CHAPTER I

PUNJAB AT THE ADVENT OF THE BRITISH RULE AND DURING 1849-1904

ETYMOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE PUNJAB

Rivers of the Punjab have associated with its present and past name. In the Vedic period, it was called "Sapt Sindhavah". The term 'Sapt Sindhavah' in Rigveda, meant the land of seven rivers, namely the Sindhu (Indus), the Vipasa (Beas), the Parushni (Ravi), the Vitasta (Jhelum), the Sutudri (Sutlej), the Askini (Chenab) and the Saraswati\(^1\). During the Mughal period, the province was known as Suba-I-Lahore\(^2\). Its present name, the Punjab is a compound of two words 'Panj', that is five; 'Aab' that is water. The Punjab, thus, means, a land where five rivers flow\(^3\). These rivers are Satluj, Beas, Ravi, Jhelum and Chenab\(^4\).

The 19th century Punjab was a triangular piece of land between the rivers Indus and Yamuna. It covered an area of 175,248 sq. miles and included a population of 28,006,777 persons or one-tenth of the whole area and one-eleventh of the

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total population of India at that time. It was bounded in the north by the vast Himalayan ranges and in the west by the Suleman and Kirthar ranges. Its southern boundaries stretched down to the Rajasthan desert. In the east, the river Jamuna divided it from the Uttar Pradesh. On the basis of the natural division it could be divided into the following regions:

1. The Himalayan Range;
2. The Submontane Zone;
3. The Plains, Eastern and Western; and
4. The Salt Range.

The Himalayan Range

This tract of the Punjab can be subdivided into the Eastern and Western Himalayan ranges. The Eastern Himalayan ranges included the states of Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Bashahar and the twenty smaller states which were under the charge of the Superintendent of the Hills at Simla. The ranges also housed Kangra, Lahol and Spiti. The Eastern tract had an area of some 19,840 sq. miles. It was scantily populated. Thakurs, Rathis, Rajputs, Ghirths, Brahmans, Kolijar Dagis formed the main segments of the population. The chief religion of the people was Hinduism.


The western tract of the Punjab Himalayas was split into two ranges of Hindu Kush (dead Hindu) and Safed Koh (White Mountain), Kirthar and the Suleman. The last range was christened after the Shrine called 'Takhat-i-Suleman' at Kasirgarh. This name was passed on to the whole range. These ranges were regarded as northern western boundaries of India. This tract was studded with the important passes of Khyber, Khurram, Tochhi, Gomal and Bolan. For centuries, these passes have been the gateways for traders and the intruders.

The Submontane Range

The narrow submontane zone of hills and valleys is known as Siwalik. This range included four northern tahsils of Ambala with the Kalsia State, the whole of the Hoshiarpur district, the three northern tahsils of Gurdaspur, Zaffarwal, Sialkot and the Pabbi hills of Gujarat. The western part of the Jhelum district also found a part of the same submontane system. This tract comprised an area of 6,680 sq. miles and it was inhabited by 3,040,800 people in 1883. The tract is dotted by the important towns of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur.


The Plains

In the south of the Himalayas, the Punjab consists of a vast alluvial plain. On the southern limits of this huge plain is the spur of Aravali Mountains which run through Gurgaon and the south of Delhi. The plains reappears in the foot of low hills of Chinot and Kirana in Jhung. This big plain is divided into two dissimilar tracts by a meridian which runs through the city of Lahore. These tracts are known as the eastern and the western plains. The eastern plains consist of the territory between the Ravi and the Yamuna rivers. The western plains are stretched from Ravi to Indus. The average height of this area is not more than 1000 ft. above sea-level. This vast plain has been divided into the five territorial sections called "Doabs", signifying a great tongue of land lying between the two rivers. The name of each doab is given in 'Ain-i-Akbari' as:

1. 'The Sind Sagar Doab' - The area between Jhelum and the Indus;
2. 'The Chaj Doab' - The land between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab;
3. 'The Rachna Doab' - The area between Ravi and Chenab;
4. 'The Bist Jullundur Doab' - includes the territory between Beas and Sutlej.

References:

The Eastern Plain

The Eastern Plain is subdivided into three parts. The strip running parallel to the submontane zone is traversed by the Upper Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Bari Doab canal and many smaller streams. It included Ambala, Thaneshwar, the northern portion of Patiala and Nabha, the whole of the Ludhiana, Amritsar, Kapurthala, Gurdaspur and as much of Sialkot as is not included in the submontane zone. The tract covered an area of 8,600 sq. miles and its population was 4,004,207. The tract running parallel to the river Yamuna comprised Delhi, Karnal, Gurgaon, Gohana, Hissar, Rohtak, outlying portion of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and the smaller states of Pataudi, Duzaine and Loharu. It covered an area of 11,570 sq. miles and its population was recorded at 1,889,000. The central portion of the Eastern plains included the larger portions of the 19th century states of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, the Kaithal tahsil of Karnal, the three northern tahsils of Ferozepur and the eastern tahsils of Lahore and the states of Faridkot and Malerkotla. Its area was about 9,980 sq. miles and its population was 2,735,630. The Eastern Plains

15. Delhi was transferred from Uttar Pradesh to Punjab in 1858, P.A.R. 1871-72, p. 7.
17. Loc. cit.
were the most significant portion of the 19th century Punjab. The greater part of this fertile tract was under plough and it was rightly called the granary of the Punjab. Its population with comparison to western Punjab was largely urban. It housed the three great cities of Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore and was, thus, a great centre of trade and manufacture. The Sikh Jats of the central districts, the Jats of the southern districts and the Rajputs of the country in the west of Yamuna were the three most distinctive elements in the population of the Eastern Plains.

