DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN COLONIAL PUNJAB (1880-1920)

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.V. - Anglo Vernacular

B.A. - Bachelor of Arts

B.O.L. - Bachelor of Oriental Learning

B.Sc. - Bachelor of Science

B.T. - Bachelor of training

F.A. - First Arts

DAV - Dayanand Anglo Vedic

F.A. - First Arts

I.E.C - Indian Education Commission

J.A.V. - Junior Anglo Vernacular

J.V. - Junior Vernacular

J.V.C.E - Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination

M.A. - Master of Arts

M.B. - Bachelor of Medicine

M.D. - Doctor in Medicine

MBBS - Bachelor of Medicine & Bachelor of Surgery

M.Sc - Mater of Science

N.W.F.P - North West Frontier Province

S.A.V. - Senior Anglo Vernacular

GLOSSARY

Aaddith Traditions

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam The Society for the Defense of Islam

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Islam The committee for the propagation of

Islam

Antarang Sabha Executive Committee

Antyajas Untouchables

Ardas Prayer

Arya Samaj Reform movement of Hinduism, founded

in 1875 by Dayananda Sarswati

Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha A provincial representative body

Ashram Shelter
Asramas Phases

Atman Soul

Brahmins/Brahmacarin People who represented intellectual

power

Brahmo Samaj Theistic movement within Hindus

founded in 1828 in Calcutta by Ram

Mohun Roy

Chamar Member of Schedules Caste engaged in

leather work

Dai's Midwives

Dalit Member of underprivileged sections,

especially Scheduled Caste

Dev Samaj Divine Society, religious and social

reform society founded by Pandit Shiv

Narayan Agnihotri in 1887 in Lahore

Dharma Religious way of life

Dindars Ancestory
Dwija Twice born

Figh Law

Gurmukhi Punjabi script adopted by the Sikhs

Gurparnalis Way of life
Grhastha Householder

Haiat Astronomy
Hikmat Philosophy

Janamsakhis Legendary biographies of Guru Nanak

Julaha Weaver

Khalsa Advocate English-language weekly newspaper
Kshatriyas/Ksatriyas Aristocrats (who represented political

and military power)

Madrasa Traditional Muslim school, where

mainly religious education imparted.

Mahabharata One of the two major epics of Sanskrit in

ancient India

Mahajan Merchants

Mahajani schools related to mercantile in British

India

Makhtabs Islamic Schools

Manqulat Traditional sciences

Mantiq Logic

Maqulat Rational sciences

Muhials Brahmins of Sindh

Munshi Account keeper

Musallis Untouchables

Nagri Type of indigenous school

Panchal Pandita Hindi monthly, in 1898 to preach and

promote female education

Panth's Religious

Parivrajaka A homeless wandering ascetic

Pathasalas Traditional Hindu schools

Pundits a person who performs religious prayer

in Hindu temple

Puranas Sanskrit sacred writings on Hindu

mythology

Purdah Veil

Qazi Muslim clergyman

Quran/Koran A Muslim sacred/religious book

Rai's Chief/leader

Ramayana the first epic written by Saint Valmiki

Rishi A divinely inspired prophet

Riyadi Mathematics Rsi's Brahmins

Sati Practice of self-immolation by a wife on

the funeral pyre of her husband

Satyarth Prakash A sacred scripture

Shariat Islamic law based on the teachings of the

Koran

Shuddhi Purify and readmit Hindus who had

converted to Islam or Christianity.

Shastrarths A traditional theological debate

Shudras Labourers or slaves

Sheikhs A title

Swadeshi Indian origin
Tafsir Exegesis

Tahzibu'l Akhlaq Moral Reform

Tarkhan Carpenter
Tibb Medicine

Tols Hindu traditional schools

Vaishyas Merchants (who represented money

power)

Vanprastha Ascetic
Varnas Classes

Vedas collections forming the earliest body of

Indian scripture

Ved Prachar Proselytism and preaching

Virdt-deha Creator
Zenanas Women
Jats, Rajputs, Sainis, Kambo's, (Kamboj) Castes

Kalal's, Ahluwalia's,

Khatri's, Bania's, Arora's Hindu mercantile classes

Jain's, Bhatia's

Swati's, Tarkheli's Tribes

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

Education in all ages must aim at providing skills and knowledge that will promote the progressive development of society and train the minds of youngsters. In India, the system of indigenous education was well spread and there was fairly wide network of indigenous educational institutions. India has had a long and rich heritage of indigenous education that has continued from ancient times. However, the previous Indian educational system lacked structure and effective management. Since time immemorial, many limits and restraints had impacted the Indian educational system, including caste divides in society, a restricted number of schools and instructors, and a limiting of the learning environment relating to topics because of many taboos and traditions. For many centuries, the education system was accessible only to the upper castes/strata's of Indian communities. The lower strata's were denied access to education, leaving the bulk of the populace illiterate. There was no uniformity in the patterns of access to education. Most schools/educational institutions were based on religious basis. The instruction provided in these institutions was also traditional and literary/Religious rather than scientific.

India was a country having its own rich indigenous system of education. Indian system of education was based on caste divisions of the society, since times immemorial. The higher castes/strata's of the Indian societies were exposed to the education system and the lower strata's of the Indian society were immune to it. There was no uniformity in the patterns of access to education. The schools/educational institutions were based mostly on the religious basis. The instruction provided in these institutions was also of the same character on religious basis with some simple calculations of day-to-day life. Students were exclusively given religious education under the old Indian educational system that existed in ancient India. They were educated in the Sanskrit language, in which *Vedas, Puranas*, and other texts were written. Women scholars such as Gargi and Maitryi were highly educated and well versed with the religious scriptures.

The *Brahminical* elite was considered as the exclusive and holy depositaries of enlightened thought and high morals, therefore higher education in Ancient India was essentially the education of the *Brahminical* class (West, n.d., p.4). From the

beginning, Hindu society saw education as one of its major responsibilities—it was, after all, an integral element of the system upon which society was built. The system was called *Varnasrama Dharma*, and it governs life by dividing it into several classes (*Varnas*) and phases (*Asramas*). The classes were first divided into four categories based on division of labour and social roles. The *Brahmanas*, the custodians of culture and learning, were at the top of the caste pyramid; the *Ksatriyas*, the ruling and military classes, were in charge of the country's security and defence; the *Vaisyas*, who looked after the country's economic interests, agriculture, arts and crafts, and trade; and the *Sudras*, who provided all kinds of social service and specialised in agriculture.

In the early stages of the caste system, classes were not yet rigidly established or cemented into castes, but were based on occupations. In the *Upanisads*, which represent Vedic literature at its best, the divide between *Brahmana* and *Ksatriya* was not at all strict. They talk of monarchs who were equal to or better than the *Rsi's* or *Brahmanas* in terms of wisdom and teaching. The *Purusa-sukta* song in the *Rig-Veda* explained how the body-politic (the *Virdt-deha* or the Creator) was formed up of the four social classes as integral limbs of the whole, demonstrating that these early social groups did not represent any inequity.

A second concept of social structure reduced caste disparities even further by dividing life into four phases, each with its own set of norms and regulations that were binding on everyone. *Brahmacarin, Grhastha, Vanaprastha* (ascetic), and *Parivrajaka* (a homeless wandering ascetic) were the names given to men in those stages. The latter two levels represent world renunciation: the individual commits himself to his progressive expansion into the Universal, no longer engaged in the worries and concerns of his own householder's existence ('Atman' as the sole and only Reality).

These life phases, or *Asramas*, were expected of everyone. People from various castes or groups were pulled together by their adherence to the *Asramas* shared norms, which hid their social distinctions and inequities. As a result, the *Asramas* symbolised the values of equality and unity, as a counterbalance to the caste system's inherent inequity and separation. The social structure made the initial phase of life, that of a student, obligatory on all, so that even higher education became universal and compulsory (Bose et al, 1973, p. 172, 173).

This was more or less true even after the arrival of the Muslims, who became the political masters of India for a long time. The Slave dynasty, Khilji's, and Mughals all made significant advances in art, architecture, science, and painting during the medieval period, but less attention was devoted to public education. Even with the arrival of Islam, this image did not change significantly since the Muslim population, although keeping its own particular traits, was split into the same or comparable social groups. Converting this society to an egalitarian one was obviously a tough and intricate process, made all the more difficult by the fact that it was, on the whole, exceedingly impoverished (Naik, 1979, p. 169). Women were denied the right to education during the Medieval Age, and only a small percentage of the population was taught to read and write. Under the Islamic rule in Medieval India, followers of Islam were in a minority but held all political and administrative power in their hands.

"The Muslim society had no taboos on education as did the caste ridden Hindu society at the time. Muslims believed that everyone had the right to study the *Quran*. Even in this culture, however, formal education was only available to a select few. To Hindus and Muslims, "quality" in education meant "learnedness" or in-depth familiarity with religious literature, "purity" or preservation of ancient traditional interpretations unaltered by modern influences, and "saintliness" or personal conduct that would remain impeachable by religious standards. In summary, Indian societal and educational traditions did not incorporate educational equality or a vision of education for everyone, and had a restricted meaning of "excellent" (Naik, 1969, p. 169)."

The essential aspect of the Muslim educational system during medieval times, the Indian state was governed by Muslim Monarch's, was that it was traditional in spirit and religious in content. Its major goal was to bring a group of ideologies together. The curriculum was divided into two sections: *Manqulat* and *Maqulat*, with the former focusing on traditional sciences and the latter on rational sciences. Traditional sciences included Exegesis (*Tafsir*), Traditions (*Aaddith*), Law (*Fiqh*), History, and Literature; rational sciences included Logic (*Mantiq*), Philosophy (*Hikmat*), Medicine (*Tibb*), Mathematics (*Riyadi*), and Astronomy (*Haiat*). The study of traditional sciences was prioritised in the beginning, but as time went on, the rational sciences began to gain more emphasis. This focus on *maqulat*, however, did not lead to the development of experimental and inductive techniques, which might had paved the path for scientific and technological progress on their own (Lal et al, 1973, p. 430).

In India, the system of indigenous education was well spread and there was fairly wide network of indigenous educational institutions. These were broadly two types of educational institutes: the schools of higher learning, which included *Hindu* 'tols' or 'pathasalas'; and the Muslim 'madrasahs', and the indigenous elementary schools, both Hindu and Muslim. The Hindu schools were mostly attended by boys and generally excluded the untouchables castes and girls, except in few areas. The Muslim schools, 'makhtabs' were usually attached to the mosques. Along with the boys a few girls also attended them at the young age, but in the richer families the practice was to educate them at home. The chief merits of the system were its universality (almost every village had a school and the bigger villages and towns had several), its adaptability to local environment and the vitality and popularity it had acquired by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions and political vicissitudes. This was the grim picture of the Indian society since ancient times. The universities of Taxila, Odantapuri, Vikramashila and Nalanda, which were the highest seats of learning in Ancient India, were not in service in the modern period of British India.

Society had changed dramatically as a result of interaction with the West, the establishment of a capitalist economy, the introduction of science and technology, and modern education. The caste system and hierarchy were still in place and rather robust; but, their harshness had been softened to some extent, and there was some vertical mobility. Modernization was coming. The highest castes and social strata were prosperous and able to benefit from contemporary education, and it was these social groupings that had been modernised. As a result, they felt more connected to the worldwide elite, with whom they could converse in English and enjoy similar lifestyles (Naik, 1979, p. 171, 172).

The British education policy gradually developed down the course of several decades. The British approached education of Indians from a purely practical and utilitarian point of view, which was to the advantage of the British in both the short and the long term. The British Education Policy in India gradually changed into a slight involvement and finally into a phase of greater involvement (Kaur, 1985, p. 28).

The Charter Act of 1813 granted the permission to the British missionaries to work for the education and proselytisation of the Indians and the East India Company

accepted its duty to provide education to Indians on the principle of secularism (Brar, 2017, p.7). The Charter Act of 1813 also recommended for the grant of 1 lakh Rupees for the provisioning of education in India. The Minute of 1823 urged for establishing schools for science education and English language. From the beginning of the Raj (since 1765), European educational innovations were primarily school-based and focused on the written word rather than traditional oral instruction. After T.B. Macaulay's Minute of 1835, British education governance became more formalised and self-aware (Allender, 2004, p. 66).

The earliest efforts to introduce any form of education beyond the indigenous education had emanated from the missionaries. The Baptist missionaries Carey, Marshman and Ward at Serampore, the London Missionary Society and the American Methodists in Bomaby all did pioneering work in spreading English education. Rich citizens in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras came forward to set up English schools in collaboration with individual European officials and businessmen and in Calcutta, Ram Mohun Roy, together with Sir Edward Hyde East, Sir Edward Ryan, David Hare and James Young founded Hindu College (later Presidency College) in 1817. Elphinstone College in Bombay was started in 1834 and Madras Christian College was established in 1837 though its college department started functioning only in 1865. Presidency College, Madras, at first known as Madras University, was established in 1841. These colleges bore little resemblance to the indigenous pathshalas, tols or Madrasahas. They were high schools and colleges which taught Western knowledge through English medium (Basu, 1989, p. 169).

In 1835, the British replaced Persian with English, which not only became the language of their Government but also the medium of teaching in schools, colleges, and institutions established by them (Ghosh, 2009, p. 236). Because the bulk of these institutions were located in provincial capitals and cities, they were mainly out of reach for the majority of the British Indian populace. Literacy in British India was restricted to a few lucky groups of people who had been able to benefit from the new schooling in the metropolitan cities and provincial capitals.

The Despatch of Charles Wood, published in 1854, urged for vigorous steps to promote education to "the people" (Allender, 2004, p. 66). The major goal of educational policy, according to Charles Woods Despatch (1854), should be the dissemination of "the better arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe" through the medium of English and Indian languages. It was proposed that education

departments be established in all provinces, and universities be established in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, or wherever else in India.

Wood's Despatch recognised the necessity to educate the populace in a vernacular language in addition to English. The Despatch also emphasized the development of private enterprise, missionary as well as Indian, through a proper system of grant-in-aid, and suggested the training of teachers in normal schools, the conferment of Government jobs on educated persons, and increased attention to the development of education among young girls and women (Kaur (1985, p. 27). In the next 50 years the policies laid down by the dispatch of 1854 were slowly and steadily implemented. Education departments were created in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab in 1855. Their first task was to establish and maintain Government educational institutions at all levels. But an even more important responsibility was to supervise and aid institutions conducted by other agencies such as local bodies and voluntary organizations (The Gazetteer of India, Volume II, 1973, p. 657).

The Indian university system was created largely to serve the demands of India's colonial powers. The purpose of the East India Company's funded education, according to Lord Macaulay's notorious minute on education, was to educate and teach an Indian to be an Indian "just in blood and colour, but European in thought, morality, and intellect." Higher education institutions, colleges, and universities were designed to concentrate the most focus on European culture, history, sciences, and political economy, among other things, and to treat Indian history and culture as auxiliary or insignificant subjects (Mathur, 1992, p. 103).

The Indian Education Commission (1882, p. 481) enlarged on the subject. The term "downward filtration theory" refered to a theory that advocates for the dissemination of education among the few in the hopes that it would eventually filter down to the masses, resulting in their education. However, the word had also been applied to a philosophy that considers the education of the upper classes to be a necessary precondition for any effect on the lower classes. The commission encouraged private enterprise in the field of education. From the period 1882-1902, specially secondary education made quite noticeable progress reasons may be the participation of the private players and the efforts of the Provincial and local Governments.

British dominance altered India's social, political, and economic systems throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, spawning a plethora of enterprises, vocations, and organisations in every area. British authorities had also established a regular English language educational system throughout the colony by the midnineteenth century. Mastery of English and credentials earned via this educational system allowed people who completed it to find work in the British Government's institutions as well as the various vocations that arose as a result of the colonial presence. Students who graduated from this educational system were dubbed "the English educated elite." This all-Indian, (mostly) upper caste, Westernized male elite would dominate regional communities and politics in the late nineteenth century, nationalist politics in the twentieth century, and the economic and political institutions of post-Independence India (Walsh, 2003, p. 39).

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that one could clearly perceive the social and intellectual transformations that were taking place in the Punjab. Progress was the name given to this changing process. The rate of expansion was sluggish throughout the nineteenth century. Education was likewise limited to the upper echelons of society and mostly to metropolitan regions. The goals of education were likewise restricted, namely, to acquire English, be exposed to western knowledge, and obtain employment with the Government or enter one of the contemporary professions such as medicine or law.

In India, English education had a solid foundation, and its benefits were well acknowledged. The administration looked confidently for assistance in enacting changes aimed at raising the tone of universities and schools and educating pupils to instil self-esteem and yet happy acquiescence to authority, temperate language, and respect for the judgment of older men. The English public schools and universities aspired not only to develop men's faculties for the acquisition of information, but also to produce a particular kind of character ideally suited to the needs of real life (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1888, Education p. 8).

With the establishment of the British Empire in India, education became a more structured and well-managed topic. Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras universities

were founded in 1857. Until the creation of Lahore University college/ Panjab University College in 1869 (Lahore University College, which was re-christined as the Punjab university college in June, 1870), there was no system of higher education in Punjab. Only three colleges existed in Punjab in 1883-84: Government College and Oriental College in Lahore, and St. Stephens College in Delhi. There were 12 Arts Colleges in 1900-01, with 2948 matriculation applicants and 1,214 passing grades. According to the 1901 census, 6.8% of males in British Punjab areas were literate, while 0.37 percent of ladies were (Majumdar, 1965, p. 78).

The year 1882 was a landmark not only in the history of education in India but also in the development of education in Punjab. In this significant year was incorporated the university of the undivided Punjab at Lahore. After deliberations in the committees, discussions in councils and assemblies, passing of acts, the earnest and untiring efforts of the people bore fruit- the Punjab University came into existence.

Baden Powell was appointed the first Vice- Chancellor and Dr. G.W. Leitner the Registrar of the new university. Dr. Leitner had been working as the Principal of the Oriental College and Registrar of the Panjab University College since 1870, and continued in that capacity for the university till November 1885. The story of the growth of the Panjab University from 1882 to 1904 was nothing but a record of the conduct of examinations and the affiliation of educational institutions. In its base outline, the university performed four functions—as an examining body, as an advisory body of education for the Provincial Government, as a managing body for a College for Oriental Studies and a Law School, and as an affiliating body for the fast-growing number of educational institutions. Its records show that the university, in its early phase of development, was primarily an examining and administrative body (Mohan, 2010, p. 778).

From basic school until Panjab University, there was a continuous, if sluggish, expansion in educational resources. Since 1880, the number of primary schools for boys had increased from 1,600 to 3,200, with 142,000 boys enrolled; however, this represented only one-tenth of the total number of boys of school-going age, and there was only one school for every ten villages; and, despite the fact that elementary education was free for the sons of peasants and labourers, only a small percentage of them took advantage of the opportunities. Only one in thirteen males could read or write in any language, according to the 1901 Census (Wilson, 1909, p.150).

"An effort was being made to improve this backward state of things. More funds had been made available for rural schools, and their curriculum had been made more practical and better suited to the village boy; and a great scheme had recently been adopted. A thoroughly well equipped Agricultural College had been established at Lyallpur. The Veterinary College was started at Lahore. There was a considerable demand for instruction in English, which was provided by the, higher schools and a number of colleges. Female education was more backward and only one in forty girls of school-going age was receiving instruction. There were signs of progress in the towns, but it would be long before the village population could be persuaded to send their girls to school (Wilson, 1909, p.150)."

The Indian universities act of 1904 recommended for the appointment of the University professors and lecturers, most of the fellows of the universities to be appointed by the Government, increased control of the Governor's on the universities and framed stricter and stringent norms for the inspection of the colleges by the universities. The outcome of the Curzon's policy was the sanction of grant for the universities, which is a permanent feature since then.

Meanwhile, Gopal Krishan Gokhale, the Indian nationalist demanded for the provision of free and compulsory education before the Government. In 1917, the Government of India instituted a commission for the study and to report on the problems of the university of Calcutta, Dr. M. E. Sadler being its chairman. It recommended for the twelve year school course, setting up of Board for intermediate and secondary education, 3 year degree course after the intermediate, initiatives for female education and emphasized on the teacher training programmes and institutions. It stressed on the improvement of the secondary education to improve upon the university education. Seven new universities came into existence at Patna, Mysore, Banaras, Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow and Osmania.

However, both the Indians and the British were dissatisfied. The Indians were disappointed with the sluggish rate of expansion and the system's clear failure to instil ideals such as patriotism or active engagement with national progress. The fast expansion of secondary and higher education, as well as the development of indiscipline (which meant the rise of nationalism) and the lowering of quality (which generally meant a reduced command of the English language) upset the British (Naik, 1979, p. 181).

The major criticism against the system of education evolved during the days of British rule was that it was too narrow in quality as well as in quantity. Only a minute fraction of eligible pupils received the benefits of schooling. Even those who were fortunate enough to go to a school and later to a college were severely restricted in their selection of course. The syllabus was heavily weighted in favour of purely literary education. Science was neglected and technology was almost unknown. The curriculum was rigid and circumscribed and the small minority which received education was generally drawn away from agriculture, industry and commerce, in fact the prevailing system of education tended to develop a bias against manual labour of every type. To educate a village boy very often meant the loss of potential farmer, craftsman or technician (Kabir, 1973, p. 728).

Despite a rather unimpressive record, educational reform and planning efforts had a long history in India. The founding of the first three universities in 1857 at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras did, in a sense, reflect the need for reform. Many educators felt that the proliferation of colleges in India in the early nineteenth century with no means of insuring minimum quality was unfortunate. The demand for British style higher education was growing, and private Indian interests were organizing colleges to meet this demand. The universities, therefore, were established to maintain control over collegiate education and insure that minimum standards were met. In the earliest period, the universities fulfilled only examining and inspecting functions. The subsequent history of Indian higher education was the history of efforts to maintain administrative control over and minimum academic standards in the ever increasing number of colleges. The first major official inquiry on university education took place in 1882 under the Indian Education Commission. The Commission, however, made few recommendations about the functioning of the universities. Due in part to an expansion of secondary education, the number of students seeking admission to the colleges increased substantially after 1882 as jobs both in Government service and in the private sector opened up. The 1902 Indian Universities Commission dealt with the problems faced by the universities and recommended changes in university governance while holding that the University of London continue as the basis for Indian university organization. No fundamental reform was proposed. The 1902 Commission led to the University Act of 1904, which streamlined university governance and strengthened teaching at the university level (Altbach, 1972, p. 253, 254).

1.1 Rationale of the Study

After the establishment of the rule of East India Company in India, British became all powerful in administrative, economic, education and agriculture sphere.

They started making plans and policies for the efficient running of administration in the British occupied territories in India. In 1857, three universities were set up Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the colleges in the Punjab were affiliated to the university of Calcutta. With the occupancy of Punjab by the British in 1849, Henry and John Lawrence stressed on that the education system/policy should be framed on the western lines. The capital city of Lahore gained an importance because of administrative purpose and with the settling of British officers. The leading people, well aware and educated sections of the society started demanding for setting up university in Punjab. And this pressing demand gained a momentum when, they were joined by G. W. Leitner, because of their continuous efforts Punjab University came into existence in 1882. As the study of higher education in Punjab needs a special mention from the period 1880-1920, as it was in the infancy stage in Punjab unlike Presidencies like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The Christian missionary schools in the districts like Ludhiana, Ambala had already started with the organized system of school education. But such a type of organization was not seen in the case of higher education at the time of annexation or before, so it becomes important to study that how the organized and structured system of higher education came into being.

Along with the British efforts, the supporting system to their education system was the Christian missionaries and the Indian social reformers, which initiated a number of social, cultural and educational reform movements such as Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Singh Sabha's, and Christian movements. They started a number of schools and colleges in the cities like Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Patiala, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Moga etc. In some places women schools and colleges came up for the education of the female only, having female teachers. With this new development there was need for female teachers and teacher-training institutions came into being. But certain lacuna's still persisted such as financing of institutions, minimal efforts for inclusion of girls in higher education, emphasis on the examinations, etc. The political and economic development in modern India might not had been possible without a complete reconstruction of Indian education in the 19th century. One of the major weaknesses of India and of the Asian countries, had been the absence of a public system of instruction. English education, modern civilization, growth of industry, greater mobility, voyages oversees to western countries and reform movements had made a tremendous contribution towards the development of higher education in Colonial India. It was a huge challenge in British India, to formulate a uniform educational pattern, which earlier was based on 'elite system' and to transform it to a more 'inclusive one'.

Various reforms in higher education were initiated by the British such as nomenclature of the faculties, formation of board of studies, academic councils and so on. The British tried to streamline the education system but, even the reforms initiated by Lord Curzon were criticized by Basu saying, "Even a viceroy as powerful and autocratic as Curzon could not carry his educational reforms to a successful conclusion". So the reforms and recommendations need to be studied at stretch and in great depth. It becomes altogether important for a researcher to study the type of education system, the importance given to languages, arts and science and the efforts made by the British for the students of the marginalized sections of the society and women which was influenced by the Western/British model and the status of its implementation and administration in India.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The title of the present research problem is stated as follows:

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN COLONIAL PUNJAB (1880-1920)

1.3 Research Questions

- 1. What was the Colonial policy on planning and management of higher education in Punjab?
- 2. How were the problems of access, quality and quantity in higher education addressed?
- 3. Did British give any eminence to people's involvement, non-governmental agencies or voluntary efforts?
- 4. What was the nature of various courses offered by the universities, streams and areas chosen by students in higher studies and to the medium of instruction at higher education level?
- 5. What were the criteria and the regulatory regime established for setting up new colleges/institutes by the British?

- 6. Did the local bodies have any role to play in managing institutions of higher education?
- 7. What was the status of teacher training programmes?
- 8. What was the role of Indian socio-religious reform movements in the spread of higher education in Punjab?
- 9. What were the initiatives and the efforts made by the British Government to bring women and marginalized groups into the mainstream of education?

1.4 Objectives

- 1. To study and review the British policy on higher education in the context of Hunter Commission/ Indian education commission (1882), Indian University Act (1904) and Calcutta University Commission (Sadler Commission, 1917) in terms of a access b equity c quality in higher education in Punjab d financing patterns.
- 2. To study the growth of institutions of higher education in Punjab.
- 3. To study the profile of teacher training institutions.
- To study the role of socio religious reform movements in the spread of higher education namely a. Arya Samaj, b. Sikh reform movements and d. Christian Missionaries.
- 5. To study the role of the public and private sectors in the spread of higher education.
- 6. To study the participation of women in higher education.
- 7. To study the participation of marginalized groups in higher education.

1.5 Methodology of the Study

Historical method

The process of learning and understanding the background and growth of a chosen field of study or profession offers insight into organizational culture, current trends, and future possibilities. The historical method of research applies to all fields of study because it encompasses their origins, growth, theories, personalities, crisis, etc. For the present study primary and secondary sources had been studied.

Primary sources

- i. Croft, A. (1888). Review of Education in India, 1886.
- ii. Rose, H. A. (1902). Census of India, 1901, The Punjab, its feudatories, and the North-West frontier province. Part-I
- iii. Census of India, 1911, Volume XIII. North-West frontier province.
- iv. Census of India, 1921, Volume I.
- v. Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume III, Volume IV.
- vi. Sharp, H. (1914). Progress of education in India, 1907-1912. Volume I.
- vii. Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, Volume I.
- viii. Quinquennial Review of Education in India, 1907-12.
- ix. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1917-18, 1918-19.
- x. Richey, J. A. (1923). Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922. Eighth Quinquennial Review.
- xi. Rose, H. A. (1901). Census of India, Volume XVII. The Punjab, its feudatories, and the North-West frontier province. Part I. The report of the census. Review. Volume. I. The report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882
- xii. The Report of the University Education Commission Volume I, 1962.
- xiii. The Report of the Secondary Education Commission; Mudaliar commission report, 1953.
- xiv. Village education in India. The report of commission of inquiry (1920).
- xv. Report of the Age of Consent Committee 1928-1929, Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch.
- xvi. Speeches of the Lord Curzon, Governor General of India.
- xvii. Proceedings of the Home Department Government of India: From the year 1886 to 1920.

Contemporary works by J. N. Faruquhar, Sir Raymond West, Lovat Fraser, J. D. Cunningham, George Campbell, Vincent A. Smith had also been examined.

Secondary sources

For the present study various books, news reports, articles and the critiques developed by the various historians and educators had been studied.

1.6 Plan of the Study

The present research work is divided into seven chapters. The introductory chapter throws a light on the society and education briefly during the British period and factors influencing its growth. The objectives of the study have been discussed by briefly outlining the primary and secondary sources of study.

The second chapter entitled, 'Review of the literature' presents a detailed account of the review of the literature, various primary, secondary sources, online material, research papers, books of the contemporary period, annual administrative reports and proceedings of the home department highlighting education have been studied and summarization of the review undertaken for the better understanding.

The third chapter entitled, 'Education in British India: An Overview' focuses on the study of the status of education in British India on the basis of the reports of the various commissions and committees on education from the period of British intervention in the affairs of the Indian sub-continent.

The fourth chapter entitled 'Higher education in Punjab' describes up the issues related to policy, planning and financing patterns, setting up of various colleges and establishment of the Panjab University at Lahore, various courses offered and streams of study, role of municipalities in management of educational institutions and teacher training programmes.

The fifth chapter entitled 'Educational initiatives by the reformers, examines on the role of missionary reform movements by Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Christian reformers in promoting higher education in Punjab.

The sixth chapter entitled, 'Provision for women education and marginalized groups' explains the provision for higher education of the women and the marginalized sections of the society.

The seventh chapter entitled, 'Summary and Conclusions' Summarises and concludes the British education in Colonial Punjab.

1.7 Delimitations of the Study

The present study is limited to the study of higher education in period from 1880 to 1920. This period had been the most eventful period and it is marked as the period of transition in history of higher education in India. It becomes imperative to study the period where fundamental policy decisions were taken which in turn shaped the future of Indian higher education.

CHAPTER-2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The pre-requisite for the research to be carried out is the review of the related literature for the understanding, planning and execution of the research work. The review needs to collect up to date information about the research work, which already had been undertaken by the predecessors. On the basis of the earlier research studies, the researcher is able to conceptualize the area of study to be focused and give a direction to own research work. The researcher tries to draw the inferences from the studies and arrives at a conclusive framework of research. The review of the literature directs a researcher to proceed in his chosen field of interest, develops an overall understanding of the topic by focusing on parameters and dimensions to be carried on in research work. A research explores the various sources to corroborate with the related studies undertaken in his area of study by primarily emphasizing on different aspects to be covered in the research work.

2.1 Review of the Studies

In the present study as the topic is the study of development of higher education in colonial Punjab period specifying 1880-1920, a number of articles, theses, books, online publications, proceedings of the history conferences, primary and contemporary sources such as proceedings of the home department (Government of India and Punjab), Census studies, books of the contemporary historians, books by British administrators, were studied and briefly discussed as follows:

Basu (n.d.) elaborated on the system of British India, vernacular education and the role of private and State enterprises in imparting education, the establishment of the Presidency Universities and conversions of the Indians that were taking place in British India.

West (n.d.) elaborated on the role of various Charters, Acts and Commissions for education provisioning and the role of local bodies and councils for the promotion of education in contemporary (British) India. An English education system is highlighted and its spread and acceptability among the various classes and castes in the Indian society.

Campbell (1853) studied the Company's settlements under Lord Clive, Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Sir J. Shore, Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, Monro, Elphinstone — Lord W. Bentinck, Act of 1834, Sir Lord Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie etc and all the trade-commerce activities in British India, elaborating on the revenue sources other than the land revenue such as Salt-tax, Customs, Opium Excise, Tobacco revenue, Stamps and Fines, Post-office and miscellaneous Local taxes; and the system of expenditure on the civil administration.

Croft (1888) studied extensively the status of British education upto 1886 with special emphasis on the status, enrollment, financing, role of Local Governments, expenditure on the primary. Secondary, college and university education, establishment of the colleges and the universities in India, teacher training, education of the women and specially emphasizing on the law, medical, professional technical education and engineering.

Wilson (1909) highlighted about the education of the religious minorities in the state of Punjab and the impediments they faced to achieve even the minimal levels of education in Colonial era.

Rees (1910) extensively researched on the extent of the British Empire, the nature of the society and social life of the Indian people. The British were able to control Indian citizens by providing them education and employing them at various administrative positions. The Government had been able to direct its attention on the progress and on the various development works such as railways, agrarian and market reforms.

Fraser (1911) described the Curzon's period in India as the best phase of administrative and education reforms during the British rule in India. Curzon's education reforms regarded as revolution in the field of higher education as he tried to extensively modify the university and examination system.

Faruquhar (1915) studied the reform movements such as Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Parsee Reform, Muhammadan Reform, Arya Samaj The Ahmadiyas of Qadian, The Chet Ramis Deva Samaj from the period 1828 to 1913. He studied the contemporary religions of the period and also the ill-effects such as child marriages, *purdah* system and *sati pratha* in the society.

Cunningham (1918) elaborated on the religions in the Indian society, life and teachings of the Sikh Gurus, gradual development of the modern Punjab till 20th Century.

Smith (1919) studied geographical foundation; diversity in unity and unity in diversity, forms of Government; since the Ancient times up to the period under Curzon till 1911. The administrative reforms emphasizing detailed account of the each province under the rule of Viceroys in India had been extensively studied.

Village education in India (1920) studied the factors in missionary education, problem of literacy, education of the Girls, economic improvement and the administration of the schools, adult education, teacher preparation and supervision of the schools.

Ronaldshay (1928) highlighted on the life of George Curzon his experiments and reforms in India, who played the role of the major policy maker in India. Being the youngest ever appointed Viceroy to India Lord Curzon showed great interest in the education and the administrative reforms.

Mookerjee (1944) studied that the present Indian education system was introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century as one distinct and apart from the indigenous system. The indigenous educational institutions were indeed neither better nor much worse off than similar contemporary institutions in the West. The introduction of the downward filtration theory, the provisions and courses of education studied by modern Indian students, the defects in the Indian education system studied and reviewed by Curzon were studied.

Pothacamury (1945) studied the educational Despatch of the East India Company in 1854, emphasizing on the comprehensive scheme of English education from the primary to the university stage. The Society of Jesus (Mission) was the pioneer in the field of higher education, established colleges in Calcutta, Trichinopoly and Bombay, provided education without any distinction and adopting the courses of studies and methods of instruction required by the universities.

Nurullah and Naik (1951) extensively studied all the repots, commission's documents, quenquennial reviews of education, history of the commissions in India on education and wrote extensively on the indigenous education in India, University

reforms and the status of primary, secondary and University education. Their arguments were though there was an increase in the investment by British Regime on the education but still the Indian population couldn't take maximum benefit out of it because of the growing demand and increase in population.

Chhabra (1954) studied the effect of education on all those changes and developments, which helped in the prosperity and changes in the social and economic life of people. He studied the role of Brahmo Samaj, Chet Rami's, Arya Samaj, Deo-Dharma, Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Khalsa Diwan, movements among Mohammedans, Anjuman-i-Punjab etc. on the education development. The affect of the Samaj activities was such that in 1894 about 600 members of the Arya Samaj were pleaders, Government servants and others who had the greatest pretension to mental enlightenment, took a leading place. He highlighted certain issues of female education.

Altekar (1959) highlighted on the status of women in India in context of childhood, education, marriage and divorce and property rights especially emphasing on the relationship between the Hindu women and the society.

Tangri (1961) described the achievements of Western education in India, the content of this education, the nature of social and political changes, which resulted or were furthered by this education, the groups that imparted and the groups that received this education. If the prime mover of the 19th century social revolutions in England and some other Western countries was technology, in India, as in some other under developed countries, it was education.

Chhabra (1962) stated that the Dayanand Anglo Vedic (DAV) which was described by the Panjab Administration Report of 1901-02 as "one of the most interesting educational enterprises in Northern India," was opened in Lahore in June 1889. The social activities of the Aryas among Hindus, in practice, as commented upon by Mr. Valentine Chirol in 1910, were praiseworthy. The most interesting programmes of the Samaj was to weld together the educated and un-educated by encouraging the study of national languages of spiritual truth and by insisting on the study of classical Sanskrit, formation of sound and energetic habits by a regulated mode of living, the encouragement of a sound acquaintance with English literature and material progress of the country by spreading the knowledge of physical and applied sciences.

Naik (n.d.) stated that between 1870 and 1921 the day-to-day administration of education was delegated to the Provincial Governments and the Government of India continued to function as a Federal Government with five distinct functions, which came to be recognized, viz., the functions of (1) policy-making, (2) clearing house of information, (3) research and publications, (4) coordination and (5) financial assistance. The Indian Education Commission (1882) recommended that the Central Government should bring out Quinquennial Reviews on the progress of education in India. Consequently, the first Quinquennial Review on the progress of education in India was published in 1886-87 and subsequent reviews were brought out. Annual reviews of education were also published from 1913-14 onwards in all years in which the Quinquennial Reviews were not published.

He further stated that the period between 1900 and 1921 was a period of boom in world finances and the Government of India had large surpluses in its budgets. It was, therefore, comparatively easy to allocate a share of these surpluses to the Provincial Governments for expenditure on education. The coordinating function of Federal Government was also recognized during this period. It was Lord Curzon, who convened the first Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction in India at Simla in 1901. The Indian Universities Act was passes in 1904 and also incorporated most of the new universities created in this field. It sanctioned large grants-in-aid for the improvement of Secondary and Primary education and for the introduction of science teaching. It also reviewed and laid down policies in such matters as the education of girls, or Anglo-Indians and the establishment of schools of art. With the passage of time, the need for such coordination was felt all the more keenly and a Central Advisory Board of Education was organized in 1920 with a view to assisting the Provincial Governments with expert advice.

Majumdar (1965) highlighted the impact of British culture and English education, new religious ideas, social reforms, role of press and Muslim community in India. Critically evaluated the policies of the Government regarding education and about Curzon's period he emphasized, "The period of Lord Curzon's administration was marked by some striking changes in the sphere of education as in other fields". Insistently there beats through Curzon's utterances the urge to frame a sound educational policy. In pursuance of his policy of thoroughness and efficiency, Lord Curzon sought to reorganize the educational system and to effectively control the

educational institutions of the country. After a preliminary survey, the Viceroy summoned in Sept. 1901, a conference of Chief Education Officer at Simla "to consider the system of education in India". On January 27th, 1902, his Government appointed a Universities Commission "to inquire into the conditions and prospects of Indian Universities, to report upon proposals which might improve their constitution and working, and to recommend such measures as might tend to elevate the standard of university teaching and to promote the advancement of learning".

Majumdar and Datta (1965) reviewed the beginning of English education up to 1835, status of female education, advancement and participation of Muslims in the education activities and exploring the jobs in Bengal, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, and Madras. The education commission of 1882 reviewed the status of the Muslim education in India and made important recommendations in this respect.

Axford (1966) stated that the Library School run by the University Library is the oldest in either Pakistan or India. The university had its origins in a college founded in Lahore in 1870 to promote Oriental learning.

Tambiah (1967) studied the politics of language in the region, as with the establishment of British rule in India, english was the language of the higher levels of administration, of communication between provinces; it was the language of law courts and higher education. Since administrative and legal institutions worked through the medium of English, and since English was the medium through which western knowledge filtered into India, the local languages, over a period of 150 years, largely failed develop the literature and all the literary activities suffered due to that.

Jones (1968) studied that in I839 the missionaries established their first headquarters in the Punjab at Ludhiana. The Christian missionaries moved forward with each new British annexation. In 1846 mission stations were opened in Jullundur and in I849 in Lahore. By the eighteen eighties a network of missions covered the Punjab, from Delhi north to Simla, from Ambala west to Peshawar, from Lahore south to Multan, and from Peshawar south along the border to Dera Ghazi Khan. The missionaries brought both a new aggressiveness and new methods of action. They introduced the first printing press in the Punjab and along with it, the tract, the pamphlet, and the religious newspaper. Missionaries began preaching in the streets and bazaars and even took part in traditional religious debate. They developed and

maintained a widespread network of schools, orphanages, medical missions, and introduced the *zenana* mission designed to reach women and girls in the seclusion of their homes.

Barrier (1970) extensively researched on the neglected texts of the Sikh history in British Punjab, had a keen interest in the vernacular publications; mainly of the Brirish Punjab. His work also mentioned about the periodicals of the period.

Altbach (1972) concluded that the purpose of early Indian universites as was to train personnel for their workforce and to fill middle level positions in the Government bureaucracy. The system thus emphasized fluency in English, understanding the functioning of the colonial Government machinery, and general loyalty to the colonial regime. Indian urban middle class was attracted to the new education system as it offered social mobility and prestigious jobs in the Government.

Chopra (1973) maintained that in 1882 Hunter Commission studied the educational system and recommended the reorganization of the educational services. English education brought to India political ideas of the West along with the knowledge of western science. These ideas produced a great intellectual ferment of the 19th century, which had begun much earlier than 1857. They ultimately found political expression in the national awakening of the eighties. By that time a sizable educated middle class had emerged on the scene, which spoke the English language and had a common thought of western liberal ideas. The railways, the telegraph and the press, besides the industries employing skilled labour, enabled them to act on all India basis and in due course of time these scattered activities crystallized into forums of national feelings and ideas. The Islamia College at Lahore was opened in 1892, and the Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar in 1897. By 1889-90 the number of Arts Colleges had risen to 7 and that of matriculation candidates to 1,016. In those days, matriculation certification was given by the universities. In 1897 the Indian Education Service was organized to cover the senior most posts. Since recruitment to the service took place in England, these posts mainly went to Europeans while Indians held all the lower posts in the department. The teaching of arts and sciences at the university level thus became a function of colleges. Lord Curzon convened the first conference of Directors of Public Instruction in 1901 and initiated an era of educational reform based on its decisions. The Indian Universities Act was passed on the advice of a Commission set up two years earlier; the official element in the university to be strengthened and the Vice-Chancellors to be appointed by the Government. Greater Government control over the affiliated colleges was to be established. These were sweeping reforms and were looked upon by the educated middle class as interference with their autonomous institutions, particularly in the internal affairs of the affiliated colleges, and raised a storm of protest against the Universities Act of 1904.

Bose et al (1973) explained about the society, religion and literature in the Ancient times. One's life span was divided into various phases, or Asramas. People from various castes or groups were pulled together by their adherence to the Asramas shared norms, which hid their social distinctions and inequities. As a result, the Asramas symbolised the values of equality and unity, as a counterbalance to the caste system's inherent inequity and separation. The social structure made the initial phase of life, that of a student, obligatory on all, so that even higher education became universal and compulsory.

Kabir (1973) mentioned about the under privileged sections of the society who suffered disabilities since times immemorial. Almost all the societies of the World denied even citizenship rights to women and they were sub-ordinate to men in almost all the societies of the World. Even in Islam religion women were relegated inferior position, education was only for the elite and catered only to the intellect.

Kanal (1973) reviewed the presence of the founder of the Dev Samaj in the city of Lahore. His views were that the future of the women lay in education. Education alone could open for Women opportunities for their enlightenment and independence in professional and public life.

Lal et al (1973) highlighted the society, religion and literature in the Medieval India. The essential aspect of the Muslim educational system during mediaeval times, when it was governed by Muslim monarchs, was that it was traditional in spirit and religious in content. Its major goal was to bring a group of ideologies together. The curriculum was divided into two sections: *Manqulat* and *Maqulat*, with the former focusing on traditional sciences and the latter on rational sciences.

Sinha, Pal and DasGupta (1973) studied the historical developments taking place in India between 1761 A.D. to 1947 A.D. A detailed study had been mentioned

on society, polity and education by mentioning by educational policy and political awakening specifying Curzon's reforms, Gokhle's Bill and Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

Natarajan et al. (973) studied the trends in literature, religion and modern society in Modern India stressing on the social reform and women's movements especially in context of social reforms and institutions. Social reform movements emphasized on the education of the marginalized sections of the society such as Ad dharmis and backward sections of the society.

Basu (1974) maintained that in the course of nineteenth century India underwent a remarkable transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, a literary renaissance, an awakening of patriotic feelings and a sense of nationality. Political ideas and associations developed which contributed to the emergence of Indian nationalism. The 1913 Resolution on Educational Policy proposed to transfer the power of recognition from the university to the Departments of Public Instructions. The Calcutta University Commission 1913 (Sadler Commission) revolutionized the character of university education in India by creating statutory bodies; board of studies and the academic council, reshaping the university senate and syndicate as the university court and the executive council and by adding new faculties to make university education more dynamic and more real.

She further observed that the neglect of primary and technical education; lack of provision for commercial and agricultural specialization; unsatisfactory methods of teaching; inadequate facilities for training teachers; undue importance attached to examination and degrees-these were some of the traits inherited from colonial and pre-colonial times which constituted serious impediments to development. The effects of English education were not however wholly negative. The system produced a limited number of professional men-administrators, doctors, engineers, etc., the political implications of English education were considerable. Educated Indians did little to reform the education system as they were its products and were conscious of the benefits they derived from it. In the deepest sense it is a phase of this process of nation building that the history of education in British India between 1898 and 1920 can best be seen.

Chaudhary (1974) studied that Government education was generally welcomed by the society. It had introduced a regularized pattern, which had prior to annexation been non-existent except in missionary institutions. With the introduction of education the Governments need for clerks and *munshis* was dire and both purposes were solved with just education.

Datta (1975) discussed that Punjab was a progressive province and the intellectual and educational changes were taking place in the end of the nineteenth century. The Punjab turned to the ideology of Arya Samaj not to the Brahmo Samaj.

Walia (1975) elaborated on the role of the Sikh reformists and Educational Conferences conducted by them. The first session of Sikh education conference was held at Gujranwala in April 1908 under the stewardship of S. Sunder Singh Majithia. The conference had certain definite aims and objectives before it. It wanted to foster love for knowledge and education among the youth. It aimed at enlightening the people and making the synthesis of the best of western education and the best of Indian education with religious flavour in it. Apart from stressing the importance of primary education the conference explored the defects and shortcomings of the secondary, collegiate and university education and aimed at its amelioration. The conference was to reform the entire system of the education where foreign language should be replaced by the mother tongue. Side by side with the education of the boys the conference wanted to lay special emphasis upon female education, which hitherto practically ignored.

Kansal (1976) studied the demographic features of the Colonial Punjab emphasizing on the enrolment ratio's of the male and female child.

Walia (1976) studied regarding the establishment of Panjab University, a draft of the proposed scheme was submitted to the Government of India. Consequently, governor-general, Lord Lawrence, placed the proposal of the Punjab Government to the members of his council and other experts for consideration and received from them valuable and practical criticism. Mr. A. Howell, administered a cold bath to the scheme. "Surely", he wrote," it is premature to establish the costly and elaborate machinery of the university, to confer degrees, when as yet no student in the province had come up to degree standard. Even if the eagerness and enthusiasm of the people of the Punjab be granted, the necessity of a university ought to be shown by there

being a sufficient number of students qualified to task advantage of it. The Government of India gave a careful thought to the matter and agreed to the development of higher education in the Punjab, but by extending and improving Government college Lahore, with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000. The Punjab university was set up not only as an examining body, but also, and more so, as an institution for teaching and for higher literacy pursuits-particularly in the field of oriental learning and for imparting education in higher branches of European knowledge and sciences.

Srivastava (1978) studied that there were two major weaknesses in the educational progress and curriculum of the British system. They learned more on materialism and the development of narrow individualism. But the Vedic concept of education tries to bring about spiritualism, value orientation character and developing social side of the rising generation through effecting new departure in curriculum.

Barpujari (1979) highlighted the importance of the province of Punjab in the ancient, medieval and modern history by focusing on the development of various civilizations such as Harappa. History of Punjab was very rich and varied that's why it attracted the attention of the great historians like J. N. Sarkar, Ganda Singh and Hari Ram Gupta.

Naik (1979) studied that the Hindu society did not believe in equality of educational opportunity rather its just for the study of religion through Sanskrit. Education was not accessible to large social groups like women and the untouchable castes. Until the 19th century. In fact, at this time, education was open, in practice, to very few outside the Brahmin castes. The Muslim society had no such taboos and believed that every one should study the *Quran*. But even in this society, formal education was limited to a few.

Desai (1982) comprehensively studied the transformation of Indian society and the resultant rise in the various forms of nationalism in social, cultural, religious, political and economic spheres, provided a comprehensive and systematic account of the genesis of Indian national consciousness and patriotism.

Chattopadhyaya (1983) researched on the women participation in the freedom struggle of India while emphasizing the role of the male social reformers. With the advent of the British in the 19th century, influence of English language brought a new renaisasnce in the Indian intelligentsia. West brought with it new technologies and new ideas in India bringing the possibilities of social mobility in Indian society.

Dutta (1983) observed that in 1893, regarding the question throwing open to the Indians the small number of appointments then reserved for the Indian Civil Services, Lord Lansdowne, to strengthen his hands, went to the extent of asking provincial Governors to send him critical notes opposing the proposal.

Shukla (1983) concluded that the experiments and thought in Indian education during the British period can only be understood as responses and reactions to the situation then prevalent; each particular response varied both with the social and geographical conditions.

Kumar (1984) viewed that science came late into the educational scheme. The great developments in 17th-18th century had taken place not because of, but in spite of, the place science occupied in education. The industrial revolution had integrated science firmly into productive mechanisms and thereby had enhanced its importance, naturally the educational establishments could not had ignored it, and soon the higher education in Western Europe underwent a sea change. Could this wave affect nations like India with a fairly long educational standing and tradition but which had by that time fallen prey to colonization? He maintained that number of problems plagued science education at higher levels; aim and character of educational policy, little laboratory work, shortage of funds, formulation of suitable curricula, the medium of instruction and administration and management. A significant feature of colonial science is the relative neglect of medical and zoological sciences, that too, in sharp contrast to larger investment in botanical, geological and topographical surveys.

Kamat (1985) highlighted on the role of education in enhancing the status of women in society. Education as a strategic investment helped in the human resource development and in the advancement of the Indian society.

