CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION

"It is believed, that both the necessity and encouragement for the Educational measure exist as much in the Panjab as in any Province or in the Presidency. There are less prejudices and fewer elements of passive hinderance or active opposition here than elsewhere," said the First Administration Report of the Panjab. The Sikh fanaticism and political fervor were dying out. The Hindus were less superstitious and less priest-ridden. The Mahomedans of the Plains, as contra-distinguished from those of the Hills and the Frontier, though formidable in numbers, were less bigotted, less bound by traditional practice, than their co-religionists in any part of India. The upper classes displayed a candid intelligence and inquisitiveness in respect of Asiatic learning and European science. The Agricultural classes, though incouth, were less apathetic and less illiterate in their tastes than could have been expected; the village accountants displayed a skill not surpassed, and often not equalled in the rest of India. The working classes evinced a considerable aptitude in mechanical art. "On the whole, then", it was reported, "the Panjab is ripe for the introduction of an educational scheme."

EDUCATION BEFORE ANNEXATION

But this did not mean that before the annexation of Panjab by the British, the Panjab had no efficient educational system of its own. In fact the respect of learning had always been the redeeming feature of "the East" and to this the Panjab had formed no exception. Torn by invasion and civil war it ever preserved and aided to educational endowments. The most unscrupulous chief, the avaricious money-lender, and even the freebooter, vied with the small land owner in making peace with his conscience by founding schools and rewarding the learned.

The schools in the Panjab, before annexation, were of three descriptions, namely those resorted to by Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindu schools, writing and rudiments of arithmetic were generally taught, in the Hindi character; at the Muslim schools were read the Quran in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadee, in Persian (the Gulistan and Bostan); and at the Sikh schools, were read the Granth in Gurmukhi, or the repository of the faith, taught by Nanak and Guru Govind.

Persian schools were generally under Mahommedan teachers, and were attached to mosques. The system of instruction pursued in a Persian school was practically efficient, though not such as could then be approved in Europe. In the Persian

2. Leitner, p.i.
maktab, Hindus were found in large numbers, and in the Hindi school was often a Muslim whose ancestors might have been Hindu teachers.

In the Panjab, the commercial hand had little or nothing in common with the Nagari or Gurumukhi, which were used in manuscript books, and were equally suitable for printing.

Making allowances for the difference of language and subjects, the Sanskrit schools resembled very much the Arabic schools. Most of the elderly scholars in a Sanskrit school studied for the priestly office, and several of them begged their bread from place to place.

The school houses were in the Panjab, as elsewhere, primitive; such as private dwelling, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the court-yard of a temple. The Muslim schools were nearly all connected with the village mosque. In such case, the same endowment would support both institutions. The remuneration of the teachers was variable and precarious. It frequently consisted of presents, - grain and sweetmeats, given by scholars and their parents. But occasionally the whole community subscribed for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which was considered to represent his means: not unfrequently also, cash payments were made, and sometimes regular salaries were allowed. Cash allowances were perhaps more usual in the Panjab than in other parts of India. The average income of a teacher, at the time of annexation, was

5. A. R. 1849-50 to 1850-51, pp.143-144.
found hardly to exceed Rs.2 a month in cash, but offerings in kind and fees for performing religious ceremonies formed a material addition to their means of subsistence.

A remarkable fact in education before annexation was that female education was to be met with in all parts of the Panjab. The girls and the teachers (also females) belonged to all of the three great religions, namely Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. Nor was education confined to the religious and mercantile classes, it was also open to the few agriculturists who cared to attend the schools. That all the classes in the Panjab had a love for learning was proved beyond doubt when, seeing that the Government interest itself in the subject; numerous petitions were presented to the local authorities praying for the establishment of schools, immediately after the annexation.

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DECLINE OF THE INDIGENOUS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

(A) DECLINE OF THE INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

"The history of education", quoted the Punjab Education Report of 1872-73, is the battle-ground and burial-ground of impracticable theories; and one who studies it is soon taught to abate his constructive self-confidence, and to endeavour
humbly to learn the lessons and harmonize the results of
experience."

The Panjab became a British province in 1849, and in one of
the earliest declarations of policy then made, the intention of
Government to take in hand the work of educating the masses was
emphatically declared. The first step of the authorities in the
field in 1849 was thus, to ascertain what the people had been
doing themselves in the way of education. Though the complete
and fully reliable figures regarding the number of schools in
existence and that of the scholars studying in them could not
be collected, the figures for the three following Divisions
of the Panjab as reported in the first Administration Report,
may here be quoted, in order to have an approximate idea about
the existing conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>One school to every 1,000 inhabitants</th>
<th>One scholar to every 1,000 inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1,783.98</td>
<td>214.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhelum</td>
<td>1,441.90</td>
<td>193.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>1,666.66</td>
<td>210.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The best course for the spread of education in the Panjab
would have been to improve the indigenous schools without
absorbing them if they were not up to the expected standard and

2. Education Commission Report of the Provincial Committee for
   Panjab, 1882.
3. Foreign, Political 1851, 31 January; 26-Orders are passed for
   the collection of the information; A.R. 1892-93, p.319.
to create new schools in order to add to their number. And in theory, this plan which had already been tried in the North-West Provinces but failed, was actually contemplated in the Panjab, when the education Despatch of 1854 recommended the encouragement and improvement of the indigenous schools. But unfortunately the abandonment of the plan for improvement of indigenous schools by grants-in-aid in the Panjab was approved in the Court of Directors Education letter No.23, dated 27th May 1856, and the experiment which was only performed for two years was now abandoned as a complete failure. The Government system, however, though not direct was exercising an indirect influence over the indigenous schools and it was reported in 1862 that the teachers and pupils of one of the indigenous schools had solicited Government officers to assist them in studying arithmetic and geography. Some of the students of the normal school were accordingly deputed for the purpose. Again from 1865 to 1869, the Government attempted to supplement the village school system by aiding any indigenous school which might accept aid on easy conditions, and the experiment excited a good deal of interest, although it may have been adopted on too small scale, and without

5. see Education Commission Report by the Provincial Committee, 1884, p.593.
7. This scheme of improvement was tried but abandoned after two years as according to the authorities, the scheme could not succeed. But, according to the critics of the Government two years was too small a period for the purpose - see Leitner, 22.
any special establishment. But the results were not encouraging. The indigenous teachers would not work for the Government, unless they were promised the full advantages (as regards wages) of belonging to the establishment.

The Education Commission of 1882, once again, recommended the recognition and encouragement of indigenous schools so far as they could be made to serve any purpose of secular education. And in accordance with its recommendations, the Panjab Government laid down rules for the award of grants to indigenous schools according to various simple standards; and all public officers were required to bring to notice any school that might appear suitable for a grant and the managers of which might desire it. But the tendency of the indigenous school system to decline could not be arrested.

In 1883 the number of indigenous schools and that of boys studying in them was reported to be 13,109 and 135,384, respectively. From 1885 efforts were directed to bring indigenous schools under the influence of the Department, and of the 1,836 such schools returned in 1883, with 104,404 scholars, 651 schools with 24,517 scholars were examined for grants. In 1896 the number of indigenous schools was 5,368 with 82,184 pupils but in 1901, the number of the schools had decreased to 4,356 with 5,801 fewer pupils. In 1902 it was reported that indigenous schools had decreased by 2,986 since 1993. With

11. see ibid Summary and Recommendations, p.80 etc.
15. A.R. 1900-1901.
the exception of the year 1894 and 1899, when Private Institutions showed an increase of 47 and 24 respectively, each year since 1893 had closed with a fall in the number of such schools, which according to the authorities showed that the rudimentary instructions given in them was no longer considered adequate.

