CHAPTER II

THE INDIGENOUS EDUCATION: ITS DECLINE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB.

The history of education in the Punjab started with the people of Indus Valley Civilization (3500 - 2500 B.C.). Though much is not known about their educational system, yet it is reasonable to assume that they were far advanced educationally as is evidenced by their planned cities, their use of measures and weights, and seals and script. The next in line were Aryans who entered the Punjab some time before 1400 B.C. They were divided into tribes and clans which were governed by chieftains. They were the worshippers of Nature. They practiced sacrifice to propitiate deities, such as, Indra, Agni and Soma; and on such occasions, hymns were sung in their praise and involving their aid and blessings by the priests or the Brahmans. With the composition and singing of these hymns began of the Brahmanic education. The Brahmanical educational system which had a humble beginning with the hymn schools, grew into a vast ocean of knowledge, embracing all branches of learning.

The Brahmanical sway was broken by the Buddhists. The system of education which sprang from Sangharams and Viharas gave to the world the famous university of Nalanda. The Buddhist education was open to all, and not reserved only for the "twice born" castes as under the Brahmanical system of education. Besides, it was not based on the study of the Vedas and its teachers were not Brahmans. The Brahmanical Brahmacharis after attaining enlightenment could come back and join the Grahists while Buddhist pupils' pravrajya (going out of home) was final. The Brahmanical and Buddhist education flourished till the eighth century A.D. when Mohammedans appeared in India.

Mahmood Ghaznawi burst on India with waves of invasions from A.D. 1000 to 1026. But he was mainly concerned with loot and booty and had nothing to do with the education of the people. It was Mohammad Ghauri, who laid the

2a For details, see the University of Nalanda, H.D. Sankalia, Madras, 1934.

3. "Twice born" were the first three privileged castes of Manu's order, namely Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The pupil became "dvija" or "twice born" through the initiation ceremony called Upnayna. By Upnayna, the teacher used to hold the pupil within him as in a womb, impregnated him with his spirit and delivered him in a new birth, R.K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, London, Mcmillan & Co., 1947, p. xxvi.

foundation of Muslim education in India. He is said to have built schools and mosques at Ajmer. He took special interest to educate his slaves\(^5\). Among the slave dynasty Altumush was great pattern of learning. There was a college at Jalandhar during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din\(^6\). The Tuglaks from A.D. 1325 to 1413 also promoted learning and literature. Ferozshah is said to have spent 36 lakhs of Tankas for educational pursuits\(^7\). The Sayyid and Lodhi kings from 1414 to 1526 A.D. were witness to another period of neglect and darkness in Indian education. But it was during the time of the Great Mughals that the Mohammadan education reached its zenith\(^8\). Mughal emperors from Babar to Bahadur Shah were great patterns of arts, learning and literature. They had strong intellectual and literary interests and wrote memoirs and poetry. Babar entrusted the task of building schools and colleges to Shuhart-i-Am (Public Works Department)\(^9\).

5. S.M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Delhi, Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi, 1936, p. 39.
8. S.M. Jaffar, op. cit., p. 76.
FEMALE EDUCATION IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

In ancient India, women were held in high esteem. The remoter one goes into the Indian history, the better (he will find) the position of the women. In the early Vedic period, women were treated as equal to men. There was no child marriages. The widows were allowed to remarry. Sati came to be practised only after 300 B.C. Women were eligible to study Vedas, perform sacrifice and compose hymns. Some of the Rig-vedic hymns were composed by the poetesses like Ghosha Visvavara, Sikata, Nivavari, Apala, Romasa, Lopamudra, Apata and Urvashi.

Kaushalya, mother of Rama and Tara wife of Bali, are mentioned as 'Mantravid', in Ramayana; and Draupadi as 'Pandita' in the Mahabharata. Besides, Vedic hymns, music and dancing, the girls took keen interest in mimansa (science of exegesis). Gargi, Atreyi, Prathiteyi, Sulabha and Vadara were other lady scholars of the Vedic Age. It can be

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concluded that during the Vedic age women enjoyed a fairly high status in society. And such a state of things continued up to 500 B.C. when the Upnayna ceremony was in practice and the custom of child marriage had not taken its root in the society\(^6\). After this period, women began to lose in respect of their status. With the deterioration of the position of the women the cause of female education also took downward course. The Manusmriti (200 B.C.) prohibited the recital of Vedic Mantras at the upnayna ceremonies of the girls. Yajnavalkya altogether prohibited the ceremony of upnayna for girls\(^7\). This alone put down the shutters of Vedic education for the women as no body could recite Vedic prayers without having undergone the ceremony of upnayna\(^8\). The custom of the early marriage of the girls probably came to be established by this time. Manu suggested the marriage of the girls before the age of puberty. Later smriti writers Yajnavalkaya, Samvarta and Yama insisted on it and even condemned those parents who failed to marry their daughters before that age\(^9\).

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The marriage at a very young age was another blow to female education in ancient India.

With the coming of Mohammdans, the education of women in India became still more restricted. The Pardah system made their education a matter of difficulty. However, kings of Muslim India whether in the paramount Empire of Delhi or in its dependencies did encourage female education. Sultan Chiyas-ud-Din Khilzi took keen interest in the education of the girls. In the reign of Akbar the Great, regular education was given to the ladies of the imperial harems. We come across many educated women of medieval India. Raziya and Chand Sultana could speak Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Kansese and Marathi. Gul Badan Begum, the author of the Hymayun Namah, had her own library and used to collect books. Nurjahan Mumtaz Mahal, Princess Jahan Ara and Zeb-u-Nisa were highly educated and well versed in poetry. Thus, we see that there was some arrangement of female education in Muslim India. But this education was mainly confined to the royalty and nobility. There was absence of general female education in

23. Loc. cit.
the country. There are examples of educated women but they belonged to 'upper section of the society and not the commoners. In case of the latter, generally the education of women ended with the study of the Koran.

**INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB IN THE 19TH CENTURY**

The state of education in the 19th century Punjab which once was a great centre of the Aryan, Buddhist and Mughal learning, and was the home of the university of Taxila was not flourishing as in the ancient and medieval periods of the history. After the downfall of the Mughal empire and before the advent of the British rule, barring, of course, Ranjit Singh's shorter reign, Punjab had hardly witnessed any years of unbroken peace. The Punjab came to be regarded as a pawn in the political game and frequently changed hands from Mughals to Durranis and from Durranis to the Sikhs and ultimately to the British. During all those fateful years, the Punjab was torn and tormented by innumerable invasions and intense internal intrigues. Under the circumstances, when there was hardly any time left for advanced pedagogic pursuits, the oriental learning was going on all over the Punjab. "For respect for learning had always been the redeeming feature of the East. And Punjab was no exception to this. There was not a mosque, a temple, a dharamshala that

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had not a school attached to it, to which youth flocked chiefly for religious education. There were few wealthy men who did not entertain a Maulavi, a Pandit or a Guru to teach their sons, and along with them the sons of friends and dependents. There were also thousands of secular schools, frequented alike by Mohammedans, Hindus and Sikhs in which Persian or Lande was taught. There was not a single villager who did not take pride in devoting a portion of his produce to a respected teacher. The British found that the majority of people were sensible to the blessings of knowledge and were always ready to make some small sacrifices for the education of their children. Thus, previous to the annexation, there existed a system of education in the Punjab, whose spirit of devotion to education breathed for its own sake and for its influence on the character and on religious culture. Arnold, the first Director Public Instruction of the Province admitted that the idea of education was not new to the Punjab. "We find all the schools phraseology ready made to our hand."  