Kaur (1985) maintained that the present study unfolds the trends, developments and growth of education in India since 1781 to 1985. It focuses on a new concern for education and the growing awareness of an urgent need for the development of a relevant educational system for India. The contemporary situation having been firmly rooted in the inherited structure of colonial education, many of the

attributes introduced during that period still persist. She discussed the education policy for minorities, weaker sections and women's education at length. Planning, financing, administration of education, higher, technical, rural, and vocational education had been minutely studied. In her view, historically speaking educational finance had always been highly centralized in India till 1870. Decentralization began in 1871, under Lord Mayo's Viceroyality. The process continued till 1921. Lord Ripon's Resolution of 1882 on Local Government aimed at developing local bodies as 'an instrument of political and popular education'. It was hoped that the local bodies will run primary education with entire educational funds and provincial Governments will give them suitable grants. The proposals of the commission were accepted by Government of India by the resolution of 1884. It led to the remarkable expansion of secondary and university education. The Governments policy of gradually withdrawing from higher education and approval of lower fees in private institutions helped the establishment of a number of colleges and high schools to rise almost immediately. In 1910, education, which was earlier the responsibility of the home department in the Government of India, was transferred to a new Department of Education.

Bhasin (1985) highlighted that one of the important characteristics, which distinguished the British system from the Indian system of education was the recognition of the need for training or apprenticeship in the art of teaching. The system of opening normal schools for the training of the teachers was a new concept for India. It proved beneficial to the Indian education system and the colleges of education of this day were set-up on the line of normal schools.

Maskiel (1985) concluded by saying that social reformers in South Asia (Colonial Punjab included) had considered education to be one of the most powerful forces for social change. Voluntary religious and social reform organizations, which became a prominent feature of late nineteenth-century public promoted women's education as a cure for the depressed position of women in society. The leaders of these reform movements were generally educated men, a measure of the extent of women's social and intellectual restrictions at the time. Reformers concentrated on abolition of *sati* (the immolation of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres); the abolition of female infanticide; the promotion of Hindu widow remarriage; raising the age of consent for sexual intercourse, as part of the campaign against child marriage; and the abolition of pardah (female seclusion).

Kishwar (1986) discussed in a case study of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar, one of the first girls' schools in the Punjab, which developed into a college and served as a model for women's institutions not only in the Punjab but in many other provinces as well. It was a product of the Arya Samaj religious and social reform movement, which began in the late nineteenth century. The movement took its inspiration from the teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

Yechury (1986) maintained that the origins of the present educational system in India and its evolution during the colonial period was directly linked with the efforts of the British to consolidate their rule.

Narinderjit (1987) maintained that in the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century, the education in Punjab acquired new dimensions. An industrial school was founded in Hoshiarpur in 1871 for dari and carpet making. Institutions of higher education were set up in the second quarter of 20th century. Government College Hoshiarpur was established in 1927 as an intermediate college and was raised to degree level in 1941. DAV school started in 1899 raised to intermediate college in 1920 and to Degree College in 1940. Khalsa high school Mahilpur was raised and given status of Degree College in 1946.

Gurna (1987) elaborated on the education in the Princely states. The central school at Patiala was elevated to the status of a College in 1872 and was named Mahendra College after its founder Maharaja Mahinder Singh. In 1876 Maharaja Mahinder Singh held the first educational Durbar at PatialaStudents were also encouraged to go out of the state for receiving Engineering, Medical and Vocational education.

Ram (1987) In response to the Christian missionary, Punjab's revolutionary class established their own systematised educational programmes. Under diverse religious and social guises, these three groups joined together to revitalise their own literary and theological traditions. Several institutions and schools were constructed in Punjab as a result of these movements.

Singh (1987) stated that inn the Punjab strong social churning was happening in the various religions. Amongst the Hindus, there was a Punjab delegation that was sent to invite Dayanand to visit Lahore. This delegation included in Munshi Harsukh

Rai, Pandit Manphool, Navin Chandra Rai and the chief of Kapurthala. The first three were the leading members of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Lahore. Navin Chandra Rai was the president of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj. Curiously, all the three had also been the officials of the Punjab Government.

Ghosh (1988) maintained that Lord Curzon, Viceroy of the Government of India, initiated and was moving force in the enactment of the Indian Universities Act. The act was intended to introduce radical changes into the five existing Indian universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. These changes included an enlargement of the functions of the university, a reduction in the size of the university senates, the introduction of new principles of election to the senate, statutory recognition of the syndicates where university teachers were to be more adequately represented, stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university and a definition of the territorial limits of the universities. The Act provided for a grant of Rs.5 lakh for five years in order to carry out these changes in the five Indian universities, and it conferred powers on the Government to make additions and alterations while approving the regulations passed by the university senates. Curzon was preoccupied with the question of university reform from the very beginning of his term as the viceroy of India in the last week of December 1898, and he continued to be so until the end of his term in 1904-05 and the passage of the Indian Universities Act. In 1882 the University of the Punjab was established by a special act of incorporation.

Bal (1989) studied that the British were lucky to have decided to make Punjab administration shift to the rule of law. By now, a new generation of men was coming of age to rejoice in it. The Sikhs were waiting to get into the grip of the Singh Sabha movement, unlike the revivalist Kukas, was forward looking and adept in the use of press. It was soon publishing numerous papers and bubbling with enthusiasm. The educated Hindus were soon to take the Arya Samaj in a way as it had never taken to any other movement for centuries. In spite of the slogan back to the *Vedas*, it was concerned with ridding the existing Hindu society of its numerous ills than something else. The Muslims were itching for the birth of some messiah to lead the to fame and glory. In 1904, there occurred first student strike in Punjab. It was the student body of the Government College. It reflected the youths resentment against the recently imposed restrictions on employment of Indians in Government service, though the

immediate cause was the principal's order that his students should wear in the college blazers made of English cloth only. An interesting result was the start of a newspaper, the Punjabee. It soon replaced the tribune as the spokesman of the Punjabi people.

Basu (1989) studied Indian higher education as developed in the nineteenth century was not surprisingly influenced by British models. Not only was India under British rule but from 1835 onwards, Government policy was to support the spread a knowledge of Western arts and science through the medium of the English language. English higher education in India can be said to have begun with the establishment of Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817, the first 'Europanized' institution of higher learning in Asia. The first three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, established in 1857 were modeled on London. Subsequently also, when university reforms were undertaken, the models sought to be emulated were always British. What officials in Delhi, Calcutta or London formulated, however, could not always be implemented and British models could not be replicated because conditions in India were so different. As a result, Indian higher education developed certain peculiar features of its own. Even after independence, many features of colonial education and the tendency to look to the West for models still persists, though it is now more the United States than Britain that we turn to. The scientific and technological institutes that had been established and new research programs undertaken were inspired by Western models. While such dependency is probably inevitable given the technological and economic superiority of the West, it makes Indian academics imitative and dampens originality.

Chandra (1989) stated, "The development of intelligentsia in Northern India deserves several studies". The first session of Sikh education conference was held at Gujranwala in April 1908 under the leadership of S. Sunder Singh Majithia. The conference had certain definite aims and objectives before it. It wanted to foster love for knowledge and education among the youth. It aimed at enlightening the people and making the synthesis of the best of western education and the best of Indian education with religious flavour in it. Apart from stressing the importance of primary education the conference pointed towards the defects and shortcomings of the college and university education and aimed at its amelioration or to make it better. The conference was to reform the entire system of the education where foreign language should be replaced by the mother tongue. Side by side with the education of the boys the conference wanted to lay special emphasis upon female education.

Jones (1989) elaborated that after the annexation of Punjab in 1849 and the uprising of 1857, Lahore became the premier city of the North-West; the centre of provincial administration as well as a place of social, educational, and religious ferment. Students traveled to Lahore from throughout the province. There they received an education, participated in the culture of Lahore and then disseminated it throughout the North-West when they departed for jobs in other cities and towns. The uneven development of a colonial milieu and the persistence of indigenous forms of socio-religious dissent produced two distinct types of movement within the period of British rule, the one 'transitional' and other 'acculturative'. Transitional movements had their origins in the pre-colonial world and arose from indigenous forms of socioreligious dissent, with little or no influence from the colonial milieu. The second of the two types of socio-religious movement, termed 'acculturative' originated without the colonial milieu and was led by individuals who were products of cultural interaction. The founder of such a movement might or might not had been drawn into the world of British culture, but his followers and those who moved into positions of leadership were largely English educated South Asians influenced by the specific culture of England. The basis of such movements and many of their declared aims rested on the indigenous heritage of social and religious protest.

Kumar (1989) stated that colonial administration in India had shown little interest in education before 1813 when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed and a modest provision was made for expenditure on institutions of learning. However, the interest in education which was now expressed was conceptually consistent with the steps that had been taken earlier in matters of general administration.

Singh (1989) concluded that of all the movements of socio-religious reform among the Sikhs launched in the nineteenth century Punjab the Singh Sabha movement was perhaps the strongest and the most powerful one. With the formation of the Chief Khalsa Diwan in 1902, the leadership of the Sikhs passed into the hands of more enlightened and educated one who ushered in a new era of constitutional advancement.

Singha (1989) studied that educational institutions being basically social institutions, are shaped and moulded by the nature of society they were supposed to

serve. The most vital characteristics of society responsible for fashioning educational institutions, is the importance it attaches to learning. The response of the Sikh community to the deteriorating cultural situation came in the form of a movement, which had come to be known as Singh Sabha movement. The promoters of the movement recognized the correlation of religious reform with the spread of education. Foundation of Khalsa College in the year 1883 became a forerunner for new Sikh institutions to come. It represented the founding of not just a college but of a new educational movement in a country.

Kochhar (1992) discussed the development of English education in India till the closing years of the 19th century; as it served the twin purpose of the British Government of impressing upon the natives the value of western thought and of preparing them for taking up jobs to assist in the administration of the country.

Mathur (1992) studied that Indian Education context by studying the role of the famous Universities of the West in providing moral and intellectual leadership to succeeding generations and in sustaining the tempo of progressive modernization.

Nishtha (1992) highlighted the role of Arya Samaj in the educational development in the colonial Punjab from 1875 to modern day Punjab in 1975. Arya Samaj had a positive approach to Nationalism. Political independence was one of the first objectives of Dayananda. Indeed, he was the first man to use the term Swaraj. He was the first to insist on people using only *swadeshi* things manufactured in India and to discard foreign things. He was the first to recognize Hindi as the national language of India. The DAV institutions played a dominant role in the promotion of education among the people of Punjab. In 1886, the DAV school (in 1889 became College) was established at Lahore. The college taught a curriculum similar to the Government, schools, but did so without govt. support or the participation of Englishmen on the faculty. It was highly successful, as students trained in this institution demonstrated the quality of their education in annual examinations.

Ram (1992) studied the growth of the Western education, founding of the Panjab University, role of social reform movements in the amelioration of the society and the rise of the Indian educated class in British India.

Grewal (1994) stated that the British administrators of the Punjab placed a high value on education in English literature, western sciences, and social studies from the start. Dr. G.W. Leitner worked for over two decades to revitalise the study of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, as well as to infuse western sciences into vernacular languages. Even his conception was different from that of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

De (1995) studied the social thoughts and consciousness of the Bengali Muslims in the study of modern Indian History. He was of the view that it is quite well-known that due to the uneven growth of the two major segments of population in the country the Muslims lagged behind the Hindus. The process, however, started along with the rapidly changing socio-political scenario since the mid-eighteenth century. The Muslims could not easily accept the British rule and for a long time refused to take the advantage of modem English education. That's why Muslims lagged behind in the education at various levels than their social counterparts.

Heredia (1995) maintained that there had been three main agencies for the spread of western education in India: The Christian missions, the Governmental, and private Indian ones. Obviously different agencies had different goals for their educational involvement. Besides the missionaries there were other agencies that formed the wider context of education in the country. From the beginning of the 19th century the Government played an increasingly important role in education. While in the second half of the century other private Indian agencies entered into the field. Obviously each of these had their own interests and goals.

Ahuja (1997) studied about the status of girls education in various districts of United Punjab, researched extensively on the role of Rose Greenfield, a reformer, who started school in the Ludhiana district for the education of the girls exclusively.

Jones (1997) discussed how the question of education offered a wide variety of motivations, as was to be demonstrated by the leaders of Arya Samaj, a reform and revival movement centred in Punjab. From its founding in 1875, Arya Samaj had championed women's education. The Aryas who advocated women's education, did so on the grounds that 'a country can never rise high without giving higher education to its women. This education was not intended to prepare girls for careers outside the home or to an independent existence except in one area, namely teaching.

Loehlin (1997) elaborated that Punjabi's attracted both American and the English missionaries. The American Presbyterianswere the first in the Punjab having stations all over the Punjab. Missions generally commenced their work in the towns ans stations. Among outstanding Christian institutions, Pakistan had all the five large and well established colleges; Forman Christian College, Lahore, Kinniard College for women, Lahore, Gordon College, Rawalpindi, Murray College, Sialkot and Edwards College, Peshawar.

Khan (1997) reviewed the status of the Sikh, Hindu and Muslim women in he British period. He stated that the women were not exposed to professional education but only that much qualification was provided that was quite enough for household benefits.

Singh (1997) maintained that on the whole the social transformation among the Sikhs under colonial rule was marked by the emergence of the middle classes with a well-articulated cultural identity and ideology, which increasingly became the basis of their political articulation. The professions, which required educational competence were open to those of the Jat Sikhs who acquired education. In 1911, the number of Jat Sikhs in civil administration was 123. There were 391 Sikh Jats among the lawyers, doctors and teachers. The diversification of professions in many cases meant change in habitation also.

Forbes (1998) traced the history of the Indian women from the colonial nineteenth century till the twentieth century after independence. She emphasized how reform movements started by men changed women's lives by making their equal counterparts in public life also.

Sedwal (1998) elaborated on the commissions and committees formed by the Government for the provisioning of University education in India from 1920 A.D. to 1947 A.D.

Gupta (2000) (a) emphasized on the life of Sir Ashutosh Mookeerje and his contribution to the university education in India. It is nearly impossible to do justice to the colossal services rendered by Asutosh in establishing modern education in Bengal and making it accessible to a larger section of the population. Although a number of liberal minded English educationists and Christian missionaries helped the

setting up of schools and colleges, it was not until 1855 following 'the Wood's dispatch of 1854', that decision was made to set up the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

Gupta (2000) (b). observed that a large expansion of the education of girls was brought about between 1870-71 and 1881-82. An event of very great significance of the period was the visit of the great English social reformer, Miss Mary Carpenter, to India. Her contribution in this field was to suggest that training colleges for women teachers should be established and that trained primary teachers should be employed in girls schools in order to increase their utility and effectiveness. The encouragement she provided for the employment and training of women teachers gave a great stimulus to the education of the girls. It also opened a very useful career to several women who were in need of some remunerative vocation to give a meaning and purpose to their lives. By 1882, the secondary education of the women only made a humble beginning and women were just about to enter the threshold of higher education. In fact, the first woman to get the degree of an Indian University were two students of Bethune's school who graduated from the Calcutta University in 1883. The Calcutta University Commission formulated two principles in its report regarding female education; the modification of curriculum to suit the needs of different classes, and the utilization of the advice of the ladies in formulating a suitable scheme of instruction. Several religious institutions opened schools and colleges in order to improve the education in Punjab. The first great missionary movement in the Punjab was the establishment of American Presbyterian Mission at Ludhiana in 1834. The Church Missionary Society began operations in the Punjab in 1851 and developed stations comprising a group around Amritsar and Lahore and a long line of frontier stations strictly from Simla to Karachi in Sind. It established a college in Lahore, which prepared Indians for holy order. The society for the propagation of the Gospel began work in Delhi in 1852. In 1877, It's work was reinforced by establishment of the St. Stephen's College at Delhi. Miss Mary Carpenter between 1865-1870 paid more than one visit to India and gave a new dimension to women education, provided encouragement to the employment of women teachers and for their training gave a great stimulus to the education of girls. The Christians opened 4 colleges; The Forman Christian College at Lahore, Murray college at Sialkot, Edward college at Peshawar and Gordon college at Rawalpindi. The Baring Union Christian college was opened at Batala in 1941.

Virk (2000) maintained that when the British annexed Punjab, there was not even a single degree college teaching science in Punjab. The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Singh Sabha movements in Punjab became the precursors of introduction of modern European thought into this region. By the end of the nineteenth century, Lahore, the capital of Punjab Province, could boast of better educational facilities and infrastructure for teaching science than Delhi, the future capital of India. Ruchi Ram's major intellectual investment apart from his research activities in Germany and England was to translate science in the language of common populace. He joined hands with Prof. J. C. Oman to found Science Organization in Lahore. He started his popular science lecture series in 1886 while being posted at Simla. The science lectures created enthusiasm and interest in the study of science by the end of 19th century.

Chanana (2001) discussed that the various push factors were working in favour of sending girls and women to schools and colleges in late 19th and early 20th centuries. Various factors like the ability of girls and women to have an access to the schools and colleges had been studied.

Lakshmi (2001) observed that missionary societies played a very conspicuous role in the spread of education in the province. They were verily "the pioneers of education in the Punjab". Arya Samaj, Sikh missionaries played a major role in the development of education in Punjab. Besides high schools, they had opened a number of elementary schools for the benefit of their low caste converts and had established training classes to supply men and women teachers.

Dasgupta (2003) discussed that the British relied on cultural tools, that made the subjugated majority accept their rule willingly, and less on the coercive instruments of state power, like police and army, for the perpetuation of their rule. English language itself was a major instrument, as also the dress code, manners, law, education, consumption of new goods like watches. The cultural tools they deployed, proved more crucial in gaining legitimacy and making the subject population reconciled to a subjugated, inferior status.

Jakobsh (2003) researched about the women history, its resistance to patriarchy, reforms introduced in education of the women by indigenous reform

movements like the Singh Sabha and the Arya Samaj. She also highlighted upon the Sikh reformers of the colonial period.

Walsh (2003) highlighted how new educational system and its ideology changed childhood structures and experience, family relations and conflicts, and the process of growing to maturity for students who were exposed to it. In 1880's English education was well established throughout the Indian subcontinent. English education examination credentials had become prerequisites for participation in the institutions and occupations of the British Raj at many levels. The numbers of English language schools across India and the numbers of students served by those schools increased, and continued to grow well into the twentieth century.

Allender (2004) stated that from the beginning of the Raj, European educational innovations were primarily school-based and focused on the written word rather than traditional oral instruction. After T.B. Macaulay's Minute of 1835, British education governance became more formalised and self-aware.

Punjab Human Development Report (2004) stated that after the Punjab had been annexed, a flood of Christian Missionaries, with the blessings of the British Government, established their centres in the Punjab at different places, such as Taran Taran, Amritsar, Lahore and Peshawar. Christian missionaries were not only allowed but also encouraged to undertake educational projects. Often, the evangelical content of their educational programme motivated English-educated Punjabis to devise their own programmes of education.

Whitehead (2004) studied that the Education Commission (1882) based on the proceedings of the South India Missionary Conference held at Bangalore in June 1879, forming a Government's policy of grant-in-aid to schools.

Bellenoit (2005) highlighted upon the role of Christian missionaries in the spread of missionary activities and social reforms in the society. In order to encourage education in Punjab, a number of religious organisations established schools and colleges. The founding of the American Presbyterian Mission in Ludhiana in 1834 was the first major missionary endeavour in the Punjab.

Glover (2005) in his study illustrated that throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a large number of manuals on the method of teaching with objects

were published. Swiss educationist Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) first developed Object Lessons as a teaching method. Pestalozzi's method entailed having children closely observe and then describe objects drawn from nature.

Kumar (2005) (a) maintained that the moral improvement of the masses could not be pursued in any substantial sense due to the weight of the rhetoric of financial constraint.

Kumar (2005) (b) highlighted the revolutionary context in which girls education made its reluctant start in the 19th century. The author brings into focus the same set of linkages - between the emerging system of education and its policies, the social structure and ethos - which makes this an innovative study of educational ideas and practices. The framework of a dual role for education became somewhat distorted under colonial conditions. Here, the moral improvement of the masses could not be pursued in any substantial sense due to the weight of the rhetoric of financial constraint. The colonial state was, after all, no welfare agency. At the same time, the colonial state needed people within the colonized society on whom it could depend. It was important that these trustworthy people be influential in the native community, since the administrative apparatus was much too small to ensure order without the collaboration of such educated and influential people.

Langhor (2005) studied that the Western educational model was created by the British to produce the precise number of graduates needed for the colonial bureaucracy. He focused on DAV institutions in the northern Indian province of Punjab. Punjab is central not only to the history of the Samaj, as the site of its headquarters and those of the DAV Managing Committee.

Tiwari (2006) explained about erosion of the pre-colonial network of indigenous schools whose curriculum included traditional medicine, mathematics and astronomy. Basically these educational institutions were financially supported by the local rulers and Indian elite's. In 1765, the British started collecting taxes and this set into motion a series of policy decisions that had a negative impact on the Indian education system. Allender (2007) traced the exceptional career of Gottlieb Leitner, an European educators in north India in the second half of the nineteenth century. Leitner was responsible for changing Government attitudes about teaching in the local languages and he was pivotal in the foundation of the Punjab University.

Leitner's expertise offered a chance to facilitate translations of Western knowledge into the local languages, and especially the medium of instruction, which was Persian Urdu.

Bellenoit (2007) studied that the Christian missionaries were some of the most influential players in colonial India. In northern India missionaries came to be relied upon by a cash-strapped Education Department. They came to dominate education and were credited with doing much to push the frontiers of western pedagogy in their efforts to propagate their faith.

Chaudhary (2007) highlighted on the provision of school education in colonial India. Although in British India though there was provision of public and private funds to improve upon the existing situation of the public education system, but there were fewer than 3 primary schools for every 10 villages as late as 1911.

Kaur (2007) observed that with the emergence of the first generation of the educated class among the Sikhs in 1870's, their response to the Raj- both as professional persons and as the leaders of the Sikh opinion became more varied and complex. The Singh Sabhas, Khalsa Diwans and printing presses, among others became the institutional expressions of a new ferment with implications for the social, cultural and political existence of the community for intra-community and intercommunity relations and for attitude towards colonial rule.

Allender (2008) studied that by 1918, professional female educators in India had become the chief organizers of the schooling agenda for girls and there were signs that they, rather than the state, were at last prepared to embrace the sea of indigenous girls that had dangerously fallen from state consciousness with the arrival of Mary Carpenter two generations earlier in 1866.

Beteille (2008) discussed that the Indian society had a deeply hierarchical structure in where life chances were mostly unequally distributed than anywhere in the world. Even after the adoption of a modern system of education with its schools, colleges and universities in the middle of the 19th century, access to education remained highly restricted for a 100 years, not only on account of severe economic inequalities but also because of strong and deeply-rooted social prejudices against women and against disadvantaged castes and communities. Colonial rule served to

ease some of the social prejudices but did little to address existing inequalities in the distribution of material resources.

Jain and Anand (2008) developed on the concept of transformation of the university college to Panjab University and stated that the new administrated set up in Punjab had opened up many more opportunities in civil services, legal, medical and teaching professions as well as in the commerce and industry. The key to unlock these opportunities was provided by education. With its chain of colleges and professional institutions, Lahore emerged as the leading centre of education in North India. The first to start was the American Presbyterian Mission, which founded the Forman Christian College in 1886. The Arya Samaj movement also played a significant role in the spread of education and greatly influenced the social attitudes and outlook of the Hindus, particularly the urban middle classes. It started DAV College in 1889. The prestigious Islamia College was founded by Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, and after a long interval, a trust under the auspices of the Brahmo Samaj, operating an endowment of the Late S. Dyal Singh Majithia, founded Dayal Singh College. Many more educational institutions were set up later on and Lahore was called the city of colleges.

Kaur (2008) dwelled on the perception, response and science and technology on the society in British Punjab during the years 1849-1947. The British period had a modern style of governance, which they had introduced in their newly annexed states. A basic change, which the British brought about in Punjab, was the governance through set of uniform rules, laws and procedures applicable to one and all. All sections of people, irrespective of their religion and social status came forward to use science and technology according to their needs. The attraction of science and technology motivated some members of different communities and religions, who had founded their own organizations to revive the past glory with the help of science and technology. All the movements were aware of the magical spell of the new phenomenon, and therefore approved the diffusion of western science and technology, they had created a new society in which most of the members were aware about what was happening around them and were conscious of the developments in the field of science and growth of the society having a modern outlook.

Ghosh (2009) studied the history of education and each of the new approaches he had explored carefully. History of education was no longer regarded as matter of "Acts and Facts", as the conception of education had broadened considerably in recent years-education being no longer just a matter of formal schooling, but of all the many influences which go to shape persons character and intellect. In his work he critically evaluated the British policies and plans for the spread and expansion of education during the period from 1757 to 1986, modern day/contemporary education. The colonial state subscribed to the values of humanism, rationalism and progress. The British replaced Persian language with English in 1835 which not only became the language of their administration but also the medium of instruction in schools, colleges and universities set up by them. Discussed at length the recommendations of Hunter commission, developments in post Hunter commission years, the age of Curzon (1899-1905), national education till 1912, the Government of India resolution on Indian education and Calcutta university commission. New institutions and technologies had been introduced by British rule in India. Since most of these institutions were situated in the provincial capitals and the cities, they remained mostly out of reach for the majority of the population in the British India. As a matter of fact, the literacy among the people in British India was limited to the few fortunate groups of the people who had been able to take advantage of the new education in the metropolitan cities and the provincial capitals, to a still fewer groups among them who had been able to keep alive the knowledge in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and also to the few people in the remote villages who were fortunate to have a local guru to teach them the art of reading and writing in the local vernaculars, and the art of counting figures to meet their daily needs.

Khan (2009) mentioned about the boundaries of the Punjab at the time of the annexation of the Punjab by the British and howthe word 'Punjab' was used in Abbas Khan Sarwani's 'Tarikh-e-Sher Shah' in 1580. Punjab was also referenced in Part 1 of 'Ain-e-Akbari'.

Brown (2010) highlighted that the British rule in the Indian subcontinent evolved after the British people turned from disinterestedly presiding over a just regime to westernizing India through economic and political reforms.

Mohan (2010) argued that science and technology became powerful instruments in the effective exercise and legitimization of the colonial state and its power, as well as in the development of the imperial map of India. This objective was achieved through a systematic diffusion of Western sciences and technology. One of the phases of science development was marked by the colonial state's calculated attempts to forge institutional links between science, technology and the Indian economy. Primarily consisting of experiments in building scientific institutions, it had a potential role in the development of Indian society and rational thinking and attitudes among the people. She focused on the analysis of development of Western (often regarded as synonymous with modern) sciences in the Panjab University from 1882 to 1947. In this context, it was relevant to outline briefly the growth and expansion of the university with special reference to the establishment of science departments and the development of their infrastructure. She discussed the development of major subjects, namely botany, mathematics, chemistry and physics.

Singh (2010) wrote about the British Punjab and the administration under the Lawrence brother; Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence. The Punjab was split into seven Commissionerships and 27 Districts, with the new administrative system in place in most places by June 1, 1849. The District Officer's responsibilities were tax collection, maintaining the peace, administering justice, and promoting the District's economic growth.

Hayer (2011) discussed emancipation, development and enlightenment of the women in colonial Punjab. She observed how the women got affected during the British rule from 1901-1947. She observed that these 47 years were not only important for the history of Punjab but the history of women also got transformed in these years.

Hayer (2012) made a study of the Sikh educational conference from its first session of 1908 to tenth session of 1917 in different parts of colonial Punjab. From the first to the tenth session, there was a slow but progressive women participation, which later changed into women representation in the important events. Women participation started in 1909 session and representation was started in 1910 session in which women were enrolled as "fellows" of the conference.

Kamboj (2012) studied the education initiatives made by Arya Samaj in colonial Punjab. He emphasized that Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore was a premier institution in the north region. The college taught English, Sanskrit, Persian, history, mathematics, philosophy and physical sciences i.e. physics and chemistry. Later they founded DAV College at Rawalpindi. The work of the female education was also taken up by the Arya Samaj. This college provided arrangements for separate education of girl students for the intermediate arts and science and B.A. classes.

Suman (2012) observed that the attainment of modern education in secular subjects in the British period was a crucial factor for fashioning modern Muslim society. She maintained that the education was a key catalyst for social change and also for female education, highlighting the role of social reform movements especially among Mohammedans. Professional education in the faculties of Law, medical, veterinary, agriculture, engineering and industries under the new education system unleashed the intellectual potential of people. A group of educated Muslims, later or sooner, availed the opportunities and entered professions of lawyers, barristers, doctors, teachers, engineers and journalists. And later on, women also joined in making of this class. Muslim girls were found interested in medical classes after the establishment of north India medical school for Christian women at Ludhiana in 1894. A large number of personnel were appointed at the subordinate levels in the army, police, clerical and supportive posts in the various departments of Government like health and public works.

Thapar (2012) studied that the European scholars of the nineteenth century who worked on Asian texts of ancient times, were called Orientalists. Their interpretations of the civilization and cultures of Asia defined the culture of various regions.

Bangash (2013) studied that the American Presbyterian mission was one of the oldest missionary organizations in north India, starting it work in 1834, when most of the Punjab was under Sikh rule. The mission settled in Ludhiana but by 1842 expanded to Farrukhabad and Allahabad. In 1849, Charles Forman established the first English speaking school in North India at Lahore named Rang Mahal School eventually transformed itself into the mission college, later the Forman Christian College.

Lankina and Getachew (2013) studied the influence of Protestant/Christian missionaries inequality among male and female in colonial India. Christian missionary activity was consistently associated with better female education outcomes in both the colonial and post-colonial periods. Various religious and secular missions espoused diverging positions with regard to social modernization and to female education in particular.

Ivermee (2014) studied that the British rule in the Punjab had begun as late as 1849, steps were taken to introduce elementary, vernacular schooling, but when western style universities were established in the earlier acquired British colonies of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857, the Punjab was overlooked. The Anjuman-i-Punjab, founded at Lahore as a modern-style associational institution, played an important role in the development of Urdu as a medium for the dissemination of western knowledge and ideas Importantly, however, members of the Anjuman also sought to promote Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian education among Punjabi elites. Within months of its foundation, the Anjuman had initiated a campaign for the establishment of a university in the Punjab in December 1869 the Punjab University College was founded, an institution in which both oriental and western curricula were taught.

Devi (2015) concluded that the development of women education, in Punjab in the 20th century, with a special study of Ropar District. The study provides insight into the growth of Primary, Secondary and Higher Education of women. An analysis had been provided on the status of *dalit* women. Modern education took new shape under the British rule, but the progress of women education was very slow due to lack of awareness. After India gained Independence, new measures were implemented in the field of education. The Constitution of India recognized the importance of education in the Directive Principles of state policy, and the Government showed interest, in improving education both quantitatively and qualitatively. However in Punjab due to partition and the refuge problems, the progress of education was slow. The work indicates that the real development of women education in Punjab emerged after 1966.

Zahid (n.d.) studied about the education that was prevalent at the time when British conquered Punjab. The formation of the University on the demand of the local elites and reformers and emphasizing on the funding problems which Panjab university faced from time to time as most of the times University had to rely upon the donations by the nobles or the elite sections of the society.

Brar (2017) researched on the early settlements of the East India company, role of Christian missionaries, setting up of schools in the provinces of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, establishment of the colleges in Punjab in the mid 19th century and the establishment of Panjab University Lahore. He extensively studied the sports activities carried on in the University since its inception till 1982.

Kaur (2021) studied the teaching training programmes in the British India, the inclusion patterns of the women in the field of education and their participation in the teaching field and the institutions for teachers training in Punjab from 1860-1947.

2.2 Summarisation of Review Studies

The traditional Hindu society did not believe in equality of educational opportunity (Naik,1979; Beteille, 2008). Colonial rule served to ease some of the social prejudices but did little to address existing inequalities in the distribution of material resources (Beteille, 2008).

• Chaudhary (1974) studied that Government education was generally welcomed by the society. It had introduced a regularized pattern, which had prior to annexation been non-existent except in missionary institutions Kumar (1984). The colonial administration in India had shown little interest in education before 1813 when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed and a modest provision was made for expenditure on institutions of learning. Shukla (1983) concluded that the experiments and thought in Indian education during the British period can only be understood as responses and reactions to the situation then prevalent. Yechury (1986) maintained his point by saying that the origins of the present educational system in India and its evolution during the colonial period was directly linked with the efforts of the British to consolidate their rule. Dass (2003) stated that like any ruling class, the British relied more on cultural tools, that made the subjugated majority accept their rule willingly, and less on the

coercive instruments of state power, like police and army, for the perpetuation of their rule. English language itself was a major instrument, as also the dress code, manners, law, education, consumption of new goods like watches.

- Tangri (1961) described the landmarks of Western education in India, the content
 of this education, the nature of social and political changes, which resulted or
 were furthered by this education, the groups that imparted and the groups that
 received this education.
- Indian higher education system developed in the nineteenth century was not surprisingly influenced by British model, as Indian higher education developed certain peculiar features of its own (Basu, 1989). The present system of education in India was introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century as one distinct and apart from the indigenous system which was already in existence, consisting of both higher and elementary institutions (Mookerjee, 1944). Basu (n.d.) traced the role of the vernacular education and role of private enterprises and State in the provision of education. Croft (1888) studied the role of the local bodies, Governments and charities in the financing of the higher education.
- Establishment of Catholic colleges in India followed the great educational Despatch of the East India Company in 1854 in accordance the Government of India mapped out a comprehensive scheme of English education from the primary to the university stage (Pothacamury, 1945).
- The Education Commission (1882) had its origins in the proceedings of the South India Missionary Conference held at Bangalore in June 1879 (Whitehead, 2004).
- Gottlieb Leitner, one of the most significant European educators in North India in the second half of the nineteenth century (Grewal, 1994) and Allender, 2007).
 Anjuman-i-Punjab had a major contribution for development of higher education in Punjab (Ivermee, 2014).
- The colonial period between 1880-1920 marks the establishment of the Panjab University and the institutions of higher learning and setting up of Commissions for the development of higher education (Naik, n.d.; West, n.d.; Nurullah and Naik, 1954; Majumdar, 1965; Chopra, 1973; Basu, 1974; Chaudhary, 1974; Walia, 1976; Kaur, 1985; Ghosh, 2009; Axford, 1966). Rees (1910) and Altbach

- (1972) concluded that the purpose of early Indian universities as defined by the British was to train personnel to fill middle level positions in the Government bureaucracy.
- The Governments policy of gradually withdrawing from higher education and approval of lower fees in private institutions helped the establishment of a number of colleges and high schools to rise almost immediately (Kaur, 1985).
 There were provision of various teacher training programmes in the British India (Kaur, 2021).
- The period between 1900 and 1921 was a period of boom in world finances and the Government of India had large surpluses in its budgets (Naik, n.d.). In contrary to Naik, Kumar (2005) maintained that the moral improvement of the masses could not be pursued in any substantial sense due to the weight of the rhetoric of financial constraint. The Governments policy of gradually withdrawing from higher education and approval of lower fees in private institutions helped the establishment of a number of colleges to rise (Kaur, 1985).
- Gupta (2000) (a) emphasized on the life of Sir Ashutosh Mookeerje and his contribution to the university education in India.
- In the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century, the education in Punjab acquired new dimensions (Narinderjit, 1987). The city of "Lahore" became an educational hub for higher education (Jones, 1989; Virk, 2000). Chandra (1989) stated, "The development of intelligentsia in Northern India deserves several studies". The impact of British culture and English education, new religious ideas, social reforms, role of press helped in the development of higher education (Majumdar, 1965; Chhabra, 1954).
- Westernized elite emerged which pioneered social and political reform movements, education through a foreign medium helped to preserve and increase the gulf between this class and the masses (Chopra, 1973; Basu, 1974).
- The missionary societies played a very conspicuous role in the spread of education in the province. They were verily "the pioneers of education in the Punjab". After the annexation of Punjab, Christian Missionaries, with the blessings of the British Government, established their centres in Taran Taran,

Amritsar, Lahore, Ludhiana, Simla, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Peshawar (Farquhar, 1915; Village education in India, 1920; Natarajan et al., 1973; Jones 1968; Heredia, 1995; Loehlin, 1997; Punjab Human Development Report, 2004; Bellenoit, 2007; Lankina and Getachew, 2012; Bangash, 2013). The first to start was the American Presbyterian Mission, which founded the Forman Christian College in 1886 (Jain and Anand, 2008). Arya Samaj (Kishwar, 1986; Kamboj, 2012), Sikh missionaries played a major role in the development of education in Punjab (Lakshmi, 2001; Kaur, 2007; Maskiel, 1985). The educated Hindus (particularly the urban middle classes) were soon to take the Arya Samaj (Bal, 1989; Jones 1968; Jakobsh, 2003; Jain and Anand, 2008;). Education offered a wide variety of motivations, as was to be demonstrated by the leaders of Arya Samaj (Nishtha, 1992; Jones, 1997). It started DAV College in 1889 (Jain and Anand, 2008; Langhor, 2005). The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Ad-Dharam and Singh Sabha movements in Punjab became the precursors of introduction of modern European thought into this region (Virk, 2000; Natarajan et al.,1973; Jakobsh, 2003). The Arya Samaj championed women's education (Jones, 1997).

- The promoters of the Singh Sabha movement recognized the correlation of religious reform with the spread of education. Foundation of Khalsa College in 1883 became a forerunner for new Sikh institutions to come. It represented the founding of not just a college but of a new educational movement in a country (Singha, 1989). The first session of Sikh education conference was held at Gujranwala in April 1908 under the stewardship of S. Sunder Singh Majithia. The conference explored the defects and shortcomings of the secondary, collegiate and university education and aimed at its amelioration (Walia, 1975; Chandra, 1989). Hayer (2012) studied the Sikh educational conferences from its first session of 1908 to tenth session of 1917 in different parts of colonial Punjab.
- Curzon's period had been termed as the best period for university reforms (Fraser, 1911) who played the role of policy maker in India (Ronaldshay, 1928; Sinha, Pal and DasGupta, 1973).
- The education among the people in British India was limited to the few fortunate (Basu, 1974; Ghosh, 2000; Kochhar, 1992) and there were numerous blocades for the women education and the education of the minorities as Muslims lagged behind (Wilson, 1909; De, 1995).

- The colonial state needed educated people within the colonized society on whom it could depend (Kumar, 2005), as the Governments need for clerks and *munshi's* was dire and both purposes were solved with just education (Chaudhary, 1974). In 1897 the Indian Education Service was organized (Chopra, 1973; Dutta, 1983). The new administrative set up in Punjab had opened up many more opportunities in civil services, legal, medical and teaching professions (Dutta, 1983; Kochhar, 1992; Jain and Anand, 2008). Walsh, 2003 maintained that by the 1880's English education was well established throughout the subcontinent. English education examination credentials had become prerequisites for participation in the institutions and occupations of the British Raj at many levels. In 1911, the number of Jat Sikhs in civil administration was 123. There were 391 Sikh Jats among the lawyers, doctors and teachers (Singh, 1997).
- Government policy was to support the spread of knowledge of Western arts and science through the medium of the English language (Basu, 1989; Naik 1979; Kumar, 1984; Sinha, Pal and DasGupta 1973). All sections of people, irrespective of their religion and social status came forward to use science and technology, created a new social order having a modern outlook and rational thinking (Yechury, 1986; Kaur, 2008; Mohan, 2010; Langhor, 2005; Tiwari, 2006).
- The attainment of modern education in secular subjects in the British period, was a crucial factor for fashioning modern Muslim society, a key catalyst for social change and also for female education, highlighting the role of social reform movements especially among Mohammedans (Suman, 2012). The prestigious Islamia College was founded by Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Jain and Anand, 2008). De (1995) maintained that the Muslim theologians Sufis and orthodox *ulamas, Madrasa* educated and English educated Muslim elite, who had a distinct role in this awakening, differed from one another for their inherent contradictions in their basic ideas.
- The revolutionary context in which girls education made its reluctant start in the 19th century (Chhabra, 1954; Walia, 1975; Kumar, 2005). A large expansion of the education of girls was brought about between 1870-71 and 1881-82 (Ahuja, 1997; Gupta, 2000). English education helped in the emancipation, development and enlightenment of the women in colonial Punjab (Kabir, 1973; Kanal, 1973;

Kamat, 1985; Maskiel, 1985; Hayer, 2011, Chanana, 2001). Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women were not exposed to professional education and to limited education qualifications (Khan, 1997). The number of reform movements initiated by men changed the women's life and status in the society (Forbes, 1998).

- One of the important characteristics, which distinguished the British system from the Indian, was the recognition of the need for training or apprenticeship in the art of teaching. The system of opening normal schools for the training of the teachers was a new concept for India (Bhasin, 1985; Glover (2005). By 1918, professional female educators in India had become the chief organizers of the schooling agenda for girls (Allender, 2008).
- Number of problems plagued science education at higher levels; little laboratory work, shortage of funds and formulation of suitable curricula (Kumar, 1984). There were two major weaknesses in the educational progress and curriculum of the British system. They learned more on materialism and the development of narrow individualism (Srivastava, 1978). Unsatisfactory methods of teaching, inadequate facilities for training teachers, undue importance attached to examination and degrees-these were some of the traits inherited from colonial and pre-colonial times which constituted serious impediments to development (Basu, 1974).
- American views on higher education had penetrated the University of Punjab, it
 was an American librarian Asa Don Dickinson, who some 50 years ago set the
 pattern for library education at the university (Axford, 1966).
- English was the language of the higher levels of administration, of communication between provinces; it was the language of law courts and higher education (Tambiah, 1967). The system thus emphasized fluency in English, understanding the functioning of the colonial Government machinery, and general loyalty to the colonial regime (Altbach, 1972).
- There were weaknesses in the educational progress and curriculum of the British system. They leaned more on materialism and the development of narrow individualism (Srivastava, 1978).

CHAPTER-3

EDUCATION POLICY IN BRITISH INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

As British rule in India progressed, the British people's goal shifted from impartially presiding over a just Government to Westernised India via economic and political changes. The desire to better India's situation stemmed from the English idea that their system was the best rationale available and that it was their responsibility to promote Indian culture (Brown, 2010, p. 2). After the battles of Plassey in Bengal (June 1757) and Buxar in Bihar (October 1764) in India, the East India Company became politically and administratively active and established the British Empire in India.

All of the nations ruled by the Indian Government, up to the boundaries of Baluchistan, Afghanistan, China, Tibet, and Siam, were included in the Indian Empire. Parts of Baluchistan, Afghanistan—which covered 246,000 square miles, three-quarters of which were mountainous—Cashmere, the Himalayas, and Burma were all beyond the real Indian Peninsula yet had close ties to the Indian Empire (Rees, 1910, p. 1, 2)

With the establishment of the East India Company, a difficult shift from commercial business to Governmental administration occurred. The battle to balance the ideas of liberty with imperialism was thrust to the forefront of Parliamentary politics during this new period of British participation in India. The leaders of Britain began a lengthy discussion about the right role of imperial authority and the required changes of the Company machinery, determined not to adapt to the methods of the East. These leaders self-critique of the Empire demonstrated the British desire to control the subcontinent in an equitable manner and their reluctance to brutally exploit their power. Throughout British administration in India, Parliament was always looking for the most liberal and humane method to manage the country.

The upper castes/classes were the knowledgeable citizens in the modern period, from the 1850's forward, as India created its own religious-based educational institutions. The character of Indian civilization towards the end of the 18th century was fundamentally a feudal society, as it was very stratified, hierarchical, and unequal. There was a tiny number of 'elites', or well-to-do people, who included the

upper castes, farmers of vast areas of fertile land, dealers, merchants, and money-lenders, as well as their dependents and sympathisers. The majority of the population was disadvantaged, underprivileged, and impoverished. Only a few women from society's elite echelons were able to reach the greatest levels. Scheduled castes (who were considered as untouchables) and scheduled tribes (who were not incorporated into the mainstream of society) were the poorest, most exploited people in society. The educational policy reflects the society's socioeconomic basis (Brown, 2010, p. 2).

The impact of Europe disturbed the placid water of India. The British rulers of the day didn't, however, wish to transplant European education on Indian soil. East India Company in the early years of the 19th century, made a start by providing funds for public instruction. The funds were, however, reserved for oriental learning with special emphasis on the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. In fact, some of the British rulers disliked the idea of imparting Western education to Indian students. Christian missionaries and non-official Indians took the initiative to take the steps leading to the establishment of schools and colleges imparting education of the Western type (Kabir, 1973, p. 727, 728). The provision of education was just limited in British India and it was wrong to judge the education of India merely for the development of the education system. The railways, the public works, the posts and telegraphs were all educational agencies of the empire (Kumar, 1989).

The British influence on Indian education was enforced without analysing India's indigenous educational system at various levels. The era of the British colonial rule in terms of educational progress can be divided into three sections for a better understanding of the expansion of education in British India (as the framework for this study is from 188-1920):

- Development of education from the early British interventions until 1880
- Phase from 1880 to 1900
- Period from 1900-1920

3.1 Development of Education From The Early British Interventions Until 1880

The East India Company gained in strength and tended to collect more and more administrative authorities during the era beginning with the Regulating Act of

1833. However, prior to 1833, there was no central control since the Court of Directors of Education in London had little part in the development of Indian education, and the directors of the East India Company were hesitant to assume responsibility for Indian education. Provincial Governments had complete autonomy in developing educational policies and initiatives.

Despite the fact that the Charter Act of 1813 required the directors to take some responsibility and invest some cost for education, no central education mechanism was established for this purpose. The provincial general committees of public education lacked a counterpart in the imperial capital in Calcutta. The Charter Act of 1833, which converted the commercial East India Company into a governing corporation, marked the beginning of the Crown's educational authority (Tilak, 1989, p. 453).

The Crown was in charge of education policy from 1858 to 1919, when it was turned over to provincial Indian ministers. During this time, numerous legislations were established, several proposals were made, and public and private funds were utilised to expand and improve the public education system. Chaudhary (2007, p. 1) had observed that,

"The East India Company, and subsequently the British Crown, created a new state system of education in British India in the nineteenth century. However, the new system failed to attain widespread literacy—by 1911, there were fewer than three elementary schools for every ten communities, and less than 10% of the population could read and write".

The new education was to be limited to the top classes, with the masses receiving it over time. This was the well known "filtration hypothesis," on which the system was based. As a result, the Government's focus was diverted from the education of the masses to the education of a select group of men from India's upper classes. In significant towns and district headquarters, Government schools and colleges were established.

"It was well known that the fateful decision to introduce an altogether new system of education was strengthened by the fact that the Government wanted to train a set of Indians who could occupy subordinate offices under the Government and help in the administration of the country, thereby keeping down the cost of administration (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 30)."

Looking at native society in the state it had reached, undisturbed by European influences, the value of higher education was more powerfully and instantly apparent to them than that of elementary education, which had subsequently been used to obstruct critical development. Warren Hastings built the *Madrasa*, a Muhhamadan college, in Calcutta in 1781, a man whose true brilliance was revealed with each new inquiry. In 1791, Jonathan Duncan (Governor of Bombay; 1795-1811) established the Sanskrit College in Benares.

Mountstuart Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay) possessed broad and liberal ideas on education, which he was willing to implement despite the hazards that such a programme may entail. At 1821, Mr. Chaplin, his immediate successor as Commissioner of the Dekkan, established the Sanskrit College in Poona (West, n.d. p.10). Meanwhile, at Poona, a Rs. 35,000-a-year charity money was spent on the Sanskrit College, a wholly indigenous institution from which European literature and science were zealously excluded (West, n. d., p. 10).

The East India Company did not create an educational agenda in India between 1813 and 1823. The money sanctioned in 1813 went unused, and it wasn't until the 17th of July, 1823, that the General Committee of Public Instruction in Calcutta was created and chosen to function within existing Government institutions, with just a fraction of the one lakh grant remaining (with some arrears). The Committee's goal was to arm itself with information on the state of education in the Bengal Presidency's areas and to propose measures to improve people's education. Apart from the burgeoning missionary schools that competed with local institutions and gained appeal among Indians between 1813 and 1823, there was little else done.

However, the East India Company's overall goal was to support conventional learning in India by providing financial assistance, rather than interfering with

education or suggesting other ways, for fear of violating the company's objective of religious neutrality. Lord Amherst's establishment of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta in 1823 reflects a continuation of the same historic goal of encouraging eastern studies. It would be more relevant to observe the change in the East India Company's educational policy in England rather than India was the observation of many historians (Majumdar and Datta, 1965, p. 41) as happenings in England had a direct bearing on events in India.

3.1.1 Significance and Impact of Charles Wood Despatch

In India, the British did not adopt a purposeful and organised education programme that would benefit Indians. Instead, they evolved policy towards all public works, including education that fit their own unique requirements and goals. Even a basic examination of British education policy in India during the colonial era provides little question that the educational requirements of the Indian people were formed and implemented in line with the British underlying aims in India. The British had certain goals in India, some of which were openly stated by Lord Macaulay in his famous minute, which was published in 1835 (Ivermee, 2014, p. 254).

Lord Macaulay had little respect for traditional Indian learning and education and he admitted in his speech that the British administration needed intermediaries who stood between themselves and the ruled- Intermediaries who would be English in their thoughts, manner of life, and culture even if not in their pale skin and Western looks. The local populace would be taught English as well as much as possible about England, its literature, people, and way of life, in order to establish these intermediates and utilise them to serve colonial objectives. Lord William Bentinck declared English to be the Government's official language, and Lord Hardinge decided in 1844 to hire Indians who had attended English-language schools. The success of English education was therefore ensured, and between 1813 and 1854, it made great progress in Bengal.

In 1837, the English took over as the official and court language, and in 1844, Hardinge stated that English-educated Indians would be given precedence in the Civil Service. Other than English instruction, these two measures essentially stifled any progress in education. The 1884 Hardinge Proclamation accomplished the anticipated result. The demand for English instruction increased dramatically, resulting in an

unanticipated expansion of schools. Within a few years, the demand for a well-organized and efficient administrative structure developed (Yechury, 1986, p. 11).