(B) ENGLISH EDUCATION

As the indigenous system of schools declined in the Panjab, new schools were constructed according to the English plan. Before 1854, however, although the promise of taking in hand the work of educating the masses was not forgotten, its performance was delayed by various causes, and by that year only about a dozen schools had been established.

In 1854 the Education Department was organized which was administered at first by a Director, 2 Inspectors of Schools, 10 Deputy Inspectors, and 60 Sub-Deputy Inspectors. The schools, directly supported by Government consisted of 24 Zilah schools, 100 inasili schools, and 4 Normal schools. A cess of 1 per cent on the land revenue which, according to Dr. Leitner, was originally meant only to be devoted to the indigenous schools, was spent in maintaining schools entirely under the control of the Department, each of which might serve a cluster of villages.

2. See Leitner, 22.
The Persian script, already in use throughout the Western Punjab and in two-thirds of the indigenous schools of the eastern districts, was unhesitatingly adopted as the standard, but the choice of language offered greater difficulties. Panjabi, the Panjab Administration Report of 1851-55 had reported "is now rapidly falling into desuetude". Panjabi as a spoken language was also losing its currency and degenerating into a provincial and rustic dialect, whereas Urdu was becoming familiar to the upper and middle classes. So it was prescribed that Persian Urdu with the Persian script was to be taught in schools under Government patronage, as Urdu was "becoming more than a lingua franca" Gurmukhi and Hindi schools were, however, to be encouraged wherever the people desired them.

6. The principle over which the choice of Urdu was based, was, according to Dr. Leitner, connected more with worldly ambitions than mental and moral culture. Urdu and, subsequently, English were welcomed as an avenue and claim to employment under Government by the more needy in the community and by those who wished to ingratiate themselves with the authorities. (Leitner, ii.) The feeling of the lovers of Panjabi were naturally injured with this choice and even as late as 1891 we find Civil and Military Gazette recommending the adoption of Panjabi as the medium of education in the province. But the supporter of Urdu were stronger and Kaisar-ul-Akhbar (Karnal) in its issue dated March 1891, condemned these recommendations as mischievous. The Urdu language had been considerably enriched by means of translation of scientific works, according to the writer, and those who were taught through the medium of that language could learn western sciences without knowing English. There were no scientific works in Panjabi and the writer then went on to show that the Urdu was the lingua franca of India. (Home, Secret, N.F.R. Panjab, 1891, p.99.)
An important change was made in the system of Administration in 1860. When the Education Department was first formed under the direction of Mr. Arnold, it was based on the principle of having separate departments, to be worked by Educational Officers. The Inspectors and Sub-inspectors were to act only as the local representatives of the Director.

The dissociation of the Civil and Educational departments was not found to be practically successful. The supervising native agency then available proved to be inferior, and often untrustworthy. The fact of Education being a department by itself, in which the Civil officers had no direct concern, caused them too often to manifest a want of interest in this important subject; and the result was apathy and indifference on the part of the people.

In 1860 the chief modifications introduced were that the Vernacular schools, which formed the great majority, were transferred to the charge of Deputy Commissioners. The Indian Deputy Inspectors were dismissed, or employed in reduced salaries as School Maharrirs, and after certain other attempts, each district was provided with a District Inspector or Chief School Maharrir, who was subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner. The Department became subordinate directly to the Government, without interference of any other officer.

In 1862 an enthusiastic movement was initiated in favour of female education. In 1864 Government colleges were established at Lahore and Delhi. At the latter place there had been one

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7. R.E., 1863-64, p.69.
before the Mutiny; which had since then been in abeyance. In 1868 the Anjuman-i-Panjab was founded and in connection with it a scheme was originated for establishing an Oriental University. Between 1868 and 1870 the policy of reducing the number of schools, and of expending the saving affected in greatly improving the pay and position of school teachers, led to the closure of some 300 schools, 10,000 scholars being struck off the rolls. The status of the village school masters was, however, considerably improved. In 1869 their pay had been fixed in grades of Rs.5,7, and 10 per mensum, now it was determined that no teacher, excepting assistants, should draw less than Rs 10 per mensum.

Before the Decentralization in 1871, the main difficulties of the Department had been the insufficient financial sources. The main financial sources were the Imperial Revenues and the Local Revenues which (the latter) consisted of Educational cess, Endowments, Subscriptions and Donations, Fees and Private contributions. But the Educational cess was not spent entirely for the purpose it was raised, being burdened with charges not appropriately belonging to it and in 1865, the Director actually remonstrated to the Government in reference to the insufficient sources.

The effect of the financial decentralization along with the Panjab Local Rates Act of 1871, in the course of the

10. ibid, 321; A.R. 1868-69 (General Summary).
13. See chapter on Financial Developments.
next few years was to double the amount hitherto received from the Educational cess, which now became merged in the District Fund, and thus to increase largely the means for the education of the agricultural classes. Meanwhile increased assignments were made by Municipalities, and in 1873-74 the numbers on the rolls of village schools exceeded by 20,000 the lowest figure reached in 1869-70 after the reduction described above.

The expenditure upon education continued to increase and learning from the Education Report of the year before, that the annual expense borne by the State in teaching one boy was Rs.813-10-7, the Rahbar-i-Hind remarked in its issue dated 2nd Sept., 1876 that, inspite of the enormous expenditure incurred on the department, the progress of education did not appear to be satisfactory, the blame for which the paper put on the idleness of the educational officers. The editor suggested the abolition of the posts of the inspectors of schools who drew large salaries, performance of an annual tour by the Director throughout the province visiting all schools and colleges and enhancement of the efficiency of the Indian inspecting staff by increase of their salary.

Important measures adopted immediately subsequent to the decentralization in 1871, may here be referred to briefly. The Middle School Examination to test the proficiency of the scholars mid-way between the Primary and Entrance Standards, had been instituted in 1869; and in 1872-73 the first examination by the Upper and Lower Primary Standards were held by

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the Inspectors. The classification of schools according to stages of instruction was gradually introduced during the next few years. In 1877 the Government College at Delhi was abolished, with the view to having as fully equipped college for the province at Lahore. In 1875 the Mayo School of Industrial Art was established at Lahore, and in 1881 was established the Central Training College for the supply of trained teachers for English Schools and for Secondary Vernacular Schools.

The policy of the Government in regard to education till 1881 had been to bring primary education within the reach of all, but in regard to higher education, to aim at affording the means of attaining proficiency to those only who were ready to bear a fair share of its cost. It had further been the aim of Government to throw the cost of primary education as far as possible on the local resources; and the amount which was spent on this account from Municipal and District fund revenue was annually increasing. And when in 1882, the Education Commission recommended alongwith the creation of facilities for the transfer of Government institutions to local management, the increased efforts in favour of the extension of Primary Education, the Press in the Panjab generally expressed their views against the step. The prevailing opinion among the majority of the papers was, that

18. see Education Commission,— The Provincial Committee for the Panjab, 1882, pp.30 etc.
the real object of the Government was to check the progress of advanced education, and this was, in more or less measured terms, generally condemned by them all foremost among which seemed to be Sajjan Kirti Sudhakar, Kavi Vachan Suda, Bharat Bandu and Panjabi Akhbar. According to Sahas and Rahbar-i-Hind, the encouragement of elementary education was laudable enough, provided always taxation was not increased, and higher education was not prejudiced. According to Bharat Bandhu, Kavi Vachan Sudha, Cudh Akhbar and Aligarh Gazette, the Government was afraid that the higher education fostered political discontentment. But this, they pleaded, was wrong. The well educated men were rather the best friends of the Government, they asserted.