The Western Plains

The great plains lying to the west of Lahore meridian are called the Western Plains. The tract is traversed throughout its length by five great rivers, the Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum and Indus. It includes the whole of Multan division, Bahawalpur, the districts of Shahpur and Gujranwala, the great part of Gujrat and the western tahsils of Lahore. Its area was some 60,870 sq. miles or more than two-fifths of that of the whole province, while its population, numbering about 4,885,000 constituted little more than one-fifth of the total Punjab population.

The ethnography of the Western Plains was a mixture of many races, clans and tribes. The Bloch predominated between the Sulemans, Bahawalpur and Sind Sagar Doab. The rest of the

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tract was chiefly inhabited by Jats and Rajputs. In Gujrat, Gujjars were an important element. The Dandpotra, Joiya, Wattice, Dogar of the Sutlej, the Kharral and Kathia of the Ravi, the Sial and Khokhar of the Chenab, and the Khokhar and Tiwana of the Jhelum, were some of the most important clans inhabiting the Western Plains. Multan, with population of more than a lakh, was the only important town of the region. The pastoral pursuit was the important occupation. Manufactures were few and insignificant.

The Salt Range

The extreme northwestern portion of the province is known as the 'Salt Range'. The range derives its name from its salt deposits. It is separated from the rest of the province by Upper Jhelum. It stretches from the Jhelum valley on the east to the Indus on the west, and rises up again beyond that river. It included the important districts of Attock, Rawalpindi and Jhelum. The range, "presents in almost every respect the strangest possible contrast with the Punjab proper, and can hardly be said to belong to India save by more geographical position". The range is poorly wooded.

Agriculture is based on the valleys lying between jugged and arid hills\textsuperscript{24}. The main produce of the region is the rock salt.

**THE PHYSICAL FEATURES AND THEIR EFFECTS**

'The physical features determine the history and culture of a nation. The Punjab was no exception to this general rule. But, how these factors bear upon the problems of education and social change of the 19th century Punjab, is the focus of this study. Two factors that have greatly determined the education pattern and social life of the people of the Punjab, are its rich resources and its distinct geographical position. The rivers of the Punjab carrying sediments from the hills have converted it into a broad alluvial plain; and by irrigating it with the constant flow of water have made it a very fertile land. In every age, the people of this region have had to do little to harvest plenty. Its richness gave opportunity for intellectual pursuits and from time immemorial, the Punjab had been a great centre of learning. The Indus valley civilization bears testimony to it. It was the supreme example of town planning and architecture\textsuperscript{25}. They had their measures and weights. They had a distinct script which to this date, is a puzzle to the scholars\textsuperscript{26}. The province was the cradle of Aryan learning and

\textsuperscript{24} H.A. Rose, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.


\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ibid}, p. 194.
literature. Rig-veda, which is considered the oldest scripture of the world, was compiled here\textsuperscript{27}. The Aryan system of education produced world famous scholars in Science, Astronomy, Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics and so on. It was also the home of the great university of Taxila\textsuperscript{28}. The province, being geographically placed on the frontier, had to bear the full brunt of the waves of invasions. The gateways to almost all aggressions in all the ages had been the passes like Khyber that leads directly into the plains of the Punjab. These attacks affected the people of the Punjab in another way. For centuries each tide of the soldiers came with its distinct civilisation, and every time, the people of the Punjab came into contact with a new alien culture. This fact of geography and history played a great role in the social life of the people of the Punjab. The cultural intermingling made them less orthodox and more modern in their outlook. They came to adopt the new institutions quickly and became liable to change\textsuperscript{29}. It is because of this remarkable


\textsuperscript{28} A.S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, Banaras, Nand Kishore & Sons, 1951, p. 106.

\textsuperscript{29} "To the Punjab change was nothing new; it had been a recurring phenomenon for so long that the Punjabis had learnt to smell it like the distant rain in their parched and dusty soil", Parkash Tondon, *Punjabi Century*, London, Chatto and Windies, 1963, p. 123.
adaptability that the people of the 19th century Punjab were quickly attracted to the Western education which ultimately resulted in bringing about far-reaching changes in the society.

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS**

It is interesting to study the community-wise distribution of people of the Punjab. From Beas to Chenab the territory was predominantly populated by the Hindus, and the Muslims constituted a minicule minority. However, in the southern part of this territory, from Chenab to Indus, the Muslims were in a majority. The eastern hills and the southeastern Punjab were largely populated by the Hindus. In 1901 the population percentage of different denominations of the Punjab was as under 30.

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<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>Muslims</td>
<td>49.61</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>41.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sikhs and others</td>
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The 19th century Punjab was an ocean of races 31. The basic structure of the society was built on hereditary


31. It included "the peaceful descendants of the old Rajput rulers of the country, the sturdy Jat peasantry which forms the backbone of the village population of the northwestern India, and the various races which are allied to them. But the nomad and still semi-civilized tribes of its great central grazing grounds, the Blochs of its frontier, so distinct from all India races, the Khatriis, Aroras, Suds, Bhabras and Parchas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Khets, the Thakurs and Ghiths of its hill, are almost peculiar to the province, the Awans, the Kharrals, Kathias, Khattars and many other tribes of the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions present a series of problems sufficiently intricate to satisfy the most ardent ethonologist". H.R. Rose, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
occupations, racial ties, tribal distinctions and castes. Caste was a great determining factor in the occupations of the people. Occupational groups were synonymous with the caste communities. From the higher-ups of the society such as Brahmins amongst the Hindus, the Sayyids amongst the Muslims and the Bedis and Sodhis amongst the Sikhs, to the lowest level like the scavengers, the barber, the carpenter, the weaver and blacksmith and others, all had their special and distinct hereditary occupational groups. Hence on the basis of castes and occupations, the people of the 19th century Punjab can broadly be divided into three main groups of agriculturists, the trading classes and the artisans, and the menials.

