CHAPTER V
EXTENSION OF THE WESTERN EDUCATION, 1882-1904

The year 1882 was witness to two important events in the history of Indian education viz., the incorporation of the Panjab University and the appointment of the Hunter Commission. The Wood's Despatch of 1854 had laid down that the government was to adopt and foster the primary education, while the higher education was to be managed by the people and supported by the system of grants-in-aid. But the subsequent development indicated that too much was being done for higher education, and the primary education was neglected\(^1\). A look into the state of primary education was urgently warranted. Expensiveness of the government instructions, decrease in the number of pupils in proportion to the amount of public money spent and government's failure of carrying out efficiently the policy of grants-in-aid, were some of other factors which necessitated the appointment of the Hunter Commission\(^2\). The missionaries too were dissatisfied with the government's way of operating the system of grants-in-aid\(^3\). They

\[1. \text{S.N. Mukerjee, op. cit., p. 155; T.N. Siqueira, op. cit., pp. 74-75.}\]
\[2. \text{T.N. Siqueira, op. cit., pp. 70-71.}\]
\[3. \text{Loc. cit.}\]
complained that the government officials favoured government schools and deprived mission schools of grants and their pupils of government scholarship⁴. They met Lord Ripon in London, who promised them an instant inquiry⁵. Consequently, the Indian Education Commission was appointed on February 3, 1882 with W.W. Hunter as its chairman and B.L. Rice, the D.P.I. of Mysore as secretary⁶. Besides chairman and secretary, the Commission consisted of twenty members⁷.

The Commission appointed Provincial Committees to assess the working of the educational system by way of enquiries and interviews with the prominent educationists and citizens of each state. A list of seventy questions covering various educational aspects was prepared. And after careful consideration of the prevailing education system in all its bearings, the Education Commission made detailed recommendations of a practical character under


various heads. The chief recommendations concerned the need for the recognition and encouragement of the indigenous, primary, secondary and female education; the revision of the system of scholarships; the gradual raising of the tuition fee; the modification of the grants-in-aid rules; increasing the inspecting agency and the holding of educational conferences. The recommendations were generally adopted in the Punjab, which resulted in all but complete reorganisation of the Education Department and of the educational machinery of the province.

The Indian Education Commission's Enquiry into the State of the Primary Education in the Punjab

The development of elementary education was one of the main objects contemplated by the Despatch of 1854. The principal object, therefore, of the Indian Education Commission was to look into the existing elementary education throughout the Indian Empire and to suggest the means for its extension and improvement. The provincial committee for the Punjab took several evidences, questioned many societies and sabhas and received numerous memorials. The prominent witnesses among them are given in Annexure II. The primary education in the Punjab, according to the majority of the witnesses had not been

placed on a sound basis. The system applied by the government had failed to attract the great mass of the people, who were agriculturists and artisans. The faulty course of study and the use of Persian language and Urdu as medium of instruction were cited as two major defects of the primary education. The curriculum was absolutely impractical and there was no subject study on agriculture and other occupations. It was beneficial only to those who sought government jobs. Thus, for the majority of the population the primary education held no spell. The courses of instruction demanded so much from the pupils that they had little time left to learn their ancestral occupations, "and when out of schools they become place-hunters, verifying the native proverb - dhobi ka kutta, no ghar ka na ghat ka." Secondly, both Persian and Urdu were foreign to the Punjabis who were more at home with Gurmukhi, Hindi, Pahari and Mahajani characters. D. Arnold,


*(A rolling stone gathers no moss).

the D.P.I., Punjab, himself had admitted that the people of the Punjab were, "wedded to a system diametrically opposed to that which we wish to introduce; to whom the Urdu language which we properly wish to make the medium of popular instruction, is utterly inconsistent"\(^{15}\). Similarly, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in 1871-72 had questioned the wisdom of continuing the teaching of Persian as a compulsory subject in the schools\(^{16}\). But despite these objections, both these languages continued to be used as medium of instruction in the Punjab schools\(^{17}\).

The Response of the People of the Punjab towards Primary Education

The government's policy of popularising the English education met with partial success. It failed to arouse the interest of the masses. There were certain classes which for one reason or the other, could not come into the folds of the new system. The agriculturists and the artisans, who formed the bulk of the population, saw


"Persian is a language nowhere spoken in the Punjab except, perhaps, in the city of Peshawar itself. It is the vernacular of no class of people. Its use is confined to the men of rank or munshis of government of officers", and "to the great mass of the people its acquisition is pure waste of time".

little in it\textsuperscript{18}. The low caste people like Chuhras and Chamars were the other absentees from the government primary schools. C.W. Forman and Rev. Golak Nath concluded that these classes were themselves 'indifferent'\textsuperscript{19} and their absence from the schools was 'probably to be attributed as much to their not desiring education as to any other cause'\textsuperscript{20}. But it can be safely concluded that their low social standing and the uncleanly nature of their work came in the way of their education. The upper castes looked down upon them and even their touch was regarded as contaminating. They would not mix with them and were definitely against their being educated.

Some Muslim and Hindu priests also kept away from the government schools on the ground that the new system lacked moral and spiritual teaching\textsuperscript{21}. Besides the above mentioned categories of people, there were criminal tribes

\textsuperscript{18} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Dyal Singh, p. 192.


\textsuperscript{20} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of C.W. Forman, p. 212.

\textsuperscript{21} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Anjuman Hamadardi Islamia, p. 132.
of Sansis, Boaries, Harms aid Minas, who were mainly given to stealing and decoi ty and hence could not get to the schools. The influential classes of the Punjab were in no way hostile to the spread of primary education. But in the earlier stages of its development, their attitude towards it was that of indifference and carelessness. These classes which included chiefs, Sardars, landlords and other wealthy men of higher rank were, by and large, illiterate in those days. And education was not their cup of tea. But later on they whole heartedly cooperated with the government, with moral and material support, in the education of the people of the Punjab.

Summing up the state of primary education in the Punjab, Sodhi Hukam Singh observed that "the result of primary education in this province during the last 26 years and more has been nothing but disappointment and dissatisfaction both to the people and the government, more especially to the agricultural classes, who contribute 1 per cent of the revenue to the educational

cess fund, which they considered is entirely wasted without benefitting them in any way".

**The Growth and Development of Primary Education in the Punjab**

The report of the Indian Education Commission was published in the closing months of 1883. And in the opening months of the year 1884, the order of Sir Charles Atchison upon the recommendations of the Education Commission were communicated to the D.P.I. Punjab. In accordance with the recommendation of the Education Commission that, "the primary Education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life ---". The Punjab government asked the D.P.I. to carefully revise the whole system of primary education. One of the recommendations was the regulation of the aid to the primary schools on larger extent. In effecting this recommendation a sum of Rs. 8,000 from provincial revenues was allocated for the new primary schools in 1883-84 on

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26. P.A.R. 1883-84, p. 147

27. Home Education A-Proceedings, Government of India, March 1884, No. 17; letter No. 92, dated Lahore, the 20th March, 1884 from H.C. Fanshawe, Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Punjab and its dependencies to W.R.M. Holroyd, the D.P.I. Punjab, para 3.

the condition that an equivalent amount should be contributed for the same purpose from the local funds. In 1886-87, a further allotment of over one lakh rupees from the same source was provided for the extension and improvement of primary education in the Punjab. The same year a number of Zamidari schools, intended to meet the simple requirements of the agricultural classes, were opened. Measure taken, thus, resulted in marked improvement of primary education in the Punjab. The following statement furnishes the number of primary schools and scholars from 1882-83 to 1885-86:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>1,353</td>
<td>74,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td>79,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>1,541</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>81,916</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the year 1885-86, the spread and growth of primary education had been steady and satisfactory. The Lahore Circle registered an allround increase of primary education in every district. In Ambala circle, except Karnal and Ambala, the fall off was less than 2 per cent. In the Rawalpindi circle, the attendance had increased

30. P.A.R. of the years 1882-83 to 1885-86.
everywhere except in the district of Rawalpindi, Gujrat and Kohat. The fall off was 2 per cent, 3 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. In all the three districts, the reduction was confined to the lower Primary Department, while the upper department registered an increase. The Multan Circle alone showed a falling off in the aggregate number of scholars, although the average attendance had risen by 290. The reduction was evident in 4 out of 7 districts of the circle. In Multan, it was about 8 per cent, in Jhang ½ per cent, and in Bannu, it was nearly 5 per cent.

In Multan, the reduction was mainly due to the abolition of six schools whose progress was very unsatisfactory. In Dera Ismail Khan, the fall off was largely because of the incorporation of the two branch schools in the mission school at the headquarters of the districts. The average increase of number of schools and scholars throughout the Punjab in 1885-86 was as under 31:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Primary Department</td>
<td>9.9 per cent</td>
<td>10.5 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary Department</td>
<td>2.6 per cent</td>
<td>1.8 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altogether Increase</td>
<td>3.5 per cent</td>
<td>3.2 per cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all 155, 472 boys, including those at the primary departments of the secondary schools, were getting primary education during the same period in the Punjab.

During the years 1886 to 1889, the growth was steady in respect of both number of schools and scholars. In the year 1890-91, 50 more primary schools were added. However, the strength of the students fell by 1502. Sickness was stated to be the chief cause of this decrease. The fees charged from the children of non-agricultural classes was also "said to be deterrent to some cases". By 1895-96, the number of primary schools rose substantially to 2,467. The total number of scholars, including the boys of the primary department of secondary schools, was returned as 147,744. Of these, 63,088 boys were from the agricultural classes. The number was indeed striking. The rise was registered in the Board and Unaided schools. The increase was mostly contributed by the Rawalpindi and Delhi Circles. During this period the number of primary schools continued to hover around the two thousand five hundred mark. In 1896-97, it was 2,626 with 1,12,472 scholars. The number of schools slightly fell to 2,583 in 1901-02.

32. Home Education A Proceedings, Govt. of India, February 1892, No. 20; Extract from Proceedings of the Govt. of the Punjab; Home (General) Department, No. 5765, dated 26th August, 1891, the D.P.I. Report 1890-91, para 6.


34. P.A.R. 1901-02, p. 175, para 639.
It was exactly 2,298 in 1904. Of these, 1,640 were government and board schools; 555 were aided and 103 were unaided schools. The total number of scholars was 1,03,511. Of these 17,066 were at the upper primary stage and 86,445 at the lower primary stage.

The Zamindari Schools

To fulfil the requirements of the agricultural classes the government opened Zamindari schools in the Punjab. The experiment which began in 1886-87 did not meet with the desired results. In 1890-91 the Education Department was particularly concerned about the unpopularity of these schools. However, the government felt that these schools required further trial, it wished that the Zamindari schools, "if possible, should be adapted, as far as, the special nature of the case permits, to the general educational system of the province".

In 1895-96, there were 204 Zamindari schools with 6,455 scholars in the Punjab. The encouraging trend was witnessed only in the Gujrat district of Rawalpindi Circle, where 12 schools of this class were established. In spite of this, the clouds of doubt continued to hang over the success of these schools. Even the Education Department was uncertain about the success of the

Zamindari schools. It was the same old story in 1904 when this study comes to a close. The progress and development of the Zamindari schools had met with little success. In 192 schools of this class, that year only 5,697 students were on the rolls. The reports of the inspectors of different circles were all the more discouraging. The Inspector of Delhi Circle reported that no attempt was made in these schools, "to explain the practical application of the principles and progress of agriculture by visits to the fields". The schools in Jalandhar Circle met twice a day and the majority of the boys attended both sessions of their own accord. One of the Zamindari schools of the Jalandhar district was converted into an ordinary primary school. The schools in the Lahore Circle had failed to find favour with the people. They did not, "seem to like the idea of half-day schooling and felt discontented when they find that their sons cannot compete for scholarships". The attendance at these schools in Rawalpindi Circle had fallen from 2,065 to 1,868. The circle inspector regretted that despite all the encouragement these schools were not making any headway. The story was no different in the Multan Circle where there was a general lack of practical education in agriculture. Kharif harvest vacations were not given in Multan, Jhung and Mianwali districts.

