

**IMPACT OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS
ON EDUCATION IN PUNJAB (1849-1947)**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

BY

MAMTA

UNI. ROLL NO: J196821002

SUPERVISOR

DR. DALJIT KAUR GILL

ASSISTANT DEAN

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES



FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

TALWANDI SABO (PUNJAB), INDIA

2023

ABSTRACT

Before the advent of the British, the traditional system of education was prevalent in the Punjab State according to which the students were sent to some religious institutions, where they were taught simple arithmetic and a good knowledge about their scriptures. The history of education is a popular subject in the west, but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected. According to some scholar's education system in India was the creation of the East India Company. The region of Punjab saw the emergence of movements such as the Nirankari's, the Namdharis and Singh Sabha among the Sikhs, the Dev Samaj and Santana Dharma movements among the Hindus and Ahmadiya, Aligarh movements among the Muslims. However, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj proceeded these except the Nirankari's, the Namdharis and probably the Ahmadiyas as well were representative of a negative response of a traditional society towards modernizing forces working for alternations in the social structure. Contrary to them, the movements like Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj were the outcome of the impact of British rule which was the first and major agency for all-round transformation of society. The reform Movements which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy affected Indian educated class, but made little impression upon the masses.

The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the methods of teaching contempt for manual work emphasis on literary education and neglect of technical education, creation of a gulf between elite educated in English and the masses constituted obstacles in the path of development but introduction of English education was one of the series of acts which opened the doors of the west to the east. The western impact on the society of Punjab state gave rise to the emergence of middle class in the cities. This middle class took keen interest in the social and reformative movements, the rise of reformative movements alike Gurudwara Movement, Arya Samaj Movement and Praja Mandal in early 20th Century were basically due to the spread of education. Summing up, may be said that the British impart on the society of Punjab.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people supported and helped me in the completion of this doctoral thesis. I would like to owe my sincere gratitude to all of them. In the course of this study, I have received considerable help from several libraries. Research work is impossible without a library. I am thankful to the Guru Nanak University Amritsar, Khalsa College, Research Centre Amritsar, Punjabi University Patiala and Punjab University Chandigarh.

I express my gratitude to a number of individuals. First of all, I am thankful to my research supervisor, Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill, Head of history Department, Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo, for her constant guidance and support, sparing her valuable time whenever I required.

I express my gratitude to Dr. Satnam Singh Jassal, Dean UCBS&H and Dean Research Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo for their supervision throughout the course of present work. I am indebted to these individuals and institutions for their cooperation. Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill, Head of history Department is also worth mentioning that helped me to improve the quality of my present work.

I am also thankful to my friend Meenakshi (Assistant Professor) Sunam for her regular advice in my work.

I am extremely grateful to my family, my parents father Sh. Devraj Kaushik, Mother Late Smt. Shakuntla Devi without whose blessing, love and sincerest support, it would be difficult for me to complete my work. I sincerely gratitude to my husband Sh. Rejesh Kumar and both my sons Divyansh and Laddu for supporting me spiritually.

Finally I would like to thank God for letting through all the difficulties due to his grace I could be able to accomplish my present Ph.D Thesis.

Mamta

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DESCRIPTION	PAGE NO.
CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS FROM THE THESIS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1-17
CHAPTER-1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	18-44
CHAPTER-2 WESTERN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND DEVELOPMENT	45-77
CHAPTER-3 SOCIAL RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION	78-103
CHAPTER-4 CONTRIBUTION OF MOVEMENTS TO PRESERVE THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION OF PUNJAB	104-134
CHAPTER-5 IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND CULTURE	135-161
CONCLUSION	162-172
BIBLIOGRAPHY	173-178

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS FROM THE THESIS

PAPER PUBLISHED IN JOURNALS

1. Development of Educational Medieval India in Journal of Scientific Computing, ISSN: 1524-2560, Impact Factor: 6.1, Volume-10 Issue-10, 2021.
2. Development of British Education System in India in International Journal of Current Research, ISSN: 0975-833X, Volume 10, Issue, 01, pp.20182-20186, January, 2022.

INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial Indian Scholars have been famous for their learning. In the ancient times Scholars from Persia and Greece, from Egypt also, and the scholars from China and Tibet came over to India to study either in the Gurukulas established by the Hindu teachers or in the universities established in the Buddhist Monasteries. However, the methods of learning in the Gurukulas as well as in the Universities of Takshashila, Nalanda, Kanjeevaram, etc., were traditional; they were only interested in theology, philosophy, etc. It is true that the great medical Scholars like Charaka and Sushruta and mathematicians and astronomers like Bhaṣkara were empirically oriented and developed these positive sciences. But they were not able to proceed further along to what is now described as modern science. Even when modern education was established in the nineteenth century, largely due to the efforts of the Christian missionaries Indian education was largely humanistic and philosophical rather than scientific and positive. It is only after the First World War that a scientific tradition on modern lines was set up by great Indian scientists like J.C. Bose, P.C. Ray, and C.V. Raman.

Even when the Muslim kingdoms were set up in India, there was really no change in the outlook of people towards education because the Muslims, like the Hindus, were traditional in their outlook and laid great emphasis on religion and philosophical education rather than on secular education¹. Of course, one should not forget that secular education received an emphasis even in Western Europe only after the seventeenth century, and more recently since the nineteenth century. When the Portuguese and other Western traders established their centers in the different parts of the country, the missionaries who came along with them established Schools not only to give secular education to the Indian children but also to convert them to Christianity. The first printing press was set up in 1577AD near Cochin in the South by the Jesuits. When the Protestant Danes established their center in Tranquebar in 1706AD they translated the New Testament to Tamil. They also produced a Tamil dictionary. Thus, through their desire to propagate Christianity, they also laid foundations of Madras in 1727 AD started schools at Madras, Tanjore, and other centers. Modern methods of learning languages. The first School to be set up by the East India Company Tanjore where courses were given in English and Tamil and Hindi and also in arithmetic and Christianity. The Company soon found they could acquire influence on the

¹ K. E. Bock, *Theories of Progress and Evolution*, Free Press, New York, 1980, p.23.

Indian citizens and the Indian society through education, and so established more schools with the Company's finances. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, started a Madarsa in Calcutta in 1784 AD at the Company's expense for the education of Muslim boys, through the medium of Arabic. He also started a Sanskrit College at Benares in 1791 AD. The chief aim of Hastings was to get well trained people in Hindu law and Muslim law to help the courts justice set up by the British was in 1784 AD. The next great step in Indian education was taken by Lord Wellesley when he started a college at Calcutta in 1800 AD to train Civil Servants of the Company in Indian languages, in Hindu and Muslim and in the history of India.

Thus, the main aim in the starting of the Schools for children as well as the Institutions for higher learning in the eighteenth century was to propagate Christianity, to have competent Scholars in the Muslim and Hindu Law, and to train the British Civilians in Indian languages, Indian law, and Indian history.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century there were thus three kinds of Schools. There were the Schools established by private efforts of the Citizens or Indian rulers to teach the Students traditional learning either through Sanskrit or through Persian and Arabic or through modern Indian languages. Secondly, there were the missionary Schools which were established to teach English to the Indian children and also Christianity. Finally, there were the Government Schools which were established to give Indian Children secular education either through English or through Indian languages².

When the Charter was revised in 1813 AD, the Company was directed to spend not less than a hundred thousand rupees each year on education. The Directors of the Company thought that this amount earmarked for education should be spent in encouraging oriental studies rather than in introducing Western education. In 1823 AD, a committee on public instruction was appointed to dispose of annual grants for the benefit of the various educational Institutions maintained by the Government both for elementary and for higher education. When English was introduced, the enrolment in the Benares College as well as in the Calcutta Hindu College went up; while there were only 70 pupils in the 'Calcutta Hindu College' in 1819 AD, the enrolment went up to 421 in 1829 AD. On account of the popularity of these steps in the field of education, Parliament raised the provision for education by ten times. While some of the members of the Committee on Public Instruction set up in 1823 AD

² J.B. Bury, *The idea of Progress*, Dover Publications, New York, 1990, p97.

were in favor of Western learning, others were opposed to it and were in favor of Oriental learning. Macaulay became the President of this Committee this capacity that he wrote his famous Minute in February 1835AD.

As seen earlier, the nationalist movement in India became intensified by the partition of Bengal in 1905 AD. The nationalist sentiments were further reinforced by the defeat of the Russians by the Japanese at this time. So this period saw the first organized movement for national education in India. The National Council of Education was established in Calcutta. A National college was established which later became the Jadavpur University. The Indian National Congress, in its Calcutta Session in 1906AD, passed a resolution that the time had arrived for organizing a system of national education-literary, scientific and technical-to suit the requirements of the country³.

In the following years the concept of national education was clarified by Gokhale, Annie Besant, Lala Lajpat Rai, Tagore, and later by Gandhi. It was held that a national system of education should promote the national consciousness in the youth and inculcate a deep love for the motherland and pride in the cultural heritage. To achieve this purpose it was felt that education should be imparted through the language of the people. It also emphasized scientific education and scientific research. Finally, it was asserted that emphasis should be laid on vocational education, technical education and research in order to help economic growth to eliminate poverty, and to provide decent living for all the Citizens of the Country.

The movement, however, was short-lived. When the First World War started the attention of the people was diverted. After the end of the First World War, due to the Jallianwala Bagh incident and the Khilafat movement, the ideals of National Education were once again revived in 1920 AD. Finally, in 1937 AD, when the Congress Party formed the Provincial Governments, it was again revived and led to the formulation of the Wardha Education Scheme; but it is not necessary to deal with this development at this stage. With the introduction of provincial autonomy, the Congress Party came into power in some States in 1937 AD and intensified the expansion of Primary Education Program. It was at this time that Gandhi gave considerable thought to the problem of education. He realized that the country cannot afford raise the necessary financial resources to make elementary education wide spread throughout the country. He had given thought to these problems even when he was in South Africa. He had developed the ideal of a new society where there would be no

³ Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West*, Oxford Press, London, 1998, p.11.

difference between classes and masses, and society in which everyone would work with his hands. According to him manual work should be the basis of the social structure of a good society.⁴

In July 1937 AD, Gandhi wrote in Harijan, "As a nation we are so backward in education that we cannot hope to fulfil our obligations to the nation in this respect in a given time during this generation if this program is to depend on money." He came with the startling suggestion that "education should be self-supporting." In order to realize this goal he asserted that child's education should begin not with literacy but "by teaching it a useful handy craft to enable it to produce from the moment it begins its training." He further laid down the principle that the teaching of the craft should not be mechanical but should be educative.