KINDS OF SCHOOLS

The various forms of indigenous education in the Punjab were concurrent with the establishment of Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism, respectively. Consequently, the schools in the province were denominational in character and were run separately by Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs. At the Hindu schools, writing and rudiments of arithmetics were generally taught in Hindi character; at the Muslim schools, the Koran in Arabic and the didactic and poetical works, Gulistan and Bostan of Saddi in Persian were read; and at the Sikh schools, Guru Granth Sahib, the repository of the faith which Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh preached, was taught. The school house in the Punjab was primitive in nature, such as private dwelling, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or a courtyard of the temple. The Muslim schools were nearly all attached with the village mosques. The Hindu and Sikh schools were generally connected with temples, Gurdwaras and Dharmshalas. Schools were also held in the huts of Sadhus, Fakirs or at the houses of liberal persons.

32. Loc. Cit.
33. H. R. Mehta, op. cit.
THE HINDU OR SANSKRIT SCHOOLS

To a Punjabi Hindu, 'Pathshala' represented a school for primary religious teaching and the study of Sanskrit. In a typical Pathshala, the pupil began with either the Nagri character (called Hindu) or even with the Gurmukhi and then proceeded to learn Sanskrit. After studying the spelling books and readers, he went on to Sanskrit Grammar, poetry, rhetoric, the Puranas and Itithasa (ancient history), Jyoitish (astrology and astronomy), the Vedanta and Nayaya (philosophy and logic). He also studied the Mantra, Tantra and Puja-Patri. G.W. Leitner gives a detailed list of Sanskrit books taught in Hindu schools. It is interesting to note that the books at the indigenous schools were not supposed to be found in all the schools.

SIKH SCHOOLS

The Sikh schools were attached to the Gurdwara or the dharmsala of the village. Every Sikh student had to go through the initiation ceremony called 'Pohal' or 'Amrit'. The ceremony was originated by Guru Gobind Singh. After the 'Amrit' was prepared, the following instructions were given to the candidates as essential to studentship:

34. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
1. He had to read Japji; Sohila (a prayer before going to sleep; Anandji (the evening prayer); Chandipath and Gurmantar;
2. He had to observe Sadh-Sangat (company of the goodman);
3. He had to respect the Sikhs;
4. He had to visit the Gurdwara to see the Granth;
5. He had to learn how to ride;
6. He had to speak the truth;
7. He had to honour his parents.

These were some of the essentials which a Sikh student had to observe strictly. Leitner deduced that "the education of a Sikh, not unlike that of the ancient Persian, consisted in speaking the truth, learning to ride and being a warrior, in addition to his main duties, that of worship, reading the sacred books and studying Gurmukhi literature"36.

THE CURRICULUM

The following text books were taught in the Gurmukhi schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature</th>
<th>Vedanta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Balopadesha;</td>
<td>a) Ekadash Bhagwat;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Panj Granthi</td>
<td>b) Tulsi Ramayana;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) The Tenth Guru's Panj Granthi;</td>
<td>c) Vishnu Purana;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Janam Sakhi;</td>
<td>d) Pingal (10 parts);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Hanuman Natak;</td>
<td>e) Ashwa Medha;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Bhai Gurdas Dian Baran;</td>
<td>f) Adhiyatam Ramayana;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) The Granth;</td>
<td>g) Vichar Sagar;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Mahadarsia Amrita</td>
<td>h) Maksha Pantha;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Surya Parkash;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j) The Sixth Guru's Guru Vilas;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k) Vashishtha Purana;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l) Daswan Askandha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literature was studied by the elementary students; while the advanced scholars studied the Vedanta. The Hanuman Natak, Tulsi Ramayana and other Vedanta books were written in the classical but in the Gurmukhi script.

THE PERSIAN SCHOOLS

It was in the Persian schools that the secular state of indigenous education came to the fore. Even British educational officers admitted their genuineness. These schools had majority of the Muslim teachers, yet the Hindu pupils formed the larger proportion than the Muhammadans. The Hindus were attracted to these schools largely because of the study of Persian language and not due to the fascination for Islam. Persian had a pecuniary value as it was the official language both during the Mughals' rule and that of the Sikhs and, thus, was the key to employment and livelihood. The classes in the Persian schools were held in or just outside the mosques. A monitor or 'Khalifa' was also employed in these schools to assist the teacher. Great stress was laid upon the moral education of the students. In the curriculum the works of Sadi and Firdausi were very popular among the students.

38. Ibid, para 19.
39. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 64.
KORAN SCHOOLS

The school where only the study of Koran was conducted was known as 'Koran school'. It was a place where the Koran formed the staple, a place "where the whole thing would fall to the ground were it not for the Koran"\textsuperscript{40}. These schools were strictly and exclusively attended by the Muhammadan boys. Probably every mosque was the site of these schools. Private residences of Maulavis and religious persons also housed many a Koran school. A child was initiated into such schools when he was four years, four months and four days old\textsuperscript{41}. In most Koran schools the curriculum, besides Koran, included the following religious books in Urdu, Persian or Punjabi\textsuperscript{42}.

Kanz-ul-Musalli : A book of prayers
Rah-I-Jijat : The road of salvation
Risal Bey-Namazah : Threats to those who do not pray
Nisihat Name : Religious precepts regarding faith, prayers, fasting, alms-giving and pilgrimage
Subha-Ka-Sitara : The morning star (of similar character as above)
Kasail Subhani : As above
Kissas-ul-Arabia : Stories of prophets


\textsuperscript{41.} Leitner, op. cit., p. 66.

\textsuperscript{42.} Ibid, p. 68.
Arnold branded the Koran schools as "Educationally Worthless" institutions as attendance at these schools did not involve instruction in reading and writing. But Leitner held that even if these institutions were declared as worthless, still these schools deserved respect because they gave hope and comfort and resignation to millions of human beings. Whatever advantages of religious and moral teachings the Koran schools may have had, Leitner himself admitted the truth that the teachers at these schools were not good scholars of Arabic and many of them had only a blurry understanding of what they taught to children.

THE LANDE SCHOOLS

In the Lande schools the system of book keeping and accounts were taught to pupils. The majority of students at these institutions were from the trading communities. The teachers of these schools were generally known as Pandahs or Pandahs, the term 'Guru' was also popular. The Muhammadan teachers of these schools were called 'Mians'. Generally Pandahs, if they were Hindus, were Brahmans, and if Muslims, were Rawals. Arithmatic, both mental and oral, formed

special feature of the Lande schools. Mental arithmetics constituted the rules or 'gurs', by which the most complex business calculations could be carried out with ease. The Hindu boys were known for their quickness in solving the arithmatic problems. But Arnold was not impressed with them. He admitted that one or two boys in each school were able to perform 'wonderful feats' in multiple-idea-table, upto limit far beyond the orthodox twelve time twelve and could work rule of three problems quickly in their heads. But they were unable to work them on paper and majority of them were not quick at figures. Leitner, on the other hand, held that the majority of boys in British schools at that time were also slow at the figures and that they were far less talented at arithmatic than the Baniya boys. Moreover, the students at the Lande schools were never taught to solve these problems on paper. One of the salient features of the indigenous education from the very remote past had been oral teaching and remembering the lesson by heart (rote). The same thing applied to the Lande schools. From the time these institutions came into being, the students were taught to solve the problems mentally and were not instructed to do it by writing.

FEMALE INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

By the time the British accomplished their military adventure, women education in India was but a relic of its ancient glory. But what startled the British authorities most was the prevalence of female education within all parts of the Punjab, the existence of which was almost unknown in other parts of India. There was no prejudice against girls being taught at home. The Punjabi woman had not only more or less taught herself, but she had been also a teacher of others. In Delhi, before annexation, there were six public schools run by Punjabi women. In the cities of Lahore and Kasur 128 girls were under instructions. They were all Muslims.

The teacher and taught at the female schools were from all the three main religions viz., Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. Nearly all Mohammadan girls were taught the Koran.