1. The Agricultural Group

This group consisted of agricultural classes like Jats, Rajputs and vegetable growers like Sainis among the Hindus and Araeen among the Muslims.

The Jats

The Punjab was and continued to be essentially an excellent home of Jats. They were termed as 'Flower of the


33. Loc. Cit.
population. Their origin is shrouded in mystery. The traditions of the Punjab Jats, in almost all cases refer to a 'Rajput' descent. They are also connected with 'Jartikkas' mentioned in Mahabharta. The Jats were the backbone of the population of the Punjab. They were scattered all over the Punjab and belonged to all the three main religions of the state. In the east, they were mainly Hindus. In the central districts of Punjab, upper Sutlej and the Sikh states of the eastern plains, they were chiefly Sikhs. They were predominantly Muslims at Gujranwala, in the Rachna Doab; Gujrat, in the Chaj and Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar Doab, and in the Multan division. In the southern districts of eastern plains, such as Rohtak, Hissar and Jind, they were almost without exception Hindu. Here they are called Jatt and not Jat. The Sikh Jats formed the nucleus of the Khalsa Army during Ranjit Singh's time. But the staunch foot soldiers of the Khalsa Army had become the sturdy cultivator during the British period. Their children now grasp the

35. Lapel Henry Griffin, The Rajas of the Punjab (Reprint), New Delhi, Manu Publication, 1977, p. 32.
plough with the same strong hand with which the father wielded the sword"39. As agriculturists too, they were par excellence. Nobody could match the Jats as landowners and yeoman cultivators. The Jat baby had a plough's handle for plaything40. They lived a life of a constant toil, working in the fields from morning till evening and from infancy to old age41. Their knowledge of crops was unrivalled.

The Rajputs

Next in the line of the agricultural group were the Rajputs. They belonged to both the great denominations of the Hindus and the Muslims and were scattered all over the province. In the central Himalayan states of Chamba, Mandi, Suket and Kangra district, the majority of the Rajputs were Thakurs, Rathis and Rawats. In the eastern hills of Siwalik Ranges, Ranas, Mians, Rathis outnumbered all others. In fact, the Rajput element was so strong here that this part of the province ethnographically might be called the "Rajputana of the Punjab"42. They were also dominant all along the foot of the Siwalik range from Ambala to Guruspur. The Hoshiarpur submontane was held by Hindu Rajputs. These hill Rajputs were

42. H.A. Rose, op. cit., p. 5.
simple, trustful and well disposed\textsuperscript{43}. The Rajputs were poor cultivators when compared to the Jats. Only the poorest amongst them tilled the land. They preferred pastoral pursuits to agriculture\textsuperscript{44}. In the western Punjab the distinction between Rajput and Jat was not as strong\textsuperscript{45}. The condition of the Muslim Rajputs was deteriorating during the period under study\textsuperscript{46}.

The Sainis, Kamboh and Arains

The vegetable growers like the Sainis, the Kamboh and the Arains stood at the lower rung of the ladder of the agriculturists. Their chief occupation was the cultivation and the marketing of vegetables. The Sainis were celebrated for their thrift and business-like habits\textsuperscript{47}. They were admirable cultivators and in industry and ability none could surpass them. Their added asset was market-gardening. In this expertise, even Arain could not compete with them\textsuperscript{48}. To Ibbetson, the Sainis appeared only a sub-division of the

\textsuperscript{43} P.A.R., 1849-50 and 1850-51, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{44} Punjab, Census Report, 1881, Vol. I, p. 237, para 441.
\textsuperscript{45} H.A. Rose, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{46} S.S. Thorburn, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 26-47.
\textsuperscript{47} Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 61, Attock District Gazetteer, 1907, p. 89.
Malies. In the Jullundur district, the Sainis claimed a 'Rajput Origin'. They lived along the foothills between the valleys of the Yamuna and the Ravi rivers. They were also numerous at Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar and Gurdaspur districts.

The Kamboh like Sainis were classed as the finest cultivating class in the Punjab. They were both the Hindus and the Muslims. They were found in the upper Sutlej valley as low down as Montgomery. They also inhabited the northern portions of the eastern plains. They were especially numerous in Kapurthala. In Jalandhar the Kamboh villages were clustered together in Nakodar tahsil. The Kamboh, besides cultivation were engaged in trade and also served in the army.

The Arains too were humble cultivators. They were market gardeners and specialised in vegetable growing. They were either tenants or self cultivating owners. Their holdings were generally small. They lived chiefly in the vicinity of towns and large villages. They mainly

50. Loc. cit.
51. Loc. cit.
54. S.S. Thorburn, op. cit., p. 32.
inhabited the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Multan, Gujrat, Ambala and Jalandhar. In Jalandhar district they formed not more than 19 per cent of the population. During the period under study their position seemed to have improved and strengthened.

II. The Trading Castes

The mercantile group of the Punjab included Khatris, Baniyas, Bohras, Mahajans, Suds, Bhabras, Aroras, Bhatias, Khojas, Labanas and others. All the trade in the Punjab was practically in their hands.