In order to develop these ideas, he convened at Wardha, in October 1937 AD, a conference consisting of national workers in the field of education and the education ministers of different provinces. The conference recommended that there should be free, compulsory education of seven years' duration on a nation wide scale with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Further recommended that the educational process should center round some productive form of manual labor and should be integrally related to the courses. Finally, it recommended that such an education should lead to production of goods by the students which could cover the remuneration of teachers. Whatever may be the substantive content of the concept of modernization it is clear that in the context of under-developed economies and traditional society's modernization involves a process of change-social, economic and political. Actually, the change goes even deeper and encompasses cultural values and personality orientation as well.

In so far as modernization is considered a desirable process and a goal to achieve, the relevant question to ask about education vis-a-vis modernization is what kind of education and under what conditions will it generate and strengthen the process of modernization in a society? This is a different kind of question from the one usually formulated: will education lead to social change? From a sociological point of view education is one of the major agencies of socialization-an agency which by its very nature is intended to ensure continuity rather than discontinuity or change. If, therefore, we conceive of education as a likely instrument of change we are guilty of at least an apparent contradiction. Why then do we

⁴ L. T. Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose*, Marcella Publications, London, 1913, p.21

think of education in the context of change? One possible answer is that since in all large societies including peasant societies-there is always a multiplicity of value-systems which are in a state of relative co-existence and/or mutual competition, education can never completely serve as a mediator for all the different value systems⁵. In a society which allows freedom in the organization of education different educational institutions would reflect or serve as socializing agents for different sub-cultures. Where the control of educational institutions is differentially distributed between different sub-cultures either as a result of direct regulation by law or as a result of differences in access to economic, political and social centers of decision-making in a given society, the system of education may tend to reflect the values of those groups which are in charge of education and those which support and control education. Teachers belong to the former category and to the latter belong the policy makers and administrators in government and the trustees of educational institutions. But both of these groups may belong to the sub culture which is distinguishable from the sub-cultures of other groups in society.

When in the middle of the nineteenth century, the question of devising an appropriate system of education of being considered there were two schools of thought-one made up of those who wished to continue the Vedic, Arabic or Persian patterns of scholarship and education and another of those who wished to adopt the western model. This was not so much a division between the British and the Indian sections of opinion as a division within each of these groups. After much debate those who argued for a system of education approximating the English education model won their case. But even here the expectations of the British from the new system of education were not the same as those of different sections of the Indian population. Among the Indians again there were differences between groups regarding what the new education would and should contribute to Indian social life. Some among the British officers expected that the new system of education would provide them with a group of English speaking, English thinking subordinates to man government services in India. They expected that the ideas that would be communicated through this system would make the educated Indian more appreciative of and loyal to British rule. Among Indians some looked upon the new system of education as the channel to secure governmental jobs and such other positions of bureaucratic authority as were open to Indians. But there were others who primarily saw the new system of education as a way of introducing young Indians to the new knowledge of science, and there were still others who hoped that

⁵ T. H. Marshall, *Sociology at the Crossroads*, Heinemann Press, London, 1989, p20.

the new education at the college level with its emphasis on the study of nineteenth century liberal philosophers would open new vistas of thought and philosophy and help promote social reform within the country.⁶

It would be interesting to speculate whether these differences in expectation of what 'English' education would contribute were only differences between individuals or patterned differences bet been different segments of the population.

Agent of Change: It appears that the social reformers were conscious of the potentiality of the new system of education as an instrument of social change. Generally, they expected that 'English' education, particularly at the higher levels, would lead to a change of social values. Their movements for the amelioration of the condition of women in Indian society and their plea for the removal of caste disabilities were based on concepts of human dignity and equality. Their 'petitions' to the British rulers seeking a greater voice and participation for Indians in the governance of the country were based on the premise of the desirability of democratic institutions. The Indian social reformers looked to the liberal philosophy of nineteenth century Britain for inspiration and they expected that the spread of education in India would ensure the spread of new values which would support the demand for many of the social and political reforms they were seeking. Typically, the social reformers strove for the spread of education as good in itself: education was commonly represented as the flame or light of knowledge which dispelled the darkness of ignorance.

It seems doubtful whether the teachers in the primary and secondary Schools who were the agents for the spread of education were aware of the hopes and aspirations of the liberal reformers and it is reasonably certain that with a few exceptions they were not in sympathy with the goals of the social reformers. Even those who taught at the college level did not act 'liberally' in their personal lives whether with reference to women or to persons of the lower castes⁷.

The Message of Change: The second component in the exercise of induced change consists of the content or the message of change. Ideally it should consist of a statement of what aspects of life are sought to be changed and in what manner. Since the different agents of change have different expectations from the same common program of action it is natural that they are unable to provide a single or agreed statement of the objectives of change. This was

⁶ Arnold Toynbee, *Change and Habit*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p.56

⁷ Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Pyramid Press, Boston, 1957, p.34

true of those who devised and promoted the new system of education in India. A reference has been made above to the differences between the social reformers and teachers who managed the new Schools and Colleges but apart from this difference the social reformers themselves were selective in their perception and propagation of the message of liberalism. A belief in social equality, in popular in rationality are the three major aspects of liberal thought. Of these the social reformers emphasized social equality and political democracy. Rationality was perceived somewhat less clearly as a value and then primarily in its relationship to modern science. The acceptance of the liberal message by the rest of the population was probably even more selective. Generally one may say that of all the values of liberal philosophy the value of popular democracy received the greatest measure of acceptance and emphasis.

This raises the question why certain aspects of a system of thought are more easily perceived, accepted and communicated than certain others in a given society at a given time. It is here that the role of the social, economic and political context becomes important. With reference to a system of education this factor may simultaneously influence the policy makers, the teacher-agent of change as well as the people-recipient of the message of change⁸.

In a recent study titled *Western India in the Nineteenth Century* occurs the following interesting observation on the role of the Brahmans of Maharashtra as the refracting medium for the spread of liberalism.

"Since the concepts of social equality and popular democracy which they (the liberal Brahmans) promoted were designed. To undermine the institution of caste, and to destroy the supremacy of the Brahmans, Brahman community looked upon their program of social action with considerable hostility. The Brahmans of Maharashtra, given the choice, would have preferred to follow the orthodox Shastris, who were committed to values which ensured Brahmanical supremacy and which rejected progress and social mobility. But the inability of the Shastris to perform their secular role adequately under the British Government compelled the Brahman community to turn to a group of new Brahmans who reconciled progress with Brahmanical supremacy, and who saw no contradiction between popular democracy and the institution of caste. The 'orthodox' new Brahmans shared the political objectives of the liberal' new Brahmans. But unlike the latter, they refused to countenance social action which was

⁸ *ibid*,p.35

designed to weaken the traditional structure of Hindu society. Since the orthodox new Brahmans did not attack Brahmanical supremacy, and because they believed that political emancipation could be achieved independently of social reform, they enjoyed a popularity in the Brahman community which was denied to their liberal antagonists like Ranade. In the minds of most the relationship between education and white-collar employment under government was well established and it served to define the aspirations of successive younger generations for the better part of a century between 1860 AD and 1960AD. But the message of liberalism grew thinner and the renaissance sought for by the liberal Brahmans never came. The concept of popular democracy was accepted, passed on and took roots; the concept of social equality was revived later through the influence of Gandhi's humanism and Nehru's socialism and found a place in the Constitution though we are still far from being on our way to equality. But the value of rationality in social action has not yet found an echo in the Indian mind, despite protestations on behalf of a secular polity and the overly articulate demand for the spread of science.⁹

The discussion of the experiment in ushering in liberal values through the immediacy of the educational system was undertaken to highlight the problems of bringing about social change with the help of education but more particularly with the hope that it would sensitize us to the problems we may anticipate in an effort to use education for the spread of the values of modernization.

The end of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century was the period during which liberal philosophy dominated Western thought and also influenced the thinking of the educated minority of individuals in the British and French colonies overseas. Liberalism was the philosophy of the middle class newly emerging to power in the new industrial society. Ideas of equality, rationality, secularism and democracy were the dominant themes of the liberal mode of thinking. These ideas legitimized the rise to power of a class of people who had earlier, in the feudal period, occupied positions of dependence upon the landed gentry. The ideas gained their legitimacy by the fact that the new heterogeneous, urban society, could not very well function except on some assumptions of individual dignity, freedom from the hold of traditions and a growing belief in reason as an arbiter of what was right and wrong. First the businessman, banker, shopkeeper and the new entrepreneur, next the professional lawyer, doctor and teacher, and then the clerk-accountant gained access to and acceptance by this new and expanding group of the middle class'. When

⁹ Crane Brinton, *The Shaping of Modern India*, Oxford Press, London, 1966, p.11.

individuals in this group thought about equality, individual dignity, rationality, etc., they thought primarily of their own group which was somewhat varied in its social origins and regional background and yet was united in its belief that the new economic and political framework gave it Freedom meant the freedom from the most opportunity for growth and for the achievement of a satisfactory social status. Such betterment could be achieved hereditary constraints on status and the freedom to compete through individual effort and hard work. Equality meant for betterment of status promise of equal opportunity-opportunity to rise in social and economic status. While liberal values appealed to the middle class they soon came to form part of a philosophy or world view claiming universality. In fact, the values at the core of liberalism had existed as a part of Western culture even prior to the nineteenth century. The autonomy and dignity of the individual was a value at the core of Protestant thought. The concepts of freedom and equality had inspired the French revolution and the American Revolution: the place of Reason as a guiding principle in human action had been emphasized at least since the eighteenth century. Liberalism brought these various elements together and spelt out their implications in political and social life through concepts of democracy, civil liberties, rationality and equality of opportunities. Liberalism emphasized freedom of thought and expression; it supported freedom of religion and conscience. From these followed the values of tolerance and secularism-i.e. tolerance as between different faiths and tolerance between the believer and non-believer. The place of reason during the period of Enlightenment was largely restricted to the sphere of knowledge in the liberal mode of thought reason was to serve as a basis for the development of a new ethic which did not require belief in God or the supernatural.¹⁰

Liberal education proceeded from this faith in the infallibility of reason and propounded that given a full knowledge of facts human-beings would come to a common set of conclusions. For the new middle class, education under liberal auspices provided the knowledge required to practice professions; it provided skills with which to gain an entry to the new urban occupations; it also provided a value framework which helped the individual to fit into the new middle-class society. Once a person had the knowledge or skills to gain an entry to this world, he had only to work hard, practice parsimony, save and invest regularly to ensure steady, upward movement in social status. Education was, on the one hand, the key to individual advancement and, on the other, the great agent of socialization in the values of the new society. In England, the United States and in most industrializing countries of the West,

¹⁰ P. S. Cohen, *Modern Social Theory*, Kellyn Press, New York, 1968,p.13

education seemed to have fulfilled this promise at least until the Second World War. Education gave the individual the equipment with which to compete in the economic sphere and thus maintained his motivation; at the same time, it seemed to serve the purpose of strengthening the values of the dominant groups in society and thus ensured the social support of education.