38. P.E.R. 1903-4, pp. 15 and 16, para 68; Circle Inspectors' Reports.
Schools for Low Caste Children

There were 45 schools for low caste children in 1904 with 981 pupils. In addition to this, 155 low caste boys studied at the ordinary schools where, in most cases, they were not allowed to sit with other boys. The Inspector of Delhi reported that in Rohtak and Ferozepur districts, low caste children were not allowed to mix with the boys of higher castes.\(^\text{39}\) The Jalandhar Circle had no such school; however, there were 88 low caste children in Board and Aided schools. In this circle, somewhat similar kind of treatment as described above, was meted out to them. The inspector of the circle reported that the low caste Chamars, sweepers, Majhabis and others were not allowed to sit with the boys of higher castes.\(^\text{40}\) In Lahore and Rawalpindi circles, the low caste children studied at the schools maintained by the missionary societies. In the Rawalpindi Circle, there were 20 such Aided indigenous schools run by the missionaries in the Sialkot and Gujranwala districts alone. Most of the students at the mission schools were converted to Christianity and returned as Native Christians. The schools at Sialkot and Gujranwal districts had 931 pupils out of which 440

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students including a few girls were converted to Christianity\textsuperscript{41}. But in the Multan Circle, the Jhang Bar Mission in the Chanab colony had three such schools. Besides, there were 33 low caste children reading in ordinary Board and Aided schools\textsuperscript{42}. Among them there were 12 Ods, 11 Katnas, 6 Mochis, 3 Mohtanis and one Majhabi Sikh. These schools made the Multan Circle an amazing exception where all but one students, "read on the same farash with others"\textsuperscript{43}.

The indigenous and other elementary schools which had been examined for grants, were included in the returns as Ordinary Aided Primary schools. There were 592 such schools in 1904. As these schools were the cheapest instrument for extension of elementary education among the masses, they required maximum encouragement\textsuperscript{44}.

The primary schools also functioned as village post offices. They numbered 1,183 in 1904. The teachers at these schools received allowances between 7-8 Annas to one rupee\textsuperscript{45}.

\textsuperscript{41} P.E.R. 1903-04, pp. 16-17, para 71; Report of the Inspector of Rawalpindi Circle.


\textsuperscript{43} Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{44} Loc. cit., Remarks of the Circle Inspector, Lahore.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, p. 71.
The Examinations

In 1885-86, the number of successful candidates in upper Primary Department rose from 5,377 to 5,985 or by 11.3 per cent over those of the previous year. In the Lower Primary Department it increased from 11,289 to 12,224 or 8.4 per cent. The increase was remarkable because the corresponding increase in the number of scholars over that of the previous year for the two departments was 9.9 per cent and 2.6 per cent, respectively. This showed that the attainment of the boys advanced for more rapidly than their numbers. Out of 5,985 successful candidates at the Upper Primary examination 2,145 scholars had taken up English and 3,840 vernacular languages. The success at the primary schools examinations grew steadily. In 1895-96, 8,144 candidates out of total number of 11,277, were declared successful in the Upper Primary examination. The pass percentage was an impressive 72.2. The success was even higher in English, where 1,110 students out of 1,359 with 81 per cent were declared passed. The pass percentage of the different kinds of schools was as under:

- Government and Board schools: 73.7 per cent
- Aided schools: 66.6 per cent
- Unaided schools: 50.5 per cent

47. Ibid, para 84.
Circle-wise, Derazat and Delhi topped the list - 79 and 78 per cent, respectively. The success at the rest of the circles was very uniform, the variation being only from 69 to 70 per cent. The result of the Lower Primary examination was 75 per cent. It sent up 17,458 candidates out of which 13,107 were declared as passed. The results of the three kinds of schools in this category were as follows:

- Government and Board schools: 76.0 per cent
- Aided schools: 70.8 per cent
- Unaided schools: 57.7 per cent

In 1904, the number of candidates in the Upper Primary examination fell slightly from 11,627 to 11,561. Of these 8,079 were declared successful. The decrease was trifling in view of the ravages of plague. Out of 1,509 boys who appeared in English only and who had passed the examination in the vernacular subjects, 1,295 pupils were declared successful. In addition to this, 237 candidates out of 304 passed from the schools for the Europeans.

The Financing of the Primary Education in the Punjab

In 1885-86, the contributions for the primary education were received from the following sources:

50. Ibid, para 67.
The total expenditure on primary schools was Rs. 3,19,077. It was distributed as under:

- Expenditure on Govt. and Board schools: Rs. 2,84,760
- Expenditure on Aided schools: Rs. 32,419
- Expenditure on Un-aided schools: Rs. 1,898

Total: Rs. 3,19,077

The increase of expenditure over the previous year was Rs. 10,244 or 3.3 per cent. The expenditure from public funds on government, board and aided schools registered an increase being mainly in government and board schools.

In 1895-96, the expenditure rose to Rs. 4,73,992 being an increase of Rs. 17,743 over the previous year. The increase was partly owing to the improvement of the equipment of the Aided primary schools and partly due to the payment of arrear of grants to indigenous and elementary schools in some districts. The contribution

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from district funds was Rs. 3,30,886 or 69.8 per cent; from fees Rs. 63,950 or 13.4 per cent; from municipal funds Rs. 42,693 or 9 per cent; from private sources Rs. 28,930 or 6.2 per cent and from provincial revenue Rs. 7,535 or 1.6 per cent. The average annual cost per scholar in the government and board schools was Rs. 4 and Annas 9. In the aided schools Rs. 5 and Annas 2 and in un-aided schools it was Rs. 3 and Annas 2\(^5\). The income from fees in the primary schools was trifle, when compared with that of the secondary schools whose contribution in 1895-96 was 45.8 per cent. This was due to the fact that more than one half of the scholars at the primary stage were agriculturists who as a rule were exempted from the fees. Secondly, the rate of fee at this level of education was fixed to suit the circumstances of rural population\(^5\). In 1904, the direct expenditure on primary education, including the amount spent on the Primary Departments of the secondary schools, worked out Rs. 8,09,181. The amount was met from the following sources\(^5\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public funds</td>
<td>Rs. 4,98,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees</td>
<td>Rs. 2,18,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sources</td>
<td>Rs. 92,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 8,09,181</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54. Ibid, para 93
Thus, there was a steady increase in the income and expenditure on primary education in the Punjab during the period under study. It is evident that the spread and growth of primary education following the recommendation of the Hunter Commission in the Punjab was fairly steady. The number of schools and scholars had been on the rise and the results were satisfactory. The fee receipts and the expenditure were getting larger and larger. And the character of instruction given had also improved considerably.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB 1882-1904

Indian Education Commission and the Secondary Education in the Punjab

A series of questions formed the subject matter of the enquiries of the Indian Education Commission on the secondary education in the Punjab. The Commission wanted to enquire:

i) Whether there was any example of the transfer of a secondary school to the management of local bodies, as contemplated in paragraph 62 of the Despatch of 1854?

ii) In Punjab, were there any gentlemen able and ready to come forward and aid, even more extensively than heretofore, in the establishment of the schools and colleges upon grant-in-aid system?

56. Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, p. 120.
iii) In what way the government withdrawal from the direct management of schools or colleges would effect the spread of secondary education in the Punjab?

iv) Did the statement hold any truth that the attention of the teachers and pupils of the secondary schools was unduly directed to the Entrance examination of the university and did it harm the practical value of the education in secondary schools for requirement of ordinary life?

v) Was it possible for non-government institution of the higher order "to become influential and stable in direct competition with a similar government institution"?

The witnesses disclosed that there were few instances where government schools, keeping in view the spirit of paragraph 62 of the Despatch of 1854 had been closed or transferred. The government schools of Sialkot, Jalandhar, Peshawar and Rawalpindi were converted as Mission schools in 1856. But the experiment was not very successful. In Jalandhar and Sialkot, the people wanted the reconstitution of the government schools. The Mission schools did not supply their wants. The pupils from Jalandhar had to attend the schools at Hoshiarpur, Rahon,
Ludhiana and Amritsar. The Commission was told that the withdrawal of the government from the direct management of the schools and colleges would have retrograde effect. The province was scarcely ripe for such a big change.

Education had not taken sufficiently deep roots in the Punjab to continue to grow and develop without the government support. The move was calculated to seriously impair the progress of secondary education in the Punjab. The Education Commission was given the example of the Government College, Delhi which was closed and expected to be raised on the private footing, had not been established since then. But at the same time, it was brought to the notice of the Education Commission that there were a number of Rayes, chiefs, Sardars and other richmen ready to come forward and aid for the establishment of schools and colleges on the pattern of the grant-in-aid system. They had already proved their vibrance in the establishment of the Panjab University.

Regarding the utility of the instruction to the students in their after-life, it was pointed out that it did not prove of much practical value. It was useful only for lower official class such as Munshis and clerks. It also helped the shopkeepers. The course of studies pursued at the secondary schools was cited as the chief culprit. Much of the time of the students was spent in acquiring the knowledge of the languages which had nothing to recommend to them. The study of Persian was a pure waste of time, as it proved of no earthly good to them.

Secondly, the attention of the teachers and pupils, it was felt, was entirely directed towards the success at the Entrance examination. This undoubtedly impaired the quality of education in the secondary schools. The examination was purely valued as a means of securing an artificial knowledge and passport to government employment.

It would be better if the knowledge of practical value was provided in the schools. "The truth is, the whole

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65. Loc. cit.
system of education in India is based upon what the Englishmen think the people ought to want, rather than upon what they actually want"68. The Education Commission was also informed that there were no private schools at that time in the Punjab capable of competing with the government school, as the Punjabi private enterprise in the education had hardly begun and the Mission schools which could provide some competition were themselves receiving government favour and support. Although the quality of education in these institutions could not be termed as inferior, it was clarified that without a permanent and adequate endowment it was impossible for non-government institution to compete successfully with the government high schools69, "the prestige and funds which the government can command being greater than those of the private institutions"70. It was complained that both government and Missionary schools had been devastatingly injuring the indigenous higher education, the government schools by their prestige and the Mission


schools by the favour of the government. Private efforts had not received due encouragement from the government. The falling off of private institutions in the Arabic and Sanskrit had been very great. Some persons who tried to open private schools in English medium, met with little success. Others got discouraged by their example, "so much so that the doors of higher education" were practically "closed to private persons."71

A large number of the witnesses recommended the encouragement of private enterprise - particularly the native enterprise, as an effective course for the expansion of the secondary education. The Commission itself was of the opinion that the relation of the state to secondary education was different from its relation to primary education. It distinctly laid down that means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local cooperation, while it is ordinary expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local cooperation is forthcoming."72


72. Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, March 1884, No. 18; letter No. 93, dated Lahore, the 20th March, 1884 from H.L. Fanshawe, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab to W.R.M. Holroyd, the D.P.I., Punjab, para 2.
government was under no obligation to provide secondary education to the people. However, it was bound to encourage the people's efforts in this respect. The Commission, therefore, recommended the encouragement of private efforts in the development of higher education in India. It stressed that "it must not be forgotten that the private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies if the educational means are ever to be co-extensive with educational wants". But the private efforts got little encouragement in the past. The period between 1870-71 and 1881-82 in India clearly registered the decrease of more than 300 in the number of aided schools against an increase of nearly 600 in that of the government schools. And the position was almost the same in the Punjab. Here

76. *School proceedings, Government of India, March 1884, No. 18; Letter No. 93 dated Lahore, the 20th March, 1884 from H.C. Fanshawe, Offg. Secretary to Govt. of Punjab to W.R.M. Holroyd, D.P.I. Punjab, para 3.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1882</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle schools</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, March 1884, No. 18; Letter No. 93 dated Lahore, the 20th March, 1884 from H.C. Fanshawe, Offg. Secretary to Govt. of Punjab to W.R.M. Holroyd, D.P.I. Punjab, para 3.
also the departmental agency had largely taken the place of private effort. The Government of the Punjab while accepting recommendation of the Education Commission firmly resolved that "for the future it must be considered a positive instruction that this policy shall be altered". It framed the rules for making the further extension of secondary education ordinarily dependent on contributions from private sources. The grant-in-aid rules were totally recasted in 1886 to give greater fillip to private enterprise. The Punjab government also accepted the Commission's recommendations of inducting the course of practical character in the secondary education. Accordingly, a commercial course had been adopted by the Punjab University as an alternative with ordinary Entrance course. It also introduced special Science course.

