India. The authorities in London were anxious that 'every boy and girl', whether rich or poor, should receive some sort of secondary education up to the age of twenty one, whereas the same authorities in India had ruled that the classes in rural schools be so formed as to exclude the possibilities of scholars "joining the ordinary secondary schools in towns." Whereas secondary education was encouraged in Britain, it was discouraged in India.69 Several conditions on private enterprise made it impossible for anyone to make an attempt in this direction with the imposition of conditions and hardly any difference was left between the education provided in the private and government institutions.

Lajpat Rai was certain that the British authorities were not taking an interest in the secondary education in India. There is inefficient secondary education due to lack of income from fees and other financial problems. He pointed out that even in London there are inefficient secondary schools where income from fees and endowment is not meager and that than our problem is obvious. At the same time Lajpat Rai noticed that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy raised a cry against higher education. "In the 1880's there was a cry against higher education as a result of which attention was withdrawn from secondary and high education".70 During this period some government colleges were abolished, a few transferred to private management and the fees in all government colleges and aided colleges were greatly raised. As a result, the Punjab was the most backward of the other provinces in the matter of university education. Lala Lajpat Rai was very much aware of the poor condition of higher education in the province but could make no effort to improve it at that time. In 1916 Lajpat Rai wrote that 'The Government of India

68. Lajpat Rai England's Debt of India 209 and also see Indu Banga and J.S. Grewal ed. Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect Chandigarh : Publication Bureau, Panjab University 2000. 261
69. Ibid
70. Under The Government Act of 1882 the higher education was retarded.
cannot even provide for high-class education in sciences, in engineering and in medicine for the simple reason that the higher positions in these professions they want to reserve for their own people. Of late the number of Indians educated and trained in these departments of knowledge in British and other foreign universities, has so increased as to become rather embarrassing to the Government of India. They cannot utilize them without reducing the number of Britishers in the services. This they do not desire. Therefore the competitive exams for higher services are held in England'.

He further noticed 'there is not a single place in India where an Indian student can do research work in chemistry or other sciences. While the country is full of mines, there is no place to learn mining. Hundreds of steamers come and go from Indian ports, but there is no place in India where an Indian youth can qualify himself even for the merchant marine, not to speak of the navy'.\footnote{Lajpat Rai \textit{Young India} Lahore:'Servants of People Society 1960. 49}  He was of the view that there is no single technological institute, even the private or aided technological institutes, in the country.

In a letter to the editor of \textit{The Tribune} dated November 1901, Lajpat Rai evaluated the object and performance of the Panjab University. He was of the idea that the Panjab University 'was giving no encouragement towards the vernaculars, translation and publication of good books and funds were not spent on them. He demanded that the grants should be equally distributed between the three vernaculars Hindi, Urdu and Gurumukhi and a committee should be appointed for this. There was no proper study of Indian languages and literature and no arrangement to prepare students for the Arts Examinations through the medium of vernaculars. The university lack specialists there was no improvement and extension of the Vernacular and Classical Sanskrit and no prescribed examinations in Sanskrit language and literature. He also objected to the teaching of Hindu scriptures on the system of the Oriental scholars of the West. He proposed more faculty and professors and open lectures to the students of all the affiliated colleges. Other points raised by Lajpat Rai were that the teaching of English and Sanskrit very defective with no notes and paraphrases; 'No good experts no grammar, and no sequence'. Sanskrit philosophy and laws should be
introduced; History and political economy was neglected; and there was no fair representation in the senate and commission. Lajpat Rai wanted that there should be a separate faculty for each subject. He stressed on physical welfare of the students and extension of boarding houses. He encouraged inter-collegiate debates, meetings, plays and dinners. He stressed on playground, libraries, scientific museum and Sport committee. He wrote their should be no restriction to fees and no interference in the rules of management and internal discipline. He proposed one subject for the BA and the doing away with compulsory subject in matriculation and the middle school examination.

Lajpat Rai was in favour of free elementary education and demanded that the Government should make arrangements for it. He further, pointed out that the total money sanctioned for education was not spent and that higher salaries were given only to Europeans. He clearly stated to the government that it is the first and the paramount duty of every state to see that each boy and girl received a certain amount of education at the cost of the nation.

