CHAPTER VI

IMPACT ON EDUCATION

Education was the one of the major spheres in which the influence of the British was felt greatly. It was through this channel that the British were able to permeate into society, a social, moral and liberal outlook completely different to what had existed before. An organised system of education was not prevalent. There was, however, a class of intellectuals mainly from among the Brahmans, who were well versed in ancient texts, scripts and literature, both in written manuscripts and in oral traditions. This knowledge was passed down from generation to generation and became hereditary. The members of the higher classes and rulers encouraged learning and were themselves promoters of knowledge and education. They usually had Brahmans attached to their families to educate their young. The education imparted to them was mainly a knowledge of religious scriptures and teachings. It did not go beyond that. It was essentially Indian in character and Indian in tradition. The poorer classes, also, were given this vernacular instruction in its simplest form, pertaining only to religious knowledge.

The British administrators who were familiar with a set routine and coherent pattern of ideas and principles,
found the prevalent system haphazard and one completely lacking in co-ordination. Soon after the East India Company became the paramount power it set about metamorphising the established norms of imparting education.

The Punjab, being one of the later annexations of the British, felt the British impact much later. Ludhiana, the first seat of the political agency in the Punjab, was subjected to the penetration of that influence as early as 1810. But before dealing with the impact of the British influence on education it would be pertinent to discuss the then existing methods in detail.

**INDIGENOUS EDUCATION.**

No systematic code of education was prevalent. Each of the religious sects in existence, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh had schools of its own. The entire educational system revolved around those.

**MUSLIM SCHOOLS.**

Most of the Muslim schools were located in mosques. These were usually called Koran Schools. There were a hundred and thirty-one such schools with approximately

2. See Appendix for details of Indigenous schools.
fourteen hundred students on rolls. A study of the Koran consisted of the learning of the Arabic princes like the "Kaida-i-Baghdad." These schools were also known as "Madrasas" or literally places of lessons. In many of these schools, standard Persian works were also taught. These Persian schools were later the foundations of the government vernacular school system.

The object was to teach a student to read the 'Golistan' and 'Bostan' Muhammadan texts and the lad who would read a page of either in a fluent sing-song, even without comprehension, was deemed to have received an education which fully satisfied both teacher and parents. Comprehension formed no part of that education. As long as a child appeared to have knowledge by rote he was considered to be educated.

In most of these places, the accent was on reading only. The Koran was taught by rote. Only in some of these, students were taught how to write.

In the villages these institutions were under the

1. Loc. Cit.
2. Loc. Cit.
3. Ibid., p. 6-7. Also in Richey, J.A., Selections from Educational Records (Calcutta, 1876), p. 78.
4. Ibid.
5. Loc. Cit.
charge of a 'Mullah' or a priest who gave instruction. A class of eight or ten pupils sat in the village mosque or 'takia'. They learnt to write on slates, sometimes they were also taught from easy books like the 'Karima', 'Khaliq bari'.

As regards the maintenance of the mullahs, most of them, being the village priests, had, generally, a small piece of land allotted to them, or else they received an allowance of grain at the rate of twelve manads per annum from some of the wealthier pupils. Many added a suit of clothes.

The poorer students rendered service such as cutting grass and wood, and sometimes also ploughed lands. Many teachers accepted nothing more than food and clothing and dedicated their lives to education. These schools were considered to be the most popular as no restrictions were imposed, and admission was open to all. Students came from all walks of life and belonged to various classes. Seads, Mullahs, Korshis, Fakirs, Sheikhs, Jats, Awans, Gujars, Zamindars, Khojas, Afghans, Balochis, Rajputs, weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, farmers, coolies and the like. Besides the Muhammadan pupils a large number of Khatri boys also attended these schools. This could be added to the larger proportion of the Hindu population all over.

1. Loc. Cit.
3. Loc. Cit.
In some of the mosques, though comparatively few, means were provided for higher education. These were in the spheres of the language, literature, law and the sciences contained in Arabic. 1

HINDU SCHOOLS.

In Hindu schools, the aim of education was both utilitarian and cultural. The sons of Brahmins studied as a rule for their vocational training while others studied medicine or philosophy or both at later stages. These were known as 'patshahals'. 2 In a typical patshala, the pupil would begin with the study of Devnagri script and the Hindi language. An average student generally stopped his studies at this stage. The more proficient ones proceeded to learn Sanskrit. They studied Sanskrit grammar, poetry and sacred texts.

If a student was desirous of higher education then he would be taught a study of 'historia', the Puranas, 'itihas' (ancient history), 'jotish' (astrology and astronomy), 'vedanta' and 'nyaya' (philosophy and logic), 'mantra' 'tatra', 'puja path' (religious books), and would presumably conclude his studies with 'vaidika' or the Hindu system of medicine. 3

1. Loc. Cit.
However these subjects were not all taught in one school. As soon as a pupil acquired the knowledge imparted by one pandit he went to the next who might be proficient in another subject.¹

Some of the teachers (or padhas² as they were known) charged tuition fees varying between Rs.3/- to Rs.5/- per month. In some cases fees were given in kind.²

Besides these types of schools, there were the ‘Mahajani’ or Lande schools - essentially for the commercial or trading community. In these the various tachygraphic forms of Lande and Sarafi were taught.³ A special characteristic of the Lande school was the arithmetic taught to the students, oral arithmetic - the repetition of multiplication tables.⁴ About these the director of Public Instruction wrote, “the Lande schools are those in which the children of the shopkeepers are taught the mysteries of book-keeping”.⁵

SIKH SCHOOLS.

In the Sikh institutions as well, religious culture, formed a fundamental study in the education of the young.