In addition, concerns were expressed about the level of economic obligation that this business would assume. On the eve of the Company's Charter renewal in 1853, the topic of education was given considerable attention by the Company's Government. Lord Dalhousie was personally interested in public education. "Establish a comprehensive class of vernacular schools, extending across India, with a view to impart education to the masses of the people," he wanted to do. Dalhousie also suggested putting people's higher education, particularly in Calcutta, on "a basis sufficient to the community's demands, and worthy to the Hon'ble Company's Government." Local Governments in Bengal, Bombay, and Punjab encouraged vernacular education, thanks to the Governor support. Furthermore, a parliamentary committee tasked with investigating the condition of education questioned a number of witnesses, including well-known figures such as Trevelyan and Duff (Majumdar and Datta, 1965, p. 49).

As a result, an investigation was launched in 1853, culminating in Sir Charles Wood's appointment to the Board of Directors in 1854. This Despatch, dubbed the "Magna Carta" of English instruction in India, outlined a comprehensive educational plan for the country. Following the British political, economic, administrative, and cultural demands, this Despatch, repeating the strategy established in 1835, suggested that higher education to be concentrated among the upper classes (Whitehead, 2004, p. 125, 126).

Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 established a more comprehensive colonial system of public education, establishing a network of schools and colleges across the Company's Indian holdings, as well as Western-style universities in the presidential capitals of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay (Ivermee, 2014, p. 254). Sir Charles Woods Despatch said unequivocally that the primary goal of educational policy should be to disseminate "Europe's better arts, science, philosophy, and literature" through English and contemporary Indian languages.

It was proposed that education departments be established in all provinces, that universities be established in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, or in any part of India where a sufficient number of institutions required for the establishment were

already in place, and that below the universities, a network of institutions be established, which would include colleges, high schools teaching English or modern Indian languages, and primary schools, the majority of which would be located in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The Despatch also stressed the growth of private entrepreneurship, both missionary and Indian, through a suitable grant-in-aid system. It also recommended that instructors be trained in regular schools, that educated people be given Government employment, and that more emphasis be paid to the growth of education among young girls and women. In 1855, education departments were established in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab (Whitehead, 2004, p. 125).

The General Council's efforts were viewed by critics as a transparent attempt by the missions to gain control (Whitehead, 2004, p. 125, 126). "Wood's Despatch understood the need of teaching the masses through the medium of the vernacular as well as the medium of English languages (Kaur, 1985, p. 27)." The Despatch lauded "oriental learning," bemoaned the adoption of the "downward filteration theory," and confessed that the people's education had been completely ignored. It aimed to promote indigenous education and develop a unified educational strategy. However, the majority of the plan was never implemented. Primary indigenous education stalled, but secondary and post-secondary education advanced rapidly. Bentinck decreed a month later that the main goal of British Government would be the development of European literature and science, and that any monies allotted for educational purposes would be best spent on English education alone.

3.1.2 Critical Analysis of British Education Policy till 1880

The contact with the West that followed the British conquest of India began a renaissance in Indian life that ushered in the concepts of equal educational opportunity, education for all, and secularisation of education, which meant that education was primarily meant to improve life here and now, rather than in other worlds and after death, over the course of about 200 years. The British administrators themselves took the initial moves in this direction, despite their general aversion to interfering with people's religion and social conventions (Naik, 1979, p. 169, 170).

The British supported the study of Sanskrit and the old classics, but they impressed upon that such studies be available to all people, not only Brahmins, as

they had been in the past. They also promoted girls' education and provided new opportunities for them, particularly in the fields of teaching, nursing, and medical. They also worked to improve education for the general public, particularly for the intermediate and lower castes, untouchable groups, and scheduled tribes. Their contribution to equality, however, came to a stop with this. Some of their initiatives, on the other hand, were decidedly inequitable and elite, rather than mass-oriented.

The Colonial administration introduced into Indian education the class-based system of "public" schools with which they were familiar (without the element of State scholarships for selected children), resulting in a dual system of segregated schools in which good quality private schools served the needs of the well-to-do while public schools, which were truly opportunistic, served the needs of the poor. The British also had an elite, rather than a popular, attitude toward education, believing that they couldn't and wouldn't try to teach the general public. Instead, they would only educate the higher classes, who would then be responsible for educating the masses at a later time. They did, however, provide another valuable service by secularising education. Religious teaching was not provided in the official schools. What's more, the contemporary education they brought instilled the belief that education entailed the study of all knowledge, particularly science, and that it was to be sought for utilitarian purposes (such as obtaining a Government position/job) and to improve life on Earth.

As previously mentioned, this gave "quality" a whole new meaning. In the next 50 years the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 were slowly and steadily implemented with the effect that the number of English language schools in India, as well as the number of pupils served by such institutions, grew steadily during the twentieth century. The final result was a consistent educational environment for English-trained pupils throughout British India. Later in the century, graduates from various Raj schools would discover that their education had provided them with not just a language but also a shared framework of viewpoints, beliefs, and ideals. The Indian young people now had a new modernity through which they could easily communicate with each other (Walsh, 2003, p. 40, 41)".

However, the facts were a little different on the ground as the vast expanse of India was not immediately impacted by the small efforts and changes that were being put out from the top of the colonial pyramid. The imposition of systematic schooling, which was structured by unitary departments at the provincial level, proved to be detrimental when building on extremely innovative foundational endeavours like coeducation in the mid-nineteenth century. However, just as the British were the first to try large-scale institutional schooling in India, they were also the first to face opposition.

The widespread adoption of a colloquial understanding of English, as well as a broader shift in educational thinking, paved the ground for a further big leap forward. The Despatch of 1854, authored by Sir Charles Wood, laid the groundwork for India's current public education system. "The education we wish to see spread was one which had for its aim the transmission of the advances, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge," the Court of Directors stated. They decreed the establishment of a graded system of schools and colleges, with a university crowning each Presidency. The moment had come to take a giant leap forward. Kumar (1984, p. 253) stated that number of problems plagued science education at higher levels; aim and character of educational policy, little laboratory work, shortage of funds, formulation of suitable curricula, the medium of instruction and administration and management. The colonial science was the relative neglect of medical and zoological sciences, that too, in sharp contrast to larger investment in botanical, geological and topographical surveys.

3.2 Phase From 1880-1900

English education grew dramatically during the next two decades. There were 63 English Arts colleges in 1882, and 140 in 1902. There were now 5097 unassisted English secondary schools, up from 2133 previously. There was a significant growth in the number of privately run, unaided institutions and schools run by Indians. In 1882, there were just eleven colleges with 716 students, but by 1902, there were 53 colleges with 5803 students. The number of such institutions had doubled, with a threefold rise in pupils. This expansion mirrored the fact that English education was considered a need for work. With traditional trades disintegrating under colonial

conditions, English schooling was the only way to find meaningful work. The Hunter Commission report laid the groundwork for Indians to take the lead in establishing such organisations (Basu, 1974).

Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, and Lahore were the birthplaces of five universities in British India. The first three were established in 1857 following the model of the University of London, and their integration was one of the earliest outcomes of the 1854 Despatch. However, as had previously been demonstrated, Indian collegiate education predates the establishment of universities by many years.

Several colleges were established in various areas of India throughout the first half of the nineteenth century by the Government, missionary groups, and educated natives who banded together for the purpose. The first Government colleges were established to cultivate Oriental classics; however, as the benefits of Western education became more widely recognised, the Oriental aspect of collegiate education faded into the background, and colleges were established and maintained to provide an English education. The numerous Government and aided institutions were governed by semi-official Councils or Committees of Education, which were tasked with overseeing public education under the three presidencies up to 1854.

Scholarships connected the District high schools to the universities, and students found motivation and reward in Government and other work opportunities that a college education provided. The Allahabad University was founded in 1887. The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Senate were in charge of each university, and the regulations were subject to Government sanction. Calcutta University's Chancellor was the Governor-General. The Chancellor was also the head of the Government of the province in which the university was located in other regions.

The first Senate's were made up of Fellows who were particularly designated to advise on educational matters. The impetus provided by the establishment of universities accelerated the expansion of higher education. Colleges grew in number, and the number of students grew as well. Colleges were classified as first- or second-year institutions, and they educated students for full-fledged degrees or simply the intermediate level. In the latter case, they were mostly high schools with college classes grafted on top of them. In the academic year 1901-02, almost 1500 students passed the Bachelor of Arts or Science exams. It's frequently argued that the supply of

graduates outnumbered the need, and that education of the majority was a waste of time (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV, n. d., p. 426, 427).

3.2.1 Hunter Commission of 1882 - Recommendations and Impact

The Government of India appointed a Commission on the 3rd of February 1882, with Sir W. W. Hunter as its President, "to enquire particularly into the manner in which the principles of the Despatch of 1854 had been given effect, and to suggest such measures as might seem desirable in order to further the policy therein laid down." Though the Commission's primary focus was on the "current state of elementary education and the means by which it can be extended and improved everywhere," it gathered a wealth of information about collegiate education, particularly regarding attendance, fees, discipline, and students' subsequent careers. Some of the most significant recommendations of the Hunter Commission were that the withdrawal of the state from direct management and support of institutions for higher education should be done in small steps; a provision should be made for ordinary financial aid and special grants to colleges; "in order to encourage diversity in culture, both on the literary and physical side," there should be provision in all of the larger colleges, both Government and aided, "for more than one of the alternative courses".

According to Majumdar and Datta (1965, p. 53, 54) the Commission also recommended that the Principal or Professors of each Government and aided college to deliver a series of lectures on the duties of man and citizen to each of the College classes in every session in all Government and non-Government colleges; adherence to certain general principles for college fees and exemption from them, as well as attendance; framing new regulations for scholarship awarding.

Indigenous schools were largely integrated into the public elementary education system in many provinces; that in some, the system had been almost entirely created out of indigenous material; and that in all, indigenous schools could be made to provide valuable assistance as an adjunct to the departmental system under wise and sympathetic direction. As a result, they suggested that all indigenous schools, whether high or poor, be recognised and supported if they fulfilled any secular educational function. They recommended that all indigenous schools, whether high or low, were to be recognised and encouraged if they served any purpose of

secular education; that the best method of encouraging indigenous schools of a high order and desiring recognition were to be ascertained through communication with *Pundits, Maulavi's*, and others interested in the subject; and that aid should be given to elementary schools based on examination results. The standards of elementary schools were to be set in such a way that they would interfere as little as possible with the schools' overall character while gradually introducing useful subjects of instruction; and municipal and local boards should be specifically required to foster and develop indigenous institutions.

The influence of this policy announcement, which got the Government of India and Secretary of State's enthusiastic backing, was felt in India's public education system. It grew in popularity as a result of the increased incorporation of the popular aspect. Indigenous schools had long constituted the backbone of the primary education system in Madras, Bengal, and Burma, as well as in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Maharashtra) and Berar (Hyderabad Districts, ruled by Nizam of Hyderabad). They were receiving attentive and lavish attention in Bombay, Punjab, and Assam, thanks to the effect of the now authoritatively approved policy (Review of Education in India 1888, p. 323, 324).

By 1882, a sizable public consensus had formed in favour of a specialised curriculum for girls that took into account the 'nature of women' and their social duties. The Education Commission of 1882 agreed with this viewpoint, but advised caution in putting it into practice. Despite various motives, most proponents of women's education tended to believe in education for enlightened motherhood and took a limited, domestic vision of women's societal responsibilities as reform movements gained traction. The argument in favour of what to educate appeared to be decided. When and at what age to introduce feminine themes was a difficult decision. This viewpoint was promoted by Hindu and Muslim social reformers alike. Girl's schools established by Hindu volunteer organisations, such as the Seva Sadan in Pune, taught music, home science, first aid, nursing, and midwifery, as well as languages. The *Quran* was an important part of the curriculum at those managed by Muslims (Chanana, 2001, p. 50, 51).

As time went on, it became clear that the Hunter Commission had only a little influence. According to Allender (2007, p. 63), by the early 1880's, most senior

officials had given up on the idea that Government education could reach "the great mass of the public," as Wood's 1854 education Despatch envisioned. Indian nationalism needed at least a decade to mature into a strong force in the face of British colonial rule.

Indian universities used to train personnel to fill middle level positions in the Government bureaucracy. The system thus emphasized fluency in English, understanding the functioning of the colonial Government machinery, and general loyalty to the colonial regime. Those who took advantage of colonial education were confined to the very small Indian urban middle class elite who took the advantage of the system and were attracted to it and the system in turn offered social mobility and prestigious jobs in the Government (Altbach, 1972, p. 252)

3.2.2 Indigenous Education in Punjab

On the other hand, in Punjab, information was both plentiful and exact. The investigations, which began in 1882-83, revealed the presence of 13,109 schools with 135,384 students. The schools were divided into the following categories: (1) Persian, (2) Persian and *Koran*, (3) solely *Koran*, (4) Arabic, (5) *Gurmukhi*, (6) *Nagri*, (7) Sanskrit, (8) *Mahajani* and others. The schools where just the *Koran* was read were by far the most prevalent, accounting for more than half of the total. The Gurmukhi schools for Sikh youngsters followed, followed by those in which Persian was read in addition to the *Koran*. *Koran* schools were usually held in mosques, where students studied sections of the *Koran* by rote (of course in Arabic), but not the message (Review of Education in India, 1888, p. 327).

Although many people believed that education should be free, most instructors were compensated either by the pupils or by the community that maintained the mosque where the school was held. The hours of teaching were set in such a way that students could devote their time to their usual activities, whether agricultural or otherwise. The pupils were sometimes wandering vagabonds who eked out a life by begging. These were occasionally well-known to the authorities as nasty guys in cahoots with crooks. The Persian-*Koran* schools were mostly like the *Koran* schools in terms of character, with a bit Persian thrown in for good measure. In general, exclusively Persian schools were retained for the better class of students, typically for those who would later pursue an English education. Grammar was rarely taught, but

translation was. Some of the professors were capable gentlemen. Many individuals of intellect and talent were also prominent in the Arabic schools and were highly regarded. They concentrated on one or more of the specific disciplines of religion, law, logic, philosophy, grammar, and medicine, but they despised math. Sanskrit schools were similar to those seen in other areas.

Teachers supplemented their income by reciting the *Purans, Ramayan*, and *Mahabharata* in neighbouring towns and villages, before returning to their teaching duties. Others worked as astrologers, while others serve as medical advisors. Teachers or other compassionate individuals offered meals to the children. High levels of skill in Sanskrit grammar and literature had been achieved in certain circumstances, although the training appears to be primarily religious. This was also true in Gurmukhi schools, where boys memorised portions of Sikh Holy scriptures by heart. The schools were hosted in Sikh temples, and the affiliated priests, who were primarily devout mendicants, teach the students. The majority of the instructors could read and write, and they frequently teach their students writing, as well as mathematics and accounting.

The boys were taught to write letters, names, and figures on the ground, or on boards sprinkled with sand, in the *Mahajani* schools, which were designed for the sons of tradesmen and were essentially the same all over India. They also learned elaborate multiplication tables, which include fractional factors. Some students learnt compound addition, bookkeeping, or how to write bills of exchange. About half of the instructors could read and write, and about half of them could do basic math outside of the multiplication table. All of this suggests that indigenous schools had a wide range of personalities and do not necessarily provide viable instructional content (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 328, 329).

The bulk of students at *Koran* schools were sent there, not to study valuable information, but to fulfil a religious requirement. However, the greatest challenge was the illiteracy of professors in virtually every class. The Punjab Government's current strategy was based on the belief that if it was made worthwhile for them by awards based on performance, skilled instructors would add paying subjects to their courses, and the trend was spreading over time. It was assumed that the boys were learning whatever their teachers instruct them to learn. Many schools had indicated a wish to be eligible for funding from the beginning.

The Lieutenant-Governor insisted on making extensive use of the huge number of indigenous schools that were known to exist in his evaluation of the report for 1881-1882. He said that ignoring them was a waste of so much instructional material. Even if they couldn't be moulded into the department's shape, it was an advantage in and of itself. A clear line must be created between departmental and public instruction if education was to be diverse and free. The majority of parents who wanted their children to be educated wished for religious instruction. Some people liked a certain dialect, religious figure, or language, while others had chosen a different one. Many people would rather had a technical education in mental arithmetic and bankers accounting. Government schools, which were to be structured on one, and that is a non-religious model, could not meet the needs of these diverse creeds.

The only practical way to meet the challenge, to ensure the growth of primary education in a manner consistent with, and even springing out of, the wishes of the people, was to provide grants-in-aid to those indigenous institutions that, while maintaining their traditional character, agreed to add the rudiments of a liberal education to the technical acquirements or religious knowledge gained in the *Gurmukhi* or *Mahajani* schools, in the *makhtabs* or *pathsalas*, while maintaining their traditional character. The payment-by-results system had been implemented with great success in Bengal and Burma, and it appeared to be the most appropriate way for the Punjab's circumstances.

The Government wanted to add some educational accomplishments to those that individuals pursued on their own, and it promised to pay if proof of their dissemination could be shown. During the next two or three years, the research and discussion on these issues were pursued with enthusiasm, but without direct effect as reflected in the results (Review of the Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 64, 65).

3.2.3 Elementary and Secondary Education in Punjab

The Punjab was the only province in which "high vernacular" schools were recognised, according to the Education Commission. It was long held that these institutions were precious to the people, who treasured the ancient ways and their Oriental wisdom, and who viewed the advent of English education with disdain and mistrust. Mr. Ibbetson (Administrator in British India, officiating Director of public

instruction) addressed this issue in his report for 1883-1884 as interim Director of Public Instruction, citing the fact that the final vernacular high school had closed that year. He came to the conclusion that these emotions belonged to a bygone period, and that no one in the current generation shared them save "the literate portion of the priestly and semi-religious classes.

When the British started building up the base of the new system of formal education of which the superstructure emerged in the form of the three affiliating universities in 1857-they sought to integrate and incorporate the existing indigenous elementary schools within a uniform system leading up to the University through the high schools (Shukla, 1983, p. 62).

Proper text-books, as well as teachers who had obtained the requisite training, were lacking in high vernacular schools. These needs could only be met by increasing the number of people who had learned the information they wanted to speak in the vernacular through the channel of English (West, n. d., p. 23). The number of secondary schools did not rose much. The Acting Director said in his report for 1884-85 that while on tour, he was struck by "the broad and sincere desire on the part of the inhabitants of the towns and big villages to obtain the advantages of secondary education for their children." They did not appear to be discouraged by the fact that they would be responsible for a share of the additional costs associated with bringing their schools up to middle-class standards (Review of Education in India, 1886, p. 58).

Between 1883 -1886 there was decrease from 282 to 230 of the English secondary schools under State management in British India, while those under Local Boards and municipalities increased from 281 to 342 (West, n. d., p. 23). The entire expense of secondary education for males increased from forty-four to sixty-four lakhs of rupees between 1881 and 1885, while Government payments decreased from Rs. 1,590,000 to Rs. 1,518,000. There were 147 high schools in Madras in 1888-89, with around 26,000 students. But, of these, 47 were unassisted and, of course, unregulated; 68 were helped; 28 were Local Board schools; and just four were directly sponsored and supervised by the Government (West, n.d., p. 28, 29).

The Indian Government had carefully studied the Quinquennial Review of Education (1892-1897), initiated after the recommendation of Indian Education

Commission (1882) while Mr. J. S. Cotton (a civil servant) had also collected numbers for 1897-98 and 1898-99, which were significant in terms of the impact of disease and famine on educational statistics. Because Mr. Cotton lacked Indian expertise, it was also important to examine local reports. The Indian Government was concerned that there were significant deviations from the principles put out by the Indian education commission and recognised by the Indian Government in many ways. It was desired to combine the key issues on which local Governments appear to had lost sight of the more essential of these principles, as well as to briefly integrate the overall impressions that this study had left on the mind (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1900, Education p. 117).

The figures highlighted that elementary education got insufficient attention in many regions of India in the past. Only 2,867,542 boys of school-going age in British India were enrolled in elementary schools in 1899-1900, according to census statistics from 1901. In Punjab, between 8 and 9 percent of males of school age attend elementary schools. In 1899-1900, 44,185 boys were enrolled in secondary schools. Similarly, a municipality may be compelled to spend 10% of its revenue on education, with three-fifths of that going to primary school. According to the education report for 1899-1900, district boards supplied Rs. 1,31,740 less than they had been required to spend under this regulation, and municipal bodies contributed Rs. 1,71,256 less in their budget than they might had been obligated to do under this rule. Municipalities spent just Rs. 68,824 on primary schools out of a total education expenditure of Rs. 3,78,180 (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Education p. 5).

3.3 Period From 1900-1920

In the last years of the nineteenth century, the Indian Empire began to undergo significant transformations. They were so tiny that it took a long time to realise their full importance. Except for the expansion of commerce and income, the development of internal communications, the gradual spread of education, and the occasional revision of administrative techniques, India's situation did not appear to have changed significantly in the early 1990s. There had been an extended era of unbroken peace inside its borders. The Indians appeared to be more submissive than they had ever been (Fraser, 1911, p. 1).

"The twentieth century started with an improved financial condition, and between 1902 and 1919, the Government of India granted grants to Provincial Governments to the tune of Rs. 861.43 lakh for various items of expenditure. The provincial education budget increased by Rs. 39.9 lakh per year from Rs. 103.9 lakh in 1901-02 to Rs. 902.3 lakh in 1920-21. So, in 1901-02 the State Governments gave larger grants for primary education (Kaur, 1975, p. 91)."

According to Naik (n.d., p.7), the era from 1900 and 1921 was a period of global financial growth, and the Indian Government's budgets enjoyed huge surpluses. It was simple to distribute a portion of these surpluses to the provincial Governments for educational purposes.

The Government of India provided significant contributions to technical education, including a one-time non-recurring payment of Rs. 16,00,000 in 1911 (Basu, 1974, p. 85). The legal, medical, and engineering professions evolved in the Punjab as part of the colonial occupational system, from training to practice. Additional business opportunities arose as a result of Government public works projects, in addition to Government jobs and these professions. Families were urged to send their kids to English-language schools because of the many job prospects (Maskiell (1985, p. 74, 75).

In Punjab, the requirement that District Boards and Municipal Committees maintained a fixed minimum of education expenditure and several district boards were experiencing financial difficulties as a result of excessive educational spending. Members of boards and committees were more likely to be interested in secondary education, thus the Commissioner's oversight was important to guarantee that elementary education was not ignored (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1910, August, p. 38).

The state of many secondary schools operated by local Governments was deplorable, since budgets were insufficient to keep them in good repair. The Lieutenant-Governor wanted to spend more money on elementary schools rather than senior institutions. Primary education would benefit from funds saved from sustaining or assisting additional secondary schools. This strategy could not be implemented without a significant rise in the Government of India's recurrent contribution to secondary schools, which will be completely absorbed by higher grants-in-aid and increases in the wages of teachers in Government institutions (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1912, July, Education p. 5).

3.3.1 Curzon's University Reforms

Lord Curzon was an aristocrat by birth and a staunch imperialist who took an avid interest in India, only because he thought India was an essential ingredient in ensuring the hegemony of Britain on the world stage. Perceiving the importance of India as a vast resource of men and materials, Curzon was sensitive to the need for educating and preparing the manpower of India to play a subservient but necessary role in the colonial landscape that fuelled the British dominance on the global stage.

On Indian education system, the views of the Curzon were, colleges had been left to multiply without regard to any criterion either of necessity or merit, the examination curse had tightened its grip on the life of the rising generation and standards had sunk lower and lower (Fraser, 1915, p. 179). The system was rapidly slipping from the Government's control into the hands of a small group of people bent on twisting it to their own objectives. The University Senates had become a playground for politicians (Fraser, 1915, p. 178).

The Shimla Conference that lead to the Universities Act 1904 passed 150 resolutions that addressed practically every aspect of education. Three recommendations sparked outrage and were not liked by the Indian public and the leaders. The first was that minimum rate of college fees were to be established. The second provision that second-grade colleges (teaching only up to the University's Intermediate examination) must be phased out and third that the system of teaching law by law classes attached to Arts colleges should be changed were very unpopular recommendations (Fraser, 1915, p. 190).

The Conference (Shimla Conference) was followed by a more public inquiry, and on January 27, 1902, the constitution of a Universities Commission was announced. The Commission was appointed to inquire into the conditions and prospects of the Indian Universities, to report upon proposals, which might improve their constitution and working and to recommend such measures as might tend "to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning." It was presided over by Mr., now Sir, Thomas Raleigh, the Legal member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who had a leading share in working out the details of Lord Curzon's educational policy. Sir Thomas Raleigh, a former Oxford lecturer and professor, and an ardent believer in the highest type of University

training, was well equipped for his task. The members of the Commission included Mr. Syed Hossain Bilgrami, a distinguished Mahomedan who was Director of Public Instruction in the Nizam's dominions and who afterwards became the first Moslem member of the Secretary of State's Council. When the Hindu community complained that it was unrepresented, Mr. Justice Guru Dass Banerjee, of the Calcutta High Court, was added to the Commission, and at its close he signed a Note of dissent (Fraser, 1915, p. 188, 189). The Bill was passed on March 21, 1904, and its provisions were gradually carried into effect.

Recommendations of the Commission were that the territorial limits of the jurisdiction of Universities be defined, and that no new Universities would be created; that stringent conditions for the recognition of affiliated institutions be imposed; that the Universities would not conduct school examinations whatever; and that the examination system be revised and simplified, and examination by compartments abolished. It urged that the minimum age for matriculation should be sixteen, though the Government, in a covering Resolution, showed a preference for fifteen. Three recommendations which aroused great hostility were: (1) that a minimum rate of college fees to be fixed; (2) that second-grade colleges (teaching only up to the Intermediate examination of a University) be gradually abolished; (3) that the system of teaching law by law classes attached to Arts colleges be modified (Fraser, 1915, p. 190).

Curzon's university reform was a high point in the evolution of the Government attitude toward the extension of higher education, which had been growing from the mid-1850's. "The Education Commission (1902) proposed the introduction of post-graduate courses and a residential system (Ghosh, 1988, p. 477)."

The Act was intended to introduce radical changes into five existing Indian universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. These changes included: an enlargement of the functions of the university; a reduction in the size of the university senates; the introduction of new principles of election to the senate; statutory recognition of the syndicates where university teachers were to be more adequately represented; stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university; and a definition of the territorial limits of the universities. The Act provided for a grant of Rs. 5 lakh each year for five years in order to carry out these changes in the five Indian universities, and it conferred powers on the Government to make additions and alterations while approving the regulations passed by the university senates (Ghosh 1988, p. 463).

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 stipulated that a university's number of Fellows had to be between fifty and one hundred, and his tenure was to be of six years rather than for life. Lord Curzon's Government also provided these universities with new and better Senates in order for them to insist on superior standards being maintained in affiliated and recognised institutions, allowed for official inspection of affiliated institutions, after discovering that the five Indian Universities controlled the instruction given in about 200 colleges that were practically under no inspection and subject to no uniform standards.

The overall expenditure on education from all sources increased from 4 crores to almost 7.25 crores during the decade 1901-1911, with the progress being notable because Lord Curzon's ministry implemented major educational reforms. The formerly crushing weight of tests had been significantly reduced; reform of university and college structure had begun; and grants from public funding to private institutions had nearly quadrupled in the last nine years. These truths were self-evident as the Viceroy of India at the time was an aristocrat who loved India intensely but also handled it with abandon that often misfired (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, May p.17).

The Syndicates were to be reformed, and the ultimate decision on the affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges, as well as the recognition of colleges, was to be left in the hands of the Government, which would receive the recommendations of the Universities. Only students who had finished a course of instruction at an associated College were eligible to appear for a University test. Colleges were only to be considered for affiliation if they met certain criteria. "Governing bodies, the qualities of their teaching staff, their financial condition, their buildings and accommodations, the existence of a library, facilities for practical instruction in science, and proper monitoring of students," according to the guidelines. Affiliated Colleges were supposed to be inspected. The Senates were to establish the conditions for them through rules (Fraser, 1911, p. 195). On March 21, 1904, the bill was enacted, and its provisions were progressively implemented.

The new law, which had not found favour with educated Indians, faced difficulties almost as soon as the Government began to carry it out (Natarajn et al, 1973, p. 659."

The Act, according to Gopal Krishna Gokhale, was a retrograde step that unfairly denigrated the country's educated classes and was intended to prolong the limited, intolerant, and cheap rule of experts. The Colleges Act of 1904, according to the Sadler Commission of 1917, rendered Indian universities among the most thoroughly Governmental universities in the world.

Curzon's biographer, (Ronaldshay, 1928), concedes that "The actual reforms were little and out of proportion to the Viceroy's effort and thought put into them, or the violence with which they were confronted. The higher education system remained largely unchanged in its general form." Curzon's approach did, however, result in the approval of a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs per annum, for five years in 1902 for the advancement of higher education. Since then, Government handouts had been a constant part.

According to Indian perception, Curzon wished to reduce universities to the level of state institutions and stifle the expansion of private enterprise in the field of education. "No one today claims that it was a setback for higher education in India, while many of those who were initially concerned were willing to recognise that it had yielded outstanding outcomes (Fraser, 1911, p. 196).

Those who profit by B.A. making, and the class so made, at once objected that the policy of the Government of India was to insist upon such a high standard of efficiency as would crush the less satisfactory institutions, which the Babus had found so useful in the manufacture of graduates, and the seven vials of wrath were emptied upon the head of Lord Curzon, as the chief of, and also as the chief factor in, his own Government. None the less were these reforms as necessary to introduce as they were difficult of introduction, and the courage of the Viceroy and his colleagues, who had been ignorant of what their reception was at the hands of the Bengali press, deserve, and had received, recognition (Rees, 1910, 146-147).

Lord Curzon believed such fights were unavoidable, and that he did not regret the battle or the storm over the Universities Act since he was firmly convinced that a new life for Higher Education in India had been born out of it (Ronaldshay, 1928). Lord Curzon's objective was unmistakably to improve rather than to destroy higher education. The Act had a significant impact on vested interests. As a result of this, and other factors, such as opposition to Government rule, a baseless charge that the Viceroy had emotions of animosity toward the educated classes was openly stated and largely credited. Lord Curzon's unpopularity among the upper classes in the latter half

of his time was mostly, if not entirely, owing to his Government's actions towards universities and colleges. Following Lord Curzon's departure, a Minister of Education was appointed (Smith, 1919, p. 773, 774).

3.3.2 Calcutta University Commission (Saddler Commission) 1917

The Government of India intended to create a Commission on university education under Lord Haldane, who had previously presided over a similar Commission on London University, when it issued the Education Resolution in 1913. However, it was thwarted, partially due to the start of the First World War in 1914, and partly due to his unwillingness to accept the task Ghosh (2009, p. 144).

After the First World War in 1917 Calcutta University Commission was appointed by the Government of India, and it was chaired by Michael Saddler, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, who had previously refused Curzon's offer of the newly formed office of Director-General of Education in India in 1904. The Commission was to investigate into the state and prospects of the University of Calcutta, and to explore the subject of a constructive strategy in regard to the problem it poses,' the Commission was requested. Dr. Gregory, Professor Ramsay Muir, Philip Hartog, the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya, and Ziauddin Ahmad were among the Commission's other members. The Commission submitted its report in thirteen volumes, giving a critical account of the workings of the Calcutta University and indicating the lines on which higher education in Bengal should develop in the future, after a hard work of seventeen months during which it visited other universities in British India.

When the report was released, the general public immediately recognised that, while the Commission's primary concern was the Calcutta University, many of the Commission's recommendations were equally applicable to the other Indian universities that had been reconstituted on similar lines by the University Act of 1904. In January 1920, the Government of India published a resolution summarising the Commission's report and recommending that local Governments adopt its conclusions. As a result, committees were formed in all the Universities to explore how the Commission's proposals could be tailored to fit local requirements. It was worth noting that many aspects of the Commission for Calcutta's proposal had been included into every university Act's passed after the report's release, whether for the incorporation of new institutions/colleges or the reconstruction of established universities (Eighth Quinquennial Review, 1923, p. 51, 52).

The Commission proposed that the second-grade (teaching only up to the Intermediate examination of a University) institutions be renamed Intermediate Colleges, according to Kaur (1985, p.193). Universities did not follow through on the recommendation to hand over management of Intermediate institutions to the Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education. The majority of universities did not adopt the three-year degree programmes as suggested by the Calcutta Commission on Higher Education. However, as a result of these proposals, a number of new institutions arose.

3.3.3 Initiatives for free and Compulsory Education

In terms of primary education, the situation was significantly better, albeit still not adequate. Because of administrative and budgetary concerns, the British hesitated to adopt the notion of free and obligatory primary education for all children. Nationalist leaders, on the other hand, made heroic efforts in this direction throughout British rule. Dadabhai Naoroji was the first to propose that every kid get free and obligatory education for at least four years (1882). It was later, supported by several nationalist leaders. Gokhale moved a Resolution (1910) and then a Bill (1912) in the Central Legislature for introducing compulsory primary education. Concerning primary education's universalization, the Bill that Gokhale presented to the Viceroy's Council in the winter of 1911-1912 for the aim of spreading basic education across the country was one of the most remarkable demonstrations of the new national spirit. The suggested technique was to provide local Governments the ability, under specific conditions, to make elementary education obligatory for those living under their jurisdiction. Both these efforts failed due mainly to official opposition.

E.S. Montagu (Secretary of State for India, 1917-1922) wrote to Governor General of India in Council that it had been observed recent proceedings of the Legislative Councils in India growth of a demand for legislation enabling the introduction of schemes for compulsory primary education. Apart from the Bombay, Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act 1918, Legislative Despatch No. 7, the similar Bills were in the Legislative Councils of the Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant-Governors of Bihar and Orissa and of the Punjab. Montagu observed that these measures were the outcome of the policy announced by the member in charge of the Education Department of the Government on the 13th March speaking in the

Indian Legislative Council, on a resolution with reference to the general introduction of compulsory primary education, that policy being, briefly, to encourage and enable, be means of provincial legislation, local bodies to compel attendance at primary schools to be provided by those bodies, and to resort to local taxation for the maintenance of such schools (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1919, Education March p. 3, 4). However, compulsory education laws were passed in all parts of the country when education was transferred to Indian control in 1921 (Naik, 1979, p.178).

At the secondary stage there had been a tendency to neglect the middle vernacular school, which was necessary for the production of primary teachers. The lure to ambitious school boys was the university matriculation examination, as the portal to Government service. The reason was simple. The greatest industry in India was agriculture, but the average holding is was so small that the only viable alternative to earn a decent living was for some of the brothers to find an alternative mode of employment and teaching was n attractive avenue. Agriculture was not able to provide respectable employment on any large scale to the educated; commerce and industry employed relatively few and some castes had an aversion to business; and the only profession, which compared in attraction with Government service was the law, to which matriculation was again a necessary avenue (Hartog 1932, p.127, 128).

3.4 Impact of Various Educational Measures

The Calcutta University Commission transformed university organisation in India by establishing statutory entities such as the Board of Studies and the Academic Council, as well as transforming the Senate and Syndicate into the University Court and the Executive Council. It created new faculties to make university education more dynamic, and it emphasised the need of selecting the appropriate people for the positions of Readers and Professors through selection committees with external experts. The issue of appointing a full-time paid Vice-Chancellor to lead India's university system was resolved. It promoted the development of contemporary Indian languages by including them into university curricula. While the introduction of new types of courses and research projects boosted university education in India, the proposal to establish Inter-University Boards gave a unique chance to coordinate the operations of multiple institutions. The Calcutta University Commission's biggest

contribution to Indian university education was to liberate it from the restrictions put on it by Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904-05. With the suggestion of the Calcutta University, India's universities were to enter an age of unfettered growth and development. The process of university autonomy and democratisation of higher education in India may be considered to have begun with the Calcutta University's recommendation (Ghosh 2009, p. 147, 148).

As Indian education was going through major changes, the colossal services rendered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in establishing modern education in Bengal and making it accessible to a larger section of the population could not be ignored. One of His major contribution was to make arts, Indian philosophy, literature and languages major subjects of study, while studying western science through English language. He worked to convert Calcutta University from an examining and affiliating organization to a Centre of post-graduate research and teaching and raising funds for the purpose from Indian philanthropists and attracting the most talented persons to carry out independent research (Gupta, 2000 (a), p.1566).

Each province's need for university education was growing by the day. The Benares Hindu University Act was passed in October 1915, followed by the Patna University Act in September 1917, the Dacca University Act in March 1920, the Aligarh Muslim and Rangoon University Acts in September 1920, the Lucknow University Act in November 1920, the Allahabad University Act in December 1921, and the Delhi University Act in March 1922, all in response to popular demand. From 1887 to 1910, the increased demand for university education was addressed by expanding the size and number of constituent colleges, rather than by establishing new universities (Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922 Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p. 53). The first phase of university formation followed the Calcutta University Commission's Report and lasted from 1920 to 1927. Then there was an eight-year gap, followed by University of Travancore in 1935 (Sedwal, 1998, p. 4).

The number of new institutions arose. In 1924, Simla hosted the first All India Conference of Indian Universities, which resulted in the formation of an interuniversity board. It had contributed in a variety of ways and had become an important element of the Indian university system. The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, according to Ghosh (2009, p.147), "not only changed the character of existing universities in India, but also revealed the lines on which future institutions in India would grow.

Education was under Indian rule from 1921 to 1947 in the sense that it was a provincial subject controlled by a minister accountable to the province legislature under the new statute. University education had grown at an unprecedented rate. In 1947, the number of universities expanded to twenty. The number of arts and science degree colleges had been increased to 297, while the number of intermediate colleges increased to 199. The number of professional institutions had also risen, with 140-16 engineering colleges, 42 Teacher Training colleges, and 82 others. The overall enrolment at the university level increased to 1,93,4012, approximately three-quarters of what it was in 1921.

3.5 Conclusion

From the early years of the nineteenth century, liberal plans for the western education of India were predicated on the conviction that instruction in western literary and scientific subjects would effect the moral and intellectual improvement of Indian peoples. Colonial pedagogy was to produce modern, anglicized Indian subjects; in the course of time, India would be transformed into a nation held together by the English language and a common body of English literature, learning, tastes, opinions and law. Under the support of the East India Company, teaching in western science, English literature, and the English language was methodically introduced to schools and colleges from 1835 onwards (Ivermee, 2014, p.254). "Macaulay's minute of February 1835, which proclaimed English the official language of British India, displacing Persian, and banned further investment on Oriental education," according to Ghosh (1988, p. 477).

Liberal ideas for India's western education began in the early nineteenth century based on the belief that training in western literary and scientific disciplines would improve the moral and intellectual well-being of Indians. The goal of colonial

education was to create modern, anglicised Indian subjects; over time, India would be converted into a country united by the English language and a shared corpus of English literature, learning, tastes, ideas, and law.

The immediate aim as far as English education was concerned was the production of an adequate number of personnel to shoulder the tasks of middle and lower levels of colonial administration. No adequate educational structure was devised for the masses. There were vernacular schools for the masses and English schools, located mainly in urban centres, which had produced the so-called English-speaking elite. Over time this elite had tended to monopolize the professions and administrative positions and had, by and large, been self-recruiting. Higher education was open only to those who had been educated in the English secondary schools (Tambiah, 1967, p. 226).

The universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, established in 1857 were modeled on London. Subsequently also, when university reforms were undertaken, the models sought to be emulate always British. What officials in Delhi, Calcutta or London formulated, however, could not always be implemented and British models could not be replicated because conditions in India were so different. As a result, Indian higher education developed certain peculiar features of its own. Even after independence, many features of colonial education and the tendency to look to the West for models still persists, though it is now more the United States than Britain that we turn to. While such dependency is probably inevitable given the technological and economic superiority of the West, it makes Indian academics imitative and dampens originality (Basu, 1989, p. 168).

While colonial policies emphasised the need of expanding mass elementary education, secondary schools and universities received an overabundance of attention for the most of the period. As a result, universal elementary education was never accomplished, and literacy rates remained relatively constant between 1850 and 1917, averaging less than 10% in 1911 (Chaudhary, 2007, p. 2). The country's higher education will not be on a foundation that can be considered permanent or secure, nor will it gain the vast extension that is required, unless the majority of it is given and controlled by the country's citizens for themselves (Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 454).

English, statics and dynamics, physics and chemistry, and any two of the following subjects: physiology, botany, zoology, geology, hydrostatics, and astronomy were all part of the Bachelor of Science programme in Calcutta. Calcutta, Allahabad, and the Punjab Universities all needed a second course for the degree of Science. Candidates pursuing law degrees had to first complete a bachelor's degree in the arts at all universities. Other professional degrees had different rules, but in general, a student had to complete an intermediate test before commencing technical study.

Degrees were given during a yearly convocation, at which successful candidates were their gowns and hoods and the proceedings were performed in the style of an English university ceremony. A growing number of Indian students were pursuing their studies in England, mostly at Cambridge. A substantial percentage, on the other hand, were satisfied to study for the bar in London, where the test was merely professional and the quality was not very high (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV, n.d., 429, 430).

In 1906-7, there were 9177 students matriculating at the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Punjab, and Allahabad. Year after year, the number of pupils had gradually increased, and in 1907, there were no less than 5,397,862 male and female students enrolled in 162,690 educational institutions, of which 28,944 were public, 75,624 aided, and 58,189 private and unassisted. These data suggest a high level of educational engagement, and given that only 25.4 percent of males and 3.4 percent of girls of school-going age attend school, it would be interesting to compare these numbers to those in other parts of Asia (Rees, 1910, p. 154).

From 1887 to 1910, the increased demand for university education was addressed by expanding the size and number of constituent colleges, rather than by establishing new universities. By 1917, the inflationary system had progressed to the point where the initial five institutions were composed as follows: Figure 3.1

UNIVERSITIES	COLLEGES	STUDENTS
Calcutta	38	28618
Bombay	17	8901
Madras	33	10216
Punjab	24	6578
Allahabad	33	7807

Source: Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922. Eighth Quinquennial Review. Volume I, 1923, p. 49

The flaws in India's educational systems were well-known and need not be repeated. They were mostly owing to a lack of money. In recent years, there had been significant success in eliminating them. Various provinces had different rules depending on whether they use public or private administration. This divide extended back to the country's early days of vernacular education, when Madras, for example, chose a grant-in-aid system for supporting primary education, while Punjab and the North-West Provinces (now the United Provinces) formed a system of Government or local board schools. The Government of India proposed that elementary education be extended through the medium of board schools in its decision on Indian educational policy released in 1913. In most cases, the board school was definitely more efficient than the aided school. It was stable and could access the board's money for its material needs; the instructor was under direct supervision and could be removed if he was unpopular or ineffective. Aided schools, on the other hand, with their lower level of efficiency, imposed less demands on public finances and were beneficial as pioneers in underdeveloped areas (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1912, July, Education p. 5).

From 1921 to 1947, there was an even faster increase than in previous years, owing to the transfer of education to limited Indian authority and a stronger political awareness. The rate of increase, on the other hand, was not consistent across the country. When comparing one region to another, as well as one group within a region, there were varying rates of growth. That is to say, English education was not uniformly developing throughout a region or among all groups and castes.

At the same time increasing demand for University education by the flood of candidates had heavily strained the universities which weakened its system. Sedwal (1998, p.202-203) stated, "Thus the University education during our period (1920-1947) expanded tremendously. The number of universities increased from nine in 1920 to 15 by 1947. The large expansion of university education emphasized earlier - a general awakening among the people because of the Freedom Movement, the expansion of secondary education following rapid urbanisation of the country and the interest shown by the backward classes and the women for higher education for empowerment

Many private and charitable individuals tried to increase access to higher education for the poorer sectors of society. As a result of the outbreak of Second World War in 1939, the British Government provided larger grants for the expansion of university education, particularly in support of the war effort, and provided for the establishment of a University Grants Committee, the forerunner of our University Grant Commission, in 1946 as one of the most important parts of the Sargent Report. In 1946-47, there were 2,41,794 students studying in the nineteen institutions, out of a population of about 400 million in British India, according to Sargent's estimate.

Between 1920 and 1947, a variety of factors influenced the establishment and development of universities in India. The University system was heavily influenced by British models, but after the establishment of the Inter-University Board in 1924, Indian higher education began to shift from a system that served almost exclusively as an extension of the British administrative network to an educational apparatus devoted at least in part to Indian national development (Sedwal, 1998, p. 200).

CHAPTER-4

HIGHER EDUCATION IN PUNJAB

The focus of this chapter is on studying the common system of higher education from 1880 onwards to 1920, which is the time frame of this study. The establishment of Panjab University, colleges, affiliation issues, various courses offered, syllabus to be studied and approved by various university bodies, various faculties and types of degrees offered by colleges and Panjab University, colleges formed on technical education programmes and especially for arts courses, profiles of the teacher training programmes, university scholarship schemes for students and various medals and prizes for the toppers of the various courses.

4.1 Education in Punjab Under British

Lord Dalhousie, Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence, found the Punjab to be a perfect location and a fertile field for their administrative skills. The Punjab proved to be extremely profitable for the British. A large portion of the area to the North, near the hills, was extremely productive, yielding total revenue of about two million pounds sterling, more than enough to cover the increased civic and military costs. With the annexation of this area, the British were able to reach India's natural border, the hills beyond the Indus. As a result, the Sikh-ruled region was prudently and effectively annexed. It contained, along with the Punjab, some land across the Indus and next to the hills that Ranjit Singh had taken from the Afghans. Since its annexation, the Punjab had been as tranquil and orderly as any of our domains, including the oldest and best (Campbell, 1853, p. 145, 146). British Punjab was comprised of five administrative divisions-Delhi, Jullundur, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and princely states (Jind, Malerkotla, Faridkot, Patiala, Nabha, Pataudi, hill states of present day Himachal Pradesh). This was the vast and rich Punjab after annexation.

The British began managing the Punjab through a Board (Board of administration constituted by Lord Dalhosie; Board was led by Sir Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence and Charles Grinvelle Mansel; later abolished by Lord Dalhosie in 1853) unlike any other province or area, they had established in their lengthy history of conquering areas in India, organising provinces, and establishing administrative

machinery to control them. The Board was made up of three members, all of whom had equal power, albeit one of them was designated as the President. In January 1853, the board was disbanded, and the Punjab was given to John Lawrence as Chief Commissioner. The head of the Province, till then Chief Commissioner, was elevated as Lieutenant-Governor in 1858 for his conspicuous efforts in re-conquering Delhi (Bal, 1989, p. 76). John Lawrence breathed a new spirit into the administration by dividing the Punjab into 7 divisions, which were further divided into districts (under deputy commissioners). He got constructed the first railways in the Punjab which connected Amritsar and Multan and facilitated Punjab trade with the world (Bal, 1989, p.77). John Lawrence gave up the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab in 1859. Till 1901 fifteen Lieutenant-Governors presided over the destiny of the Province.

Colonial education began in this province (Punjab) in the middle of the nineteenth century with a flurry of excitement for village learning, which promised broad improvement for underprivileged children. This was crucial in the 1850s because Government support for such a large-scale project was unprecedented in India. The British administrators of the Punjab placed a high value on education in English literature, western sciences, and social studies from the start. Dr. G.W. Leitner worked for over two decades to revitalise the study of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, as well as to infuse western sciences into vernacular languages (Grewal, 1994, p. 129, 130).

The colonial State made two policy judgments on education: one, that it was the State's responsibility to provide education to the people, and two, that it should primarily focus on Western knowledge and the English language. As a result, the educational system was designed largely to create people to suit for the colonial state's administrative, technical, and military needs. The content of education developed by the Government was totally secular, consisting of natural and social sciences, languages and literature (Punjab Human Development Report, 2004, p.14, 15).

The British supplanted Persian with English, which became the language of the Government as well as the medium of teaching in the schools, colleges, and institutions. Because the bulk of these institutions were located in provincial capitals and cities, they were mainly out of reach for the majority of the Indian population (Ghosh, 2009, p. 236).

The term "college" was defined for the purpose of higher education. The name "college" should only be applied to institutions whose students had completed the matriculation examination and were enrolled in one or more of the University's higher examination courses. This was in conformity with the definition adopted by the Government of India in the Resolution of October 29, 1883, which divided colleges, that was, institutions connected with an Indian university, into three groups- Arts, Oriental and professional colleges. Arts Colleges were granting degrees to those individuals who passed the matriculation examination and were enrolled in a University-approved programme leading to a degree in the arts. Oriental college students completed an examination deemed by the Local Government to be of the same difficulty as the matriculation test, and were enrolled in a University-mandated course of Oriental topics. Professional colleges were the third group, with students who had passed the matriculation exams and were studying for degrees in law, medicine, or engineering (Zahid, n. d. p. 40).

In 1864, the Government College of Lahore was founded. The College's mission was to give access to a university education in the Province's capital and to prepare students for a Bachelor of Arts degree. The College was affiliated with the University of Calcutta, but, since 1882, till the establishment of Panjab University in 1882. The College offered curriculum consisting of courses such as B.A. Course, which lasted two years and covered either three or four disciplines; and the M.A. Course, which lasted one or two years and covered the whole field of at least one branch of Literature or Science (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1888, Education p. 1).

Many new colleges were opened in Punjab. The Governments policy of gradually withdrawing from higher education and approval of lower fees in private education institutions helped the establishment of a number of colleges and high schools to rise almost immediately. However majority of them were opened in private sector, as the Government adopted the policy of gradual withdrawal from higher education. The control over fee structure in private colleges by the Government made it little easier for the student's entry into colleges.

The Delhi College, which had been closed after the Mutiny was revived by the Punjab Government in 1864, when a second college was established at Lahore; an aided college was also maintained at the former place by the American Mission from 1865 to 1868. In 1877 the college classes at Delhi were closed in order that the staff of the government college at Lahore might be strengthened without an increase in expenditure. Previous to their abolition the Delhi College had passed 61 candidates at the F.A., 18 at the B.A., and 4 at the M.A. examinations: the average number of students on the rolls in its last year was 37 (Indian Education Commission, 1882, 264).

The Oriental College at Lahore was started in 1876 with wider aims and a more promising announcement of studies. It was supposed to cultivate the Oriental classical languages along with the higher branches of European knowledge through the vernaculars. Students were prepared for examination in arts, medicine and engineering. The chief object of the students was not the acquisition of general knowledge, but the advanced study of the Eastern classics. Under its aegis, translations of European masterpieces into Hindi and Urdu were also released.