Lajpat Rai was of the view that the government was not encouraging private effort. In the Tribune of 9th October 1906 he wrote that the government had introduced strict rules and regulation and made it impossible for private institutions to organize large funds, high class buildings, official goodwill and a very high state of efficiency which in all respects, are the basic requirements for a school.72 He knew that in the Punjab there was a strictness towards the private schools carrying high standards of efficiency, than other mission school. The government and the University impose conditions and restrictions upon private effort and discourages them.73 Lajpat Rai accepts the view that the government is neither willing to spend its own revenues on education nor will it tolerate the doing of it by the people for themselves unless the latter are prepared to place their funds and efforts under the control of the former.74 The government dominated the educational policy of the country for the purpose of strengthening their hold over the people.75

72. The Tribune 9th October 1906
73. The Indian Review Vol. II.1920.41
74. The Punjabee 25th July 1906
75. Lajpat Rai 'Education Under State Control' The Modern Review Jan 1921

119
Lajpat Rai was not very satisfied with the method of teaching adopted by the existing institutions. He felt it was necessary to discard the tone of command and authority between teacher and taught. There was no independence of thought and cramming was rewarded. He was not satisfied with the way languages were being taught. All the institutions preferred their own 'national' education. 'All the reform movements in Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Christianity all of them stressed on Mukli and Salvation'. He wanted to change this sentiment and protested against this tendency. He wanted to change their outlook towards life and believed that the most important job before us is to change the general psychology of our people and to create their interest in real life.

Lajpat Rai commented on the education for women. He quotes Dr. Leitner's valuable report on the education of women in the Punjab during the early 19th century. 'The Punjabi woman has, however, not only been always more or less educated herself, but she has also been an educator of others'. Punjabi women were to be found a teacher, just as the Guru or the Pandha. But at the same time he found a decline in female teaching since annexation. In a letter to the editor published in the Tribune of 28th March 1894 Lajpat Rai appreciated Lala Sunder Das Suri for the proposal for a Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Jullundhar but found it premature in Punjab. He wanted that female education should depend upon their needs.

Lajpat Rai provides 'an explanation for curtailment of women's education in practice, in spite of her full theoretical rights to education in the edic society was that she could fulfill her social function of motherhood. Lajpat Rai felt that an educated Hindu would not have his daughters and sisters go out into world in search of employment as the girls in Europe do. His opposition to women's economic independence is clear. He looks with suspicion at western women's attempt to chalk out an independent existence

76. Lajpat Rai 'National Education' The Modern Review March & April 1919
77. Lajpat Rai Unhappy India 37
78. Ibid 39
79. Lajpat Rai 'The Position of Indian Women' The Tribune 7th March 1915
for themselves and hints that their promiscuity and immorality might be linked to their work outside the homes.\textsuperscript{80}

In 1920 Lajpat Rai visualizes a more dignified and constructive role for women both within and outside the domestic sphere through education and an overall development of their personality or their womanhood. Equality of rights in certain areas were recommended and some sort of economic independence for women was granted. He also supported women's rights and women's movements to some extent. He further, wrote the upliftment of women of India is necessary from moral and social points of view.\textsuperscript{81} He assumed that a woman can never be independent, highlights inequalities and emphasized on roles other than in the domestic field. He advocates similar education for boys and girls, and adds that 'woman has as much need of individuality, freedom, resourcefulness initiative, courage, economic independence and intellectual growth as man has.\textsuperscript{82} He did not however take any action to put this into practice.