51. Ibid, p. 98.
Sikh woman could not be called learned, unless she was able to read the Granth. The Hindu girls studied the Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagwat Gita at home. The teachers were Mullahs among the Muslims, Bhais among the Sikhs and family priests among the Hindus. There were also Mohammadan widows who thought it their duty to teach girls to read the Koran. Besides, the wives of Maulvis and Bhais were taught by their husbands who, in their turn, instructed their children in the study of religious books. Thus, the education imparted to the girls was essentially religious in character.

THE TEACHERS

The teachers of indigenous schools were Pandas, Pandahs, Prohits and Gurus, if they were Hindus; Mians, Mullas and Maulvis and Munshis, if they were Muslims; and Bhais and Gianis in the case of Sikhs. Then there were Banya Padahs who often travelled from town to town and taught the children of Banyas. Leitner classified the Pandits of Sanskrit into the following categories:

i) The profound Sanskrit scholars who taught more than one subjects, such as grammar, logic, law, literature and philosophy.

ii) The teachers of Hindu theology (the Shastras etc.)

iii) The teachers of Hindu Astronomy and Astrology.

iv) The teachers of Vaidik system of medicine.

53. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 98.
55. Ibid, p. 82.
The age of these teachers varied between 25 to 82. In fact, there was no upper age limit. A teacher could go on and on, permitting he was healthy and fit. They were generally strict in discipline and commanded high respect and reverence. "With a slight switch or rod", he was often able to control a school composed of 100 boys. H.R. Mehta seems to have gone too far when he labelled as average indigenous school teacher as a 'dull unprogressive plodder who depended more upon the use of his rod than his brains to make his pupils learn".

ECONOMIC BASE OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION:
THE REMUNERATION OF THE TEACHER

There was no uniform way of the remuneration to the teachers in the indigenous schools. It varied according to the status of the teacher and the taught. The different denominations paid to the teacher in their own distinct way. If the school was attached to some temple or a mosque, the same endowment supported these institutions. Sometimes, the land was granted on rent-free tenure. And occasionally, the whole community subscribed for the support of the school. The remuneration of the teacher frequently consisted of presents, of grain and sweets given by scholars and their parents. Teacher also received donations on

57. H.R. Mehta, op. cit., p. 22.
religious festivals, marriages and other auspicious occasions from the pupil's family. In the Lande school, the Brahman Padha received flour, dal, ghi, salt, vegetables, pepper on the 11th of each lunar fortnight 'Ekadeshi', and a large present on the 4th of the light fortnight of Bhadon. The Sikh teacher accepted food from each boy once a week. When the boy learnt to write his name, or whenever he began to study a new book, he had to pay something to his teacher according to his means, on such occasions. Sometimes, the teacher got clothes too. And like his counterparts in Hindu and Muslim schools, he derived his income from the landed endowments and from the endowments of his dharamshala. Ranjit Singh was particularly liberal to them. There were exceptional cases when grants of land were given to individual teachers on the condition that they would continue to teach. Where this was done, nothing was charged by the teacher from the pupils. There were occasions, when each plough was assessed at the rate of one seer for the instruction of the village children. Average income of

60. *Ibid*, p. 35.
the indigenous teacher varied from place to place. The salary of the teacher was not a regular monthly affair. He got his remuneration on festival days, on weekends and sometimes at harvest time. Montgomery, Commissioner, Lahore, in 1850, stated that the average salary of the teacher ran from Rs. 1-2-0 in Purgannah Talwandi to Rs. 7-8-0 and Rs. 8-8-0 per mensem in the city of Lahore and Purgannah Kasur. Leitner estimated the monthly income of Padahs at Rs. 50/= and, sometimes, the best of Padahs drew a salary of nearly Rs. 100/= per mensem. The remuneration of the teacher also depended upon what popularity and respect he commanded in respect of his learning and character. This dependence on public opinion made a gulf between the wages of one teacher and that of the other. Consequently, there were teachers who could barely manage livelihood and there were others whose degree of affluence enabled them even to provide food and residence for some of their poorer students. See Table No. 1 for figures of Ambala and Thanesar districts.

63. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 43.
64. H.R. Mehta, op. cit., p. 16.
### NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS

The first step in the direction of compiling the data of indigenous schools was made by the Board of Administration which called upon the Commissioners to furnish educational reports for their divisions. The Commissioner of Lahore, Jhelum and Multan sent the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>One school to every inhabitant</th>
<th>One scholar to every inhabitant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1783.98</td>
<td>214.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhelum</td>
<td>1441.90</td>
<td>193.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>1666.66</td>
<td>210.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Detailed figures for the Lahore Division sent by R. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lahore in 1850 were as under:


66. Description of No. of schools No. of boys  
Mixed schools where different languages were taught  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>1,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>2,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>2,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurmukhi</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koran</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>1,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed schools</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>2,905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1,385 11,500

Home Misc. Vol. No. 760, London, I.O.L.R., p. 367; Letter No. 567 dated Lahore, the 8th November 1850, para 5, from R. Montgomery to P. Melville, Secretary to the Board of Administration.
The number of indigenous schools could have been very high because in backward districts like Hoshiarpur there was a school for every 19.65 inhabitants. But the successive directors of public instruction in the earlier years of British rule in the Punjab found it a titanic task to ascertain the correct number of indigenous schools in the province. Arnold estimated 30,196 boys attending indigenous schools in his first educational report in July 1857. He excluded the number of pupils attending 1,775 Koran schools from the above list because according to him, the education imparted in them was 'worthless'. The actual number of such schools attached to each mosque, he himself admitted, was much greater. The Administration Report, Punjab, for 1856-57 furnished a more detailed list of indigenous schools, scholars, the proportion of schools to population and the proportion of scholars to population. In his second report of June, 1858, Arnold listed an aggregate average of 43,736 boys attending the indigenous schools with an average attendance at each school as 7. He recorded that

69. See Table No. 2.
the number of such schools increased by 1,224. Arnold admitted the difficulty in formulating the exact list of the indigenous schools. He suggested that it required a larger establishment than what was at his hand to compile a perfect statistical record of indigenous schools\(^70\). Major Fuller, in his Annual Report of 1859-60, similarly expressed helplessness by stating that the existence of indigenous schools was so 'precarious' and their character was so 'fluctuating' that it was impossible to obtain an approximate estimate of their number except by some such machinery as was required in taking a general census of the people\(^71\). W. Kirke, Assistant Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, also regrettingly admitted in 1868 that no systematic measures were adopted for collection of the educational statistics of indigenous schools. He considered the data collected earlier as untrustworthy and incomplete. He added that the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab was of the view that it was possible for the educational machinery with the aid of local civil officers to collect more reliable information on such schools\(^72\). And Leitner also alleged that educational officers advanced inconsistent excuses for


\(^{71}\) Home Education Proceedings, April, 1867, No. 48; Major Fuller, quoted in his letter No. 253 dated 5th July 1868 by W. Kirke, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Punjab and its Dependencies (written) E.S. Baylay, Secretary in the Government of India.

\(^{72}\) Loc. cit.
not fully and faithfully discharging their obvious duty to the state. He charged that they never made serious efforts in this direction and did nothing for indigenous schools except to injure or destroy them. The Census Report of 1854-55 returned 28,879 villages and towns in the Punjab, and according to Leitner, as there was no village and town without at least one 'sacred edifice', the number of indigenous schools could well be worked out at 28,879 before annexation. And if on the average, 10 students attended these schools, the number of pupils could be assumed at 288,790. The actual number of such schools, according to him, was much larger because besides mosque, temple and gurdwara, there were innumerable schools, held in private houses, in village huts, in shops and in the open air.