The Education Commission's recommendations in aiding the private efforts affected the whole course of the history of education in the Punjab. The private enterprise greatly boosted the growth and development of

77. Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, March 1884, No. 18; Letter No. 93, dated Lahore, the 20th March, 1884, from H.C. Fanshawe, Officiating Secretary to Government of the Punjab to W.R.M. Holroyd, D.P.I. Punjab, para 3.
78. P.A.R. 1901-02, p. 171, para 630.
79. Loc. cit.
80. Loc. cit.
secondary education. The leading communities vied with each other in opening of schools and colleges and soon the denominational institutions were dotting the whole landscape of the Punjab.

**The Growth and Development of Secondary Education in the Punjab, 1882-1904**

In 1882-83 the number of schools imparting secondary education was 231 of which 102 were English and 127 were Vernacular schools. The benefit of secondary education had been extended to almost every district of the Punjab. The ratio of boys in the secondary schools had also registered a steady increase. This advance was proportionally greater in high schools than in middle schools, and in Anglo-Vernacular schools than in Vernacular schools. The number of boys acquiring secondary education during 1882-83 was 6,792. Of the 217 schools, 30 were high schools and 187 were middle schools. The 30 high schools comprised of one unaided, 2 vernacular, 13 government and 14 aided schools. In the 187 middle schools, 62 were Anglo-Vernacular and 125 were Vernacular. The total number of scholars under

81. P.A.R. 1883-84, p. 147, para 630.
83. P.A.R. 1883-84, p. 147, para 630.
secondary instruction in 1885-86 was 9,492, showing an increase of 9.1 per cent over the previous years. Of these 1,186 were in the high and 8,306 in the middle departments of the secondary schools. The increase at the high department was an impressive 28.1 per cent. The following statement shows the number and distribution of schools and scholars at the close of 1885-86 in secondary education. The statistics furnished a steady progress in the secondary education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of schools</th>
<th>No. of school</th>
<th>No. of scholars in high</th>
<th>No. of scholars in middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departmental</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>2,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under other departments</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Board</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Board</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>1,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-aided</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>8,306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 29, para 64.

Within the period from 1885-86 to 1895-96 the number of secondary schools in the Punjab rose from 217 to 296. Out of which 284 schools were for native pupils and 10 for Europeans. Again, out of 284 schools for native

boys 67 were high and 217 were middle. The number of pupils at the schools for native boys rose to 54,973 and they registered an increase of 3,249 students over the previous year\(^86\). Interestingly, the trend showed a complete reversal to the year of 1885-86. The increase was mere 103 at the high school stage while the number at the middle stage rose substantially by 2,056\(^87\). The number of pupils at the primary stage was 37,914.

By 1903-4, there were 291 public secondary schools for boys. Of these 87 were high and 204 were middle schools. They included 179 Anglo-Vernacular and 112 Vernacular schools\(^88\). The number of municipal board, aided and unaided schools was 189, 62 and 34, respectively\(^89\). Out of total number of 56,749 secondary school boys, the Anglo-Vernacular schools contained 39,342 and Vernacular schools 17,407 pupils\(^90\). The number of boys at the primary stage was 36,028. At the secondary stage of the Anglo-Vernacular schools, the number of boys was 15,580 which included 11,774 boys of the middle and 3,806 pupils of the high school stage\(^91\).

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87. Ibid, para 78.
89. Ibid, para 50.
90. Ibid, p. 12, para 56.
91. Ibid, para 57.
SECONDARY EDUCATION, THE EXAMINATIONS

The Entrance Examination

The Punjab students appeared for the Panjab University as well as Calcutta University Entrance examination. The success percentage of the students at the Entrance examination, either of the Punjab or Calcutta University was 46 in 1882-83. It rose to 47 in 1883-84. At the Panjab University Entrance examination 17 out of 25 candidates passed in the Vernacular. In 1885-86, for the Entrance examination 132 out of 306 candidates were successful in the government schools and 61 out of 188 in Aided schools, and 2 out of 6 in the Unaided schools. For the Calcutta University, the government schools sent up 2 and the aided schools 30 candidates. One of the former and 10 of the latter were successful. All but one of these boys also passed in Panjab University Entrance examination. In 1895-96, 978 out of 1,408 candidates passed the Entrance examination of the Panjab University. Of these 975 students were from the Anglo-Vernacular and 3 from the Vernacular schools. This clearly shows a preference for the Anglo-Vernacular schools. According to actual number of passes, the Lahore Circle was first with 410, Rawalpindi second with 183; Jalandhar third with 142; Delhi fourth with 139; and Derazat fifth with 101.

candidates. The first three places in this examination were secured by the Rewari Municipal school, the Jalandhar Municipal Board school and the Dera Ismail Khan school, respectively. The Gujranwala Mission school bagged the highest number of the first twenty places, while the Ambala City Mission school secured two such places. For the Calcutta University Entrance examination five schools had sent up one candidate each and none could pass that examination. In 1903-4, the Entrance Examination included the faculties of Arts, Oriental literature, Science and Commerce. The Commercial and Clerical classes, besides Amritsar, also existed at Hoshiarpur and Rewari Municipal Board schools and Rawalpindi Mission school. The examination was passed by 989 out of total number of 1,942 candidates with the success rate of 50.9 per cent. Twenty-one candidates out of 30 passed in the Science faculty and 19 out of 62 in the Commercial and Clerical faculties. Thirty one candidates out of 47 from schools for Europeans also passed the Entrance examination that year.

The Middle School Examination

In the middle schools examination in 1883-84, 2,080 candidates appeared. The result returned an alround
decline in the percentage of passes. It fell from 82 to 57 on the Anglo-Vernacular and from 85.7 to 73.5 on the Vernacular side and from 83.2 to 64.2 as a whole, over the year 1882-83. This fall in the percentage was mainly owing to the raising of the standards in the middle class examination. There were 3,031 candidates for this examination in 1885-86, out of which 1,677 were successful.

In 1895-96, 2,908 out of total number of 3,970 candidates passed the middle school examination. The pass percentage was 73.2. Besides these 279 out of 330, or 84 per cent passed in English only. The result on the Vernacular side, with an average of 85.2 per cent of success was more favourable than on the Anglo-Vernacular side, which had an average of 67 per cent. The Multan Municipal Board school took the first place on the Vernacular side. The Banga Board school passed the greatest number of candidates. The Kharian, Morinda, Mahilpur, Banga and Hariana Board schools secured the highest percentage of success. The highest place in merit went to the Ram Nagar school. In 1903-4, 3,437 out of 5,220 candidates, or 65.8 per cent candidates were successful in the middle

school examination on the Anglo-Vernacular side. On the Vernacular side 2,393 candidates passed out of 3,702, with the success rate of 64.6 per cent. In addition to these 238 out of 256 candidates who took up English only also passed. In 1903-4, the Anglo-Vernacular middle school examination was discontinued101.

The foregoing study clearly establishes that the majority of the students were preferring Anglo-Vernacular schools examination. Secondly, more and more students were taking to the Panjab University examination in place of the Calcutta University. Thus, the hampering double examination which had existed since the founding of the Panjab University College in 1869, was surely coming to a close.

Statement

Schools Passing the Greatest Number of Candidates in the Entrance and Middle School Examinations on the Anglo-Vernacular Side in the Punjab in 1895-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Board School, Multan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Amritsar Municipal Board School, Amritsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gujranwala Mission School, Gujranwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School, Lahore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hoshiarpur Municipal Board School, Hoshiarpur 44
The Central Model School, Lahore 42
Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School, Lahore 67
The Central Model School, Lahore 53
The Gujranwala Mission School, Gujranwala 41
The Multan Municipal Board, Multan 32
The Jalandhar Mission School, Jalandhar 29
The Lahore Islamia School, Lahore 28
The Rawalpindi Mission School, Rawalpindi 27

Circle-wise Success Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrance</th>
<th>Name of the Circle</th>
<th>Pass Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derazat</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>70.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Derazat</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
<td>74.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Anglo-Vernacular Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of schools</th>
<th>Entrance Pass Percentage</th>
<th>Middle Pass Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>1895-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government and the Board Schools</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>79.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-aided</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Punjab Popular Education Reports.

### The General Sum Up of the Progress of Secondary Education

By 1903-04, the instructions at the Secondary schools had improved considerably with the induction of more and more qualified teachers. The methodical and practical teaching was taken the place of the old cram work. The teaching of science was becoming more and more practical. But the subjects of Grammar, Retranslation, Physical Geography and Map Drawing required to be improved.

---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circle</th>
<th>Proportion of qualified teachers in Secondary Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

103. Loc. cit.
The number of schools and scholars were steadily increasing. However, the accommodation at the government schools was inadequate. Most of the schools were housed in unsuitable buildings and demanded attention. The library facilities continued to be poor. Although the benefit of secondary education was reaching every nook and corner of the Punjab, yet the success at this level was woefully short of expectations.

In 1903-04 only one boy in every 128.5 boys of school-going age was studying in the Anglo-Vernacular secondary schools, but the proportion of students in the Vernacular schools was dismal: 1 to every 386.8 boys.

THE FINANCING OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB 1882-1904

Income and Expenditure

The expenditure on education in the Punjab in 1882-83 was Rs. 16,26,005. It rose fractionally to Rs. 16,75,273 in 1883-84. The total expenditure in 1885-86 was Rs. 19,76,943. This also included the amount spent on the Panjab University, the Oriental College and the Law School. The expenditure from the municipal funds, exclusive of contributions for university purposes, was Rs. 1,54,184. The district committees contributed Rs. 4,90,876. The fees, exclusive of those levied on the university amounted to Rs. 1,91,410. The income from

104. Loc. cit.
105. Loc. cit.
subscriptions, proceeds of endowments and receipts from other sources amounted to Rs. 3,48,749. The following year the total expenditure rose to Rs. 22,57,163. From this amount Rs. 2,11,000 were expended on the buildings, Rs. 37,000 were spent on general school education and Rs. 16,000 on inspection. The year was marked by a considerable increase in the income from fees. The amount from this source rose to Rs. 2,23,407, showing an increase of 15 per cent. This increase was largely owing to the enhanced rate of fees. But, despite the higher rate of fees, the number of students attending higher schools and colleges registered a marked increase. This was indicative of growing popularity of the higher education in the Punjab. In 1895-96, the whole departmental expenditure rose to Rs. 30,27,966. The direct expenditure or expenditure on tuition amounted to Rs. 19,91,474 and the indirect expenditure or expenditure on inspection, scholarships, buildings, etc. rose to Rs. 10,36,492. The direct expenditure on University education, boys schools for general education and special education was Rs. 2,38,879;

Rs. 14,00,775; and Rs. 1,57,074, respectively. The schools for special instruction included teachers training institutions, medical schools, veterinary, art, law and industrial schools. Of the direct expenditure, 90.2 per cent was spent on the institutions for the males and only 9.8 per cent on institutions for the females.\(^{110}\)

In 1895-96, the sources of income of the Education Department were mainly from the following heads:\(^{111}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperial Revenues</td>
<td>Rs. 1,29,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Revenues</td>
<td>Rs. 7,44,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Funds</td>
<td>Rs. 6,46,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Sources (Private Funds)</td>
<td>Rs. 3,91,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuition Fees</td>
<td>Rs. 7,36,966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1903-04, the expenditure of all kinds was Rs. 41,16,798. This also included Rs. 1,98,628 as expenditure on education in the native states. Towards this sum native states revenue contributed Rs. 1,68,836; local funds Rs. 10,892; the income from fees Rs. 10,765; and the balance of Rs. 8,135 was made up from other sources. The total expenditure on education in the British Punjab during 1903-04 was Rs. 39,18,070. Of this Rs. 22,85,364 were spent on direct expenditure and the rest of Rs. 16,32,706 was incurred as indirect expenditure. The following heads constituted the

\(^{110}\) P.E.R. 1895-96, pp. 4-5, paras 10 and 11.