Lajpat Rai was of the view that the British Government did nothing for elementary universal education, because 'there is danger of even greater disaffection resulting therefrom, they cannot give technical education of a higher order, as that might interfere with British industries; they cannot protect Indian industries for the same reason; they cannot provide for real high class commercial education with a teaching of foreign languages and a knowledge of seafaring and navigation, as they do not want the Indians to directly engage in oversea trade and contract relations with other nations'.\textsuperscript{83} He clearly stated that social reform can be achieved by universal education and the State is not recognizing his duty because people and the state are not identical.\textsuperscript{84}

Lajpat Rai was very much impressed by the education system propagated by the Arya Samaj and became an active participant in the programme carried out by them. Lajpat Rai identified the causes which led to the foundation of the Arya Samaj. In order to face the then contemporary

\textsuperscript{80}. Lajpat Rai 'The Position of Indian Women' \textit{The Tribune} 7th March 1915
\textsuperscript{81}. Lajpat Rai 'Social Reconstruction in India: The Relation of the Sexes' \textit{The Modern Review} 1920
\textsuperscript{82}. Lajpat Rai 'The Position of Indian Women-II' \textit{The Tribune} 18th March 1915
\textsuperscript{83}. Lajpat Rai \textit{Young India} Lahore 1927 50
\textsuperscript{84}. \textit{The Modern Review} Vol. IV. 1908 No. 3 229-236
challenges posed by British rule and the activities of the Christian missionaries, Hinduism adopted an 'empirical, scientific and egalitarian' attitude. Moreover, the Arya Samaj movement was inspired by exploring the ancient history of India. The general atmosphere of contemporary enquiry and approach also nourished it to some extent. The charismatic personality of Swami Dayanand and his ability to mobilize public opinion against deep-rooted practices and customs led to the growth and popularity of the Arya Samaj.  

In the *Regenerator of Aryavarta* 3 March 1884, Lala Lajpat Rai wrote on the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. He noted the slow progress in the establishment of the institution and directed the attention of the Rajas and Maharajas of Rajputana to help the establishment for the benefit of the rising and future generations of *Bharatwarsh* and encouraged young Punjabis to raise subscription for the Anglo-Vedic College. In the *Tribune* of 22 March 1893, he pointed out the poor results of the Middle school examination of DAV school and finds it difficult to explain the cause of the bad result. It may be because of strict examination is his opinion. In 1892 Lajpat Rai wrote 'The Arya Samaj is yet in its infancy. Its members in the beginning were for the most part educated people who had learnt lessons in independence of character and in patriotism from western literature. They had gathered under the banner of Swami Dayanand having been influenced by the new movement. In a tract entitled *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College mein Talim Sanskrit Par Ek Mukhtarar Tarikh Nazar* written in 1893, originally in Urdu, Lajpat Rai wrote 'DAV movement is in initial stages and its progress depends on its followers'. He presented the history of the D.A.V. College, its scheme of education, boarding house, discussion on religious instruction and its managing committee to make it clear before the people. In the beginning, the Arya Samaj confined its activities to cooperating with the government in matters of education. It had no programme of its own. All schools and colleges were on the lines followed by the Government, with only one

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exception that is, a period in the school curriculum for religious instruction. In the Tribune dated 5 February 1890 he appreciated the Arya Samajists of the Punjab for their service in the matter of the growth of indigenous education and the DAV institution in producing scholars. He wanted it to be independent of the government and did not like any favour and interference in their management. He also pointed out the absence of Arya Samaj and DAV members in the Senate of the local university in spite of great educationists, like Lala Hans Raj and Lala Lal Chand.

Lajpat Rai is also appreciative of the activities of the traditional *gurukul* system. The *Gurukula* at Kangri was founded in 1902. Both branches of the Arya Samaj he felt, aimed at fostering 'national' spirit by bringing together Hindus of different classes, and laid stress on character building and religious unity among Hindus. Both were 'purely indigenous enterprises', shunning the government aid, and relying upon their own resources and effort. Both incurred the suspicion of the government for their self-reliance. Both systems of education included Sanskrit, Hindi, English and Science, but their relative weight was different in the college, laying more stress on English and Science, and the *Gurukula* on Vedic and Sanskrit learning and Hindi. By 1913, the college had become 'the biggest institutions in North India, and probably the second in the whole of India, in relation to numbers. Its management was exclusively in the hands of Hindus, and teaching was done only by Indians. The *Gurukula* prided itself in its independence in the text books and examination. In 1913 the Lieutenant Governor of United Province visited the *Gurukula* and found it to be 'one of the most original and interesting experiments carried on in these provinces, in fact in the whole of India'. The *Gurukul* however, also enslaved the mind of a child and confined the child in an isolated world, according to Lajpat Rai.