Leitner gives a detailed list of indigenous schools from 1856-57 to 1878-79. (See Table No. 3). The Director's Report for the year 1878-79 has furnished the number of indigenous schools as 4,662 and that of the scholars as 53,027. But the actual number was considerable more. The enumeration was erroneous partly because the method of collecting the statistics was imperfect and partly because

73. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 3.
74. Punjab Census Report, 1855, p. 10. The report excluded the territory of Delhi and Hissar.
75. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 4.
the people would not tell the truth for fear of some new tax being imposed, and also because compulsory education for children was declared mandatory by the government. People's prejudices were due to the negligent indifference of the educational officers in informing the people about the directions and wishes of the government. Throughout the eighties and after, independent reference to the indigenous schools and scholars is rarely found. They were termed in statistical returns as private schools. In 1885-86 there were 12,201 private schools which had 131,903 scholars. The number tumbled down to 5,508 schools and 83,160 scholars within a decade. After this the number of indigenous schools showed a downward trend. The schools for boys had considerably decreased by 1901-2, largely because the rudimentary instruction imparted in them was no longer "considered sufficient by the people for their boys, who are either sent to receive education in the public schools, or employed to help their parents in domestic or other business." In 1903-4, the number of private schools


further fell to 4,701 with 76,315 scholars\(^9\). Table No. 4 furnishes the number of schools and scholars in the native states.

In history, five decades is too short a period for an educational system to be completely wiped out. It can be concluded that the indigenous system had still not lost ground particularly in the villages when the present study comes to a close in 1904.

**CLASSES WHICH RECEIVED THE INDIGENOUS EDUCATION**

It is regretted in the Administration Report of the Punjab 1849-50 and 1850-51 that the education in India was circumscribed within certain castes such as Brahmans, Banias and Kayasths, who were exclusively devoted to learning, commerce or penmanship, while great landholding farmers and agricultural tribes were wholly illiterate. A similar proportion also existed in many parts of the Punjab\(^8\). Although these schools sometimes had pupils from the lower classes of barbers, watermen and butchers, yet their number paled into insignificance when compared with the dominant castes of Khatris, Brahmans and Sayyids\(^9\). The study of traditional Indian society would explain this gulf. From time immemorial the task of education was left to certain special classes like Brahmans. The caste system played a

\(^8\) P.E.R., 1903-4, p. 34, para 144.
great role in this direction. People took pride in their professions and, accordingly, adopted them. It was also a tradition with Khatris, Kayasths, Banias and Suds to follow the educational system and language of their rulers for the sake of employment. Thus, it is clear that the indigenous educational system was dominated by Brahmans, Khatris and certain trading communities. The other castes too received it, though their number was very small. (See Table No. 5). It is unfortunate that the doors of indigenous education were never thrown open to low caste Shudras. It was very popular among the Mohammadans. And at the time of annexation, it was found that as educators, the Muslims were in possession of the field.

THE BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE DECLINE OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

By the time the Punjab became a part of the British Empire, the Occidentalists led by Macaulay had triumphed over the Orientalists in formulating the educational framework for the people of India. The Orientalists like H.T. Prinsep, Munro, Elphinstone, Thomason and Adam were all for indigenous system. They thoroughly believed that the best course for the spread of education in India was the revival and improvement of indigenous

83. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 17.

educational system. Adam was fully convinced that the indigenous institutions presented the only true and sure foundation on which any scheme of general and national education could be established\(^8\). On the other hand, the Occidentalists were firmly against the framing of new learning on indigenous lines. They believed that introduction and spread of western science and knowledge through the medium of English was the best course for the future education policy in India\(^8\). Macauley particularly wanted to see the people of India 'Indians in blood and colour', but English in tastes. He declared that "a single shelf of a good European literature was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia"\(^7\). The arguments of the Occidentalists carried weight and they eventually won through a resolution of March 7, 1835. The Resolution was proclaimed by Lord William Bentick.

The following quotations from the proclamation may be noted with interest:


1. "His Lordship-in-Council is of the opinion that the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone."

2. "It has come in the knowledge of the Governor General-in-Council that a large sum has been expended by the committee on the printing of oriental works; His Lordship-in-Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed".

3. "His Lordship-in-Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee, be henceforth employed in imparting in the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship-in-Council requests the committee to submit to government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."

This resolution marked a turning point in the history of education in India. Hastening the decline of indigenous system, it gave the British officers a definite

88. B.D. Bhatt and J.C. Aggarwal, op. cit., pp. 4-5.
line of direction for the education of the natives: the oriental education was to be relegated to the back seat. Sir Charles Wood in his Despatch of 1854 did not condemn the oriental learning in Macaulay's fashion. And yet he concurred with him in pointing out that the learning and literature of the 'East' abounded with "grave errors" and was "deficient" as regards all modern discovery and improvement. The Despatch emphatically declared that the education which it desired to see extended in India was that which had "for the object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge." The British officers never waivered from the path shown to them. In fact, they took pride in the elimination of indigenous schools. In Uttar Pradesh, great jubilation was expressed at the closure of 600 indigenous schools in a single year.

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90. S.N. Mukerjee, op. cit., p. 133.
91. Wood's Despatch 1854, para 7 and 8, quoted by J.A. Richey, op. cit., p. 366.
education in the Punjab is to be viewed. Certainly, the story could not be different from that of Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere in India. Lord Lawerence described the majority of the indigenous schools in the Punjab as of "rudest description". Initially, he did not make any very strenuous efforts at introducing English education. He adopted the policy of 'watch and wait'. "Until a class of youth should have arisen fit to receive the higher European learning by means of English language." This testifies that Western education was clearly the aim of Lord Lawerence. During his administration, the idea of aiding indigenous schools from local funds was abandoned. This was indeed a severe blow to indigenous schools. It paved the way for the absorption of large number of Persian and Mahajani schools into the general system. Some Nagri schools also came into its folds. Thus, the process of disintegration of indigenous schools had started in the very first decade of the British rule in the Punjab. As regards the official attitude, Arnold viewed the indigenous schools as "educationally worthless". Lt. Paske, his successor, complained that these schools were fundamentally


religious although Lande or Mahajani schools were distinctly secular. These schools were considered to be utterly incapable of any improvement. Captain W.R.M. Holroyd thought that the indigenous system was little calculated to develop the intelligence of the pupil. Although the inhabitants of the Punjab were more generally instructed than in the Agra Presidency, yet the instruction given in indigenous schools was quite elementary. The teachers of these schools also were regarded as totally incapable of teaching even the three R's, i.e. reading, writing and arithmetics to the lower primary standard. In 1867-68 W.R.M. Holroyd had almost dropped the indigenous school from the D.P.I. report stating that few teachers of these schools appeared anxious to avail themselves of government aid and that the Fatehgarh school was probably the only bonafide indigenous school in the Punjab.