Inspite of all the criticism from the Press, the recommendations of the Education Commission, after 1882, not only formed the basis of a new departure in matter of public instructions but continued to supply lines for guidance in all parts of the educational movement. In 1883-84 a sum of Rs.8,000 from Provincial Revenues was assigned for the establishment of new Primary Schools, on condition that an equivalent amount should be devoted to the same purpose from Local Funds. In 1886-87 a further allotment of over a lakh of rupees from Provincial Revenues was provided for the extention and improvement of Primary education; and a number of Zamindari Schools, intended to meet the special simple requirements of the agricultural class, were opened in nearly every district. In the same year all schools for general

education, with the exception of the Model or Practicing Schools attached to Training Institutions, were transferred to the management of Municipal Committees, and rules were laid down with the view to affording every encouragement to their conversion into Aided schools, when adequate guarantees of efficiency and permanency were available. Rules were also framed making the further extension of Secondary Education ordinarily dependent on contributions from private sources.

To give greater variety to the studies in Secondary Schools, a Clerical and Commercial Course was adopted by the Panjab University as alternative with the ordinary Entrance Course, and leading to office and business occupation rather than to continued University studies, and also a Special Science Course, fitting either for further scientific study or for some technical line of life. New rules for the levy of fees were introduced in 1886, aided institutions being required to fix their rates not less than three-fourth of those laid down for Government and Board Schools. The grant-in-aid rules were entirely recast in 1886, embodying the system of payment-by-results. In 1886 the circles of inspection were made to correspond with the Revenue divisions of the province; considerable improvement was effected in the position and prospects of District Inspectors; and in these and other ways the efficiency of the inspecting staff was largely augmented.

In 1889 an Inspectress of Schools was appointed. Education Conferences were held annually from 1886, to discuss all matters affecting educational work in the province.

21. A.R. 1885-86, p.130; see also Home, Secret, N.P.R., Panjab, etc. 1884-pp. 462-64.
22. A.R. 1885-86, p.130.
Considerable progress was made in many other directions. By 1893, each Inspectitional Circle had one Training Institution, the Model Schools attached to the Training Institutions had been placed on an improved footing. Normal classes for the training of Female Teachers had been instituted in several Girl's Schools. Further progress was made in the Technical and Industrial Education in the three years following 1886. Prior to this Medical and Veterinary Colleges, the Law School, the Engineering class of the University, and the Mayo School of Industrial Art were the only technical institutions in the province, the few so-called industrial schools being mere workshops in which inferior articles were made at a high cost. Now the functions of the Mayo School were extended and in 1889, the Railway Technical School at Lahore was opened; courses of instruction, both in general and technical subjects, had been prescribed for Industrial School and rules were framed for the award of grants to Aided Industrial Schools.

**SKETCH OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS FOR GENERAL EDUCATION.**

The schools for general education, whether departmental or aided, after the introduction of the classification according to stages of instruction, were known as Vernacular or English, and as Primary or Secondary. Primary Schools afforded a course of instruction extending over five years, and terminating with an examination called the Upper Primary Examination. There were

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23. see A.R. 1889-90, p. 211.  
25. see above.  
26. Lower Primary Examination was abolished in 1898.
five classes, of which the first three formed the lower Primary School and the fourth and fifth the Upper Primary School. In the lower Primary section of both English and Vernacular Schools there was a uniform course of study. In the Upper Primary section again, the subjects of study were the same in both kinds of schools with the exception that in place of English in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools the Vernacular Schools had mensuration.

A secondary school was either Middle School or High School. A Middle School contained a Primary and Middle Department, the Primary Department consisting of an extra course, extending over three classes, and terminating with the Middle School Examination. A High School embraced a Primary, Middle and High Department, the first two corresponding to a Middle School, and the last having a course of two years, and terminating with the Entrance Examination. The above system of classification was obligatory in Government and Board Schools and had been adopted almost without exception, in Aided Schools. Here again, in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools English was compulsory, but the place of which was taken by Euclid and Algebra for Vernacular scholars. On passing the entrance examination in English, students were admitted to the Arts Colleges, and on passing in the Vernacular to the Oriental College Lahore. The Middle School Examination was first conducted by the Educational Department; but in 1884 it was made over to the Panjab University.

UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB.- It was in the year 1882 that the Panjab University was established at Lahore. Prior to that year colleges and schools had been affiliated to the Calcutta University. A brief account may here be given of this development.

It was Dr. Leitner who, soon after joining the Lahore Government College as its Principal in 1864 (just founded), founded an association, the 'Anjuman-i-Panjab', under which the 'Oriental Movement' was started for the foundation of a National University in the Panjab. The proposal to establish a University at Lahore was recommended by the Panjab Government in 1868. The Government of India did not sanction the scheme and after some correspondence with them a compromise was accepted by the Government of Panjab as a step towards the fulfilment of their design. The new institution, which was styled "The Panjab University College" was established in 1870 with a governing body called the "Senate" and the following principles:

1. To promote the diffusion of European science, as far as possible, through the medium of the indigenous languages of the Panjab, and the improvement and extension of indigenous literature generally;

2. To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature;

3. To associate the learned and influential classes with Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.

To carry out this policy the University College endowed lecturerships, literary fellowships, and scholarships; and held public examinations in various subjects of study which it was desired to encourage. Oriental School and College was established at Lahore with the expectation that it would be largely attended by Maulvis and Pandits, men already versed in Arabic or Sanskrit, who would return, after receiving a scientific training, to their hereditary occupation.

Examinations in Arts were held by the Panjab University College, which corresponded with those of the Calcutta University. In 1879, it was found that the examination of the Panjab University College were inferior in difficulty to those of the Calcutta University. Accordingly an influential committee was appointed as a result of the acceptance of the recommendations of which, the standard of the examinations of the College was raised. But in most instances the students were compelled to present themselves for both, the examination of the Panjab University College and that of the Calcutta University, the result being a confusion and misdirection of energy which was most prejudicial to the true interest of high education.

Nor had the desire of the people of the Panjab for a University of their own ever abated. The question was revived in 1878 in connection with a movement made at the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on 1st January 1877, and

3. R.B. 1878-79 (see Summary).
the Secretary of State being satisfied that the examinations of the Panjab University College were of such a nature as to justify that body being entrusted with the power to grant degrees, accorded his permission to the introduction of an Act for the incorporation of a University in 1880. An Act for this purpose was accordingly passed in 1882 as Act XVII of that year, and on 14th October the Panjab University was incorporated and received the power of conferring Degrees for Oriental Learning and Arts.

In the First Convocation Address on 18th November, 1882 at Noon, remarked Lord Ripon—the foundation of this University, which makes oriental studies its chief and foremost aim, is likely to induce not only to the benefit of the people of India, aye, and as we have seen in the case of some of the men who have just come before us, to that of the people of other parts of Asia also—but, at the same time, to the advantage of Europeans in this country and in the West (cheers).

Lord Ripon hailed, with the greatest satisfaction, the circumstance that this University had been established by the contributions of the Indian princes and gentlemen of the province, and that the management of the institution would rest so largely in their hands. He saw in the system upon which the University was founded an earnest and determined effort to associate with the Government, in their educational projects, the leaders of opinion in that great province. It would, he added, greatly further and assist the great political object of aiding and advancing the political training of the people.

in the conduct of their own local affairs, because by such an institution being controlled by the local men, a useful and political lesson of self-help, self-training in the management of their own affairs and reliance would be afforded.