On the issue of language Lajpat Rai was not in favour of Sanskrit institutions. In a letter to Chetan Shah (Son of Civil Surgeon of Ludhiana) he accepted money for the J. Shah Memorial fund and made it clear that he was

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86. See Ganga Prasad Upadhya *The Origin Scope and Mission of The Arya Samaj* Allahabad 1940
not ready to alter the college into a purely Sanskrit teaching institution. In a speech on the inauguration of the DAV High School at Rawalpindi on 31st March 1899, published in the Tribune 13 April 1899, he stated that instruction in Hindi and Sanskrit will be made compulsory and stress will be on morality and Vedic religion. Sanskrit was not be the medium of instruction.

To Lala Ji the Arya Samaj was a socio-religious reform movement. He joined the Arya Samaj because of its noble principles and he said, ‘my life has been purified by doing service for it’. The Arya Samaj and other societies, were performing a great service for the regeneration of religion, were engaged in building a strong foundation of the nation and society’, he believed. They all deserve our help and aid’. He participated in their meetings. By 1912 Lajpat Rai was of the opinion that the Arya Samaj wanted to benefit mankind in general and add to the progress of man in the spiritual and on the moral plane. It also added to their physical happiness and tended to destroy all bondage whether of mind and body, discipline and self-control. ‘The educational work of the Arya Samaj, supported by a very large section of the best energy, intellect and public spirit of the province, monopolised all public attention for some time until the division of the Samaj... In his presidential address in one of the meetings of All India Arya Kumar Sabha on 18 and 19th October 1912, Lajpat Rai spoke on the mission of the Arya Samaj. He comments on modern education ‘....no fair-minded person can deny its beneficent results so far as the process of unification is concerned. A common system of education has brought about a feeling of commonality of interests in the different provinces of India, and has materially helped to strengthen the national feeling’. The Arya Kumar Sabha would provide healthy and useful reading, for youngman playground and encourage games and sports and elementary education to the depressed classes.

87. DAV College managing Committee papers file no. 212. 120 Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
88. Dhanpat Rai Life Story of Lala Lajpat Rai New Delhi 1976. 27
91. Address delivered by Lala Lajpat Rai as president of the third All India Arya Kumar Sammelan at Saharanpur. Reproduced from The Tribune
Since the Arya Samaj was unable to start their own system they decided to 'counteract the influences of British system by combining the two systems and establishing institutions which although prepared students for the university examination might, to a certain extent, remove defects which we complained of. It was under that impression that we started the Dayanand Anglo Vedic College.'92 'Looking back at the record of the DAV institution for the last 32 years of its life, giving all possible credit to the founder and managers and the leaders thereof for the best intentions and the best efforts, Lajpat Rai regretted to say that 'failure in their principal aims, expressed and unexpressed, is writ large on it'.93 As far as Arya Samaj was concerned he found that the Arya Samaj was more inclined towards Dayanand's concept of education and with time differences arose between different groups and politics entered the Samaj. Consequently, it could not see other development in the educational sphere. Other institutions were regionalized in Lajpat Rai's view and cared for their own interests rather than the needs of the children and society. He was rather partial to DAV institutions.

Lajpat Rai also comments on the activity of the socio-religious reform movements. The Brahmo Samaj according to Lajpat Rai owed a good deal of inspiration from the ideals of Christianity. It 'emancipated the souls of men from the bondage of superstition and blind faith in old customs, but failed to satisfy their patriotic languages for a national heritage because of its western orientation. It opened several institutions in Bombay, Bengal and Madras. It was a religious reform movement.94

In The Indian Social Reformer of 30th August 1903 he appreciated the Mohammedan Anglo-oriental College at Aligarh founded in 1875 by Syed Ahmed Khan as a standing monument of the religious and national zeal of the Mohammedans. 'They are proud of it. Its financial position is the best and the most secure of all the native institutions in the country. Its buildings are the most splendid, wide and extensive workers, capable and self-sacrificing'

92. Excerpts from the presidential address at the All India College Student Conference held at Nagpur on 25th December 1920
93. Lala Lajpat Rai 'Why the National Schools failed' 1920
94. V.C. Joshi Lala Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches Vol. I (xiv), 156 and 207
Lajpat Rai appreciated the efforts made by private educational institution at the same time he cautioned that, in the interest of national efficiency, they required to be watched with interest of national, great care and vigilance so that there was no chance of their getting 'narrower'. Private agencies had done and were doing, a good deal for the spread of literacy and for higher technical educational.