The higher training in the classics enabled it to attract these classes who had a desire for Eastern but none for Western learning, and to insist on the acquisition of a certain level of more broad knowledge than was necessary for the Oriental Faculty's admission exams. It intended to progressively lead students to pursue degrees rather than titles. However, despite limited resources and huge challenges, the Government managed to put education, particularly the highest level of instruction, within reach of every capable youth who wished to pursue it (West, n. d., p. 44).

In this college, a renowned centre of indigenous learning, western science and mathematics were also being taught in the medium of Indian languages. The college had published a large number of translations of European works in Hindi and Urdu. These included works in physics and astronomy (Tiwari, 1961, p. 1274). Arithmetic, algebra, euclid, trigonometry, statics, dynamics, history, geography, psychology, logic, political economics, chemistry, physics, and astronomy were among the disciplines taught to students. It also aimed to prepare students for the Panjab University's examinations in law, medicine, and engineering through the use of vernaculars. The vast majority of students, on the other hand, were in the Oriental Titles Department, for which they had to pass the University's Entrance Examination (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 40, 41).

Without a doubt, the first and third classes were the most significant. There was significant variety in practice when it came to Oriental colleges because the word was also given to schools like the Benares Sanskrit College, where students had no matriculation exams and had their own instructors conduct and confer future examinations. After reading the descriptions of the different institutions, these truths became clear. Professional institutions began to be included in the Special Education category with greater ease. Although the College set high standards in Oriental education, it was unable to keep up with the growing popularity of Western education. 403 applicants applied for the Oriental exams in 1901, compared to 3, 779 for Arts and Sciences (Zahid n.d. p.40).

However, there were problems also in the functioning of the College. The institutions were stated to be plagued by three problems: a lack of funds, inefficiency among some of the faculty, and a lack of appropriate textbooks (Report for 1883-84). The second of these flaws was partially remedied by the transfer of professors of Sanskrit and Arabic from the Government College to the Oriental College; a close relationship between the two institutions was maintained by a provision for mutual exchange of students desiring to read English or Oriental classics. A bigger challenge was characterised as a lack of text books." In several courses, at least on the Hindi side, there were no exam booklets, and all instruction was given verbally. The University was acutely aware of the case's requirements, and it was steadily satisfying "the demand." In 1885, the institution had 119 students enrolled in its different departments. It was estimated to have cost almost Rs 21,000, with just Rs 371 in fees appearing to have been paid. The Punjab Government contributed to its upkeep, albeit indirectly, by giving the Panjab University a Rs 22,000 stipend (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 40, 41).

Princely states such as Kapurthala, Nabha, Malerkotla, Faridkot, Patiala, Jind, Pataudi, Hill states of modern day Himachal Pradesh all were under the control of their respective kings/crown. The central school at Patiala was elevated to the status of a College in 1872 and was named Mahendra College after its founder Maharaja Mahinder Singh. In 1876 Maharaja Mahinder Singh held the first educational Durbar at Patiala. Patiala was among the first few cities of the Punjab, which could legitimately boast of a Degree College. Students were also encouraged to go out of the state for receiving Engineering, Medical and Vocational education (Gurna, 1987,

p. 309). Proposal to make college scholarships awarded by the Panjab University tenable in colleges in native states was forwarded on 6th October 1888, No. 232. From T. C. Lewis Esquire, M.A., Officiating Under Secretary to Government, Punjab, Home (Education) Department. The application that was submitted to The Registrar of the Panjab University stated that the Panjab University made provision for College Scholarships provided by the university tenable at institutions located in Native States, according to the general Education Conference held in Lahore in April and May. Because the ruling chiefs of the Punjab had made significant contributions to the university's funds, His Honor the Lieutenant Governor believed the proposal was reasonable in terms of Native States that were dependent on the Punjab; directed to bring the proposal to the Senate's attention for consideration (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education p. 149).

"Lahore had acquired an added significance by giving birth to an educo-political movement beginning with the formation of Anjuman-i-Punjab by G. W. Leitner in January 1865 (Nazer Singh, 1987, p.276)."

The Punjab (formerly Lahore) University College was incorporated as the University of the Punjab in 1882. This college had been established 'in part fulfillment of the wishes of a large number of chiefs, Nobles, Rai's and influential classes of the Punjab, and the university was instituted under similar influences (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV, 426). The Panjab University was set up as an institution for teaching and for higher literacy pursuits-particularly in the field of oriental learning and for imparting education in higher branches of European knowledge and sciences. The University was given the power to confer degrees in Medicine and Engineering in 1886 and degrees in Law and Science in 1891 earlier it was conferring degrees in Oriental learning and Arts. In 1882 Hunter Commission studied the educational system and recommended the reorganization of the educational services. English education brought to India political ideas of the West along with the knowledge of Western science (Walia, 1976, p. 213). The courses were held to the criteria set out by Panjab University's Arts Faculty. (1) English, Language, and Literature; (2) Mathematics; (3) History and Political Economy; (4) Mental and Moral Science; and (5) Physical Science were the disciplines in which teaching was delivered. The Oriental College, to which Maulvi and Pandit were moved in 1884, provided education in (6) Oriental languages, namely Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education p. 1).

The Panjab University's prominent distinguishing trait was its higher education in the country's classics, which surely contributes to its unique appeal to the public. It not only allows us to attract classes who were interested in Eastern but not Western learning, but it also allows us to improve the indigenous lines of classical teaching by adding improved methods and criticism, while also insisting on the acquisition of a certain amount of more general knowledge, which must always put the purely Oriental student at a disadvantage. The quantity of general knowledge required was the same as for the Entrance test. We even now hold out inducements in the form of more valuable scholarships, by which we hope gradually to lead our students to follow the course for degrees rather than that for titles was a boast of the University which was well justified. It was hoped that in a few years it would be found possible to abolish all but the highest examinations for Oriental titles, which would then follow upon attainment of the B. O. L. degree (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p.40).

Scholarships were given out each year by the Panjab University or by the Government based on the results of the Arts Examinations. Every student leaving the College at the end of the College year received a certificate in the form attached. The certificate included the length of attendance, the level of quality and competency achieved, and the lasting imprint of the student's character (APPENDIX-I).

Punjab Chiefs' College at Lahore was founded in 1886 and re-named as Aitchison College. The government of India wanted that institutions of chiefs and Nobles should be entirely self-supporting, and this was no doubt quite right as a general principle. With certain exceptions, however the Punjab Chiefs were by no means rich, and His Honor considered that some assistance in the form of a grant-in-aid was absolutely essential (Proceedings of Home Department, 1886, Education-p. 313). Majumdar and Datta (1965, p.78) mentioned that in 1883-84 there were only three colleges in Punjab, Government College and Oriental College at Lahore and St. Stephens College at Delhi. In 1886 the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) School established by the Arya Samaj, was raised to the status of the college. In 1886 Mission College Lahore was opened; renamed Forman Christian College in 1894. In 1886 Punjab Chief's Aitchison College foundation stone was laid. The Indian Christian College was set up at Sialkot in 1889 and Gordon College at Rawalpindi in 1893. The Islamia College at Lahore was opened in 1892 and the Khalsa College was

founded at Amritsar in 1897. By 1889-90 the number of Arts Colleges rose to 7 and that of matriculation candidates to 1,016 (In those days matriculation certification was done by the university). The Punjab Science Institute was established in 1885 in Lahore. The idea of establishing an organisation for popularising science at Lahore was first conceived by J. C. Oman of the Government College, Lahore.

Since the arrival of the British, the overall situation in Punjab changed. Punjab's citizens were aware of educational, political, and administrative developments. The British Government's education strategies and goals had a significant impact on the Punjabi people. In Punjab, a variety of educational institutions were established; both private and missionary institutions played a part in the establishment of new schools and colleges. The Government devised education policies and strategies that they believed were appropriate for the requirements of the Punjabi people, and fiercely executed them, resulting in quick improvements.

4.2 Stringent Affiliation Rules and Regulations for Colleges

Under the Act of 1904, every college, whether run by the Government or by committees or private entities, had to have a governing council in order to qualify for affiliation. In actuality, the governing boards of Government institutions rarely operated, and the Principal retained a great deal of influence (Progress of Education in India 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume. I, 1923, p. 47). Inspection was a necessary step in the recognition process. A board of inspection established by the university frequently visited colleges seeking new or extended affiliation in certain fields (Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922 (Eighth Quinquennial Review. Volume I, 1923, p. 39).

Sub-committee members of the Panjab University for granting affiliation to the colleges were Mr. H.K. Maynard, M.A. (Vice-Chancellor), The Hon'ble Mr. J.A. Richey (Under Secretary to Government, Punjab, Home (Education), Lal Hans Raj, and A.C. Woolner (Registrar). After reviewing the procedures and principles established by other universities, the Vice-Chancellor raised concerns about a system in which a struggling new College must either be granted full affiliation right from the start, in very inadequate buildings, or be denied affiliation and not allowed to open classes until adequate arrangements would had been undertaken.

With regard to constructions and the collecting of finances, he believed it was important to remember that in this nation, it was sometimes hard to gather funds for a building until it had been started. If affiliation had to be given at the outset, when courses were still located in substandard rented premises, a key motivation for raising finances and progressing with new structures would be lost. However, it was pointed out that in certain situations, the fact that authorization had been obtained for the commencement of courses was viewed as a sufficient justification for affiliation to be granted later.

Despite the fact that the syndicate's (Panjab University syndicate) earlier stipulations had not been met, Panjab University set 1st December 1888 as the deadline for receiving applications for affiliation for the following session. The college authorities stated in their application that they had made certain arrangements for the entertainment of a specific staff and the occupation of a specific building, etc., by the following May, and that there will still be time to correct any deficiencies (Proceedings of Home Department, 1919, Education, March, p.16-18).

The Indian Universities Act 1904 laid upon the syndicate the responsibility of causing every affiliated college to be inspected and empowered the Senate to form regulation for such inspection. Before such regulations had been formed it was not possible to form an accurate forecast of the expenditure which would be involved in the inspection of colleges, and for this reason the Government of India contented themselves at the outset with proposing that a specific sum was set aside for the proposed. But they were now included to think that if the expenditure was to be kept within reasonable limits some control must be exercised over it, that the grants made to the gentlemen authorized to make the inspections were moderate and not in excess of the reasonable requirements of the case. All proposals for the grant of honoraria or traveling allowance for making the inspection, was referred to the Government for sanction (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1905, October, Education p. 131). The Principal and Professors had a prestigious position in the college, institution, and administration. There was a provision for residential flats in the college and University campus area. For details refer to APPENDIX-II

4.3 Arts, Humanities and Technical Education in Colleges of Punjab

Panjab University gained importance as it used to cater to the needs of diverse course choice for the students of Punjab and of North Western Frontier Provinces. An examination for the degree of Master of Arts was held annually in Lahore, on the third Monday in March, or on such other date as was fixed by the Syndicate. Any person who had passed the test in Arts Examination of the Punjab University College, and any Graduate of the Punjab or (subject to the sanction of the Syndicate) of any other recognized University, could be examined for the Degree of Master of Arts in one or more of the following branches:-

Languages, History, Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Physical Science. The Examination in Languages would be in English, Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek or Latin (Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education p. 29).

An Examination for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning was held annually in Lahore, on the third Monday in March, or on such other date as was fixed by the Syndicate. Any person who had passed the test in Arts Examination of the Punjab University College, and any Graduate in Oriental Learning of the Punjab or in Arts of the Punjab, or (subject to the sanction of the Syndicate) of any other recognized University, may be examined for the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning in one or more of the following branches:-

Languages, History, Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Physical Science (Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education p. 33).

An examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts was held annually in Lahore, beginning on the third Monday in March or on such other date as might be fixed by the Syndicate. The examination was open to any undergraduate who had passed the Intermediate (F.A.) Examination of the Punjab, or (subject to the sanction of the Syndicate the Fine Arts or other equivalent examination of any other recognised University. For details refer to APPENDIX-III

The cause of technical education had been significantly advanced by the further development and improvement of the elementary science teaching that had already been successfully introduced into the Province's colleges, as well as by the

special encouragement of scientific studies in connection with various Government or university examinations. Indeed, this appeared to be a necessary precondition for the formation of a technical education system in Punjab (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p. 97).

Industrialists like the Tata made efforts and technical education did make some headway, but that too in certain directions only. Under these conditions, technical education would be hard pressed to make any significant progress. The difficulty of arranging and directing people's industrial lives was linked to the problem of technical education. The supply of technical education would be unsuccessful unless trade, commerce, and industry were coordinated. It was plainly the state's responsibility to bring about the needed coordination and correlation, but the state was indifferent, and whatever technical education was offered proved ineffectual under the conditions (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 33).

Agriculture, Industrial, Mechanical, and Artistic professions were all represented on a committee formed in 1886-1887 to look into technical education.

- Appointment of an Agriculture Chemistry Professor and a Professor of Zoology and Botany, both at a salary of Rs. 5,00 increasing to Rs. 7,50.
- Technical schools were to be established in Lahore and Rawalpindi, with headmasters who had an English education and had taken science in university examinations (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, p. 44, 45, 46, 47).

To offer instructions in the Art of Design, with specific attention to the creative industries indigenous to the Punjab, and to the Architectural and ornamental forms of art peculiar to the Province. As a result, the Principal was expected to be more than an Art Master in the traditional sense. He must had a taste for and appreciation for Indian art in its many manifestations in order for the school to remain a custodian of what was excellent in indigenous design, as well as a guide to the application of such design to the Province's artistic industries, manufacturers, and building projects.

Outside of the school, the Principal was responsible for general supervision of the Province's Industrial and Technical Schools, as well as primary drawing instruction in public schools. He also had to familiarise himself with the Province's industries and craftsmen, in order to preserve the taste and quality of the workmanship, and, to the extent possible, of improving them through advice and the suggestion of new patterns and designs, in accordance with the school's main object.

For this job, a man with broad sympathies and a track record of true industrial success was needed. The Principal was also expected to be able to advise the Government on all matters relating to the Province's Arts and Industries; he was the Government's designated agent for collecting for industrial and art exhibitions; and, as part of the movement to promote industrial art in the country, he contributed to the work of compiling an accurate Census of the Province's art industries and contributing to the Journal of Industrial Art (Proceedings of Home Department, 1893, Education, March p. 25, 26, 27).

The Government of India was believed that the primary aim of schools of art should be to extend a knowledge of drawing on Oriental models so as to preserve Oriental ideas and instincts among the classes upon whom, as education advances, the architecture and art-ware manufactures of the country will depend. The time would probably come when all professions and trades connected with art will draw upon the ordinary schools and educational institutions for their craftsmen, and it would seem important that the directors of arts schools and museums co-operated in introducing, while there was still time, a system which would lead to the maintenance of the distinct Oriental features which had hitherto characterized the best Indian art. On the other hand, it was a question whether the development of special instructions at the schools themselves of a small number of pupils in one or two narrow groves was calculated to have widespread influence on the art of the country, and whether indeed it was not likely to lead the artisans who were taught into a specialized style too strongly impressed by the individuality of the instructors (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1895, March, Education p. 15).

The Mayo School of Art was founded in 1875 as the result of a public subscription formed to honour the late Lord Mayo, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It was backed by the Government and overseen by the Punjab Director of Public Instruction. The school's mission was to provide training in the art of design, with a focus on the Punjabi artistic industries and architectural and ornamental forms of art, as well as to supervise the Punjab's industrial and technical institutions. In regular schools, there was an excess of education in elementary drawing. Near the

Anarkali Garden in Lahore, the school was formed in the vicinity of the New Museum and Technical Institute.

Applications for admissions were sent in writing to the Principal, along with samples of the candidate's craftsmanship. Candidates must demonstrate some ability for the pursuit of art in some way. Such abilities were seen as more important than general education competency.

Before final enrolling, all students were required to serve a two-month probationary period in order to assess their potential. The best age for entrance was 14 to 16 years old, and the sons of artisans, on average, were the most likely to repay training. There were no tuition or entrance costs. The Principal had a limited number of stipends available, totaling Rs. 135 per year. These were given to deserving pupils and were subject to reduction or cancellation if the recipients showed incompetent or inattentive. Stipends were normally awarded based on a competitive process. For education, students from remote districts and towns were given with subsistence allowances by District or Municipal Boards or Native States. The Mayo School of Art had a number of John Lawrence scholarships available, each worth Rs. 15 per month. In the Architectural Drawing and Woodworking Class, one scholarship of Rs. 15 per mensem, tenable for two years was offered yearly. In the ornamental drawing class, one scholarship of Rs. 15 per mensem, tenable for two years, was offered annually.

Every second year, one scholarship of Rs. 15 per year, tenable for two years, was offered in the Modelling and Molding class. The Principal awarded these Scholarships to the winners of contests among the school's most accomplished students who agreed to continue their studies for another two years. Holders of John Lawrence Scholarships were expected to act as monitors on occasion and to assist with primary teaching when needed (Proceedings of Home Department, 1893, Education, March p. 25, 26, 27) (Details in APPENDIX-IV).

4.4 Law Education

Early law was taught in the Calcutta *Madrasah* and the Banaras Sanskrit College, where Muslim and Hindu laws were studied separately. In his famous Minute in 1835, Macaulay mentioned the teaching of law, and a few years later, a committee was appointed to report on how jurisprudence studies should be

incorporated into the higher institutions. After a first series of lectures by a prominent Advocate-General, a Professorship was founded in the Hindu College, Calcutta in 1842, but no appointment was made until 1847, when the post was again sanctioned. In the same year, the Madras Institution established a Professorship of Law while the Elphinstone College in Bombay established a Professorship of Jurisprudence (The Report of the University Education Commission Volume I, 1962, p. 14).

The resolution passed by the Senate for the approval to give Bachelor and Doctorate degrees in the discipline of Law was explicitly stated in a letter from the Registrar of Panjab University (No. 1985, dated 18th June, 1890.

From-M.A. Stein, Esquire, Ph.D., Registrar, Panjab University to the Officiating Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab)

Every candidate was required to submit with his application-A certificate of good moral character signed by two gentlemen known to any Magistrate in the district where the candidate resided, and countersigned by such Magistrate; and a certificate that he had passed the entrance examination of the University of the Panjab, or (subject to the syndicate's sanction) of any other recognised University; or the Chief Court's permission in writing. Teaching was to happen in English in one case and in the Vernacular in the other; nonetheless, both the standard and course of instruction were to be identical to the extent practicable. Each part was to be divided into three courses, referred to as the first, second, and third year classes, respectively, based on the course of study. Candidates for the Preliminary Examination were to be classified as first-year students, those for the First Certificate Examination as second-year students, and those for the Licentiate-in-Law Examination as third-year students (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1891, Education, p. 5, 6).

4.5 Medical Education

The genesis of medical education was to be traced to the appointment of a committee in 1833 to report on the study of medical education imparted in several institutions in Calcutta. The Committee recommended the establishment of a new institution in which "the various branches of medical sciences cultivated in Europe should be taught and as near as possible on the most approved European system". This ultimately led to the foundation of the Calcutta Medical College. The first

hospital was opened in 1833 and three years later a hospital for women was added. In 1844 four students of the College in charge of Dr. Goodeve went to England to complete their medical education. The foundation stone of the present college hospital was laid in 1848 and it was opened in 1851.

In Madras, a medical school was approved in 1835, and seven years later, the Board of Governors proposed establishing a Collegiate class in the Faculty of Medicine, which would be linked to the Institution. The Court of Directors rejected the idea, although the Governor-in-Council noted in 1852 that Medical Classes had been created at the Madras Medical College. The commencement of medical education was claimed to be the appointment of a commission in 1833 to report on the study of medical education offered in several institutions in Calcutta. Whether it would be acceptable to limit medical education to English lectures and use little English treatises as class texts, fully discarding Sanskrit medical resources," the Committee on Public Instruction asked. The Committee advocated the creation of a new institution where "the numerous branches of medical sciences produced in Europe should be taught as near to the most acceptable European system as possible (The Report of the University Education Commission Volume I, 1962, p. 13, 14).

The Panjab University began a examination for medical courses based on the same format. An annual examination for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine was to be held in Lahore, commencing on the third Monday in April, or on such other day as the Syndicate may choose. The examination was to be divided into two parts: the First M.B. and the Second M.B. Bachelor of Medicine examinations. Anyone who can present the certifications was to be accepted to the examination. Having passed an Indian or other university's Intermediate or other equivalent examination recognised by the syndicate.

Medicine was taught at a higher level at four Government institutions located in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Lahore, and at a lesser level in eleven Government colleges. There were some privately run colleges, although they were not as important as the Government run colleges. The colleges main purpose was to prepare students in the Assistant Surgeons class for work in state hospitals and dispensaries, and the institutions also prepared students in the lower or Hospital Assistant class for comparable work. None of the pupils went into public service. Some took jobs with huge labour firms, while others worked on their own.

Each of the universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Punjab awarded the degree or diploma of Licentiate of Medicine, with the exception of Bombay, additionally awarding the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. The programme normally lasted five years, and the prerequisite qualification was usually a university intermediate test. Hospital Assistants went through a three- or four-year schooling programme. Each institution was affiliated with a prominent local hospital, where students received clinical training. The main building of Lahore College had a library, lecture halls, and museums, as well as a separate pathological laboratory. It was connected to the Mayo Clinic. Each college was headed by Principal, who was a member of the Indian Medical Service and was aided by the faculty.

Any person who completed the Panjab University or Panjab University College Licentiate Examination in medicine could be accepted to the Examination for the Degree of Doctor in Medicine. Any Assistant Surgeon who passed examination as such before the year 1870, during which the Panjab University College first began to examine Medicine, was admitted to the Degree of Doctor in Medicine, on producing certificates of gazzetted Assistant Surgeon before 1st January 1870, having practiced the Medical profession with good repute for more than fifteen years, of fitness, moral and social, for the Degree and of having paid a fees of one hundred rupees (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1891, Education p. 124, 125). Details in APPENDIX-V

The advisability, in the interest of female education in this country, of assisting and encouraging Indian women to receive a medical training outside India in the United Kingdom or elsewhere; the provision of facilities for a course of training in Europe increased the attractiveness of the study of medicine as well as afford an inducement and an opportunity for the best women graduates to undertake special courses of training abroad. The Government of India had accordingly invited and obtained the approval of the Secretary of State to the grant, from Imperial revenues, to an Indian woman graduate of one scholarship annually, tenable in the United Kingdom or, with special sanction, in foreign countries. This scholarship, however, would not necessarily be confined to the study of medicine but will also be available for training in certain other subjects. The general practice would be that while the scholarship will usually be awarded for the study of medicine, it might also be available for a candidate who desired to undertake some other educational or

professional course. The first scholarship was awarded in 1916 (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1916, May, Education p. 3).

4.6 Engineering

A small preparatory Engineering Class annexed to the Mayo School of Art supported by the Panjab University, and intended to prepare students for the Engineering course of that University, but that was a thing which was obviously beyond the scope of such an institution, and was not likely to do much good.

Another technical institute besides the Mayo school was the Railway Technical School in Lahore. The Engineering courses at Oriental College were fully acknowledged and expanded so that students may receive a solid theoretical education in civil engineering, as needed by the Public Works Department (Proceedings of Home Department, 1887, Education p. 99). The only real opportunities for students existed in Mechanical Engineering at the Lahore Railway Workshop and in the few factories that were springing up here and there, which, along with water works and other similar establishments, might provide employment for a number of foreman mechanics, in whose training a technical school could help to some extent. In conjunction with the railway Workshops in Lahore, a school of mechanical engineering was proposed to be established (Proceedings of Home Department, 1895, March, Education p. 29).

4.7 Morality and Colonial British Education

There was no question that moral education was as important to a student as intellectual or physical education, and there was no disagreement that a system that ignored moral education would be unworthy of the term of education. There was also no disagreement about the moral importance of respect for law and order, respect for superiors, obedience, regularity, and attention to duty, which every well-run college was designed to encourage. Difficulties arose when it was questioned whether differentiated moral instruction in institutions with the status of colleges could do good. For the betterment of the college and university students (1) an attempt was made to prepare a moral text-book based on the fundamental principles of natural religion, which could be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges; and (2) that the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college

deliver a series of lectures on the duties "of a man and a citizen" in every session (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 331, 332). The challenge of narrowing down which faiths and their beliefs be included, as well as which Professors were capable of doing honour to such substantial themes, proved extremely tough.

The third annual meeting of the General Educational Conference was held at Lahore on the 24th April 1888 and continued its sittings, with an interval of one day on Sunday, until the 2nd May (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1888, Education p. 54). In terms of moral education in universities, the 3rd Education conference believed that personal influence of professors had an impact. Professors empathetic interest in their students, both in and out of class, had a positive impact on their character, according to their observations. They advised that this topic be brought to the attention of everyone involved in collegiate education, and that it be made apparent that Professors and Assistant Professors, as well as College Principals, were accountable for the moral training and supervision of students.

When feasible, a series of lectures on issues of a general moral tedency should be given to students attending Government, Board, and Aided colleges. This conference suggested Panjab University that one practical morality text book be included in every Intermediate Examination English reading course, and one analogous book be included in every B.A. degree. The university would be moved to pick literary courses in any or all languages with specific attention to their moral inclinations on the minds of the students (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education p. 64, 65). When feasible, a series of lectures on topics of broad moral tendency will be given to students attending the college. The Principal, Professors, and Assistant Professors were responsible for the proper supervision of the students and were expected to show a sympathetic interest in their general pursuits, as well as to promote a healthy moral tone as much as possible through personal influence both in and out of class (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Lahore Government College, p.7). There were two major weaknesses in the educational progress and curriculum of the British system; they leaned more on materialism and the development of narrow individualism. But the Vedic concept of education tried to bring about spiritualism, value orientation character and developing social side of the rising generation through effecting new departure in curriculum (Srivastava, 1978).

4.8 Text Book Committee

The Punjab Text-Book Committee was initially created on March 19, 1877, by a resolution of the Local Government, and was registered as an organisation in February 1890, under Act XXI of 1860. A Text-Book Committee was established in the Punjab in 1877, and it had served as the chief agency for the selection and preparation of text-books in all subjects for schools in the province since that time, under the guidance and control of the Education Department (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1899, April p. 4).

The committee had 30 members, 15 of whom were nominated by the Punjab Government and an equal number by the Panjab University. There were two vacancies, and of the 28 current members, 10 were from the Educational Department, 3 were retired educational officers, 9 were Professors or teachers in aided and unaided institutions, 4 were professional gentlemen who were also fellows of the Panjab University and Managers of denominational schools, and 1 was a Settlement Officer, a distinguished graduate, and a good Vernacular.

The goal was to make the Text-Book Committee as representative as possible. The Committee's income was mostly obtained from earnings on books, maps, and copyrights, the copyright of which belonged to the Government, and the majority of this was used to prepare new text-books and enhance current ones. Teachers and others were encouraged to commit themselves to this endeavour, knowing that the Committee would carefully assess their achievements (Proceedings of Home Department, 1899, April p. 4, 5, 6).

It received all texts that were suggested for introduction into classrooms. While the Panjab University nominees were present, the Government increased the number of its nominees to fourteen. The university Senate was summoned in line with the concept given forth in Punjab Government, Home Department, Proceedings No. 761, dated 28th February 1881, to choose two new members to serve on the Committee, and to transmit the names of the gentlemen selected to the Lieutenant-Governor for confirmation (Proceedings of Home Department, 1887, Education p. 11).

It occasionally suggested textbooks for Colleges, although these were largely determined by the University, based on the recommendations of each Faculty's Board of Studies. As a result, the Panjab University was in charge of text books in colleges,

whilst the Text Book Committee, which was under the supervision of the Educational Department, was in charge of text books in schools (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1899, April p. 4).

4.9 Medium of Instruction

The key issues in the dispute, however, were the employment of English as a medium of teaching and examination, and the extent to which the Natives had assimilated Western culture. Were they well-versed enough in British and European culture to assure that the education they would impart in a vernacular system would be adequately European? Finally, a compromise appears to have been achieved, with the Government of India authorising a Lahore University College that might later be turned into a full-fledged university if it proves successful. It was to stay attached to Government Colleges in Lahore and Delhi in the interim, but English had to be the language of instruction: It was further recognised that the study of English would not only be a significant part of teaching in any of the schools or colleges affiliated with the proposed institution, but that all subject teaching and assessments had to be done in English.

The Senate of Panjab University voted to provide candidates in the matriculation and school-leaving certificate examinations the choice of answering history and geography questions in English, Hindi, Urdu, or Gurmukhi, and the proposal will be forwarded to the Government for approval. The impact of the suggested adjustments was hard to predict and complicated as there were number of vernaculars in use in each province. No one examiner would be able to correct history exams written in various vernaculars, let alone coordinate the results of marking by assistant examiners. The lecturers were fluent in the several languages that the candidates spoke.

The issue was addressed in Chapter XVIII of the Calcutta University Commission's report. Following their investigations, the Commissioners recommend that at the "high school" or matriculation examination "candidates should be permitted to answer in either the vernacular or English, except in the subjects of English or mathematics, in which English should be compulsory. They did not, however, make any recommendations for standardising the results (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p.66).

4.10 Incentives, Medals and Scholarships

For the higher education of the Indian students provision of number of schloarships were made available by the Panjab University and the Government. The Government of India from time to time sanctioned from imperial revenues many state scholarships tenable abroad by students of India.

General and special rules governing the grant of State scholarships were also prescribed.

- a. University scholarships: It was up to each institution to decide whether a special test should be held for scholar selection or if the decision should be based on the results of the regular examinations. If special examinations were held, the regulations that the university involved would want to lay down in this respect had to be submitted to the Government of India for prior permission, and the required arrangements for the examinations were made under the University authorities directions. When special tests were undertaken, the applicants were young men of proven ability who were chosen by the Vice-Chancellor based on a report from the syndicate or governing body, which was influenced by the opinions of the professors and examiners involved.
- b. Technical scholarships; Local Governments were to assess which industries were important in the province and which of them may benefit from scholarships, keeping in mind that the scholarships plan should be linked to the province's technical and industrial education system. Industries in which Indian capital and entrepreneurship were or were projected to be involved were especially suitable for selection. Law, medicine, forestry, veterinary science, agriculture, civil engineering, and geology were all barred from the competition.
- c. Domiciled Community scholarships (Male candidates); The goal was to help a scholar enroll in a university course in England, the scholarship was given to a young man nearing the end of his school career in India, so that he might start university at the same age as boys educated in England. The scholarship was offered to the student who was most suited to profit from a university education. The demands of each province to participate in its turn in the system were taken into account while reaching the decision. The scholarships were often given to

those who had completed tests in India and were seeking admission to a European institution as an Advanced or Research student. Before leaving India, the scholar had some basic understanding of French and German if at all possible.

d. Language or Oriental scholarships; The following elements were to be taken into account when selecting scholars to study Sanskrit. Because the large amount of Sanskrit literature necessitates a scholar's specialisation in some subject of Sanskrit study, the specific branch of study should be chosen in India and the requisite preliminary studies completed before the scholar departs for Europe. Individual Language Scholars had been unable to enrol in the path of study that was most suited for them, according to Sanskrit professors at several European universities. Due to a lack of prior information that had easily been obtained in India. If a Sanskrit scholar chooses to specialise in *Veda* or philosophy, he or she must do so. A basic understanding of Latin and Greek was expected of the scholar. He had read some Plato and Aristotle and studied Philosophy or one of the Indian philosophical systems in original manuscripts. His reading would be expected to go well beyond the courses required for an Indian university's M.A. examination in post-Vedic literature (Proceedings of Home Department, 1916, July, Education p. 5, 6).

If held at Oxford or Cambridge colleges, the scholarships were valued at pound 250 per year, and 200 pound if held elsewhere. In both cases, the scholar was responsible for his own university tuition. The scholarship was for a period of two years. If a selected scholar had friends or family in the United Kingdom who were ready to host her during her holidays, their names and addresses were to be submitted to the Educational Adviser in London (Proceedings of Home Department, 1916, May, Education p. 12, 13, 14).

Annual Government scholarships of Rs. 4,500 were provided based on the results of the Punjab University's Entrance, Intermediate, B.O.L., and B.A. Examinations. Scholarships were granted on the basis of merit and were divided into two categories: first-class scholarships for students who passed the examination in the first division, and second-class scholarships for those who passed in the second division. Students who received a third-division grade or who attended a Government or aided college on a casual basis were not eligible for a scholarship. The scholarships

were for two years and began on June 1st at the Oriental College in Lahore and the Lahore Government College or in St Stephan's college. They were also teneable in any other institution in the Punjab recognized and approved by Government, which prepared students for the Examination next higher than and on the same side as that for which the scholarships were awarded (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 349).

A few scholarships were provided by the Government and the University for the students reading for a M.A. Degree (Proceedings of Home Department, 1886, Education p. 306). It was proposed that a Gold Medal in honour of Sir Lepel Griffin be awarded annually as a prize to a student who, in competition with others, obtains the degree of Master of Oriental Learning or Bachelor of Oriental Learning, with Arabic as his first language and English as his second, with no regard for caste or creed (Proceedings of Home Department, 1887, Education p. 37).

The Khalifa Muhammad Hassan-Aitchison Medal was given annually to the candidate who had received the highest score in the M.A. Examination in Arabic, or, if that was not possible, to the candidate who received the highest score on the pass list of the B.A. Examination, whose second language was Arabic, regardless of caste or creed. The Inayat Ali-Griffin Medal, The Alwar Medal, The Rai Kanhya Lal-Pollard Prize, Khalifa Muhammad Hassan-Aitchison Medal, Khalifa Muhammad Hassan-Griffin Medal, The McLeod Medal and Purse, The Jullundur Medical readership, The Jullundur Persian Scholarships, Raja Harbans Singh's Sanscrit Scholarships, Rai Kanhiya Lal's Persian Scholarship, Sir L.H.Griffin's Gurmukhi Scholarship, The Nabha Gurmukhi Subscription, The Harbans-Aitchison Medal, The Harbans-Leitner Medal etc were the other medals, scholarships, prizes which were awarded to the brilliant candidates in their respective fields (Proceedings of Home Department, 1887, Education p. 35). Detailed account in APPENDIX-VI.

Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford launched a plea for a fund in 1918, on the occasion of Their Majesties' Silver Wedding, to assist the children of those who had been killed or permanently wounded in the Great War. The Silver Wedding Fund assisted over a thousand students in middle schools, high schools, and colleges. The Punjab Government had previously established scholarships for the same class of children, and with the establishment of the Silver Wedding Fund, they expanded the

advantages of their plan to include the offspring of all those who had actively participated in the great war (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p. 13, 14).

4.11 Governmental Control over Education

Educational funding in India had always been largely centralised until 1870, historically speaking. Under Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, decentralisation began in 1871. The procedure was carried out until 1921. The 1882 Resolution on Local Self-Government by Lord Ripon aimed to create local bodies as a tool for political and popular education. It was envisaged that Local Governments would operate primary education with all of their educational funds, and that provincial Governments would provide them with appropriate grants." While embracing the Commission's key recommendations, the Indian Government mandated the compilation of an annual report on the country's educational development.

According to one estimate of education spending in British India, the annual gross cost of administering the schools was about 278,000,000 rupees (\$93, 000,000), with Government money accounting for 44% and fees accounting for 26%. The shortfall was made up by contributions, local funds, endowments, subscriptions, and other sources. At the university, college, and high school levels, fees contributed more than Government funds. This shows that higher education was mostly supported by private contributions, and that the drain on Government coffers was not as severe as often imagined (Mookeerje, 1944, p. 36).

Panjab University faced funding problems. As its income from tuition and examination fees was inconsiderable, it relied on endowments and Government aid, compromising in the process its academic and administrative freedom. As the years rolled on, the fee component showed a quantum jump on the Arts than on the Oriental side indicating lesser demand for Oriental degrees and certificates. Consideration of utility among the students determined their choices of education and degree. The Oriental degrees in Persian, Urdu, Arabic and Sanskrit were popular only with students from sacerdotal classes, whereas the Lecturer of Punjabi-Gurmukhi had a problem getting any student to teach (Zahid, n.d., 41).

The problems in India's educational systems were mostly due to a monetary shortage. Down the years, great progress was made in removing them. During the

decade 1901-1911, overall education spending climbed from 4 crores to around 7.25 crores. This was true around the turn of the century, with the growth being especially noticeable because Lord Curzon's cabinet launched important educational reforms. The formerly crushing weight of assessments was greatly decreased, and university and college education began to be restructured. The grants from the public funds to private institutions almost doubled in the nine years from 1902. These facts speak for themselves (Proceedings of Home Department, 1913, May p.17).

The Government of India had from time to time, in the communications marginally noted, called the attention of the Local Governments and the Administrations to various recommendations made by the Indian Education Commission for improvement in the system and methods of school and collegiate education. The Government of India was glad to believe that these recommendations were everywhere receiving their due share of attention, and that progress was being steadily made (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education 7). The Principal of the Lahore College had brought to notice the liberality of the Amritsar Municipality, who last year expended Rs.2,488 on scholarships held in Lahore Government College a sum which was not less than that expended by the Panjab University on the same subject (Proceedings of Home Department, 1887, Education p. 235).

The necessary steps were taken to ensure that the educational administration in each province was carried out in accordance with the general principles put forward; and subject to the observance of these principles the proposals submitted by the various Local Governments had the general approval of the Government of India. Every Government College, secondary school, training and technical school had a Board of Visitors of which the Commissioner, the Collector and the local subdivisional Officer as well as non-officials were its members, and that no new Government College, secondary school, training and technical school be started and no alteration be made in the status of existing institution without the Commissioner and Collector being consulted (Proceedings of Home Department, 1918, Education, March p. 3).

4.12 Teacher Preparation

The General Educational Conference held in Lahore on April 24, 1888, deliberated upon the issue of "the provision of efficient training schools and colleges for teachers and the employment as teachers of those only who had given satisfaction during a course of training." Teacher's character was recognised as a very important quality for the position in public schools (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education p. 59).

The Indian Education Commission advised that normal schools for secondary school teachers, whether Government or aided, be fostered. The Lahore Central Training College, which provided trained teachers, was opened in 1881 (Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume III, n. d., p. 442). The Central Training College in Lahore was said to be the first institution of its sort in India. At Amritsar, there was also Government aided Training College for secondary and elementary school teachers (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 310). In 1882, the Indian Education Commission suggested that all Government secondary school instructors be obliged to complete a test on teaching principles and techniques. The quality of instruction had not always been good, and systems for certified, licenced, and student teachers had failed to provide an adequate number of well-qualified instructors. The vital problem of vernacular languages likewise received insufficient attention. To address these flaws, a committee of experts was formed in March 1902 to draft a new code that would apply to all Indian provinces.

Professional training for headmasters and other principal masters of secondary schools, as well as assistant professors for colleges, had received less attention than regular teacher training. Imperial Gazetteer of India, (Volume III, p. 442) recorded that the college had a school linked to it where students could get hands-on training in teaching approaches. Superintendents, who were assistant professors, were in charge of supervising and controlling the pupils. The method lectures were illustrated by the professor's sample lessons, which were then followed by a discussion. Every student was taught how to draw on the chalkboard in a nice and legible manner. In 1892, in Amritsar, normal classes for the training of female teachers began in the Alexandra School, the Christian Boarding School, the Municipal Board Central School, and the Church of England *Zenana* Mission Schools, and they were very useful (Khan, 1997, p.116).

4.12.1 Teachers Training in Punjab

In 1881-82 the number of teachers in departmental primary schools who held certificates of training, or who had passed some equivalent public examination, amounted to about two-fifths of the whole. In aided schools, the number of trained teachers was small. For admission to the Government schools a new condition was required that a student had passed the middle school examination, though exceptions were still allowed in the case of teachers. Model or practising schools were attached to each of the three departmental schools.

The constitution of these model schools underwent some criticism; The old system, in which students were taught in turn by students in training in regular schools, was pushed to be replaced with one in which each model school had a full-time permanent staff, with the students in training just visiting the schools and participating in the instruction. The men who had gone to the conventional schools were believed to be in high demand, albeit it was noted that they couldn't always hold their own when put in command of an unfamiliar hamlet.

Special arrangements were made at one of the Colleges in Lahore for the thorough practical training of science teachers in all the different branches in which they would be required to give instruction in accordance with the foregoing scheme, and no man was employed to teach science in schools who had not had some special practical training in a laboratory, and, if possible, in the departmental writ. To encourage the study of science, the Panjab University was moved to recognise these subjects in the Entrance Examinations by creating an alternative course in which scientific subjects should take precedence over literary subjects, as well as to include agricultural chemistry principles in the Arts course, or in a special course for the degree of B.Sc.

Despite the fact that the Bachelors of Training Class was too large for a single class, each year a substantial number of graduates were denied admittance. In 1889, for example, there were 196 applications for admission. The demand for skilled graduates in the province was so high that the students were able to find work before they graduated. With the fast expansion of education, demand was certain to rise, as it did in the case of the Senior Anglo Vernacular Class, which had a record number of applications for admission in 1919 (Proceedings of Home Department, 1919, November, p. 3).

The Central Training College at Lahore was designed for teachers of a higher class, both English and vernacular. There were two English classes, one for students who had passed or read up to the First Arts or Intermediate examination, the other, more recently instituted, being for matriculates. The senior course was confined to the principles and practice of teaching, to translation and re-translation, and to elementary science. The junior course included instruction in all the subjects. The vernacular class was composed of picked men who had passed through a training school, of students who had passed the vernacular Entrance examination of the Punjab University, and of teachers sent in from schools (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 79).

According to the returns, overall expenditure on master's training institutes grew from R37,000 to R57,000. The discrepancy was most likely due to the inclusion of stipend costs at a later period. The four mistresses training schools were all run by private companies and aided. They had roughly 150 students, but only a tiny percentage of them were teachers in training, and even fewer had passed the lower primary test. In his report as Acting Director for 1883-1884, Mr. Ibbetson said of these schools, "It is a misuse of words to term such institutions normal, and it is a waste of money to pay for them." The idea of separate normal schools for local females had been tried and failed, and now there were elementary schools, perhaps of a higher standard than the others, with some of the most promising pupils serving as teachers in their immediate surroundings." Despite being labelled as assisted schools, these four schools received Rs.11,000 from provincial revenues in 1883-84, out of a total expenditure of Rs.12,700. The next year, private-sector receipts increased to Rs.4,000 (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 79, 80).

4.12.2 Teachers Certification in Punjab

Certificates were either permanent or provisional. A provisional certificate consists of an entry of the teachers name in a register kept by the department. Certificates were for general teacherships and for special teacherships. Certificates of general teacherships were either Vernacular or Anglo-Vernacular. An Anglo-Vernacular certificate qualified the holder to teach either in an Anglo-Vernacular or in Vernacular school.

A Vernacular certificate qualified the holder to teach in a Vernacular school, or to teach subjects other than English in the Primary or Middle department of an Anglo-Vernacular school. Certificates for general teacherships were of two kinds-Senior and Junior, each divided into two grades, viz., I and II. Holders of certificates were eligible for the offices noted below:

Senior-- First grade--Head Master, High School.

Second grade-- Head Master, Middle School, or Assistant, High Department.

Junior-- First grade-- Assistant, Middle Department.

Second grade--Head Master, Primary School.

A certificate in every case qualified the holder to fill posts lower than those above specified (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 336).

Three years continuous service with credit as a teacher, or two years in the case of individuals who had completed a period of training, was required for a permanent second grade Certificate. In the case of instructors who passed the certificate examination in the first division, this term was decreased by one year. Two years of continuous employment with credit as a teacher were required for a temporary first-grade certificate. Two years of continuous work as a teacher in a Middle department was necessary for a permanent first grade certificate.

For a permanent second grade certificate, three years of continuous service with credit as a teacher, or two years as a Principal teacher in a Middle department or Assistant teacher in a High department in the case of individuals who completed a course of training. In the case of instructors who passed the Certificate Examination in the First Division, this term was decreased by one year. 2 years of continuous service with credit for a temporary first grade certificate. In the case of instructors who passed the B.A. Exam, this term was decreased by one year. For a permanent first-grade certificate, two years of continuous employment with credit as a high school headmaster, or a master's degree.

A Certificate may be rejected, suspended, decreased, or revoked by the Director at any time, notwithstanding the above, once the applicant or holder had been given a chance to explain. A temporary Certificate of any grade was revoked or decreased if the Inspector's findings were unsatisfactory three times in a row. A temporary Certificate expired if it was not made permanent within four years of its issue date, although it might be restored at any time if the lapse was due exclusively to the holder's inability to find work as a teacher. The length of service necessary to make it permanent in this case began on the day of revival (Proceedings of Home Department, 1886, Education p. 336, 337).

The examination standards for teacher's certificates were high, and certificates were only given to instructors who passed the exams. In July, certificate examinations were held in Lahore, Delhi, and Rawalpindi. Candidates who had not been sent up from Normal Schools or Training Colleges were eligible to take the test if they met the requirements. Candidates for admission to certificate examinations had to be at least nineteen years old and had adequate evidence of good conduct. They had to complete the Middle School Examination in Persian or Sanskrit, as well as Mathematics, before being admitted. Panjab University Entrance Test, passing Persian as one of the subjects when the certificate examination was done in Urdu, and Sanskrit when the certificate examination was conducted in Hindi.

The Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination consisted of Entrance Examination, Calcutta University, or Panjab University, Arts side. The Senior Vernacular Certificate Examination consisted of the Intermediate Examination, Panjab University, Arts side or F.A. Examination. The Entrance Examination if followed by two years attendance at an Arts College (Proceedings of Home Department, 1886, Education p. 340, 341).

In a review on education preparation for the teaching profession, the training of elementary teachers, the training of secondary teachers, and the training of teachers of special subjects were given importance. As attested by the official report of the (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education p.13), Teachers maintained a high standard of personal character truth, and honour in their classrooms, and they not only instilled in their students the general duty of consideration and respect for others, but also the special duty of obedience and reverence for their parents. They also encouraged such training in schools, in matters affecting their daily lives, as may help to improve and raise the character of their homes. The Punjab Government maintained all training institutes, including the Central Training College in Lahore and four normal schools in Delhi, Jullundur, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. A school was affiliated to each of these institutions. For details on teacher training and types of the teacher training courses refer to APPENDIX VII

The training institutions existed in the Punjab were all maintained by Government; they included-

a. The Central Training College, Lahore

b. Four normal schools at-

Delhi, Jullundur, Lahore, Rawalpindi.

Central Training College, Lahore

There were six classes in the College-

1. B.T. Class	55 students
S.A.V Class	42
J.A.V, First year	44
J.A.V, Second year	44
S.V. First section	53
S.V. Second Section	40
	278 Student

278 Students

The B.T. Class was much too large for a single class yet a large number of graduates had to be refused admission each year. There were for example 196 applications for admission in 1919. So great was the demand for these trained graduates in the Province that the students had all as a rule obtained employment before they leave the college. With the present rapid development of education the demand was quite certain to increase. The same is the case with regard to the Senior Anglo Vernacular Class, the number of applicants for admission was 89 (Proceedings of Home Department, 1919, Nov. 3).

An Anglo-Vernacular Department and a Vernacular Department made up the primary training college. The Anglo-Vernacular Department was separated into two classes: senior and junior; the Vernacular Department had just one class, the senior vernacular Class. The Principal oversaw the Central Training College, which was under the overall supervision of the Director. The Assistant Superintendent, a staff of three assistant masters who also translated, prepared, and reviewed text-books, and a maulavi who also taught in the central model school all aided the principal in his tasks (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1888, p. 8). For details refer to APPENDIX-VIII

Many steps were discussed to make teaching a more rewarding profession for instructors. In 1919, the remuneration of the Indian Educational Service's women's

section was changed. It was difficult to insist on the recruitment of Indians to the senior service in this situation since Indian women were rarely available for such positions. The job of an inspector was fraught with unique challenges. The region she was in charge of was generally considerably bigger than that of an inspector, therefore the hassles of travel were greatly increased when a lady traveled alone. Teachers at girl's schools, on the other hand, required continual support and encouragement (Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review. Volume I, 1923, p. 41).

In the Punjab, the number of Government training schools for women increased from one at the turn of the century to eight at the turn of the century, with a total of 120 students. This significant rise in the number of certified female instructors had an impact on the quality of instruction (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922 Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p.134).

4.13 Conclusion

In 1871, the College evaluated sixty-eight applicants for its Arts test in English and fifty in vernaculars. The elevation of the College to a University, with the capacity to issue Oriental degrees rather than certificates, was hoped to boost the momentum of Oriental studies. It was also said that individuals who appeared in the vernacular had a greater understanding of subjects like mathematics and history than those who appeared in English. In 1881, for example, 196 and 53 applicants took the University College Entrance Examination on the English and vernacular sides, respectively, with seventy and thirty-nine passes in each. Similarly, twelve out of twenty-nine Anglo-vernacular and seven vernacular applicants passed the proficiency examination; four out of thirteen Anglo-vernacular and two out of four vernacular candidates completed the high proficiency examination, which was equivalent to a B.A. degree (Zahid, n.d., p.39). The Panjab University was authorised in 1882, exactly one hundred years after Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassa, after another flurry of letters and, probably, meetings. At the university, there were degrees accessible in the vernacular. And, as the Central Government had warned, it had long been dogged by serious questions about its competence. The university had its origins in a college founded in Lahore in 1870 to promote Oriental learning as the

result of prolonged agitation for such an institution on the part of local leaders and chiefs in the old Indian province of the Punjab. This college eventually became the University of Punjab in 1882 (Axford, 1966, p. 280, 281).

From 1882 until 1920, the British monarch had direct influence over the development of education policy in colonial Punjab. As a result, the British crown's original policies encouraged an exclusive English education aimed at a tiny percentage of the population who belonged to the higher socio-economic strata (Zahid, n.d., p. 33). It was undeniable that the colonial British Government had a specific goal in mind: to create a class of people who could act as interpreters between the British and the millions of people they governed. This class of people was to be Indians, but they were to be educated in British taste, opinion, modes, and morals. Education in colonial Punjab was limited in breadth, and catered to the interests of the foreign rulers, and heavily urbanised, particularly in higher education. Teaching was the primary goal of education, rather than learning.

CHAPTER-5

EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES BY THE REFORMERS

Any study on the evolution of education in the Punjab cannot be complete without enumerating the contributions of the socio-religious reform movements. This chapter takes into account the different socio-religious movements that swept Punjab during the time period under study. These socio religious reform movements had a strong impact on the educational scenario also as they involved the foundation and running of several institutions of primary, middle and especially higher education which continue to this day.