\(^{111}\) Ibid, p. 7, para 18.
State of Education in the Native States

The native states of Patiala, Bahawalpur, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, in political dependence on the British Government supplied the educational statistics in 1886-87. The Arts College (Mohindra College) at Patiala was the only college in these states. The number of secondary public schools was 30; of these the state of Patiala had 16, Bahawalpur 8, Jind 1, and Kapurthala had 5 schools. There were 100 primary schools with 5,149 scholars in Patiala; 37 schools with 1,253 scholars in Bahawalpur; 4 primary schools with 204 scholars in Jind; and 29 schools with 1,715 scholars in Kapurthala. The number of scholars learning English in Patiala was 1,193; in Bahawalpur was 326; in Jind 16; and in Kapurthala it was 309. There was also a large number of indigenous schools, both advanced and elementary in these states. The advanced schools, 76 in number, had 629 students while 666 elementary indigenous schools had 5,164 students on the rolls. In 1895-96, in both public and private institutions, the number of students

under the instruction was 21,404 of whom 1,341 were girls. There were three Arts Colleges in Patiala, Bahawalpur and Nabha with an aggregate of 123 students. Of the public schools 45 were secondary, 33 were Anglo-Vernacular and 12 Vernacular schools. The primary schools, 169 in number, had 6,891 scholars. In all, 221 public schools had 12,636 scholars on the rolls. The private schools, 783 in number, had 8,645 students on the rolls\textsuperscript{114}. The detailed summary of the educational statistics of native states for the year 1895-96 is given in Table No. 28.

In 1903-04, the total number of students at the native states colleges was 96. The number of public schools stood at 243. Of these 53 were secondary with 7,855 pupils; 189 primary with 6,787 pupils; and one was special school with 14 students. The aggregate number of scholars under instructions in all kinds of institutions was 23,596\textsuperscript{115} (Table No. 29).

It is interesting to note that the education of the people of these states was wholly sponsored and managed by the state. The involvement of the public in general was to a lesser extent as compared with the British Punjab.

\textsuperscript{114} P.E.R. 1895-96, p. 40, paras 106 and 107.

\textsuperscript{115} P.E.R. 1903-04, pp. 34-35, para 145.
The Indian Education Commission of 1882 did not enquire into the general working of the Indian universities comprehensively. Its main focus was the primary and secondary education. Its recommendations on the university education, therefore, were less important. Some of the recommendations of the Commission on college education were: (i) that provision be made for special growth to aided colleges; (ii) that the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the efficiency of the institution and the wants of the locality; and (iii) that the Indian graduates be more largely employed in the government colleges. The Punjab government while adopting the above recommendations observed that it was taking every care to further the cause of the university education in the province.

118. Ibid, para 2.
The establishment of the Panjab University gave an immense impetus to the college education in the Punjab. It held its first convocation in December, 1883\textsuperscript{119}. The same year it assumed the conduct of the middle school and Test examinations. The new institution was now advising body of government on many important educational subjects. Thus, it quickly assumed an important position in the educational administration of the province. With the establishment of this university, the number of candidates going for the Calcutta University examinations began to recede. In 1883-84, only 96 candidates from Panjab presented themselves for the Entrance examination of that university. There were 7 candidates for First Arts, 2 for B.A. and only one for the M.A. examinations\textsuperscript{120}. Thus, the new university had already begun to drive "its sister of Calcutta out of the field as regards natives of the province"\textsuperscript{121}. The loss of Calcutta was the gain of Lahore. The number of candidates for the Entrance examination, both on the Arts and Oriental side of Panjab University, picked up by 35 and 19 per cent respectively in 1883-84\textsuperscript{122}. Moreover, the popularity of the new

\textsuperscript{119} P.A.R. 1883-84, p. 150, para 638.
\textsuperscript{120} Loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{121} Loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, para 639.
university spread beyond the borders of the Punjab. No fewer than 54 candidates from beyond its borders appeared for the Panjab University examinations in Oriental languages in 1883-84\(^2\).\(^3\)

The two Arts colleges, Government college, Lahore and St. Stephens' college, Delhi continued to make steady progress. The number of students at the Lahore College rose by 21 per cent in 1883-84 over the previous year. The number of students of Entrance class alone rose by 32 per cent\(^4\).\(^5\). The number of students at St. Stephens College rose from 10 to 24. The college was yet in its infancy\(^6\).\(^7\). The third convocation of the Panjab University was held on 15th of November, 1884 in which Lord Ripon was conferred the honorary degree of D.O.L.\(^8\).\(^9\).

The number of candidates for Entrance examination of the Calcutta University fell to 88 in 1884-85\(^1\).\(^0\). On the other hand, more and more candidates were taking to the Panjab University examinations. The number of candidates for Matriculation and Intermediate examinations in this

\(^{123}\) P.A.R. 1883-84, p. 150, para 639.

\(^{124}\) Ibid, p. 151, para 640.

\(^{125}\) Ibid, para 641.

\(^{126}\) P.A.R. 1884-85, p. 150, para 799.

\(^{127}\) Ibid, p. 151, para 800.
university in 1884 rose to 648 and 81, respectively. There were 33 candidates for the degree of B.A. Two candidates obtained the degree of M.O.L., for the first time, from this university.

The Government College, Lahore was gaining in popularity among the students. Its strength in 1884-85 rose to 186, being an increase of 80 per cent within two years. The number of students at St. Stephens College, Delhi rose to 39 the same year. The number of candidates sent up by the Punjab for the Calcutta University Entrance examination further fell to 45. On the other hand, the number at the Panjab University Entrance examination rose to 794 in 1885-86. For the Intermediate, B.A. and M.A. examinations the number of candidates was 149, 35 and 4, respectively. The number of successful candidates for the Entrance, Intermediate, B.A. and M.A. examinations was 233, 59, 15 and 4, respectively. On the Oriental side, 14 candidates passed the Entrance and 13, the Intermediate examination. Only two candidates passed the B.O.L. and M.O.L. examinations of the Panjab University in 1885-86. The Oriental

129. Ibid, para 801.
130. Ibid, para 802.
College, Lahore was imparting useful instruction in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and General Education through the medium of Vernaculars. It had 144 students in 1885-86\textsuperscript{133}. The Government College, Lahore continued to grow in prominence. Its strength in 1885-86 rose to 248, being an increase of 33 per cent over the previous year\textsuperscript{134}. The number of pupils at St. Stephens College rose to 55. Only one student from this college was successful in B.A. in 1885-86\textsuperscript{135}. During 1886-87, a third Arts College, namely the Mission College, was established at Lahore by the American Presbyterian Mission\textsuperscript{136}. Around this time the native enterprise in education began to emerge. In the forefront of this denominational movement were the newly emerged Sabhas and societies. By 1888-89, the Arya Samaj had established Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore\textsuperscript{137}. The blue-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{133} P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 23, para 62.
  \item \textsuperscript{134} Ibid, p. 3, para 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{135} Ibid, p. 23, para 61.
  \item \textsuperscript{136} P.A.R. 1886-87, p. 143, para 697.
  \item \textsuperscript{137} R.B. Mulraj, Beginning of Punjabi Nationalism, Hoshiarpur, V.V.V.R.I., 1975, Appendix III, p. 180, vide Resolution No. 111, dated 28th April, 1888, the D.A.V. Managing Committee decided to add college department to the D.A.V. School, Lahore.
\end{itemize}
prints for the establishment of a Khalsa College had been drawn by the year 1890-91\textsuperscript{138} and the college was eventually established at Amritsar in 1892\textsuperscript{139}. The Islamia College, Lahore had come into existence by 1894-95\textsuperscript{140}. And, thus, by the period this study closes, the three leading denominations had their own colleges in the Punjab. The number of colleges rose to 10 in 1895-96, consisting of 9 Arts colleges and one Medical college. The total number of students receiving university education was 1,298\textsuperscript{141}.

The Government College, the Forman Mission College, the D.A.V. College, Lahore; and St. Stephens College, Delhi, continued to be the leading institutions imparting university education in the Punjab. The D.A.V. College, Lahore, with 300 pupils, was numerically the largest college in the province\textsuperscript{142}. F.C. Mission College, Lahore led in the university examination. The minor colleges taught up to the Intermediate standards only. They were

\textsuperscript{138} Home (General), the Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, dated 26th August 1891, No. 5765, the D.P.I., Report, Punjab 1890-91, para 3.

\textsuperscript{139} Dr. G.S. Deol, "Amritsar Khalsa College Versus Sikh University", in The Spokesman Weekly, March 5-11, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{140} P.E.R. 1895-96, p. 25, para 68

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid, p. 1, para 3.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid, p. 24, para 62.
the Municipal Board College, Amritsar; the Scotch Mission College, Sialkot; Islamia College, Lahore; and Gordon Mission College, Rawalpindi. They had 37, 21, 31 and 24 students on the rolls, respectively in 1895-96. In all 29 candidates from these colleges passed the Intermediate examination from the Panjab University that year. The statistics of the leading four colleges of the Punjab are given as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>No. of scholars</th>
<th>Intermediate Passed Out</th>
<th>B.A. Passed out</th>
<th>M.A. Passed out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government College Lahore</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forman Mission College, Lahore</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.A.V. College, Lahore</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stephens College, Delhi</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In 1903-04, there were 18 colleges in the Punjab, 14 in the British territory and 4 in the native states. The total number of college students in the Arts colleges, representing the British territory was 1,185. The Oriental college, Lahore had 79 and the Oriental Department of the Patiala college 35 students, respectively.\(^{144}\)

The college education was gaining popularity among the people. It was a channel to the post and position. In the beginning, few students could afford college education without the aid of scholarship. But, later on, the number of college students who did not receive scholarship was on the increase. There were 139 such students at the Government College, Lahore alone in 1885-86. For the first time they were in excess of the scholarship holders.\(^{145}\)

The female representation for the university education was negligible. Only 8 students belonging to Medical college, Lahore were acquiring college education in the Punjab during 1895-96.\(^{146}\)

The Medical College, the Law College and the Teacher Training College, Lahore, were the leading institutions imparting professional education in the Punjab. They had 234, 133 and 127 students on the rolls in 1903-04.\(^{147}\) The D.A.V. College, Lahore had an Engineering

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Department also. The doctors, the lawyers, the teachers and the engineers, coming out of these colleges formed the nucleus of the educated elite of the Punjab. They were fired with the spirit of nationalism and were destined to play an active role in the social and political life of the province.

Religious instruction was also given at the denominational colleges. The learning of Hindi and the study of Vedas was compulsory at the D.A.V. College. Hinduism was the dominant religion of the students at the colleges. In 1895-96, D.A.V. college, Lahore was represented by 278 Hindus, 20 Sikhs and 2 native Christians. The same year, St. Stephens College had 54 Hindus, 9 Mohammadans and 7 Christians on its rolls. As a result of the lead taken in acquiring education, the Hindus were filling the majority of the government jobs in the province. The Banias, the Kayasths and the Khatris were the dominant communities among the Hindus at the colleges. The statistics of the Hindu students of St. Stephens College, Delhi in 1895-96, amply demonstrates this trend. For the distribution of schools and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banias</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayasths</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatris</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

148. P.E.R. 1895-96, Appendix D.
149. Ibid, Appendix B.
150. Ibid, p. VI.
colleges in the Punjab, see the Circular Maps of Delhi, Jalandhar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Derajat.