In addition to its ordinary duty as the chief public Examining Body of the Province, the aims of the University were embodied in its threefold function; the first of which was to watch over the Vernacular literature in the Panjáb, both translated and original; the second was to encourage, not only English education, but education of a national character and Oriental tone—of course through the medium of the indigenous languages; and the third was to act as a sort of public council to give advice to Government on all educational matters when consulted.

The University was empowered to grant degrees in Medicine in 1866, and degree in Law and Science in 1891.

PART PLAYED BY THE INTELLECTUAL CLASSES OF THE PANJAB.—That the intellectual classes of the Panjáb were not devoid of the feeling of love for the development of the education of their unprivileged brothers in this respect, is too clear from the criticism of the government policy that the Press continued to offer right from the beginning of the spread of the English Education in the country. Some of the papers in the Panjáb,

8. Thapar, K.B.—Convocation Addresses, 1895, pp.4-9.
1. see above.
indeed, had their own sworn principles as to how the education in the Panjab should be carried on and this may be clear from the violent criticism that they sometimes offered of the Government Policy. The Akhbar-i-Am, thus, referring to the Lieutenant-Governor’s opening speech in praise of the University remarked in 1882 that, he must have been deceived by some "malicious foreigner", or otherwise he could hardly have ventured to tell "deliberate lies in open Darbar". Yet in the actual field of action, as to take education in their own hands, the people were slow to come.

Policy of the Government in education was gradually to withdraw in whole or in parts from the task of direct instruction, and in July 1854 the Court of Directors authorised the adoption in India of a system of Grant-in-aid as the best and most effective mode of calling out private efforts in aid of education. Yet it was noticed in 1876 that the grant-in-aid system, had up to that time in the Panjab, been used almost exclusively by the Missionaries.

It was only in the "eighties of the 19th century that the people began to take more and more interest in education, in this respect. In the Convocation Address of the Panjab University on 18th November, 1882, Lord Ripon hailed with the greatest satisfaction that the University had been established.

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4. Home (Education), 1864, 3 August, 7-9.
5. A.R. 1892-93, p.322.
by the contributions of the Indians themselves. Sir James
Broadwood Lyall, Chancellor of the Panjab University expressed
his pleasure on 29th November, 1890 that in the last five
years, there had arisen in the Panjab for the development of
education, independent movements like Arya Samaj and
Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. And he noticed that quite recently,
a number of Sikh gentlemen had combined to secure the
establishment of a Sikh Central School and College. He was
satisfied that all these movements wished to effectually
combine religious with intellectual education, but they did
not indicate any narrow spirit of bigotry or reactionary
feeling in regard to education. In 1893 again, it was reported
that private enterprise was taking more interest and a special
mention was made of Arya Samaj in this connection. In 1899
and again in 1902, it was reported that development of private
enterprise in education was a remarkable feature of the last
few years.

THE NET ACHIEVEMENT:— In 1861-62 in the Panjab, there
were in all 1,982 schools either maintained or aided by the
Government, having 52,480 scholars. In 1900 the total number
of the Public Education Institutions was reported to be
3,123 and that of scholars in them 189,405. The number of

6. see above.
7. see also Socio-Religious and Literary Movements. Chapter V.
8. Thapar, K.B., 36-37; see also A.R., 1892-93 (summary)
13. A.R. 1899-1900 (summary)
colleges in 1900 was 14 and that of the schools for Special Instructions, 21. The Census Returns of 1901 showed that in the total population only 1 in every 26 was literate, i.e. able to read or write. The statistics could not be compared with those of the census of 1891 when a distinction was drawn between literates and learners. Among Hindus and Sikhs the proportion of literates was 1 in 15; among Mahomedans it was 1 in 60. Of the total literates 1 in 10 knew English. Since 1891, proportion of literates in English among the male population had more than doubled.

(3)

UNEQUAL BENEFICIARIES

The first impression of the people when they heard of the Government Education scheme, was that their children were to be taught in exactly the same way as formerly by the Mian or Pandit, but that the teachers were in future to be paid by the Government instead of by the parents; and so long as this notion prevailed, the Government Education was, actually, extremely popular. Both teachers and scholars, however, particularly objected to the study of Urdu. To educate a boy teaching him his own language seemed to them to be almost a contradiction of terms. It was of course necessary to

15. A.R. 1901-1902 (summary)
conciliate the people, and the plan adopted was to give the teachers two lists of books - one of Urdu books which must be read and another of Persian books which might be read. With a better appreciation of what constituted true education, it was reported in 1902, the prejudice in favour of purely linguistic study was weakening, and the importance of practical instructions in all subjects through the indigenous languages was being recognised more widely.

(A) PRIVILEGED AND THE PEASANTRY

But the net achievements of 52 years of the British rule, in the field of education, were hardly encouraging. The Census Report of 1901 reported that only 1 in every 26 was literate, and the one fact that strikes the observer still more is that, even this much education among the people, was not uniformly distributed amongst all the classes. It was only the privileged class of traders and the professionals among the people, who had availed the opportunity the best and that too not as much for the actual love of learning as from the habit of mind which regarded education merely as a stepping stone to a Government appointment or a clerical career. Although among the more thrifty agriculturists, especially the Jats, whose connection with the army brought them into closer touch with the larger world, and whose thrifty accumulations were often employed in money-lending transactions, too, there was a commencing appreciation of the material advantages which

education was so often found to confer, the ordinary agriculturist continued to consider that education "spoils a plough man.

Grumbling too was sometimes heard, because the local rates which were paid by the land-owning classes were too largely devoted to the education of the baniyas who contributed so little to taxation.

The late Guru Sadhu Singh who had paramount influence in Kartarpur, it was reported in 1862, had objected to Government school being established there, but after his death, people themselves petitioned for one. And this encouraged the authorities that, after all, the prejudice among the people, against the English system of education was beginning to die. Even the chiefs of the Souther Deraot, the Lieutenant-Governor noticed in 1866, were beginning to evince an active interest in the extension of education. In Peshawar district too, progress was being made, though but slowly, towards removing the suspicions of the people, and their disinclination to resort to the Government Schools. But the bulk of the peasantry and working classes, as reported in 1870, were slow to perceive any advantage in the education of their sons, and this attitude of theirs continued till 1901.

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3. A. R. 1901-1902, XXVII; Leitner, iii to iv; also see R.S., 1856; A.R., 1861-62, p.45.  
5. R.S., 1866, i.  
6. Home (Education), 1866, March, i, A.  
8. see above.
Another point to be noticed, was the comparatively slow progress of Mahommedans in education. The typical Mahomedan education consisted in reading the Quran and its appended traditions in the original Arabic, learning their meaning to a certain limited extent, though without as a rule any study of language itself, and acquiring familiarity in a greater or less degree with Aristotelian system of logic which was curiously interwoven with the religion itself. The primary education of the Muslim was confined to learning parts of the Quran by rote, and perhaps being able to read, though never to understand it. In exchange for this the Mahommedans were not much willing to accept the purely secular education the English claimed to offer; which however was to the Hindu or Sikh very much what he would receive in his own schools, but put in a different form. The result was that especially on the frontier where Mohammedan bigotry was strongest, the greater number of Muslim children were found in 1881 attending schools held at the mosques by Mullahs, themselves often grossly ignorant, where they learnt to read the Quran and to repeat parts of it by rote but not to understand it, and thus at once began and finished their education.

When in 1871 attention was first directed to the backwardness of education among Mahommedans in India, inquiry showed that in the Panjab the Muslim community had availed

itself fully in proportion to its numbers as the Hindus. It was, however, found that Mahommedans seldom prosecuted their studies beyond the middle school, and that few attended colleges.