³ Loc. Cit.
⁵ Loc. Cit.
Sikh pupil. Its dissemination was the primary concern of the Granthi (priest), in charge of the Gurdwara. The young pupil's education commenced with a repetition of the name of God and the teachings of the Gurus. Essentially, to be able to acquire a knowledge of these, the child was required to learn the Gurmukhi script. Instruction in the first year consisted in the arts of reading and writing. Students usually learnt the art of writing by writing with their fingers on the ground. As Dr. Leitner writes "this was the obvious thing to do in an era in which paper was scarce, and dust abundant, in which simplicity was an euphemism for poverty and ignorance and in which memory was more in demand than intelligence." Dr. Leitner gives further interesting accounts of how it was done. The ground was sometimes prepared with a layer of 'Pandhi' or 'bangni' (mud or clay). More often than not, it was left unprepared and as the child learnt to write, he did so on the little patch of ground before him. "Several Europeans too, followed this practice, much to their advantage in acquiring dexterity in oriental penmanship."

4. Loc. Cit.
5. Loc. Cit.
Though this practice was very primitive and caused a great deal of surprise when the British first came, it had a number of advantages; economy, simplicity and ease in effacing wrongly formed characters. Once a neat hand had been formed, the student was promoted to the use of a 'takhti', a board of wood plastered with black on which he wrote with white ink made by dissolving chalk in water. He wrote with a pen made of reed. He would write and recite simultaneously, in a singing manner, each consonant in turn in combination with each vowel. Each letter was accompanied by a moral maxim which had come down since the time of Guru Angad who was supposed to have written the first Gurmukhi primer.

The children then learnt the forms of the numerals, simple enumeration, and also the signs for weights and measures. It was not considered necessary for the ordinary Sikh child to learn the pahara (multiplication). If so desired (in cases of sons of Lambardars and Patwaris who may have to deal with village accounts) he could attend the Hindu 'padha's' school.

He then proceeded to learn the 'Japji Sahib' and read simple chapters from the 'Granth'. The chief Gurmukhi

school was the Damdama Dharamshala in village Raipur of the Ludhiana district.\textsuperscript{1}

The child in the Gurmukhi school surprisingly also learnt to read some Hindu texts - Hanuman Natak, an adaptation of the famous story of Ramayana which was composed in mixed Hindi and Punjabi and was written in Gurmukhi. The study of astrology however was not as respected amongst the Sikhs, as among the Hindus.\textsuperscript{2}

A very curious media of gaining knowledge was through 'Mandlis'. These were a group of itinerant teachers who roamed around from place to place imparting knowledge. The institution of 'mandli' came down through ages starting with the Buddhist monks who travelled far and wide.\textsuperscript{3} These gradually acquired a Punjabi character under Baba Guridita.\textsuperscript{4} Such mandlis became a normal feature in the life of the people. Students were welcome to participate in the activity of a 'mandli' provided the head was convinced of their sincerity. Children got their education during the sojourn of the Mandli, but were not allowed to accompany it during its long and endless itinerary. Only adults could be permanent members and that only after a vow of dedication to the educational mission.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} Leitner, C.W., Op. Cit., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 35.
\textsuperscript{4} Loc. Cit.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 259.
A 'mandli' could be compared to an educational summer camp. The camp life was entirely regulated and consisted of congregational prayers, with music, recitations from the Granth Sahib, learning, memorizing, discussions, with intervals for food and rest.

Based on the subjects of study, the 'mandlis' could be classified into two types. The purely indigenous type which taught in Gurmukhi, confined its teachings to religious texts, biography and history.¹

The other type generally belonged to the Udasi or the Nirmala sect,² and they taught Hindi and Sanskrit as well.³

These mandlis should have been successful in imparting education as they comprised of devoted individuals moving only with the purpose of promoting education and teaching religious sects. Their efforts were very creditable and indeed laudable.

Another feature in indigenous education was the establishment of Dhamashalas, essentially charitable institutions but partly religious. These were under the charge of an ascetic or Sadh of the Udasi sect and were mainly found in Jat villages. The education imparted in these was however, of a very elementary character.⁴

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¹ Ibid., p. 260.
² Sikh Religious Sects.
⁴ Walker, T.G., Customary Law—Ludhiana, p. 29.
It is apparent from the above that the system was at best an apology for education. Teaching and the amount of knowledge imparted was entirely at the discretion of the Padre or teacher. No system of examination or classes existed. It was dependent on the individual student's intelligence and quick repartee. No pupil received a thorough grounding to fortify him for work and work hazards. Intelligence and intellect were not given any consideration or weight at all. To have a good memory, was of more importance than to be intelligent. Since the study was essentially confined to sacred books, it was not conducive to the development of the intellectual faculty of the student.

AVERT OF POLITICAL AGENCY.

The political Agency of the British government after its establishment in Indiana in 1810, felt the necessity of an institution for the children of the officers. No school was in existence which would have provided the required facilities. The problem was not given due thought until Col. Wade's time (political agent 1830-1340). He realized that the exigency of the situation demanded the establishment of a school. It was imperative that the children be taught in a proper environment.

1. F.P.C. No. 163, Sept. 16th, 1832.
Under his initiative and patronage a small school was established in 1833. It received generous support from him. The teaching was imparted by Shavamat Ali, a young man of considerable promise who had acquired knowledge of the English language at a government school in the United Provinces. The school was superintended by R. Hodges, a clerk in Wade's office.

**IMPACT OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.**

The pioneers of western education in these regions were American missionaries. It is indeed quite surprising that the British had been on the Indian scene for nearly seven to eight decades, and yet western education in the Punjab was to make a headway under the initiatives of American missionaries. British Missionary sects were established in other parts of India. They did venture into Ludhiana in the post annexation period, but during the earlier period, it was left to the influence of the Americans who were enterprising enough in their zeal to proselytize. They established themselves in Ludhiana, and their principal aim was no doubt evangelical. Later, though they were not in any direct contact with the government, yet they were largely instrumental.

1. Loc. Cit.
in popularising the British system of education. Their influence was felt not only in the Ludhiana district but throughout the Punjab where they extended their missions.\(^1\)

Permission had to be sought from the ruling government before these missionaries could venture into the Punjab. Correspondence between the governor general in India and the representatives of the missionaries elaborates on this.\(^2\)

A 'Foreign Missionary Society' had earlier been established in America and under its patronage the missionaries were desirous of establishing a mission in the Punjab. This was in order to propagate Christianity through the means of education both in English and in vernacular languages. As the Punjab was 'heathen' and so far devoid of western influence, the missionaries felt it would be the right place for commencing their work.