5.1 Role of Socio Religious Movements in Spread of Education

Punjab had its own unique social and political development, which affected how local leader's responded to larger political movements. These variables impacted the speed and direction of the Indian nationalist movement. Understanding the growth of education, as well as the role of social and religious reform movements, would be more fruitful if they were understood as regional political interactions substantially influenced by regional organisations.

The search for self-identity was an essential component of the vision of an independent India, and revivalist, social economic, and social religious movements played a significant role in it. This function of resurrection was becoming increasingly important for the advancement of education. This social reform movement gave structure and justice to not only the growth of schools, universities, and institutions of higher education, but also the notion and practices of education, both Western and vernacular.

Education was crucial in eradicating the colonial identity and sense of inferiority that had been implanted in the Indians throughout colonial rule. Discontent with colonial education fueled revival and reform efforts in people, which resulted in the widespread and rapid expansion of education. The revivalist movement's favourite field of mobilisation was education. The interaction of political, religious, and pedagogical outlooks provided the educational focus in Punjab a distinctive push

during the colonial period, which had left a lasting imprint on the expansion of education in Punjab and India throughout the colonial period as well as after independence.

In the Punjab, the effect of Christian missionaries and western education sparked a new awakening. Socio-religious reform initiatives were taken by educated and rational notable Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. Various socio-religious groups engaged in radical women's education initiatives, including the Hindu Arya and Dev Samaj, the Muslim Ahmadiya, and the Sikh Singh Sabha (Datta, 1975, p. 137). Although Indian private initiative had become "the principal vehicle for disseminating Western education" between 1880 and 1900, most elementary and many secondary schools in North India were still run or sponsored by the Government by 1902. Christian missionaries were largely responsible for social and religious transformation. Many educated Punjabis formed organisations such as the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore (1869), the Lahore Brahmo Samaj (1863), the Singh Sabha, Amritsar (1873), and the Arya Samaj, Lahore (1877) as a reaction to and interaction with Western Christian philosophy.

The sort of active cooperation with the British raj in the garb of socioreligious movements accompanied the British to Punjab when they happened to annex it to their empire. So whatever movements arose in the Punjab in the second half of the 19th century was as a matter of fact either extension of or inspired by those which were already in existence in the rest of the country. There was, thus, no substantial change in the purpose. The people of Punjab to whatever community they belonged, behaved exactly in the same manner and fashion as their counterparts in the rest of the country. The motivating factor remained the same i.e. how to retain them in the saddle of power and prestige in the changing circumstances (Ram, 1987, p. 289).

Several institutions and schools were constructed in Punjab as a result of these movements. Their goal was to combine contemporary education with their communities' culture, religion, values, and customs.

5.2 Hindu Social Reform Movements

The rise of Indian nationalism and the battle for independence were inextricably tied with the Hindu revival and reform movements of the 19th and early 20th century. The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Dev Samaj movements played a

significant role in the spread of education and greatly influenced the social attitudes and outlook of the Hindus, particularly the urban middle classes (Jain and Anand, 2008).

5.2.1 Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj movement was one of the most well-known and influential movements in Punjab. It's also worth thinking about why the Punjab became such a fruitful ground for the growth of the Arya Samaj's ideas. One of the foremost reasons for the growth of Arya Samaj in Punjab was that the influence of *Brahmanas* on this community was not as great as it was in Hindu cultural centres. Punjab was not a stronghold of orthodoxy. The missionary effort in the area of Punjab had not fared any better than it had in other areas.

The success of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab during the period under consideration may be traced back to the arrival of Islam, which undermined traditional Hinduism. However, throughout the time period under consideration, Arya Samaj was far more popular and prominent in the United Provinces (present day Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand) than it was in the Punjab, with the United Provinces accounting for 70% of total Arya Samaj adherents and the Punjab accounting for just 27%. However it remained an elitist movement, and four-fifths of the Arya Samajists belonged to the *dwija* (twice born castes, and 96 percent were the upper middle groups of the Punjab. Khatris, Aroras, Brahmanas, Jats, Banias and Rajputs were the most numerous castes in the Arya Samaj. The movement was mostly restricted to the educated castes, with just a few craftsmen and members of the lower castes joining it (Chaudhary, 1989, p. 131, 132).

Within twenty years after the Punajb's Lahore Arya Samaj's (1877-1901) founding, a major number of Hindu mercantile castes— Khatris, Aroras, and Banias—had effectively monopolised western education and new professions introduced by the British. In reality, the Arya Samaj appealed to these commercial classes because its Aryanized socio-economic and theological doctrine clearly met their economic demands. Dayanand's assertion that caste should be defined largely by merit rather than birth, opened up new channels of social mobility for educated and commercial classes seeking to gain social standing commensurate with their rising economic status.

As a result of the Arya Samaj's doctrine, these people were able to accept new ways of life without rejecting the validity of their past and culture; it also assisted them in opening up new vistas of trade and industry that had previously been denied to them owing to caste issues. As a result, it was only natural for Punjab's commercial elite of Arya Samajist's to give close attention to the emergence and development of new economic businesses (Chaudhary, 1989, p. 135, 136).

From 1877 to 1883, Swami Dayanand spent his time in preaching, teaching and writing books, as well as in establishing and organizing Arya Samaji's throughout India. Swami Ji regarded 'Vedas' as eternal and infallible and laid down his own interpretation of them in his book 'Satyarath Prakash' in 1874. He disregarded the authority of the later scriptures, such as the *Puranas* and considered the epics-the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharta* as literary treasures and nothing more. The Arya Samaj was a defensive organization for the protection against external attacks. In order to counteract Christian missionary activities, it started the 'shuddhi' movement for the reconversion of those Hindus who had been willingly or forcibly converted to Islam or Christianity (Dutta, 1975, p. 137).

The Arya Samaj found fertile ground in Punjab, and the Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab quickly joined hands to form the Arya Samaj in Punjab. Miyan Muhammadjan's house became the headquarters of the Amritsar Arya Samaj. In 1878, Bhai Jawahar Singh served as the Secretary of the Lahore Samaj (Ram, 1987, p. 296). The membership grew rapidly in the Punjab and in the Northwest Frontier Province, from 39,952 in 1891 to 92,419 in 1901. Democratic and mono-theistic, with the cry of "Back to the *Vedas*", by 1891 it had set up a committee in every district of these two provinces. The movement kept on growing for decades amongst middle class urban educated Hindus (Tangri, 1961, p.388).

In terms of politics, the Arya Samaj was a supporter of nationalism. One of Dayananda's earliest goals was political freedom. He was, in fact, the first to adopt the phrase Swaraj. He was the first to insist on people solely utilising *swadeshi* (Indianmade) products and discarding foreign items. He was the first to declare Hindi to be India's official language (Majumdar, 1965, p.475). He was at the forefront of the advocacy of Hindi as a medium of instruction for Government schools (Jones, 1968, p. 46). In Punjab, Christian missionaries were the first non-government educational

organisation. However, DAV institutions played a significant role in promoting education among Punjabis. Lahore's DAV school (later renamed College) was founded in 1886. The institution offered a curriculum comparable to that of Government schools, but without the assistance of the Government or the presence of Englishmen on the faculty (Nishtha, 1992).

5.2.1. (i) Educational Initiatives of Arya Samaj

The objective of the Arya Samaj in terms of their educational initiatives was to encourage and enforce the study of Hindi literature, classical Sanskrit and the *Vedas*. They wanted common youth of Punjab and India to have access to education that was equitable, based on Indian ideals, but also in tune with modern realities. The modern age was also given importance and English literature and sciences both theoretical and applied were also to be taught in Arya Samaj schools and colleges. Furthermore, Arya Samaj was to provide means for giving technical education (Faruqhar, 1997, p. 232). The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) educational movement extended throughout northern India and as far south as Maharashtra and was founded on this foundation (Jones, 1968, p. 45). By 1886, the Samaj had established a high school in Lahore, with college studies added three years later.

The DAV, which was hailed as "one of the most fascinating educational ventures in Northern India" by the Punjab Administration Report of 1901-02, opened in Lahore in June of 1889 (Chhabra, 1962, p. 356). Mr. Valentine Chirol noted in 1910 that the Aryas social actions among Hindus were admirable in practice (Chhabra, 1962, p. 355). The Samaj's most notable programmes were supporting the study of national languages of spiritual truth in order to bring the learned and uneducated together and by emphasising the study of classical Sanskrit, the development of sound and energetic habits through a controlled way of life, the encouragement of a thorough knowledge of English literature, and the country's material progress through the dissemination of knowledge of physical and applied sciences (Chhabra, 1962, p. 356).

In terms of financing, the Arya Samaj, just like other socio-religious reform movements relied a lot on donation, charitable grants and help from private individuals, public enterprises and to some extent, even the Government. To honour the founder's memory, large quantities of money were raised, and the Dayananda

Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore was founded in 1887. This excellent institution, in which the cream of the Arya Samaj's young crop was reared on a diet of contemporary English education as well as instruction in the Samaj's religion, became an excellent academic legacy and a fitting tribute to Dayananda's passion and enthusiasm. By the turn of the century, the Arya Samaj also owned considerable property, and had endowments yielding an annual income (including tuition and admission fees, etc.) of over Rs. 60,000 (4000 pounds) (Farquhar, 1915, p. 125).

In terms of equity, the Arya Samajists also tried to provide an avenue for female education that was quite a rarity in colonial Punjab (Jones, 1989, p. 101, 102). Arya militants switched their emphasis to education in addition to *Ved Prachar* (proselytism and preaching) and *Shuddhi* (purify and readmit Hindus who had converted to Islam or Christianity). Lala Munshi Ram (Swami Shraddhanand) and Lala Dev Raj created the Arya Kanya Pathshala, a Female's school, in the early 1890s to provide an education free of missionary influence. Its success sparked conversations among its supporters about expanding into higher education, leading to the establishment of Kanya Maha Vidyalaya on June 14, 1896. It enrolled 203 pupils in all grades by 1906, and the ashram accommodated 105 students, who were unmarried, married, and widows. It produced women's education books and launched *Panchal Pandita*, a Hindi monthly, in 1898 to 'preach and promote about female education. Education was designed to build a new ideal Hindu woman for the militant Aryas (Jones, 1989, p. 101, 102).

As the institutions of the Arya Samaj were entirely governed and administered by Indians, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic institution was an "essentially novel" organisation in Colonial Punjab. The most original and unusual characteristic was the way it merged 'traditional' and 'modern' teaching, which made it unique and also the most favoured choice of parents and youth alike. The founders' ambitions and aspirations, the establishment and growth of the DAV movement's institutional network between 1880 and 1920, the varied nature of its finance model, and the layout of its curriculum all reflect this combination of "traditional" and "modern" characteristics. One of colonial India's most popular indigenous educational efforts was the DAV movement. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School, founded by the Arya Samaj in 1886, was elevated to the status of a college in 1886. Intermediate classes

were inaugurated in 1889 at DAV College, followed by Bachelors of Art in 1894 and a Masters in Arts programme in Sanskrit in 1895.

The Lahore Samaj drew up designs for the institution and established a fund-raising subcommitte on December 6, 1883. They were initially highly popular, but by 1884, interest had dwindled. On November 3, 1885, the Lahore Samaj's *Antarang Sabha* (Executive Committee) received a letter from Lala Hans Raj promising to serve as the school's principal without salary. Hans Raj, a Bhalla Khatri, was a student at the Lahore Government College when he joined the Arya Samaj. His unselfish deed reignited the ambition to open a school. After then, all progress happened swiftly and there was a foundation laid for a great endeavour.

On February 27, 1886, the newly formed Dayananda Anglo-Vedic Trust and Management Society held its inaugural meeting, and the school opened on June 1 of that year. Within a month, 550 students had registered, and the Punjab University gave the new Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College affiliation on May 18, 1889. The objectives of the D.A.V. College, Lahore were quite clear and spelled out. It aimed to create an Anglo-Vedic college in Punjab to promote, enhance, and enforce the study of Hindu literature. A concerted effort was to be undertaken to promote and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and the *Vedas*. Simultaneously, the movement promoted and made compulsory the study of English literature, as well as theoretical and applied sciences. It also sought to offer methods for providing technical education, as long as it did not conflict with the above-mentioned goals (Nayyar, 2001, p. 20).

The high school and college taught a curriculum similar to the Government schools, but did so without Government support or the participation of Englishmen on the faculty. It was highly successful, as students trained in this institution demonstrated the quality of their education in the annual examinations. This great foundation, in which the flower of the youth of the Arya Samaj received a modern English education, and also instruction in the religion of the Samaj, formed a very worthy memorial to Dayananda's devotion and energy (Farquhar, 1915, p.125).

5.2.1. (ii) The Split in Arya Samaj

The Samaj's religious aspect was emphasised by the radicals, afterwards known as the 'Gurukul' side, while the moderates, the 'College' party, recognised

Dayananda as a brilliant reformer but not as a divinely inspired *rishi* (Jones, 1994, p. 99). The Arya Samaj was formally separated by 1893. Most of the local Arya Samajes and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in Punjab were taken over by radicals. The Managing Committee and the school remained in the hands of the moderates. They formed alternative local groups and established the *Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha* as their own provincial representative body in 1903. For them, power and leadership remained centred on the Managing Committee, with education as the major cause.

The moderates and supporters of the college were severely harmed by the 1893 divide. They'd lost their organisational framework, which had previously supported their educational endeavours. Slowly, they rebuilt it and were able to raise the funds needed to not only preserve but also expand the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College. By 1914, the student body had swelled to 961. More importantly, the Lahore school served as a model for other Aryas across the Punjab, with local samajes establishing elementary and secondary schools.

By 1910, the Managing Committee had established rules and regulations for schools connected with it, and had therefore established itself as the formal leader of a burgeoning educational system. Other sorts of service to the Hindu society were added to the moderates' educational endeavours. Rai Mathura Das established the first Arya Samaj orphanage in Ferozepur in 1877. It flourished slowly until the late 1890s famines. Lala Lajpat Rai, a senior moderate in the Arya Samaj, said that the Samaj would house any orphan submitted to them in response to Christian charity initiatives that both saved and converted hungry youngsters (Farquhar, 1915, p. 125).

The Samaj was involved in a lot of educational activities in different towns, cities and even village across the vast province of Punjab. At Lahore, it had created and managed a first-class College, preparing scholars up to the highest standard and for the highest University examinations," Lala Lajpat Rai wrote glowingly of the progressive party's schools and colleges. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, founded in 1886 in honour of its founder, was known as "The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College." Its goal was to promote and enforce the study of Hindi literature, classical Sanskrit and the *Vedas*, and theoretical and practical English literature and sciences, as well as "to give tools for technical education.

The Principal Lala Hansraj was highly respected and although his post was honorary, he held the post with remarkable success since the foundation. He was an ideal of Arya Samaj principles and inspired the faculty and students alike by adhering to the highest personal an community ideals. Several of the school's alumni were on staff, working in a missionary spirit on meagre stipends. A number of secondary and elementary schools run by the Samaj around the province were directly or indirectly affiliated with the College, and some of them get the normal Educational Department funds. The Samaj also runs various schools in the United Provinces that were similar to the Punjab's Anglo-Vedic or Anglo-Sanskrit Schools, with their flagship Anglo-Vedic school being in Dehra Dun (Farquhar, 1915, p. 125).

The protective coloration of Indian cultural tradition was to be applied to English instruction. It tried to secure Western education by putting both its scientific and liberal leanings to good use in the service of the community. "It became the dominant agent for cultivating a solid and independent nationalism in Punjab" under Lala Hansraj, who served as its principal for 28 years.

Arya Samaj also established four widows' houses and two Nari Ashrams for female education and self-sufficiency. Its principal goal was to prepare its pupils to be wonderful mothers, good daughters, and self-sacrificing, loving wives. Its success may be evidenced in the fact that it had a literacy rate of 100%. Arya Samaj was the most important reform movement of all as it reorganised the Hindu community on a vast scale in Punjab.

5.2.2 Dev Samaj

Dev Aatma, a member of the Brahmo Samaj, moved to Punjab from Uttar Pradesh in 1887 and created Dev Samaj. On 16 February 1887, he founded the Dev Samaj (Divine Society). Initially, this group was seen to be an offshoot of the Brahmo Samaj, but it quickly began to depart from their beliefs. It asked that its members forgo all caste restrictions, and that they engage in inter-caste meals and marriage. On October 29, 1899, the Dev Samaj built a coeducational school in Moga to support women's education. Educated Punjabi Hindus, graduates, magistrates, physicians, pleaders, money lenders, landlords, and Government workers were drawn to the focus on a strict moral standard combined with significant social radicalism. The people who made up the Samaj's membership were behaviorally and emotionally motivated

and connected to the ideals of the Dev Samaj. This socio-religious movement was always an exclusive group, with members drawn from Punjab's well-educated upper caste Hindus (Jones, 1989, p. 105, 106).

The founder of the Dev Samaj believed that education was essential for women's future success. He underlined the need of expanding women's education, which may provide them with opportunities for insight and independence in public and professional life. As a result, he educated and trained his wife to be an outstanding public servant (Kanal, 1973, p. 245). Many colleges and institutions were founded as a result of it. Two women colleges, one in Ferozepur and the other in Lahore, were established. It also established four girl's schools and sixteen boy's schools. Ferozepur Girls High School was the first Hindu Girls High School. The contribution of Dev Samaj to female education is significant. This movement also pioneered many professional degrees in the province of Punjab, including the first M.B.B.S. in Punjab, who went on to become the Principal of the Lady Hardinge Medical College. It also awarded Punjab its first B.A., B.T. The Ferozepur college and school produced number of trained teachers and its contribution was even acknowledged by Panjab University Committee. At the close of 1920, Dev Samaj was running 27 educational institutions. The pecularity of these institutions was that most of them were for girls and in rural areas. The society also opened two 'Nari Ashrams' for education of elderly women (Kanal, 1973, p. 246).

5.2.3 Brahmo Samaj Movement

Following the conquest of the Punjab, there was an immediate demand for educated Indians to staff Government offices and Christian Missionary organisations. From Bengal and the North-West Provinces, *Brahmans* and *Kayasthas* were recruited. Their entrance established an elite position beneath the English overlords, but above Punjabis who had an English education or a grasp of the new colonial environment. Bengalis supplied three examples for emulation: one as orthodox Hindus, another as Christian converts, and a third as Brahmo Samaj members. The Brahmos were the most talkative, forceful, and eloquent of the three sorts. The Lahore Brahmo Samaj was formed in 1863 by a group of Bengalis and Punjabis. Leading Bengali Brahmos such as Keshav Chandra Sen in 1867 and 1873, Debendranath Tagore in 1867, 1872,

and 1874, and Protap Chandra Majumdar in 1871 all paid visits to Lahore (Jones, 1989, 94).

The Brahmo Samaj movement, however, did not succeed in Punjab, but it did establish a new educational system. Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, the major spokesperson and highly influenced by the Brahmo Samaj beliefs and views, carried on the heritage of the Brahmo Samaj in Punjab. In Lahore, he established a library and a college, as well as the journal The Tribune. Their Anglo-Vernacular Girls School in Lahore, which was well-known among the learned, drew children from wealthy families. In Hindi, the kids were given a limited curriculum. Knitting and sewing were taught to them (Verma, 1997, p. 212).

5.3 Christian Missionaries in Punjab

Since the 16th century, the history of Christian mission in the East had been inextricably linked to the West's imperial development. The gospel arrived in conquistador ships, which were sent to conquer and convert. This union of the holy and the secular inexorably resulted in a conflation of the religious and the political, as well as a tangle of the ecclesiastical and the economic. Christian education was very much a component of the missionary endeavour until the very end of the colonial period, and it couldn't help but be entangled in the same conflict and misunderstanding. The temptation was to conflate the two discourses and co-opt the secular into the sacred (Heredia, 1995, p. 2332).

During its pre-Mutiny renaissance, Delhi became a centre of cultural engagement for the Punjab until Lahore took its place. Ludhiana rose to prominence between these two cities after the American Presbyterian Mission established its new headquarters there in 1834. The Mission purchased a printing press the next year and began publishing tracts, scripture translations, grammars, and dictionaries in Punjabi, Urdu, Persian, Hindi, and Kashmiri. The Ludhiana missionaries, like the Baptists of Serampore, worked hard to standardise the region's languages.

Missionary Societies activities had grown significantly by 1820, but their primary goal was not educational. Even when they began their school careers, they prioritised the study of current Indian languages over English at first. The consequence was a revolutionary extension of education that destroyed old notions and beliefs and ushered in a new India's intellectual ferment (Kabir, 1973, p. 728).

In the year 1854, under the aegis of 'New Education Policy: Progress in Punjab' many restrictions on the work of the Christian missionaries were removed, and a more liberal attitude was manisfested by the rulers in India. This attitude was notable in the matter of education. Mission schools were to be aided by generous grants. A new life and interest had been given to educational work of missionaries everywhere (Brar, 2017, p.41). They also brought new kinds of religious organisation and violent proselytism into the picture. After the Punjab was acquired on March 29, 1849, the missionaries used Ludhiana as a forward base from which they soon spread. The Mutiny temporarily halted the spread of Christian missions, but by the 1860s, they had established a network of missions across the North-West. There was a forceful and uncompromising Christianity, which they preached openly in the streets and in print. Christian conversion increased from 3,912 in 1881 to 37,980 in 1901 over the second part of the nineteenth century (Jones, 2008, p. 85, 86).

Mr. Charles Grant, Director of the East India Company, was the first to convince the British public of the importance of sending Christian missionaries to India to convert and educate its people (Basu, n.d. p.192).

5.3.1 First Missionaries in Punjab

No European, especially no Christian preacher, was allowed in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's domain, particularly in Phillaur and Kapurthala. The Maharaja, on the other hand, learned of Dr. Lowrie's Ludhiana school and requested him to visit him in Lahore. In 1835, the Maharaja arranged a cavalry escort and welcomed the young missionary with great honour to his capital. He wanted him to open a school in Lahore where young princes and nobles might receive an English education while spending six months of the year there (Loehlin, 1997, p.190). Mr. Lowrie arrived at Cawnpore on the 9th of October, 1834, and traversed the remaining 500 kilometres to Ludhiana by dak palanquin, carried on men's shoulders by relays, day and night." Thus, John Lowrie arrived at Ludhiana (then called Lodiana) on November 5, 1834, after losing most of his belongings in the river. He was the first missionary sent abroad by the American Presbyterian Church (Loehlin, 1997, p. 186, 187).

The American Presbyterians were the first in the Punjab, with stations at Ludhiana, 1834; Saharanpur, 1835; Sabathu, 1836; Jullunder, 1846; Lahore, 1848; Ambala City, 1848; Ambala Cantt, 1850; Rawalpindi, 1856; Kapurthala, 1860,

Hoshiarpur 1867; Ferozepore, 1869; Rupar, 1890; Khanna, 1894; Phillaur, 1897; Kasur, 1900 and Moga 1909 (Loehlin, 1997, p.196). They were followed by the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England which opened work at Simla and Kotgarh in 1840; Amritsar 1850; Peshawar 1853; Kangra 1854; Srinagar, Kashmir, 1864; Batala 1878; Tarn Taran 1885.

The American United Presbyterians commenced their work at Sialkot in 1855; Rawalpindi 1856; Gujranwala 1868; Gurdaspur 1872; Jhelum 1876; Pathankot 1880; Zafarwal 1884; Lyallpur 1895; Sangia Hill 1901; Sargodha 1905; Dhariwal 1920. They were followed by the Church of Scotland: Chamba 1863; Sialkot 1857 Daska 1857. The New-Zealand Presbyterians were not far behind and opened a branch at Jagadhri in 1911. Kharar (English Baptists, 1891) was taken over by them in 1923. The Methodist Church in Southern Asia commenced work in Lahore in 1881; Multan 1888; Patiala 1891; Delhi 1892; Raiwind 1922; Hissar 1928; they also had stations at Bhatinda, Fazilka, Gurgaon and Rohtak. The Salvation Army (British) worked at Lahore, Dhariwal and Batala. The Roman Catholics held ground at Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur Cantt, Muktsar and Ferozepure, perhaps several other cities (Loechin, 1997, p. 196, 197).

Missionary endeavours had an illustrious history, but missionaries could not rest on their laurels and worked hard to establish that assertions made in the past were still valid today. They worked tirelessly to demonstrate their capacity to adapt their tactics and equipment to changing conditions. 'The Christianization of these races implies not only their evangelization, but also their training and discipline,' states Dr. Cairns, not only the training of the mind, but the training of character; for character was harder to train than mind, and an unassimilated culture may be as dangerous as widespread illiteracy. The major hope today for the missionary confronted with the problem of illiteracy in mass movement regions was the warm embrace of trust in labour as a moral and educational force, and in a joint endeavour to improve the people's level via a practical education that will fit them for life (Village Education in India, 1920, p. 47).

5.3.2 Educational Initiatives of Christian Missionaries

When the Missionaries initially came to Punjab, they had no interest in contributing to the educational progress. By 1820, the activities of Missionary

Societies had increased greatly, but their primary purpose was still not educational. They prioritised the study of modern Indian languages over English even when they initially started school. Old concepts and beliefs were eliminated as a result of this revolutionary expansion of knowledge, and an intellectual ferment ushered in a new India (Kabir, 1973, p. 728).

In order to encourage education in Punjab, a number of religious organisations established schools and colleges. The founding of the American Presbyterian Mission in Ludhiana in 1834 was the first major missionary endeavour in the Punjab. The missionary, who was also a paid professional preacher, gave religion propagation a new dimension. Personal influence and 'Christian' example were important to missionaries, but even these were lacking; more than 75% of the teaching personnel were Hindu or Muslim. Furthermore, student demographics fared significantly worse. Non-Christians made up around 95% of the pupils. As a result, the required climate for mission schools' raison d'être was jeopardised. As a result, the replication of authority by language became essentially unimportant. Mission schools were also heavily influenced by Indian culture. Many of the principals and headmasters were Hindu or Muslim. Hindus and Muslims delivered Bible lessons as well (Bellenoit, 2005, p. 16).

According to records, Punjab had just three colleges in 1883-1884: Government College and Oriental College in Lahore, and St. Stephens College in Delhi (Majumdar and Datta 1965, p. 78). Mission College Lahore was founded in 1886 and renamed Forman Christian College in 1894. The foundation stone for Punjab Chief's Aitchison College was laid in 1886 (Jain and Anand, 2008). Pakistan boasted all five big and well-established Christian Colleges: Forman Christian College, Lahore; Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore; Gordon College, Rawalpindi (1893); Murray College, Sialkot; and Edwards College, Peshawar. The Baring Union Christian college was opened at Batala in 1941 (Loehlin, 1997, p. 202).

The *Zanana* missionaries aimed to contact females in their homes while the men were in the fields, allowing them to reach the unreachable. These missionaries had a major impact on Punjab (Jones, 1989, p. 87).

The Church Missionary Society erected stations in the Punjab in 1851, comprising a cluster of outposts around Amritsar and Lahore, as well as a long line of frontier

outposts stretching from Simla to Karachi in Sind. It established a college in Lahore to teach Indians for holy orders. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was established in Delhi in 1852 (Gupta, 2000 (b), p. 110).

Following the East India Company's massive educational Despatch in 1854, Catholic institutions were established in India. The Indian Government designed a comprehensive English education programme from primary to university level in accordance with the Despatch's strategy. Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were among the first places to establish universities. They were neither unitary or residential, but rather affiliating, with associated colleges performing the actual teaching and universities serving primarily as examination bodies. When it comes to higher education in India, the Society of Jesus was a pioneer (Pothacamury, 1945, p. 465, 466).

In 1877, it established St. Stephen's College in Delhi. Between 1865 and 1870, Miss Mary Carpenter visited India on many times, bringing a new dimension to women's education, supporting the employment of female teachers and providing training for them, and giving girls' education a considerable boost (Gupta, 2000 (b), p. 111).

The Missionaries were aided by the Colonial Government and did not face as many financing issues as did the localized Indian reform movements that ventured into education. Christian missionaries brought religious competing structures and strategies from the West. The effectiveness of these approaches in converting Indians to Christianity, as well as tight relations between missionaries and the Government, generated in many Indian religious leaders a great dread of the "Christian danger," which became one of the key motivating causes for religious revivalism in Punjab (Jones, 1968, p. 43,). Indeed, educational institutions, such as schools and universities, boarding homes and orphanages, as well as training and industrial schools, were among the primary tools of proselytism among Protestants from the beginning (Bellenoit, 2005, p.8).

In 1881-82, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 5,01,700 from province revenues and Rs. 5,93,700 from Local and Municipal funds, for a total of Rs. 10,95,400 from Public funds, Rs. 1,10,500 was spent on assisting private effort in actual teaching. The entire cost on the grantees was Rs. 3,05,600, which was less than three times the amount. Despite the fact that the system of grants-in-aid in the Punjab and the North-West Provinces had not evolved, the awards that were provided in both Provinces appeared to be on a more generous scale than in Madras, Bombay, or Bengal. The only aided institution that was founded to the same degree as aided colleges in other provinces in 1881-82 did not show up in the returns in terms of the amount of educational work now done by private initiative (Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 373, 374).

Huge quantities of money were spent on their construction and upkeep. In 1917, there were 21,298 Indian and foreign educational workers compared to 26,144 evangelical workers. The exceptional facilities they provided for the educational improvement and vocational training of the impoverished and depressed classes were largely responsible for the Protestant Missions early and surprising success in certain sections of the nation. Protestants of all faiths now outnumber Catholics, who were largely the result of 200 to 400 years of organised missionary efforts (Pothacamury, 1945, p. 468).

The Government's most effective partners in the promotion of English teaching proved to be Christian missionaries. They used the press as an effective medium of communication in Punjabi, Urdu, and Hindi for evangelization. They openly and vehemently denounced indigenous religious traditions and rituals, as well as the Punjabi's social issues and morals, partly because to their own theological convictions and partly because they considered colonial power as providential. In the public mind, they were inextricably linked to the rulers, and as a result of this real or perceived ties, their socio-cultural programme had a distinct advantage. Due to their amazing success, the arrival of Christian missionaries aroused a significant reaction from the Punjab. In the Punjab, the number of Indian Christians climbed from about 4,000 in 1881 to over 3,00,000 in 1921 (Grewal, 1994, p. 130).

5.4 Muslim Reformers

Writing about the Mughal Empire Farquhar stated that the Empire collapsed through inner decay, so that serious evils were there before the fall; yet the actual transference of the power and the prestige produced widespread degradation. The whole community sank with the empire. Necessarily, there was very bitter feeling against the European who had so unceremoniously helped himself to the empire of their fathers. The old education and culture rapidly declined; and for many decades Muhammadans failed to take advantage of the new education planted by the conqueror (Farquhar, 1915, p. 91).

The majority of Muslims were illiterate in the three mostly Muslim provinces of East Bengal, West Punjab, and Sind, not because of racial pride, religious anxieties, or recollections of bygone superiority, but because they were farmers for whom English education was neither practical nor required (Basu, 1974, p. 155). Punjabi Muslim elites testified to the need for Government-appointed *Qazi's* and the implementation of Muslim law in the colonial court system between 1865 and 1885. With the support of G.W. Leitner, registrar of the Punjab University College, Muslim parties utilised growing Punjab civil society organisations such as the Anjuman-i-Punjab (Lahore) and Anjuman-i-Islam (Lahore) to emphasise the need of Islamic legislation. They did so by opposing the Anglo-Indian preference for customary law in Punjab and promoting religious communities as the primary social unit of Punjab society.

The significance of Islam was announced in public spaces in Punjab, calling into question the Anglo-Indian divide between private and public, religious and secular worlds. However, in colonial Punjab, appeals for appointment of *Qazi* and *Shariat* administration placed doubt on well-worn arguments about the relationships between family, community, state, and religion.

5.4.1 Education Initiatives of Muslims Reformers

Following the 1857 uprising, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan made various efforts to educate Muslims. He realised clearly that the Muhammadans of India must assimilate the knowledge and education of the West, as well as institute significant social change amongst themselves, or else collapse into full impotence and disaster, said Farquhar (1915, p. 92, 93). As a result, he immediately began making arrangements to persuade

his brethren of the soundness of his thoughts. He chatted to his acquaintances often, produced pamphlets and books, and founded a society dedicated to the study of Western science. All the theological knowledge in Muhammadan libraries, Sir Syed Ahmed concluded, was useless. He built English schools and tried everything he could to persuade his society of the value of studying English and imbibing Western culture. He began publishing the *Tahzibu'l Akhlaq* or Moral Reform, a monthly Urdu newspaper. It took a brave approach to religious, social, and educational issues. The establishment of the Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh was the pinnacle of his educational endeavours. He designed the institution, rallied public support for it, and raised funds for its construction and endowment. His plan was to establish an institution that would serve young Muslims in the same way as Oxford and Cambridge served Englishmen. He felt that a decent Western education, combined with sound Islamic instruction from the *Koran*, would develop capable and moral young Muslims.

According to Ghosh (2009, p. 236), the majority of Muslims rejected English schooling because they believed it was beneath their dignity to study the language of the usurpers. According to Majumdar (1965, p. 79), the education commission of 1882 studied and gave suggestions on the issue of Muhammadan education in India. Special support for Muhammadan education should be considered a legal use of local, municipal, and provincial finances. The July 1883 Resolution emphasised the importance of generous scholarship support in luring Muslims to higher education. Their needs must be prioritised in the development of any scholarship plan in any Province.

In the years 1901-1902, the number of Muslim students in Arts Colleges and Secondary Schools increased. Islamic influences entered Punjab through the North-West, the Gangetic plain, and Delhi. Religious movements in Islam could be divided into several categories, including political movements, educational movements, religious movements organised primarily to combat Christian missionary activities, religious movements concerned with theological controversies within Islam, movements for reorientation of religious thought under the influence of western ideas, and movements for purely moral and spiritual uplift (Natarajan et al, 1973, p. 645).

5.4.2 Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore

The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam literally translates to the Society for the Defence of Islam. Muhammad Shafi and Shah Din (both Sayyid Ahmad Khan's supporters) created Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in 1866, in Lahore. It developed a thriving institution that offered college programmes. This organisation published islamiya school textbooks. This association established schools that provided a western education and mandated English study. They promoted female education, British-Indian Government allegiance, and opposition to the Indian National Congress. The growth of the spirit, as shown in the Hindu movements we discussed before, sparked comparable activity among Muhammadans.

Many observers felt that most educated Muslims were moving away from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's rationality and toward orthodoxy. The Association's goals were to reasonably and intellectually respond to any allegations levelled against Islam, either verbally or in writing, and to foster its spread. The Society's goal was to provide appropriate and essential education to Muslim boys and girls in order to prevent them from abandoning their genuine faith.

The group took on the responsibility of caring for and educating Muhammadan orphans to the best of its abilities, as well as providing all possible educational assistance to destitute Muslim boys and girls in order to prevent them from slipping into the hands of non-Muslims. Its goal was to enhance the Muslim community's social, moral, and intellectual condition, as well as to take steps to foster and maintain amicable emotions and harmony among Islam's many sects. One of the society's goals was to impress upon the Muhammadans the benefits of devotion to the British Government.

Clearly, the goal was to provide Muslims with a strong contemporary education as well as religious instruction that is more orthodox than that provided at Aligarh schools. They were committed to increase female education and now operate nine female schools in Lahore. They had two huge boys schools in the same city, as well as an Arts College named Islamia College, which had 200 students and a European principal. In each of the classes, Islamic Theology was taught on a regular basis. The Rivaz Hostel, which housed 131 boarders, was located adjacent to the

College. There was also the Hamidia School, which had 27 students and was an elite Arabic scholarship institution (Farquhar, 1915, p. 347, 348).

The Anjuman raised nearly 16 lakhs of rupees, with the majority of the funds going to the cause of Muslim education in Punjab. The Anjuman's rules and regulations were changed and re-registered in 1905, and a few revisions were made to these regulations as recently as 1910. As a consequence of these changes, the General Council (Governing Body) was now in charge of the organization's activities. The General Council was made up of 111 members. From every angle, it was a massive and well-represented body. The Anjuman raised nearly 16 lakhs of rupees, with the majority of the funds going to the cause of Muslim education in Punjab. The Anjuman's rules and regulations were changed and re-registered in 1905, and a few revisions were made to these regulations as recently as 1910. As a consequence of these changes, the General Council (Governing Body) was now in charge of the organization's activities. The General Council is made up of 111 members. From every angle, it was a massive and well-represented body (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December, p. 32).

5.4.3 Anjuman-i-Islamiya

It was created in Lahore in 1869 with the goal of analysing Government policies affecting the Muslim community and presenting the views of Muslims to the Government. Its major goal was to teach Muslim kids Islamic principles as well as western information (Jones, 1989, p.95). In 1882, "the IEC gave special emphasis to the training of some backward segments of the population, such as the Muhammadans. The Commissions overall aim was to transform the department of public instruction into a truly national education system for India, managed and supervised to a greater extent by the people themselves."

5.4.4 Ahmadiya Movement and Education

After the invasion of the Punjab, Punjabi Muslims were exposed to a new culture and European values, but their response was delayed and indefinite until the late nineteenth century. The Ahmadiya Movement gave voice to the revivalist beliefs of Punjabi Muslims. The goal of this movement was to return the Islamic faith to its original purity, as shown in the Holy *Quran*. The Ahmadiyas supported English rule

and tried to protect Muslims commercial interests. The Muslim revivalist movement in Punjab was led by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, a native of Qadian.

He took it upon himself to convey the *Quranic* teachings as applicable to the current world, in order to make them more palatable to individuals who had lost respect for Islam as a result of their exposure to Western culture. These guys were attempting to find a way out of the tangle of procedures and rituals that went by the name of Islam while yet preserving their traditions and faith. The Ahmadiyahs doctrine first attracted to middle-class, literate Muslims, but due to their location in Qadiyan, the Ahmadiyahs began to draw more members from the less educated, impoverished rural classes (Jones, 1989, p. 115).

5.4.5 Educational Initiatives of Anjuman-i-Taraggi-Islam

In 1915, the head of the Ahmadiyah established the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Islam (the committee for the propagation of Islam), in which he outlined a plan of action that included the establishment of primary schools in the Punjab, the establishment of a missionary training college, and the translation of the *Quran* with explanatory notes in Urdu and English (Jones, 1989, p. 201). The Muslims, on the other hand, tended to be less excited about female education options. They were disinterested in adjusting to changing conditions under British control as a whole. They rejected English instruction because it would harm their religion. A majority of Punjabi Muslims were from the agrarian sector and had no need for English education. Furthermore, they resided in rural areas with few English-language schools. The attainment of modern education in secular subjects in the British period was a crucial factor for fashioning modern Muslim society. She maintained that the education was a key catalyst for social change and also for female education, highlighting the role of social reform movements especially among Mohammedans (Suman, 2012).

5.5 Sikh Socio-religious Reform Movements

In the history of the Sikhs, the decades from 1870's wee dominated by single motivation-that was for search of identity and self assertion. With the reform of Sikh ceremonial and observances came the reformation of the Sikh shrines which, again, was clinched by a unique display of communal unity and fervour. This period of fecundation of the spirit and of modern development also witnessed the emergence of

new cultural and political aspirations. Literary and educational processes were renovated (Singh, 1996, p. 273).

Sikhs were found to be poorer than their Hindu or Moslem brethren after the Sikh Empire in Punjab was destroyed in 1849. They took out loans from the village Sahukars, or moneylenders, in order to continue their agricultural work, but only on very strict and demanding terms. Any grain they had in excess of what they needed was stolen away by some mechanism or another. A person who had to be concerned about his or her livelihood cannot aim to be affluent, according to a Punjabi proverb.

As a result, the Sikh peasants could hardly afford to send their children to college. Sikh merchants and traders were rare, and Sikh banking and trading businesses were almost non-existent. The widespread state of poverty among them was seen as the most significant impediment to their advancement and success. Famine, locusts, disease, war, and other calamities added to their loads and fears, making the Sikhs situation indescribably miserable.

With the arrival of western education, Gurumukhi language and literature became immensely significant. Accepted Sikh students at western educational institutions were not taught anything about their religious or cultural backgrounds. They couldn't find out about their parents' religion, education, or history. Sikhs raised their voices afterwards, founding the 'Singh Sabha' organisation to open their own community schools. As a result, the traditional barrier to female education was eliminated, and their former socio-religious factions, the Namdharis and Nirankaris, pushed for women's empowerment.

Khalsa College, a pioneering and prominent educational institution founded in 1892 by the Sikh religious minority community in the British Indian area of Punjab, was formed in Amritsar in 1897. Sikh educationalists and activists addressed issues like as politics, religion, rural development, militarism, and physical education by 'localising' communal, imperial, national, and transnational discourses and knowledge. Both imperialist and mainstream nationalist networks were challenged by their modernist ambitions and visions. In order to educate the contemporary Sikh – scientific, practical, disciplined, and physically powerful - the institution negotiated between local and worldwide claims (Farquhar, 1915, p. 339, 340). Sikhs who were interested in education got together, and the concept for a distinct Khalsa College

grew. Sir James Lyall laid the foundation of the Khalsa College in Amritsar on March 5, 1892. By 1899, the college had evolved into a degree-granting institution (Chhabra, 1962, p.386, 387).

The Singh Sabha movement's proponents recognised the link between religious reform and the expansion of education. The founding of Khalsa College in 1883 served as a precedent for future Sikh institutions. It marked the start of a new educational movement in the country, not simply a college (Singha, 1989). The Sikhs had made the highest progress in schooling. The Khalsa College in Amritsar was controlled by a representation committee and is overseen by a European principal. It had performed admirably in the community. According to the most recent accessible source, there were 159 pupils in 1911-1912. Except for the religious education, everything appears to be fine. There was a huge hostel attached to the college, as well as one in Lahore. Aside from the institution, the community maintains 46 boys' high, middle, and primary schools (Farquhar, 1915, p. 342).

Around 1890, a group of reformers developed among them, calling on their leaders to take action to revive Sikhism and elevate the society. For the strengthening and purity of Sikh life, a central organisation called the Chief Khalsa Dlwan was established with its headquarters in Amritsar, and local organisations called Singh Sabha's were founded all across the country. An uprising was launched in support of educational expansion and social reform. This reforming policy already had significant results.

The *Khalsa Advocate* was an English-language weekly newspaper that was founded in 1903 and continues to represent progressive viewpoints. The Government of India commissioned Dr. Ernest Trumpp, a German missionary, to translate the *Adi Granth* into English so that they might better understand their Sikh subjects, and the volume was released in 1877. Trumpp found the effort extremely challenging for a variety of reasons, and he admitted that his translation must be flawed in many areas.

Sikhs were unsatisfied with his work as Western knowledge spread among them, and in 1893 they requested Mr. A. M. Macauliffe, a member of the Indian Civil Service, to prepare a fresh translation for them. Mr. Macauliffe consented to do so after being highly struck by the worth of the Sikh religion. He collaborated as closely as possible with the Sikh *Gyanis*, and his work was published in six volumes in 1910.

The educational system of the Sikhs, according to Alfred Margin Davis of Bishops Stratford College in London, was completely developed and the most broadminded of anywhere in India. They were unable to establish female educational institutions, but they stressed gender equality. *Chief Khalsa Diwan* afterwards established an educational system for Sikhs. The Sikhs, on the other hand, had forgotten the *Guru's* genuine lessons. They were enslaved by beliefs, biases, and the caste system, and their motto became expensive ceremonialism, Brahmanic influences, emotional depravities, violence, and individual betrayals (Gurdarshan Singh, 1989, p.101).

A strong focus was placed on western education. The community also knew that it could not advance unless it took the time to educate its children. But, above all, the Conference recognised that religious instruction was an important component of the education it envisioned. It was widely thought and encouraged that providing Sikh boys and girls with the education required for their material well-being was insufficient. It was felt that learning about their own faith was just as important, if not more, than learning about other religions. As a result, religious instruction became a required component of all Sikh institutions' curricula, and it was dubbed divinity.

The conference also placed a high value on Punjabi as a medium of teaching in the Gurmukhi script. It was due to two key factors. For starters, English was the mother tongue of Punjabi's, making it the most practical and straightforward medium of learning. Second, Punjabi served as the reservoir for Sikh religious literature. This Sikh institution model, which combined modern education with religious education and used Punjabi as the language of instruction, had been nearly universally recognised for schools. During this time, however, colleges continued to employ English as the language of teaching (Singha, 1989, p.122, 123).

5.5.1 Singh Sabha Movement

The first Singh Sabha was established in Amritsar in 1873, and there were other notable locations where Singh Sabhas were established, including Lahore (under Prof. Gurmukh Singh). Sikhs from all around the province were now eligible to join. A large number of Singh Sabhas popped up in a short period of time (Singh, 1989, p.95). The Singh Sabha was democratic in nature and did not take its inspiration or philosophy from a single person. The Singh Sabha leaders' administrative policies

were motivated by their genuine appreciation for the British people, institutions, and Government structure. The concepts of drafting a constitution and holding elections for the Singh Sabha originated in the West and were unique to the Sikhs at the time. The Singh Sabha represented a break with tradition in this regard, since it did not hesitate to take ideas from the West (Singh, 1997, p. 45).

5.5.2 Khalsa Diwan of Lahore

All the real supporters of reform gathered round Bhai Gurmukh Singh who had founded the Khalsa Diwan of Lahore in 1886. It was patronised by Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha. Its president was Sir Attar Singh, Shams-ul-Ulama and Mahamahopadhya, Chief of Bhadaur, and its secretary was Bhai Gurmukh Singh. It was also supported by the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab and the Commander-in-Chief of India. The Khalsa Akhbar newspaper was founded, with Bhai Dit Singh as its editor. Bhai Gurmukh Singh also drew the attention of Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabha and Mr. M.A. Macauliffe. Bhai Kahan Singh was a renowned Sikh literary expert (Singh, 1997, p.35, 36).

During the 1890s, Sikhs in both wings of the Singh Sabha movement (Lahore and Amritsar) grew more preoccupied with the topic of Sikh identity: were they or were they not Hindus? Competition with Hindu groups had fueled this debate. Western academics working on translations of various Sikh scriptures contributed fuel to the fire of debate regarding Sikhism's function and significance. A committee of sympathetic Englishmen was formed in London to gather finances, and donations from the Sikh ruling families were asked.

In a speech on October 23, 1890, Viceroy Lord Lansdowne declared, "With this movement, the Government of India is in enthusiastic sympathy." We admire the Sikh nation's many wonderful traits, and it gives us great joy to know that, while we formerly saw them as a valiant and fearsome opponent, we can now position them first among her majesty the queen empress sincere and devoted followers (Chhabra, 1962, p. 384).

5.5.3 Chief Khalsa Diwan

In 1902, the Chief Khalsa Diwan was established to bring together disparate groups such as Singh Sabhas, Khalsa Diwans, and other Sikh Societies (Singh, 1989, p. 101). On November 2, 1879, Prof. Gurmukh Singh established a Singh Sabha in

Lahore and linked it with the Amritsar-based Singh Sabha. This formed the Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar, which became the primary body. Amritsar also had a Singh Sabha branch that served as a local centre. One of the main goals was to enhance and expand Khalsa College into a prominent higher education institution. The Diwan also intended to develop a Sikh educational movement, including the establishment of new schools and colleges, as well as the improvement of Punjabi literature.

Teja Singh of Bhasaur offerred the opening *ardas* (Prayer). Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia, secretary of the Singh Sabha of Amritsar, was named secretary of the new Diwan, and Bhai Arjun Singh, chief of Bagarian, was elected president. Only 29 of the approximately 150 Singh Sabhas around the country decided to join. The general body was made up of their representatives and 47 others (Singh, 1997, p.38, 39). A small number of Sikhs from both the high and poor castes switched to Islam and Christianity, and there was concern that many more might follow. Because of their intellectual deficiencies, the Sikhs played into the hands of the Arya Samajee's, who began condemning the Sikhs, their religion, culture and *Guru's*.

The main goals of these organisations were to instil a love for Sikhism in all those who identified as Sikhs or *Khalsa's*; to preach the principles of this great religion; to publish literature in support of this religion; to publish authentic texts of the Guru's Word and other books, such as the *Janamsakhis* and the *Gurparnalis*, after correcting and amending them; and to promote the study of modern knowledge through the medium of Panjabi. Even Europeans had the potential to join the educational branch. Nothing opposing the Government could be spoken in the Singh Sabha meetings, according to the basic norms (Singh, 1997, p. 33). This political movement placed a strong focus on religious, social, literary, and educational activities among Sikhs. Members of the Government were also admitted to the Sabha. Sir Robert Egerton, the Governor of the Punjab, consented to be its sponsor, and a number of other English officials became interested as well.

In 1907, the Chief Khalsa Dewan founded a Sikh committee, which eventually conducted several conferences and opened Khalsa schools throughout the Punjab. Annual education conferences were held in various parts of the province beginning in 1908, resulting in the establishment of several new Sikh institutions in the Punjab, the most notable of which were a Khalsa college in Gujranwala in April 1908 and Kanya Maha Vidyalya, the girls school in Ferozepur.

The Chief Khalsa Diwan also promoted and published a lot of literature, mostly in Panjabi but sometimes in English, on the lives of the Guru's and the early days of the Sikh faith. It had a Tract Society in Amritsar and another in Lahore with a depot for the selling of this material. A Sikh bank exists. In Lahore, there was a Young Men's Sikh Association, and in Amritsar, there was a Khalsa Young Mens Association, and a Youth publication, The Khalsa Young Mens Magazine, was produced. Chief Khalsa Diwan had a dozen or fifteen Sikh missionaries preaching to Sikhs and others in Punjab and other regions of India (Farquhar, 1915, p. 342, 343).

Bhai Takht Singh, a devout devotee of Bhai Dit Singh, established the Bhai Dit Singh Library, a study library dedicated to Sikh literature and history, in conjunction with the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala in Ferozepur (Singh, 1997, p. 39). The main objectives of the Khalsa Diwan were the diffusion of knowledge among the Sikhs, the improvement of Punjabi literature, the advancement of female education and the religious instruction of the Sikh youth (Chhabra, 1954, p.209).