The Khatris

The Khatris topped the list of the mercantile group. They occupied a markedly different position among the people of the Punjab from that of the other mercantile castes. "Trade is their main occupation; but in fact, they have broader and more distinguished features. Besides monopolizing the trade of the Punjab and the greater part of Afghanistan, and a good deal beyond those limits, they are in the Punjab, the chief civil administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands --- the Khatris are a very fine, fair, handsome race --- and they are very generally educated. They were also first class fightingmen. Some of Ranjit Singh's

56. S.S. Thornburn, op. cit., p. 32.
best governors and ministers like Diwan Sawan Mal and Diwan Mulraj were Khatri\textsuperscript{58}. Within the Punjab, the distribution of Khatri element was very well-marked. During the period under study, they scarcely appeared east of Ludhiana. They were fewer in eastern hills. Their presence was strongest in the central districts where Sikhism was predominant. They were numerous in Rawalpindi and Hazara. They occupied a fairly important position in the western hill states of Punjab\textsuperscript{59}. They were abundantly found in the important trade centres of Jalandhar, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi\textsuperscript{60}. The Banias

The word Bania was derived from the Sanskrit Banijya or traders\textsuperscript{61}. He solely lived for and by commerce. His chief profession was shopkeeping and money lending. As a money lender he had a strong hold over the peasants. The peasantry looked down upon him as a greedy and cowardly money grabber. The village folk scorned him with the proverbs "He who has a Bania for a friend, is not in want of an enemy" and "First beat a Bania then a thief"\textsuperscript{62}. S.S. Thornburn compares

\textsuperscript{58} P.A.R. 1849-50 and 1850-51, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{60} J.D. Cunnigham, \textit{A History of the Sikhs}, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1976, p. 13 (Reprint); Parkash Tondon, \textit{Punjabi Century, 1857-1947}.
\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Ibid}, p. 60.
his proficiency in money making to that of Jews and Greeks but for his greed and rate of interest he brands him worse than Shylock. At the outset of the British rule the Bania held an insignificant position, except in the vicinity of Lahore, Amritsar and Multan. But by the tricks of his trade he had carved for himself a place of prestige. He fully exploited the weakness of the peasantry and became a master from the status of a servant. Thornburn attributes the rise of the Baniyas to the faulty laws and revenue system of the British which "suited his idiosyncrasies" and had been "antagonistic to those of peasantry". He blamed that by the systems and laws created thus, 40,000 'Baniyas, had been exploiting nearly six million Muslim peasantry in the West Punjab. The Baniyas chiefly inhabited the south-east Punjab. They were numerous in Delhi, Gurgaon, Nabha, Jind, district Jalandhar and Bari Doab. In 1881, there were about 29,000 Baniyas living in the west of Jhelum meridian.

63. S.S. Thornburn, op. cit., p. 37.
64. Ibid, p. 38.
The Aroras

Arora was the prominent caste of the Jataki speaking or south western parts of the Punjab. Towards the lower reaches of the five rivers, they were extended into Bahawalpur and Sind. But half of the Aroras of the Punjab dwelt in the Multan division and Derazat. A large number of the lower Chenab Aroras were agriculturists. They were active, enterprising, industrious and thrifty. In addition to being traders they could lay hand on anything. In western Punjab, they sewed clothes, wove matting and baskets, made vessels of brass and copper and did goldsmith work. The whole of the trade of Bahawalpur was practically in their hands. The Arora moneylenders, like Banias, had acquired a considerable amount of land by mortgage or purchase from the Muslims. In the government employment, they had also outnumbered the Mohammadans although the strength of the latter was six times more. Majority of the Aroras were Hindus and Sikhs. They were inferior to Khatris in social standing.

69. Loc. cit.
70. Loc. cit.
71. Loc. cit.
72. S.S. Thornburn, op. cit., p. 36.
The Bhabras or Jains

The Bhabra or Jains were also chiefly engaged in trade. They were numerous in Jalandhar, Rawalpindi, Patiala, Sirsa, Hoshiarpur, Jind and Karnal.73

The Bhatias

The Bhatias, a Rajput class originally hailed from the areas around Delhi. They were a leading trading community in Gujrat.74 They were also strong in Sialkot, Dera Ismail Khan, Bahawalpur and other parts of western Punjab.75 In Dera Ismail Khan they were chiefly engaged in shop-keeping.76

The Muslim Mercantile, Khojas and Parchas

The Khojas and Parchas were Muslim merchants. They were, in fact, Hindu traders converted to Islam.77 They, however, had retained their Hindu surnames. The Khojas of Jhang, Lahore and Ambala claimed their Arora, Bhatia and Kayasth origin, respectively. The Khojas of Leia were Kapur, Puri, Tondon and Gambhir.78 The eastern boundaries of the Khojas were Sutlej valley and the western, the Jhelum and

74. S.S. Thornburn, op. cit., p. 36.
76. loc. cit.
77. S.S. Thornburn, op. cit., p. 36.
Chenab rivers. They were also found throughout the salt range. They chiefly inhabited Shahpur, Jhang, Lahore, Gujrat, Sialkot, Ambala and Derazat. In Derazat they were commercially an important community.

The Parchas, like Khojas were also converted from Hinduism. They were chiefly hawkers and peddlars. As traders they ventured as far as Turkistan and central Asia. They mainly dealt in cloth, silk, indigo and tea. In the North West Frontier, the Parchas were a recognised wealthy caste.

III. The Artisans and Menials

The artisans and menials represented the lower rung of the social ladder. They were petty craftsmen. They followed their ancestral professions. There were both 'superior' and 'inferior' craftsmen. The superior artisans included Sunar (goldsmith), Niyaric (refiner), Dooli (wasterer of gold) and Thathere (maker of brass vessels). The inferior artisans were Lohar (blacksmith), Gumar (potter), Julaha (weaver), Pinja (cotton-carder), Teli (oil presser), Jhinwar (water carrier), Kalal (distiller of wine), Machhi (fisherman), Bhatyara (baker or cook), Mallah (sailor or boatman) and Nai (barber). These artisans were spread all over the Punjab and belonged to the three leading denominations of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