This was in 1838. The Punjab and protected Sikh states were alien territory and it was beyond the power of the Governor General-in-Council to sanction the establishment of a mission. This permission would have to be sought from the ruler of the place that was selected. However, they were allowed to reside the Ludhiana, which was under the British at that time.\(^3\)

2. Letter from Secretary Governor-General to Rev. Lowrie, P.P.C. No. 155, 156, Nov. 7th, 1833.
   Letter from Rev. Lowrie to Governor-General, P.P.C. 154, Nov. 7th, 1833.
3. Loc. Cit.
The first American missionary in India, Rev. J.C. Lowrie, reached Ludhiana in November, 1833. One of the earliest considerations which confronted Rev. Lowrie was the taking over the existing British School. Since education was of primary interest to the mission he was quite keen on this. And since there were not many eligible teachers at the school, Col. Wade also thought it expedient to make it over to the mission.¹ With this began an era of laudable work done by the missionaries.

Initially, the school was exclusively for the children of officers, but as they were not too many, the facilities were extended to others who were willing to come under its discipline. When Rev. Lowrie took over, there were about twenty pupils². Among these a few were the sons of three of the chiefs of the States; a few were sent from across the Sutlej. Some were the sons of respectable local gentlemen; some were Hindus or Sikhs, a few others were Afghans and Kashmiris.³

The chief vocation of every missionary was to devote himself to the study of the vernacular languages. If education had to be imparted to the students it must be in a dialect easily understood by them.⁴ The most suitable languages for

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¹ Loc. Cit.
² Loc. Cit.
³ Loc. Cit.
⁴ Loc. Cit.
the area were Persian for the cities and Punjabi for the
villages.

Rev. Lowrie established the mission, the school, and
also a church. In 1835, Rev. Wilson and Rev. Newton also
arrived on the scene. A little later they took over from
Rev. Lowrie, who because of ill health was obliged to leave.¹
(1836).

The work done by Rev. Lowrie in the school was highly
commendable.

The object of the school was to impart a knowledge
of the English language, literature and science, accompanied
with Bible lessons. The latter was not what had brought the
pupils to the school yet they were willing to be taught the
Christian religion in lieu of other teaching and advantages
which were offered by the institution, when the school was
taken over by the Mission in 1834 and the public prayer and
reading of the scriptures were introduced daily, several of
the pupils' parents were alarmed and suddenly withdrew their
children from the school. The general impression which gained
weight was that forcible means were being employed for
conversion.²

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¹ Lowrie, J.C., Op. Cit.;
² Also in L.M.C.M., 1833, Reel. 763, Vol. I.
² Laidiana Mission Report, (Indiiana, 1835), 1834, p. 15.
The main objection which most of the families had against the missionary school was the imparting of religious instruction. If the pattern adopted had been secular, the school would have received large numbers of students; but "orthodox families were not prepared to let their children be exposed to the dangers of Western religions".\(^1\) For quite sometime, this feeling prevailed and deterred many a father from permitting his son to study there. Gradually, as realisation came that family influence on religion could not be seduced, the number of school-going children increased. People, however, continued to be assailed by doubts. It was not until much later after the annexation that the people got more oriented in their thinking towards Christianity; towards acquiring a knowledge of Christianity in lieu of a knowledge of English. Later, this gained priority.

An account by G.T. Vigne, a traveller passing through Ludhiana, deals with this aspect.

By 1842, the school was known as the "Ludhiana Mission School"\(^2\). Mr. Vigne went on a tour of the school. The pupils included, the young Nawab-Abdal Ghias Khan, a nephew of Dost Mubd. (Khan of Kabul), three or four Sikhs of the noble families from across the Satlej and a son of Kishen Chand, (the Sikh vakeel or envoy resident of Ludhiana). The others consisted of the rising young Munahis and Babus of great promise.

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Upon his return to Ludhiana in 1843, he found that the parents of the boys had become alarmed at the enforced observance of Christian religious exercises and had withdrawn their children from the school altogether.  

The prescribed course for them was a learning in Geometry, History of England, Chemistry, Political Economy, History of India, Logic, Algebra, Arithmetic and the Bible. But no class had, so far been induced to remain long enough to complete the said course. The main purpose behind the pupil's desire to be educated was aspiration of a job in the agency office. Learning was not sought after for its intrinsic value. As soon as a tolerable knowledge of English and the written script had been acquired most of the pupils left the school in the hope of employment.

The influence of the house and the family was undoubtedly strong and no matter how earnest the endeavour of the teacher at conversion, there were very few especially amongst the higher classes who were influenced strongly enough to change over to Christianity. Yet a great deal of the influence of western ideas did eradicate many superstitious beliefs which the students were commonly used to hearing, at home and in the villages.

3. *Geography has already given a blow in the minds of some of our pupils... A few days ago when talking about Ceylon, the Lankha of the Hindus, out of four of our most advanced pupils, three laughed at the idea of the truth of the story of Ramsayana based around Lankha... They were all Hindus*. Letter to Mr. Lowrie from C.W. Forman, No. 1154, 1841. LaM.C.M., Vol. 21, 1837-1841.
Following the success of this school, two vernacular schools were established at Ludhiana. In one a Mussalman Munshi gave instruction in Urdu and Persian. In the other a Hindu Pandit taught the Panjabi language. These schools were superintended by one of the missionaries, who visited them and examined the boys in their studies. The scriptures were also read daily; but the boys were allowed to read the literature of the country also. Although in schools of this kind Christianity seems to have but a small share, yet, it is day by day more or less brought to the view while frequent occasions are afforded insculating its truths; we would by no means dispense with them.

The progress was very gratifying to the missionary endeavour. As early as 1844-45, the number of pupils started increasing rapidly. The attendance was very regular. This caused the missionaries to wonder whether this was due to the consciousness of the value of education or due to the value of government jobs of keeping village records (patwaris) or Munshis.

For the maintenance of the schools, of the missionaries, the British Political Agent was directed by the Governor General.