How does social change affect this linkage between liberal values, education and the politico-economic system? What happens when the social context is different? What happens? When ex-colonial societies which accepted liberal values from their colonial rulers begin to industrialize their economies? Does liberalism and liberal education still provide the relevant value-framework? The newly industrializing countries have no colonies to serve them as ready markets or as sources of raw materials; they have to compete with already industrialized countries for energy, and for markets and as a consequence, their industrialization may have to take place not under the aegis of a middle class with a free competitive economy based on individual profit but under State or mixed auspices in a more or less State-regulated economy.¹¹ It appears that in the changed context strains begin to appear at two points in the systemic linkage between liberal values, education and the politico-economic context. First, the liberal values of secularism, equal opportunity and democracy may be found to be inconvenient to varying degrees and may only be accepted at the verbal level and for political reasons by the older interest groups of land-owning peasant's on the one hand mental bureaucracy, industrial management and the learned professions on the other. The land-owning peasants may find the movement for land reform and for removal of untouchably potential threats to their economic interests; the urban middle class may find the demands of industrial workers and the protective measures for backward classes increasingly in some as they begin to press closer home. Liberal values are the values of a society characterized by expanding opportunities. When opportunity is limited, demands for equal opportunity whether between economically different groups or between groups differentiated by region, race or caste become potential threats to those who are advantaged. The sweet reasonableness liberal values and liberal discourse takes on a bitter edge. When economic opportunity is limited in a society, education appears as somewhat irrelevant to the mundane problems of existence and the effort to communicate liberal values through a system of universal education appears cynical since the power elite in this society are not genuinely hospitable to these values.

¹¹ M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among Coorgs*, Oxford University Press, London, 1989, p.56

In nineteenth century, liberalism, the possibility of a conflict of interests between persons located in different parts of the social system was either not visualized or it was assumed that the faculty of Reason-sharpened and mellowed by education would help solve the problems. When the middle classes rose to power and displaced the landed, feudal aristocracy, they were helped by one circumstance. This was the fact that the new middle class did not challenge the landed aristocracy in terms of land acquisition; they developed economic power where the landed aristocracy had no traditional advantage. In fact, the aristocracy for a long time looked down upon the urban shopkeeper-businessman-industrialist and did not readily see that this 'up-start' would occupy the center of power in the new industrial world. Aristocracy was not equipped to fight the battle for economic power in the new society. Countries of the developing world find themselves in a different situation and have had a different social history. During the period of the struggle for independence there was a consensus on the goals and means of the struggle: the values of freedom, equality and religious tolerance were necessary if people of different linguistic, regional and ethnic groups were to be brought into a common movement¹². In most cases, therefore, these were the values on which the fight for freedom was organized. After independence when the time came for delivering the promises held out to the people most countries experienced difficulties. The pro-independence consensus had disappeared and the convergence of interests no longer existed. The explicitness with which this change is perceived varies a great deal. Generally, the countries that have retained a parliamentary, democratic structure have prevented the polarization of forces and have sought to cope with the problem of reconciling divergent interests through a variety of compromises, but in some others the pretense of a reconciliation has been given up and dictatorial regimes representing the interests of the landed gentry and the urban middle class have taken over political power. It is in this context that the dilemma of liberalism and liberal education has to be understood. Can liberal political processes based upon representative democracy and respect for civil rights survive? This depends upon whether those who are in positions of economic and political power are fully committed to the other values of liberalism, viz. secularism, rationality and equal opportunity. In a country with limited resources, opportunities cannot be equalized except by accepting the need for redistribution. This will call for a considerable measure of self-sacrifice on the part of those with higher standards of living and with greater

¹² R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Free Press, New York, 1957, p.56

access to the community's economic resources. It will also call for considerable self-discipline in accepting limits on their own rewards¹³.

Education had served as one of the means for eliciting wider acceptance for liberal values in the nineteenth century in Britain when the liberal philosophy served the interests of the rising middle class. Can education now bring about the acceptance of the liberal values in their more radical implications, where equality means not only equality of opportunity but also a greater equity in rewards and where freedom means not only freedom from alien rule but also freedom from poverty and from social discrimination?

In a sense the 'radical' implications of liberal values are not inconsistent with their original implications. They are implications that follow from an effort to make liberal values inclusive of the aspirations of larger and larger segments of the population-segments that were never explicitly excluded from the operation of these values when they were originally enunciated. But there is one important variation in the cluster of liberal values as they existed in the nineteenth century and the new clustering of liberal values in their radical form. If freedom and equal opportunity have to be realized in the lives of people from the working and poor segments of the population, the doctrine of free competition may not serve as an adequate base for the operation of the economic system. Social control of a major part of the economy is a necessary condition for the progressive realization of these values beyond middle class horizons. Liberal education in the developing countries has also tended to be geared specifically to white-collar occupation-clerical for the lower middle-class groups and professions and bureaucratic positions for the upper middle-class groups.

In its content liberal education in the developing countries may emphasize to a greater or lesser degree the values of equality, rationality, democracy and individual dignity. Yet, the implications of these values in the new political and economic context are not clearly perceived and rarely does a formal system of education clearly reflect the new emphasis on equalization of opportunity as against the limited concept of equality in law and equality in terms of the right to vote. It is also doubtful whether the educational system succeeds in inculcating rational social attitudes as different from rationality in terms of science. Rational social attitudes should lead to the rejection of racial, regional or religious prejudices. This does not necessarily happen. Equally, the values of individualism and individual freedom

¹³ M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, p.110

may have to be tempered by a perception of the social limits on such freedom-particularly in the economic sphere.

In the developing countries, education does not effectively serve as a channel of upward mobility for the lower class, lower caste, or lower status ethnic groups. It is also largely unrelated to the demand for technically qualified, floor-level workers in industry. In some countries, as for example, in India, the number of middle-class youth who go through the school and college system are in excess of the number of middle level clerical, supervisory and administrative positions that are available. School and college qualifications are specified as minimum requirements for jobs at all levels. This leads to an additional pressure on the educational institutions. In this situation, few are interested in the function of education as a liberalizing agent. This tendency may be further strengthened by the gap that exists between the liberal values which are verbally supported and the lack of action to implement them in their full implications.¹⁴

Many educationists have shown sensitivity to this predicament. They have argued that the structure and content of this erstwhile 'liberal' education is not suited to perform the new role demanded by it. There is a call to free education from excessive dependence upon form and certification. There are some who would in fact do away with the school as an instrument of education. The fact, however, is that formal education and every national system of education is more or less formal-cannot serve as a channel for socialization of the young into a new set of values except to the extent that these values are supported by influential groups in the larger society.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF PANJAB (Editor Mohinder Singh, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1988 AD) the iron ages brings with it the historical period. With the passage of time, Punjab and those who had travelled from here to south to Sindh and Baluchistan had developed a sufficiently urban civilization. The book tells the history and culture of old Punjab.

ARYA SAMAJ MOVEMENT IN INDIA, 1857-1947 AD (Gulshan Kumar Saxena; Common Wealth Publishers, 1990 AD) this book widely covers the views, opinions and

¹⁴ M. Weiner, *Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth*, Higginbotham Press, Madras, 1990, p.65

facts about Arya Samaj role and contribution of Arya Samaj which was intentionally ignored for many years is well proved.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA (RAM NATH SHARMA, RAJENDRA KUMAR SHARMA; Atlantic Publishers, 1996 AD) the book traces the history of education in India since Ancient Vedic, Post-Vedic and Buddhist period to the Islamic, the British period and education in India today. It describes in detail the activities and recommendations of various educational committees and commissions. The proceedings of important seminars on education are narrated. The book describes the growth of education in India during 1835-1853AD; 1854-1882 AD; 1882-1900 AD; 1900-1920 AD; 1921-1937AD ; 1921-1944; 1939-1953 AD and in the present times. It discusses the progress and problems of education in primary and basic, secondary and higher education and also suggests remedies.

THE SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT AND OTHER SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE PUNJAB, 1850-1997 AD: (Editor, Ganda Singh) published by, publication bureau, Punjab university, 1997; in this book, found the works performed by the Singh Sabha movement. The socio-religious movement brings many changes in the education system of India. There were many movements that gave their contribution in the development of education. The book provides the brief information about the Singh Sabha and other socio religious movements.

PUNJAB 1998 AD (Mohinder Singh; Anamika Publishers, 1999 AD) the book is based on the vocational education and training programmed in selected schools. The conceptual unpinning's to the study have been influenced by the theoretical literature on the management of planned educational change. A larger case-study qualitative approach was adopted for study.

ARYA SAMAJ AND REGENERATION OF INDIA (SHARMA S.P, SHARMA J.P; Sublime Publications,2000 AD)In this book the authors had written the way in which Arya Samaj changed the structure of India. The Arya Samaj was a social organization which brought many changes in India.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA (J.C AGGARWAL, 2004 AD) the discipline of education is vast like an ocean. Teachers' training is one of the streams, but it is very vital and important. That is why the attention of the educationists and educators is focused on the task of providing better training to prospective teachers for their better learning and proper development. This series of books is aimed at providing required

knowledge of the art of teaching and the subject concerned to teacher-students or future teachers. This series is designed strictly in accordance with the B.Ed. syllabi of various universities. Therefore, it is perfectly useful for B.Ed. students and even teachers already on the job. This volume is designed for the development of education system in India paper and covers the whole course in a very comprehensive manner.

HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA (Y.K SINGH A.P.H Publishers, 2005 AD) the book contains the historical background of the education system in India. The information about education system from 1854-1948 periods briefly described in the book by the Dr. Yogesh Kumar Singh will be get the information about changes that came in the education system in India.

BRAHMO SAMAJ AND NORTH EAST INDIA (Dipika Banerjee; Anamika Publishers, 2006 AD) It is quite well known that Brahma Samaj had played an important role in the regeneration of modern India from its inception in 1828 AD to its development into an all India movement in 1866 AD. Ram Mohan Roy, founder of the Brahma Samaj, initiated the simple message of Divine unity. This Book provides the introduction of Brahma Samaj.

SCOPE

Education is the mirror of any society in as much as the two are intrinsically related. There are deep and far reaching changes, even upheaval in the basic components of education today, each affecting the other in its own characteristic. These changes may be attributable to scientific attitude and advancement and refinement of approach and process. A closer study of such changes caused by sociological, psychological and technological advancement and belief is therefore necessary to understand and relate educational categories with the contemporary way of life. Education is a process of development in which consists the passage of human being from infancy to maturity and the process whereby he adapts himself gradually in various ways to his physical, social and spiritual environment.

But even in physical and social process, the child also needs the support and freedom from an economic pressure and that is why education requires a long period of social as well as biological infancy when the young would live off labor of others and be released from self-support. However, assistance will be at least partially discounted unless education at the same time encourages wise and discriminating consumption. The child should not become a

parasite. He must pay back by realizing the objectives that education sets for him. Education must focus on entire development of human resource as envisaged from time to time.