98. P.E.R. 1881-82, p. 34, para 85.
99. Home Misc. Vol. No. 760, p. 369, I.O.L.R., London; Letter No. 567, para 7 from R. Montgomery, Commissioner & Superintendent, Lahore Division to P.Melvil, Secretary to the Board of Administration, dated Lahore, the 8th November, 1850.
100. P.E.R. 1881-82, p. 51, para 133.
This harsh judgement on the indigenous institutions is lamented by Leitner as "lame excuse". He greatly criticised the officers towards their duties and alleged that it was the callousness, particularly of educational officers that had contributed more than anything else to the decline and fall of the indigenous education. He alleged that these officers neglected, suppressed, and weeded out the indigenous schools in a most shameless manner. R.V. Parulekar thought that the British officials neglected the indigenous schools "probably in the belief that they were incapable of any improvement. But this neglect is generally regarded as a grievous error. The policy of setting up of state or state aided schools, as opposed to the indigenous schools and throwing open to the pupils of the former schools all the material advantages which the state could bestow, resulted in the speedy destruction of purely indigenous schools. He believed that "in spite of the best wishes of the British government to promote mass education in India, the actual procedure followed by the administration was undoubtedly detrimental to its growth and expansion." Nurullah and

102. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 3 and 20.
Naik deduced that "the vast network of elementary schools never received the attention it deserved at the hands of the government. In spite of the exhortations of thinkers like Adam, Munro and Thomson, the direction of the Despatch and the recommendations of Indian Education Commission, indigenous elementary schools were either killed by ill-planned attempts at reforms or destroyed by deliberate completion or allowed to die of sheer neglect.\(^{105}\)

By the time the Indian Education Commission of 1882-83 proceeded with its enquiries, a large number of indigenous schools in the Punjab had said good-bye to posterity. Their decay was precipitous and rapid. Almost every witness before the provincial committee of the Indian Education Commission held the British educational policy responsible for the disintegration of indigenous education in the Punjab. Modern system applied by them took a heavy toll of Sanskrit and Persian schools.\(^{106}\) They could not compete with the new institutions and wherever a government school came up, the indigenous schools disappeared like water-bubbles. A larger number of schools of Pandas and Maulavis had already merged with the government

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institutions\textsuperscript{107}. Also, most of these schools in the larger towns were taken into the folds of the departmental schools\textsuperscript{108}. The government, on the other hand, instead of fostering and encouraging the indigenous system, brandished it "false", and "deserving of every discouragement"\textsuperscript{109}. Every care was taken to put the native schools down wherever they became "formidable rivals" of the government institutions\textsuperscript{110}. The institution of teachers in the indigenous system had become hereditary. It was more by succession than by selection that the vacancies of the teachers were filled up. And often the teachers know no more than what they imparted to their pupils\textsuperscript{111}. The government made no arrangement for the training of the teachers of these schools\textsuperscript{112}. The witnesses who appeared before the Commission also blamed the missionaries for the downfall of the indigenous schools. The missionaries had also attached the indigenous


\textsuperscript{109} Loc. cit.


\textsuperscript{111} Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{112} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, The Lahore Arya Samaj, Answers to the Questions, p. 468.
schools "by sometimes allowing fixed salaries to the teachers, and sometimes by making payments by results"\textsuperscript{115}. This resulted in the crossing over of the indigenous teachers to the Mission schools\textsuperscript{114}.

The Hunter Commission, while admitting the comparative inferiority of the indigenous institutions, felt the need to encourage them.\textsuperscript{115} It recommended that municipal and district boards should assist the indigenous schools. But the move itself was counterbalanced by the Commission when it recommended that a system of payment by result was to be observed\textsuperscript{116}. It was another setback for majority of the already languishing indigenous schools could not meet this condition.

THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM AND THE INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS

The grant-in-aid rules formulated by the Despatch of 1854 and the new grant-in-aid rules for the Punjab passed in June, 1865, did not help the indigenous schools either\textsuperscript{117}. For it were only the missionaries who benefitted from this aid. They were the only non-government agency in the field of education. The Punjab

\textsuperscript{113.} Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, The Lahore Arya Samaj, Answers to the Questions, p. 469.


\textsuperscript{115.} B.D. Bhatt and J.C. Aggarwal, Educational Documents in India (1831-1968), New Delhi, Arya Book Depot (1967), p. 15.

\textsuperscript{116.} Ibid, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{117.} Home Education A. Proceedings, Government of India, July-Dec., 1865, No. 24.
private schools imparting English education was unthinkable at that time. It was only after 1880 that the schools opened by the natives gained some significance. However, the indigenous schools were a huge private enterprise at hand in the Punjab which warranted government's attention and assistance. The government, on its part, after the mutiny of 1857, resolved not to aid any institution which imparted religious education. The strict principle of religious neutrality hit the indigenous education the hardest as the Despatch of 1859 interpreted the Grant-in-Aid Principles of 1854 unacceptable to the indigenous schools, which according to the government had profound religious base. On the other hand the government showed a soft corner for the missionaries. They continued to be favoured with grants. Even at times the grant-in-aid rules were relaxed to accommodate them. At the same time the grant to the native schools was being refused.

120. Home Education A Proceedings, July-December, 1866, No. 25; letter No. 4831 dated Simla, the 24th September, 1866 from A.M. Monteah, Under Secretary to the Government of India to T.H. Thronton, Secretary to the Government of Punjab.
121. P.E.R. 1875-76, p. 61, para 77.
This step-motherly treatment meted out to indigenous schools was lamented at length by almost all the gentlemen who appeared as witnesses before the Hunter Commission. The conditions laid down in the grant-in-aid rules of 1865 were prohibitory in nature and detrimental to the growth of indigenous schools. These rules required flexibility. The conditions laid down in Article III were:

1. "The school is under competent management";
2. "The instructive staff is adequate ---";
3. "The funds, on which the local expenditure is based, are stable";
4. "The extended operations to be brought into play by the government assistance are justified by the wants of the locality ---".

These conditions were practically prohibitory and quite unnecessary. There could have been no stability of funds in the strict sense of the term, as the funds entirely consisted of fees taken from the boys. The fourth condition

122. "At all event, the Despatch of 1859 did not apply to schools started by Mohammadans or Hindus in which, in addition to religious, secular instructions were also imparted and which were just as much entitled to grants as missionary schools", Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Dr. Leitner, p. 364.


Leitner, believed, "precludes the possibility of the substitution of grant-in-aid school for government schools, where there is a government school, the extended operation would be unjustifiable in the eyes of the government offices". Again the spirit of the rule No. IV which implied that the manager or the managers of a school desirous of receiving state aid should have the money at their disposal to augment which the grant was asked for, warranted change. The government also faltered by not giving simpler rules to the people, "who were ignorant of the value of learning and the modern system of education". It does not give the rules due publicity. These rules had not been translated into the native languages, nor were they circulated among the people. The government also did not draw the attention of the municipalities and local committees to induce the people to take advantage of these rules. A native headmaster pertinently remarked "while the object, as professed in the 1st Article is to promote


private enterprise in education", it is extremely surprising to see that there is nothing in regulations referred to which should show that the government really intends to give effect to its professed intentions. The obvious effect of the grant-in-aid rules, therefore, was to create as many obstacles as possible in the development of private enterprise. Although the government here and there aired its will to improve and assist the indigenous school, yet, in practice, it assisted them extremely marginally. In 1870-71, it expended only 1010 rupees on such schools and in the following year the amount further plunged to 987 rupees. See also Table No. 6. In the absence of state aid, the days of indigenous education system were numbered.

URDU AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

The British adopted Urdu as the official language in place of Persian which was the official language under the Sikh rule. Eventually, Urdu became the language of law courts, patwaris, etc. It was also adopted as the

chief language of instruction in the government schools\textsuperscript{133}. Lord Lawrence had observed that Urdu was spreading among all ranks and that it had become more than a 'lingua franca'\textsuperscript{134}. Urdu was never the language of the people of the Punjab. Preference of this language over Persian, Gurmukhi, Sanskrit and Arabic languages in vogue in indigenous educational system, gave a great blow to the already tottering indigenous schools. For distribution of languages, see Table No. 7. The best course of instruction could have been through the language of the people\textsuperscript{135}. Although in the beginning the Board of Administration itself held the same opinion\textsuperscript{136}, yet the idea was not put into practice. Thus, the indigenous schools lost the race against the government schools. Majority of the government jobs were grabbed by the Urdu and English knowing scholars.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[133.] Home Education A Proceedings, September 1876, No. 30, Circular No. 1-134, dated Lahore, the 21st February, 1863, from the Secretary to the Government of Punjab to the Commissioners of Divisions.
\item[134.] P.E.R. 1881-82, p. 38, para 93.
\item[135.] P.N.N.R., January-December, 1867, p. 436, The Ukmil-Ool-Ukbar of September 11, 1867.
\item[136.] "The experience of the last twenty years fully shows, in the opinion of the Board, that the education of the people must be pursued through the medium of their own languages", Home Misc. Vol. No. 760, London, I.O.L.R., p. 362; letter No. 613, para 5 from P. Melvil, Secretary to the Board of Administration to H.M. Elliot, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Lahore, the 20th November, 1850.
\end{enumerate}
The indigenous school students drew a blank in this respect. Consequently, the number of scholars at the indigenous schools was greatly reduced. This factor alone ultimately rang the death-knell of the indigenous educational system of the Punjab.