The Indian University Commission of 1902 and the University Education in the Punjab

In the twilight of 19th century, Lord Curzon appeared on the horizon of Indian education. The "archpriest of centralisation and efficiency" found that all was not well with the education, particularly the higher education. Although the system adopted in the second half of the 19th century was responsible for great strides in higher education in India, yet, at the same time, it had developed anomalies, "arising in the main from too close an adherence to the lines of working, which are not suited to the conditions of the present day, and from which the best educational though of the time has

153. "There was a deplorable lack of coordination; there was vagueness as to fundamental principles; slackness had crept in; standard had depreciated; and what was wanting was the impulse and movement of a new life. "Everywhere it was words that were being studied, not ideas. The grain was being spilled and squatted, while the husk was being devoured"; S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik in A History of Education in India (during British Period), Bombay, McMillan & Co., 1951, pp. 441-442.
shown an increasing tendency to separate itself\textsuperscript{154}. In order to tackle the problems of higher education in India, Lord Curzon summoned a conference of all the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla in 1901. The conference was attended by a few other eminent persons but none amongst them was an Indian. The conference deliberated for fifteen days. These deliberations became the basis of Curzon's Educational Policy in India. His top priority was university education\textsuperscript{155}. In order to establish and foster an ideal university education in India, Curzon appointed the Indian Education Commission on 27th January, 1902. The Commission was directed to look into the conditions and prospects of the universities established in British India and to suggest measures to elevate the standards of the university education in India\textsuperscript{156}. The Commission examined 156 witnesses between February 18th and April 18th, 1902. The University Commission gave

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{154} Home Education A Proceedings Government of India, December, 1902, No. 69; Letter No. 854-863, dated Simla the 24th October, 1902 from H.H. Risley, Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India to the Secretaries to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Burma, Central Provinces, Assam, Coorg, Hyderabad, para 2.
\item \textsuperscript{155} Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, op. cit., pp. 458-459.
\item \textsuperscript{156} Home Education A Proceedings Government of India, December 1902, No. 69.
\end{enumerate}
recommendations on the reorganisation of the university administration; systematic supervision of the colleges by the university; students living and working conditions; teaching functions by the university; and on the changes in curriculum\textsuperscript{157}.

The Government of India addressed the local governments separately concerning certain points in the Indian Education Commission\textsuperscript{158}. In the Punjab some of the colleges and schools continued to be affiliated with the Calcutta University. The Supreme Government suggested that these institutions be removed from the jurisdiction of that university and assigned to the Panjab University. It recommended that in the 'Oriental side' of the Panjab University, English as second language be made compulsory. It also proposed a substantial reduction in the number of fellows of the Panjab University. It invited the attention of the Punjab government to the necessity of framing of affiliation rules for the Panjab University. Lastly, it clarified that the middle school examination being conducted by the Panjab University, was altogether

\textsuperscript{157} Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 462.

\textsuperscript{158} Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, December, 1902, No. 69; for details, see letter No. 854-863 from H.H. Risley, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces (U.P.), Punjab, Burma, Central Provinces (M.P.), Assam, Coorg and Hyderabad.
outside the function of a university\textsuperscript{159}. The Punjab government deliberated these suggestions with the syndicate of the Panjab University. Some prominent fellows of the Panjab University and the leading educationists of the province were also consulted. And after a careful consideration, it submitted the following observations on the subject of the recommendations of the Indian University Commission.

On the question of fees, the Punjab government stated that the rate of fees in the aided colleges in the province was not less than 75 per cent of those fixed for the government colleges; and, thus, according to it was a sufficient precaution for preventing unfair competition between the two. The cause of concern, however, were the unaided and unendowed colleges, which according to it, needed every encouragement. The Punjab government, therefore, endorsed the recommendations of the Commission that the affiliation conditions for such colleges be made soft\textsuperscript{160}. The Punjab government concurred with the

\textsuperscript{159.} Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, December 1902, No. 74; letter No. 962 dated Calcutta, 13th December 1902 from H.H. Risley, Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India to the Secretary to the Govt. of Punjab, paras 2-4.

\textsuperscript{160.} Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, June 1903, No. 74; letter No. 86, dated 24th February, 1903 from W. Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India, para 2.
Commission's opinion that insofar as the question of efficiency was concerned, the second grade colleges had a definite place in the educational framework of the country. But it firmly opposed the suggestion that the colleges which were unable to rise to first grade should be reverted to the position of a high school; it had apprehension that such an action would result in a definite educational disadvantage. It pointed out that the college education in the Punjab was almost entirely concentrated at Lahore, Delhi and Amritsar. As such second graded colleges, situated at intermediate stations, were rendering a very useful service to the educational needs of the province.  

Regarding the affiliation and disaffiliation of the colleges, the Punjab government agreed upon all the tests suggested by the Commission save the last test, which prohibited the affiliation of new second grade colleges. To deal with the question of affiliation and disaffiliation effectively, it suggested the appointment

161. Home Education Proceedings, Government of India, June 1903, No. 74; letter No. 86, dated 24th February, 1903 from W. Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India, para 3.

162. See Appendix No. II.
of a strong and representative committee of the Senate by the Chancellor. The Punjab government expressed the view that the recognition and non-recognition of a school should be left to the discretion of the University. The function of the Education Department should be limited to placing before the University the information which the University required to enable it to exercise its controlling authority.

In connection with the teaching of Law it welcomed the Commission's recommendation that the Law College at Lahore be properly developed and be made a really adequate Central Law College. It also agreed that a self-supporting Central Law College was a desirability at each university headquarters. At the same time, it also proposed that the system of law classes at Delhi which was far removed from Central Law College, be permitted to continue.

Regarding the reform of the Senate, the Punjab government agreed with recommendation of the Commission that the number of ex-officio fellows of the Senate of Panjab University be reduced. It also endorsed the limit

164. Ibid, para 5.
165. Ibid, para 6.
to the number of fellows\textsuperscript{166}. As to the proportion of fellows to be elected by the newly constituted Senate, the Punjab government believed that no change was required at that time in the Act of Incorporation relating to election by the Senate. While endorsing the proposal of the Commission as regards election by graduates, it suggested that not more than eight members should be elected by the graduates. It also accepted the three classes of graduates suggested by Government of India\textsuperscript{167}, who were given the right of vote. It suggested that the bonafide residents of Punjab who had graduated from Calcutta University before the incorporation of the Panjab University might also be added to the list. It also agreed on five years as the tenure of fellowship. In order to secure the regular attendance of the fellows at the meetings of the Senate, the Punjab government suggested that any fellow absenting himself for one year

\textsuperscript{166.} Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, June 1903, No. 74; op. cit., para 7.

\textsuperscript{167.} Three classes of graduates enumerated by Government of India in letter No. 856-863, para 23, were as under:

a) "Graduates of whatever standing, who have obtained the highest existing degree in any faculty".

b) "Graduates of whatever standing, who have obtained two degrees, one of which might be in the faculty of Arts".

c) "Graduates of not less than ten years' standing, who have obtained only one degree".
from the meetings of the Senate should be removed from the Senate by the Chancellor. The suggestions for a register of graduates, a small registration fee and the method of voting by circulation voting paper, also received the full approval of the Punjab government.

Regarding the courses of teaching, the government of the Punjab responded with the following suggestions. For the Intermediate courses the curriculum proposed was as follows:

1. English
2. Mathematics
3. A Classical Language, or Physics and Chemistry
4. Any of the following:
   a) A classical language if not taken up under the three above
   b) Physics and Chemistry
   c) Deductive Logic and Elementary Psychology
   d) Deductive Logic and a Short Course in History
   e) A branch of Natural Science.

For the degree of B.A. three subjects were to be compulsory. With regard to the M.A. course the Punjab government approved the suggestion of combining an Indian Vernacular with one of the courses in language for the post-graduate examination.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸. Home Education Proceedings, Government of India, June 1903, No. 74; Letter No. 86, dated 24th February, 1903, from W. Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Punjab to Secretary to the Government of India, para 9.
Regarding the position of the Director of Public Instruction, the Punjab government concurred with the Commission's proposal that the D.P.I. should be an ex-officio member of the syndicate. It did not think it desirable that the officer in question should invariably be Vice-Chairman of the syndicate. It, however, endorsed the proposal that the Vice-Chairman should be annually selected by the Vice-Chancellor.

The Punjab government readily accepted the recommendation of 15 years as the minimum limit of age for Matriculation. It also agreed with the Government of India that the Entrance stage students must receive their training in recognised colleges. It also accepted the view that private students should not be admitted to the examination above the Matriculation, unless they come under one of the following heads:

"a) Bonafide teachers

b) Those who have completed a college course of study, and having failed, go up at a later date

c) Very exceptional cases, each to be dealt with on its merit by the syndicate."

169. Home Education A Proceedings, Govt. of India, June 1903, No. 74; Letter No. 86, dated 24th February, 1903 from W. Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Punjab to Secretary to the Government of India, para 10.

170. Ibid, para 12.
The government of Punjab endorsed the Commission's recommendation that the affiliation of schools and colleges in the Punjab be removed from Calcutta University and assigned to the Panjab University171.

As regards the Oriental courses of instruction, it accepted the modifications suggested by the Commission by which the courses of B.O.L. and M.O.L. were to be retained. It communicated that the question of English being made a compulsory subject throughout was to be determined by the syndicate. It, however, pointed out that no diploma or literary title in the Punjab be conferred on a student unless the student had passed an examination in English172.

The Commission had suggested that the middle school examination should be outside the purview of the University. The Punjab government clarified that the conduct of middle school examination was transferred to the University on the ground that the managers of aided and private schools would be more confident of the impartiality of the examiners. It further explained that the examination, as a matter of fact, though conducted by

171. Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, June 1903, No. 74; letter No. 86, dated 24th February 1903 from W. Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Punjab to Secretary to the Government of India, para 15.

172. Ibid, para 16.
the University was largely in the hands of the Education Department. The Department lent its superintendents and supplied most of the examiners. Thus, the examination did not cause a significant burden to the University. The University, on the other hand, derived a considerable income from it. Therefore, the Punjab government pleaded for the increase in the government subsidy in case the middle school examination was taken away from the purview of the University173.

The Indian Education Commission was followed by Lord Curzon's Educational Policy in the form of a Government Resolution on March 11, 1904. It was a significant document. It exposed the defects of Indian education. It asserted that the Indian education was grievously lacking in quality. It was solely acquired for the sake of government employment, thereby limiting its scope. Too much stress was laid on the examinations. Its curriculum was also determined by the dearth in technical education.

The resolution favoured the establishment of Agricultural College, emphasised the need for a large number of trained teachers, and strongly recommended the allocation of larger funds for female education. In

173. Home Education: A Proceeding, Government of India, June 1903, No. 74; letter No. 86, dated 24th February 1903, from W. Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Punjab to Secretary to the Govt. of India, para 20.
order to give fillip to primary education, the Resolution suggested clear-cut financial policy, increased salary for the teachers and simplified methods of teaching. The Resolution also touched the university education. It studied the examination system of the universities, the size of the Senate and the powers of the syndicate 174.

The University Act of 1904

The Indian University Act was instituted on the basis of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of 1902. It introduced certain significant changes in the organisation and administration of the universities. The functions of the universities were enlarged. They were now given the power to appoint their own professors and teachers. The size of the Senate was limited. The number of fellows now was not to exceed 100 and fall below 50. The term of their office was cut short to a period of five years, instead of for life. A system of election for the fellows was introduced. The number of elected fellows was fixed at 20 for Bombay, Calcutta and Madras universities and 15 for the Universities of Punjab and Allahabad. Statutory recognition was given to the syndicates. The university teachers were also granted an adequate representation on the syndicates concerned. More strict conditions were laid down pertaining to the

affiliation of colleges to a university. The powers regarding the rules and regulations to be framed by the Senate were vested in government. The Act empowered the Governor-General in Council to define the territorial limits of the universities.