NEED FOR STUDY

History, in any case, is the study of biography of men, women, society and other contributors who gives a lot to country. The genesis of human action lies in the mind of a person. It is the human mind where ideas take the birth which sometimes moves on the world and helps in changing the course of history. Much has been written on the social organizations and their efforts over the past fifty years it is very important to study their contribution to strengthen the education system. These social organizations put their efforts to re-establish the education system in India.

OBJECTIVES

- To study about the role of British education in Punjab.
- To study the strategies of social organizations and highlights the contribution of social organizations of India.
- To look at the changes brought by the various social leaders in education system.
- To study about the impact of education in society.
- To study about the establishment of vernacular educational institutions.
- To look at the required changes needed in these policies with the change of time.

PLAN WORK AND METHODOLOGY

Proposed study has been based largely on primary sources particularly the writings of the contemporary Scholars. In this work has used the books written by Scholars like Swami Vivekananda, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ram Nath Sharma. Names of few of them have been sighted in the bibliography the evidence will be analyzed textually and contextually to make a meaningful, analytical, conceptual and a sound study, an attempt is to be establishing causal relationship among the various facts. Inter-disciplinary approach with the help of political, socio-economic theoretical formulation culminating too many such vital problems which have not seen so far explored will also remain its basis. Various facts e to be grouped and their genesis be ascertained, special care would be taken to check omission, distortions and fallacies. Such methods would help to enrich the proposed work.

CHAPTERIZATION

- 1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND-** In the first chapter of proposed work will be written about the historical background of education. In the past, education has been imparted in different forms. There were no certain educational institutions. The traditional system of education restricted itself to development and growth of an individual.
- 2. WESTERN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT-** In this chapter has been written about the British Education Board and society of Punjab. There were many changes that came in education system in India. Education board was established for better education. In this chapter briefly read about the education board and the nature of society of Punjab.
- 3. SOCIAL RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION-** In this chapter, has been thrown the light on the birth of socio-religious movements in the Punjab. The movements did a lot of struggles to re-establish the education system in Punjab. Many movements took birth and made efforts for the development of the education.
- 4. CONTRIBUTION OF MOVEMENTS TO PRESERVE THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION OF PUNJAB-** The elementary education in Punjab preserved by the different religious and social movements. In Punjab many historical and ethical books were written by the great Scholars and Saints. The traditional educational methods were used in ancient time for teaching the students. The vernacular education methods are still used in many local Schools and these are preserved by the social and religious organizations. Their efforts to establish the various education centers have been explained about the education center which has been established by socio religious organization to preserve the religion and culture of Punjab.
- 5. IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND CULTURE-** In this chapter after the establishment of Education Board in India, it was left a huge effect on different states and on the Punjab also. In this chapter has been briefly analyzed the impact of British education on Punjab as well as of social organization. Many positive and negative impacts have tried to put the light from this work.
- 6. CONCLUSION-** In the last Chapter submitting the work with concludes the meaning of education and education system generally advocated from Vedas and with the passage of time many changes came in the education system. In the conclusion will be summarize whole of the thesis with some new ideas.

CHAPTER-1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Education was no concern of the state. But the rulers and the nobility were not indifferent to the cause of education. In fact, in some cases they were great patrons of learning. The Muslim rulers of India took interest in establishing educational institutions and endowing them. They also founded Libraries and literary societies. Moreover, they patronized learned men and liberally endowed them, so that they might devote themselves whole-heartedly to their studies, undisturbed by financial worries. The cause of education was equally championed by the rulers and private individuals during the medieval (specially the Mughal) period. Some of the institutions and libraries established during this period exist even today. Others have met with their ruin and are known only by their names. Poets, scholars, and literary men used to receive remuneration from the royal court, and so they cherished the idea of becoming courtiers. Poor and promising students would sometimes get the benefit of free education and stipends were granted to them for their maintenance. Schools of Islamic Learning, like the Maktabas and Madrasahs were financed both by the state and by private individuals. Salaried teachers were appointed by the state. Large endowments were also made for these educational institutions. In schools held in private houses, teachers got personal services from their student in lieu of fees¹.

No Muslim Government in India had a separate department for imparting education to the people till Babur entrusted Its Public Works Department (Shuhrat-i-Am) with the task of establishing schools and colleges and publishing gazette. Promoting education of the people thus became a part of his administrative Programme. The motives of the private persons who patronized education might be different. Some might have encouraged it just to satisfy the kings, some might have done that only as a fashion, while others might have genuine love for the spread of education. Without attributing any motive, it may be said that splendid work was done by private individuals, both Muslim and Hindu, during the Muslim period.

Though the maktabas and madrasahs were the regular educational institutions of the Muslim yet the mosques which the Muslim rulers established after their conquest of this country also served as centers of public instruction and literary activity because in many cases maktabas and madrasahs were attached to these mosques. The khanqahs of the saints

¹ S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, Vol. 3, Sadavi publishers, Lucknow, 1990, p.15.

were, in some places, centers of education. Many learned me to taught students in their residences.

The Mohammedan invasion and the settlement of Muslim rulers in India brought about far-reaching changes in different spheres of Indian life including the domain of education and learning. Side by side with the chanting of Vedic hymns and recitations of Buddhist scriptures were heard the About of the Quran and the Hadis of the Prophet. Acquisition of political power by the foreign rulers placed the indigenous ideals of education and culture at a disadvantage. The indigenous system of education was for a time deprived of the royal patronage which was now shifted to Islamic Learning. The indigenous system somehow maintained its feeble existence with the help of private individuals. From the harrowing tales of destruction of the ancient Indian Universities, narrated by contemporary or semi-contemporary Muslim writers, we learn that their libraries were destroyed and the scholars, both Hindu and Buddhist, were either killed or driven away by the Mohammedan conquerors. Deprived of state patronage, Hindu education had to keep up its existence for nearly two hundred years with the help and support of the votaries of Hindu learning²."

During the early period of Muslim rule in Northern India, the Muslim population was centered mainly in towns and cities (except in East Bengal where a large section of rural people were Muslim). The Muslim rulers and nobles in the towns generally patronized Muslim education alone. Thus, at the beginning of the Muslim rule, Muslim education remained con- fined very largely to urban areas, and did not spread among the village people. The number of people receiving Muslim education at that time in towns and cities was also very small. It is true that a few Muslim Kings also showed interest in Brahmanical education and encouraged translating of Sanskrit works into Arabic and Persian³.

Gradually, things began to change, Persian became the court language of the Mohammedan rulers. Through at first maktab and madrasahs were meant exclusively for the Mohammedans, their doors were later thrown open to the Hindus. The Hindus had to learn Persian if they wanted to hold high positions in the government. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslim did not recognize any barrier of rank or race in the acquisition of Knowledge. The doors of the Muslim educational institutions were first opened to the low-caste Hindus who had so long been deprived of the benefits of education by the Brahmins. While the Hindus began to learn Persian, the Mohammedans, on their part began to translate Sanskrit books and

² *Ibid*,p.17

³ J.N.Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, Gandhari press, Calcutta, 1919, p.21.

to learn the language of the conquered people. This two-way traffic led to the formation of a new composite language, known as Urdu. Though it was largely an adaptation of western Hindi, it absorbed many words of Arabic and Persian origin. The meaning of the word 'Urdu' is camp. It probably originated as a camp language though it came into use all over Northern India soon.

Persian was, however, the court language and hence received greater attention and encouragement from the ruling class. Though the Indian (Hindi) and Persian languages came closer to each other, yet for the separate and distinctive identity of two languages, two distinct schools of writers came into existence. These two schools were the Indo-Persian school and the purely Persian school. The literature produced in this period was not purely Persian. The Indo-Persian literature absorbed many Indian ideas and thoughts from its powerful Indian environment. The Persian language also could not retain its virgin purity. As a result, the Indo-Persian style developed and this style was patronized at the court. On the other hand, officers of Persian origin favored the purely Persian school.⁴

The rulers of Ghazni treated education as a matter of great concern. Each king tried to surpass his predecessor the encouragement of letters. They opened schools and colleges in their Kingdom. Strictly speaking, they were outside India being in Afghanistan the Muslim first came to India in the eighth century AD. But the real brunt of Muslim aggression on India was felt from the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030 BC). He invaded India 17 times and caused irreparable harm to Brahmanical education by destroying temples and monasteries which were centers of Hindu learning. He had, however, no desire to conquer and rule over India. So he did nothing for the promotion of Muslim education in this country, though he himself was a patron of learning at Ghazni.

The real foundation of Muslim rule in India was laid by Muhammad Ghori (Sultan Shahab-ud-Din or Ghor) (1191-1192 BC). He was the first Muslim King to promote education in India. At Ajmer he established some schools and seminars for the spread of Islamic culture. He even picked up his promising slaves and gave them education. Some of these slaves, in course of time, became kings. His reign being a very stormy one, he could not take up any systematic and planned policy for the spread of Muslim education in India. Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, the founder of the Delhi Sultanate and his successor too was interested in the spread of education. He established many mosques where secular as well as religious

⁴ *Ibid*, p.22

instructions were imparted. Iltumish (1211-36 BC) was another notable patron of education. Scholars of great repute flourished at his court under his patronage. He had a taste for architecture and as such he built the famous qutub Minar whose beauty of design is unparalleled. It is Iltumish who for the first time established a madrasa at Delhi. Another madrasa of the same name was established by him at Badaun. Sultana Raziya Begum (1236-40BC) had complete sympathy for the spread and stimulation of education. This clearly borne out by her establishment of the Muizzi College. She, however, ruled for a very brief period and could not achieve much in this direction⁵. Nasir-ud-din Mahmud was himself a scholar. He appreciated scholars and rewarded them. A college was established at Jalandhar during his reign. The famous Nasiriyya College was founded after his name by his chief minister Balban. Minhaj-us-siraj, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, was the principal of this college.

Like his predecessor Nasir-ud-din, GHIYAS-UD-DIN Balban (1266-86) lent his full support to men of letters. Besides the learned scholars, the theologians, the mathematicians, the astronomers and the jurists received his patronage. His court became the refuge of many learned men who had migrated from central Asia on account of the mongol troubles there. His son prince Muhammad was a lover of learning and learned persons, and gave a lead to the formation of literary societies in his kingdom with the most learned person available. His brother prince Bughra khan founded a different society having musicians, dancers, actors, and storytellers as its members. Some other societies were also established in this period and all these raised the standard of education.

Jalal –ud- din was the first king of the Khilji dynasty. He was a great lover of learning and patron of education. He invited eminent scholars and listened to them and this created intellectual atmosphere in his court. He held scholars in high esteem and conferred honor upon them by allowing them to wear white robes. Sultan Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316) was also an eminent educationist. Though in his early life he neglected education and was perhaps himself illiterate, yet in his later life he became a protagonist of learning. When he became Emperor. He founded a madrasah attached to "Hauz-i-Khan." He was regarded as an upholder of the pulpits of learning. Events Chief Minister Shamsul Mulk was himself teacher and patronized men of erudition in his official capacity⁶. Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-51) was the most learned among the kings of the middle Ages. He was equally well-versed in both arts and sciences.