Lajpat Rai noticed that apart from the smallness of allocation of funds for education, there is a contrast in the amount spent on the education of the European population in India and Indian population. Education no doubt was the business of the State. He underlined the efforts made by the Indian legislators to make primary education compulsory. The first bill for this reform was introduced by Gokhale in 1911. It was opposed by the government on the ground that the time had not yet arrived for such a measure, funds were not available and the masses were opposed to compulsion on religious grounds. The second attempt was made in 1916 by V. J. Patel in the Bombay Provincial Council. The bill was thrown out by the official majority formulating the educational policy of the imperial government which had declared in 1913 that time for such compulsory legislation in primary education had not yet arrived. There was no scope for technical, industrial or agricultural training either. No steps were taken for universal education. As a result India lagged behind in terms of power, knowledge and technique. The private Indian enterprise did try to take initiative but did not make headway because of several imposed conditions. Education is no longer the monopoly of those who can pay for it. it is no longer sought as an act of benevolence or philanthropy. It is a national duty and obligation with which no state can trifle with impunity. Education is thus both compulsory and free; because the idea of corporate social responsibility has been fully geared and understood. 95 He clearly placed the responsibility of mass education on the colonial State. The education however was to be geared to meet the requirements of the people.

Lajpat Rai responded rather sharply to the contemporary educational scene. He was extremely critical of the education pattern introduced under colonial rule and considered the government hold on education a kind of monopoly. He was in fact, over-critical of the system and pointed out several limitations of the government education programme but failed to appreciate its positive elements. He was of the view that the new system that they devised for India was intended not to help the cultural or material progress of the Indian people but merely to make the work of administration easy. He further elaborates ‘there was a wide spread and well organized indigenous system to the needs of the elite classes, craftsmen and women. The British uprooted this system deliberately. This main purpose was to have a class of clerks and interpreters for their help’. Lajpat Rai felt the British had failed to introduced mass and compulsory primary education and had therefore, shunned the responsibilities of a State. The expenditure on education was rather small. Lajpat Rai was aware that a good system of education would require huge funds and suggested that funds should be furnished by the existing revenues, new taxes, economy in the department of public Administration and by national or provincial loans. The government is ‘neither willing to spend its own revenues on education nor will it tolerate the doing of it by the people for themselves unless the latter are prepared to place their funds and efforts under the control of the former.

He further noted that the scope for secondary, higher technical, industrial or agricultural training was minimal or even absent. Lajpat Rai wrote ‘In the whole length and breadth of the country there is not a single technological institute. The private or aided technological institutes are called by that name only by courtesy’. Lajpat Rai was of the view that the British government neglected to provide facilities for research. They did not stress on the study of Indian classical languages, history, political economy, philosophy

96. Lajpat Rai Unhappy India 46
97. Veena Sachdeva 'Lala Lajpat Rai on National Education' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 279
98. Lala Lajpat Rai The Problem of National Education 96
99. The Punjabee 25 July 1906
100. Lajpat Rai Young India 48

127
and law. There was no examination in the vernaculars. He found fault with the method of teaching where the stress was on cramming alone. He also pointed out that there was no Indian representation in the education department and governing bodies of higher education. He felt strongly that higher education should be autonomous and not under the stranglehold of the colonial government.

Lajpat Rai believed that the British government was quite discouraging to private effort. The government however, was hardly taking interest in the educational institutions and were infact, hostile to them. Their hostility to the prevailing systems of education stemmed from political motives. In the Tribune of 9th October 1906, he wrote that the government had introduced strict rules and regulation and made it impossible for private institutions to come into existence. Large funds, high-class buildings, official goodwill and a very high state of efficiently in all respects are the basic requirements for a school. He felt, 'it was almost impossible to bring about a radical change in the system of education in India, unless there was a substantial change in the attitude of government towards education and in their educational policy'.