2. Loc. Cit.
4. Letter from Secretary of Governor-General to Political Agent Ludhiana, F. C. G. Mar. 15th 1834, Nos. 132-34.
to procure land. Also the Mission land and houses were to be exempt from taxation, only small rent claimed by the local land owners was to be paid.

It seems very surprising that such interest was fostered amongst the British to encourage American missionary work. It could be contended in reference to the above, that no British missionaries had made any endeavour into the Punjab, and the government was not unaware of the fact that missionary work done with zeal would pave the way for the permeation of western ideology and education. The missionaries could not proselyze without first imparting education. Education was their means to an end. It would be easier for the government to follow a system which had already been established than to evolve a new one. That could have been the reason why the government encouraged the missionaries. However, this is just a contention, and seems quite plausible. The query does arise as to why the government issued orders to the Agent at Ludhiana to facilitate the missionary endeavours.

The interest shown by Col. Wade to the mission seemed to be beyond what had been directed by the Governor-General. An interesting abstract from the following correspondence:

illustrates the patronage given by Col. Wade. "Col. Wade continues to manifest a deep and anxious concern for the best interests of the school—often visits it personally and does everything within his power to promote its interests."

FEMALE EDUCATION.

In the field of female education, the missionaries were certainly the avant garde. It is to their credit that they made the initial break-through and encouraged girls to receive education. They amply illustrated the benefits of education for the girls and thus pioneered a field entirely untouched earlier.

Girls were considered the inferior sex among all classes of Punjabi society,¹ and the idea of their going to school with the boys to receive education seemed preposterous.

Many among the Mahommedans of the higher classes felt that their women folk could be taught to read with benefit since that would improve their minds with the study of the Koran but it was not wise to let them write lest they should communicate with undesirable acquaintances.²

Besides this, ever since her childhood a woman is oriented into thinking that marriage is her be all and end all,
and that is her only calling in life and her only existence. In her kaleidoscope of life through all its facets, education found no place for the woman. The early missionary efforts were rewarded only by a few girls of the lowest classes who were induced to attend school by bribes of clothes, payment of money and sometimes of both. These were the classes which were not bound by the fetters which society imposed on the well to do classes. They were poverty-ridden and often degraded, and basically remained invulnerable so far as literacy was concerned. As far as the missionary effort was concerned the main portion of girl students were drawn from these lower ranks and the upper classes remained practically uninfluenced.

But the missionaries persisted in their efforts, even though disappointed by the earlier attempts. They realised that the parents of girls of the better classes were not prepared to let them go out of the house to a school. Purdah for women was a custom which was strongly embedded in society and it was this that confronted their efforts. Being zealous in the arduous task this did not deter the mission's endeavour to make a break-through and this came when they gradually evolved a system of Zenana work.

1. Loc. Cit.
ZEALOUS WORK.

This essentially meant house to house visitation by the female missionaries with the sole intention of imparting knowledge of the Bible. The girls and younger women of the household would thus be taught. This was the only method of teaching orthodox families. Here again the major obstacle was to convince the men of the house that their daughters and wives should be taught. Being shut-in behind doors, not allowed to move out, the women must have some channel through which their minds could attain satisfaction. Convincing the men proved to be a hard task, but gradually the missionaries made headway and some of the heads of the families felt that there would be no harm if some of these ladies came to visit their wives and daughters. Western learning after all was beneficial and their sons at the Mission school were profiting.

The wives of the missionaries, Mrs. Newton and Mrs. Janvires began with the houses of respectable patrons. Daily house to house visiting commenced. Initially they just visited one or two houses but gradually when the ladies starting looking forward to their visits and spoke of them to

3. Ibid., p. 45 (no names are mentioned.)
4. Ibid., p. 46 (no names are mentioned.)
5. Loc. Cit.
their friends, a few more women managed to persuade their husbands to let them learn from the 'Miss Sahiba'. The result was that the ladies started visiting the houses of two Sikh gentlemen and the Afghan families residing in Ludhiana, those of Saleh Muhammad, Hasan Khan, Usman Khan, and the Nizam-u-Dowlah, Prime Minister of the Late Shah Shuja. The ladies of these households, sat with rapt attention listening to what the zenana workers had to say. Stories of the Bible were narrated to them and they were eager to listen to anecdotes of the life of Jesus. As their interest grew, they were taught so as to enable them to read the stories themselves. They were also taught to write in their own language and do simple arithmetic.

Time vindicated age-old prejudice against female education in a number of families and a desire for learning became prevalent in many households. This was indeed a change from the established norms, although a negligible one, in the broader perspective of female education. The missionary ladies had to meet and overcome much prejudice and bitter opposition.

2. Ibid., p. 56-63.
4. Loc. Cit.
Their main hurdle was the constant attack against their pupils by the other family members. Relatives made progress for the pupil, almost impossible. Intelligent girls and women who could have made progress did not; afraid of taunting relatives. They only worked whilst the teachers were in the house. As a feeling of mistrust grew predominant, the zenana ladies were asked to discontinue their visits from some houses.¹

It is difficult to ascertain as to how far this mode of instruction at home proved beneficial in the wider context of female education. To say that much progress was made in this field would be a misnomer and incorrect. As mentioned earlier, prejudice against female education was very strong, and to firmly eradicate a deep seated belief was not possible in a short time, the time which the missionaries had taken. That was a task which would yield results much later. For the time being it was enough that the missionary effort though not fully successful, had made a beginning. It was on this foundation of missionary endeavour in the field of female education that the Government built an edifice.

The increase in number of pupils was imperceptible in the beginning but the people aware of the noble work the missionaries were doing consistently since their advent to Ludhiana. This went a long way in influencing the community to

rid their prejudice against religious instruction imparted by the mission teachers. As religious instruction was only a part of the curriculum, which comprised a wide sphere of subjects to choose from it would not be harmful for the girls if they acquired a knowledge of the Bible.

In due course, society became susceptible to new ideas, minds opened, attitudes underwent a change and a few, a limited few got convinced of the need for female education.