Reaction of the People of the Punjab

The Indian University Act of 1904 met with an all India opposition. Curzon’s Educational Policy was strongly condemned and was looked upon with suspicion. It is interesting to know how the people of the Punjab reacted to his educational reforms specially the University Act of 1904. Initially, the people were satisfied that Lord Curzon during his short stay of three years had grasped the spirit of the question of education which they had been pressing on the government for quite some time. But they were surprised and shocked when Lord Curzon put forth his new Educational Policy. They were greatly dissatisfied with the University Act of 1904. The way and the haste by which the Indian Universities Validating Bill was passed, came in for heavy condemnation. The Indian leaders like Ferozeshah Mehta and G.K. Gokhle were utterly dissatisfied by the way the usual formalities of legislation were dispensed with in


this case. The Bill was introduced in one sitting and passed in the next. Even the formalities of referring it to a select committee was done away with. The Tribune of 16th February 1905 lashed at the passage of the Bill into Law; it labelled it "a piece of high handedness", Sabardasti without parallel even in the annals of Indian Legislation\textsuperscript{177}. The Paisa Akhbar of 20th February 1905 sounded a still harsher tone. It singularly held Lord Curzon responsible for the irregularities observed in passing the Universities Act. It strongly echoed the opinion that "the manner in which the Validating Act has been passed goes to show that the King Emperor's representative in India wields absolute power, considers himself infallible, and can make or repeal at his pleasure"\textsuperscript{178}. The people were particularly sore over the enhancement of college fees and its regulations regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of the colleges. They feared that the Act was calculated to discourage the higher education\textsuperscript{179}. One master, Atma Ram hit the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{177} P.N.N.R. 1905, pp. 36-37, para 9. The Tribune, February 16, 1905.
\bibitem{178} P.N.N.R. 1905, p. 40, para 4. The Paisa Akhbar; Lahore, 20th February 1905.
\bibitem{179} P.N.N.R. 1904, p. 18, para 7. The Vakil, Amritsar, January 18, 1904. (Also see The Gulzar-i-Hind, Lahore, 26th March, 1904).
\end{thebibliography}
University Act hardest in the Ahluwalia Gazette under the heading 'Oppression! Oppression! Oppression! He alleged that the Bill was designed to prevent Indians from receiving higher education so that they might not claim equality with the European officers. He predicted that Curzon's policy would bring about the fall of the British Empire. The Bill empowered the government to affiliate and disaffiliate colleges. He alleged that it was a direct interference with the liberties of the natives. He asked the people to stop quill-driving, and "chattering like Bengalis", to stand united and resist manfully until their rights were conceded, even at the cost of their lives. "Our motto should be death before dishonour". Interestingly, the Vakil too lamented the Bengali factor. It held Congress, dominated by the Bengalis, responsible for compelling the government to come forthwith the new educational policy and the Universities Act.

It was also alleged that by introducing the Bill in question, the government wanted to extend its full control over the Indian universities. The Vakil elaborated that Lord Curzon's speech of 1903 on the subject left no room for doubt that the government was bent upon bringing the universities under official

181. P.N.N.R. 1904, p. 110, para 11, quoted by The Vakil, Amritsar, 4th May, 1904.
control. It had also assigned places to many government servants in administration of the universities. The paper believed that the policy was opposed to the spirit of times. It, however, was hopeful that the system would collapse sooner or later.

It was feared that most of the colleges might not satisfy the conditions laid down in the Act. The Panja-i-Faulad of 7th May, 1905, revealed that Amritsar Mission College was on the brink of closure due to the withering effect of the Universities Act. The paper pointed out towards the helpless condition of the poor Indians against a strong ruler like Curzon. It concluded by remarking that the double faced policy of Lord Curzon had made him unpopular with the educated natives.

All over India people began to criticise the prevailing educational system. This gave birth to the movement for national education. In Bengal this movement was spearheaded by men like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Rasbihari Ghosh and Aurobindo Ghosh and in the Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai became its spokesman.

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183. P.N.N.R. 1904, p. 296, para 10; The Vakil, Amritsar 7th December, 1904.


But despite the condemnation of his policies, the fact remains that Lord Curzon did tremendous service to the cause of Indian education. He founded the Department of Archaeology in India. He encouraged the study of modern Indian languages. He created the Department of Education in the Central Government. But it was ironic that in his own time, Curzon came in for heavy criticism. Because of his political policies, the people of India had become suspicious. They thought that his educational reforms might have been infested with deep political motives\textsuperscript{187}. But time has shown that his contribution to the cause of Indian education was unrivalled. He "touched almost every aspect of Indian education and left nothing that he did not reform". Today, it is his these services that India remembers, and not his high-handed political policies\textsuperscript{188}.

**FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB, 1882-1904**

The Government of India also showed their deep concern over the female education. The progress of female education in India was unsatisfactory and slow. The Indian Education Commission, therefore, made important inquiries into the state of female education in various provinces and invited suggestions for its improvement.

\textsuperscript{187} A.N. Basu, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{188} Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 497.
The provincial committee of Education Commission for the Punjab invited the opinion of the witnesses on the following important questions pertaining to female education in the Punjab:

a) The progress of Education Department in instituting schools for girls and the character of instruction imparted in them.

b) The mixed schools.

c) The best mode of providing teachers for the girls.

d) The grants to the girls schools.

e) The share of the European ladies in promoting female education in the Punjab.

It was regretted that Education Department had made little progress in instituting schools for girls. In 26 years of its existence it had established only 150 government primary schools for girls. Its work fell far short of expectations. The witnesses held that the prejudices of the people against female education limited and retarded the progress of the Department.


190. Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, p. 480; Arya Samaj, Lahore, Answers to the Questions.

191. Loc. cit.
gentlemen did not educate their daughters as they had no desire to see the women of the country elevated to different positions in society which they had held at that time\textsuperscript{192}. Moreover, many objected to the courses of studies pursued by the Department at the female schools. They preferred religious instruction and moral education to the study of mathematics and geography, etc. "In a country of female seclusion it is hardly worthwhile for girls to learn by heart the countries, cities, mountains, etc. of the world. Only such instruction should be imparted to girls as may help them in becoming good housewives\textsuperscript{193}. Khem Singh Bedi pointed out that the girls themselves did not like the study of geography and the subject was "neglected". He feared that anything introduced new might prove counter-productive. "The little interest which the people have begun to take in the female education might receive a check and the numbers already small might fall still lower"\textsuperscript{194}. The Lahore Arya Samaj similarly advised the Education Commission against enforcing the girls "to swallow history and geography", as it was calculated to deter many girls from their studies altogether. It also brought home the fact that since the


\textsuperscript{193} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Khan Ahmad Shah, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{194} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Statement of Khem Singh Bedi, p. 311.
government schools lacked instruction in moral teaching, they had no attraction for the people, for many of them had a 'lurking belief', that education at these schools spoils the moral of a girl. In order to dispel the above belief and to popularise these schools the government must, it stressed, introduce moral education in them. Mixed Schools

The majority of the witnesses resisted the idea of mixed schools. It was opposed to the sentiments and traditions of the society. The mixing of females in the committees, caste meetings and other social institutions was prohibited in the native society and the people, therefore, had no fancy for such a school system. The mixed schools were "an unmixed evil in the Punjab", which was not ripe for them. The mixing of boys and girls in the same room was calculated to caste an unhealthy effect upon their morality. It was pointed out that these schools would render the female education unpopular in the Punjab.


Female School Teachers

One of the most problematical tasks confronting the promoters of female education was that of providing teachers for the girls. Want of trained female teachers was a big hurdle in the progress of female education in the Punjab. The Education Commission invited the opinion of the witnesses on this important question. Miss Boyd, incharge of a Mohammedan Normal school since 1869, highlighted the difficulties confronting these schools. The system of marrying the girls at an early age had crippled the Normal schools. The experience was most frustrating "for just when they are most promising, they leave to be married, and it generally happens that their husbands object to their attending schools. Young married women, as a rule, will not offer themselves for training", and whoever remained, attended schools irregularly. So there was a great difficulty "in keeping up the members". The most steady and persevering were the elderly women but they were useful only as assistant teachers. Miss Boyd suggested that the training of native Christian girls as native teachers was the best solution because they did not observe purdah; had greater adaptability to European method of training and did not object to situation after marriage or to go out to out-stations. The Sat Sabha,

Lahore was for normal school trained females of good conduct as teachers for girl schools\textsuperscript{201}. But there were many who did not have confidence in the moral conduct of the normal school teachers, so it was suggested that Pandas, Mullas and family priests be appointed as teachers in the female schools\textsuperscript{202}. This was "a welcome substitute for the teachers", who were, "turned out from female normal schools"\textsuperscript{203}. The substitution of the Pandas and Mullas seemed to be the choice of many, but their methodology was poor and their knowledge of the subjects of instruction was next to nothing\textsuperscript{204}.

\textbf{Grants to the Female Schools}

On the subject of grants to female schools, most of the witnesses seemed to be satisfied with efforts of the government. The larger grants were extended to the girls schools on easier terms than those of the boys. "The fact" was "generally known"\textsuperscript{205}. Even Dr. Leitner, an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{201} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Bihari Lal, Secretary, statement made on behalf of the members of the Sat Sabha Society, Lahore, 5th June, 1882, p. 490.
\item \textsuperscript{202} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Attar Singh, p. 145.
\item \textsuperscript{203} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Dr. Leitner, p. 381.
\item \textsuperscript{204} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Lahore Arya Samaj, Answers to the questions of Education Commission, p. 480.
\item \textsuperscript{205} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Sardar Attar Singh, p. 145.
\end{itemize}
ardent critic of the educational policies of the government, endorsed the government course of action in extending grants to female schools\(^206\). But C.W. Forman alleged that the amount of grants to the Mission school was small\(^207\).

**Role of the European Ladies**

European Missionary ladies had rendered a pioneering service in the promotion of female education in the Punjab. Ladies like Miss Rose Greenfield, Miss Carpenter, Mrs. Steel and others had exerted themselves as volunteers in the course of various forms of female education. They formed associations, opened schools and campaigned from door to door with missionary zeal\(^208\). But they had their limitations too, as they were stationed at the headquarters of a few districts and visited the Zenana only once a week\(^209\). To make their work useful, they were advised to learn vernacular and cultivate friendly relations with wives of native gentlemen. It was further

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American Mission at Lahore was spending Rs. 330 a month on female education, but received only Rs. 50 from the government.

208. Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Dr. Leitner, p. 381.

suggested that they "might form societies in every station" and include, "needle work, fine arts"; in the Zenana and in the normal schools.  

Response of the People

The Education Commission was intimated that a marked change had taken place in the attitude of the native community towards female education in the Punjab. In the cities, it was being sought after, more or less, by all classes. The village population had lagged behind owing to the non-existence of the opportunities, but wherever schools were opened, the response was good. There were indications that female education was taking root in the Punjab, "though only here and there and very slowly." The people were eager to do something in this respect. They did not want to "leave" their "daughters quite uneducated." But the response of the higher classes was poor. The girls of lower classes, on the other hand, attended these schools in good number. They were attracted to these, because of


213. Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Anjuman Hamdardi Islamia, Answers to the questions, p. 137.
"rewards" and "prizes". The influential classes had practically excluded their women from the benefit of female schools as they had kept their women in "Purdah" and "isolation".

However, it was emphasized that if the government schools were to be made popular with these classes the inclusion of religious instruction to them was indispensable.

Female Education in the Punjab and Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission

Female education in the Punjab from the time of R. Montgomery had always received the utmost attention of the government. Notwithstanding this, there had been a continuous fall, both in the number of schools and scholars, as is evidenced by the following statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>19,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-71</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>11,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>9,353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* It may be noted that a number of Muslim girls belonging to better classes attended the government schools in 1885-86. P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 63, para 124.
This decrease was all the more deplorable, as there had been a great increase in this respect in India generally. In Punjab, in 1881-82, the number of girls under instruction was only one for every 1,416 of the female population, though the proportion for India was one for 849. The figures showed that much was required to be done to bring the female education in the Punjab up to the average level of India as a whole.

Subject of female education was perhaps the most important of all the chapters in the Indian Education Commission Report. The recommendations of the Education Commission covered almost every aspect of female education. It laid particular stress on the support from public funds, grant-in-aid, differentiation of curricula and books, fees and scholarships, secondary education, hostels, women teachers, appointment of women inspectors and non-official cooperation. Some of the specific recommendations of the Commission were as under:

1. That all female schools or orphanages, whether on religious basis or not, be eligible for aid;
2. That the conditions of aid to girls schools be easier than to boys schools;

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3. That the standards of instruction for primary girls schools be simpler than those for yours schools;

4. That the greatest care be exercised in the selection of suitable text books for girls schools;

5. That as the mixed schools, other than infant schools, are not generally suited to the conditions in this country, the attendance of girls at boys schools be not encouraged except in places where girls schools cannot be maintained;

6. That the establishment of infant schools or classes, under school mistresses, be liberally encouraged;

7. That female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of female education and be more largely employed than hitherto;

8. That endeavour be made to secure the services of native gentlemen interested in female education in committees for the supervision of girls schools, and that European and native ladies also be invited to assist such committees.