Lajpat Rai firmly believed that the State should take the responsibilities of education. He held the view that 'it is the duty of the government to provide free and wholesome education to every child at public cost, and that education should be compulsory up to the age of 18. Lajpat Rai was of the opinion that the state did not ignite a 'national spirit' though he also comments on the uniformity and national feeling of community this education created. His views are thus, rather contradictory and Lajpat Rai is not clear on his stance in this respect.

He is however, sure that the government had not given adequate attention to education at primary, secondary or the higher level. The major failure according to Lajpat Rai was of the absence of a mass, compulsory system of education.

Lajpat Rai was not at all appreciative of the government education system. Yet he did admit at the same time that the new system did some

101. Lajpat Rai The Man in His Word 180 and also see Young India 71-75
benefit for Indians. He wrote '...no fair-minded person can deny its beneficent result so far as the process of unification is concerned. A common system of education has brought about a feeling of community of interests in the different provinces of India, and has materially helped to strengthen the national feeling'. He appreciated the government efforts to aid to the indigenous institutions but was not satisfied with the nature of these institutions.

Lajpat Rai ignores certain positive elements of the government educational system and the efforts to extend education to the people. He overlooked the variety of schools introduced by the government to meet the requirements of the different categories of Indians like Vernacular, Anglo-Vernacular, rural and night schools. He also failed to notice the different levels of schools for the people according to their needs – primary, middle, higher and professional. The colonial educational system included medical, engineering, law, teachers training—a beginning towards vocational education, however, preliminary. These beginnings are ignored by Lajpat Rai. He tends to overlook the aid given to private, indigenous and other educational institutions of the Arya Samaj by the government. He also failed to notice the standardization, and checks that the government tried to introduced via rules, regulations and inspections to be made by the government officials, or the attempt to do so.

The content of education was widened and related to the level of education at this time -- western science, history, geography, hygiene and physical education were added to existing vernacular languages and the 3 R's. Lajpat Rai's fails to comment on this change. The government introduced colleges for medicine, veterinary, law, teachers training, railway technical training and Mayo schools of arts. All these efforts made by the state were overlooked by Lajpat Rai or given bare mention. The colonial government was trying to provide a mass education by locating a school within walking distance of each village but all these positive elements of government policy are ignored by Lajpat Rai. The wide network of schools established under

103. Lajpat Rai 'The Mission of Arya Samaj' The Tribune 24th October 1912
colonial rule and massive increase in the number of students seeking new professional education and later employment, are undermined by Lajpat Rai.

Lajpat Rai any how reinforced his ideas in emphatic terms that 'no education given under the aegies of a foreign government could be solely for the benefit of the country which was governed by them. All governments first looked to their own interests and they established educational institutions in order to strengthen themselves'. The nature of education and its management may have had several gaps and loopholes, but it was definitely a quantitative change which swept the educative Indian into a rapidly growing middle-class by virtue of the colonial education system. The colonial education provided a platform for a development of a logical, rational thinking and questioning mind and an ongoing educational debate – as seen in Lajpat Rai himself.

Lajpat Rai's second focus in contemporary education was on the Arya Samaj institutions. He was very appreciative to the educational activities undertaking by the Arya Samaj. He seems to be slightly biased in favour of them it and finds excuses for the slow progress of education under the Arya Samaj citing 'lack of money' and 'bad results because of strict examination' as the causes. He also pointed out that Arya Samaj institutions are in their infancy. Lajpat Rai credits the Arya Samaj with a new Anglo Vedtic system of education. He was well aware of the fact that the government educational pattern was followed by the Arya Samaj. The Arya institutions followed the same content and examination system as the government institutions, with the addition of Sanskrit and religions studies and later on a theological department and Aurvedic medicine. It was therefore, a minor modification of the government system of education, a 'combination' of both the systems which remained largely 'Anglo' and less 'Vedic'. In Unhappy India Lajpat Rai credited the Arya Samaj with playing an important role in the

104. The Report of first session of the All India College students conference held at Nagpur 25-26th December 1920 Nagpur: Executive Body of the Reception Committee 31-32
105. Regenerator of Aryavarta 3rd March 1884
106. The Tribune 22nd March 1893
movement for the education of law-caste children and remarked that it was gaining strength along with Christian Missionaries. He does not however, provide any details or discussion on such activities. It seems therefore, that this was more an ‘ideal’ on the ground rather than reality.