Soon thereafter, the first mission school for girls was established. The premises were the same as the boys school; only a separate building was reserved for the teaching of the girls. The pupils were taught in Hindustani or Urdu in the Persian script. First they were taught to read and then to write. Plain and fancy needle work was also taught. The older ones learnt geography and arithmetic. A part of the day was devoted to other useful work like cooking, knitting and sewing.¹ Most of the girls seemed eager for instruction and delighted in the old Testament stories.²

Further efforts to establish more schools for girls did not fructify. Rose Greenfield, a missionary, established one in the house of Sahib Devi, the widow of a Hindu Mahajan,

and another in the village of Sangowal in the house of the old Lambadar. Though initially the number of girls was large, with time it dwindled. This was because of the prevailing custom of child marriage which seldom left a girl at school after her twelfth year.

EDUCATION AFTER ANNEXATION.

The Missionary work gave a headlong lead to the British government in the field of education. They carried on their efforts from this point further. It is, however, nowhere mentioned that the methods of teaching, or curriculum in the Missionary schools were different from the British methods. It does not seem plausible that the two were synonymous. Yet had they been incommensurate to each other mention should have been made either in the missionary reports or in the government reports on education. It could be contended that the Mission Schools, either, changed their curriculum when the Education Department issued a policy on education; or they had taught from the beginning according to English systems. If in 1854 the necessity arose of changing the whole syllabi in the missionary schools, it must have been done without being recorded.

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The types of indigenous schools at the time of the annexation were: Maktaba, Sanskrit and Nagri, Gurumukhi and Lande and Mahajani. The British officials were very critical regarding the rudiments of this indigenous education.

"No province in India entered upon the task of diffusing education of the modern type under greater difficulties or with less assistance from private enterprise than the Punjab. Indigenous schools existed in large numbers but their course of education was mainly religious, though it may be probable that elements of secular instruction were given in some. The schools maintained by the missionaries were developed on modern trends but were comparatively few."


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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maktaba</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit and Nagri</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurumukhi</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>891</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lande and Mahajani</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>536</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>279</strong></td>
<td><strong>3262</strong></td>
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It was an assiduous task for the government to completely revitalize the very foundations of the system. A policy decision on education for the whole of India was effected in 1854 and came to be known as the 'Wood Despatch, 1854'.

This embodied a comprehensive scheme to be followed by the Educational authorities in India. For the first time a department of Education was established, and Education became a State subject. It was to be superintended by a Director of Public Instruction, subordinate to whom was a hierarchy of two inspectors, then deputy and sixty sub-deputy inspectors, for inspection of schools directly supported by the government. The system aimed at providing both, high, education as well as elementary instruction for the mass of people.

**Hulkaabandi Schools.**

Elementary instruction for the mass of people especially the agricultural populace, came to be known as the Hulkaabandi system. This was endemic in its inception. According to it, schools were established at the village level. A particular area was selected and surveyed. It was ascertained as to

3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Loc. Cit.
(a) how many children of school going age it had and
(b) what revenue it paid. Based on this data an expenditure
budget was prepared. A cluster of villages, four to five,
was marked out and the most central village determined as
the site of the schools. These schools were to be maintained
by means of an educational cess, levied upon zamindars, which
was one per cent of the revenue payable by them. The course
of studies included reading and writing the vernacular
languages Hindi and Urdu, accounts and the measurement of
land according to the indigenous system. Instruction in
Geography and other general subjects, conveyed through
vernacular languages was to be provided for, if the people
so desired. Visitors were appointed to inspect, and report,
on the progress achieved in these schools.

This system contained the rudiments required by a
rural population and was established so as to benefit the
agglomeration of agricultural classes. More of these type
of schools were established only after 1865, but without
reference to the equal geographical distribution. Also the
agricultural cess levied for the maintenance of the schools
was stopped. To this extent the Hulkabandi system was abandoned.

2. Loc. Cit.
1892, p. 110.
otherwise it continued quite successfully. These schools were able to produce patwaris, who managed village accounts. In fact acquiring instruction in such institutions was necessary if they aspired for a position in the village administration.

**URDU AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.**

Later, Government financed schools were also established. The languages to be taught in these were a subject of debate for sometime. The Government officials were of the opinion that Urdu should be the medium of instruction, in these schools, as it was the language used in other provinces. Earlier all indigenous education had continued, in Gujumkhi, Sanskrit or Persian dialects. Since these were not of an all India character, Urdu was considered necessary to be introduced. Ultimately Urdu was taught along with Hindi and Guumkhi. Side by side an Anglo-Vernacular system also emerged. Up to 1860 there were comparatively few students learning English. Encouragement was then given to the study of the language even in Vernacular schools. Liberal grants from private individuals became available and a belief became widespread that a knowledge of the language would lead to Government employment.

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There was soon a twenty seven per cent increase in the pupils learning English. This interest in acquiring a rudimentary knowledge of the language of the rulers was indispensable for a pupil to obtain admission to Government service. The fathers encouraged and coerced their sons to gain such knowledge, as Government service was most lucrative whether it be in a village or a town.

Besides these attractions there was a commercial element in gaining education. This is the kind of advertisement that appeared almost daily in most vernacular papers—

MATRIMONIAL WANTED. A young husband, bachelor or widower, independent position, real reform spirit to marry a highly accomplished virgin widow of 16 years. Minimum qualification and conditions: School final pass and some property. Education thus became not only a means to an office but, also a status symbol.

The government did its utmost to encompass all aspects of education and commenced teaching in spheres hitherto untouched. An Industrial School was opened at Ludhiana by the District Board and had seventy seven scholars. The subjects taught were drawing and carpentry.

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1. Loc. Cit.
Besides the Muktabandi schools to help the village community, zamindari schools were also introduced. These were intended to meet the special requirements of the village people by giving a course of instruction useful to them as villagers and not leading up to higher schools. But unfortunately, though the system was commenced with the best of intentions it fell short of expectations; students were not diligent and took no effort to study. Lessons in agriculture were not illustrated by practical work and on the whole no satisfactory progress was made.

If on the other hand, more interest had been shown both by the pupil and the teacher, the impact on the agricultural community would have been greater.