79. Ibid, p. 537.
80. Attock District Gazetteer, 1907, p. 68.
The study of the people and their occupations has special bearing on their approach and response to the western type of education in the Punjab. In the traditional Punjabi society, caste was a great detrimental factor in the occupations of the people. The son of a Jat was always an agriculturist and the son of a Baniya was essentially a shop-keeper. The western education was going to change all this. The newly educated youth was taking to the professions of teaching, law, medicine and engineering irrespective of their castes. Now the son of the carpenter, the Jat and the Baniya, could be a doctor, an engineer or an advocate. The exclusive control of education by the Brahmins was going to be challenged and changed. The doors of the indigenous education were practically closed to the lower strata of the society. This was not to be anymore. The new system of education was going to open the vistas of hope and opportunities even to the outcastes and the depressed classes. With the introduction of western education a great revolution indeed had set in the Punjab.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE PUNJAB

The religious spectrum of the Punjab in the 19th century was dominated by the three leading denominations of Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam. The following is a brief account of how these religions had degenerated and how their regeneration was brought by the new ideas, particularly under the impact of western education.
The Hinduism

The earlier religion in the Punjab was that of the Harrappan culture. The origin of Hinduism can be traced perhaps to the advent of the Aryans in the Punjab. They worshipped the elements of nature as the gods of the Vedas. The simple religion of Rig-Vedic times had gained complexity during the period under study. In the 19th century Punjab, the Hindus were believed to have 33 crores of Devtas. The term Hinduism became so elastic that it was difficult for Ibbetson, the author of census report to define it in 1881. He concluded that "all natives, who were not either Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, or Buddhists, had for all practical purposes to be classed as Hindus." The followers of Hinduism indulged in strange practices and beliefs. They would take long leave from their duty to become fakirs. Forsaking the simple religion of the Vedas they had now become superstitious. They worshipped shrines and burial places of the dead. They had become so unstable that, "If they hear the praise of a brick anywhere they begin to rub their noses against it." The institution of Brahmans, who monopolised

the Hindu education, had become lazy and idle. They depended on charity and did nothing. In Dera Ismail Khan they drank Bhang and begged flour and oil in charity from every house of the village. The picture was no different in other parts of the province. All this warranted change and it was provided by the western education. The people under the impact of new education began to examine their religion critically. The newly educated youth was fired with the spirit of reform. The Arya Samaj made a direct appeal to the Punjabi intelligentsia. The English educated class of the Khatris, Aroras and Banias came into the folds of the Arya Samaj in large numbers. The emergence of Arya Samaj was a great landmark in the history of Hinduism. "This reformist movement, started by Swami Dayanand had found a more receptive soil in the Punjab than in the home of the founder in Kathiawar, or even in the progressive Bombay and Poona." The followers of Arya Samaj denounced orthodoxy and quickly adopted the new ideas. They were against all dogmas that retarded the progress of Hinduism. They established the press and published their own newspapers. The

subject matter of these newspapers had been always the reforms in the orthodox Hinduism. They opened schools and colleges and this gave birth to the great Dayanand Anglovedic Education Movement. This movement made a wider appeal and became the backbone of the progressive section of the Punjabi Hindu community. Its emphasis on modern education, its opposition to child marriage and sponsoring of widow remarriage were in line with the modern concepts.

The Sikhism

Sikhism began with the teachings of Guru Nanak Dev (1469-1539), who denounced the caste system and advocated the simplicity of faith. He believed in the principle of one God and forbade the worship of images. Sikhism was consolidated and transformed during the time of the successive Gurus. The last Guru Gobind Singh laid down the rule of conduct for the Sikhs to wear five Ks, dress in blue clothes, read the passage of Granth, eat in community kitchen, distribute the langar to all low and high and not to observe caste distinctions.

But during the period under study, the Sikhs had drifted from the original path shown by the Gurus. The recital of Granth was no more a daily practice with them. In the matter of superstitions there was no difference between Hindu and Sikh villagers. The Sikhs were now going back to

the old practices of socio-religious beliefs. "Image worship and distinction of caste" were "gradually taking place of the precepts enjoyed by their original institutions". The Bedis and Sodhis enjoyed the same status among the Sikhs as the Brahmans did among the Hindus. They received offerings. The Sodhis received Jagirs as Dharam Arth. They also received offerings made on the occasion of Holi at Anandpur Sahib.

The number of Sikhs went on decreasing up to 1881 and only in the Census of 1891, the figure showed an upward tendency. Although, the Sikhs increased during Ranjit Singh period, yet their number went down again after annexation of Punjab by the British. The number of the Sikhs in Lahore division was returned by the 'Census Report' of 1855, as under.

94. Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 76.
Sikhs in Lahore Division

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<th>Total Population</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>55,709</td>
<td>591,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>71,364</td>
<td>884,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurdaspur</td>
<td>24,746</td>
<td>787,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>9,578</td>
<td>553,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sialkot</td>
<td>19,775</td>
<td>641,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>181,172</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,458,694</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figure shows about 2 lakh Sikhs to a total population of approximately 3.5 millions in a division to which Amritsar, the religious capital of the Sikhs was situated. The Sikhs had indeed dwindled in numbers. However, after 1881, the process was reversed. The Census Report of 1901 shows that the number of Sikhs had increased since 1891 by 13.9 per cent and their increase was registered possibly at the expense of Hinduism that showed an increase of only 2.4 per cent.\(^7\)

The Islam

It is difficult to ascertain as and when Islam made progress among the population of different parts of the province. By the beginning of 13th century Islam had definitely established itself on the frontiers and in the

\(^7\) Punjab Census Report, 1901, p. 122.
Rawalpindi division. It became dominant in Multan early in the 15th century. But it was only during the times of the Mughals that Islam made inroads into the eastern districts of the province. The people of these districts claim their conversion to Aurangzeb's policy of systematic persecution. And by 1881 Punjab villages were replete with mosques. In 1901 the Muslims were strong 49.61 per cent of the total population of Punjab. They were in a majority in the western Punjab.