⁵ J. N. Sarkar, *The Islamic Culture*, Margerit press, Calcutta, p.50.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.67.

During his reign, many scholars of other countries were attracted to Delhi in 1346 BC. Muhammad Tughlaq founded a madrasah at Delhi with a mosque attached to it. But his ill-conceived plan of shifting the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad gave a smashing blow to his good intentions, and as a result Delhi fell from its high position as a center of Islamic education and learning." Education made a great advance during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351-88 BC) who himself was an eminent educationist. He was a great lover and patron of both erudition and erudite persons. For the diffusion of knowledge among the general public he sent scholars to different parts of his kingdom. He reconstructed old madrasahs and set up new ones. He built as many as thirty madrasahs and endowed them all.

There are records testifying that twelve thousand slaves were turned into serious and eminent scholars, tradesmen and artisans. For the maintenance of the madrasah built by him, he endowed them with large estates. During his reign, there were one thousand madrasahs in Delhi. Firuz "Tughlaq made grants of land to scholars and of stipends to poor students to enable them to pursue their studies without meeting any financial difficulties and worries

The Sayyid Kings of Delhi (1414-1451 BC) also took interest in the promotion of education in the kingdom. Two obscure cities namely Badaon and Cuttair were turned by them into famous centres of education⁷. Bahlul Lodi (1451-89 BC) the founder of the Lodi dynasty himself being an enlightened patron of education, attached great value to the society of literary men, and rewarded them according to their merits. In spite of his almost constant engagement in warlike activities, he considered promotion of education as a part of his duty. He also built some colleges for the moral and intellectual improvement of his subjects.

Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1498-1517 BC) himself was a poet and composed verses. He introduced compulsory education for his military officers. Standard literature of a very high order madrasahs in various parts of his kingdom and invited qualified scholars was produced under his encouragement. He established many teachers from distant places to take charge of these." Learned persons came from Arabia, Persia and central Asia in response open to all. Sikandar Lodi, whenever he found time, attended the learned and attractive lectures delivered by Sheikh Abdulla, a Sufi scholar who had come from Persia. Though the two systems of education, namely the Indian and the Islamic, remained side by side, maintaining their own identity without being fused together, yet during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, the Hindus,

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 69.

mainly the Kayasthas, took interest in studying the Persian language and literature⁸. In course of time they became as proficient in this language as the Muslim. They produced real poets and writers in Persian later on. During Sikandar's rule Agra turned into a famous seat of higher education,

After the invasion Timur in 1398 BC., men of learning flocked at Jaunpur, and thus Jaunpur turned into a great and renowned seat of learning. Many madrasahs sprang up there. These madrasahs received kind and liberal grants from Sultan Ibrahim Shah.

Among the provincial rulers, Nasir-ud-Din Qabaicha (1205- 1227 BC) ruler of Sind, and Shah Beg Arghun (1509-1522 BC) ruler of Multan were also learned men and patrons of learning. The court of Nasir-ud-Din was the asylum of learned men who had been driven out by the ruthless ravages of Changez Khan Hussain Shah Langha of Multan (1470-1503 BC) patronized education and established several schools and colleges and seminaries and staffed them with talented teachers quest of knowledge.

The rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda also did not lag behind this respect. Bijapur became a famous seat of learning, under its kind namely Yusuf Adil Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1518-1580 BC). For the welfare of the poor and orphan, the rulers of these three kingdoms of Bijapur. Ahmednagar and Golconda established many makas and madrasahs where the children of the poor and the orphans received free education⁹.

Sultan Jala -ud-Din (1431-1456 BC) one of the best and most powerful rulers of Hinawar also took a keen interest in the promotion of education in his kingdom from the account of Ibn Batutah the famous Moorish traveler who Visited his kingdom, it is known that there were as many as twenty-three schools for girls in his capital (The traveler spoke in glowing terms of the superior standard of these institutions).

The Mughal conquest of India gave a great impetus to cultural and educational activities. The beginning of Mughal rule in India marks the beginning of a new chapter in Muslim education in the country. The Mughal kings were zealous exponents of education. The Mughal court received cordially all who came there from any country whatsoever in search of patronage.

⁸ S.K.Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, vol3, Sadavi publishers, Lucknow, 1990, p.45.

⁹ D.C.Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal*, Pyari Lal Press, Benaras, 1920, p.56.

Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, was a learned man and an accomplished scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, with a fine taste for poetry. Unfortunately, however, he died a premature death at the age of forty-eight: Because of his very brief and stormy reign (1526-30) he could do practically nothing for the promotion of education. He invented a new type of handwriting known as the Baburi Serint. He entrusted his Public Works department with the task of establishing schools.

Babur's son and successor Humayun (1530-40, 1555-56 BC) was a studious scholar and collected a large number of books for the Imperial Library. He also was an accomplished scholar like this father. "Sher Mandal the pleasure house built by Sher Shah was turned into a library under the instruction of Humayun. During his rule, astronomy and geography, the two branches of science made a considerable progress. Under his orders, celestial and terrestrial globes were constructed. He introduced the study of mathematics, astronomy and geography in the mudrasah which was founded at Delhi. The incident that Humayun died as a result of a fall from the staircase of his library bears a testimony to his love of learning. He established a college at Delhi. A college was also attached to his tomb. He got built seven halls for the reception of his Officers and one of those seven halls was reserved for the reception of the learned¹⁰."

Sher Shah, the founder of the Sur dynasty reigned only for a very brief period of five years (1540-45 BC), but he spared no pains for the promotion of education. The most reputed madrasah that he founded was the Sher Shahi Madrasah. He founded it in 1520 BC even before he became a king. It was located at narnaul where the tomb of his grandfather Hasan Sur stands"

Akbar was the greatest of the Mughal emperors (1556-1605 BC). Though Akbar was illiterate, he was vastly learned, and deeply interested in the work of spreading education among his subjects. He established many colleges and libraries. He patronized both Hindu and Muslim education. He patronised both Hindu and Muslim education. He got many Sanskrit books rated into Persian. He made arrangements so that Hindu students also could receive instruction in Madrasahs. To make teaching easy and education effective he introduced some novel regulations. These regulations were as follows first, the teacher would specially take after things. These were the knowledge of the letters with the meaning of the words, the hemistich the verse and the revision of the former lesson. Secondly, every student

¹⁰ S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, vol. 3, Sadavi press, Lucknow, 1990, p70.

was to read books on morals, arithmetic, agriculture, astronomy, household affairs, logic, accountancy and public administration. Thirdly, no student would be allowed to neglect those things which the times required. In other words. Akbar stressed upon the practical side of education, and tried to make education effective and efficient. In the absence of a Government education department, these regulations remained on paper to a great extent. Thus, Akbar brought education out of the hands of theologians and gave it a secular bias. He considered children as the tenderest buds in the Garden of Existence and believed that love of children amounted to praising the Creator. Thus, the trend which was initiated by Sikandar Lodi found its fulfilment in the hands of Akbar. Though Jahangir (1605-1627) was less able as a ruler than his father Akbar, he was a lover of books and patron of learning. The progress of education that was started during the reign of Akbar was maintained by Jahangir. He encouraged both learning and learned persons. He founded many new colleges and repaired many old ones. Agra was a great center of learning during his reign. He promulgated an order to the effect that the property of any rich man or rich traveler in his kingdom would be vested in the state if he died leaving no heir, and that this property would be utilized for building and repairing madrasas and monasteries. This regulation was actually enforced. Jahangir had a love for painting, and as such, he gave encouragement to painters.

Muslim Education

Islam attaches much importance to the acquisition and extension of knowledge which is considered the only way to the realization of truth: Prophet Muhammad emphasized upon the importance of education and made it compulsory for all the Faithful, ---men as well as women. The popular idea that women debarred from acquiring it is incorrect. We know of so many Muslim women. -- Bibi Fatima Zainab, Hamda, Hafsa, Safia. Maria and others who have left an ineffaceable impression on the literature of their times. The Muslim in India also did not neglect the education of their children. During the Muslim rule in India, education was imparted through (a) maktabas and madrasahs, (b) mosques and monasteries and (c) private houses. There was a unique method of dissemination of knowledge in those days; it was the method of discussion between the learned and the novice Mosques had schools attached to them. These schools were supported by state grants or by land-holders and nobles¹¹. The primary education was to be imparted through the maktabas, and the secondary through the madrasahs. The nature of primary education and its method of teaching was essentially the same as are in vogue at present. From the writing of alphabet to sentence

¹¹ A. L. Srivastava, *The Development of Modern Indian Education*, Orient publishers, New Delhi, p.89.

making, everything is similar to that which exists now. The method of teaching gradually improved.

To provide primary education as well as lower secondary education for the Muslim, there were institutions known as maktabas. The majority of maktabas were neither endowed nor patronized by the state. In the villages maktabas were often attached to mosques, and so were madrasahs which were little short of full-fledged colleges. There were maktabas for both resident and day scholars. The teaching imparted in these institutions had a religious character. The contents of elementary education imparted in the maktabas, however, varied from place to place. Side by side with the instruction imparted in the maktabas, there was the domestic system of instruction. The aim and character of which were almost the same. The house of every mullah, moulavi and maulana was an important seat of learning. Students receiving education in the houses of those teachers were provided with free board and lodging. In Muslim India, there existed another type of education, children irrespective of their caste, creed or colour were taught the three R's in village schools. They had to pay for the instruction they received, not in cash but in kind. From the missionary reports we come to know that before the British occupation there were 80,000 such schools in Bengal. Perhaps such small village schools existed even before the establishment of the Muslim rule in India.

In the maktabas also the students were taught the three R's besides, they had to learn by heart those portions of the quran that would be necessary to perform their religious functions. The doors of these maktabas were open to the Hindus as well. To get a high post in the government service one had to learn Persian and Arabic in those days and hence many Hindus students enrolled themselves in the maktabas. When the Muslim children, especially the Muslim Princes, attained the age of 4 year for month 4 days, they were placed in the care of their preceptors for instruction in various arts and sciences with pompous ceremonies known as Maktab ceremony or Bismillah- Khant in the midst of acclamation and good wishes for the novice at an auspicious moment.

It has already been pointed out that in Muslim India education received not only court patronage but also private patronage. The motives of the private patrons might be different. Some might have encouraged it only to satisfy the kings, some might have done that simply as a fashion, while others might have genuine love for the spread of education. Whatever might be the motive, splendid work was done by private individuals for the spread and

progress of education among both the Muslim and the non-Muslim of India during the medieval period.

The highly placed Muslim nobles used to take a special interest in the education of their sons. These Muslim nobles used to engage tutors to teach their children at home. But the common Muslim did not want to give higher education to their sons. They preferred their sons to be trained in the art of warfare and to be enlisted in the imperial army.