By 1860 the progress which had been hoped for was not evident. This was to some extent because of the Mutiny and disturbances of 1857. Then the number of schools increased.

NEW EFFORTS AFTER 1860.

Immediately thereafter, the higher authorities started taking more interest in education. The Secretary of State for India in 1861 laid great stress on making the schools more self-supporting and inducing the wealthier classes to contribute

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towards the expenses of education. "It is impossible that
the state should bear the whole expenses of imparting a
sound education to a country so densely populated as India.
Every endeavour should be made to incite the wealthier
classes to contribute towards an object upon the successful
accomplishment of which the prosperity and advancement of
India depend."

As a corollary to this, fees were charged in lieu of
receiving education. The first impression of the people
when they heard of this was not favourable.

The new system was denounced initially. The fact that
Urdu was taught was also resented. In sullen silence the
people felt themselves to be disregarded and their ancient
civilization despised. The students returned home from
school, speaking an almost unintelligible language, as their
parents were unable to comprehend Urdu. In due course, however,
the people became reconciled to the fact that a study of Urdu
was a must for their sons as that was the only way to ensure
a government job after school.

The ruling Government did make one concession as a
conciliatory gesture. The teachers were given two sets of books-

1. Letter to the Governor General from the Secretary of State,
one of Urdu which must be read and one of Persian or Hindi which might be read. Hindi schools were to be encouraged wherever people desired them. ¹

Another factor calling for comment is the spirit of disbelief which was insculpted in the Government and missionary schools. Age old beliefs and superstitions embedded in the way of life in the homes, were suddenly scorned and treated contemptuously by the students. This caused a great deal of sorrow for the mother who felt that an established pattern was suddenly becoming moribund. ²

Except for these reasons, Government education was generally welcomed. It had introduced a regularised pattern which had, prior to annexation, been non-existent except in the missionary schools. For the first time subjects like Geography, History, agricultural Studies for the agricultural population, were introduced. The pupils were able to derive great satisfaction from the prescribed course of studies as it equipped them for work after school. This was one of the major attractions of education. A government job was a very lucrative proposition after matriculation and most students aspired for one. The Government need for clerks and ‘musahis’ was dire and both purposes were solved with just education.

¹ PeAsR., 1862-63, p. 151
² Loc. C it.
FEMALE EDUCATION.

Missionaries earlier had made a headway regarding female education\(^1\), but the Administration Report of 1849-50, "found the work of female education scarcely begun".\(^2\) At the same time the officer who compiled the report felt that there were more signs of females being educated in these areas than in any territory which had previously been acquired by the British. This was very obviously due to missionary endeavour.

The first school for girls was established in 1854\(^3\). The only girls who came to the school were daughters of Mahommedans. It seemed imperative to break through the panopoly the other classes had established in this respect, especially if the British wanted full co-operation with their policies. In 1862 a Barara was held\(^4\) at Lahore and it was impressed on all present that importance be attached to the education of women. There was a strong appeal that they must co-operate in this respect. Mahommedans did not need much persuasion, but the Hindus and Sikhs had to be persuaded and shown the benefits of educating their women-folk, "Are our daughters to become Runahis, or Pataris\(^5\), that they must have instruction?" -- was the feeling that was widely prevalent. A few of the higher

\(^2\) *P.A.A.,* 1849-50, p. 47.
\(^3\) *Loc. Cit.*
class families had no objection to the continuation of a system like the zenana work, commenced by the mission ladies. The Education department complied by sending two governesses, attached to two noble families, at Ludhiana. They were to teach the daughters of these families, as well as those of respectable neighbours even though they be of a lower social grade.

Gradually, the Government established small schools under the charge of one teacher. "A system of schools in every 'muhalla' (a number of houses close together) for the daughters of the middle classes became generally prevalent." The only difficulty was that there was no proper method of supervision. The dirth of female teachers was also a great impediment to the progress of female education.

There were eight ladies belonging to the American mission, who were engaged in the work of female education. They were assisted by seventeen Christian girls and eight Sikh and Muslim girls. The number of schools increased to nine and a hundred and thirty families received zenana instruction. This scheme however, was not very successful as the students were not conscientious and did not take the trouble to improve.

2. Names of the Families are not mentioned.
The scheme of studies for the girls prescribed by the Government was similar to that for the boys. This was greatly criticised by Miss Greenfield. She felt that sewing, knitting, spinning, elementary hygiene must be included in the girl's education. Especially so, since most of the girls were withdrawn from school at the age of twelve or thirteen to be married. The teaching imparted to the girl students was irrelevant to the lives they would lead. It was desirable that their books should contain lessons on preservation of health, simple remedies, and also chapters aimed at undermining popular superstitions.

Subsequent to Miss Greenfield's suggestions, needlework was introduced in all schools. A text book on household duties was made compulsory. Unaided schools which had sprung up also started including cooking and household duties as well as drawing and modelling in clay.

In 1872, a new school for girls was opened in Ludhiana. Its attendance was thirty. The school was supported by some of the Christian ladies as well as those of noble families.

1. Loc. Cit.
That female education was gaining momentum is borne out by the fact that two years later two more schools were opened. In addition, another school was established by the missionaries solely for girls belonging to the Kashmiri population on the outskirts of Ludhiana. They had previously not ventured to send any of their girls to school but by 1874, their attendance was about eighteen to twenty.¹

By 1895-96 women who had hitherto stayed at home to receive zenana instruction, also ventured out and enrolled in the schools.² They had initially started at home, but then were persuaded by the Zenana teachers to attend the school which was near their homes. These women were found to be very regular in their attendance, though sometimes on account of their family duties they could not spend more than an hour daily at school.³

It is evident that the government encouraged missionary endeavour to educate women and substantiated it effectively. In Kaschwarah there was need of a female school, and the government established one.⁴ Similarly in other areas, where the need was felt, schools sprang up and by the end of the century considerable headway had been made in female education.

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¹ H.L.M. 1874, p. 7-8.
³ Loc. Cit.
INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS.