The 19th century Punjabi Muslims like their Hindu counterparts were steeped in superstitions and ignorance and their spiritual leaders were no better than the Brahmans.

The Muslim approach to the western education was that of caution and apprehension. Their initial hesitation resulted in a loss of much ground to the Hindus who were flocking to the new schools in large numbers. By the time they (the Muslims) woke up to the benefits of the western education, the Hindus had already grabbed most of the public posts. The army services, on the other hand, were dominated

by the Sikhs. The Muslims began to resent this loss of post and position to their counterparts in the closing phase of the period under study.

**Buddhism**

Buddhism was the religion of Spiti, Lahul and of the higher parts of Pang in Chamba. In Spiti, it was the only religion. However, Lahul had mixture of Buddhist and Hindu followers. Here, Hinduism was gaining strength and Buddhism had been retreating\(^{102}\). The form of religion followed by the people was the Lamaism of Tibet\(^{103}\). Educationally they remained alienated during the period under study as they inhabited the far-flung areas of the state.

**Jainism**

The followers of Jainism were concentrated in the eastern districts, the Delhi division, Rohtak and Hissar. Jainism as it existed in the Punjab was more or less akin to Hinduism. Nearly 99 per cent of the Jains were engaged in trade. The Jains of the northern division were known as Bhabras\(^{104}\). The Jains, like the Khatri, leadingly took to the western education.

\(^{102}\) *Punjab Census Report, 1881*, Para 253, p. 128.
\(^{103}\) *Ibid*, Para 254.
Christianity

Christianity began in the Punjab with the efforts of British officials and missionaries sent by the churches of Great Britain and America. Punjab was a natural base for the spread of Gospel in Kashmir, Central Asia and north-west India. Ludhiana Mission of the Presbyterian Church of North America was founded by John C. Lawrie in 1834. The Ludhiana Mission soon was followed by others. In 1840, some British officials at Simla organised a Church Mission Committee. This body known as the Himalaya or Kotgarh Mission began its work among the hill people. The Punjab Mission of Church Missionary Society began in 1851. After its formation, the Punjab Mission incorporated the Himalaya Mission and the two became one. The United Presbyterian Church and the Church of Scotland were established at Sialkot in 1855 and in 1856 respectively and by 1904, the year, this study ends, Punjab was dotted all over with mission stations.

The churches in the Punjab were Protestant in nature. They followed a similar pattern of Mission schools, asylums, etc.

and Mission hospitals. Through the educational institutions, the missionaries came into contact with the upper classes of Indian society and the result was the conversions, though at a crawling pace at the beginning, from all the three main religions of the state, viz., Hindu, Mohammadans and Sikhs. These upper class conversions created a furor in the orthodox Punjabi society and the missionaries had to face the stiffest opposition. Despite their religious preachings and their will to have Christian converts, the importance of the role played by the missionaries in the field of education can hardly be underestimated. In fact, they were connected with everything new and modern in the Punjab. Their educational institutions, clubs and societies were the models which the newly educated Punjabis greatly patronised. In this way, the Christians were instrumental in bringing about far reaching changes in the 19th century Punjabi society. They proved true to their words of turning the 'world upside down'\textsuperscript{109}. By pointing to the pupils the shortcomings of their respective creeds and customs, they awakened them to the impending need of reforms in their religious and social set up\textsuperscript{110}. The Punjabis now began to scrutinize their religion and society rationally. The Christians were the main factor behind the "religious

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{109} L.M.R., 1895, p. 70.
\item \textsuperscript{110} L.M.R., 1852, p. 7; L.M.R., 1891, p. 51.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
controversy of 1880's, which set the land of five rivers on fire. The reform movements which sprang up in the Punjab, thus, borrowed from them the idea of opening the denominational educational institutions.

THE POSITION OF THE 19TH CENTURY PUNJABI WOMEN

The women of the Punjab were charming, beautiful and graceful. They were celebrated for the beauty of their shape, feet and teeth. Most of them were tall of stature, well proportioned in constitution, sweet of voice and chaste in their character. But charming and graceful as they were, their condition in the 19th century Punjab was far from happy. The evil and shameful abuses of female infanticide; Sati or widow burning; child marriage; prostitution, women

111. Honigberger, Thirty Five Years in the East, I, p. 142.


traffic and slavery\textsuperscript{115}. Slavery was a common practice in the Punjab\textsuperscript{116}. The girls were picked up in their infancy from the hills and sold in plains to rich Indians and sometimes to European officers\textsuperscript{117}. Majority of the female servants of nobles, chiefs, landlords and merchants were the poor slave girls\textsuperscript{118}.

The recurrent invasions from the North had something to do with the lower position of women in the Punjab. They came to be regarded as a thing to be protected and shielded. The fear of preserving their honour probably resulted in such evil practices as infanticide and child marriage. The decline of the 19th century Punjabi women was so complete that they came to be regarded as "Paaer di Jutti". But the prevalence of female literacy in all parts of the Punjab before the annexation seems paradoxical. They were tutored at home and could read or write the passages from the scriptures. But that was all they knew of education. In the western system of education they remained woefully backward. Here again their inferior status vis-a-vis man was largely to be blamed.


\textsuperscript{116} H.L.O. Garret, Edi., The Punjab A Hundred Years Ago, as described by V. Jacquement, 1831 and A. Solty Kof, 1842, Patiala, Language Department, 1971, p. 35(reprint).

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{118} Loc. cit.
Anything giving them equality to man was opinioned as crime. This factor alone explains the extremely slow progress of female education in the Punjab during the period under study. The practice of child marriage also stood in the way of their education. The girls were married off at the age of ten or twelve which left them hardly any time for education. At the most, they received only two or three years of schooling. This factor is lamented by many British officers and the missionaries engaged in the field of education in the Punjab. Although the progress of female education in the Punjab during the second half of the 19th century was slow yet the period laid the foundation on which the edifice of female education was going to be built.

THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUNJAB

Such was the length and breadth of the country which was annexed and constituted as a portion of British Indian Empire in 1849. At the outset, the administration of the province consisted of a Board of Administration with a president and two members. The executive staff consisted of commissioners, deputy commissioners, assistant commissioners and extra-assistant commissioners. All these officers were vested with criminal, civil and fiscal powers. The newly annexed territories were divided into four main circles of commissionership. They were Lahore, Jhelum, Multan and Leia.  

The Board of Administration, however, was abolished in 1853 and Sir John Lawerence was appointed as the first Chief Commissioner of Punjab\(^{120}\). He was to head the local administration with control over the Punjab Frontier Force. The Judicial and Revenue Commissioners were also subordinate to him\(^{121}\). Another change in administration took place in 1859 when Punjab was raised to the full status of Non-Regulation Province and placed under a separate Lieutenant Governor. Here again, John Lawerence was the first to hold the new post\(^{122}\). In 1862, Punjab was divided into 10 divisions and 32 districts\(^{123}\). In 1876, the distinction between Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces was removed\(^{124}\). Another reshuffle in administrative units occurred in 1901, when North-West Frontier was separated from the Punjab and made an independent state\(^{125}\). The separation of North-West Frontier Province left Punjab with 5 divisions and 27 districts. In 1904, two new districts of Lyalpur and Attock were carved\(^{126}\).

\(^{120}\) P.A.R., 1851-52 and 1852-53, pp. 2-4.

\(^{121}\) V.S. Suri, op. cit., p. 37.

\(^{122}\) Ibid, p. 40.

\(^{123}\) Ibid, p. 39.

\(^{124}\) A.R. Tyagi, The Civil Services in a Developing Society, Delhi, Sterling, 1969, p. 17.

\(^{125}\) V.S. Suri, op. cit., p. 50.

\(^{126}\) Ibid, p. 56.

* During the period under study, the Punjab was governed by 11 Lieutenant Governors. The duration of services of each of them, is shown in Table No. 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Lieutenant Governor</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Duration of Governorship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir John Lawerence</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>1st Jan. - 25th Feb. 1859*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Robert Montgomery</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>1859 - 1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Donald Mcleod</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1865 - 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Henry Durand</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>June - December 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Henry Davis</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1871 - 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Robert Egerten</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1877 - 1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Charles Aitchison</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1882 - 1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir James Lyall</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1887 - 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1892 - 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir William Machworth Young</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1897 - 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1902 - 1902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: V.S. Suri, Punjab through Ages, pp. 40-52.
* J.F. Bruce, A History of the University of Punjab, Lahore, 1933, p. 1.
THE ADMINISTRATION POLICY

Lord Dalhousie practised the system of non-regulation in the Punjab\textsuperscript{127}. He regarded this system as economical, energetic and efficient in securing the rapid development of the province\textsuperscript{128}. The province had a sensitive border and turbulent population\textsuperscript{129}. Lord Dalhousie kept these things clearly in mind while evolving the government for the new province. Instead of going flat out for military government, he created Punjab Military Force and placed it under disposal of the district magistrates. He also put the Frontier Force under the civil government of Punjab\textsuperscript{130}. But these civil officers were recruited from the army and the administration, though civil, had a distinct military component. The government which was military in form and spirit, thus, secured the borders and kept the people in check\textsuperscript{131}. The new government turned to the cultivating classes and patronised them\textsuperscript{132}. About 80 per cent people of the Punjab depended upon

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{127} The Non-Regulation were those provinces where legal codes had only partially developed. The system, besides the Punjab, prevailed in the Sindh, Oudh, Nagpur and Burma, The Land of the Five Rivers, Lahore, Government Printing, 1923, pp. 40-31.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, p. 28.
  \item \textsuperscript{129} Nina Puri, Political Elite and Society in Punjab, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1985, p. 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{130} W.W. Hunter, The Marquess of Dalhousie, Rulers of India, Ludhiana, Kalyani, 1972, pp. 98-99.(reprint).
  \item \textsuperscript{131} Nina Puri, op. cit., p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{132} Loc. cit.
\end{itemize}
agriculture and the land revenue amounted to three-fourths of the state revenue\textsuperscript{133}. During Ranjit Singh's times agriculturists were heavily taxed. One-half of the entire crop was slashed as land revenue\textsuperscript{134}. That was a general rate in the Central Punjab. Although land revenue imposed by Ranjit Singh appeared heavy, yet he never ignored the interests of his poor ryoit\textsuperscript{135}.

The new government resettled the land tax of the Punjab. They surveyed each village and field. They also ascertained each peasant's claim to his holding scrupulously. "This 'Record of Rights' forms at once the Magna Charta and Dooms-day Book of the Punjab. It stands as the beneficient landmark of the commencement of the British rule"\textsuperscript{136}. Again the British reduced the taxes, 48 in number during Ranjit Singh times, to about half a dozen. And with an honest system of collection and public accounts they were able to extract larger revenue than had reached the Sikh exchequer\textsuperscript{137}.

\textsuperscript{133} Y.B. Mathur, British Administration of Punjab, Delhi, Surjit Book Depot, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{134} W.W. Hunter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{137} W.W. Hunter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 102.
THE GENERAL PROSPERITY

The advent of British rule in the Punjab ushered an era of peace and prosperity\textsuperscript{138}. The 19th century Punjab was a land of promise. "To the young British administrators, Punjab with its thirty plains, unutilized rivers, and willing manpower, was like a newly discovered country with great natural resources awaiting development\textsuperscript{139}. Lord Dalhousie had far greater goal in his mind when he directed the administration to devote their energies to restructuring the economy: "by prosecuting those projects of employment and directing the energies of people to the new sources of...