It may be noted that none of these recommendations was radical. The Commission did not make education compulsory for the girls. Its recommendations concerning the expansion of female education on a voluntary basis did

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not have much force as the public opinion at that time was not much in favour of the girls education.\(^{220}\)

The Punjab government, while accepting these recommendations, directed the D.P.I. to pay special attention to the remarks of the Commission pertaining to the standard for female schools; to special text books; to female teachers; to grant-in-aid rules; to the assignment of scholarships for merit, and to the necessity of all arrangements for studying the customs and feelings of the people.\(^{221}\) It observed that the subject of female education required careful and earnest attention. "Everyone must agree with the Commission that the difficulties which beset female education cannot be solved either by their recommendations or by the most zealous action of government. Still actual daily experience shows that the people of the province are becoming every year more amenable to guidance, and more ready to respond to government influence in these and other matters; and the sympathetic attitude of educational officers and the liberal aid of government on appropriate principles will do much to hasten that healthy growth of public opinion on the subject among the native community, on which it is admitted that success must principally depend."\(^{222}\)

221. *Home Education A Proceedings*, Govt. of India, March 1884, No. 23; letter No. 98, dated Lahore, 20th March 1884 from H.L. Fanshawe, Offg. Secretary to Govt. of Punjab and its dependencies to W.R.M. Holroyd, D.P.I. Punjab, para 4.
Notwithstanding the recommendations of the Education Commission and the efforts of the Punjab government, the progress of female education remained woefully slow. Only 10,569 girls out of 2,116,434 female population of school-going age attended schools in the province in 1883-84. About 10,358 or about 97 per cent of them had still not crossed the primary stage.

The secondary education was practically non-existent. The four secondary schools had only 4 students out of 233 in the upper departments in 1885-86. The middle departments contained 20 students while the rest of 207 pupils were in the primary departments of these schools. 290 primary schools had 915 girl pupils on the rolls at the close of 1885-86. The year 1885-86 was significant when three students passed the Entrance examination for the first time in the province. Although it took them almost a generation to match the feat of the first matriculate boy, yet the occasion was a great moral boosting and gave a ray of hope to the promoters of female education in the Punjab. These students were sent up by the Alexandra School, Amritsar, and the Christian Boarding School, Lahore, the two

223. P.A.R. 1883-84, para 634.
most important schools of female education in the Punjab at that time. There was a large increase in the number of candidates for the middle school examination, but they were not sufficiently prepared and only 3 girls passed that examination in 1885-86.

The low rate of success at the examination was owing to the dearth of trained female teachers in the Punjab. And the authorities were at their wits' end to overcome this shortcoming. The attainments of the Amritsar normal school, and the S.P.G. Christian normal school, Delhi, were low and far removed from what was actually required. However, in an attempt to give a fillip to the female education, the government resorted to the following measures:

1. It gave scholarships and substantial rewards to the girls who passed the lower and upper primary school examinations.

2. It accorded special inducements of various kinds to the school masters who qualified themselves to become teachers.

3. The pay and prospects of the female teachers were improved.

4. More efficient teachers were given employment in the board schools.

5. The 'Khitlats' and other rewards were provided to those who were instrumental in the promotion of female education in the Punjab.

Measures such as these combined with the new grant-in-aid rules as applied to girls schools were calculated to result in great improvement in the female education in the province\footnote{P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 5, para 29.}. Another hopeful sign was the regenerated enthusiasm of the natives towards the female education in the Punjab. By 1885-86, a numbers of girls schools had sprung up in the Punjab which owed their origin entirely to the native efforts. Arya Samaj school, Ferozepur and Anglo-Vernacular school, Lahore were two such promising institutions. The latter school was established in April, 1885. The school quickly became a premier institution of female education, as the children of government officials and other persons of good social standing adopted it\footnote{Ibid, p. 61, para 121.}. The places like Lahore, Amritsar, Gujrawala and Jalandhar became the prominent centres of this private enterprise and rendered valuable service to further the cause of female education\footnote{Ibid, p. 63, para 124.}. It was a humble
but useful beginning. However, the native schools could not match the progress and efficiency of the schools run and managed by the native Christian's. The pupils at the Christian schools were drawn from the classes who were free from prejudices which otherwise served to check the progress of female education.  

In 1886-87, two girls passed the matriculation and 8 including two Hindu girls passed the middle school examination. The Hindu girls belonged to the Zenana classes of the Baptist Mission (school), Lahore. This was for the first time that any girls who were not Christians had passed an examination above the upper primary standard. The statistics of the 8 successful candidates of the middle school were as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the school</th>
<th>No. of successful candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girls Boarding School, Ludhiana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra School, Amritsar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Girls School, Lahore</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenana Classes of Baptist Mission, Lahore</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In 1888-89, Miss Francis was appointed the first lady inspectress of schools. The need of this post had been felt for many years. This appointment was calculated to give stimulus to the cause of female education in the Punjab. By 1890-91, there were 305 female schools of all kinds which had 9,585 pupils on the rolls. The number of schools imparting secondary instruction was 10, of which only two schools, namely Alexandra School, Amritsar and Lady Dufferin School, Lahore, were high. Rest of the 8 schools were middle class schools. The primary schools numbered 295 and had 8,918 pupils on the rolls. By 1895-96, the number of female schools rose to 339. The public schools had 12,243 pupils. The actual number of students was 21,426 which included 9,178 pupils from the private schools. The number of secondary schools had also gone up to 14. The rest of the 325 primary schools had 10,988 pupils on the rolls. In 1903-04, 35 secondary schools for girls contained 618 pupils; of these as many as 108 were on scholarships. The 335 primary schools had 15,037 pupils on their rolls and of these all but 2,287 were attending the primary schools proper. The distribution of the schools and scholars according to the circle of inspection 1890-91 to 1903-04 is given as under:

236. P.E.R. 1890-91, p. 75, para 149.
237. Ibid, paras 151 to 153.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circle of inspection</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
<th>1895-96</th>
<th>1903-04</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of schools</td>
<td>No. of scholars</td>
<td>No. of schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3,554</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>3,372</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1,855</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derazat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>9,585</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*: Exclusive of girls attending private and boys schools the total number, however, was 9,388.

The districtwise comparison of the girls attending public schools in 1903-04 was as under 240:

- Amritsar: 2,064 pupils
- Lahore: 1,814
- Rawalpindi: 1,404
- Sialkot: 1,400
- Gujranwala: 851
- Delhi: 751
- Jalandhar: 707

These were the districts which had some significant number of female students, the number at the rest of the Punjab districts was negligible.

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A glance at the examinations would clearly show how little was achieved by way of results during the period under study. In the Entrance examination only one candidate passed out of 2 in 1890-91, 3 out of 5 in 1895-96, and 36 out of 47 were successful in 1903-04\textsuperscript{241}. In the middle school examination none passed in 1890-91. In 1895-96, seven out of all 11 passed; and in 1903-04, 51 out of 83 passed\textsuperscript{242}. But the success at the middle standard examination was encouraging to some extent\textsuperscript{243}. In 1890-91, ten girls out of 20 passed this examination\textsuperscript{244}. In 1895-96, 23 out of 41\textsuperscript{245} and in 1903-04, 35 out of 41 passed that examination\textsuperscript{246}. The results of both Entrance and middle school examination began to pick up by the time this study closes. The results of the primary school examination was also encouraging to some extent. In 1890-91, in the upper primary school examination 147 out of 200 passed and 451 out


\textsuperscript{242} P.E.R. 1903-04, p. 28, para 125.

\textsuperscript{243} The Middle Standard examination was conducted by the Department and particularly adopted to the requirements of the girls schools. It was similar to the Middle school examination.

\textsuperscript{244} P.E.R. 1890-91, p. 79, para 156.

\textsuperscript{245} P.E.R. 1895-96, p. 57, para 155.

\textsuperscript{246} P.E.R. 1903-04, p. 28, para 125.
of 726 students passed the lower primary examination that year. The pass percentage of both the examinations was 73.5 and 62.1, respectively\(^247\). In 1895-96, 264 candidates out of 410 passed the upper primary and 698 out of 1,163 passed the lower primary examinations with 64.4 and 60 per cent, respectively\(^248\). And in 1903-04, 439 out of 584 passed the upper and 815 out of 1,200 passed the lower primary examination. It is interesting to note that all the successful candidates in Entrance and middle school examinations in 1903-04 were from Christian schools of Lahore and Amritsar\(^249\).

It will not be out of context to have a look into the denominational response to the female education in the Punjab. The following statement of the Inspector of Ambala Circle in 1885-86 throws some light on it\(^250\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Christians</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^247\) P.E.R. 1890-91, p. 79, para 156.
\(^249\) P.E.R. 1903-04, p. 28, para 125.
\(^250\) P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 63, para 124.
The leading communities among the Hindus who took to the Western education were Khatris, Brahmans and Aroras. Out of 775 Hindu girls under instruction in the city of Amritsar in 1885-86, 153 were Brahmans and Khatris, 452 were Aroras and the rest belonged to the lower castes. Among the Muslims out 361, 105 girls belonged to better classes, 151 to the middle classes and the rest of 123 belonged to the lower classes. The two Muslim schools of Hoshiarpur in 1885-86 give a vivid picture of the Muslim ethnic response to the female schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste and Race</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
<th>Caste and Race</th>
<th>No. of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pathans</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nilaris</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikhs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sayyids</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munishis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Marasis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohars and Tarkhans</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kasais</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kashmiris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weavers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sonar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But it was a sad fact that despite the government measures and the efforts of the natives the condition of female education remained extremely backward. It progressed at a snail's pace and it never really rose beyond the level of primary schools during the period under study. Out of 370 schools of all kinds for native girls as many as 335

252. Loc. cit.
were primary schools in 1903-04. And, again, out of total number of 15,037 pupils in female schools, as many as 12,750 were at the primary stage. The number of students pursuing high school education was very small. Only 15 and 165 students were studying at the high and middle stage out of 1,22,248 in 1895-96. Moreover, the growth and spread of female education was not uniform. It is interesting to know how the bulk of the primary schools were circumscribed to the Lahore Circle. As many as 198 out of 290 primary schools in 1885-86 were humming in that Circle alone. The Circle monopolised the secondary education also. All 163 female high schools and as many as 476 middle schools out of 1,100 in 1895-96 were confined to the two districts of Lahore and Amritsar. This is clearly indicated by Table No. 31.

But here too the progress of female education was not all that encouraging, owing to the apathy of the people and want of competent teachers. The general opinion of the country towards female education was that of distrust.