Inspectors were appointed to tour areas under their jurisdiction and inspect the schools. In the districts they were known as the Deputy Commissioner's executive agents. But this system of inspection was very unpopular. The supervising agency was denounced as "a body of corrupt, profligate and seditious public servants, ... and the inspector and director of Public Instruction shamelessly escaped condemnation." Though this seemed a sweeping statement, there were individual cases of corruption. But there was no alternative to this method of supervision. Though the government received great criticism regarding this policy, inspectors and inspections, continued.

One aspect of the government interest in education, which was welcomed by the people, was its insistence on a secular pattern in every school. The absence of religious instruction was greatly welcomed, as this was conducive to an atmosphere of neutrality, which enabled the children of rival creeds to meet amicably in a school room. In fact, missionary activity in this field also decreased where their schools were rivalled by government schools. Inevitably religious instructions grew slacker where the government was active, but where it did nothing very much, a far bigger dose of Biblical knowledge was given.

1. Loc. Cit.
It would be pertinent here to state that in spite of the shortcomings and criticisms of the people, government education was increasing and reports illustrated this fact. "The schools at Raikote, Masuwarah and Jagraon have a steady increase in attendance; the boys on being examined passed, fairly, in dictation, writing and arithmetic and well in Geography and History. Their weak points were reading and translations."

The fees collected from the boys during the year was quite a large amount. The people who had objected to payment of fees had now grown accustomed to the idea. Their objection was obviously justified as early the teachers were paid out of the village funds, either in kind or in cash. There was no individual burden on any one family or number of families.

With each successive year the impact of the British system of education manifested itself. The main impact was derived from the language itself. When the students started learning English, they desired to increase their knowledge in more things which were English. Influence permeated gradually into society and a young aspirant for government service, gradually discarded his traditional clothes for a trouser and a coat, much against the disapproving looks of his parents and neighbours. His outlook gradually widened and he merged

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out of the narrow consciousness he had been existing in, to imbibe the more practical visions of western patterns.

"History and Belles Lettres catch the attention of the student. He also reads Bacon's "Novum Organum" which is very profound."

With a knowledge of History, ancient and modern civilizations, and Geography—opening a horizon of wide hemispheres, a conscientious student became aware that there was much advancement in the world.

GRANTS-IN-AID.

For the enhancement of the established educational pattern, the government felt that a system of grants-in-aid should be introduced. This had been provided for in the Wood's despatch, 1854.

Aid was to be given to all schools which impart a good secular education, provided that the schools shall be subject to Government inspection and agree to any conditions which may be laid down for regulation of such grants.

It was incumbent on the Government to follow the provisions of the Despatch. Accordingly a system of grants-in-aid to private institutions commenced. The system is described

briefly in Appendix XIII

2. The Educational Policy of the State in India, p. (iii), Public Letter 1857, Sept. 5.
For procuring these grants-in-aid from Government funds, the private institutions were subjected to only one condition. The Government required that to a certain extent secular instruction must be imparted and it was its desirton to withdraw a grant where the required standard was not reached.\(^1\)

The first reaction of the people to this innovation, was to cease the payments of fees. They felt that these grants were a salary for the rustic school master and in future there was no necessity for the payments\(^2\). But these aids were essentially an addition to the fees; "villagers must be made to understand that the object of the Government is not to supersede but to supplement their private efforts".\(^3\)

As this feeling gained weight and the people realised that the Government was making a genuine effort to continue indigenous education, their attitudes changed and they co-operated.

Within two to three years, the system of aid—though necessary—received a great deal of criticism. It was generally felt that aid was given indiscriminately. Certain institutions were given aid even though there were others unaided in the same areas. Those in competition with Government schools received

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1. Loc. Cit.


no aid at all. Complaints were made to the Department of
Education, that all private effort was discouraged when it
competed with schools managed by the Department itself.\(^1\)

Besides this, it was generally felt that religious
instruction was being continued surreptitiously. This was an
obstacle which decreased the influence of aided education.
Sometimes the only institution of a particular class in a
whole village or number of villages was one, where instruction
in some definite form of religion was part of the ordinary
course. Under such circumstances, many of the inhabitants
allowed their children to grow up in ignorance rather than have
them instructed in the tenets of a religion they objected to.

As regards the Government point of view it preferred that
the children receive religious instruction, rather than grow up
without any instruction. It should be discretion of the
parents whether the children should attend religious lessons
or not. Though the Government officials of the Education
Department were cognizant of this fact, they did not want to
recommend that parents do this. It would have implied that
the government was taking notice of religious instruction and
would have contravened the fundamental principle that aided
instructions must observe religious neutrality. To this extent
the Government seemingly remained ignorant and the contravention

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1. Report of the Education Commission, 1856, Section 8,
2. Loc. Cit.
continued. The people, by and large, felt that their own system education continued. Yet with each successive year a little more of British influence permeated into the daily school routine. The Government school books gradually found their way into the hands of the best indigenous teachers and pupils. These bore imprints of a totally British mould—thus casting indelible impressions on the pupils and the teachers.

Not only this, many of the officers also did their best to improve the Hindi, and Koran, schools under their jurisdiction by talking to the teachers and persuading them to add other useful branches to their ordinary curriculum of instruction. By small grants of books, and promises of reward according to the number of pupils they could bring forward proficiently, many could be induced to take up teaching in a manner similar to the Government school.

By 1868-69 there were seven town schools aided by the Government in Ludhiana district.

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2. Loc. Cit.
3. Loc. Cit.
4. Ibid., p23.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>School/Location</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jagraon</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Raikote</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Gujarwal</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dharru</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Khana Kalan</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Machhiwara</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bajpure</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>711</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was widely felt that the general character of instruction imparted in the Secondary Schools had improved greatly. There was, however, one major defect—that of a system of cramming because of pressure of the middle school and entrance examinations. A few of the schools also adopted correspondence courses, which were very beneficial for the rural areas. Some of them added every year to their small libraries, the books that were recommended by the Textbook Committee.