\textsuperscript{138} We started our British chapter under the new government with no hangover from the Company. In this virgin field, with no regrets from the past, the government settled down to the task in which our family like many others, was to play a small part, of building and administration, giving the Province a new judiciary; for the first time a police; instituting land records and a revenue system; education department; building irrigation canals which changed deserts into granaries; and providing many other services that laid the foundation of a peaceful and prosperous countryside. ... There was a list of about dozen blessings like law and order, irrigation canals, roads and bridges, schools, railways, telegraphs, and public health. In my generation, these things were taken for granted, but my father used to explain that while he, too, was born in an era of peace, to his elders the new law and order really meant something. Having lived through the break up of Sikh empire, human rights and respect for life and property were an unfamiliar concept to them. They really understood what it meant not to be harassed any more, by marauding group of disbanded soldiers". Parkash Tondon, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 12-13.

\textsuperscript{139} G.S. Chhabra, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 301.
interest and excitement, we may gradually wean them away from those schemes of agitation and violence, which the inveteracy of habit and the prestige of long and uninterrupted success under Maharaja Ranjit Singh had hitherto encouraged, and it may be our happiness before long to see our efforts crowned by the conversion of a martial and hostile population into industrious subjects cultivating the arts of peace and civilization". The quietness and peace during the turbulent year of 1857 bears testimony to the success of this policy. The new administration under Lawerence, went about achieving this goal with zeal. Agriculture was the life line of the Province. The British engineers hastened to repair the old and vigorously commenced the construction of new canals. The improved irrigation facilities gave a powerful boost to agriculture. Any by 1857-58 Punjabi farmers were reaping


141. W.W. Hunter, op. cit., pp. 102-103; The canals, thus, constructed fell into two categories: the perennial canals with permanent headworks and the inundation that ran only in flood season. The major canals opened were Bari-Doab Canal (1860-61); Shahpur inundation canals (1864); Grey canals (1875-76); Sirhind canal (1882); Chanab Canal lower (1887); Ghaggar canals (1907); and Jhulem Canal lower (1901); I.G.I.P.P., 1908, Vol. I, pp. 202-219.
bumper harvest\textsuperscript{142}. A great impetus was given to trade and commerce through a network of roads and railways. The Grand Trunk Road was extended through the whole breadth of the Punjab\textsuperscript{143}. The other roads opened were, the Karnal-Ludhiana (1852); the Beas-Lahore (1853); the Phillaur-Beas (1860-61); the Lahore-Peshawar (1864-65); the Kangra Valley cart road (1874-75)\textsuperscript{144}.

The first railway line from Amritsar to Lahore was opened in 1862\textsuperscript{145}. The Multan-Lahore link came up in 1865. The cities of Amritsar and Rawalpindi had been linked with Delhi in 1870 and 1873 respectively\textsuperscript{146}. The line from Attari to Ambala Cantonment was completed between 1862 and 1870. The Rajpura-Patiala line was opened to traffic in 1884. The network of southern Punjab railways was completed between 1883 and 1899. The north-western railways came into existence in 1886\textsuperscript{147}. The important line of communications between

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{142} P.A.R., 1856-57 to 1857-58, p. 16.
\item \textsuperscript{143} W.W. Hunter, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 102-103.
\item \textsuperscript{144} P.A.R., 1864-65, p. 74; P.A.R. 1874-75; G.S. Chhabra, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 244-245.
\item \textsuperscript{145} P.A.R. 1862-63.
\item \textsuperscript{146} P.A.R. 1870-71 and 1873-74.
\end{enumerate}
Calcutta and Bombay was established in 1883. The progress of railways was rapid after that year.

The bumper agricultural produce and the improved means of communications and transport boosted the trade and industry tremendously. The larger towns of Lahore, Delhi, Amritsar, Ambala, Jalandhar, Rawalpindi and Multan became the great centres of trade and commerce. Trains laden with agricultural and industrial produce were leaving the shores of the Punjab daily. The export of cotton, grain and oil seeds to Karachi was greatly enhanced. Besides other Indian provinces wheat was being largely exported to Southern Europe. It had become a great source of wealth. In the decade of 1891-1900, the export of agricultural produce was fetching on an average nearly 438 lakhs of rupees yearly to the state.

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149. G.S. Chhabra, op. cit., p. 247.
150. The woollen industry began with the establishment of Egerton Mills at Dharwali in 1880. The steam factories for ginning and pressing cotton rose from 6 in 1881 to 114 in 1904. Breweries numbered 8 in 1803-4. There was 15 ice factories in 1904. By the same time iron foundaries, all private, had been established in the state; of these three were located at Delhi and one each at Lahore and Sialkot, I.G.I.P.P., Vol. I, 1908, pp. 83-84.
152. Wheat export in tons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>550,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>457,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>493,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>623,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>536,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-04</td>
<td>877,022</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a short period the Punjab had, thus, become a land of plenty. This all round development was largely an outcome of the British administrative policy. The general prosperity of the people registered tremendous increase after the annexation. A strong and stable government brought peace, law and order to the country. The people sick of anarchy and chaos felt relieved. The British with their system and reformative measures were able to restore the confidence of the people in their rule. They expelled crimes and abolished the social evils of self-immolation and infanticide\textsuperscript{153}. The people attributed security of life and property to the new administration\textsuperscript{154}. This grateful attitude of the subjects towards the ruler encouraged the latter to introduce their system more vigorously and education was one such subject which attracted their utmost attention.


\textsuperscript{154} P.N.N.R., 1866, \textit{The Punjab Akhbar}, October 8, p. 316.