The disproportionate attention given by the Mahommedans to religious studies, their preference, as more practical, for the course of study in indigenous schools; and their impoverishment which was said to have affected most Mahommedan families of note, were the causes forwarded by the authorities, of the comparatively less attention paid by them towards the Government educational institutions. To this another cause could be added which was the frank avowal of a Muslim authority (Sayyid Mahmud) that "a child Muhammadan would probably admit that the most powerful factors (i.e. accounting for the backwardness of Muslim in education) were to be found in the pride of race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears, and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam.

2. I.G.I.P., 1, 142.
4. I.G.I.P., 1, 142.
5. The Hindu attitude to the Mission schools (and nobody can deny that generally speaking in the middle of the nineteenth century the Missions provided the best education in India) was less suspicious than that of the Muslims, for the personality of Christ gave the Hindu much that enriched and sweetened his life without destroying its foundations. The Mahommedan found in this creed a direct challenge to the teaching that underlay his life." - Mayhew, A - The Education of India, 1926, p.47.
Progress, however, was made. In 1883-84 the Mahomedan college students were thrice as numerous as in 1870-71. Nevertheless, their number in the secondary schools and colleges remained proportionately far below that of the Hindus, and the necessity of special measure was realized.

In 1887 Jubilee Scholarships, tenable in high schools and colleges, were founded by government; and local bodies were authorized to establish them for middle schools. In addition, half the free or semi-free studentships were reserved for Mahomedan boys. The community itself also began to realize the necessity for self-help, and various societies were started which organized Anglo-Vernacular Mahomedan schools in higher Mahomedan education.

In 1895, it was reported that there were more Muslim children at school than Hindu, but more than two-thirds of them attended private institutions of doubtful efficiency from an educational point of view. In public institutions the proportion of Hindus to Muslims was roughly 10 to 7. Similar was the condition of education among Mahommedans as noticed in 1901.

(C) EDUCATION OF THE OUTCASTS

Very little was also accomplished for the education of low-caste children. The better classes took no interest in

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7. I.G.I.P., 1, 142-143.
8. ibid., 143; A.R. 1887-88, p.183; also see Chapter V.
10. see figures above.
the subject, and the people of low-caste had, as a rule, no desire for education. The most systematic efforts had been made in Delhi and the neighbourhood, where schools for low-caste children were maintained by the Baptist and S.P.G. missions. The Government gave some facilities for the extension of such schools. Schools were maintained by the District Committee of Gurgaon for the children of Minas, a tribe of hereditary thieves (as it was known) and special rewards in cash were paid from provincial revenues to boys and teachers for every pass by the primary standard. Special schools were maintained also for the benefit of the Sansis in Sialkot district. But the results, on the whole, were not very encouraging.

(D) THE FEMALE EDUCATION

The first Administration Report of the Panjab remarked with great appreciation that female education was to be found in all parts of the Panjab. The Panjabi woman had, in fact, not only been always more or less educated herself but she had also been an educator of others. In Delhi, for instance, before the annexation of the Panjab, six public schools for girls were kept by the Panjabi women, who had emigrated to the South

11. It was only in the latter years of the 19th century that some progressive movements began to pay an attention towards their lot, but nothing was done for them in the field of education.
12. see A.R. 1885-86, p.141.
for this purpose. In other places, similarly, Panjabi women were to be found as teachers. Among Mohammedans, very many widows considered it a sacred duty to teach girls to read in Quran and though Delhi, like the rest of North-Western Provinces (U.P.), was far behind the Panjab in the female education, even here in 1845, numerous schools for girls were found kept in private houses. The wives of Maulvis and Bhaigs were generally taught by their husbands, and instructed their children up to a certain age in reading and religious duties.

As soon as Education Department was organized for the Panjab, the subject of Female education began to receive attention; but progress was slow, and the people, where they did not evince opposition, took little interest in the movement. Thus matters stood until the year 1862, at which period the number of girls schools in the province was 52, and the number of scholars 1,168. The cost of schools was defrayed entirely from the Educational Cess Fund; nothing being contributed either from the Imperial Revenues or from private sources.

In the year 1862, an important change took place in the prospects of Female education. At the close of that year, a large Darbar or assemblage of the Panjab nobility and gentry was convened at Lahore by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir R. Montgomery, to witness the distribution of prizes to the

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3. Ibid, 103.
successful students of Government and Aided schools. The Lieutenant-Governor during the proceedings, took occasion to draw the earnest attention of the Panjab gentry of Amritsar and Lahore on the subject of providing education for their daughters; and the promised them the liberal assistance of Government in carrying out any practical measure they might themselves devise for the purpose.

The exhortations of the lieutenant Governor were responded to beyond expectations. Committees of Panjabi gentlemen were formed at the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, and it was arranged that the family priests of certain of the best Hindu Sikh families should each undertake to teach at least one female from his own or client's families. Small schools were thus formed, which gradually increased in size and number - and the Mahommedans began to join in the movement. The cost of the schools was defrayed, at first, entirely by the Government; and as the Panjabi community strongly objected to their inspection by Europeans, Panjabi Committees of supervisors were appointed, through whom the funds were disbursed. Belief of the Lieutenant-Governor was that if they desired to see Female education take root and prosper, it was essential to enlist the higher classes on the side of the Government. Baba Ram Singh, the head of priestly family of Bedis and an influential man in the province, gave every help to the development of the movement and in one of

his speeches he said - those persons, who ignorant

discretion on the education of girls, are in truth

A special departure, as permitted by the tone of the Despatch
of the Secretary of State for India, No.5, dated 9th March,
1864, was made in the Grant-in-aid Rules, in giving aids to
Female Schools in Lahore and Amritsar, and to those opened
by Baba Khem Singh in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Gujrat
Districts. The example of the people of Amritsar and Lahore
was soon followed elsewhere. The first impulse to female
education was given by Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner
of Jullundur, and this was followed up by W.P. Cooper, C.B.
Deputy Commissioner of Delhi. Both these officers established
numerous schools, and in some degree conquered the prejudices
which had hitherto prevented the education of girls. But
a much more influential measure was the securing of the
co-operation in the cause, of the principal chiefs and
the Panjabi gentry of Lahore and Amritsar.

In 1865, noted the Government of the Panjab, by operating
mainly through the leaders of the Society, irritation or
alarm had as yet been avoided, and the distrust with which
female improvement had been regarded was undoubtedly beginning
to give way among the better and middle classes, though the
movement had probably not as yet made much way amongst the
agricultural population. Under this impulse, nearly 1,000

9. Home (Education) 1865, Dec., 18 to 19, A. also see
Home (Education) 1865, August, 15-21.
11. Home (Education) 1865, Oct., 10-11, A.
schools with 20,000 girls had been opened by 1866. The Lieutenant-Governor, in 1865, bestowed in a public Darbar, suitable awards upon those who had distinguished themselves in the cause of Female Education.

But the results were unsubstantial, on the whole, and the attendance soon fell off. Nor were the practical results of the movement encouraging and it was admitted in 1868 that hitherto the education imparted had been for the most part of a very elementary character, such as the rudiments of reading and writing Hindi and Persian, and the elements of Arithmetic; and some of the schools, it was feared, were schools in name only. The teachers were for the most part very inefficient, nor had efficient supervision been insisted upon.