It is an irony of fate that the languages of the people were looked down upon by the British officials. Punjabi, which was the language of the majority, was regarded as "barbarous". Leitner lamented this attitude greatly. In 1855 Mcleod opined that "there is no reason to perpetuate the Punjabi, even check its decadence, at the expense of the superior Hindustani, by means of an educational system." Any measure for the revival of Punjabi was regarded as "political error." This shows

137. "Urdu and subsequently English were welcomed as an avenue and claim to employment under government by the more needy in the community with the authorities. Thus, education was degraded by us from an object of mental and moral culture to a means for purely worldly ambition", G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 11.

138. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 79.

139. G.W. Leitner, op. cit., p. 11.

140. Quoted in P.E.R. 1881-82, p. 37, para 91.

141. Home Education A Proceedings, September 1876, No. 30.
that the recommendation connecting the encouragement of Indian languages which the Wood's Despatch promised, "remained a pious wish for a long time to come and the languages spoken and understood by the masses continued to languish."142.

Although British educational policy did play its part in the eventual downfall of the indigenous education system yet it can safely be concluded that the indigenous education was destined to die its impending natural death. It was like a sinking ship whose crew (teachers) and passengers (students) were abandoning it hurriedly. Its decline was inevitable and written on the wall. It just could not cope with the demands and challenges of the new age which the British systems were ushering into the Punjab.143. It could, of course, give the British administration, the teachers and the clerks etc. But it just could not provide them with the surveyors, civil engineers, lawyers and doctors. It was getting out of date day by day. The fate of indigenous education seemed to have been sealed. It was


143. "My grand-father died young. Having started modestly in a profession, he had keenly felt his lack of education and realised that going to dharmsala school was not enough. People were now talking of new high schools where they taught the English language, the key to new skills and professions", Parkash Tondon, op. cit., p. 16.
steadily and surely fading into oblivion. The in-thing now was the English education, which had become a ladder to elevation in social rank and a channel to wealth and prosperity.

THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

The Punjabis had a glimpse of Western education during the later years of Ranjit Singh's reign. The Maharaja himself encouraged the study of English language. He arranged for the teaching of English language to his son, Sher Singh. He is said to have invited John Lawrie of Ludhiana Mission school for consultation to open an English school at Lahore. The missionaries, in fact, were the first to introduce the Western system of education in the Punjab. In the 19th century four leading mission societies were working in the Punjab. They were, the Ludhiana Mission of the Presbeterian Church in the U.S.A., the Punjab Mission of the Church Missionary Society, the Sialkot Mission of the United Presbeterian Church of America; and lastly the Punjab Mission of the Church of England.

146. It was later renamed as Punjab Mission of the Presbeterian Church in the U.S.A.
147. The Church Missionary Society was connected with the Church of England.
Scotland. The Ludhiana Mission and the Punjab Mission of the Church of Scotland followed a similar pattern of opening a school wherever they established a station. But pioneer among them and, of course, in the whole of Punjab, in Western education, was the Ludhiana mission. This mission was also known as Punjab mission and was generally called as "American Presbyterian". It was founded by John C. Lowrie and the Rev. William Read in the year 1834. But before John C. Lowrie arrived, an English school had already been established at Ludhiana by Cap. Wade, the British Political Agent. Cap. Wade handed over his school to John Lowrie. It was the first school in Punjab to impart Western education. Besides English the missionary also had Persian, Gurmukhi, Hindi and Sanskrit schools under their superintendence at Ludhiana. The number of pupils at such institutions in 1848 were as under:

- English: 71
- Orphan Girls schools: 19
- Persian Bazar schools: 40
- Gurmukhi Bazar schools: 38


By 1849 when Punjab became a British Indian province, the A.P. Mission had its schools at Ludhiana, Jullundur, Ambala and Sabathu\textsuperscript{151}. Strength at English schools was gradually picking up. There was a great desire among the scholars to learn the English language and the sciences\textsuperscript{152}. More than 100 pupils were studying English out of 160 scholars at Lahore\textsuperscript{153}. On the other hand, the strength at the Hindi and Sanskrit Departments at these institutions had started dwindling. More and more scholars were shifting to the English Department. Chief reason for this change was that Sanskrit and Hindi languages were losing their pecuniary value with the people.

As the time passed, the educational operations of the missionaries extended considerably. Year after year, the number of schools and students were increasing. See, Table No. 8. In 1854 a school supported from funds of local improvements was handed over to the missionaries at Rawalpindi. An English and Persian school for boys was opened at Gujranwala. In Lahore, in addition to the main school, several vernacular schools were opened. A girls school was also added. About 700 pupils were studying in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{151} L.M.R., Sept. 30, 1849.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Ibid, Sept. 1851, p. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{153} Ibid, Sept. 30, 1852.
\end{itemize}
all these institutions. In 1855, a school of all classes, whether native, east Indian or European, was started at Ambala. The year 1856 witnessed the opening of a new school at Kapurthala. Thus, in 1859 within ten years of Punjab becoming a part of the British empire, the missionaries had established a network of schools extending over its many parts.

MISSIONARIES AND THE FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

In 1836, the A.P. Mission opened an orphan girls school at Ludhiana. This was another first for the A.P. Mission; for prior to theirs, there was no English education school for girls in the Punjab. The progress in this direction was woefully slow. There were only 19 pupils in 1848 and in 1851, the number of girl students stood at 18. In 1854, another school for girls was opened at Gujranwala. The number of scholars at this school was 20. Another girls school with 15 pupils was started in 1855 at Sabathu. In 1856, 8 pupils were

155. Ibid, 1855, p. 20.
156. Ibid, 1856, p. 15.
158. Ibid, Sept. 1848.
159. Ibid, 1851, p. 7.
160. Ibid, 1854, p. 28.
studying at Ambala girls school. In 1865, the number of students at the orphan girls school at Ludhiana stood at 45 and in the city school, it was merely two. However, significant addition in the same year at Sabathu was that of four respectable Mohammadan girls. It was indeed a remarkable achievement on the part of the school, because it was extremely difficult to convince the people to send their daughters to a school. It shows that a change had started setting in in respect of female education in the Punjab. The Ludhiana Mission Report of 1867 throws some light on the female education in those days. It reads: "the education of women of India has, till lately, been almost entirely neglected. By the people themselves, it was considered unnecessary. It was even dreaded as likely to produce mischief. Now, happily a change of opinion, in this respect has begun to prevail. Under government patronage, thousands of girls have been gathered into schools. The importance of this movement can hardly be over-estimated. Missionaries have in many places done something in this way but nothing in comparison to what to be done. The L.M.R. of 1870 again confirms that their mission girls schools were still in their infancy. These schools were operating at Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Sabathu, Ambala, Lahore, and Jullundur. The proportion:

of the pupils was indeed curious. At Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur and Sabathu, there was great preponderance of the Hindu girls while at Ludhiana Mohammedan girls were in majority164.