5.5.4 Sikh Education Conference

Under the leadership of S. Sunder Singh Majithia, the first Sikh education conference was organised in Gujranwala in April 1908. The meeting had certain goals and objectives in mind. It aimed to instil in young people a desire for knowledge and education.

Its goal was to educate the public and create a combination of the finest of western education and the best of Indian education, with a religious bent. Apart from emphasising the importance of primary education, the conference focused on the flaws and shortcomings of college and university education, with the goal of improving it. The goal of the meeting was to restructure the whole educational system by replacing foreign languages with the native tongue. Along with boy's education, the conference wished to place a specific focus on female education (Chandra, 1989).

The goal of the conference was to encourage kids to value information and education. It was created with the goal of informing people and creating a combination of the finest of western education and the best of Indian education with a religious flavour (Kaur, 1975, p. 205-206). It acquired a remarkable record of accomplishments to its credit and gave yeoman's service for the sake of education.

The Sikhs struggled to adjust to the conditions that accompanied British administration, and they lagged behind in education and official employment.

By 1915, there were eight Kanya intermediate schools, 36 Kanya elementary schools, five boarding houses, and one widow ashram. Special topics, such as cookery, handwork, and sewing, were taught in these female institutions to suit the needs of the girls in their future careers. The Conference made preparations for the training of female teachers. The Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala in Ferozepur began offering junior and senior vocational training programmes. The number of Sikh accredited schools had grown to 48 by 1919. The Conference was extremely successful in establishing Khalsa schools (Singh, 1997, p. 62).

5.5.5 Financing issues of Sikh Education Institutions

The Sikhs donated liberally to the educational and publishing endeavours, but still the Sikh Educational institutions languished for lack of financial support. For many years, Sikh educational institutions suffered from a shortage of funding as they had limited access to regular incomes. The organisers established a Sikh Educational Conference Fund in 1908, which gathered donations yearly in different towns. It examined the educational condition, recommended reforms, and kept the Government aware of its intentions; nevertheless, the most important function it provided to the community was fund raising. Each year Rs. 15,000 distributed among their educational institutions by Chief Khalsa Diwan.

"I have been much struck on my return to the province after an absence of some years to see how generously the Sikh community supports the cause of education," the Lt. Governor of Punjab once said. He went on to say that he sees Khalsa Schools almost all well-built and well-founded, relying on the generosity of the *Panth's* members. As was the case with Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, Punjab University Lahore was asked to provide scholarships to students studying Punjabi at Oriental College in Lahore. Another notable outcome of the Sikh Educational Conference was the incentive it provided for the study of Punjabi and, as a result, Sikh history and literature. In the year 1947 the percentage of educated Sikhs stood at 17.03% as compared to 16.35%, 6.97% and 7.76% of the Hindus, Muslims and Christians respectively (Singh, 1997, p. 62).

5.6 Conclusion

The Despatch of 1854 emphasized the development of private enterprise, missionary as well as Indian, through a proper system of grant-in-aid, and suggested the training of teachers in normal schools, the conferment of Government jobs on educated persons, and increased attention to the development of education among young girls and women. Education departments were created in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab in 1855 (Allender, 2006, p. 46). The British had pioneered a Western type of education oriented on "secular" learning, which continued to flourish under local auspices. While this new model reduced the amount of time spent in schools on religion, it also gave unprecedented chances for new, indigenous religious movements to reach new audiences and fulfill crucial movement objectives (Langhor, 2005, p. 162).

For the Hindu, Sikh, and Moslem faiths, education was a sacred endeavour. Furthermore, it took many years for India's primarily rural populace to realise the importance in fundamental elementary schooling based on European ideals of the 3R's. It was frequently considered as a foreign imposition that should be left to the Government to provide. The widespread Indian fear of proselytising at mission schools, however, trumped everything. It was the potentially disruptive societal repercussions of such activities that fueled much of the animosity between missionaries and many Indian Government officials during the nineteenth century.

British annexed Punjab, there was not even a single degree college teaching science in Punjab. The Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Singh Sabha movements in Punjab became the precursors of introduction of modern European thought into this region. By the end of the nineteenth century, Lahore, the capital of Punjab Province, could boast of better educational facilities and infrastructure for teaching science than Delhi, the future capital of India (Virk, 2000).

In Punjab in the field of education the major influence of Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha movement and Khalsa Diwan was seen in Lahore, Peshawar, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur (mainly the areas and cities around Lahore and Amritsar). These areas were developed as educational hubs and today also these towns of India's Punjab are having number of educational institutions developed

at that period by the missionaries. The Khalsa Colleges, Dev Samaj institutes and DAV's established by missionaries and Singh Sabha attest to their own success stories today.

The Sikh educational conferences from its first session of 1908 to tenth session of 1917 in different parts of colonial Punjab, had done important work and attained significant success in colonial Punjab (Hayer, 2012, p. 87). With the emergence of the first generation of the educated class among the Sikhs in 1870's, their response to the Raj- both as professional persons and as the leaders of the Sikh opinion became more varied and complex. The Singh Sabhas, Khalsa Diwans and printing presses, among others became the institutional expressions of a new ferment with implications for the social, cultural and political existence of the community for intra-community and inter-community relations and for attitude towards colonial rule (Kaur, 2007).

Educating the masses and paving the ground for political nationalism were the goals of socio-religious cultural reform movements in Colonial Punjab between 1880 and 1920. Due to the expansion of education and the media, numerous groups in Punjab developed their own religious organisations and attempted to enlist more and more people under their flag by enhancing their education and directing them towards their own religion. In Punjab, a new educated elite emerged, led by Lala Hardayal and Bhagat Singh, who led the Punjabi people in the liberation struggle or movement.

Missionary education was also well-received in Indian culture, and Indian assistance and patronage were essential. They also contested the primacy of missionary education and, more crucially, the superiority of both the Western canon and Christianity. Teachers were happy with the lively discussion and interfaith dialogue that did take place. They wanted to build on this success and increase their influence everywhere they could (Bellenoit, 2004, p. 195). By 1915, mission schools had lost their Christian nature. They had bowed to the rigours of Government tests, which had resulted in a degree of secularisation of their institutions. This was owing to their state affiliation, which, despite some attempts to break away, was ultimately required for their institutions financial stability, effective upkeep, and legitimacy. The majority of pupils were more concerned with financial and social advancement than with the greater theological and spiritual issues that missionaries hoped their students would consider.

CHAPTER-6

PROVISION FOR WOMEN EDUCATION AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS

In the previous chapters a detailed look has been cast on the higher education in Colonial Punjab. The preceding chapter has taken a close look at the role of the various indigenous socio-religious reform movements of Punjab and their impact on the educational scenario that was prevalent in the province. In this chapter, a very important aspect in colonial Punjab- the educational opportunities that were provided by the Colonial regime to women and other marginalized sections of society is being reflected upon.

At the end of the eighteenth century, education, which primarily consisted of the study of religion in Sanskrit (the language of the Gods), was not available to vast social groups such as women and the untouchable castes. In reality, only a handful outside the Brahmin castes had access to schooling at the period. There were no such taboos in Muslim society, and everyone was encouraged to read the *Quran*. Even in this culture, however, formal education was only available to a select few (Naik, 1979, p. 169).

The Hindu academics view on women and their place in human society reveals that they truly believed at the time that women and marginalised groups had no claim to education or enlightenment. Only Hindu males had the potential to make a significant contribution to humanity's future growth. Following the British takeover of Punjab in 1849, huge advancements were achieved in the realm of education.

The entry of women into the formal education system began in the mid of the 19th century, but it got wider acceptance only in the mid 20th century. The movements demand for the changes in different aspects of women's lives can be traced back to the 19th century when social reformers put forth the plea for removing various social customs which were threatening the development of Indian women, to a pre-independence period (Bhullar, 2012, p. 405).

Many parts of Indian society, particularly women and marginalised castes, were denied fairness and access due to the country's fundamentally hierarchical

structure. Even after the adoption of a modern educational system with schools, colleges, and universities in the middle of the nineteenth century, access to education remained severely restricted for another 100 years, due to severe economic inequalities as well as strong and deeply rooted social prejudices against women and disadvantaged castes and communities. Colonial rule helped to alleviate some social biases, but it did nothing to address existing inequities in resource distribution (Beteille, 2000, p. 40).

It may be argued that education had historically favoured the upper castes. They were also the first to benefit from modern education, and they dominated the educational landscape until around 1900. The strengthening of British Raj or Colonial rule in India (along with the British deliberate policy of disfavoring the advanced castes on the grounds that they agitated for political freedom) led to the spread of education among the strata's those were numerically large and controlled land and other economic resources, over the next fifty years.

The dominating castes, which maintained social and economic supremacy in most sections of the nation, were known as the dominant castes. The lower classes, who were destitute and mostly bereft of education, were thus the most ignored. Lower castes those were socially lower on the social scale and faced similar challenges were also economically disadvantaged, although they were given preferential treatment in education and employment. In certain rural sections of the nation, some of these turned nasty and violent (Naik, 1979, p. 176).

6.1 Women Education During British Period

Women had been depicted as goddesses in Indian culture, yet in practice, very often, the patriarchal family structures and other socio-historical reasons had resulted in women's servitude. The posture varies by religion, community, ecology, and culture of a particular place, but this was the universal reality of Indian women in Colonial times. In Punjab also, women were relegated to an inferior position and very often they were denied any access to education or other opportunities. They were not given any equity and there was a lot of gender discrimination practiced.

Before 1849, the people of Punjab were not particularly supportive of professional or female education, and the value of professions was also undervalued.

At the period, schooling was primarily focused on the religions of various populations, such as Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, and only religious instruction was provided. Traditionally, education entailed the study of religious texts. Members of the priestly class imparted this education to boys and girls (Forbes, 1998, p. 35).

Cultural sensitivities were frequently claimed by colonial officials as justifications for ignoring the female education (Nurullah and Naik, 1951).

"Before the advent of the British Rule, education among Punjabee women of the higher castes of Hindus, the better Moslems and all orders of Sikhs was purely religious. The system of education was confined to their acquiring the principal tenets of their respective religions. Only a small section of the female population was educated to the modest requirements of household life. Among the Hindus the education of girls was entirely domestic. Early marriage had already become the custom and the only education, which a girl received, fitted her to fulfil the duties of the household of her husband. She was sometime acquainted with something of the vast mythological stories and folklore, handed down from ancient times (Khan, 1997, 113)".

Girls education was widely recognised as a need for the overall social and economic progress of the people. The experiment was carried out effectively in the limited locations. Punjab's educational officials started alerting the people about the necessity of teaching their children (Khan, 1997, p. 113). According to Macaulay's Minute in 1854, the new education was to be limited to the higher classes, with the masses receiving it over time. This was the well-known "filtration hypothesis," on which the British education system in India and Punjab was based. As a result, the Government's focus was diverted from the education of the masses to the education of a select group of men from India's upper classes. In key towns and district headquarters, Government schools and colleges were established (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 31).

One of the first British policy pronouncements made at the time emphasised the Government's determination to take up the job of informing the public (Forbes, 1998, p. 36). The programme was well received and a slew of new girls schools sprung up all throughout Punjab. Since permanent conversions required women's support, female education and girls schools piqued the missionaries attention. The fundamental goal of their mission was to preach Christianity. The females were taught all of the household skills, which was important to their schooling (Forbes, 1998, p.37).

6.1.1 Policy Initiatives by Government

The Indian Education Commission, established in 1882, ushered in a new era in India's educational history. It spoke intelligently on the issues surrounding women's education. All of the barriers to female education were examined. Among the girls and women, there was no desire for education as a source of income. Many parents were biased to remove their daughters from school early due to the practise of child marriage and the employment of male instructors in girl's schools. The Education Commission's proposal was implemented in a variety of methods in different provinces. In Madras, for example, the Local Boards and Municipalities were pushed to close female schools, resulting in just eighteen being managed by them in 1899-1900. In Bombay, on the other hand, only three Primary Schools, which were affiliated to Training Schools, were handled by the Government Municipalities, and the female schools were governed by the Local Boards Act; Bombay Act No.I of 1884 (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Education p. 9).

As mixed schools (co-education schools), other than infant schools, were not typically adapted to the conditions of our nation, the Education Commission recommended that the attendance of girls at boys schools should not be encouraged unless in regions where females schools cannot be sustained. This provision was adopted entirely in certain provinces that included Punjab and Girls and Boys schools were largely separate (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Education p. 9).

The Punjab Government had undertaken a number of initiatives to address these issues. In this territory, all of the British policies that had been formulated were attempted to implement. In Punjab, the Municipal and District Boards gave funding for *zenana* courses if the instruction was good. However, this endeavour was not very successful since house-to-house visits, which were preferred by the women and their family, were not cost-effective (Quinquennial Review of Education in India, 1907-12, p. 538).

Mission schools and classes for mission teaching at home aided the cause of female education greatly. Grants-in-aid from the Colonial Government were intended to promote the latter kind of education. The Governor General in Council considered that *zenana* instruction had expanded significantly. Due to the lack of an examining body to examine it, understanding of its scope and worth was restricted in official

quarters. The significance of boosting inspection staff in general was also a major issue, and the Government of India believed that true progress in female education could not be made without an effective female inspection agency.

Due to the *purdah* system's restrictions and Muhammadan social norms in general, the number of Muhammadan girls in school was comparatively low. Only a small percentage of individuals in the upper Primary stages went on to complete their studies. These results were promising since they showed that the Muhammadan community in the Punjab was becoming more conscious of the advantages of female education as a whole. Muslims were increasingly becoming more prepared to participate with programmes such as the extension of *zenana* classes, which were subsidised on a more lenient basis (Suman, 2012).

However, more funds were requested in order to support the special subsidies given to underdeveloped Muhammadan districts for the establishment of Vernacular schools. To encourage Muslim females to attend school, a significant increase was made, and a number of scholarships payable to Muslims in secondary schools were made available. These were also distributed to the community's poorer members in order to provide them with greater opportunity to get English instruction. The community's higher educational institutions provided the impetus and apparatus for the fast and healthy growth of basic and secondary education.

The attainment of modern education in secular subjects in the British period was a crucial factor for fashioning modern Muslim society. The education was the key catalyst for social change and also for female education, highlighting the role of social reform movements especially among Mohammedans. Muslim girls were found interested in medical classes after the establishment of North India's medical school for Christian women at Ludhiana in 1894 (Suman, 2012).

By 1882, the secondary education of the women only made a humble beginning and women were just about to enter the threshold of higher education in India. At the close of 1884-85, six young ladies were reading in the college classes of Bethune School. In reality, two students from Bethune's school graduated from Calcutta University in 1883, making them the first women to get a degree from an Indian university. The Indian education commission of 1882 said that female education was still in a very poor state and that it needed to be promoted in every

manner possible. It was suggested that it be given a bigger proportion of public funds. Every year, there had been applicants for the entrance and upper tests. On the 31st of March 1882, the college department had six students studying for degrees at Calcutta University, and two of them received their degrees the following year (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 43).

For the First Arts Examination, women were allowed to substitute a modern language for a classical language. Female candidates for university degrees, on the other hand, took the same exams as male candidates. The ability to participate for any examination without having attended college classes at any institution was open to all genders, but especially beneficial to women who followed stringent *pardah* norms. To put it another way, a student might study at home with a tutor before taking any exam. The so-called "private applicants" did not perform as well as conventional college candidates. They did, however, constitute a sizable share of female university applicants (Maskiell, 1985, p.65).

Women's collegiate education progressed slowly. The number of female students in Arts institutions increased from six to ten, with five Hindus in Bengal, two Parsi's in Bombay, and three Europeans in Allahabad, North-Western Provinces, among others. It was encouraging to see such a high level of interest in women's special education and to see such a strong push for it. Countess of Dufferin led a charitable campaign to provide medical assistance to Indian ladies (wife of the Viceroy). The Countess of Duferin's Fund had resulted in more emphasis being dedicated to women's medical education in all provinces. The Colonial authorities realised that if medical help was to be provided to Indian women, it had to be done by native women rather than English lady-doctors. The urgent need for a far cheaper supply source was met by teaching native women, whether of Indian or European ancestry, to various degrees of expertise. The introduction or expansion of English or vernacular medical schools for women had become a subject of practical concern and relevance for the colonial authority in practically all provinces. For the first time, women had the opportunity to pursue a job, and they reacted with passion and zest, pursuing general education and then higher degrees (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 282).

Lady Hardinge College, Delhi, became the first medical college for women in 1916 (Gupta, 2000 (b), p.110-111). "The Sikh conference could not afford to disregard female education," said Walia (1975, p.209), "well aware that no community could prosper if its women were ignorant."

The Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab believed that the upgrading of the Lahore Islamia College (the Province's sole Muhammadan Arts College) was a worthwhile project for the Government to support. The Anjuman decided to relocate the college from its cramped location in Lahore to Shahdara, about two or three miles outside Lahore where a large tract of land near Jahangir's tomb had been acquired for the purpose. They turned it into a fully equipped residential college with staff quarters and playing fields. The scheme, with which His Honour was in full sympathy, would entail expenditure roughly estimated at Rs. 8,00,000, part of which would be met from donations; and the promoters hoped that aid would be forthcoming from Imperial and Provincial revenues. For the maintenance of the college on a better footing a grant of Rs. 36,000 per annum was required, which would render it possible to engage Professors of European qualifications and to improve the staff otherwise.

The existing college buildings could be utilized to accommodate the large Islamia School, which had hitherto occupied unsuitable rented buildings. The implementation of this system proved to be of significant help in the growth of higher education among Punjabi Muslims, particularly among girls. The Government of India and Punjab's provincial machinery agreed, and funds were allocated for both the original expenditure and recurrent setup costs in future educational grant distributions (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December, p. 29, 30). Government College for women was also established in the city. The new college had two high classes and two intermediate courses. Science classes were made available, especially for those females who wanted to attend the Lady Hardinge Medical College in Delhi (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p.135).

6.1.2 Scholarships for Female Students

The importance of assisting and encouraging Indian women to receive medical training outside of India in Europe in the interest of female education in India; the provision of facilities for a course of training in Europe had to be increased, and the

attractiveness of the study of medicine as well as affordability had to be made an inducement. Through a grant, the brightest female graduates were offered the option to pursue specific training courses overseas. The Indian Government received Secretary of State authority to award a scholarship to an Indian woman graduate to study in the United Kingdom or, with special permission, in other countries, using Imperial income.

This scholarship was not limited to medical studies; it was also offered for training in a variety of other fields. While the scholarship was primarily given for the study of medicine, it may also be given to a candidate who wanted to pursue another educational or professional degree. In 1916, the first scholarship was given out (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1916, May, Education p.3).

Miss Shobha Devi Bali of Punjab was chosen for a scholarship in 1918. Miss Shobha Devi Bali was the first Punjabi Hindu Women to graduate, according to reports (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1919, October, Education p.3). All Government scholars were required to take advantage of the information and advice that the Secretary for Indian students and the local advisers at the university centres were able to provide, as well as to apply to their Local Adviser for instructions on their studies. Government students studying at Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow were under the supervision of the Local Advisers. The Educational Adviser in London was in charge of scholars studying overseas. The Adviser was the competent individual to bring to the Secretary of State any situation involving Indian students that requires the Secretary's approval.

The scholar's allowance was granted quarterly in advance by the Indian Office to the Local Adviser if the preceding requirements were met. It began on the date the scholar reported her arrival in England, and the Local Adviser would pay it to the scholar in as many installments as the scholar's schedule permitted. The sum due on the following official quarter day (the official quarter days were January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1) was paid to the Local Adviser three months after the date of reporting arrival, and future payments were made in advance on or after each official quarter day. The yearly allotment was 200 pounds.

University and college fees, private tuition, books, instruments, hotel expenses, medical attendance, and transport (save for the two voyages between

England and India) were all funded by the scholar and not reimbursed by the state. The scholarship was provided for three years, unless the Secretary of State deemed grounds to cancel it sooner in his discretion. Every scholar who did not comply with the rules, although not being incapacitated by illness, forfeited her scholarship. It might be ended at any moment if a student's health or behaviour deteriorated.

When a scholar's scholarship expired, the India Office offered her a free second-class ticket to India, which she may apply for immediately through her local Adviser. She was not allowed to make her own travel arrangements or claim an allowance from the India Office in place of it. If a scholarship had forfeited, or if it had resigned before completion of its term, or if the holder of it, on completion of its term, declines to return to India when instructed to do so, the scholar would lose her claim to a free passage back to India (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1916, May, Education p.13, 14).

6.1.3 Teachers Training

The Education Commission's recommendation that extensive inducements be provided to the spouses of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers implemented successfully in some provinces, such as Punjab. The recommendation that widows be educated as school mistresses in appropriate instances was not completely followed. A proposal to teach widows those who resided in various homes maintained by native gentlemen in those Provinces as school mistresses and governesses in *zenanas* was being considered by the Government. The Indian Government saw this trial as beneficial, and they were hopeful that the Punjab would support the training of schoolteachers' spouses, as well as widows (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Education p. 9).

Stipends were awarded to girls of certain age and attainments, and were tenable in schools recognized as having suitable arrangements for their training. The course covered two years, during which regular instruction was to be given in the subjects laid down for the certificate examinations, with daily practise in teaching under competent supervision. The school inspectors came to the classrooms on a regular basis to ensure that they were run efficiently. The plan was not perfect, and it only resulted in a minor increase in the number of certified teachers each year, but it was difficult to improve on it as long as the province's social system made it

impossible to create a well-organized female normal school. Normal classes were kept in four of the top ladies schools in 1900, 21 stipends were paid, and eight senior vernacular certificates were given out. The Lieutenant-Governor thought that the Punjab had so little to offer in this most vital area, but the circumstances dictated that development in any area of female education must be gradual (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1900, Education, p.149-150).

The girls themselves were enthusiastic about going to school and wanted to be teachers. There were a few successful industrial schools for girls as well which were situated in Madras and Punjab. Females were taught needlework and lace making, while spinning was also a skill that gained popularity as the national movement became widespread. In Bombay, there were mission institutes in Karachi and Sukkur that were doing good work, as well as five assisted industrial institutes for widows and deserted wives established by charitable Indian gentlemen. The women were paid stipends of Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 per year as the schools hope to recoup some of their costs through the sale of their work. Small scholarships were also established for the daughters of *dais* (mid-wives) (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p.130).

The issue of having more effective instructors in girls schools was a critical one. In most provinces, as well as Punjab, the preparations for female teacher training were inadequate. They needed to be improved right away. There were no training schools for girls in the Punjab, but five schools had training sessions. Only 91 of the 527 female instructors engaged in public schools between 1889 and 1900 had credentials. 420 of the teachers were "unqualified and many of them highly ineffective," according to the Director's assessment. The Government was pushed for time and intended to open at least one Government Training School in Punjab as soon as possible (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Education p. 9).

In 1911, it was proposed to open local training classes for women teachers in the principal centres, under the supervision of the Divisional Inspectresses, in order to improve the overall quality of female education in Punjab. One such class was to be started in Delhi had it not been excluded from the Punjab. The construction of a Female Training College in Delhi was welcomed as a great aid in the development of female education in the Ambala Division as well as the new Province. The chance to

draw from it for instructors was also eagerly sought and seized (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1914, January, Education p.14.)

Primary teacher training was done at regular schools in Punjab, and candidates had completed the vernacular middle exams to be admitted. The programme lasted one year. Normal schools numbered fifteen in 1911, up from eleven previously. In 1920, six of these normal schools were merged with local Government high schools in order to make full use of the staff and facilities of both institutions. The number of qualified primary school teachers then rose from 784 to 1,105 (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p. 146).

The establishment of effective teacher training institutes and colleges, as well as the hiring of teachers only after they had enrolled in and finished a term of training, was a far-reaching initiative. From this perspective, having competent teachers was critical to the country's progress, and many committed and successful teachers were responsible for India's significant achievements. The Colonial Government held the success of these instructors as proof that demonstrated that the school might be turned into a morality nursery just as effectively as a nursery for literary knowledge.

In the Indian Educational Service, there were 18 women and 42 in the Provincial Educational Service. In 1919, the remuneration of the Indian Educational Service's women's section was changed. The colonial authority could not insist on the recruitment of Indians to the senior service in this situation since Indian females were rarely available for such positions. The job of an inspector was fraught with unique challenges. The region she was in charge of was generally much bigger than that of an inspector, therefore the hardships of travel were greatly increased for a lady touring alone. Teachers in girls' schools, on the other hand, required continual assistance and support (Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p.41).

6.1.4 Role of Missionaries in Female Education in Punjab

At the time of annexation, women faced severe educational hurdles since their education was thought unnecessary, unusual, and sometimes dangerous. Despite the fact that missionaries arrived to the subcontinent primarily to fulfil religious obligations and convert the native people, women's education developed as a result of

their evangelism technique. The missionaries strove to create a social relationship with the Punjab's native people since their theological goal required some social involvement with the intended audience.

The deplorable situation of Punjabi women, notably their illiteracy, provided an excellent launch pad for social aid programmes. They thought that through promoting women's education, they had an impact on the kitchen as well as the indigenous families. They hoped to utilise their clout among the female elites to help bridge the divide. Through their social activities, Punjabi society had sought to free women from these constraints.

Many social reform initiatives were developed in India under the influence of nineteenth-century democratic liberal ideologies. Many women's periodicals were created, many of which dealt with women's backwardness and pleaded for a change in their social standing through education. There was substantial opposition to girls' education in numerous locations and among large socioeconomic groups. Missionaries established the first girls' schools. Later, the Government stepped in, and in 1850, Lord Dalhousie, the then-Governor-General of India, provided significant official backing for females' education. Only a few thousand young women were enrolled in the contemporary educational system in 1854. Even in 1882, there were less than 2,00,000 girls enrolled (Naik 1979, p. 174).

Rose Greenfield was exploring the potential for Christian education in Ludhiana's villages when she came across a lady who was well-known in the area because she could read and had studied a large number of books on the Hindu and Sikh religions. As a result, it looks impossible to be dogmatic about women's lack of education (Ahuja, 1997, p.74). Between 1870 and 1881, there was a significant increase in the number of girls enrolled in school.

Miss Carpenter established a National Indian association in 1870 to promote social advancement and education in India. Its main goal was to encourage non-missionary education among Indian women, partially by sending instructors to *zenanas* and partly by providing grants in help and scholarships to schools and students. Even if it had not always succeeded in reaching a dominant position, the Association, one of whose objectives was to foster social intercourse among different strata in India, was well-regarded (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p.

293). She felt compelled to state that the modest achievements thus far may be attributed in large part to the lack of proper state support. Her contribution in this sector was to propose the establishment of women's teacher training institutes, as well as the employment of educated primary teachers in girls' schools, in order to boost their usefulness and effectiveness. The impetus she offered for the hiring and training of female instructors boosted girls' education significantly. It also opened a very useful career to several women who were in need of some remunerative vocation to give a meaning and purpose to their lives (Gupta, 2000 (b), p. 110, 111).

Because the native reformers believed that women were physically, cognitively, and spiritually inferior to their male counterparts, the majority of women were denied access to higher education. The missionaries, on the other hand, emphasised women's intellectual equality and believed that men and women should be taught the same curriculum. In reality, the discussion over the aforementioned issues among social reformers, the provincial administration, and Christian Missionaries impeded the institutional growth of women's higher education in the Punjab (Maskiell, 1985, p.56).

Girl's religion and home education were turned into elementary and secondary education once the British arrived in Punjab. The Government backed the efforts of the missionaries (who created the first girls' schools) in Punjab by providing financial aid in the second half of the nineteenth century (Forbes, 1998, p. 35). The Arya Samaj and Khalsa Societies were all working hard to deliver education to the poor and women. Kishwar (1986) discussed in a case study of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar, one of the first girls schools in the Punjab, which developed into a college and served as a model for women's institutions not only in the Punjab but in many other provinces as well. It was a product of the Arya Samaj religious and social reform movement, which began in the late nineteenth century.

Punjabis perceived a link between British rule and Christianity. They detested Zenana missionaries for intruding into their women private lives and infringing on their houses purity. The missionaries were accused of kidnapping and grabbing women. They also advised their fellow believers to educate their wives and daughters in accordance with their own moral, religious, and ethical beliefs. They also desired to establish their own Girls' Community Schools. As a result, reformers prioritised

women's education. It was considered a required therapy in order to save their civilisation from extinction (Whitehead, 2004, p.124).

The Punjab Christian community accounted for only 2% of the province's population in 1911, began a tradition of girls education before the twentieth century. Educating a daughter became a worthwhile investment for a Christian household since the growth of both mission and Government girls schools produced teaching employment for women. Christian students were given scholarships to assist them study and find work after graduation. In exchange for service after graduation, mission schools would occasionally fund promising Christian students at Kinnaird. Christian women dominated the teaching profession in the Punjab until the 1930s for all of these reasons. A well-educated woman may support herself as a teacher, allowing her to stay unmarried. Although teaching was neither a well paid nor a high-status profession, gender-segregated institutions allowed for a single way of life (Maskiell, 1985, p. 72).

During 1900 to 1920, university officials supported a special provision for women's domestic training as part of the Punjab University's liberal arts curriculum. In the traditional society of the Punjab, the experience of co-education did not prove to be fruitful. People were already opposed to girl's education, particularly higher education, and the system of co-education at the university level was unacceptable to them. As a result, the Missionaries efforts to initiate higher education for women through co-education failed to bear fruit. As a result, the missionaries decided to attempt establishing a separate institution for women, which resulted in the founding of Kinnaird College Lahore. Kinnaird College was the true foundation for women's higher education in the province.

Kinnaird was the Punjab's first women's college (Maskiell, 1985, p.56, 57). The *Zenana* Bible and Medical Mission, a British mission dedicated to assisting Asian women, began college studies at Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School in Lahore, Punjab's provincial capital, in 1913. The founders sought to provide Christian Punjabi women with the chance to advance their teaching credentials. The institution's missionary staff had to address issues that had sparked decades of controversy among provincial Government officials, social reformers, and Christian missionaries, such as women's intellectual aptitude to undertake college work and the importance of college

education for women. At Kinnaird Girls High School, the first Intermediate class of six pupils was established, with Miss Joan McDonald as the college's Principal.

The girls who desired to study beyond intermediate were obliged to study privately for degree examinations or to attend some boys' college. Following that, in 1916, the college was awarded affiliation up to B.A. courses on the condition that the collegiate classes be held apart from the school. As a result of the condition's fulfilment, B.A. studies began in 1917, with five students admitted to the third-year class (Maskiell, 1985, p. 56, 57).

The Kinnaird faculty was in charge of dormitory life and recreational activities, while the University of the Punjab was in charge of the college's academic programme. The university and all connected institutions used English as their primary language of instruction and examination. Kinnaird's First Arts (two-year) and Bachelor of Arts (four-year) programmes featured a strong literary emphasis in both the vernacular languages and English. Kinnaird did not offer science classes until after partition. Kinnaird College was a key node for social development in Lahore at the time. Throughout the first part of the twentieth century, it taught professional and social skills to its pupils. The college's F.A. and B.A. curricula supplied the required prerequisites for teacher training. At the turn of the century, teaching was the only entirely respectable occupation for Punjabi women. Even if she never planned to work for a wage, giving a young lady some teacher training was a form of social insurance for her (Maskiell, 1985, p.71).

6.1.5 Gender Disparity in Education in Colonial Punjab

Girls were not encouraged to play football or cricket and were required to play with the swing, hopscotch, and other activities to cement this division. Even in music, ladies were given the option of singing or playing an instrument, but guys were forced to learn to play the drums. The voluntarily limited choices of subjects and disciplines of girls were reinforced in most schools through informal and formal counselling and through the hidden curriculum. In addition, principals of girls' schools did not even offer science subjects at intermediate level. Science was not only perceived as masculine but also involved longer hours of work in the laboratories, study and reading (Chanana, 2001, p. 54).

In 1886-87, 1.6 percent of females in public institutions were of school-going age, 2.2 percent in 1896-97, and 2.2 percent in 1901-02. At the conclusion of that

year, there were around 3,93,000 female students enrolled in public schools, with over half of them attending mixed-gender schools. The disparity in attitudes toward coeducation among provinces was exemplified by the fact that in Burma, 74% of females attend boys schools, and in Madras, 52%, whilst in the United Provinces, the proportion decreased to 14%, and in the Punjab, to 1%. The proportion of girls to boys under instruction in all India was about 1 to 9 ¼, being highest in Madras and lowest in the United Provinces (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV p. 431, 432).

The Government agreed, and state money was more freely used, and state management saw this as a desirable goal in the case of boys' education. The adoption of this mentality resulted in significant progress in girls' public education, but it remained far behind that of their brothers. There were 134 secondary and 1,760 elementary girls schools in 1871, and 461 and 5,628 correspondingly in 1901-2. There were twelve female undergraduate colleges. Because the number of girls studying at boys schools was not recorded before to 1880, statistics on the number of female students cannot be traced back very far.

In 1915, a significant delegation delivered a memorial to the Secretary of State for India in England. The memorial addressed issues of concern, such as the low number of females enrolled in school, the gender disparity in this respect, and the threat to the Indian community's social well-being as a result. The Indian Government recommended that Local Governments confer with experts, local bodies, existing committees, and other authorities, and this memorandum was given to them. However, giving trained instructors and even helping the development of a few model schools promoted educational opportunities and the expansion of schools and universities (Village education in India, 1920, p. 66).

6.1.6 Challenges or Impediments in Women Education

Child marriage, poverty, the *purdah* system, a lack of girls schools and female instructors, a dislike of western culture, religious and societal conventions, and people's traditionalism were all barriers to women's education. Even when females were granted access to school, the major purpose of a girl's education was to prepare her to be a good mother, since motherhood was still a prized goal for women. The current division of labour was not questioned by society. Punjabi women were likewise restricted to the home realm, where they were required to remain by traditional standards.

In India, female education had faced unique challenges. The need for girls schooling was stifled by societal conventions surrounding child marriage, and the isolation of well-to-do women hampered its expansion. A group of Native gentlemen built the first ladies school authorised by the Government not long after. Female education enjoyed the open and enthusiastic backing of the Government, according to the Despatch of 1854, since "through this method a far higher proportionate stimulus was imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the instruction of males." Female education was to be encouraged and handled with great liberality, according to the education commission of 1882 (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV, n. d., p. 431, 432).

Female education in Punjab was hampered by a variety of obstacles. It went against people's expectations and beliefs. Their national traditions, particularly early marriage and the view that women should not be trained for remunerative employment, were in opposition to it. It was virtually solely confined to lower-class ladies who attended primary schools to study the three R's, to the extent that it was permitted. Parents from a higher social level did not send their daughters to school. They prefer for them to learn *zenana* at home (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Appendix A, p.12).

The poor quality of education was another major hindrance to female education. In primary schools, there was a need to check teacher quality. "No rational father will send his girl to school if the instructor was incapable, but the stipends presently granted, which were not supplemented by the fees that boys schools produce, were sometimes insufficient to attract competent men, and even less so for qualified women." The bias against allowing women to enter the teaching profession, or indeed any profession, limited the number of female instructors, resulting in an overabundance of male teachers in Girls elementary schools.

Young men were not frequently employed for obvious reasons, but cases had been reported in which all of the girls schools in the interior had been given over to junior unwilling male teachers who simply wasted time in order to obey orders, and as soon as any loophole was discovered by them, they picked it up and fled. The majority of males engaged in girls' schools were old *pandits* and *maulvis* who had been moved from boys schools following superannuation.

The general consensus was that if the quality of teaching in girls primary schools was to improve, it had to come from the hands of female teachers who were clever enough to accept the inspector's advise and, if feasible, prepared for the teaching profession. The quality of the material available to train teachers was so low that the head of one district board declared all women's schools hopeless, but was more optimistic about a girls school run by an elderly *pandit*.

There were several obstacles in the way of women becoming employed in country schools. Aside from the scarcity of qualified instructors, there were additional factors to consider. The educated woman was lonely in any event, and if she was in *purdah* away from her family, the loneliness was unbearable; nevertheless, if she was not in *purdah*, she frequently loses the respect required to attract academics. This was the all-too common grouse that was quoted to prevent the education of girls (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p. 133, 134).

Even when a parent was so emancipated as to send his daughter to school, the *purdah* system and the habit of early marriage reinforced conservatism and discrimination, resulting in a daughter's departure from school before she reached the level of reading. The Indian agriculturist saw no need for his daughter's education if the benefits of a school education for his son were not apparent. Although there were shortcomings in the local primary school for boys, it was a model of efficiency when compared to the typical primary school for females. Finally, the cost of equipping girls' schools added to the financial worries of local Governments and local authorities (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review Volume I, 1923, p. 126, 127).

The lack of trained teachers and the widespread indifference of parents were the two other major roadblocks that presented the practical difficulty in making education available to the girls. Many factors were still active, posing significant obstacles to achieving the intended outcome of the new experiment of female education. The fundamental flaws were not so much the governing power's actions or inactions as the people's own customs - indifference toward females education due to social and religious conservatism, the practice of early marriages, and household worries and chores (Khan, 1997, p. 115, 116).

The Punjab's capacity to increase the number of institutions providing education to females had been limited by the local Governments failure to pay the required money. The Governor in Council desired a concerted effort to make meaningful progress in the field of female education. In 1899-1900, the number of girls enrolled in public and private schools in Punjab was 22,695 out of a million and a quarter of school-aged girls, or 1.57 percent. The figures were significantly lower than six years ago. In the Punjab, there was essentially no room for development when it came to female education. The first of the recommendations of the Education Commission was to the effect that female education be treated as a legitimate charge on Provincial (as well as on Local and Municipal funds, and that it should receive special encouragement, and a further recommendation was to the effect that female schools should not be placed under the management of Local Boards or of Municipalities, unless they express a wish to take charge of them. The Government of India fully endorsed these two important recommendations. It was impossible to rely on the efforts of Local Boards and Municipalities to popularize female education, and in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, it was only by means of energetic action on the party of the Department of Education that an effective impetus can be given to it (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1902, Education p. 9, 10, 11).

The paucity of female education was identified as "the most prominent stain on the Educational system in India. In 1900, only 4,25,000 females out of the whole population attended all levels of schools, and approximately one-third of these were in Madras, where the Native Christian and Eurasian populations were exceptionally substantial. Only one girl for every twenty-five boys, and only 21.2 percent of the female population of school age attended. The entire investment on female education in primary and secondary schools from all public sources was only 11 lakhs in 1900, compared to 80 lakhs for males (Proceedings of Home Department, 1902, Appendix A, p.12).

Even otherwise, the British model of education was difficult to apply in India due to its severe customs and social taboos. Because Indian culture was prejudiced, they did not accept the mixing of boys and girls from various social classes. The British model had to address a variety of issues, such as what kind of schools to be provided for females. What would be the curriculum? Who would be the one to instruct the girls? What kind of schools made available to appeal to various student

groups, and so on. This was the major challenge before the British administrators for the expansion of education. The traditional Hindu society did not believe in equality of educational opportunity (Chanana, 2001, p. 38). Issues that worked against the growth of education for males, such as societal conservatism and discrimination, the distance between the advantages of education, the gap in the quality of education supplied and its cost, all operate against the education of girls.

6.2 Education of the Marginalized Sections

Mohammedans made up more than half of the population. Despite their great history and outstanding virtues, the Sikhs numbered just one and a half (1.5) million people, or one-third of the overall population. There were around six million Hindus, two million low-caste and pariah tribes, and just about 40,000 native Christians in the country (Wilson, 1909, p.140).

The Muslim faith was practised by around a quarter of the population of British India. Around two million of the sixty million Muslims were enrolled in school. The rise in the number of Muslims academics corresponded to the rise in the number of Muslims in British India. Muslims religious education was considerably more important than secular education. Even Muslim boys who went to secular schools had to go through religious instruction first. As a result, many people began their secular education later. Furthermore, the ancient techniques of education used in *Koran* schools had an impact on their secular subjects. The fact that the majority of the Muslim people belonged to the agricultural classes was a second reason for the community's backwardness. This was especially true in Punjab and India's northwestern states. The expansion of education among Muslims in these locations was frequently equated with the growth of education in rural communities. There was a rationale for medium of instruction, although the northwestern regions of the country and Punjab were exempted (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review; Volume I, 1923, p. 201).

However, in comparison to the population, the number of Muslims attending public schools in the province was significantly lower than that of Hindus and Sikhs, and this was especially true in Anglo-Vernacular Schools, while the disparity was still greater in Arts Colleges; though some Muslim students in the province excelled in public examinations. There was little question that Muslims were in the minority in

positions in the public sector that needed knowledge of English, particularly in public offices, and that obtaining a foothold for them was difficult in certain situations (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p.10). Though technical, industrial, artistic, engineering, medical, agricultural, veterinary, and normal institutions and schools found a place in the Indian system. Education among Muslims had made less progress (Rees, 1910, p.148).

The problem of caste system was so deeply embedded in the Indian social system that the British also found it extremely difficult to break down this barrier. Even the Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume IV (n.d., p.432) candidly admitted that, "The encouragement of education among children of the lowest castes, both male and female, was a subject of special difficulty." The vast majority of the toiling people were denied entry. Parts of the populace with economic and social hardship, such as schedule castes and tribes, found it practically impossible to enter the hallowed gates of educational institutions. The vast majority of Indians lived in rural regions with little educational opportunities. The educational achievement of women was particularly low. They bore the brunt of the system's inequities (Kaur, 1985, p. 3).

Not only did the hierarchical structure of Indian civilisation stifle unbridled brilliance, but it also stifled the flow of information from one stratum of society to another writes (Chopra, 1973, p. 725). This was possibly one of the main reasons why the scientific and industrial revolutions occurred in Europe rather than India. "These castes were completely illiterate under native rule; any change in this regard was viewed with envy by the higher castes, who believed that knowledge should be their exclusive domain, and the presence of low caste children in a common school was objected to due to the physical contamination allegedly involved by caste rules. Education in colonial India had a very restricted socio-economic foundation (Kaur, 1985, p.3). The number of new jobs was small, and the social structure was rigid enough that changing from a traditional job was nearly impossible (Kochhar, 1992, p. 2613).

The I.E.C. of 1882 also looked into the subject of Muhammadan education in India, and made some important recommendations, including that special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on local, municipal, and provincial funds, that higher English education for Muslims,

which was the type of education in which that community required special assistance, be liberally encouraged, and that, where necessary, a graduated system be implemented. A generous distribution of scholarships was vital for attracting Muslims to higher education, according to the July 1883 Resolution, and their needs was taken into account while drafting general programme of scholarship in Punjab Province. In 1901-02, the number of Muhammadan students in Arts Colleges and Secondary Schools increased somewhat (Majumdar, 1965, p.79, 80). The Muslim Anjuman-i-Islamia was slowly building its own schools and also seeking funds for opening *Madrasa's* and schools for girls (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p.315).

One sixth of the whole population of India, a vast mass of humanity outnumbering all the people of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, had for some two thousand years been held down by Hindus at the bottom of society, in indescribable ignorance, dirt and degradation, on the ground that they were so foul as to be unfit for ordinary human intercourse. According to the orthodox theory, every man born among these people was a soul which in former lives lived so viciously that his present degradation was the just punishment for his former sin. They were called Outcastes, Untouchables, *Panchamas*, or the Depressed Classes (Farquhar, 1915, 366).

6.2.1 Policy Initiatives by the Government for Marginalized Groups

Warren Hastings established the Calcutta *Madrasa* in 1782 to "prepare the depressed and deprived people of Bengal for the public service and to allow them to compete, on more equal terms, with the Hindus for employment under Government." The council of Education had to admit that "the endeavour to transmit a high level of English education" to the Muslim community had entirely failed fifty years later, after the introduction of English into the course of study. "The status of the Muslim population of India in terms of education had recently forced upon the attention of the Government of India (Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 483)."

The Muslims were not even competing on an equal footing with Hindus for Government jobs, nor had efforts to impart a high level of education to them been met with appropriate success. Things were, without a doubt, in a better state than in 1832, and in particular, in terms of the general dissemination of education, in a considerably better state than in 1792. A significant number of Muslims were learning English, and

a huge number were enrolled in schools of some sort. However, higher English education was not developed in any significant way more than it had been in 1832 (Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 483).

After expressing regret that such a large and important class should be excluded from active participation in the educational system, and thus lose the advantages, both material and social, that the other subjects of the empire enjoyed, Lord Mayo in Council (1871) directed, in order to remove any disabilities that could be removed by Government action, that further and more systematic encouragement and recognition be given to the Muslims colleges and schools.

He also mandated that the employment of qualified Muslim English instructors be promoted in English schools created in Muslim regions. Grants-in-aid should be offered to Muslims to enable them to start their own schools, and encouragement should be given to the formation of a vernacular literature for Muslims. The entire matter was brought to the attention of local Governments as well as India's three universities. This was the start of the uproar on the matter. The responses to this Resolution from local Government's demonstrated how strongly the issue of language was linked to the educational challenge.

In 1873, Lord Northbrook studied these findings. Wherever the typical vernacular of the country was Hindustani or Urdu, written in the Persian script, or where the Muslims spoke a variant of the local dialect, the Muslims held their appropriate place in the primary and secondary institutions created or assisted by the State. However, if they spoke a language other than the majority of the population or expressed themselves in a different manner, the extra accommodations required to meet these conditions were not always made, with the predictable result that the Muslim community's requests were ignored.

As greater educational levels were attained, the barriers that kept Muslim pupils out of the regular school system became stronger. With a tightly restricted funding for educational purposes, it was impossible to maintain a dual educational agency; as a result, the absence or backwardness of Muslims was most noticeable in high schools, colleges, and universities. The reports all agreed that the present system had failed to draw them to higher levels of school or to persuade them to continue until they reached the stage when studies imbue true culture and prepare young men

for success in the services and open professions (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 311, 312).

Local Governments continued with Muslim education along similar lines, and the results of their efforts were thoroughly examined by the Education Commission in 1883. In the debates just mentioned, far more emphasis was placed on educational issues than what could be described as social or historical issues that contributed to Muslims backwardness. The Commission, on the other hand, addressed all of these issues, however, as one might expect, educational issues received the most attention.

The Commission outlined the many causes to which the facts, which were acknowledged had been attributed from various points of view, even though those facts looked to be overstated at times. The Commission noted that the issues that discouraged Muslims from pursuing further English education were debatable even among themselves. While some believed that the lack of training in their faith's fundamentals, and much more so, the harmful consequences of English education in generating a disbeliever in religion, others, while a tiny percentage, believed that religion had nothing to do with the issue.

While all of these reasons may had contributed to the overall outcome, the Commission stated that "a honest Muslim would undoubtedly confess that the most potent motivations were pride of race, a remembrance of by-gone dominance, religious worries, and a somewhat unnatural devotion to the learning of "Islam". But, after a cursory examination of the general conditions impeding Muhammadan progress, which it was impossible to ignore entirely, the Commission moved on to a more detailed examination of the specific obstacles posed by the system of public instruction and the formulation of specific proposals for the further promotion of Muhammadan education.

By the 1880s, there had been a significant increase in college fees; arrangements had been made to double these rates over the course of five years, with the rates for aided colleges set at 75 percent of the Government College; provision had been made for the admission of a certain number of students at half rates; and the rules had been finalised in consultation with the managers of aided institutions (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p.306).

The number of students of each race or creed passing at the various examinations clearly pointed to the access of education at university level, which the various communities enjoyed. These forms that lead to accounting of the numbers were not introduced until 1883-84 and nor even then in all provinces. The number of Muhammadan students who passed the examinations of the University in 1886, and the proportion, which they bore to the total number of successful candidates depicted the reality in Punjab.

There was no Muhammadan in Master of Arts in 1886, despite the fact that Muslims had earned the degree in prior and following years. Thirty-three Bachelors, or 4.6 percent of the total, were present. 70 Muslims completed the First Arts or equivalent intermediate test, and 138 obtained matriculation, yielding share of 2 and 3.2 percent, respectively. There were no Muhammadans among the 175 people who passed the different legal exams. Six Muslims, or 22 percent, were among the 269 people who passed one or both of the medical exams.

In engineering, one applicant out of 188 (about 1%) received a passing grade. The percentage of Muhammadan students reading in general and professional institutions had been estimated to be around 4%. As a result, the preceding results appear to fall short of expectations; nevertheless, it must be noted that pupils at any given period in college did not come up for examination until 2, 3, or 4 years later (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 322).

The basic character and consequences of the I.E.C. suggestions were examined by the Colonial British Government in India, in a Resolution dated July 1885. It was in response to the National Muhammadan Association's submission of an important memorial on the status and rights of the Muhammadan community in British India. The Government stated that the Muslims could only expect to hold their own in terms of the better description of State posts if they openly align themselves with the Hindus and take full use of the Government system of high, and especially English education. This was evident to the memorialists, and reports from local Governments revealed that most provinces, including Punjab, had made significant progress in this regard. The Commission's goal was to recruit Muhammadan academics by emphasising themes that were important to their parents and offering particular incentives to a backward class. Local conditions had to be taken into

account in every way while implementing the suggestions. It was carefully avoided that the divide between Muslims and other classes be widened further. Overall, the Governor General in Council was certain that the renewed focus on Muhammadan education would provide the best outcomes. The memorialists acknowledged that the Muslims, if they were to succeed at all, needed to climb to the educational level of the day, and that their desire for aid in this regard had been adequately answered by the measures implemented in all provinces (Review of Education in India in 1886, 1888, p. 314, 315).

Punjab differed from most other Indian provinces in that Muslims made up a small majority of the population; they possessed more than half of the province's land; and they were well-organized and were able to demonstrate their social and political importance in the media and on other platforms. Despite their disinterest for many years, the Muslims had thrown off their apathy by the 1880s, and, while tenacious of their own particular educational institutions, were fast catching up with other populations in using the facilities given by the State and local organisations (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, p. 28).

Because Muslims made up the majority of the population, particularly in the rural areas of the Western Punjab, the educational system was designed with their needs in mind. The grant-in-aid rules made special provision for the addition of *maktabs* and other indigenous schools if they met a few simple conditions; and the religious text-books issued by the Lahore Anjuman were authorised for use in Muhammadan schools, whereas those published by the Text-Book Committee for non-sectarian schools contain much that was of interest to Muslims (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, p. 28).