Still the great object at the time was to remove prejudices and create an appreciation of the value of female education. And it was reported in 1869 that although female education in the province, was far from satisfactory, yet prospects for the future were more encouraging. Prejudice against female education had been in a great measure removed, as reported by the Inspector of the Lahore Circle. But in 1876 and again in 1878, it was reported that female education was progressing exceedingly slow. Many gentlemen of position, in fact, who had interested themselves in the movement, had

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15. R.E. 1868-69, p.IV.
17. R.E. 1877-78.
done so more from loyalty than conviction and the Lieutenant-Governor remarked that much could not be hoped, in a matter so connected with custom and prejudice, although it was the duty of the Government to do what they could.

The Education Commission of 1882 recommended the encouragement of female education and a sound system of female education was founded in 1885-86 in which year it was attempted to make the existing schools places of healthy elementary education, adopted to the simple requirements of the people, and rewards for diligent work were substituted for payment for mere attendance. An Inspectoress of Schools was appointed in 1889. The grant-in-aid rules specially provided for the encouragement of female schools.

But all the Education Reports as well as the Administration Reports of the Panjab in the last decade of the century agreed on the point that the progress of female education in the Panjab was unsatisfactory. In 1897 it was reported that only 1.3 per cent of the girls of school-going age in the province were under school instruction. All the girls in High School and more than half of those attending Middle Schools were European, Eurasians or the Indian Christians. The statistics would have been even more unfavourable but for the grant of scholarships. Not only did Panjabi girls receive education free in all but exceptional cases, but of those who had reached the Middle stage, more than 1 out of every 2 was in the receipt of a

17. R.E. 1877-78.
scholarship, while in the Upper Primary Department no less than 751 scholarships were held among 1,081 pupils, or about 3 for every 4 girls. Want of qualified female teachers was another problem. As in 1897, so in 1901, the female education remained in infancy. Private schools for girls were, however, on the increase, which showed that with a general appreciation of female education and a revived and religious enthusiasm a number of schools had been started by benevolent societies and private individuals for the benefit of girls. The Department was doing its best to encourage Private schools by awarding grants on very easy terms.

A brief account may here be given of the causes of the decline of female education. The first and the foremost among them was that, formerly the mother could teach the child Panjabi, now wherever the child learnt Urdu, the teaching power of the mother was lost. Secondly, the weakening of the religious feeling had caused a decrease in all indigenous schools, including those conducted by women. Thirdly, formerly a woman guilty of misconduct was criminally punished, so that the safeguards against it were strong, and there could be less objection to granting women more education and greater freedom.

Since the introduction of the English law adulter, for instance,

20. A.R. 1896-97 (summary); see also Thapar, K.B., 49.
23. see Home, Secret, N.P.R., Panjab, etc. 1868, p. 24—Views of the editor Koh-i-Nur of 21st December showing, how the respectable people still loved their women to be confined at home.
could, comparatively speaking, be committed with impunity, and the necessary consequence was that the male population watched with greater jealousy any attempt towards emancipating the female sex. Forthly, the female education given by the English was avoided by the more respectable. It would have been best to proceed through the agency of the Indian priests, in whom the people had their faith. And lastly, the female schools were kept in public places, and attempts were made to inspect them, thus preventing the very patrons of the schools from sending their daughters to them.

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24. Home, Secret, N.F.R. Panjab etc. 1868, p.34.
THE POINTS OF CRITICISM

In conclusion, a brief account may be given of the various general points in the educational system, which sometimes raised very interesting discussions among the papers in the Panjab.

1. Pointing out the critics here below does not, however, mean that there was none among the lovers of education, who appreciated the Government's efforts in the field. For as early as in 1868 we find one Sirdar Jamal Singh of Khondia (an important personality in connection with the subject) saying in a speech at Patiala that:— Although people of all creeds had praised knowledge, still the Government had done more than all in expending lakhs of rupees for the public benefit in the establishment of schools, the fruits of which were 'light' and 'improvement'. combined with 'dignity', to seekers after knowledge, as it made them know how to perform their duty to God, without which knowledge they would have suffered thereafter in the future world. (Home, Secret, N.P.R. Panjab etc., 1868, p.34) Nor is there any necessity to mention here the too well known benefits the English education conferred on the people of India. It gave us the sense of unity and brought us in contact with more advanced literature. It was the result of this education that we were enabled to read the works of the giants of thought which Britain produced after the 18th century. In fact all the Reform Movements which arose in the Panjab during the later years of the 19th century were a product of this educational system. (For details see A.R. Desai's Chapter on Education in his 'Social Background to Indian Nationalism'; For general defects in the English Educational System in India see Murdoch, John 'Education in India'.)
EDUCATION AND THE WORLDLY AMBITIONS

Addressing the 3rd Convocation of the Panjab University on Saturday, the 15th November, 1884 remarked Mr. Baden Powell. The Oriental mind not only habitually associates learning with the religious or priestly classes, but also rather admires, than otherwise, the poor student living almost on a crust and taking refuge in mosques, dharmsalas and elsewhere, with no idea of doing anything but being learned for learning sake.

Our idea of education in England is very different. We conceive of education either as indispensable for practical success in the world's business, or as a necessary complement to wealthy leisure, since the rich man, who needs not to work his brain or use his head for his own maintenance, would be alike intolerable and unfit for the very important duties he has to discharge, without the refinement and knowledge...

To us, therefore, it appears strange that men should be helped to learning who neither have wealth nor intend to work in some profession or trade.

This idea about education, according to the critics of the Government policy, might not be wrong provided too much emphasis was not laid on the worldly ambitions at the cost of moral and religious education. But it was the principle of worldly ambition rather than that of moral and religious, which seemed to have dominated the educational system of the Panjab. The first and most important aim of the Government in education,

2. Thapar, K.B., Convocation Addresses-1895, p.31.
as they had declared themselves, was the elevation of the people at large. The second and subordinate one was, to raise a class of officials. Yet, according to the critics, it was the second rather than the first aim, which worked better, as it would be clear from the fast progress of English—which was an avenue to the lucrative Government employments—even at the cost of other indigenous languages.

The Fast Progress of English. In any general system of education, the Education Despatch of 19th July, 1854 had recommended (para 13) "the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the Vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language."

In 1862, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab was glad to observe the increasing desire of all classes to acquire some knowledge of English language. It was therefore notified under the sanction conveyed in G.O. No. 344 of 14th August, 1861, that an elementary English teacher would be appointed to any Vernacular School where the people themselves would guarantee at least 15 rupees as moiety of his salary, the other moiety being paid from the 1 per cent Education Cess Fund. His Honour did realize that "no good can come of giving boys a mere smattering of foreign language. If the

4. see Leitner, ii.
people themselves however do in reality desire a smattering of English, and find it so useful to them in the business of life, as to be willing to pay a good deal for it, I think it would be a step in the right direction, to encourage them with Government aid in procuring what they want".

In a Note of the Home Department on Elementary English Schools in the Panjab, the Government of India expressed their satisfaction that while rightly encouraging the study of English, the Panjab Government was not losing sight in some degree of the necessity of guarding against the tendency which had been found so prejudicial in Bengal, viz: of substituting a smattering of English, for a sound practical education conveyed through the medium of the Vernacular. Quoting these remarks with all the pride, the Education Report of 1863-64 asserted that "we do not desire to substitute, but to add a smattering of English to the ordinary studies of the Vernacular schools."
The neglect of vernacular studies for the purpose of learning English, it was further added, had been specially prohibited, and the attention both of district and of educational officers had been repeatedly directed to the necessity of preventing that evil.

The number of students of English was increasing and the movement had even extended to female schools, it was reported in 1865. It was according to the authorities, indicative of a growing freedom from prejudice in favour of

8. R.E. 1863-64, pp.32-33.
the old routine of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, and a tacit expression of confidence in English rule. At the same time, it was admitted, it had to be regarded as to some extent of a feverish character and stimulated by hopes of obtaining high appointments in the public service. It was therefore enjoined not to interfere in the vernacular studies and give undue importance to the study of the English language.