A system of scholarships was also introduced. Scholarships were given to pupils of Zillah schools as rewards and

1. Loc. Cit.
3. Loc. Cit.
encouragement to study. These were also awarded to bright students who were desirous of continuing their studies. On an average these were between Rs.2/- to Rs.12/- per month. Besides these, students after passing their matriculation examination, could be awarded further scholarships for studies in college.¹

It has been mentioned earlier that a Settlement Report was compiled by T. C. Walker in the late seventies.² The report gave evidence of a substantial increase in the number of students in schools³.

The report added that out of the total population of 618,835, 21920, i.e. thirty in every thousand could read or write and were being educated. Out of this number five hundred and fifty two were females. One third of the literate people lived in the towns. Although more and more people from the agricultural classes were going to schools, most of the students came from the trading and official classes.

It is apparent from the above that the numbers of students had increased and the people were responding to the government educational system favourably.

³ Appendix XIV gives details of the status of Education.
It would be pertinent to mention here, that in spite of the fact that Education had started as early as 1834 in Ludhiana and the areas adjoining the district did not produce numerous intellectuals or scholars. When the rest of the Punjab came under British influence and reports were made, there was no evidence showing that the people in Ludhiana district was more literate or educated. Had it been so, the comparison would necessarily have been made in one or other of the reports. As there is no such evidence available it would be adduced that education was generally gathering momentum, and becoming part of a system being gradually embedded in the whole of the Punjab. This was a corollary to the well-established pattern in existence in the other provinces.

It is thus apparent that the Government had made a headway in the educational sphere. From among the people, especially the mercantile, official, and some of the agricultural classes, arose a sect eager to absorb literacy for its own ends. Each pupil acquired elementary knowledge, improved on that and learnt the essentials required by him in his field of work. As far as the girls were concerned, they were generally withdrawn from school after the third or fourth class, to be married. It was those who were converted to Christianity, who acquired education and it was only the girls
from these classes who finished their schooling. Sometimes they joined college and then returned to teach students.1

Just as indigenous education found encouragement under the British system, so did Mission schools. The long established Missionary system received a fillip from the Education Department. This was through the grants-in-aid scheme. Initially there was a great deal of unwillingness expressed by the Missionary body to accept aid from the Government. This arose out of the suspicion that secularism had to be professed in lieu of Government aid. This was inconsistent with their principles of proselytization and the interests of Christianity.2

The mission body contemplated joining the system of examinations but refusing the grants. This was because they did not want to be identified too closely with the Government as the people might call them paid agents.

But the Missionaries saw that the Government was unable to do anything if this convention was infringed, so they agreed to accept the grants. This subjected them to Government inspection. Inspectors came once in six months, to check on the subjects taught, the method of teaching and the text books used.3

1. Ludhiana Mission Report, 1890, p. 75.
3. Loc. Cit.
In fact, once the grants went over to Missionary schools, a number of complaints started coming into the Education Department. These were to the effect that grants were given to Missionaries when in similar circumstances they were refused to Indian bodies. It was also ascertained that a me grants were given to mission schools which had in the neighbourhood other unaided schools under private managers. That this criticism had some basis is probable. Since the Missionaries and the British were of homogeneous backgrounds, it is very likely that the Government was prejudiced in their favour as far as grants were concerned. Besides they were the pioneers in introducing Western Education into the Punjab, Ludhiana being their first forte, the British would be very likely be favourable to them. 

In spite of the fact, that Government schools were quite popular, the Mission High Schools had a steady rise in attendance. The number of students was on the increase in all three of the Mission schools for boys. But the one where English was taught got many more students. The Missionary accounting for the year 1859 felt that the Mutiny seems to have changed the character and direction of pupil's studies, prior to it more were in the Persian schools than in the English schools. But the post-Mutiny period witnessed a reversal. More students went into the English schools. 

CONCLUSION.

Western Education left indelible imprints on the young Punjabi minds. These were to influence the society, which emerged subsequently. British dress slowly crept in to change the long woman conventional dress, among the men especially. Students might wear traditional clothes at home but when they went to school, a coat was a must. Later a trouser became a must too. The dress of the women however remained the same, probably because that of the English ladies was considered immodest and improper.

Attitudes changed. No longer were superstitions taken at face value. Age old beliefs started being questioned by the younger generation, much to the disappointment of their parents. Established norms were shaken at their very foundations. Parents could not fathom the direction towards which their children were veering. Change had permeated and it was permeation brought in through Western impact. It was there to stay and, to influence society.

Not only did the minds of the students widen caste segregation also decreased. To say that it was uprooted would be a misnomer. But it definitely broke down, as students

2. Loc. Cit.
   Also Ludhiana Mission History Report for 1886, p. 4.
of all classes studied together. Often two friends belonged to
the highest caste and the lowest, caste prejudice formed no
barrier in their friendship. ¹

Existing social patterns were also undergoing trans-
formation. A boy receiving an education aspired for a Government
job especially if he lived in a village. This meant his
living in a town, away from the family unit, hitherto close-
knit and a united homogeneous body. Once the attractions of
town life enmeshed him, returning to his old home in the
village became impossible. He became independent, settled in
the town, married, and threw off the yoke of his parents. ²

The credit for these changes and the gradual meta-
morphosis which took place goes to the tremendous Missionary
effort, the avant-grade in Education, followed by that of the
British Educational System, which was to improve and develop
the foundations laid by the Missionaries, ultimately construct-
ing an edifice the like of which was unknown. Through the
influence of the Education Department a widespread system of
elementary and higher education was established. In 1854 the
outlines had been set forth by the Despatch of Sir Charles
Wood and these policies were pursued. By the end of the 19th
century, most of the Indigenous schools became Anglo Vernacular. ³

¹ Loc. Cit.
² Loc. Cit.
³ Sharp H. Off. Cit. p. 270. Also in Mahwood, S.,
A History of English Education in India (Aligarh 1895), p. 98.
At the turn of the century, an observer looking down the long avenue of history could emphatically adduce the benefits acquired through the system which prevailed a system enforced and executed by an alien government through alien officers. The educated classes were soon to witness an intellectual, social and even political liberalism which was to take shape in the radical changes of the twentieth century.