CURRICULUM AT THE MISSION INSTITUTIONS

The course of study at the missionary schools was a complete break-away from the existing indigenous educational curriculum. The aim of the first English school was to impart education in English literature and science to the natives and preach the Gospel of God165. Hence Christianity was automatically one of the subjects at the school166. However, towards introduction of the European sciences, they proceeded cautiously. By 1849, they had attempted only Arithmatic and Geography167. But the curriculum at the Ludhiana high school was vast and varied. It included English readers, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmatic, Universal History, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Evidence of Christianity, Geometry, History of England, Chemistry, Political Economy, Surveying, History of India, Physical Geography, Mental Philosophy,

166. Ibid, p. 16.
Logic, Algebra and the Bible together with written translation and composition. A detailed class-wise list of studies of a school at Jalandhar is given in the L.M.R. of the year 1861. The list is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Department</th>
<th>Persian and Urdu Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Class</strong></td>
<td><strong>1st Class</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Whole duty of man in Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>History of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Geography</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Geometry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Algebra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>Bahar Uzm (Persian)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Class</strong></td>
<td><strong>2nd Class</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>Gospel of Luke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mc Culloch's Course of Reading</td>
<td>Geography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Gulistan (Persian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular</td>
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</table>

THE DENOMINATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

The pupils from all the religions of the Punjab and all walks of life were attracted to the schools run by the missionaries, though their number was varied. The people of upper classes also began to come within the fold of these institutions. The Ludhiana Mission Report for the year 1852 gives special reference to the scholar of "Higher rank" joining their school at Lahore.\(^{170}\) Probably prior to this year, the number of pupils of higher classes at the missionary school were negligible. Even for the Brahmans

whose chief profession for generations together was the study of Sanskrit, the English education had become important. For it was definitely a gateway to the livelihood under the British system. In 1850, there were 80 students in their school at Lahore and out of these 55 were Hindus, 22 were Musalmans and only 3 were Sikhs.

Again out of 292 students at the Ambala City and Cantonment Mission school in 1861, 234 were Hindu students, 50 were Mohammedans and 8 pupils were from other religions. There were 239 Hindus, 81 Mohammedans and 6 Christian pupils in the Ludhiana boys school in 1865.

EARLY YEARS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB

After the annexation, the Board of Administration for the Punjab, though crowded with the important administrative assignments of the province, was not unaware of its duty towards the education of the people of the Punjab. It asked several commissioners to furnish reports on the general state of education in their respective divisions. The commissioners discovered that

172. Ibid, Sept. 30, 1850.
175. P.A.R. 1849-50 and 1850-51, New Delhi, NAI.
both agriculture and non-agricultural classes manifested a desire for learning. In the cities, a great number of petitions were submitted to the local authorities for the establishment of schools. Consequently, the commissioners and deputy commissioners uniformly recommended the founding of a Central School in most of the main cities of the province\textsuperscript{176}. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, Mr. Saunders, sent a proposal regarding the establishment of an experimental school at that place to the Board and in its turn, the Board submitted it to the Government of India for the consideration of opening a school or a college at Lahore or at Amritsar. The Governor-General readily sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. \(5000/\) for the foundation of a school at Amritsar and a further grant of Rs. \(3000/\) was provided for the preparation of a proper building\textsuperscript{177}. Amritsar was preferred to Lahore because it was "the shrine of the Sikh religion, the chief seat of the manufactures of Punjab, the leading mart of its trade and the great repository of learning"\textsuperscript{178}. The Government rejected the

\textsuperscript{176} P.A.R. 1849-50 and 1850-51, para 379.

\textsuperscript{177} Home Department Public, 1851, Consultations 7th February 1851, No. 34; letter dated 4th January 1851, para 4 from Sir Henery Elliot KCB, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General to the Board of Administration for the Affairs of Punjab.

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid, para 7.
pleas for the establishment of a college as the proposal was presumed premature. The Amritsar school was established in 1851 and it was shared with the Kotwali, the beautiful building which overlooked the sacred tank and temple of Amritsar. The curriculum at the school in its first year besides English, was Arithmetic, Elementary Geometry and Geography. The school also had the departments of Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Gurmukhi. The study of English was becoming increasingly popular with the people. The people of Amritsar had expressed a keen desire to learn the English language. Many Punjabi noblemen and gentlemen in their anxiety to acquire knowledge of English language, secured the services of Bengali natives who had only the superficial knowledge of the language, to teach their sons privately. Within one year of its commencement the daily average attendance at the Amritsar school had increased from 107 to 153 and about one-fourth of these studied English. The Khatris and Brahmans predominated.

179. Home Department (Public), 1851, Consultations 7th February, No. 34; letter dated 4th January 1851, para 4 from Sir Henery Elliot KCB, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General to the Board of Administration for the Affairs of Punjab, para 6.


182. Ibid, No. 34.
among the Hindu scholars. The Sikh students of the Gurmukhi class were about one-fourth of the whole number at the school and majority of them were Jats. Most of the students hailed from the city itself\textsuperscript{183}. By 1852, the number of students had been doubled. During 1853-54, the strength of the scholars rose 308, of whom 137 were Hindus, the number of Sikh and Muslim pupils stood alike at 64\textsuperscript{184}. At the outset attendance at the school was optional and often irregular. The studies were desolatory and the attention of the students towards it was flabby. But with the appointment of a native master, attendance at the school became stable. The School Committee gave suggestion for the appointment of a European Headmaster to remove other defects at the school\textsuperscript{185}. Mr. Arnold was satisfied that the local authorities had made the school everything which the people of Amritsar had desired. At the same time the D.P.I. observed that “This is not everything which the educationist requires but pending any systematic effort, it was the part of the wisdom and sound policy to carry the people thoroughly with us in our first attempt at education organisation”\textsuperscript{186}. Thus, at the outset, it seems the authorities concerned themselves more with the quantity than the quality of education.

\textsuperscript{183} P.A.R. 1849-50 and 1850-51, p. 145, para 380.
\textsuperscript{184} P.A.R. 1851-52 and 1852-53, p. 184, para 460.
\textsuperscript{185} P.A.R. 1849-50 and 1850-51, p. 145, para 380.
\textsuperscript{186} Arnold's First Report, \textit{op. cit.}, Part II, p. 288.
THE EXTENT OF THE INSTITUTIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Amritsar experiment led to the opening of the Zillah schools at Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Shahpur, Multan, Jhelum and Jalandhar. These schools were founded and maintained out of local funds by some district officers. These officers opened many schools in their respective districts. Prominent among them was Colonel Abott who induced many Zamindars to pay a certain portion of their revenues to assist the schools and, thus, was able to establish eleven schools at Hoshiarpur, Hariana, Una, Dasuya, Garhshankar, Balachaur, Mahatpur, Mahilpur, Mukerian, Hazipur and Ambala. Other district officers who established such schools were Mr. Brandreth at Ferozepur, Captain Blair Retd. at Gugera, Lieut. Edward Paske at Bhera, Sahiwal and Kalowal; Mr. Richard Temple at Kunja, Jalapur, Dirga and Gadrabad in Gujranwala district; Major Browne at Multan, Tulamba and Dhadwana in Multan district and at Rawalpindi and Fatehaganj; and Mr. Ingois at Sialkot. The schools of similar category were also established in Jhelum district at Jhelum, Pind Dadaur Khan and Chakwal. The total number of schools directly or indirectly run by government in the Punjab was thirty four. Almost all of these schools came up between 1851 and 1856.

187. Loc. cit.
NATURE OF THE SCHOOLS

The education imparted in these institutions in the early years was of elementary nature. As already stated, the government was merely experimenting with these schools for the future course of action. Their real motive seemed to attract the people towards the new system. The institutions were known as Zillah and tehsil schools and the grading system of primary, middle and high schools, was as yet a distant dream. Most of these schools were started and supported by individuals out of local funds, and they were lacking in efficiency and management.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTIONS

The government adopted Urdu as medium of instruction in the schools. The other languages like Hindi, Sanskrit and Gurmukhi were rejected. It was believed that Gurmukhi, though of sacred origin and priestly tongue during the period of Sikh supremacy, was rapidly falling into desuetude. It was held that it was losing its currency as a spoken language; on the other hand, Urdu was becoming very popular with upper and middle classes\(^{189}\). The government had already declared Urdu as the court language replacing Persian. It became official language in Multan in 1851. In Hazara in 1853 and Leiah and Peshawar in 1854\(^{190}\).