But the students of Government Colleges and Zillah schools obtained employment with ease; whereas those of the purely Vernacular Schools with difficulty. The Government repeatedly gave their assurance not to interfere in the vernacular studies in favour of English, but soon after the arrival of Dr. Leitner in the Panjab in 1864, the lovers of the Oriental learning had organized themselves not to be satisfied with the non-interference of the Government in the matter alone but to demand an active support for the development of the vernacular studies.

THE TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT—Consequently, in the Panjab, two schools of thought were created; one which advocated the cause of English and the other which stood for the vernacular studies. The former school had its own reasons to forward. The English Arts Courses had the advantage of considerable seniority, a very large superiority in funds, and a great

advantage in books. And Aligarh Gazette, indeed, had many arguments to forward against the revival of Oriental learning. But Anjuman-i-Panjab had arguments stronger yet when it argued that no nation in the world had risen to greatness without cultivating and improving its own language and literature and European natives themselves were good proof of the truth of this remark. The object of the supporters of the Oriental learning was not only to revive "the dead Eastern sciences", but also to improve them by the light of the new discoveries of the West. The Oriental literature could not be denounced as all twaddle. True, there were some faults in it, but even English literature was not free from faults. The editor could even compare the Eastern science favourably with European science and in support for his statement he could refer to some Arabic treatises in different sciences. The Indians would not obtain any benefit from Western science until it was taught them through the medium of the vernaculars, nor was education perfect without a religious education. The Indians at best could receive only an imperfect English education at the same time neglecting entirely the Oriental science and religious education, with the result that their ideas differed in all matters both from their own countrymen and the Europeans. In the opinion of the editor, only those deserved patronage who had

11. see Thapar, K.B. - Convocation Addresses..., 29.
12. It was a paper of the society 'Anjuman-i-Panjab, which was founded by Dr. Leitner for the revival of Oriental learning.
13. which was possible only in the vernacular languages.
distinguished themselves both in Eastern and Western science.

It was the half triumph of the "Oriental" view (as it was called) that in 1870 the Panjab University College (see above) was opened with Oriental School and College.

But the highest education could be imparted only in English. For the students of Vernacular Schools and for Pandits and Maulvis whose studies had been confined to their sacred languages, the Panjab University College offered an inferior though sound general education. The sons of the higher classes, and especially the official classes, continued their demand for English through which alone they could hope to rise to lucrative appointments in the Government service. Nor could enough be done at once in the creation of vernacular literature. And by 1879, the complaints had begun to be made that the original expectations of the Oriental College were not being realized.

It was the complete victory of the 'Oriental' view when in 1882, in support of their philosophy, the Panjab University was established. But the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab was still sure that the study of English language in the Panjab would not be in any way impaired by the concession then made to Oriental scholars, due to the continuing existence of the

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15. For their aims and objects see above.
18. ibid, 61.
20. see above aims of the University.
desire for government employment and the natural wish of students to acquaint themselves with European modes of thought. Nor had he himself the desire to discourage the study of English.

Also there were some hinderances in the way of the realization of the aims of the University. One of the functions of the University was to watch the translated vernacular literature. But the inherent costliness and difficulty of printing vernacular works made it difficult. One great difficulty lay in variety of character and the difficulty of printing them in type. As regards Persian, this had only partly been obviated by a remarkable system of Persian character, lithography or photo-zincography, designed by Colonel Holroyd, the Director of Public Instructions. But this method excellent as it was, could never compete with the type press.

Moreover within a few years of the establishment of the Oriental College and the Panjab University, certain serious evils were found developing among the vernacular scholars. For any nation seriously to believe that their ancestors discovered, and fixed for all times, the limits of human knowledge some thousands of years ago, and all that is needed is a profound linguistic learning to discern deep truth in the pages of the ancient books, is nothing short of disaster; and this fact was too well known to the founders of the Oriental College, when

22. See Thapar, K.B., 23-25.
they laid down that it would teach ancient literature by modern
critical methods as well as by the ancient forms and also
permit ancient traditional science to be corrected by the
pupil's own appreciation of modern discoveries. Yet all
the principles were forgotten and the Oriental College and
still more the Panjab University could do little in preventing
the Oriental mind from connecting science with Divine literature.
The works of the old astronomers, physicians, and so forth,
were "Shastras" and belonged to the same category, if not quite
to the same rank, as the books of religion. The progressive
minds could hardly be attracted towards such a system of
education, for the education of their children.

Both in colleges as well as in the schools, thus, English
continued in more demand than the vernacular studies and in
the last decade of the 19th century it was frequently noticed
that among Secondary Schools the tendency was for the Anglo-
Vernacular to grow at the expense of the Vernacular branch
inspite of the much heavier cost of the former.

23. ibid, 29-30.
24. ibid, 50-51.
25. ibid, 29.
26. see A.R., 1891-92 (summary). In 1897 it was reported that
of the total number of boys attending High and Middle
Schools who had reached the Secondary stage, no less
than 70 per cent learnt English. Above the middle stage
vernacular education was hardly appreciable.--A.R. 1896-97
(summary).
This development of English at the cost of vernacular studies, had really "degraded education from an object of mental and moral culture to a means for purely worldly ambitions."

(B) EDUCATION AND THE DISCIPLINE

On the 10th April, 1868, reported Rahnomazl-Panjab, when children first began to speak, "instead of teaching them good words, the mother and father taught them abuse." It was the sacred duty of parents, the paper added, to see that their children were properly trained, but this was very seldom done. While it could not thus, be denied that the ignorant and illiterate parents in the Panjab did not much care for morality and discipline among their children, that the schools and colleges of the Panjab should in no way be much better than them in this respect, was more astonishing.

"Education", it has been well said, "is not, and cannot be, a thing of vocables. It is a thing of earnest facts, of capabilities developed, of habits established, of disposition dealt with, of tendencies confirmed and tendencies repressed." Instruction should go hand in hand with discipline; morality should be taught as well as grammar; and if boys do not leave school more honest, truthful and industrious than they entered it, their education has been a failure, even though

27. see Leitner, ii.
2. A.R. 1875-76 (summary), quoted.
they should be able to say in what meter L'Allegro is written and explain the meaning of the obsolete words in Chaucer's poems. The authorities did realize it, yet this was an evil which existed in the education of the Panjab.

The Education Despatch of 1858 demanded (para 84) that in government institutions education should be exclusively secular. And in 1858, the Director of Public Instructions, Panjab, ordered all village schools to be removed from the precincts of mosques and buildings of religious character, of which, hitherto, they had been a part. Nor was any favour shown to Christianity, as in 1863 when the Director of Public Instructions, Panjab, proposed, for the formation of a fund, with the aid of Government, for giving prizes for proficiency in Christian knowledge, to be competed for by pupils in the Panjab schools; the Secretary of States warned in clear words that, it was directly opposed to the order contained in the Despatch of the 19th July, 1854 and suggested the Panjab authorities to acquaint themselves fully, with the principles contained in it. The policy was further confirmed when in 1864, the Lieutenant-Governor, Panjab, regretted that, when the Panjab Bible Society, desired, without receiving aid from Government, to examine and reward from time to time any scholars, whether of Government Schools or otherwise, who might voluntarily come forward—and as a special case it was determined that in the first occasion the examination should

5. R.S. 1858.
6. Home (Education) 1864, 30th April, 16, B.
be confined to Government Scholars—he had allowed the Society to circulate notices to schools.