It was recommended that wherever feasible, a good deal may be done by reserving a certain number of vacancies for Muhammadan pupils in institutions which, by reason of their reputation, draw many applicants for admission and by safeguarding the interest of the community in other ways. The suggestions, which the Government of India thought of practical utility, in the matter of secondary and collegiate education were;

• The improvement of institutions for Muslims, such as the Calcutta *Madrasa*, the Islamia College, Lahore and Islamia schools.

- The establishment of separate Muhammadan institutions in places where this
 was possible without determinant to efficiency or discipline and without
 unreasonable expense.
- The addition to the staff of a school of a teacher or teachers who were able either to teach classes English through the medium of Urdu, or to give special help to Muslim boys where a knowledge of some other vernacular was desirable either for the study of English or for general reasons.
- The maintenance of hostels for Muslims under private management with religious teaching.
- The appointment of reasonable number of Muslims to the committees (where such existed) of Government institutions and the governing bodies of aided institutions.
- The provision of Muhammadan teachers and inspectors.

(Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December, p. 27, 28).

In 1908, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab agreed with the Government of India's goal of providing free elementary education to the greatest degree possible, given the Province's financial status and the exigencies of the situation. In the case of the Punjab, however, secondary and higher education should finally become self-sufficient. Making education free and obligatory faced numerous budgetary challenges. The Lieutenant Governor requested funding to expand primary education. The colonial Government's actions in Punjab were intended to relieve the poorer segments of the population of taxation and remove barriers to the expansion of elementary education.

The Province of Punjab did not support these goals since the fees charged in the Punjab, if considered a tax, did not impose a significant burden on any segment of the society. Article 234 of the Punjab education code exempted the children of agriculturists and village kamins from paying fees in the five Vernacular elementary schools. Article 235 of the same legislation allowed for exemptions for boys whose parents were unable to pay fees, up to a maximum of 10% of the total number on the rolls. As a result, the proposed relief measures would only benefit members of the non-agricultural and commercial communities in this province, who paid little to

general revenue. These were likewise wealthy towns that did not function as a deterrence. Their eradication was not required for either parent assistance or the development of education (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1908, September, Education p.138).

In 1909, there were roughly 77,0000 Muhammadan students in elementary schools for boys, compared to 75,000 Hindus and 24,500 Sikh students. To the extent practicable, Muslims were appointed as instructors and inspecting officers in Muslim districts, while Muslims in other districts were protected by the appointment of at least one Muhammadan inspecting officer in each case. Due to a lack of eligible individuals from this group, Muhammadan officers in higher educational positions accounted for just around one-third of all officers.

Thus, one out of every three Indian school inspectors, four out of every eleven assistant inspectors, 24 out of 70 district and assistant district inspectors, and eight out of twenty-three Indian high school headmasters were Muslims. Furthermore, it was hoped that the newly implemented enhanced salary scale would encourage a greater number of Muslims to apply for jobs.

The colonial authority paid close attention to some distinct segments of the Indian population, including the opposing poles of society, Chiefs and nobles on one hand, and native tribes and low castes on the other. Aside from this, there were the Musalmans. Muslims were not restricted to any one caste or sect, but poverty effectively precluded their families from receiving any form of education. The wanted to handle these distinct classes stemmed from the genuine problems that hampered any significant advancement, and, in the case of the aboriginal tribes and low castes, from the pity that their poverty and limited prospects evoked (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December, p.28, 29).

Muslims made less progress in education than the Hindi-speaking population. By 1910, the total number of scholars in all types of institutions was not unfavourable to Muslims; however, about one-fourth of all Muslim pupils were taught in 'Koran Schools' or other indigenous elementary institutions such as *madrasas*, where the children learned traditional religious doctrines by rote and frequently did not understand what they repeated. Only a small percentage of the remaining Muslim population progressed beyond the basic level.

The proportion of Muslims who had secondary education was barely twothirds that of Hindus, while the proportion who received tertiary education was as low as one-third. This was not true in all regions of India; in the United Provinces, for example, Muslims won top position in both higher education streams. However, while the number of Muslims in Punjab's population was high, their participation in schools and universities was low (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV, p. 430).

Seven Muhammadan run high schools were founded and functional, with more planned for completion after 1920. In terms of additional challenges, there were no linguistic barriers in the Province, and religion instruction was part of the curriculum in Muhammadan schools, while it could be provided outside of school hours in Government and board schools. Grants were used to support the upkeep of denominational dormitories where religious instruction could be delivered.

In the Senate of the Punjab University, Muhammadan interests were well represented, with 18 Muhammadan Fellows compared to 27 Hindus and 6 Sikhs. The issue of Muhammadan representation on educational institution governing bodies did not emerge in this province since the schools and colleges that were managed by these organisations were virtually all sectarian in nature (Proceedings of the Home Department, December, 1913, p. 30).

In institutions of a special type where there were many applicants for admission, it was not considered necessary to reserve vacancies for Muhammadan pupils; however, heads of Government institutions were expected to increase the enrolment of Muslims as far as this could be done without lowering the quality of the instruction imparted. Muslims made up the majority of students at the Veterinary College and the Mayo School of Art, while Muslims made up around one-third of students at the Government School of Engineering in Rasul establishment charges in a future distribution of educational grants (Proceedings of the Home Department, December, 1913, p. 30).

Mr. H. Sharp, C.I.E., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Education Department, wrote to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, Home (Education) Department on March 18, 1903, expressing his delight with the growth in the number of Muslims in school. Even in basic schooling, the Muslim community was sending their children to school, both girls and boys. In terms of higher education, the

proportion of Muslims in the population was still significantly below the national average. The Indian Government was concerned that all acceptable facilities be made available for the education of the backward group.

The lack of Muhammadan representation on the governing boards of educational institutions, as well as the community's poverty, linguistic difficulties, and need for religious teaching, all slowed the growth of secondary education among Muslims. Special Government scholarships and endowments were used to address the first. This was primarily a concern for local Government's and the community. It was said that Muslims suffered when they were forced to study English in a *Prakritic* vernacular with which they were unfamiliar (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December, p. 28).

6.2.2 Provision of Scholarships for Education of the Marginalised Communities

To commemorate Queen Vicoria's jubilee, "jubilee scholarships" were established. Backward grades and backward districts were targeted for these scholarships. On the basis of the results of the Punjab University's Entrance, Intermediate, and Bachelor of Arts Examinations, fourteen Jubilee Scholarships were offered to Muslims each year (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p.10).

Punjab's Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore called for the continuation of "Jubilee scholarships," which were intended to encourage Muslims in this province to pursue English education. "The circumstances which necessitated the institution of these scholarships were well known to your Honour's Government, and a detailed illusion to them was therefore unnecessary," they wrote, "but we may be permitted to point out that long before 1887, the circumstances which necessitated the institution of these scholarships were well known to your Honour's Government, and a detailed illusion to them was therefore unnecessary; but we may be permitted to point out that long before 1887, the circumstances which necessitate

The annual reports on education also commended the award of the Jubilee Scholarships and their great success. Report for 1889-90 noted that, "The Jubilee Scholarships awarded by Government to students attending high departments and colleges and by Local Boards to those attending Middle schools and departments, had

a very good effect in the promotion of English education amongst the Muslim community. Similarly, the Report for 1890-91 said that the award of jubilee scholarships had everywhere acted as a great stimulus to the cause of higher education. The Report for 1891-92 observed that, "In Arts Colleges the increase was over 13 % and in most of the advanced special institutions there was slight rise." The Report for 1892-93 noted that in Arts Colleges the increase was over 25 %". The Jubilee Scholarships continued till 1902-03 for the benefit of the Muhammadan community (Proceedings of the Home Department, November, 1896, p.101, 102)."

The official reports on Public Instruction in the Punjab since 1887-88, commencing with the official year 1887-88, noticed that (Proceedings of the Home Department, November1896, p.97-98) Certain factors had very effectively advanced the cause of English education among Muslims; that Muhammadan education would still be in a deplorably backward condition if not for special Scholarships; that this aid so generously given by the Punjab Government had been highly appreciated and utilised by the community; and that this outside help was far from making them simply dependent on official crumbs.

The Anjuman was also asked for his view on the appropriateness of scholarships and other concessions for Muhammadan students from low-income families. The number of scholarships available to Muhammadan students at colleges was more than doubled, and the payout rate was significantly raised. Muhammadan students receive 29 high school "Victoria" scholarships at of Rs. 4 per mensem, and about 330 middle school scholarships of Rs. 2 per mensem, were awarded annually to Muhammadan pupils. The Lieutenant-Governor had recently agreed to these scholarships being raised in value from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6, and Rs. 2 to Rs. 4, respectively. Half of the remissions of fee or concession rates allowed on the score of poverty to students in schools and colleges were reserved for Muhammadans. His Honour was prepared to consider any recommendations which might be made as to an extension of these concessions, if there was evidence that the existing system did not afford adequate encouragement to Muhammadan interests (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December p.37, 38). The comparative fewness of Muhammadans who had received higher education had effected the recruitment of Muhammadans for the teaching profession. Thus Muhammadan students in the Training College number less than one-third of the total, and there was a resulting disparity between the number

of Muhammadan officers employed in the Education Department and that of officers of other denominations (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, December p. 38).

Nawab Zulfiqar Ali, who headed the Muslim delegation to the 10th Sikh Educational Conference in Lahore in 1917, remarked on the Sikhs' 'car-speed' in comparison to their own 'cart-dragging,' and begged the Sikhs to transport his Muslim colleagues (Singh, 1997, p.61). Fee was exclusively imposed on non-agriculturists, with farmers' sons being exempt. Hira Singh also used public funds to support education initiatives outside of the state. The Zamindar's sons received special attention when it came to higher education. At the cost of the state, the students were transported to Lahore and Rurki for medical and engineering studies. Hira Singh spent money on schooling outside of the state as well. The bright young men were sent to England to further their education. Scholarships and stipends were established to encourage talented state students to pursue higher education. In addition, the Boy Scout Movement was established in the state (Gurna, 1987, p. 312, 313).

6.2.3 Changes in Traditional Castes due to Education

Muslims were sluggish to take advantage of secondary and post secondary education possibilities for a variety of reasons, including economic ones. As a result, special efforts were taken in Punjab to fulfil the demands of the Muslim impoverished classes in this regard. Muhammadan students were given a set percentage of fee waivers at schools. Muslims were given a larger number of Government college scholarships, which was welcomed by the community, as well as a boost in the value of the "Victoria" scholarships earmarked for them in secondary schools.

Education Government schools were attacked by the mullahs as disseminators of heresy elsewhere in the border districts, and the Mohammadans confined the instruction of the young to religious teachings, just as their literary work was limited to religious issues. These were the causes that constrained the development of education amongst the marginalized and depressed classes in Colonial Punjab.

Situation in 1901 was illustrative of the change, which had been brought to the traditional caste affiliations and practices through access to education. The colonial Government in 1901 assessed that there did not appear to be any movements in

Punjab where the big occupational castes were relinquishing their inherited roles. It was debatable whether such a movement, unless carried out in minute detail, would provide much light on the subtle, almost imperceptible, but constant motions by which tribes ascend or fall in the social scale as a result of a change of employment, which always leads to a change of caste. To some extent, this process occured among Hindus, as a *Chamar* who wished to be a *Julaha* may take up weaving and become a *Julaha* in no time. Chamars who strove for the top learnt to weave and became *Julahas*, whereas the Bania caste lower sections were obviously promoted *Chamars*. However, the process of caste and change after access to education was most active among the Mohammadans. Converts from the lowest castes begin as *Dindars*, *Musallis*, and so forth, had ascended to *Sheikhs or Khojas* if they forsake demeaning jobs. Thus, caste was mostly determined by employment, and a list of a caste's vocations would most likely show that fact and little more (Census, 1901, Vol. XVII, p. 371).

However, this did not applicable to *Muhial*. Except in the Rawalpindi District, the Khatri's were losing ground in terms of income and power, and their social structure appeared to be to blame. British administrative structure was also not friendly to the Rajputs, who were only spared from demoralisation by the fact that a large number of them joined the Indian Army. The 'middle classes' and higher artisan castes of Hindus, on the other hand, were making significant progress not just in terms of monetary prosperity, but also in terms of social status and influence for example Arora's, Bania's, Mahajans and Suds etc. While the Jats, both Hindu and Sikh, made significant progress in terms of income and education. The Tarkhans, among the craftsmen, were on their way to becoming a professional caste as they achieved engineering skills. Probably no other caste progressed as much in the last two decades as this one. The Kalal's or Ahluwalia's as they were now known, likewise made remarkable progress. The *Khoja's* of Bhera and the Mohammadan Punjabis (*Sheikhs*) in Delhi were the sole outliers among Mohammadans, whereas the Swati's of Mansehra, the Tarkheli's of Haripur, in Hazara, and the Sheikhs of Attock claimed to have taken advantage of educational opportunities available to them. Similar observations were made about the cultivating classes, who were generally backward in everything except numbers, though there were exceptions, such as the Mohammadans of Gurdaspur and Pathankot Tehsil's, who appeared to be outpacing Hindus in education (Census, 1901, Vol. XVII, p. 371, 372).

6.3 Conclusion

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a number of circumstances pushed girls and women to attend schools and universities. The preference of educated men for educated women as brides reaffirmed the importance of women's education and encouraged parents to enroll their daughters in school. Whatever the cause, most parents wanted their daughters to have an education that would enhance their 'feminine' attributes. Punjab had a similar situation. Although writing abilities were not common, a tiny percentage of the female population could read Punjabi in script and Hindi written in the Gurumukhi.

The rise of female education was aided by British rulers, Indian male reformers, and educated Indian women. Each of these three groups had different incentives for the expansion of female education. To ensure their devotion, the British wanted educated women to serve as public officials. Reform-minded men desired to create a progressive society. After the 1920s, the "new women" sought professionalised housewives and, as a result, new jobs for women were created. The number of girls pursuing a career as a primary school teacher increased from 2,757 to 4,391 (Progress of Education in India; 1917-1922; Eighth Quinquennial Review, 1923, p. 130).

As far as the Muslims were concerned, most of them rejected English schooling as it was considered beneath their dignity to acquire the language of the usurpers (Ghosh 2009, p.236). In India Western education was accepted most avidly by high caste and urban middle class Hindus, by low class underprivileged Hindu converts to Christianity in growing commercial towns and coastal areas which were exposed to Western contacts earlier than the hinterland, and by minority groups like the Parsi's and Jews. Christianity was both a cause and a product of this social process. The upper classes and particularly their women kept aloof from this new education. As a result new elites more capable of using the Western legal, economic and political institutions emerged (Tangri, 1961, p.392).

The apathy towards the education of the girls, which was so prominent previously, changed into active sympathy due to emotional and certain material gains. Parents realised that the education of their daughters was as much a part of their duty as the education of their sons. The education department also took some active steps and devised new plans for spreading women's education, viz., separate schools for girls were started, arrangements of conveyance for taking girls to schools were made, inspectresses were appointed, liberal prizes were offered to girls and fees were remitted at times, many schools run by local bodies were transferred to Government, favourable grants were given to private girls schools, teachers of boys schools were rewarded for every girl whose attendance could be secured, steps were taken to attract ladies to the teaching profession, and provincial committees with a fair proportion of lady members were set up for discussing the problems of girls education. The steps gave a great fillip to women's education (Mukerji, 1972, p.83).

More schools, more and better trained female teachers, and an adequate female inspecting agency were pressing needs to which special attention was being devoted. The character of the instruction given in girls' schools was similar to that in institutions for boys, but the standards were in some respects lower and special subjects were introduced. Thus the Bombay course for girls included household accounts, domestic economy, and needlework. Much assistance had been given to the cause of female education by mission schools and mission classes for home teaching. (Imperial Gazetteer of India, p. 432).

Kinnaird College, Lahore, was one of the province's major missionary schools, and it influenced the students' lifestyles and, as a result, the social structure of the country. This one-of-a-kind missionary school was instrumental in both altering the conservative Punjabi society and fostering higher education among the province's women. The missionaries were able to escape the constraints of societal practises and norms that, in their opinion, were denying women of their basic access to education through this institution. Rather than preparing women for domestic tasks, the Kinnaird missionary staff steered student life and extracurricular activities toward teaching them to be knowledgeable teachers and responsible citizens, in opposition to provincial Government and university views on women's education. Kinnaird College was a unique college in the early twentieth century that fostered female intellectual equality and encouraged women to pursue professional professions following graduation (Maskiell, 1985, p.56-57). "Out of every 100 women, just one was educated". The Calcutta University Commission defined two concepts in its report

about female education, according to Gupta (2000 (b), p.115), "the adaptation of curriculum to fit the requirements of different classes, and the use of the women' opinion in designing an appropriate programme of teaching."

The disparity was most visible at the higher levels of education, with Muhammadans accounting for just 36 percent of the total number of males attending secondary schools in Punjab. In this Province, linguistic difficulties were not an impediment to advancement, and because aided secondary schools were largely run by denominations, increasing Muhammadan participation on governing boards of such institutions was not feasible. For the enhancement of existing Muhammadan institutions, the establishment of new secondary schools under Muhammadan administration, and the upkeep of Muhammadan student dorms were recommended. With generous subsidies, the Lieutenant-Governor was ready to aid private industry in these fields. Muhammadan secondary schools in major cities, such as Rawalpindi and Multan's Islamia schools, made more efficient." The decline in the number of Muhammadan students in high school resulted in a disparity in the number of Muhammadan students in colleges. Because the Islamia College in Lahore was the Province's only Muhammadan college, the Lieutenant-Governor put a premium on the institution's financial and administrative stability, as well as its direction by a competent management committee. The Government of India was contacted about the funding needed to enhance the college, and the Government was assured that considerable assistance would be available if a good plan was given (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1913, p. 29, 30).

Special steps were taken during the period for encouraging education among the Muslims, viz., provision of scholarships for Muslim pupils at schools and colleges, provision of Muhammadan hostels attached to the colleges and schools, and the appointment of Muslim inspectresses. The Muslims continued to insist on religious instruction and observance. But the old prejudices against modern ideas and the exclusive adherence to the orthodox subjects were gradually dying away (Mukerji, 1972, p. 84).

Religious prejudice, pride, and other cognate causes that had previously prevented the Muhammadan community from properly availing themselves of the educational facilities offered by the British Government to all classes of the people

were fast dying away, and that there were other and more powerful causes at work that made it difficult for Muslims to compete on equal terms in matters of education were fast dying away, according to educational officers of experience. The comparative poverty to which, it was admitted, a large proportion of the most intelligent classes had been reduced by a complete change in the political and social conditions of society as a result of a change in Government methods, was recognised as the most serious cause that operated to exclude Muslims from the benefit of the state system of education as it was in vogue in public schools in the Punjab (Proceedings of the Home Department, November, 1896, p. 97, 98)."

CHAPTER-7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Summary

The present study pertains to comprehensively assess the evolution of higher education in Colonial (British) Punjab. The research comprises a critical evaluation of higher education's evolution, as well as discussion of policy planning and finance. The study evaluates and discusses the role of various socio-religious cultural movements in promoting higher education, patterns of inclusion of women and marginalised groups in higher education, types of incentives and scholarships, and various trends and issues in higher education under the colonial regime, with a focus on Colonial Punjab from 1880 to 1920. While studying the development of higher education in Colonial Punjab it becomes important also to study the form and concept of Indian society of the times. In India, the system of indigenous education was well spread and there was fairly wide network of indigenous educational institutions. According to Naik (1979, p.171, 172), "Indo-European society was hierarchical and elitist." The erudite Brahmins (who represented intellectual power), the strong Kshatriyas or aristocrats (who represented political and military power), and the Vaishyas or merchants (who represented money power) were the three "twice-born" upper-castes. They constituted a numerically limited top crust of society, concentrating all power and resources in their hands. The *shudras*, or labourers and slaves, and the *antyajas*, or untouchables, etc., who lived on the outside of society and were denied education and most other basic necessities of life"

There were two sorts of educational institutions: higher learning institutions, such as Hindu *tols* or *pathasalas*, and Muslim *madrasahs*, as well as indigenous Hindu and Muslim elementary schools. Except in a few regions, Hindu schools were mostly for boys and typically excluded untouchable classes and girls. *Makhtabs*, or Muslim schools, were frequently linked to mosques. A few girls, along with the boys, attended them at an early age, but the affluent families preferred to educate their children at home.

The contact with the West that followed the British conquest of India began a renaissance in Indian life that ushered in the concepts of equal educational opportunity, education for all, and secularisation of education, which meant that education was primarily meant to improve life here and now, rather than in other worlds and after death, over the course of about 200 years. The British administrators themselves took the initial moves in this direction, despite their general aversion to interfering with people's religion and social conventions (Naik, 1979, p. 169).

Through numerous Despatches and Proclamations, the arrival of British missionaries and the development of the British Empire came up with strategies and plans for mass education (though the purpose is always dubious). The goal of English education, was to promote the English sense of superiority and to produce a group of Indians who would imitate them and perform their work (Dasgupta, 2003, p. 45).

Rationale of the Study

In Punjab, the British gained complete control over the governmental, commercial, educational, and agricultural spheres in 1849. They began developing strategies and procedures for the effective operation of Punjab's administration, as well as providing it with advantages and benefits. Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were founded in 1857, and the Punjabi studies were associated with the university of Calcutta. Following the British occupation of Punjab in 1849, Henry and John Lawrence emphasised the importance of a western-style education system and policy. Lahore, now Pakistan's capital, grew in significance as a result of administrative reasons and the arrival of British officials.

Leading citizens, as well as well-informed and educated members of society, began to seek the establishment of a university in Punjab. And when they were joined by G. W. Leitner, this compelling demand gained traction, and Punjab University was founded in 1882 as a result of their tireless efforts. Christian missionary schools in places such as Ludhiana and Ambala had already begun to implement a structured educational system.

However, such a structure was not there in higher education at the time of annexation or previously, thus it is necessary to investigate how the organised and structured system of higher education came to be. Along with the British attempts, Christian missionaries and Indian social reformers launched a slew of social, cultural, and educational reform groups, including the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Singh Sabha, and Mohammedan movements. In towns including as Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Patiala, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, and Moga, they established a number of schools and institutions.

Female instructors were needed as a result of this new growth, therefore teacher-training schools arose. However, significant gaps remained, such as funding for these institutions, fewer efforts to include girls in higher education, a heavy emphasis on tests, and so on. Without a full reformation of Indian education in the nineteenth century, contemporary India's political and economic growth could not have been conceivable.

English education, modern culture, industrialization, increased mobility, journeys to western nations, and reform movements all contributed significantly to the advancement of higher education in Colonial India. In British India, forming an educational pattern based on the "elite system" and transforming it to a more "inclusive one" was a big problem.

The British pioneered a number of improvements in higher education, including the naming of faculties, the founding of boards of studies, and academic councils, among others. The British attempted to improve education, but even Lord Curzon's initiatives were condemned by Basu, who stated, "Even a viceroy as strong and despotic as Curzon could not take his educational reforms to a successful end." As a result, the reforms and proposals must be thoroughly examined.

It is crucial for a researcher to investigate the type of education system, the importance placed on languages, arts, and science, and the efforts made by the British for students from underrepresented groups and women who were influenced by the western/British model, as well as the status of its implementation and administration in India.

Statement of the Problem

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN COLONIAL PUNJAB (1880-1920)

Research Questions

- 1. What was the Colonial policy on planning and management of higher education in Punjab?
- 2. How were the problems of access, quality and quantity in higher education addressed?
- 3. Did British give any eminence to people's involvement, non-governmental agencies or voluntary efforts?
- 4. What was the nature of various courses offered by the universities, streams and areas chosen by students in higher studies and to the medium of instruction at higher education level?
- 5. What were the criteria and the regulatory regime established for setting up new colleges/institutes by the British?
- 6. Did the local bodies have any role to play in managing institutions of higher education?
- 7. What was the status of teacher training programmes?
- 8. What was the role of Indian socio-religious reform movements in the spread of higher education in Punjab?
- 9. What were the initiatives and the efforts made by the British Government to bring women and marginalized groups into the mainstream of education?

Objectives

- To study and review the British policy on higher education in the context of Hunter Commission/ Indian education commission (1882), Indian University Act (1904) and Calcutta University Commission (Sadler Commission, 1917) in terms of a access b equity c quality in higher education in Punjab d financing patterns.
- 2. To study the growth of institutions of higher education in Punjab.

- 3. To study the profile of teacher training institutions.
- 4. To study the role of socio religious reform movements in the spread of higher education namely a. Arya Samaj, b. Sikh reform movements and d. Christian Missionaries.
- 5. To study the role of the public and private sectors in the spread of higher education.
- 6. To study the participation of women in higher education.
- 7. To study the participation of marginalized groups in higher education.

Methodology

Historical Method

The process of learning and understanding the background and growth of a chosen field of study or profession offers insight into organizational culture, current trends, and future possibilities. The historical method of research applies to all fields of study because it encompasses their origins, growth, theories, personalities, crisis, etc. For the present study primary and secondary sources had been studied.

Primary Sources

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- iii. Census of India, 1911, Volume XIII. North-West frontier province.
- iv. Census of India, 1921, Volume I.
- v. Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume III, Volume IV.
- vi. Sharp, H. (1914). Progress of education in India, 1907-1912. Volume I.
- vii. Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, Volume I.
- viii. Quinquennial Review of Education in India, 1907-12.
- ix. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1917-18, 1918-19.
- x. Richey, J. A. (1923). Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922. Eighth Quinquennial Review.
- xi. Rose, H. A. (1901). Census of India, Volume XVII. The Punjab, its feudatories, and the North-West frontier province. Part I. The report of the

census. Review. Volume. I. The report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882

- xii. The Report of the University Education Commission Volume I, 1962.
- xiii. The Report of the Secondary Education Commission; Mudaliar commission report, 1953.
- xiv. Village education in India. The report of commission of inquiry (1920).
- xv. Report of the Age of Consent Committee 1928-1929, Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch.
- xvi. Speeches of the Lord Curzon, Governor General of India.
- xvii. Proceedings of the Home Department Government of India: From the year 1886 to 1920.

Contemporary works by J. N. Faruquhar, Sir Raymond West, Lovat Fraser, J. D. Cunningham, George Campbell, Vincent A. Smith had also been examined.

Secondary Sources

For the present study various books, news reports, articles and the critiques developed by the various historians and educators had been studied.

Delimitation of the Study

The present study is limited to the study of higher education in period from 1880 to 1920. This period has been the most eventful period and it is marked as the period of transition in history of higher education in India. It becomes imperative to study the period where fundamental policy decisions were taken which in turn shaped the future of Indian higher education.

7.2 Conclusions

The East India Company did not adopt any educational strategy in India between 1813 and 1823 (Majumdar, 1965, p. 43). In 1818, Christian missionaries established the Baptist Mission College in Serampore. They also established many schools, one of which was named after Rev. Duff and whose expenditures were paid through Scottish Church endowments. Private persons, both Indian and European, created schools. G.A. Turnbull, Raja Rammohan Roy, and David Hare each started a school. In 1820, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta founded a college. Gaurmohan Auddy founded the Oriental Seminary in 1828. Hindu College students were instrumental in

establishing additional schools, and by 1831, they had created and operated six morning schools in various sections of Calcutta (Majumdar, 1965, p. 33, 34).

The effect of the British community on Indian communities was a less direct element that acted differently in different areas of India (Natarajan et al., 1973, p.635). Political ideals from the West, as well as knowledge of Western science and literature, were transferred to India through English education. In the mid-nineteenth century, a significant educated middle class emerged, speaking the same English language and sharing a shared set of western ideals.

The rise of an all-powerful imperialist bureaucracy was a significant aspect of the Indian Government at that time. The Indian civil service had progressed to a certain level of efficiency. Civil officials were exclusively accountable to the Secretary of State, and they became the primary conduit for the Home Government's authority to be exerted in India. The Charter Act of 1833 had made the choice to offer a few responsible, high-ranking administrative positions to Indians. In England, open competitive examinations were first held in 1853, but it took until 1864 for the first Indian to join the public service.

Lord Macaulay put the objective candidly and transparently in his 1835 minutes: the administration needed intermediaries who stood between themselves and the ruled, and who would be - but for their complexion and appearance - English in their thinking, way of life and culture. The local population would be taught English and as much as possible about England, its literature, people, life, so that these intermediaries could be brought into being and used for serving colonial interests (Mishra, 1961, p. 154). Lord William Bentinck adopted English as the official language of the Government, and Lord Hardinge decided, in 1844, to give employment under the Government to Indians educated in English schools. The success of English education was thus assured and it made tremendous progress in Bengal between 1813 and 1854.

The Despatch of 1854 was a seminal document that defined the direction in which the educational Policies of the British in India would develop. Even 50 years after the document, the framework laid out in it was being slowly and steadily implemented. In 1855, education departments were established in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab. The establishment and

maintenance of Government educational institutions at all levels was their primary priority. Education departments were created in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab in 1855. However, an even more essential task was to oversee and assist institutions run by other authorities, such as municipal Governments and non-profits (Natarajan et al. 1973, p.657). The dispatch also emphasized and suggested the training of teachers in normal schools, the conferment of Government jobs on educated persons, and increased attention to the development of education among young girls and women.

With the founding of universities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1857, a new educated class in Punjab formed, conscious of the province's educational shortcomings. English books/literature were widely circulated in Punjab as a result of the development of the press (Sinha, Pal and DasGupta, 1973, p. 532). A few professional colleges for medical, engineering, and legal education were founded, and they sent out graduates in medicine, engineering, and law. But the most rapid progress was made in the field of high school education, which continued to be imparted through the medium of English (Mookerjee, 1944, p.31). The British Government laid the principle of secular education in Government and Government aided institutions. The mother tongue as a medium of instruction was completely neglected (Kaur, 1985, p. 28).

On January 21, 1865, Dr. Leitner formed the Anjuman-i-punjab, a vernacular literary association. The group began a campaign from the beginning to separate the Punjab institutions from the University of Calcutta. In August 1865, Dr. Leitner convened a gathering of chiefs, notables, and the general public to present a proposal for the establishment of a 'Eastern University' in Lahore to promote the study of oriental languages and learning, as well as the production of vernacular literature.

The Anjuman-i-Punjab and the Punjabis persisted in advancing their positions, albeit with varying degrees of success. The six years, 1870-1876, were devoted to the development of Punjab University College, and the work completed during this time was significant. A grand darbar was held in Delhi on January 1, 1877, during which the Governor-General declared Queen Victoria as Kaisar-i-Hind and numerous favours were granted. The senate (Punjab university college) took advantage of the

opportunity and sent a petition to the Governor-General, requesting that the Punjab University College be given more autonomy, allowing it to award degrees and become a university.

As a result, the Governor-General, Lord Lyton, promised to propose a bill in the legislative council to establish a university in Punjab. The people of Punjab kept the flame for a university alive for the following five years under Dr. Leitner's supervision. The State Government and the Government of India, as well as the Secretary of State exchanged letters. At the end of 1879, the goal of fifteen years of consistent labour appeared to be within reach. The bill to turn Punjab University College into a full university had finally been approved by India's Secretary of State.

The Government of India told the Government of Punjab on September 1, 1881, that the Secretary of State for India had sanctioned the proposed legislation to elevate the Punjab University College to the status of a university in a telegraph dated August 23, 1881. As a result, on October 7, 1882, the Punjab University Act No. XIX of 1882 was published in the Indian Gazette. On the 14th of October, 1882, the Panjab University was formally established (Kaur, 1975, p. 216, 217).

The Hunter Commission investigated the educational system in 1882 and suggested that educational services be reorganised. Political concepts from the West, as well as knowledge of Western science, were conveyed to India through English education. These ideas sparked a 19th-century intellectual renaissance that began far earlier than 1857. They eventually found political expression in the 1880's national awakening. By that time, a significant educated middle class had arisen, speaking the same English language and sharing a same understanding of Western liberal values. The railways, telegraph, and press, as well as industries employing skilled labour, allowed them to operate on a national scale, and these disparate activities eventually coalesced into forums of national sentiments and ideas (Sinha, Pal and DasGupta, 1973, p. 532).

In 1880, circumstances had changed dramatically, prompting the formation of three separate educational agencies. The first was the mission schools and universities; the second was educational institutions formed by education departments; and the third was a little beginning of private initiatives by Indians themselves (Kaur, 1985, p. 29).

According to the Indian Education Commission's (1882) recommendations, Indian graduates, particularly those who had also graduated from European universities, were to be employed first at Government run colleges. Four Indian graduates, one of whom had graduated from the University of Cambridge, were employed as Assistant Professors and one as a full Professor at Punjab University College Lahore, the province's only Government College. However, for the graded Professorships, which were rare in number, a good command of English was required, as were outstanding achievements in other areas. Even in 1880, Punjab locals with the necessary qualifications were hard to come by. Although His Honor the Lieutenant Governor agreed with the approach under discussion, he thought it would be best to hire Professors to occupy these higher positions through the Secretary of State in most circumstances. Muhammadan College in Allygarh employed three Englishmen, all of whom were Cambridge graduates. Higher inspection staff appointments provided a greater field for native talent in the Punjab, therefore a Punjabi was nominated to a graded appointment and appointed Inspector of the Delhi circle of inspection (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 306).

There was a close connection between public education and Government service in India. In comparison to Western nations, the options for educated males were fewer and less diversified, with Government work still the most significant. The desire to see their children in the service was long one of the biggest motivators for parents to pursue education; on the other hand, one of the most important outcomes of that education was the significant improvement in the quality of Government employees.

A race for becoming Government officials and clerks arose over time, primarily imbued with Western notions of probity and business, and ready to serve in the administration of a vast country. The Government used a combination of standard school and university examinations, as well as specific tests and special selection, to pick candidates for governmental jobs. A strong university degree may be necessary for administrative and judicial positions, whereas success in the matriculation or other similar exams may be required for lower positions (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV, n. d. p. 448).

The main inducement to study in the Punjab, as in every other province in India, and every country in the civilized world, was, with the great mass of students, the hope of personal advancement. There was a very strong desire for English education, mainly because it led to Government employment, which afforded a certain income and some valuable prizes. Hitherto the classes who seek for an English education had not turned their attention to industrial and commercial pursuits. They saw no opening in that direction, and an education avowedly (acknowledged) framed to fit them for such occupations would offer no attraction, and certainly would not be accepted, if it appeared to cut them off altogether from Government employment. It was, however, a common complaint that youths who had passed the Entrance Examination, and often those who had advanced to a much higher standard, were not qualified to become efficient clerks (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p. 141).

An examination open to matriculated students to be held by the department in the letter and precise writing, dictation, calligraphy, general correspondence, book-keeping and commercial arithmetic; that diplomas be awarded to successful candidates who obtain diplomas could have some reasonable expectation that the diplomas would lead to employment; and a hope had been expressed that the Government would adopt measures to secure an adequate recognition of the diplomas as ensuring as a preferential claim to employment in the public service (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p. 142). "Student's material concerns and hopes for future employment dominated the educational enterprise (Bellenoit, 2005, p. 15)."

The bestowal of patronage in Government posts had been arranged in such a way that competitive examinations and other methods were used to encourage higher education. The number of undergraduates and the amount of college fees both increased as a result of this. The number of students registered at the government college in Lahore and the Mission College in Delhi increased from 113 at the end of 1882-83 to 307 at the end of 1885-86 (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 313).

The services were reorganised into imperial, provincial, and subordinate cadres in 1886, following the suggestions of a Public Service Commission. Indians

were to be appointed to the provincial and subordinate services by promotion or direct recruitment. For successful operation, the law courts, too, need qualified employees. The Indian Education Service was established in 1897 to fill the most senior positions. Since the service's recruitment took place in England, on these positions Europeans were mostly recruited, while Indians occupied all of the department's lesser positions (Natarajan et al., 1973, p. 657).

Between 1880 and 1900, the number of Indian-founded private schools and universities increased dramatically. By 1901-02, Indian private enterprise had become the most significant means of disseminating western education to the general public. This reflects the educational system's fast westernisation, as well as the Indianization of its agencies (Kaur, 1985, p. 29).

The British-controlled Indian press played a significant role in piqueing popular interest. Members of the armed forces made significant contributions by establishing cultural, literary, and research institutes, as well as encouraging regional and linguistic studies in India, while opening up the outside world to Indians. It promoted interests beyond the surrounding context and the gathering of persons who shared similar preferences and interests. The creation of newspapers in Indian languages aided the development of comparable literary forms, bridging the gap between spoken and written language, which was a common trait in all the Indian languages.

In 1902, the Government spent a pittance on education, accounting for only 9% of the overall expenditure (Basu, 1974, p. 95). Lord Curzon's administration was distinguished by significant reforms in the domains of education and other fields. Curzon's remarks were replete with the desire to formulate excellent educational policy. Lord Curzon aimed to modernise the educational system and efficiently regulate the country's educational institutions as part of his complete and efficient agenda. Following a preliminary survey, the Viceroy convened a conference of Chief Education Officers at Shimla in September 1901 "to study the system of education in India."

His Government established a Universities Commission on January 27, 1902, "to inquire into the conditions and prospects of Indian Universities, to report upon proposals to improve their constitution and working, and to recommend measures to elevate the standard of university teaching and to promote learning." Sir Thomas

Raleigh, a legal member of the Viceroy's executive council, presided over the panel. Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Director of Public Instructions in the Nizams dominions, was one of the members, and when the Hindu community protested that it was under represented, Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerjee, a Calcutta High Court Judge, was appointed to the Commission. The Commission visited all the universities and the number of affiliated colleges and submitted its report in June 1902. Its principal recommendations were:

- The older universities legal powers should be expanded so that all universities
 can be recognised as teaching bodies; however, the local limits of each university
 should be more precisely defined, and steps taken to remove the Calcutta
 university and affiliated colleges from the Central Provinces, United Provinces,
 and other areas.
- The Senate, the Syndicate and the Faculties would need re-organisation in order to make them more representative than before.
- There should be a properly constituted governing body for each college.
- More stringent conditions were to be imposed for the recognition of affiliated institutions and there should be insistence on the better equipment of affiliated colleges and supervision of discipline and their places of residence.
- Suggestions were made for important changes in the courses of study and methods of examination.
- That a minimum rate of college fee should be fixed.
- That the system of teaching law, by law classes attached to arts colleges should be modified (Majumdar, 1965, p. 57, 58).

The Indian Universities Act, 1904 gave universities the ability to teach, established syndicates for faster commercial transactions, established tougher affiliation and periodic inspection criteria for colleges, and specified the territorial jurisdiction of the various universities. This resulted in a significant qualitative improvement in higher education without impacting the rate of expansion. It sanctioned large grants-in-aid for the improvement of Secondary and Primary education and for the introduction of science teaching. It also reviewed and laid down policies in such matters as the education of girls or Anglo-Indians and the

establishment of schools of art (Natarjan et al, 1973, p. 658, 659). This resulted in a significant increase in the quality of higher education without slowing down the rate of expansion (Natarajan et al., 1973, p. 659).

Under the leadership of S. Sunder Singh Majithia, the first Sikh Education Conference was organised in Gujranwala in April 1908. The meeting had certain goals and objectives in mind. It aimed to instil in young people a desire for knowledge and education. Its goal was to educate the public and create a combination of the finest of western education and the best of Indian education, with a religious bent. Apart from emphasising the significance of basic education, the conference looked at the flaws and weaknesses of secondary, college, and university education, with the goal of improving it. The goal of the meeting was to restructure the whole educational system by replacing foreign languages with the native tongue. Along with boys education, the conference wished to place a special emphasis on female education, which had previously been almost overlooked (Walia, 1975, p. 206).

It was well known that the fateful decision to introduce an entirely new system of education was bolstered by the Government's desire to train a group of Indians who could work in subordinate positions under the Government and assist in the country's administration, thereby lowering administrative costs. As a result, the current educational system came to be valued not for its cultural virtues but for the economic benefits it provided (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 30, 31). The goal was that by enriching vernacular languages and educating the people, this learned elite would provide a stable labour supply to the colonial administrative offices (Chaudhary, 2007, p. 2)."

British Officer Wilson (1909, p.137) explained the job scenario in Punjab as that "When I first entered the service, 34 years ago (more than half-way back to annexation) the number of men exercising judicial powers, as magistrates or judges, was under 500, and of those only 320 were Indians; and no Indian held a higher post than that of assistant to a deputy commissioner or district judge."

By 1910, All but 100 of the 20,000 police, all the clerks, and all the 8,000 village accountants were Indians, and 800 of the 1,000 men with criminal, civil, and administrative powers were Indians, 260 of whom were non-official honorary magistrates; and all the subordinate officials. There were 22 Indians among the 29 district judges; 150 Indians among the 250 assistants at district headquarters; four

Indian deputy commissioners or settlement officers, two Indian divisional judges, and generally two Indian judges of the Chief Court, the highest court of criminal and civil jurisdiction; and four Indians among the nine members of Legislative Councils.

A passing grade on the entrance or matriculation test not only guaranteed admission to the university, but also a job, if not very profitable, but still secure, for those who did not have lofty aspirations in life. Others, who were more ambitious and active, might take more difficult exams in the hopes of getting better positions. The major concern was how to pass an examination and receive a certificate demonstrating a high level of English proficiency, as well as a passport to serve (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 31).

King George V declared the relocation of India's capital from Calcutta to Delhi in December 1911. The choice to establish a new metropolis symbolised the British supremacy at its pinnacle. Because it was simpler to govern the colonial Indian possessions from Delhi, the capital was moved to Delhi. The capital, Delhi, housed the majority of Government offices. For the purpose of deploying Government personnel in various departments, Indians were immediately picked for inferior positions. The transformation influenced the thoughts of the middle class as well, because after earning a graduate degree, they could apply for the Indian civil services test and be placed in high-ranking posts. The move of the capital was meant to put the Raj's administration closer to a convenient part of India and to connect their waning imperial power with the memories of previous Empires. The transfer of the capital from the hub of Western influence to the traditional city of patriotism predicted the "imminent restoration of administration to local hands in many ways" (Brown, 2010, p. 62).

Several changes were also implemented on a qualitative level, particularly in response to the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919). At Allahabad, Varanasi, Hyderabad, Aligarh, Lucknow, Dacca, and Annamalai, unitary, teaching, and residential universities were formed, and most of the universities took teaching roles. Inter-collegiate and inter-university activities were launched with the establishment of an inter-university board. Research was also developed; military training was established at some institutions; student's housing facilities were improved; and health-related measures were made (Natarajan et al, 1973, p. 660).

The present study is broadly based on the primary sources, Government records, documents, proceedings and contemporary books available of the period (1880-1920) as there is a dearth of secondary sources. As the period under study is the development of higher education in Punjab, 1880 to 1920, there was very sluggish rate of development. In mid of the 19th century British took over the control of Punjab and started making policies and plans for the development of education. Earlier the students from Punjab had to appear in Calcutta University examinations even for their matriculation.

As the demand in Punjab for the university raised by the inhabitants of Punjab Province, Panjab University was established in 1882. The Panjab University started with almost all the courses and faculties, which were being run in the universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. With this the Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Muslim started establishing the schools and colleges in Punjab. Lahore became the hub of the educational activities. Almost all the Missionaries had their headquarters or branches in the city of Lahore. As a result it gained importance due to its educo-political environment. The Missionaries took initiatives for the education of the women and marginalized groups as they were deprived of even the indigenous education, which was prevalent in the Province at the time of annexation (1849).

The primary sources provide an abundant record about the education statistics at various levels such as primary, secondary education data. But data about the higher education in Punjab was difficult to be procured as even the proceedings of the Home Department which were published almost every month, doesn't have substantial data about higher education. The major commissions, which presented their reports in the time frame of the study, mostly covered the primary and secondary education of the Province. With the advent of the British, Christian Missionaries worked for the education of the women and the marginalized sections of society. The *Zenana* schools were opened where even the wives of British officers used to teach. After this even Sikh, Hindu and Muslim Missionaries worked for the mass education and number of schools and colleges were opened by Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Dev Samaj, Singh Sabha, Chief Khalsa Diwan and Ahmadiya's in Punjab. Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Moga, Jalandhar, Batala, Ambala became the important towns of British period in relation to higher education.

The access to the primary documentation by these reform movements can provide more lead to the broader picture but the documents are mainly in Sanskrit, Urdu and Gurmukhi language. The study of development of higher education is a vast and extensive topic as it covers number of parameters, which helped in its development. The topic is broad and can be discovered more thoroughly by extensively studying its different parameters e.g. different faculties and courses, opening and affiliation of new colleges, teacher-training profiles, special provisions for the inclusiveness of women and marginalized sections, education initiatives by the Missionaries, text-books prescribed. The documents of the Punjab History conference, Patiala edited by Prof. Fauja Singh and Prof. Ganda Singh are an excellent source of information for the researchers. The Conference documents are excellent repositories of information. The Presidential Address by the renowned personalities in the different section such as Ancient, Medieval and Modern presents a broad picture about the Indian society and culture and are of scholarly interest.

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1900, Education.

1902, Education.

1902, Appendix A.

1908, September, Education.

1910, August.

1912, July, Education.

1913, May.

1913, Decemeber.

1914, January, Education.

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APPENDIX-I

Form of Certificate issued

Certificate in favour of	t			
1.Period of study a	nd standard	reached		
2. Conduct and charac	ter			
3. Diligence				-
4. His attainments in	the various b	ranches of study ar	e indicated	in the Professor's
reports which are anne	exed.			
Subject		Remarks		
English			_	Professor
Classics			_	Professor
Mathematics			_	Professor
Philosophy			_	Professor
History			_	Professor
Physical Science			_	Professor
			Governmer	nt College Lahore:
				Principal
(Proceedings of the H	ome Departm	ent, 1888, Education	n p. 5, 6).	

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APPENDIX-II

Grant of rent-free quarters to the Professors of Government College, Lahore

No. 97, dated Lahore, 1st April 1915.

From-The Hon'ble Mr. J.C. Godley, M.A., C.S.I., Under-Secretary to Government, Punjab, Home (Education) Department.,

To-The Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education.

*Proceedings, July 1911, Nos. 12-13

I am directed to refer the correspondence ending the Punjab Government letter no. 346S. (Home), dated 31st July 1911, on the subject of providing free accommodation for Principals and Professors of Government Colleges. In paragraph 3 (b) of the resolution of Government of India, Nos. 319-331, dated the 16th May 1906, it was stated that an extension of this privilege to more than two officers would require a reference to the Government of India, with a full explanations of the reasons. I am to say that it is proposed to allow two of the science Professors of the Government College, Lahore, to occupy free of rent a building formerly used as an office, which has now been adapted for residential purposes, immediately adjoining the new College laboratories. The Professors will have duties in connection with the supervision of the students outside the lecture rooms, and the arrangement will greatly facilitate the research work conducted in the laboratories. The provision of quarters is rendered all the more necessary by the fact that houses suitable for Professors are otherwise only obtainable at an inconvenient distance from the college. I am accordingly to request that the Government of India, may be pleased to sanction the grant of free quarters to the two Professors in question, with effect from the date of occupation.

(Proceedings of Home Department, 1915, Education April p.3).

APPENDIX-III

Details of the various Courses in the Panjab University

The Governor-General in council entirely approves of the views of the Education Commission on moral education point and would gladly see an increase in the number of aided colleges and schools in which religious instruction may be freely given (Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Education-15).

"An Examination for the degree of Master of Arts shall be held annually in Lahore, beginning on the third Monday in March, or on such other date as may be fixed by the Syndicate. Any person who has passed the High Proficiency In Arts Examination of the Punjab University College, and any Graduate of the Punjab or (subject to the sanction of the Syndicate) of any other recognized University, may be examined for the Degree of Master of Arts in one or more of the following branches:-

Languages, History, Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Physical Science.

The Examination in Languages shall be in English, Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek or Latin (Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education -p. 29).

"An Examination for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning shall be held annually in Lahore, beginning on the third Monday in March, or on such other date as may be fixed by the Syndicate. Any person who has passed the High Proficiency In Arts Examination of the Punjab University College, and any Graduate in Oriental Learning of the Punjab or in Arts of the Punjab, or (subject to the sanction of the Syndicate) of any other recognized University, may be examined for the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning in one or more of the following branches:-Languages, History, Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Physical Science (Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education-33).

"An Examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts shall be held annually in Lahore, beginning on the third Monday in March, or on such other date as may be fixed by the Syndicate. The examination shall be open to any undergraduate who shall have passed the Intermediate (F.A) Examination of the Punjab, or (subject to the sanction of the SyndicateO the Fine Arts or other equivalent examination of any other recognised University, and to any person who has passed the Proficiency in Arts Examination of the Punjab University College, provided that the candidate shall have passed such

examination not less than two years previously every candidate shall be required to take up three subjects only. Two of the subjects shall be fixed and the candidate shall be allowed to select the third subject, as hereinafter provided. The following are the subjects of examination:-

A. COURSE---

Fixed subjects-

- 1. English.
- 2. A Classical Language (Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek or Latin) or Persian with elementary Arabic.

Elective Subjects--

One and only one of the following must be taken:-

- 1. Mathematics first course
- 2. History and political economy.
- 3. Philosophy.
- 4. A Branch of Physical Science.
- 5. A second classical Language or Persian.

B. COURSE

Fixed Subjects-

- 1. English.
- 2. Mathematics (First Course) or a branch of Physical Science.

Elective Subjects:

One and only one of the following must be taken:-

- 1. Mathematics (Further Course).
- 2. History and Political economy.
- 3. Philosophy.
- 4. A Second Branch of Physical Science.
- 5. A Classical Language or Persian

(Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education p.35, 36).