\(^{189}\) P.A.R. 1851-52 and 1852-53, p. 184, para 459.

\(^{190}\) P.A.R. 1854-55 and 1855-56, p. 45.
THE FIRST PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Although no actual educational operation was undertaken by the government in these early years, but experiments conducted and experience gained during this period helped the government to explore the educational possibilities of the province and the people. The government discovered that the Punjab was "ripe for the introduction of an education scheme". "Both the necessity and the encouragement for the educational measure exist as much in the Punjab as any province of this presidency. There are less prejudice and fewer elements of passive hinderance or active opposition here than elsewhere".

While the government was contemplating planning and proposing various schemes for the development of education in the Punjab, the Supreme Government suggested the experiment of Thomson Educational Plan. James Thomson was the Lieutenant Governor of North-Western Provinces (U.P.), from 1843 to 1853. He drew an elementary educational scheme and got it approved by the Supreme Government. The main feature of Thomson's scheme was in establishment, of a Tehsildari, or middle school, which was

to serve as a model school for neighbouring indigenous schools. There were to be Zillah visitors (Inspectors) and Parganah visitors (Deputy Inspectors). The inspectors, in addition to the inspection of model schools, were required to inspect the indigenous schools. They were to encourage and induce people to start schools of their own or to revive old ones.

The Chief Commissioner of the Punjab promptly planned an elaborate scheme based on that of the North-Western Provinces and presented it for the sanction of the Supreme Government in May 1854. The first educational plan included the following proposals:

1. The establishment of four normal schools and fifty Tehsildari schools.

2. The establishment of a central college at Lahore.

3. The appointment of a visitor general and twelve Zillah and fifty Parganah visitors.

The Government of India sanctioned the above scheme in June, 1854. Lord Dalhousie supported the proposals in the following words, "All are agreed that the system of vernacular education by means of Tehsildari schools with Parganah and district visitors and with a Visitor-General to direct the whole upon the whole upon the plan which has


been so successfully adopted in the North-Western Provinces is perfectly well adopted for Punjab. All agree that there is in that province an eager appetite for instruction and that the schools will not only be resorted to but will exercise the best effect upon the character of the people. The introduction then of these schools as the basis of the system may be resolved upon at once 196.

The implementation of the educational plan referred to above was under consideration, when the Wood's Despatch of 1854 was received. In 1855, the Punjab government sanctioned the proposal for carrying out the wishes of the Despatch 197.

To sum up, during the early years, three main agencies themselves in the education of Punjab. They were the missionaries, the government officials, and the government itself. The missionaries with their zeal and dedication scored over the government efforts.

For the government, the period between 1849-55 was the period of experiment. No comprehensive plan was adopted and no operation was undertaken. But the experiments conducted and experience gained during these years greatly helped the government in planning the educational framework for the people of the Punjab.


The extent of education in these years was entirely elementary. The institutions were classed as Zillah, Tehsilee and village schools. The higher education was as yet a thing of future. The institute of the magnitude of a college was unthinkable during this time. Dalhousie himself deemed it unnecessary and the idea of a college for Lahore was postponed198.

The missionaries operated a few zanana and opened orphanage girls schools. But the systematic school for the girls was as yet a distant star. The social taboos came in the way of girls going to the schools. The difficulty of the task had been acknowledged by both missionaries and the government. It was only in 1856 that the government was able to open first girls school in Punjab199.

On the whole, the people's response to the new system was encouraging. They evinced a keen desire to study English. But the government proceeded in this direction with care and caution. It was deemed premature to thrust the study of English upon the people, lest it should prove "Little better than a forced exotics ready to wither under the influence of practical life"200.

The new education jolted the indigenous system of education. Within five years, the people started drifting from the old system and the tide definitely and steadily tilted in favour of the new English education.

The reasons were not far to seek. The old system had no place in the enormous opportunities thrown open by the new administration and, thus, it was rapidly losing on the pecuniary grounds. The government jobs were going to those who had the knowledge of English. The Western education now was becoming a symbol of status and pride in society.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Institution</th>
<th>School Teachers</th>
<th>Economic Base of Indigenous Schools</th>
<th>Allowance from Government</th>
<th>Annual Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanatory Note: The entry of English 'School1 is explained in the sources on representing the expenditure by private families for English tutors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divisions</th>
<th>Indigenous schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Proportion of schools to population</th>
<th>Proportion of scholars to population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cis-Sutlej States</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>3,506</td>
<td>2,282,111</td>
<td>1 : 6,873</td>
<td>1 : 650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans-Sutlej States</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>6,237</td>
<td>2,273,037</td>
<td>1 : 387</td>
<td>1 : 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>*1,270</td>
<td>*12,753</td>
<td>*2,117,894</td>
<td>1 : 1,667</td>
<td>1 : 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhelum</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>5,782</td>
<td>1,762,488</td>
<td>1 : 2,277</td>
<td>1 : 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leila</td>
<td>No regular schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td>971,175</td>
<td>1 : 4,581</td>
<td>1 : 404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peshawar</td>
<td>**198</td>
<td>**1,128</td>
<td>***296,364</td>
<td>1 : 1,496</td>
<td>1 : 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,372</td>
<td>31,592</td>
<td>9,110,341</td>
<td>2 : 701</td>
<td>1 : 288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Administration Report, Punjab, 1856-57.

* : Exclusive of the Gujranwala and Goordaspore Districts.
** : No Regular Schools, except in the Huzara District.
*** : Huzara only.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1856-57</td>
<td>5,024</td>
<td>30,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857-58</td>
<td>3,461</td>
<td>26,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-59</td>
<td>6,173</td>
<td>32,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-60</td>
<td>6,309</td>
<td>63,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-61</td>
<td>6,559</td>
<td>82,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>5,434</td>
<td>33,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867-68</td>
<td>4,888</td>
<td>46,947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-69</td>
<td>5,222</td>
<td>55,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869-70</td>
<td>3,995</td>
<td>52,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-71</td>
<td>4,133</td>
<td>50,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-72</td>
<td>4,292</td>
<td>54,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-73</td>
<td>4,154</td>
<td>48,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-74</td>
<td>4,463</td>
<td>54,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-75</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>4,406</td>
<td>48,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-77</td>
<td>4,803</td>
<td>56,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877-78</td>
<td>5,581</td>
<td>61,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
<td>4,662</td>
<td>53,027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

Number of Indigenous Schools and Scholars in Native States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jind</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapurthala</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faridkot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
Indigenous School Pupils according to Castes -
Gujranwala District: 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khatris</td>
<td>1,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims Non-Landowners</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims Landowners</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh Jats</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogis</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bards</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikhs</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbaris</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiyids</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghans</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khojas</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watermen</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of Pupils whose parents were employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government employees</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereditary beggars and faqirs</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereditary priests</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartmen</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyers</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous doctors</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7
Distribution of Languages in the Educational System in Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Region</th>
<th>Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western districts</td>
<td>Persian, Arabic, Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern districts</td>
<td>Hindi, } with Nagri Sanskrit } characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central districts and in a part of Cis-Sutlej States</td>
<td>Curmukhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 8
Languages of the People of Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the language</th>
<th>Percentage of population speaking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi (including sub-dialects)</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani (Urdu and Hindi)</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahari</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushto</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani dialects</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian and Blochi</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Other languages whose number was very negligible have been omitted.