Some people in the Punjab believed that, it was this religious neutrality of Government Schools which had excluded the moral side of education. Not only this, some went so far as even to say that, the English teaching itself had the effect of not only uprooting all religious feelings, but also the older forms of courtesy, and the tradition of parental and family life and subordination. This was denied by the authorities in 1872, when it was reported that "if it were so it would be better to have no State Education at all". The fact, the report added, was otherwise." The existence of God and the sufficiency of conduct as a rule of conduct, are recognised by all classes who attend our schools, and are assumed in our schemes of study, and in all the relations between master and scholar." But it was not long before that the authorities realized the weakness of their system. For in 1876, it was reported, "with respect to the moral influence of our schools, the Lieutenant-Governor has, on former occasions, remarked that the too frequent result of an English education is seen in the deterioration of manners which, in natives of any position trained under their own system, were exceedingly good. To teach modesty, politeness and respect for superiors is a very important part of the training of boys; and this is too much neglected in our schools."

7. (Original) Home (Education), 1864, 26th Nov., 125.
9. see Thapar, K.B., 27.
10. R.E. 1871-72, p.53.
In fact with carelessness towards human virtues, the education in the Panjab was so much connected with worldly ambitions that, the parents in the Panjab had learnt simply to send their children to schools to pass examinations and get jobs. This was the only end as it was the only aim of the education, as it developed.

The evil was known, but hardly any attention was paid to it till the late 'eighties' of the 19th century. In 1882, 'Sahas' recommended in strong words that elementary education should be combined with religious and moral instructions. According to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882, soon a special attention was given to the subject of moral instructions and school discipline, and measures were adopted, including special instructions to Inspectors and teachers and the introduction of Inter-school Rules and of Good Conduct Registers, to secure the end in view. Great progress was made by 1893, in the arrangements for physical training. Gymnastic apparatus had been supplied to nearly all the larger schools; gymnastic teachers had been attached to the Training Institutions, to their individual schools, and as itinerant instructors in districts; playgrounds had been provided; tournaments had been organized; and courses of instruction in athletics and elementary drill had been laid down for the various classes of schools. The suggestions

15. (Original) Home 1883, Public, Feb., 187-188.
of the Panjab Education Conference of 1888 that in the High Department a moral text book should be added, dealing with virtues and vices and illustrated extensively with moral stories; that in the compilation of this work extracts from great writers should be introduced as far as possible; and that extracts from the sacred writings of various religious might find a place in the book, provided that they should contain nothing which could prove objectionable to the feelings of persons of any religion and other such suggestions were approved by the Lieutenant Governor and further by Governor-General-in-Council.

Yet the Panjab Press was not satisfied and in its issue dated 11th June, 1888, remarked Victoria Paper (Sialkot) young men of the present day, who have received an English education, are generally impertinent and impudent. According to Rahbar-i-Hind (1890) the Government itself was responsible for the weakness of moral fibre of Indian Students as students and teachers in Government Schools and Colleges did not believe in the existence of God. In 1892, in its issue dated 29th December, Atalq-i-Hind apprehended that as lakhs of educated Indians who were turned out every year by Indian Schools and Colleges, were either unable or unwilling to earn their livelihood by turning their hands to trade, would eventually starve unless Government either closed the colleges, placed some restrictions on education or established more industrial schools, because they could

18. Home, Secret, N.P.R., Panjab, 1884, p.84.
not provide employment for all of them in public service. And in its issue dated 7th September, 1895, wrote Paisa Akhbar (Lahore)-Education being imparted in the Panjab was worse than useless, seeing that it only made the students proud and unfit to pursue the avocations of their fore-fathers. The higher education given in Indian schools and colleges served to ruin the constitution of the students, and rendered them unfit for any work other than that of a clerk.

In 1901 further improvement was reported. It was said that moral training continued to receive very particular attention in colleges. In the Government College there was a Union Club as well as a Reading Room; most of the students were zealous in the performance of their religious duties, and the prevailing moral tone was good. The Forman Christian College had a flourishing Temperance Society conducted in the interest of temperance, purity, and social advancement. In the Khalsa College moral and religious instruction was given regularly to every student, as also in all the Mission Colleges. In schools moral training had received greater attention than usual through (1) Teacher's Associations for the discussion of moral and educational subjects; (2) increased interest in games with their valuable lessons of co-operation, self-reliance, self-control and sympathy; (3) the devotion of more time by the Inspecting officers to matters of discipline and organisation; (4) more general employment of school

20. Home, Secret, N.P.R., Panjab, 1892, p.3.
monitors; (5) the growing taste for memorising and reciting
dramatic and other poetical selections of an edifying character; (6) strict application of the grant-in-aid rules concerning discipline and organization; (7) a more general employment of resident superintendents of Boarding-houses; (8) the increase in the number of trained teachers; (9) the introduction of class singing; (10) more attention to cleanliness of person and dress in the lower classes; and (11) more active play-ground supervision by teachers. But the press opinion still, did not seem to have been satisfied and some of the papers continued in their tone of criticism of the lack of discipline among the students who were the product of English education.

**THE SUPERFICIALITY**

Another weakness of the educational system brought forward was that neither English nor literature was taught upon any scientific or intelligent system. The scholars yearly sent out by those literary institutions had a slight acquaintance with several branches of learning and science, but they were not masters of any. Arts courses in colleges, encouraged superficiality of study rather than depth, diffuseness of reading rather than concentration and thoroughness.

Sir Charles Aitchison, in 1883, forwarded that in the Panjab

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23. Leitner, viii.
academical course the number of subjects that were absolutely compulsory was fewer, and the range within which a student could choose and profess subjects was wider than elsewhere. Yet Tajul Akhbar (Rawalpindi) condemned the existing system of education. Particularly, in its view, the students in the Primary and Middle schools were required to read many subjects and failed to acquire a competent knowledge of either English or Urdu.

(D) SOME MINOR POINTS

The Panjab Press took a lively interest in educational developments during the last decade of the 19th century, and the one point over which most of the papers agreed was that the Government had neglected higher education in the province. Thus wrote Paisa Akhbar (Lahore) in its issue dated 7th September 1895, higher Education was the only means by which the material and moral welfare of the country could be promoted, but that unfortunately Government was reducing the expenditure on it, thereby discouraging it.

There was another important point of disagreement with the Government and in the opinion of the Paisa Akhbar the result of throwing the burden of maintaining primary schools on Municipalities, was that the latter were compelled to neglect sanitation etc. The Victoria Paper in its

28. ibid, 554.
issue dated 4th September 1801 wrote that, it was to be regretted that since the schools had been made over to Municipalities the prestige of school masters had suffered very much. Their pay and pension had been considerably affected, and their position had been reduced to that of ordinary Municipal servants. The majority of the members knew nothing about education, and it was an oft-repeated fact that Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners took very little interest in improving the efficiency of schools. The result of all this criticism seem to have been good and actually under the orders of the Government of India issued in 1901, it was declared that the Zillah schools would again be taken over by the Government Education Department.

Nor could the policy of the Government towards practical education, satisfy its lovers. Nur Afshan from Ludhiana, wrote in its issue dated 11th January 1901 with regrets that, although for some time past there had been a great deal of talk about the want of practical education in the country, very little had so far been done to supply that demand. About ten years back, it added, Government sanctioned the opening of clerical and commercial classes in the Municipal Board Schools, but that nothing had yet come of it. Atalq-i-Hind (Lahore) was never tired of suggesting the Government to open industrial schools, if they wanted to avoid the problem of educated unemployment.

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32. see Home, Secret, N.P.R., Panjab, 1892, p.3.