APPENDIX IV

The Mayo School of Art, Lahore

The object of the Mayo school of Industrial art at Lahore is "to give instructions in the Art of design, with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to the Punjab, and to the Architectural and decorative styles of art peculiar to the Province." The Principal has, therefore, to be a good deal more than an Art Master in the ordinary sense. It is necessary that he should have a taste for, and appreciation of, Indian art in its main forms, so that the school may continue to be a conservator of what is good in indigenous design, and a guide to the application of such design to the artistic industries, manufacturers, and works of construction in the Province. Outside the school, the Principal has to exercise a general supervision over the Industrial and Technical Schools of the Province, and over instruction in elementary drawing in the ordinary schools. He has also, in accordance with the main object of the school of art, to make himself acquainted with the industries and the craftsmen of the Province, so as to be a means of preserving the taste and quality of the workmanship, and, as far as possible, by advise and the suggestion of new patterns and designs, of improving these. And for this duty, a man of wide sympathies and of genuine industrial progress is required. The Principal is further expected to be able, in time, to advise government on all matters connected with the Arts and Industries of the Province; he is the recognized agent of Government for making collections for industrial and Art Exhibitions; he has, in connection with the movement for the promotion of industrial art in the country, to take a share in the work of making an accurate census of the art industries of the Province and of contributing to the Journal of Industrial Art; and, in consequence of all this, he must be a man of keen observation and a zealous student of art.

Vice-Chancellor- Fred. H. Andrews, Esquire

Principal- J. L. Kipling, C.I.E

Assistant Teachers

Mr. G.P. Pinto- Modelling and moulding in plasters.

Munshi Sher Muhammad- Drawing and design.

Bhai Ram Singh- Architecture and wood-carving.

Pandit Bansi Dhar- Engineering

Bhai Gurdit Singh- Geometry, mensuration and surveying.

Lala Dhanpat Rai Registrar

The Mayo School of Art was established in 1875, and was the outcome of a public subscription raised to perpetuate the memory of the late Lord Mayo, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It is supported by Government, and is under the control of the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

The object of the school is to give instruction in the Art of Design, with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to the Punjab, and to the Architectural and decorative styles of art peculiar to the Province, and to exercise a general supervision over the industrial and technical schools of the Punjab, and over instruction in Elementary Drawing in ordinary Schools. The school adjoins the New Museum and technical Institute near the Anarkali Garden. The hours of attendance are from 10A.M. to 4P.M. The annual Vacation is from the 1st August to the 15th October.

Conditions of admission

Application for admission should be made in writing to the Principal, and should be accompanied by specimens of the Candidates handiwork. Candidates are expected to show signs of aptitude for the pursuit of art in some form. Greater importance is attached to such aptitude than to proficiency in general education. In order to test their capacity, two months probation is enforced in the case of all the students before definitive enrolment. The most suitable age for admission is from 14 to 16 years, and, as a general rule, the sons of artisans are most likely to repay instruction. No fees at present charged for tuition and admission. A limited number of stipends, amounting to Rs. 135 per mensem, are at the disposal of the Principal. These are awarded to promising students, and are liable to reduction or withdraw if the holders prove inapt or inattentive. Admission to stipends is usually decided by competition.

Allowances paid by Local Governments:

Students from outlying districts and towns provided by District or Municipal Boards or by Native States with subsistence allowances are received for instruction. John Lawrence scholarships each of the value of Rs. 15 per mensem, are tenable in the Mayo school of art. One scholarship of Rs. 15 per mensem, tenable for two years, is awarded annually in the Architectural Drawing and Wood-working Class.

One scholarship of Rs. 15 per mensem, tenable for two years, is awarded annually in the DECORATIVE DRAWING CLASS.

One scholarship of Rs. 15 per mensem, tenable for two years, is awarded every second year in the Modelling and moulding class.

These Scholarships are awarded by the Principal to the winners in competitions of the most advanced students in the school, who will undertake to pursue their studies for a further period of two years.

The holders of John Lawrence Scholarships are expected, as occasion may arise, to act as Monitors, and to assist, when called upon, in elementary teaching.

(PHD, 1893, Education, March. 25, 26, 27).

APPENDIX-V

Courses offered in Medical Faculty in Panjab University

The examination shall consist of two parts entitled respectively, the First and Second M.B. Examinations for Bachelor in Medicine.

First examination for Bachelor in Medicine

- 2. Any person who can produce certificates to the following effect may be admitted to this examination:--
- a. Of having passed the Intermediate or other equivalent examination of an Indian or other University recognized by the syndicate.
- b. Of having, subsequently to having passed the intermediate examination in Arts, been engaged in medical studies for three academic years.
- c. Of having attended the following courses of lectures at a school of medicine recognized by the Senate:-

Two Courses each of 100 lectures-

Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy.

Chemistry.

General Anatomy and Physiology

Two courses of 70 lectures-

Materia Medica

Two courses each of 26 lectures-

Botany.

Two courses of 40 lectures-

Comparative Anatomy and Zoology

Two Courses-

Practical Chemistry in testing the nature of the acids and bases in ordinary salts, in testing the nature of ordinary poisons and in examination of animal secretions and of urinary deposit, and in testing for the impurities of potable water.

- d. Of having studied Practical Pharmacy for two courses each of three months and having a practical knowledge of the preparations and compounding of medicine.
- e. Of having dissected during three winter sessions and of having completed at least ten dissections each session (Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education p.120)".

SECOND EXAMINATION FOR BACHELOR IN MEDICINE:

Any candidate who can produce certificates to the following effect may be admitted to this examination:--

- a. Of having passed the First M.B. Examination of this University at least two years previously.
- b. Of having, subsequently to passing the First M.B. Examination, attended the following courses of lectures at a school of medicine recognized by the University:-

Two Courses each of 100 lectures on-

Medicine

Surgery.

Two courses of 30 lectures-

Midwifery.

Disease of Women and Children.

Two courses each of 30 lectures-

General Pathology and Morbid Anatomy.

Two courses of 50 lectures-

Medical Jurisprudence.

Two courses each of 25 lectures-

Diseases of the Eyes.

Two courses of 20 lectures-

Hygiene.

- c. Of having, subsequently to passing the First Examination for Bachelor in Medicine, gone through a complete course of surgical operations on the dead body during one summer session.
- d. Of having duly and carefully performed six post-mortem examinations, and of having regularly attended the oral course of Practical Demonstrations in the dead house.
- e. Of having attended Hospital and Dispensary practice during the last three academic years of study in the following manner:

Six months attendance at an outdoor Dispensary of a recognized Hospital.

Three months attendance at the practice of an eye Dispensary.

Two tears attendance of the Surgical and Medical Practice of a recognized Hospital and lectures on Clinical Surgery and Medicine during such attendance.

f. Of having drawn up in his own handwriting six medical and six surgical cases

during his period of service as Ward clerk.

g. Of general character and conduct from the Principal of the College or school of medicine at which he has studied (Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education p.122).

DOCTOR IN MEDICINE

- 1. An examination for the Degree of Doctor in Medicine shall be held annually in Lahore, and shall commence at such time as the Syndicate shall determine, the date to be approximately notified in the calendar for the year.
- 2. Any Bachelor in Medicine may be admitted to this examination, provided he can produce certificates to the following effect:--
- a. Of having admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, or having passed the examination of High proficiency in Science.
 - b. Of having, subsequently to passing the M.B. Examination, completed-
 - five years certified practice of the Medical Profession with great repute; or
 - two years Hospital practice or two years private practice; or
 - two years practice, either Hospital or private, if the candidate be a graduate in Medicine in the First Division.
 - c. of good moral and professional character, signed by two medical men of respectability.

Any person who has passed the Licentiate Examination I in medicine, either of the Punjab University or the Punjab University College, may be admitted to the Examination for the Degree of Doctor in Medicine on producing certificates to the following effect:-

- Of having passed the Licentiate Examination in Medicine.
- Of having practiced the Medical profession with repute for three years by two medical men of respectability.
- Of fitness, moral and social, for the degree,
- Of having passed the B.A. Examination or the High Proficiency in Science Examination.
- Of having paid a fees of hundred rupees.

Any Assistant Surgeon who passed his examination as such before the year 1870, during which the Punjab University College first began to examine Medicine, may be admitted to the Degree of Doctor in Medicine, on producing certificates to the

following effect:-

- Of having been gazetted Assistant Surgeon before 1st January 1870.
- Of having practiced the Medical profession with good repute for more than fifteen years.
- Of fitness, moral and social, for the Degree.
- Of having paid a fees of one hundred rupees.

Such candidates shall also pass a practical Examination in Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery, and shall be required to write an original thesis in English upon some Medical subject specially connected with India.

(Proceedings of Home Department, 1891, Education p. 124, 125).

APPENDIX-VI

Details of various Trusts, Medals and Scholarships by Panjab University and Provincial and Indian Government

The Special Trusts in the possession of, and connected with, the Punjab University on the 31st Dec. 1885 were as below enumerated.

A. Permanent Endowments.

Readers and Translators--

- 1. The Alfred-Patial Translatorship or Patial-Alfred Scholarship.
- 2. The Alexandra Readership.
- 3. The McLeod-Kashmir Sanscrit Readership.
- 4. The McLeod-Kapurthala Natural Science Readership.
- 5. The Mayo-Patiala Engineering Readership.
- 6. The McLeod-Punjab Arabic Readership.

Scholarships and Exhibitions---

- 1. The Alfred-Jind-Nabha Scholarship.
- 2. The Bahawalpur Arabic Scholarship.
- 3. The Amritsar-McLeod Memorial Scholarship.
- 4. The Fuller Exhibition.
- 5. The Jind Punjabi Scholarship.
- 6. The Patiala Gurmukhi Scholarship.
- 7. The Bikrama Singh Natural Science Scholarship.
- 8. The Egerton-Maler Kotla Arabic Scholarship.

Medals and Prizes

- 1. The (Brandreth) Registrar's Prize.
- 2. The Maler Kotla-McLeod Medal.
- 3. The Jaishi Ram Medals.
- 4. The Maclagan Medals.
- 5. The Inayat Ali-Watson Medal.
- 6. The Inayat Ali-Griffin Medal.
- 7. The Alwar Medal.
- 8. The Rai Kanhya Lal-Pollard Prize.
- 9. Khalifa Muhammad Hassan-Aitchison Medal.
- 10. Khalifa Muhammad Hassan-Griffin Medal.

11. The McLeod Medal and Purse.

B. -- ENDOWMWNTS NOT PERMANENT.

Readers and Translators---

C. 1. The Jullundur Medical readership.

Scholarships and Exhibitions---

- 1. The Jullundur Persian Scholarships.
- 2. Raja Harbans Singh's Sanscrit Scholarships.
- 3. Rai Kanhiya Lal's Persian Scholarship.
- 4. Sir L.H.Griffin's Gurmukhi Scholarship.
- 5. The Nabha Gurmukhi Subscription.

Medals and Prizes

- 1. The Harbans-Aitchison Medal.
- 2. The Harbans-Leitner Medal.
- 3. The Stulpnagel Prize.
- 4. The Lewis Prize. (Proceedings of Home Department, 1887, Education p.39).

D. AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIP TO STUDY IN GREAT BRITAIN

Rules for the award of scholarships for natives of India proceeding to England for further study offered by the Government of India.

- 1. Candidates for the scholarship must be native of India (not to be interpreted as excluding a person who though born in a Native State or temporarily residing in a Native State, is domiciled in British India).
- 2. The selection of the scholar shall take place not later than the 15th of the month of February in the year in which a scholarship is placed at the disposal of the university, and the selection shall be made by the Vice-Chancellor after considering the report of the committee
- 3. The persons eligible for scholarships shall be only such graduates of the university as have obtained the degree of M.A., M.Sc., B.A., or B.SC., and must, in all cases, be under 23 years of age on the 1st April of the year in which the selection made.
- 4. Every candidate for the scholarship must send his application to the Registrar not later than the 31st January of the year in which the selection is to be made. Such application shall be accompanied by the following papers:- a. A declaration by the candidate that he has the consent of his family to go to

England if he obtains the scholarship. B. A certificate of good conduct from persons of known respectability and position who are well acquainted with the candidate. C. A certificate of his physical capacity to undergo the course of life and study which he will have to follow in England, signed or countersigned by the Civil Surgeon or one of the Professors of the Medical College, Lahore. 4. A declaration of his intention to pursue his studies in the University of Oxford or Cambridge.

5. The names of all the candidates who have complied with the preceding rules shall be placed before a committee appointed by the syndicate consisting of four members and the Registrar, who after examining the papers relating to each candidate, and after making such enquiries as they think proper from the Principals and Professors of the Colleges in which the students were educated, or such other persons as they (the committee) consider well able to give opinions on the character and qualifications of the candidates, shall report on the candidates and recommend the one they think the fittest to the Vice-Chancellor (Proceedings of Home Department, 1915, Education., May p.3,4).

Language or Oriental Scholarships

- 1. The scholarships will be as a rule be awarded to a candidate who has passed examinations in India which will obtain for him admissions to a university in Europe as an Advanced or Research student.
- 2. Some elementary knowledge of French and German should, if possible, be acquired by the scholar before leaving India.
- 3. In the selection of Scholars for the study of Sanskrit regard should be paid to the following considerations. As the vast range of Sanskrit literature makes it necessary for a scholar to select some special field of Sanskrit learning in which to specialize, the choice of the special branch of study should be made in India and the pertinent preparatory studies completed before the scholar leaves for Europe. Professors of Sanskrit in various European Universities have complained that individual Language Scholars have been unable to enter at once on the course of study best fitted for them, through lack of preliminary knowledge which could quite well have been acquired in India. Accordingly if a Sanskrit scholar wishes to specialize on
 - a. *Veda* or philosophy, he should have some knowledge of Latin and Greek.
 - b. Philosophy, he should have studied on e of the systems of Indian Philosophy in the original-texts, and have read some Plato and Aristotle.

c. Post-Vedic literature, his reading should have extended considerably beyond the limits of the courses prescribed for the M.A. Examination of an Indian University. (Proceedings of Home Department, 1916, July, Education p.5,6)

The scholarships will be of the value of pound 250 a year if held in colleges at Oxford or Cambridge and 200 pound if held elsewhere. In either case the scholar will be required to pay his own university fees. The scholarship will be tenable for two years (Pandit Lakshmana Sarupa, Lala Vidyanath (1918).

SCHOLARS NOMINATED BY THE UNIVERSITIES

1887-Harkishen Lall; 1890-Lla Gobind Das; 1892-Shaikh Asghar Ali B.A.; 1895-Lala Shadi Lal (M.A.), Rai Bahadur; 1897-Balak Ram, M.A.; 1900-Lala Manoha Lal M.A. Barrister; 1902- Fazl Mohammad Khan, M.A.; 1905-Lala Har Dayal (resigned scholarship); 1907- Lala Jagan Nath M.A. (resigned scholarship); 1912 - Mohammad Hussain Qazi; 1915-Ganesh Chabdra Chatterji M.A.; 1917-Baldev Das Puri B.A.

STATE TECHNICAL SCHOLARS

1906-07-I.K.Kaul (Metal work), Abdul Hafiz (mining)

1908-09- Muhammad Amin, Sheo Prasad (both textile industry)

1910-11- Hashmat Rai M.Sc. (Alkali manufacture)

1912-13 - Lakhmi Das Kochar (training)

1913-14 - Lohuri Mal Khosla (Flour milling)

1914 - Arjan Da (Textile industry)

W. Sorby (Mechanical, Electrical Engineering)

1915 - Khalid Ahmad (metal work)

1917 - Bhagat Madan Gopal (pottery)

Malik Karan Singh (paper manufacture)

Scholarships to domiciled Europeans

1911- R. S. Blaker

Sanskrit and Arabic Scholars

1909-Prabhu Dutt, M.A. (Sanskrit)

1911-Todar Mall, M.A. (Sanskrit)

1912-P.Tara Chand (Sanskrit)

1913-P.Hari Chand (Sanskrit)

1915-Mohammad Shaffi (Arabic)

1916-Lakshmana Sarup (Sanskrit)

1917-P. Jagan Nath (Sanskrit)

(Proceedings of Home Department, 1918, Education- March)

Two scholarship of 200l or 250l were to be awarded annually by the universities. 10 technical scholarships of 150l were to be awarded annually to statutory natives of India. One scholarship of 200l or 250l was to be awarded annually to a male student of the domiciled community. Two scholarships of 200l or 250l were to be awarded annually for the study of Oriental languages. One scholarship of 200l was to be awarded annually to a female candidate of the domiciled community. One scholarship of 200l was to be awarded annually to an Indian woman graduate (Proceedings of Home Department, 1916, Education, May p. 4)

APPENDIX-VII

Certification of teacher training courses

Certified Teachers

Certificates are either permanent or provisional. A provisional certificate consists of an entry of the teachers name in a register kept by the department. Certificates are for general teacherships and for special teacherships. Certificates are general teacherships are either Vernacular or Anglo-Vernacular. An Anglo-Vernacular certificate qualifies the holder to teach either in an Anglo-Vernacular or in Vernacular school. A Vernacular certificate qualifies the holder to teach in a Vernacular school, or to teach subjects other than English in the Primary or Midlle department of an Anglo-Vernacular school. Certificates for general teacherships are of two kinds-Senior and Junior, each divided into two grades, viz., I and II. Holders of certificates are eligible for the offices noted below:

Senior-- First grade--Head Master, High School.

Second grade-- Head Master, Middle School, or Assistant, High Department.

Junior-- First grade-- Assistant, Middle Department

Second grade--Head Master, Primary School

A certificate in every case qualifies the holder to fill posts lower than those above specified (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p.336)".

"JUNIOR CERTIFICATES

I. For a permanent second grade Certificate--

Three years continuous service with credit as a teacher, or in the case of those who have undergone a course of training, two years.

This period may be reduced by one year in the case of teachers who have passed the certificate Examination in the First Division.

II. For a provisional first grade Certificate--

Two year's continuous service with credit as a teacher.

III. For a permanent first grade Certificate--

Two year's continuous service with credit as a teacher in a Middle department.

SENIOR CERTIFICATES

I. For a permanent second grade Certificate

Three years continuous service with credit as a teacher, or in the case of those who have undergone a course of training, two years as ---

Principal teacher in a Middle department.

Or

Assistant teacher in High department.

This period may be reduced by one year in the case of teachers who have passed the Certificate Examination in the First Division.

II. For a provisional first grade Certificate--

Two year's continuous service with credit (as in I).

This period may be reduced by one year in the case of teachers who have passed the B.A. Examination.

III. For a permanent first grade Certificate

Two year's continuous service with credit as Head Master of a High School.

This period may be reduced by one year in the case of teachers who have passed the M.A. Examination.

A Certificate may notwithstanding anything contained above, be at any time refused, suspended, reduced, or cancelled, by order of the Director, the applicant or holder in each case being given an opportunity of explanation. A provisional Certificate of any grade will be cancelled or reduced if three successive reports from the Inspector are unsatisfactory. If a provisional Certificate is not made permanent within four years from its date, it will lapse, but may be revived at any time, if its lapse was due solely to the holder not being employed as a teacher. In this case, the period of service required to make it permanent will run from the date of revival.

(Proceedings of Home Department, 1886, Education p.336, 337).

STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION FOR TEACHERS CERTIFICATES

Examinations for certificates shall be held annually at Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi in the month of July. The examination shall be open to candidates not sent up from Normal Schools or Training Colleges, provided they have satisfied the conditions laid down in the following article. Candidates admission to certificate examinations must have completed their nineteenth year, and will be required to produce satisfactory evidence of good character. Before admission they must have passed the following

examinations:-

I. For the Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination-

Middle School Examination, passing in Persian or Sanskrit and in Mathematics.

II. For the Senior Vernacular Certificate Examination

The Entrance Examination, Punjab University, passing in Persian as one of the subjects, when the certificate examination is conducted through the medium of Urdu, and in Sanskrit when it is conducted through the medium of Hindi;

Or

The Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination.

III. The Junior Anglo-Vernacular Certificate Examination--

The Entrance Examination, Calcutta University, or Punjab University, Arts side.

IV. The Senior Anglo-Vernacular Certificate Examination--

The Intermediate Examination, Punjab University, Arts side or F.A. Examination.

 O_1

The Entrance Examination if followed by two years attendance at an Arts College (Proceedings of Home Department, 1886, Education p. 340, 341).

APPENDIX-VIII

Training Institutions for teachers

SECTION-A GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

The training institutions at present existing in the Punjab are all maintained by Government; they include-

- a. The Central Training College, Lahore
- b. Four normal schools at--

Delhi, Jullundur, Lahore, Rawalpindi.

To each of these institutions a model school is attached.

Section B- The Central Training College.

The central training college consists of an Anglo-Vernacular Department and a Vernacular Department. The Anglo-Vernacular Department is sub-divided into a senior class and a junior class; the Vernacular Department consists of one class, called the senior vernacular Class.

The Central Training College is managed by the Prinicipal, subject to the general control of the director. The principal is assisted in his duties by the Assistant Superintendent, a staff of three assistant masters, who may be required also to translate, compile and examine text-books, and a maulavi, who also teaches in the central model school. A gymnastic Master is paid by the Municipality gives instruction in the Central Training College, the Central Model School and the Municipal Board School. The session lasts from 16th of October to the 31st of July. The following is an estimate of the number of hours required weekly for each branch of instruction:-

Senior Anglo Vernacular Class

Reading	2
Conversation	2
Translation, re-translation and letter writing	3
Grammar and Analysis	2
Elementary Science	4
Mathematics	5
School Management and criticism Lessons	12
Gymnastics	3

	33
Junior Anglo Vernacular Class	
Reading	3
Conversation	3
Translation, re-translation	6
Grammar	3
Writing	3
School Management and criticism Lessons	12
Gymnastics	3
	33
Senior Vernacular Class	
Senior Vernacular Class Persian	3
Persian	3
Persian Urdu	3 3
Persian Urdu Elementary Science	3 3 4
Persian Urdu Elementary Science Mathematics	3 3 4 3
Persian Urdu Elementary Science Mathematics School Management and criticism Lessons	3 3 4 3 12

Candidates for admission to the Senior Vernacular Class must have passed either the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University, passing in Persian as one of the subjects, or the Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination.

SECTION C--The Central Model Schools

This school teaches up to the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University. It is managed by the head master, who is subject to the immediate control of the Principal of the Central Training College, and is assisted by a staff of--

3 English Masters;

1Maulavi, who also teaches in the Central Training College;

- 1 Mathematical Master for the Secondary Department; and
- 6 Oriental Teachers, including a Sanskrit Teacher who is paid from subscriptions. The other teachers are on the sanctioned establishment.

The course of study is the same as that laid down for Anglo-Vernacular Board Schools; and the rules applicable to those schools apply generally to this.

SECTION D--Normal Schools.

The Normal School at Lahore is under the immediate control of the Principal, Central Training College. The other three normal schools are controlled by the Inspectors of the Circles in which they are situated.

The following is an estimate of the number of the hours required for instruction in each subject weekly in the Normal School:-

Persian	3
Urdu	3
Arithmetic and Mensuration	6
Geography	2
Common things	3
School Management	5
Practice of Teaching	4
Algebra and Euclid	4
Drill	3
	33

Candidates for admission to a Normal School must have passed the Middle School Examination, passing in Persian as one of the subjects. Candidates who have not passed the Middle School Examination in Mathematics must also satisfy the Head Master that they possess a competent knowledge of Euclid and Algebra to the Middle School Standard before they can be admitted.

Stipends are given in institutions in training institutions. A sum of Rs. 270 per mensem throughout the session is provided for stipends tenable in the Senior Vernacular Class of the Central Training College. Stipends are given in accordance with the qualifications of the students as noted below:-

- a. to those who have passed the Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination, Rs. 9 per mensem.
- b. to those who have passed the Entrance Examination, Rs. 8 per mensem.
- c. to those who have passed the attended the Oriental College for two years after passing the Entrance Examination, but have not passed the Intermediate Examination, Rs. 10 per mensem.
- d. to those who have passed the Intermediate Examination (Oriental side) or any higher Oriental Examination, Rs. 12 per mensem

(Proceedings of Home Department, 1888, Under Training Institutes p. 8-15).

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN COLONIAL PUNJAB (1880-1920)

A THESIS

Submitted to the
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
PANJAB UNIVERSITY, CHANDIGARH
For the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

2021

GURPREET KAUR

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
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CHAPTER-7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Summary

The present study pertains to comprehensively assess the evolution of higher education in Colonial (British) Punjab. The research comprises a critical evaluation of higher education's evolution, as well as discussion of policy planning and finance. The study evaluates and discusses the role of various socio-religious cultural movements in promoting higher education, patterns of inclusion of women and marginalised groups in higher education, types of incentives and scholarships, and various trends and issues in higher education under the colonial regime, with a focus on Colonial Punjab from 1880 to 1920. While studying the development of higher education in Colonial Punjab it becomes important also to study the form and concept of Indian society of the times. In India, the system of indigenous education was well spread and there was fairly wide network of indigenous educational institutions. According to Naik (1979, p.171, 172), "Indo-European society was hierarchical and elitist." The erudite Brahmins (who represented intellectual power), the strong Kshatriyas or aristocrats (who represented political and military power), and the Vaishyas or merchants (who represented money power) were the three "twice-born" upper-castes. They constituted a numerically limited top crust of society, concentrating all power and resources in their hands. The *shudras*, or labourers and slaves, and the *antyajas*, or untouchables, etc., who lived on the outside of society and were denied education and most other basic necessities of life"

There were two sorts of educational institutions: higher learning institutions, such as Hindu *tols* or *pathasalas*, and Muslim *madrasahs*, as well as indigenous Hindu and Muslim elementary schools. Except in a few regions, Hindu schools were mostly for boys and typically excluded untouchable classes and girls. *Makhtabs*, or Muslim schools, were frequently linked to mosques. A few girls, along with the boys, attended them at an early age, but the affluent families preferred to educate their children at home.

The contact with the West that followed the British conquest of India began a renaissance in Indian life that ushered in the concepts of equal educational opportunity, education for all, and secularisation of education, which meant that education was primarily meant to improve life here and now, rather than in other worlds and after death, over the course of about 200 years. The British administrators themselves took the initial moves in this direction, despite their general aversion to interfering with people's religion and social conventions (Naik, 1979, p. 169).

Through numerous Despatches and Proclamations, the arrival of British missionaries and the development of the British Empire came up with strategies and plans for mass education (though the purpose is always dubious). The goal of English education, was to promote the English sense of superiority and to produce a group of Indians who would imitate them and perform their work (Dasgupta, 2003, p. 45).

Rationale of the Study

In Punjab, the British gained complete control over the governmental, commercial, educational, and agricultural spheres in 1849. They began developing strategies and procedures for the effective operation of Punjab's administration, as well as providing it with advantages and benefits. Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were founded in 1857, and the Punjabi studies were associated with the university of Calcutta. Following the British occupation of Punjab in 1849, Henry and John Lawrence emphasised the importance of a western-style education system and policy. Lahore, now Pakistan's capital, grew in significance as a result of administrative reasons and the arrival of British officials.

Leading citizens, as well as well-informed and educated members of society, began to seek the establishment of a university in Punjab. And when they were joined by G. W. Leitner, this compelling demand gained traction, and Punjab University was founded in 1882 as a result of their tireless efforts. Christian missionary schools in places such as Ludhiana and Ambala had already begun to implement a structured educational system.

However, such a structure was not there in higher education at the time of annexation or previously, thus it is necessary to investigate how the organised and structured system of higher education came to be. Along with the British attempts, Christian missionaries and Indian social reformers launched a slew of social, cultural, and educational reform groups, including the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Singh Sabha, and Mohammedan movements. In towns including as Amritsar, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Patiala, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, and Moga, they established a number of schools and institutions.

Female instructors were needed as a result of this new growth, therefore teacher-training schools arose. However, significant gaps remained, such as funding for these institutions, fewer efforts to include girls in higher education, a heavy emphasis on tests, and so on. Without a full reformation of Indian education in the nineteenth century, contemporary India's political and economic growth could not have been conceivable.

English education, modern culture, industrialization, increased mobility, journeys to western nations, and reform movements all contributed significantly to the advancement of higher education in Colonial India. In British India, forming an educational pattern based on the "elite system" and transforming it to a more "inclusive one" was a big problem.

The British pioneered a number of improvements in higher education, including the naming of faculties, the founding of boards of studies, and academic councils, among others. The British attempted to improve education, but even Lord Curzon's initiatives were condemned by Basu, who stated, "Even a viceroy as strong and despotic as Curzon could not take his educational reforms to a successful end." As a result, the reforms and proposals must be thoroughly examined.

It is crucial for a researcher to investigate the type of education system, the importance placed on languages, arts, and science, and the efforts made by the British for students from underrepresented groups and women who were influenced by the western/British model, as well as the status of its implementation and administration in India.

Statement of the Problem

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN COLONIAL PUNJAB (1880-1920)

Research Questions

- 1. What was the Colonial policy on planning and management of higher education in Punjab?
- 2. How were the problems of access, quality and quantity in higher education addressed?
- 3. Did British give any eminence to people's involvement, non-governmental agencies or voluntary efforts?
- 4. What was the nature of various courses offered by the universities, streams and areas chosen by students in higher studies and to the medium of instruction at higher education level?
- 5. What were the criteria and the regulatory regime established for setting up new colleges/institutes by the British?
- 6. Did the local bodies have any role to play in managing institutions of higher education?
- 7. What was the status of teacher training programmes?
- 8. What was the role of Indian socio-religious reform movements in the spread of higher education in Punjab?
- 9. What were the initiatives and the efforts made by the British Government to bring women and marginalized groups into the mainstream of education?

Objectives

- To study and review the British policy on higher education in the context of Hunter Commission/ Indian education commission (1882), Indian University Act (1904) and Calcutta University Commission (Sadler Commission, 1917) in terms of a access b equity c quality in higher education in Punjab d financing patterns.
- 2. To study the growth of institutions of higher education in Punjab.

- 3. To study the profile of teacher training institutions.
- 4. To study the role of socio religious reform movements in the spread of higher education namely a. Arya Samaj, b. Sikh reform movements and d. Christian Missionaries.
- 5. To study the role of the public and private sectors in the spread of higher education.
- 6. To study the participation of women in higher education.
- 7. To study the participation of marginalized groups in higher education.

Methodology

Historical Method

The process of learning and understanding the background and growth of a chosen field of study or profession offers insight into organizational culture, current trends, and future possibilities. The historical method of research applies to all fields of study because it encompasses their origins, growth, theories, personalities, crisis, etc. For the present study primary and secondary sources had been studied.

Primary Sources

- i. Croft, A. (1888). Review of Education in India, 1886.
- Rose, H. A. (1902). Census of India, 1901, The Punjab, its feudatories, and the North-West frontier province. Part-I
- iii. Census of India, 1911, Volume XIII. North-West frontier province.
- iv. Census of India, 1921, Volume I.
- v. Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume III, Volume IV.
- vi. Sharp, H. (1914). Progress of education in India, 1907-1912. Volume I.
- vii. Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, Volume I.
- viii. Quinquennial Review of Education in India, 1907-12.
- ix. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1917-18, 1918-19.
- x. Richey, J. A. (1923). Progress of Education in India. 1917-1922. Eighth Quinquennial Review.
- xi. Rose, H. A. (1901). Census of India, Volume XVII. The Punjab, its feudatories, and the North-West frontier province. Part I. The report of the

census. Review. Volume. I. The report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882

- xii. The Report of the University Education Commission Volume I, 1962.
- xiii. The Report of the Secondary Education Commission; Mudaliar commission report, 1953.
- xiv. Village education in India. The report of commission of inquiry (1920).
- xv. Report of the Age of Consent Committee 1928-1929, Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch.
- xvi. Speeches of the Lord Curzon, Governor General of India.
- xvii. Proceedings of the Home Department Government of India: From the year 1886 to 1920.

Contemporary works by J. N. Faruquhar, Sir Raymond West, Lovat Fraser, J. D. Cunningham, George Campbell, Vincent A. Smith had also been examined.

Secondary Sources

For the present study various books, news reports, articles and the critiques developed by the various historians and educators had been studied.

Delimitation of the Study

The present study is limited to the study of higher education in period from 1880 to 1920. This period has been the most eventful period and it is marked as the period of transition in history of higher education in India. It becomes imperative to study the period where fundamental policy decisions were taken which in turn shaped the future of Indian higher education.

7.2 Conclusions

The East India Company did not adopt any educational strategy in India between 1813 and 1823 (Majumdar, 1965, p. 43). In 1818, Christian missionaries established the Baptist Mission College in Serampore. They also established many schools, one of which was named after Rev. Duff and whose expenditures were paid through Scottish Church endowments. Private persons, both Indian and European, created schools. G.A. Turnbull, Raja Rammohan Roy, and David Hare each started a school. In 1820, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta founded a college. Gaurmohan Auddy founded the Oriental Seminary in 1828. Hindu College students were instrumental in

establishing additional schools, and by 1831, they had created and operated six morning schools in various sections of Calcutta (Majumdar, 1965, p. 33, 34).

The effect of the British community on Indian communities was a less direct element that acted differently in different areas of India (Natarajan et al., 1973, p.635). Political ideals from the West, as well as knowledge of Western science and literature, were transferred to India through English education. In the mid-nineteenth century, a significant educated middle class emerged, speaking the same English language and sharing a shared set of western ideals.

The rise of an all-powerful imperialist bureaucracy was a significant aspect of the Indian Government at that time. The Indian civil service had progressed to a certain level of efficiency. Civil officials were exclusively accountable to the Secretary of State, and they became the primary conduit for the Home Government's authority to be exerted in India. The Charter Act of 1833 had made the choice to offer a few responsible, high-ranking administrative positions to Indians. In England, open competitive examinations were first held in 1853, but it took until 1864 for the first Indian to join the public service.

Lord Macaulay put the objective candidly and transparently in his 1835 minutes: the administration needed intermediaries who stood between themselves and the ruled, and who would be - but for their complexion and appearance - English in their thinking, way of life and culture. The local population would be taught English and as much as possible about England, its literature, people, life, so that these intermediaries could be brought into being and used for serving colonial interests (Mishra, 1961, p. 154). Lord William Bentinck adopted English as the official language of the Government, and Lord Hardinge decided, in 1844, to give employment under the Government to Indians educated in English schools. The success of English education was thus assured and it made tremendous progress in Bengal between 1813 and 1854.

The Despatch of 1854 was a seminal document that defined the direction in which the educational Policies of the British in India would develop. Even 50 years after the document, the framework laid out in it was being slowly and steadily implemented. In 1855, education departments were established in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab. The establishment and

maintenance of Government educational institutions at all levels was their primary priority. Education departments were created in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab in 1855. However, an even more essential task was to oversee and assist institutions run by other authorities, such as municipal Governments and non-profits (Natarajan et al. 1973, p.657). The dispatch also emphasized and suggested the training of teachers in normal schools, the conferment of Government jobs on educated persons, and increased attention to the development of education among young girls and women.

With the founding of universities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1857, a new educated class in Punjab formed, conscious of the province's educational shortcomings. English books/literature were widely circulated in Punjab as a result of the development of the press (Sinha, Pal and DasGupta, 1973, p. 532). A few professional colleges for medical, engineering, and legal education were founded, and they sent out graduates in medicine, engineering, and law. But the most rapid progress was made in the field of high school education, which continued to be imparted through the medium of English (Mookerjee, 1944, p.31). The British Government laid the principle of secular education in Government and Government aided institutions. The mother tongue as a medium of instruction was completely neglected (Kaur, 1985, p. 28).

On January 21, 1865, Dr. Leitner formed the Anjuman-i-punjab, a vernacular literary association. The group began a campaign from the beginning to separate the Punjab institutions from the University of Calcutta. In August 1865, Dr. Leitner convened a gathering of chiefs, notables, and the general public to present a proposal for the establishment of a 'Eastern University' in Lahore to promote the study of oriental languages and learning, as well as the production of vernacular literature.

The Anjuman-i-Punjab and the Punjabis persisted in advancing their positions, albeit with varying degrees of success. The six years, 1870-1876, were devoted to the development of Punjab University College, and the work completed during this time was significant. A grand darbar was held in Delhi on January 1, 1877, during which the Governor-General declared Queen Victoria as Kaisar-i-Hind and numerous favours were granted. The senate (Punjab university college) took advantage of the

opportunity and sent a petition to the Governor-General, requesting that the Punjab University College be given more autonomy, allowing it to award degrees and become a university.

As a result, the Governor-General, Lord Lyton, promised to propose a bill in the legislative council to establish a university in Punjab. The people of Punjab kept the flame for a university alive for the following five years under Dr. Leitner's supervision. The State Government and the Government of India, as well as the Secretary of State exchanged letters. At the end of 1879, the goal of fifteen years of consistent labour appeared to be within reach. The bill to turn Punjab University College into a full university had finally been approved by India's Secretary of State.

The Government of India told the Government of Punjab on September 1, 1881, that the Secretary of State for India had sanctioned the proposed legislation to elevate the Punjab University College to the status of a university in a telegraph dated August 23, 1881. As a result, on October 7, 1882, the Punjab University Act No. XIX of 1882 was published in the Indian Gazette. On the 14th of October, 1882, the Panjab University was formally established (Kaur, 1975, p. 216, 217).

The Hunter Commission investigated the educational system in 1882 and suggested that educational services be reorganised. Political concepts from the West, as well as knowledge of Western science, were conveyed to India through English education. These ideas sparked a 19th-century intellectual renaissance that began far earlier than 1857. They eventually found political expression in the 1880's national awakening. By that time, a significant educated middle class had arisen, speaking the same English language and sharing a same understanding of Western liberal values. The railways, telegraph, and press, as well as industries employing skilled labour, allowed them to operate on a national scale, and these disparate activities eventually coalesced into forums of national sentiments and ideas (Sinha, Pal and DasGupta, 1973, p. 532).

In 1880, circumstances had changed dramatically, prompting the formation of three separate educational agencies. The first was the mission schools and universities; the second was educational institutions formed by education departments; and the third was a little beginning of private initiatives by Indians themselves (Kaur, 1985, p. 29).

According to the Indian Education Commission's (1882) recommendations, Indian graduates, particularly those who had also graduated from European universities, were to be employed first at Government run colleges. Four Indian graduates, one of whom had graduated from the University of Cambridge, were employed as Assistant Professors and one as a full Professor at Punjab University College Lahore, the province's only Government College. However, for the graded Professorships, which were rare in number, a good command of English was required, as were outstanding achievements in other areas. Even in 1880, Punjab locals with the necessary qualifications were hard to come by. Although His Honor the Lieutenant Governor agreed with the approach under discussion, he thought it would be best to hire Professors to occupy these higher positions through the Secretary of State in most circumstances. Muhammadan College in Allygarh employed three Englishmen, all of whom were Cambridge graduates. Higher inspection staff appointments provided a greater field for native talent in the Punjab, therefore a Punjabi was nominated to a graded appointment and appointed Inspector of the Delhi circle of inspection (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 306).

There was a close connection between public education and Government service in India. In comparison to Western nations, the options for educated males were fewer and less diversified, with Government work still the most significant. The desire to see their children in the service was long one of the biggest motivators for parents to pursue education; on the other hand, one of the most important outcomes of that education was the significant improvement in the quality of Government employees.

A race for becoming Government officials and clerks arose over time, primarily imbued with Western notions of probity and business, and ready to serve in the administration of a vast country. The Government used a combination of standard school and university examinations, as well as specific tests and special selection, to pick candidates for governmental jobs. A strong university degree may be necessary for administrative and judicial positions, whereas success in the matriculation or other similar exams may be required for lower positions (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume IV, n. d. p. 448).

The main inducement to study in the Punjab, as in every other province in India, and every country in the civilized world, was, with the great mass of students, the hope of personal advancement. There was a very strong desire for English education, mainly because it led to Government employment, which afforded a certain income and some valuable prizes. Hitherto the classes who seek for an English education had not turned their attention to industrial and commercial pursuits. They saw no opening in that direction, and an education avowedly (acknowledged) framed to fit them for such occupations would offer no attraction, and certainly would not be accepted, if it appeared to cut them off altogether from Government employment. It was, however, a common complaint that youths who had passed the Entrance Examination, and often those who had advanced to a much higher standard, were not qualified to become efficient clerks (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p. 141).

An examination open to matriculated students to be held by the department in the letter and precise writing, dictation, calligraphy, general correspondence, book-keeping and commercial arithmetic; that diplomas be awarded to successful candidates who obtain diplomas could have some reasonable expectation that the diplomas would lead to employment; and a hope had been expressed that the Government would adopt measures to secure an adequate recognition of the diplomas as ensuring as a preferential claim to employment in the public service (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1887, Education p. 142). "Student's material concerns and hopes for future employment dominated the educational enterprise (Bellenoit, 2005, p. 15)."

The bestowal of patronage in Government posts had been arranged in such a way that competitive examinations and other methods were used to encourage higher education. The number of undergraduates and the amount of college fees both increased as a result of this. The number of students registered at the government college in Lahore and the Mission College in Delhi increased from 113 at the end of 1882-83 to 307 at the end of 1885-86 (Proceedings of the Home Department, 1886, Education p. 313).

The services were reorganised into imperial, provincial, and subordinate cadres in 1886, following the suggestions of a Public Service Commission. Indians

were to be appointed to the provincial and subordinate services by promotion or direct recruitment. For successful operation, the law courts, too, need qualified employees. The Indian Education Service was established in 1897 to fill the most senior positions. Since the service's recruitment took place in England, on these positions Europeans were mostly recruited, while Indians occupied all of the department's lesser positions (Natarajan et al., 1973, p. 657).

Between 1880 and 1900, the number of Indian-founded private schools and universities increased dramatically. By 1901-02, Indian private enterprise had become the most significant means of disseminating western education to the general public. This reflects the educational system's fast westernisation, as well as the Indianization of its agencies (Kaur, 1985, p. 29).

The British-controlled Indian press played a significant role in piqueing popular interest. Members of the armed forces made significant contributions by establishing cultural, literary, and research institutes, as well as encouraging regional and linguistic studies in India, while opening up the outside world to Indians. It promoted interests beyond the surrounding context and the gathering of persons who shared similar preferences and interests. The creation of newspapers in Indian languages aided the development of comparable literary forms, bridging the gap between spoken and written language, which was a common trait in all the Indian languages.

In 1902, the Government spent a pittance on education, accounting for only 9% of the overall expenditure (Basu, 1974, p. 95). Lord Curzon's administration was distinguished by significant reforms in the domains of education and other fields. Curzon's remarks were replete with the desire to formulate excellent educational policy. Lord Curzon aimed to modernise the educational system and efficiently regulate the country's educational institutions as part of his complete and efficient agenda. Following a preliminary survey, the Viceroy convened a conference of Chief Education Officers at Shimla in September 1901 "to study the system of education in India."

His Government established a Universities Commission on January 27, 1902, "to inquire into the conditions and prospects of Indian Universities, to report upon proposals to improve their constitution and working, and to recommend measures to elevate the standard of university teaching and to promote learning." Sir Thomas

Raleigh, a legal member of the Viceroy's executive council, presided over the panel. Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Director of Public Instructions in the Nizams dominions, was one of the members, and when the Hindu community protested that it was under represented, Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerjee, a Calcutta High Court Judge, was appointed to the Commission. The Commission visited all the universities and the number of affiliated colleges and submitted its report in June 1902. Its principal recommendations were:

- The older universities legal powers should be expanded so that all universities
 can be recognised as teaching bodies; however, the local limits of each university
 should be more precisely defined, and steps taken to remove the Calcutta
 university and affiliated colleges from the Central Provinces, United Provinces,
 and other areas.
- The Senate, the Syndicate and the Faculties would need re-organisation in order to make them more representative than before.
- There should be a properly constituted governing body for each college.
- More stringent conditions were to be imposed for the recognition of affiliated institutions and there should be insistence on the better equipment of affiliated colleges and supervision of discipline and their places of residence.
- Suggestions were made for important changes in the courses of study and methods of examination.
- That a minimum rate of college fee should be fixed.
- That the system of teaching law, by law classes attached to arts colleges should be modified (Majumdar, 1965, p. 57, 58).

The Indian Universities Act, 1904 gave universities the ability to teach, established syndicates for faster commercial transactions, established tougher affiliation and periodic inspection criteria for colleges, and specified the territorial jurisdiction of the various universities. This resulted in a significant qualitative improvement in higher education without impacting the rate of expansion. It sanctioned large grants-in-aid for the improvement of Secondary and Primary education and for the introduction of science teaching. It also reviewed and laid down policies in such matters as the education of girls or Anglo-Indians and the

establishment of schools of art (Natarjan et al, 1973, p. 658, 659). This resulted in a significant increase in the quality of higher education without slowing down the rate of expansion (Natarajan et al., 1973, p. 659).

Under the leadership of S. Sunder Singh Majithia, the first Sikh Education Conference was organised in Gujranwala in April 1908. The meeting had certain goals and objectives in mind. It aimed to instil in young people a desire for knowledge and education. Its goal was to educate the public and create a combination of the finest of western education and the best of Indian education, with a religious bent. Apart from emphasising the significance of basic education, the conference looked at the flaws and weaknesses of secondary, college, and university education, with the goal of improving it. The goal of the meeting was to restructure the whole educational system by replacing foreign languages with the native tongue. Along with boys education, the conference wished to place a special emphasis on female education, which had previously been almost overlooked (Walia, 1975, p. 206).

It was well known that the fateful decision to introduce an entirely new system of education was bolstered by the Government's desire to train a group of Indians who could work in subordinate positions under the Government and assist in the country's administration, thereby lowering administrative costs. As a result, the current educational system came to be valued not for its cultural virtues but for the economic benefits it provided (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 30, 31). The goal was that by enriching vernacular languages and educating the people, this learned elite would provide a stable labour supply to the colonial administrative offices (Chaudhary, 2007, p. 2)."

British Officer Wilson (1909, p.137) explained the job scenario in Punjab as that "When I first entered the service, 34 years ago (more than half-way back to annexation) the number of men exercising judicial powers, as magistrates or judges, was under 500, and of those only 320 were Indians; and no Indian held a higher post than that of assistant to a deputy commissioner or district judge."

By 1910, All but 100 of the 20,000 police, all the clerks, and all the 8,000 village accountants were Indians, and 800 of the 1,000 men with criminal, civil, and administrative powers were Indians, 260 of whom were non-official honorary magistrates; and all the subordinate officials. There were 22 Indians among the 29 district judges; 150 Indians among the 250 assistants at district headquarters; four

Indian deputy commissioners or settlement officers, two Indian divisional judges, and generally two Indian judges of the Chief Court, the highest court of criminal and civil jurisdiction; and four Indians among the nine members of Legislative Councils.

A passing grade on the entrance or matriculation test not only guaranteed admission to the university, but also a job, if not very profitable, but still secure, for those who did not have lofty aspirations in life. Others, who were more ambitious and active, might take more difficult exams in the hopes of getting better positions. The major concern was how to pass an examination and receive a certificate demonstrating a high level of English proficiency, as well as a passport to serve (Mookerjee, 1944, p. 31).

King George V declared the relocation of India's capital from Calcutta to Delhi in December 1911. The choice to establish a new metropolis symbolised the British supremacy at its pinnacle. Because it was simpler to govern the colonial Indian possessions from Delhi, the capital was moved to Delhi. The capital, Delhi, housed the majority of Government offices. For the purpose of deploying Government personnel in various departments, Indians were immediately picked for inferior positions. The transformation influenced the thoughts of the middle class as well, because after earning a graduate degree, they could apply for the Indian civil services test and be placed in high-ranking posts. The move of the capital was meant to put the Raj's administration closer to a convenient part of India and to connect their waning imperial power with the memories of previous Empires. The transfer of the capital from the hub of Western influence to the traditional city of patriotism predicted the "imminent restoration of administration to local hands in many ways" (Brown, 2010, p. 62).

Several changes were also implemented on a qualitative level, particularly in response to the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919). At Allahabad, Varanasi, Hyderabad, Aligarh, Lucknow, Dacca, and Annamalai, unitary, teaching, and residential universities were formed, and most of the universities took teaching roles. Inter-collegiate and inter-university activities were launched with the establishment of an inter-university board. Research was also developed; military training was established at some institutions; student's housing facilities were improved; and health-related measures were made (Natarajan et al, 1973, p. 660).

The present study is broadly based on the primary sources, Government records, documents, proceedings and contemporary books available of the period (1880-1920) as there is a dearth of secondary sources. As the period under study is the development of higher education in Punjab, 1880 to 1920, there was very sluggish rate of development. In mid of the 19th century British took over the control of Punjab and started making policies and plans for the development of education. Earlier the students from Punjab had to appear in Calcutta University examinations even for their matriculation.

As the demand in Punjab for the university raised by the inhabitants of Punjab Province, Panjab University was established in 1882. The Panjab University started with almost all the courses and faculties, which were being run in the universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. With this the Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Muslim started establishing the schools and colleges in Punjab. Lahore became the hub of the educational activities. Almost all the Missionaries had their headquarters or branches in the city of Lahore. As a result it gained importance due to its educo-political environment. The Missionaries took initiatives for the education of the women and marginalized groups as they were deprived of even the indigenous education, which was prevalent in the Province at the time of annexation (1849).

The primary sources provide an abundant record about the education statistics at various levels such as primary, secondary education data. But data about the higher education in Punjab was difficult to be procured as even the proceedings of the Home Department which were published almost every month, doesn't have substantial data about higher education. The major commissions, which presented their reports in the time frame of the study, mostly covered the primary and secondary education of the Province. With the advent of the British, Christian Missionaries worked for the education of the women and the marginalized sections of society. The *Zenana* schools were opened where even the wives of British officers used to teach. After this even Sikh, Hindu and Muslim Missionaries worked for the mass education and number of schools and colleges were opened by Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Dev Samaj, Singh Sabha, Chief Khalsa Diwan and Ahmadiya's in Punjab. Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Moga, Jalandhar, Batala, Ambala became the important towns of British period in relation to higher education.

The access to the primary documentation by these reform movements can provide more lead to the broader picture but the documents are mainly in Sanskrit, Urdu and Gurmukhi language. The study of development of higher education is a vast and extensive topic as it covers number of parameters, which helped in its development. The topic is broad and can be discovered more thoroughly by extensively studying its different parameters e.g. different faculties and courses, opening and affiliation of new colleges, teacher-training profiles, special provisions for the inclusiveness of women and marginalized sections, education initiatives by the Missionaries, text-books prescribed. The documents of the Punjab History conference, Patiala edited by Prof. Fauja Singh and Prof. Ganda Singh are an excellent source of information for the researchers. The Conference documents are excellent repositories of information. The Presidential Address by the renowned personalities in the different section such as Ancient, Medieval and Modern presents a broad picture about the Indian society and culture and are of scholarly interest.