Lajpat Rai’s views on the education of girls too was rather restrictive under the impact of the Arya Samaj movement. An increased sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of women as human beings does become visible in Lala Lajpat Rai’s thinking. ‘However, in concrete terms, it remained confined initially to visualizing a larger space for women as individuals within the traditional roles assigned to them as wives, mothers and daughters in a patriarchal family’.108 This explains the limits of Lajpat Rai’s vision of women’s role in the reformed society as well as his reluctance to provide higher education to women. He did not visualize any concrete programme for enhancement of abilities in the initial phase of his thinking. In 1920 however, Lajpat Rai visualized a more dignified and constructive role for women both within and outside the domestic sphere through education and an overall development of their personality or their womanhood. Equality of rights in certain areas were recommended and some sort of economic independence for women was given approval. At this time somehow, he was willing to rework fundamental issues concerning women in the new age.109 According to him education should produce good citizens, leading men to their full manhood and women to their full womanhood.110

Lajpat Rai seems to present a partial and incomplete view of colonial system of education. He did not respond to the whole of the contemporary education scene and is rather silent on the activities of missionary schools opened by the Christian. They do however, figure clearly as competitors for example ‘as gaining strength along with Christian missionary’. He also does not discuss the indigenous schools and their position in the early twentieth century. He appreciated the government aid to the indigenous institutions but was not satisfied with the nature of there institutions, through he did not

108. Sunita Pathania ‘The Position of Women in India’ *Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect* 203
109. Ibid 213
110. Seema ‘Lajpat Rai on Gender Relations’ *Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect* 255
attempt to being about changes in them or suggest change. He is also silent on the educational activities or concerns of the Singh Sabha, Dev Samaj and Sanatan Dharam movements which contributed to the contemporary education. In fact, Lajpat Rai seem to suggest that the missionaries had contributed towards education and that the Arya Samaj was trying to make its efforts. Yet he is silent on their roles. The aims of independence both political and economic that Lajpat Rai had for India seem to have extended into the sphere of education. The ideals of Nationalism, Swadeshi and anti-imperialism found expression in his severe critique of government education. Lajpat Rai made no suggestions for improvement nor did he identify the means by which the problems could be solved.

Lajpat Rai does not take serious interest in the content of education. His discussion on the contemporary education focuses largely on the government limitations in this sphere and not on the kind of content he felt was lacking. Lajpat Rai does not make any attempt to provide solutions or means to improve the existing education system and minimize its problems. His critique seems more a, politically motivated one than a 'deep and serious' lifelong interest in education.

Lajpat Rai was extremely unhappy with the colonial system of education. He reacted strongly to the new education pattern introduced by the British and underlined its serious limitations. He ignored the positive impact of this system, as well as the contribution of other socio-religious reform movement of the region. He held the view that 'it is the duty of the government to provide free and wholesome education to every child at public cost'. He felt that state had seriously neglected its duty to provide mass elementary education and where the state fails the private effort should be made. He felt that there was a need for change in the educational system. He wanted the Indianization of the education system. The need was not only improvement of teaching but also the transfer of the direction of Indian education to Indian hands. He sought a qualitative change whereas the government was working towards the increase in quantity, the numbers. He wanted to inculcate

111. Lajpat Rai The Political Future of India New York: B.W. Huebsch 1919. 195
112. Veena Sachdeva 'Lala Lajpat Rai on National Education' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 266

132
the feeling of nationalism through education. Therefore, he urged for a new programme of education, favoured the discarding of the government and the education system of Arya Samaj, and wanted to mobilize the adoption of a new scheme of National Education, specially devised for India's future and progress.