During the Mughal period, there was a mushroom growth of maktab in India. Cities, towns and villages swarmed with them. During the reign of Jahangir, there were private schools and an important town and village¹². There were no printed books for the beginners in those days. Children were taught to write the letters of the alphabet and figures on dust or on wooden boards (taktis) with their fingers. Generally, the maktab sat under the shade of a tree. The students used to sit on the ground in rows, and the teacher used to sit on a mat or on a deer-skin. Sometimes he attended his pupils standing.

After the students had learnt the alphabet in the maktab, difficult words were taught to them. Those words were generally selected from the Quran and dictated to them by the teacher. Both the meaning and the spelling of the words written by the children were taught to them. Great emphasis was laid on calligraphy, and students were asked to imitate the best calligraphists of the age. When reading and writing were learnt by the boys, grammar was introduced, because grammar was regarded as opening the way leading to the gate of culture. The text for teaching was taken from the Quran. The boys had to learn it by rote even without understanding the meaning of the text. They had to learn particularly the sections of the Quran necessary for the five compulsory prayers. Thus, the instruction imparted in maktab was religious. After going through the Quran, the Muslim students had their lessons in the *Gulistan*, the *Bustan* and the poems of Firdausi. Persian books like *Karima* by Sadi and *Pandnama* by Attar were also studied at some places". They were also made to memorize the multiples of numbers called *paharas* by reading them aloud in a collective manner by the whole class.¹³

The maktab functioned both in the morning and in the evening with a break for the mid-day meal. No tuition fee was charged on the children for receiving education. Students were however, allowed to offer something to their teachers after the completion of their

¹² *Ibid*, p.94.

¹³ S.K.Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, vol3, Sadavi press, Lucknow, 1990, p 40.

studies. Any teacher who taught for money was condemned as a sinner. These great ideals existed even during the Mughal period. It was the duty of the teacher to provide the students with free board and lodging together with free instruction. The teacher met the cost of maintenance of these students from the gifts which he generally received from kings or nobles, and also from rich householders at times of marriage, funerals and different religious ceremonies in the Pathshalas or Hindu vernacular schools, however, some kinds of fees were generally charged for imparting instruction to students who had the option to pay these either in cash or in kind or in the form of personal services¹⁴.

In Muslim India, the aim of education was to equip the students with all that was absolutely necessary for their moral and mental development. In other words, the aim of Muslim education was to prepare the students for this world as well as for the next world. The Indo Islamic system of education reached its highest glory during the reign of Akbar the Great. The curriculum also was highly improved.

It was so modified as to give the learners ample opportunities to receive education according to their capacity to meet the aims and objects or ambitions of their lives. Though democracy in education was maintained as nothing was imposed on the teachers and the taught from outside, still the students were not allowed to neglect those subjects of study which were considered essential to meet the needs of the age. In other words, the practical side of education was included in the curriculum. The method of teaching also was so improved that the children could learn more in the shortest possible period. First the Persian alphabet was taught with correct pronunciation and proper accents. Next, they were taught the combination of two letters. After that they were taught to read sentences correctly. Next, the children were left to read for themselves with occasional help from the teacher. In order to keep them in touch with their previous lessons along with the new ones, some revisions or repetitions of lessons also were made. This method helped in minimizing the period of study and at the same time making learning more effective and lasting. To foster the unification of India in all senses namely religious, political, social and cultural, Akbar introduced secular learning for all his subjects irrespective of caste and creed. Hence students coming from families or communities of different religious faiths were taught in the same school with the same set of Curriculum. It produced a far-reaching effect, leading to mutual trust, love and respect among the students. It helped to build up one nation and fostered a sense of unity in diversity, Akbar put more stress on curriculum from the practical side of education putting

¹⁴ Abul fazl, *Akbarnama*, p.81.

the injunction that "no one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires. At that time, however, there was no government education department, as it exists today."¹⁵

The system of punishment in the makhtabs was quite similar to that which exists today in India. Caning, slapping, holding of ears by the student himself, and pulling of ears by teachers were common forms of punishment. Truants and delinquents were severely dealt with. The teacher had a free hand in inflicting punishment on his students in any way he liked. Corporal punishment was inflicted on the students for the most ordinary lapses. The cruel practice of causing the guilty students stand in different postures was the invention of this medieval period.¹⁶

Though the Muslim in India could not keep pace with their brothers outside, yet their educational attainments were not at all very low. Some of them devoted themselves exclusively to the acquisition of knowledge, neglecting even the pleasures of married life. Hazrat Shaikh Isa Dehlawi was so much devoted to the cause of extension of knowledge, that he expressed the desire to be buried in the place where the students of his madrasah used to keep their shoes. The Muslim Universities of Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova, Damascus, Kairowan, Nishapur and Seville shed their light, illuminating far and wide, the East and the West. The Muslim in India were cut off from the mainstream of Islamic learning, and yet their educational attainments cannot be called low in consideration of the objective conditions then prevailing in India. As we have already indicated, Muslim education received the patronage of both the Muslim kings and Muslim private individuals. The Arabs and the Turks brought the Islamic pattern of education to India. The Islamic pattern different from Brahmanical education and Buddhist education in many respects. The main obstacle in the way of Muslim education flourishing in India was the fluctuation in official patronage.

The schools or colleges meant for the secondary and higher education of the Muslim were called madrasah. These madrasahs were often attached to mosques, sometimes the tombs of Muslim emperors' nobles and devishe had also madrasahs attached to them. These tombs usually contained numerous rooms which were used for the lodging of the students. Some of these madrasahs attained the status of Universities. The madrasahs now exist even before the winning of the tury. These institutions had a strong religious bias, and the state sometimes patronized them. The religious creed dogmas of Islam were preached through this

¹⁵ D.S Margolioth, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, Orient press, New Delhi, 1973, p.60.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.76.

institution. Each seat of higher learning was meant for specifications in a particular branch of knowledge. The students used to rate constantly from one place to another in search of suitable teachers. Teachers and students were in constant and intimate touch with one another. Thus, the pupils imbibed the methods of their teachers for widening their knowledge. Except in certain parts of India like East Bengal, Muslim were mainly urban people during the medieval period. So, unlike the Hindu Pandits, the Muslim scholars worked mainly in towns Madrasahs were established in both imperial and provincial capitals. As a result. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat. Siaikot, Ahmedabad and other cities became the main outer of higher education for the Muslim. Though the exact number of madrasahs established in these cities is not correctly known, we can get some information about the madrasah from the biographies of the learned teachers. The number of madrasahs was not great. It is said that Jahangir repaired many madrasahs that had been in ruin for many years. He went further and made regulations that the property of those who would leave behind no legitimate heir would go to the crown to be used for building new madrasahs and repairing the old ones. Except for the last twenty-five years of Akbar's reign the minister for ecclesiastical and judicial affairs known as the *sadr*, was in sole charge of education. He was the organizer of Muslim education and would discourage the teaching of subjects which might affect the religious ideas of the Muslim. In other words, the minister exercised a sort of censorship over the education of the Muslim people. This excessive state control might also vitiate the higher education of the Muslim to some extent.¹⁷

The Sultans of Delhi had also shown a keen interest in education. Masud (1240-46) established a school at Lahore. The later descendants of the Ghaznavids had shifted their capital from Ghazni to Lahore. Thus the place turned in course of time into a centre of Muslim learning in India in the 12th century, When Delhi was made the capital in the next century, many madrasahs were established there and many Muslim scholars were attracted to the city as teachers. Hasan Nizami, the author of the *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, says that Muhammad of Ghur (1175-1206 BC) established a number of madrasahs at Ajmer." The first madrasah at Delhi was established by Iltutmish. Sultana Raziya (1236-40 BC), Iltutmish's daughter and successor, established the Muizzi College at Delhi.¹⁰ One madrasah named Madrasah-i-Nasiriya was founded at Badaun by Balban during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud (1246-60BC). Minhaj-us-siraj, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* was the principal of this madrasah. The court of Balban at Delhi was full of poets, philosophers and theologians including many

¹⁷ S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Amrita press, Delhi, 1937, p.20.

who had fled from central Asia due to Mongol raids. Ala-ud-Din Khilji (1296-1316 BC) founded a madrasah at Delhi. During his reign Badaun became a famous Centre of Muslim learning.

Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq (1325-51 BC) also built in 1346 a madrasah at Delhi. Firuz Tughlaq, his successor, was keenly interested in education and built as many as thirty madrasahs in different parts of his kingdom. He established the most important one at Delhi and named it as Madrasah-i-Firuzshahi. A good account of his madrasah has been given by the historical Barani¹⁸.

This madrasah of Firuz Tughlaq became a model for the madrasah established later on in medieval India. It had many lecture rooms and also a mosque and some hostels attached to it with quarters for the Imams and other servants of the mosque. The teachers had to put on uniform consisting of Syrian jubah and Egyptian turban. The state liberally endowed this institution, and as such its teachers and students were provided with free board and lodging. Sultan Ahmad Shah (1411-1441 BC) built the city of Ahmedabad in Gujarat. He established a large number of maktabas and madrasahs there, the remains of which still exist. Sikandar Lodi himself (1489-1517 BC) was a poet and literature. He was deeply interested in education, and established many madrasahs in all parts of his kingdom. He founded madrasahs at Mathura, Narwar, and Agra. During his reign Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Bihar Sharif, Mandu, Gulbarga, Bidar, Daulatanabad and Agra became renowned seats of literary education for the Muslim.

Several madrasahs were established in the kingdom of the Bahamanis in the Deccan. The college established at Bihar had a library with thousands of volumes. Madrasahs were also established at Bijapur, Golkonda, Malum Khandesh, Jaunpur, Multan, Gujrat and Bengal. Himself being a scholar and a patron of learning, Humayun Badshah (1530-40, 1555-56 BC) established a madrasah at Delhi. Even a college was attached to the tomb of Humayun. Sher Shah (1540-45 BC) who ruled for a very short period from 1540 -1545 BC also built a madrasah at Narnaul. Akbar, the greatest of the Mughal emperors (1556-1605 BC) was highly interested in spreading education. He established colleges at his new city Fatehpur Sikri and also an Agra Madrasahs were established even by private individuals during his reign and mention may be made in this connection of Moham Anaga who was Akbar's own nurse. The remnants of the college built by this lady are still seen at Delhi. Jahangir (1605-27

¹⁸ S. M Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Amrita press, Delhi, 1937, p.24

BC) was not only a scholar but also a poet. He wrote his autobiography which is the main source of information about his reign. Jahangir was interested in promoting the cause of education. After ascending the throne he repaired and reconstructed a number of maktabas and madrasahs that had so long been in a moribund condition and that had for long years been the abode of birds and beasts. He promulgated a law that the property of the heirless deceased would be vested in the state to be spent for the State schools. Though the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-58 BC) cannot be credited with any remarkable progress in the sphere of education, still during this period one college was established and another repaired at Delhi. Aurangzeb (1658-1707 BC) showed great favour towards Mohammedan education, but he was very hard on Hindus. He spent money most liberally for the spread of Mohammedan education and established many schools and colleges for his Muslim subjects¹⁹. Though so many colleges were founded during the reigns of the Mughal emperors by the emperors themselves and also by private individuals still we come to know from the account of Bernier that education was not wide spread in India at that time. The frequent references to the repair works of colleges during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan lead to the conclusion that some of these colleges were deserted by the teachers and students as soon as the founders of these colleges had died, or as soon as a decline in the interest of the founder was noticed. Perhaps they migrated to new institutions offering better facilities.