253. P.E.R. 1903-04, p. 27, para 120.
People had a prejudice that the educated girl would become immoral\textsuperscript{258}. Even the educated men were apathetic in this regard. They showed little or no desire for the education of their wives and daughters\textsuperscript{259}. To promote female education there must be either a voluntary demand or absolute compulsion. In Punjab there was neither one nor the other. "What can be done by indirect effort, by using the more educated motives and making them understand the importance of instructing their female children is being done, but coaxing has not proved successful"\textsuperscript{260}. Miss Francis, the Inspectress of Schools in the Punjab remarked in 1895-96, "it must be admitted, however, that education has, as yet, almost totally failed to reach the classes, who might be expected to desire it, and would profit most by it, namely the family of educated men. It might be expected that, in Lahore, with its numerous schools and colleges, and its large number of men in government services and other professions, who have received

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{258} Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, February 1891, No. 31; Extract from the Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in Home (General) Department No. 1085, dated 20th October, 1890, D.P.I. Report, 1889-90, para 7.
\item \textsuperscript{259} Home Education A Proceedings, Government of India, February 1892, No. 20; Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Punjab in Home (General) Department No. 576S, dated 26th August 1891, D.P.I. Report, 1890-91, para 9.
\item \textsuperscript{260} P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 63, para 124.
\end{itemize}
the benefit of English education, there would be many (who should be) glad to take advantage for their daughters of the free education provided at the Victoria school, in which every arrangement is made to meet the objections on the score of religion, caste and custom. The number of daughters of educated men attending the school is, however, very small.\footnote{P.E.R. 1890-91, p. 82, para 164; Report of Miss Francis, Inspectress of Schools.}

The withdrawal of girls from the schools at an early age also greatly impeded the progress of female education in the Punjab.\footnote{Home Education & Proceedings, Government of India, February 1892, No. 20; Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Punjab in the Home (General) Department, No. 5765, dated 26th August 1891, D.P.I. Report 1890-91, para 9.} But hopefully at the fag end of this study, the people, especially the Hindus, were getting awakened to the need of deferring the marriage of their daughters and keeping them at the schools for a longer period of age.\footnote{P.E.R. 1903-04, p. 29, para 128.}

The want of competent female teachers continued to be felt throughout this period. For often the teachers at these schools did not have the competence required for their posts. They were generally chosen, "for either influence and position or for their being unable to earn their bread otherwise, and not for their skill in teaching, or their fitness otherwise for the post."\footnote{P.E.R. 1885-86, p. 65, para 124; Report of the Inspector of Schools, Multan Circle.} Sometimes they were ignorant of arithmatic or geography and as such these
subjects could never be taught at the schools. Thus, there was a great dearth of trained teachers. In 1895-96, only 46 out of 457 teachers employed in the public schools in the Punjab were trained. Three hundred and thirty-six teachers or about three-fourths of the whole were neither trained nor certificated. The government in an effort to meet the demand of qualified teachers maintained the normal classes in Alexandra school, the Christian Girls school, and the municipal board girls school at Amritsar; the Victoria school at Lahore, and the Mission Girls school at Gujranwala. It had also advanced stipends of Rs. 6 and Rs. 8 to the girls preparing for Junior and Certificate examination in 1890-91. But the results were insignificant and the demand for the qualified teachers continued to be greater than the supply. This factor alone greatly hindered the progress of female education in the Punjab.

The condition of some of the female schools was as unsatisfactory as it had been ever since their establishment. Babu Pir Baksh, the Assistant Inspector of Schools of the Rawalpindi Circle commenting upon Bedi Khem Singh schools.

267. Ibid, p. 128.
reported in 1885-86, "They are properly speaking purely religious institutions. A few books containing secular instructions, such as 'Punjab Reader', are kept in each school. .... These books are studied by some of the cleverest girls only a short time prior to the annual visit of an educational officer and soon as that is paid, all such study is given up"269. The condition of the schools of the Multan Circle was even worse off. The registers of these schools were untrust-worthy and the records of the average attendance betrayed the reality270. The reports of inspectress of female schools, the circle inspectors, educational as well as administration reports summed up the condition of female education in the Punjab during the period under study in one word "unsatisfactory". The number of girls who attended the schools was extremely small. In 1883-84, one girl in every 199 girls of school going age was at the school271. The comparison with the male students could be made only at the primary school level. In 1890-91, more than one hundred and twenty thousand boys were under instruction, while the girls were less than nine thousands272.

270. Loc. cit.
271. P.A.R. 1883-84, para 634.
In 1896-97 only 1.3 per cent of the girls of school going age in the province were under instruction. Thus, the female education in the Punjab, as in 1862 so in 1904, remained in its infancy.

But amidst the gloom and despair there were glimpses of hope. The people were shedding their prejudices, and slowly and surely were awakening to the need of education of their daughters. An encouraging feature of the later decades of this period was native private enterprise. The newly emerged Sabhas and benevolent societies did a yeoman service to the cause of female education by opening a number of schools in the Punjab. Arya Samaj was in the forefront of this movement. Sikhs and Muslims were also engaged in this cause with zeal and zest. The Education Department on its part also assisted the private schools with liberal grants.

The hard work of people like Khem Singh Bedi and Raja Sampuran Singh and many of the government officials engaged in the case of female education was going to bear fruit. Of course, much was not expected at that time. As Miss Steel of Gujranwala district had remarked in 1885-86:

"It would be sanguine to expect much in this direction during the course of the present generation, it would be quite unjust to shut


our eyes to the work that is actually being carried on at the present time and we must remember that popular education in Europe, so late as hundred years ago was not highly developed.  

This period held immense significance, as it laid a firm foundation on which the edifice of modern female education in the Punjab was to be built. It also witnessed the growth of the private educational enterprise in the Punjab in which the three denominations of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs were leadingly involved. The Punjabi private educational enterprise was destined to become the most important agency for spreading education among the people of the Punjab.

Table 29
Educational Statistics of Native States in 1895-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Male Population</th>
<th>No. of girls on the Rolls</th>
<th>No. of boys on the Rolls</th>
<th>No. of girls on the Scholar Rolls</th>
<th>No. of boys on the Scholar Rolls</th>
<th>Total Scholars Learning English</th>
<th>Scholars in all Colleges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>134,733</td>
<td>3,845</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>3,839</td>
<td>1,418</td>
<td>9,297</td>
<td>1,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapurthala</td>
<td>135,153</td>
<td>3,937</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>3,921</td>
<td>1,411</td>
<td>9,321</td>
<td>1,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jind</td>
<td>184,252</td>
<td>4,211</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>4,184</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>9,711</td>
<td>1,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faridkot</td>
<td>40,740</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>2,408</td>
<td>9,272</td>
<td>1,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabha</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>9,126</td>
<td>1,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Vernacular Middle School Passed Candidates Entrance (Oriental)</td>
<td>Anglo-Vernacular Middle School Passed Candidates Entrance (Arts)</td>
<td>Intermediate (Arts) Passed Candidates Entrance</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts Passed Candidates Entrance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1 0 2 2</td>
<td>2 2 4 8</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1 0 2 2</td>
<td>2 2 4 8</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1 0 2 2</td>
<td>2 2 4 8</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1 0 2 2</td>
<td>2 2 4 8</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1 0 2 2</td>
<td>2 2 4 8</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30

University Examination Results in the Native States in 1895-96
### Table 31
Statement of Female Schools in the Punjab in 1895-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Girls in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hissar</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohtak</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurgaon</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnal</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simla</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangra</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferozepur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurdaspur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sialkot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahpur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhelum</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peshawar</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohat</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bannu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Ismail Khan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Ghazi Khan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffargarh</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 163 1,100 10,985 772 13,020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Evidence of Khan Ahmad Shah (Extra Assistant Commissioner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Maulvi Abu Syyid Muhammad Hussain (Secretary, personal representative of Anjuman Hamdardi Islamia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Evidence of Sardar Akir Singh (Chief of Bhadaur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Evidence of the R.V.F.H. Baring (Batala, Punjab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Evidence of Pandit Bhagwan Dass, Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Evidence of Sardar Kanwar Bikram Singh Bahadur (Ahlulwalia)</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Evidence of J. Graham Cordery (Commissioner of Peshawar)</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Evidence of Sardar Dayal Singh (President, Indian Association)</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Evidence of Miss M. Rose Greenfield (Ludhiana, Punjab)</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Evidence of Sodhi Hukam Singh (Extra Assistant Commissioner and Mir Munshi)</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Statement by Baba Khem Singh Bedi (C.I.E.)</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Evidence of Lala Mulraj (Officiating Extra Assistant Commissioner, Gujrat, Punjab)</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Evidence of Pandit Ishwar Parsad (Representative of Unaided Schools in Punjab)</td>
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</table>
16. Evidence of Dr. G.W. Lietner, LL.D.

Sabhas and Associations

1. Answers to the Questions of the Commission by Anjuman Hamdardi Islamia

2. Translations of the Answers of the Majlas-i-Islamia, Lahore, to the Questions framed by the Education Commission

3. Answers to the Questions of the Commission by the Anjuman-i-Rafat-Am, of Jhang (Mohd. Latif, Secretary)

4. Answers of the Lahore Arya Samaj to the Questions suggested by the Educational Commission: Som Dass, President Dwarka Dass, Secretary

5. Statement made on behalf of the Members of the Sat Sabha Society, Lahore (5th June, 1882) (Biharo Lall, Secretary, Sat Sabha, Punjab)

6. Answers to the Questions of the Commission by the Punjab Brahma Samaj (6th July, 1882): (Chandra Raj, Representative of the Punjab Brahma Samaj)

7. Answers to the Questions of the Commission by the Sri Guru Singh Sabha (Sikh National Association, Punjab)

8. Answers to the Question of Education Commission by the Anjuman-i-Punjab.

Memorials

1. Memorial from the Residents of Lahore to the Hon'ble W.W. Hunter, LL.D., C.I.E., President of the Education Commission (Goburdhan Dass Peshawari and others)

2. Memorial from 75 Residents of Kaithal

3. Memorial from 1,000 Residents of Gujranwala

4. Memorial from Ropar by Ralla Ram, Accountant, Sirhind Canal and 92 others
5. Memorial of Gujrat Bhasha Pracharni Sabha

6. Memorial from 446 Graduates, Under-graduates, and Students of Government Colleges and Government and Mission Schools to Charles Pearson, Member of the Education Commission for the Punjab

7. Memorial from 43 Clerks, Punjab Northern State Railways, and the Residents of Lalamusa in Gujrat District to Hon'ble W.W. Hunter, President of the Education Commission

8. Memorial from the Sat Sabha Punjab, Lahore

9. Memorial from the Sikh National Association (Singh Sabha), Lahore to W.W. Hunter (Baba Khem Singh Bedi, C.I.E., Honorary President)
   Sardar Man Singh - President
   Bhai Man Singh - -do-
   Gurmukh Singh - Secretary

10. Memorial from Sri Guru Singh Sabha in favour of Punjab to W.W. Hunter

11. Supplementary of Memorial of the Anjuman-i-Akhwan-us-Safa, Gujrat to W.W. Hunter (Maulvi Fazul Hussain and 500 others)

12. Memorial in favour of Urdu from Anjuman Himayat - Urdu and other Residents of Gurdaspur district (Zahur Hussain Sayad, President of the Society, Gurdaspur. The signatures were 1,927 Mohammadans and 325 Hindus).

13. Translation of a Memorial from the Anjuman-i-Hamdardi Islamia, Lahore, the Mohammadan public and some Hindus of the Punjab (Signed by 9,963)

14. Representative Memorial from the Residents of Lahore in favour of Urdu:
   Narinder Singh - President
   Mumtaz Ali and Prabhu Dyal - Secretaries and 3,906 others.

Source: Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884.
ANNEXURE - III

List of Tests suggested by the Indian University Commission for the Affiliation and Disaffiliation of Colleges with the Universities

a) Desirability of the institution to be certified by the Director of Public Instruction;
b) Assurance to be given as to its financials;
c) Creation of a properly constituted governing body;
d) Provision of a suitable and healthy buildings;
e) Provision of an adequate teaching staff with a common room for their meetings;
f) Where possible (though, of course, this cannot be made a condition or affiliation) residence of the Principals and professors in close proximity to the College;
g) Adequate provision for the residence of students in college lodgings or in hostels, and for their supervision by a resident superintendent;
h) Satisfactory guarantees to the subjects and courses of study;
i) Introduction of a scale of minimum fees, free studentships being as a general rule debarred, and state and private scholarships encouraged;
j) Existence and enforcement of proper transfer rules;
k) No new second grade college to be affiliated.

Institutions are shown by letters.

Front: 1/2 inch to one mile.
MAP OF THE DERAJÁT CIRCLE

Scale 24 Miles to one Inch.

INSTITUTIONS ARE SHOWN BY LETTERS AS BELOW:

- Board High School Anglo-Vern. ... B.H.B.
- Board Middle School Anglo-Vern. ... B.M.B.
- Ditto ditto Vernacular ... B.M.V.
- Aided Anglo-Vern. High ... A.H.H.
- Ditto ditto Middle ... A.M.H.
- Unaided ditto High ... U.H.R.