Seats of Higher Learning

Agra

During the Mughal period. Agra was a famous seat of higher learning for the Muslim. Many colleges of Islamic learning were established there by the Mughal emperors themselves, and also by their nobles and learned scholars. A large number of advanced scholars used to flock there to take lessons from the renowned scholar Sayyid Shah Mir of Samana. His hospice assumed the appearance of a big college. The famous teacher Mirza Muflis, the Uzbek, taught for four years in the Jami Masjid of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Farrukhabadi at Agra."

Delhi

Delhi was the capital of many Muslim rulers for a long time, and as such it was an older educational center for the Muslim. The same tradition was upheld even during the

¹⁹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol4, p.47.

mughal rule. During the Mughal regime, many new institutions were established there. Humayun established school on the bank of the Jamuna in honour of Zain-ud-Din Khafi.

Maham Anaga too built a madrasah called Khair ul Marzil or Madrasah--Begam. It was a residential institution Students resided in the rooms of the two- storeyed building, and classes were held in the hall. Shaikh Abdullal of Talna was a famous teacher. Hundreds of students gathered there from different as well as distant places to take lessons from him. Among his distinguished students, mention may be made of Mian Ladan and Jamal Khan of Delhi, Mian Sayyid Jalal and Mian Shaikli of Gwalior of Badaon.²⁰

Lahore

Lahore became an important center of Muslim education from the time of Aurangzeb, when the reputation of its scholars attracted students from places far and near." Before that, Lahore was not so extensive a center of learning as Delhi or Agra. Though it was not a very important and extensive seat of education, yet it supplied famous teachers to a few colleges in other parts of India. Noted among them were Maulana Jalal of Tala and Mulla Imamuddin.

Kashmir

Kashmir was a well-known center of Islamic education some eminent scholars wrote their works in the cool and calm atmosphere of that valley. Jahanara, the eldest daughter of shah jahan received her early lesson in Kashmir from her spiritual preceptor mulla shah Badakhshi. Mirza Abu Talib kalim wrote in Kashmir his poetical work on the reign of shah Jahan.²¹

Other Centers of Islamic Learning

We have already noted that Akbar built colleges at Fatehpur Sikri the hospice in bayana of the famous grammarian shaikh Sadullah became a famous seat of education and a Centre of attraction for students and religions men The Farhangi Mahal Madrasah was founded in building named Farhangi Mahal, confiscated from the Dutch by Aurangzeb. The madrasah at Narnaul established by Sher Shah in 1520 is also worth mentioning Gwalior, Sialkot, and Ambala. And Thaneswar were other centers of Muslim learning. Mixed Schools Generally speaking, Muslim students attended schools run by Mohammedan teachers only to acquire Islamic learning. But there is some evidence to show that muslim students attended

²⁰ *Ibid*,p.48

²¹ Swami Abhedanand, *India and Her People*, Bashi press, Calcutta, 1970, p.121.

schools run by the Hindu teachers as well for instruction is non-religious subjects like astronomy, astrology, medicine etc. the Hindus also likewise generally did not attend madrasahs run by mohammedan teachers. But during the reign of Akbar, when Persian was made the court language, the Hindus also began to attend madrasahs to learn Persian.

Students who desired to continue higher studies even after graduation had to spend some more years under a very reputed scholar for specialization in particular branches of knowledge. The Muslim student invariably studied theology. But this was not a very easy tasks reputed teachers were extremely cluetant to take a large number of students. They accepted students only through screening. It is said that even Jahan to Begum was first refused admission by Mulla Shah Badakhshi. Only after several requests, she was accepted Nizam-ud-Din, the author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* studied under Mirza of Samarkand Badauni used to take pride in the fact Mulla Ali Sher." Historian Badauni studied under Maulana that his father had the good fortune of studying under the renowned scholar Mir Sayyid Jalal who was a saint and who had studied the traditional sayings of the Prophet under Mir Sayyid Rafi-ud-Din Chandra Bhan Brahman was a student of Mulla Abdul Karim. Those who wanted to get still higher education had to go to one of the chief places of Muslim education in Western and Central Asia such as Mecca, Medina Basta. Kufa, Yemen, Damascus. Cairo, Nishapur (Iran). Baghdad, Hijaz and Khurasan. In addition to many Muslims. One or two Hindus from India also went to those places and spent years in study and observation²².

Courses of study

We do not get any definite information as to the curriculum followed in the madrasahs and the higher seminaries of learning during the medieval period in India. The contemporary records also are the least informative. In Muslim institutions, the courses of study comprised grammar, logic, theology, metaphysics literature and jurisprudence. Astronomy mathematics and medicine also were included in the syllabus. The details of an Arabic curriculum in vogue during the reign of Aurangzeb can be had from the writings of *Dar-in-Nizamiyah*. From his writings we learn that in addition to grammer, syntax logic and scholoasticism, the students had to learn tafsir (Quranic exigencies), fiqh (Muslim Jurisprudence), hadis (Tradition of the prophet) and science of mathematics. The *Khulasatu-i-Maktib* written probably by a Hindu writer in 1685A.D. Contains the Detailed list of persian texts used in madrasahs in the later part of the Mughal period, the courses of study were dominated by

²² *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol4, p.56

rational sciences, of course with certain modifications from time to time and from place to place. A syllabus was drawn up by Mulla Nizamuddin in the middle of the 18th century. It was adopted all over the country. The syllabus contained the following eleven subjects;

- Declination and conjugation
- Grammar and syntax
- Logic,
- Philosophy,
- Mathematics,
- Rhetoric,
- Jurisprudence,
- Principles of jurisprudence,
- Dialectics,
- Exigencies and
- Traditions.

After a few decades four more subjects were included in the syllabus. These were literature, obligations, disputations and principles of hadis.²³

Subjects of Higher Studies

During the Mughal period, mathematics was considered as the first among the science subjects included in the curriculum. Emperor Akbar, by issuing an order, made mathematics compulsory subject to be taught in the madrasah. The Hindus were particularly proficient in mathematics. They could orally solve difficult sums with utmost accuracy and facility. The European visitors were struck with wonder to see the skill and ingenuity in mathematics of the Hindus. Though the Hindus in general were proficient and skilful in mathematics, yet some of the Muslims also distinguished themselves in this science. Khwaja Amir-ud-Din alias Nun, Fatehullah of Shiraz and Hafiz Muhammad Khatib were famous mathematicians.

Astronomy and Astrology

Both the people and the royal court had faith in astronomy and astrology, and as such the study of the subjects was encouraged on all hands. Even Emperor Humayun took a great interest in astronomy. Both astronomy and astrology were included in the syllabi of schools and colleges. Astronomy was taught as a compulsory subject, but astrology as an optional one.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 60.

Some knowledge of astronomy was considered essential and Emperor Akbar issued an order commending its study. The Brahmins were famous for their skill and proficiency in both astronomy and astrology, and as such they could very correctly predict the time of occurrence of solar and lunar eclipses, Jotiks Rai, Kanjar Beg, Nuruddin Muhammad Tarkhan and Imam Abdul Muhammad of Ghazni may be mentioned as some of the famous astrologers of the period.²⁴

Hindu Education

With the advent of the Muslim in India the state support for Hindu education was withdrawn. It was now dependent on the village communities. Rich people and scholars who kept the torch of culture burning. The educational system in medieval India was connected with religion. The Hindu education was dominated by the Brahmins, and the Mohammedan education was controlled by the Moulavis. Higher Sanskrit education in the tols was intended mainly for the Brahmins, though students belonging to the upper castes were also admitted to it. Side by side with this system, there grew up a popular, elementary system of education, arising out of the demand of the common people for instruction in the three R's. This elementary course taught in the pathshalas covered roughly a period of three years. Men of the trading and agricultural classes were benefited by this popular system of education, while the tols catered to the needs of the priestly and the leisured classes²⁵.

The Hindus admitted their children to formal education after performing a ceremony known as upanayana at ages different for different castes. It was done at the age of 5 for the Brahmin boys. Generally a Hindu child had his first lessons at about the age of five either from his father at home or from a teacher at school. Guru Nanak was sent to School at the age of seven.

The pathshalas existed in both voltages' towns. These pathsales were usually held in the morning under trees or in the verandah of some house. Sometimes there were separate houses for the purpose. The students were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and elementary book-keeping in these institutions. The teachers of the pathshalas were mainly Kayasthas though there were also teachers from among other castes such as Brahmins, Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and even lower castes. No regular fees were charged from the students, though there was no bar against receiving presents particularly on festive occasions. Any teacher

²⁴ Swami Abhedanand, *India and Her People*, Bashi press, Calcutta, 1970, p.125

²⁵ V. G. Kale, *Indian Administration*, Orient Press, Delhi, 1940, p.210.

who taught for money was socially condemned. This tradition continued even during the Mughal period. Students had, however, to render personal service to their teachers. To supplement their small income, the Teachers would do part-time jobs such as farming and trade. The student population included in some places even the untouchables. They were of the age group five six to sixteen. The form of education was solely utilitarian and no moral instruction was imparted. There were four stages of instruction in the elementary Schools in the first stage, the students were taught to the letters on sand in the second stage, letters were written on palm leaves by the teacher, and the students had to trace over them with reed pen and charcoal ink, to be rubbed out very easily. Next the student had to write and pronounce compound consonants.

He was given exercise practice on combination of consonants and vowels leading to the common names of persons in the third stage, big plantain leaves replaced the palm leaves. He was now taught to use the words in connection with the sentences and make a distinction between written and colloquial languages. He was further taught the rules of arithmetic. The multiplication table was repeated by the whole school every morning, and the pupils received instruction in both commercial and agricultural accounts. In the fourth stage. The students would get lessons on advanced accounts, composition of business letters and petitions. Then the scholars were allowed to use paper for writing. The Ramayana Formed the chief text book in many of the primary schools in Northern India at the end of Akbar's reign when it was put in the Hindi garb by Tulsidas. According to Bernier, the students after completing his elementary education, studied the Puranas, the Upanishads and sometimes the Vedas. Elementary mathematics also was taught along with language. The Hindu children were very proficient in this subject.²⁶

The schools used to it from early in the morning till nine or ten o'clock. After taking mid-day meat and some rent, the students would return to school at 3pm to continue their studies till evening. The monitorial system of education was then in existence. Monitors were commonly chosen from among the more advanced scholars to help their teachers in instructing those who were in a more elementary stage of instruction. The average number of boys with each teachers generally four or five but in no case did this number exceed fifteen.

From the Report of the Education Commission of 1882 (popularly known as the Hunter Commission), we get a similar picture of indigenous primary schools in the Bombay

²⁶ *Ibid*, p 150.

and Madras Presidencies. Though this Report belongs to a much later age, yet the state of affairs described in it reflects largely the continuation of an older tradition. At six o'clock in the morning the village teacher (known as Pantoja) went round the village to collect his students. Having collected all the students, he took them to his school which sat in a small room or in the verandah of a house. The first half of an hour was devoted to the invocation of the sun and various deities like Saraswati, Ganapati and others. After that began the tracing of letters for those boys who could write. When the tracing lesson was over, they began to write copies. The youngest children who merely looked at these exercises were instructed by the teacher's son or by an older pupil, while the teacher himself taught the older peoples²⁷.

In the Madras presidency, these elementary schools were known as pyal school. pyal is kind of platform, about three feet in height and the text in width. The students would sit on this platform and the teacher would sit on a raised pavement known Koradu. These Pyal schools were meant for giving instruction in the Three R's. The number of students in such a Pyal school was 21 on an average: The sandy ground some black boards and some Kajan Leaves constituted the teaching apparatus of such schools. The teacher-maintained discipline with a rod in his hand. The truants were punished severely. A new student was handed over to the teacher by his parents in the presence of other scholars. Various religious and other ceremonies had to be observed before the handing over of the student to the teacher. In the Pyal schools for the poorer boys, the average monthly pay for the teacher was only Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 and that also was not paid to the teacher every month regularly but on the occasion of certain festivals. In addition to the Three R's, the students would learn one of the four or five great classics of the Tamil or of the Telugu language. From these classics, the students would get some moral training as well. Writing was taught to the students just after reading. The students learned the alphabet by writing the letters on the sandy ground with their fingers.

They would next write with a pencil on the black board or slate called "palaka. Next, they would write with an iron style on Kajan leaves, or with a reed pen on paper. In addition to the Three R's and one classic, the students had to learn agricultural and trading accounts. The education of the students began at the age of 5. The school began at six in the morning. The students would copy each day the following day's lesson in the afternoon, and get these corrected by the teacher. They would prepare their lesson at home for repetition to the teacher in the following morning. From all these accounts and reports we find that the general

²⁷ S.K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, vol1, Oxford press, New Delhi, 1938, p.30.

features of the popular elementary education this existed in the different provinces of India were almost the same differing only in details.

During the Muslim rule in India, Persian had been made the court language by the Mohammedan Emperors and it continued as such till 1835. Knowledge of Persian was therefore, necessary to get an appointment in the Government service. As a result, the Hindus also attended Persian schools. The teachers of these schools were Mohammedans. The subjects of study in these schools were elementary rules of grammar, forms of correspondence and popular poems and tales. Sometimes rhetoric and even medicine and theology were taught. The Hindu schools were vernacular and commercial while the Mohammedan schools were some extent, literary and philosophical. In the Mohammedan schools reading was taught before writing, while in the Hindu schools the order was just the reverse. There was widespread popular elementary education throughout India during the medieval period, though there was some variation in different parts of the country as regards the percentage of school going children.²⁸

The Hindu vernacular schools come into existence in four ways. Some Hindu vernacular schools were connected with temples. The pathshala teachers subsisted on the debotari land belonging to the idol of the temple. They received free-will gifts from the pupils at times, and sometimes fees as well these schools were not always held in the neighborhood of the temple. Both the teachers and the students belonged to castes other than Brahmins. During the period of smritis, puranas and nibandhas, ranging from 1 A.D to 1200 A.D, higher studies for the Hindus meant Vedic studies only. But these Vedic studies fell back so much that it was reduced to more cramming over hymns. From the beginning of the Christian era, Buddhist monastic colleges began to impart education to the laymen. Courses of study of Buddhist colleges were almost the same as those of Hindu colleges. In these colleges, along with Sanskrit, Pali also was taught. The Buddhist education was open to all though it was closed to the Sudras in case of Hindu education. The important centers of Buddhist learning in India were Kanchipura, Nalanda, Odantapuri, Sri Dhanyukataka, Vikramasila. The Mohammedan rulers after their conquest of India destroyed all these important seats of higher learning for the Buddhists. The renowned centers of higher education for the Hindus, during the medieval period, were Kashmir, Benaras, Mithila and Nadia.

²⁸ S.V.Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, Longman press, Poona, 1928, P.54.

Kashmir

Kashmir had been an important seat of Hindu and Buddhist learning during the ancient period. In 1010 A.D. when the Punjab passed under the Muslim rules, a large number of Punjabi scholars came to Kashmir for refuge and enhanced its reputation as a center of higher education. We are told that even the women there became educated and could speak in both Sanskrit and Prakrit. The ancient Indian tradition of imparting free education to scholars continued in Kashmir for many centuries. Even in the last part of the 19th century, a large number of Kashmiri pandits were found to give free education to 10 or 12 scholars each²⁹.

Benaras was more famous as a place of pilgrimage than as seat of learning. No exact assessment of it can be made as a center of learning, but it can be safely said that it did not rise to the prominence attained by Taxila in ancient times. Abul Fazl tells us that from time immemorial Benaras had been a principal seat of learning in Hindustan to receive instructions from people who came from distant parts of the country. The city was like an assembly hall of learned people. Many ascetics who had renounced the world also took up their abode in Benaras, and people flocked to them for spiritual guidance. The town of Benaras contained no educational institution comparable to the modern schools or colleges. The teachers lived in different parts of the town, and used to hold their classes in their own houses or in the gardens of the rich people. The number of students receiving instruction from a teacher generally varied from 4 to 7. The most eminent teacher had perhaps 12 to 15 students under him. The students usually remained for 10 to 12 years with their respective preceptors for receiving instruction. They pursued their studies slowly as there was no hope of their getting honours or emoluments for their extraordinary attainments.

The students had to study at first the Sanskrit language. But this Sanskrit was of a peculiar type, known only to the pandits of those days. This was considered by the people as the purest language because it was through this language that the four vedas were revealed to Brahma by God. Philosophy, medicine, astronomy and geography were also taught there. Books on these and other subjects were kept in a large hall at Benaras. Before studying philosophy, the students had to study the puranas, which were regarded as the concise form of the four vedas. Peculiar forms of treatment of patients were taught to the students of medicine. Anatomy was not taught at all. The study of astronomy was based on some tables and theories. Geography also was taught in a peculiar form. Students were made to believe

²⁹ S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, Longman press, Poona, 1928, P.56.

that the earth is flat and triangular. The inhabitants of this planet were supposed to reside in seven different regions separated by seas of milk sugar, butter etc. again the earth east supposed to be resting on the heads of a number of elephants who, from time to time shook their heads, thus causing earthquakes. With the advent of Muslim rule in India, many of the eminent scholars who were engaged in teaching in Benaras left the place for fear of religious persecution. Most of them probably migrated to the Deccan, and this migration gave a severe blow to the cause of education and learning at benaras. A college for the education of the princes was founded at Benaras in the 16th century by Raja jai singh. There were many seminaries too where famous pandits interpreted and expounded the fundamentals of Hindu religion and philosophy. The subjects for the study of which Benaras was famous were Vedanta, Sanskrit literature and grammer. For the study of at least these three subjects students from all corners of the country flocked to this city Vaman Pandit, the famous scholar of the 16th century pursued his studies at Benaras for 12 long years.³⁰

Women's Education

In the Vedic age, all men and women irrespective of their castes, were entitled to receive education, if they had the capacity to do so. Education at that time was for the more and not for the upper classes alone. Every Aryan, male or female, received the rudiments of literary and religious education: Women also composed Vedic hymns. They were allowed to perform sacrifices (vajnas) and had the right to utter sacred mantras? Daughters were given in marriage after they had completed the period of studentship. They shared the intellectual interests of the day and took part in philosophical discussions. From the Upanishadas, we learn that there were several well-known women teachers. Women also received training in fine arts such as dancing, singing, etc. Women scholars took interest even in the driest subject of Mimassa Scholars like Maitreyi, Gargi. Atreyi and Sulabha made real contribution to the advancement of knowledge. High tributes were paid to them by a grateful posterity in the time of daily prayer. There were women teachers who used to teach mainly the girls. Panini makes a reference to boarding houses for lady students. Around 200B.C, however as the manusmriti tells us girls were deprived of the privilege of undertaking Vedic studies. In other words, women's education received a great set-back at this time due to the deterioration of

³⁰ T.C.Das Gupta, *Aspects of Bengali Society*, oxford press, New Delhi, p.167.

the religious status of women. They were now declared to be at par with the sudras without any right to Vedic studies and vedic sacrifices³¹.

Education of women, however still continued in rich, cultured, royal and aristocratic families. It is true that they were not given Vedic education, but they were given a good grounding in domestic arts and fine arts like music, dancing, printing, garland-making and household decorations. They could read and write Sanskrit and Prakrit. Tutors were engaged in rich families to train the girls in these arts and accomplishments. The decline of women's education in ordinary families that could not afford to employ special teachers for the training of their daughters at home was however, very rapid.

In spite of sharp decline in the general standard of women's during the period from 200 B.C to 1200 A.D there flourished several poetess in South India who composed poetry in Prakrit. Of them, seven were most noted. They were Rava, Roha Madhabi. Anulakshmi, Pahali, Vaddhavali, and sasiprava. Some women scholars of this age also took an interest in literary and philosophical criticism. They were well-grounded in the Mimansa, the Vedanta, and Sanskrit literature. Some of the women scholars went for medicine also most of them specialising in gynaecology. A few of them even wrote authoritative works on the medical science. In the early Buddhist period, an impetus had been given to women's education by the establishment of nunneries. But, from about the 4th century AD, when Buddhist monasteries began to develop into colleges of international repute, women were deprived of the privilege of receiving education and as such the nunneries out of existence by the 4th century A.D.

During the Muslim rule in India, many of the rich and aristocratic Hindu families who had so long used to engage private tutors to teach their girls were ruined by the political revolution. The result was it sharp decline in women's education. Only a very small fraction of the total girl population now received education, and they came mainly from the families of the Raiput Cheifs and Bengali Zamindars. No separate schools existed exclusively for the Hindu girls. The latter were taught in some places along with the boys, but only up to the primary level. The Hindu society, as a whole, became prejudiced against women's education. The belief that the girls who were given education would become widows soon after their marriage, gained ground in the society. This belief perhaps arose from the observation that some of the widows, in order to manage property their husband's estates or to stand upon their own feet after the death of their husbands, acquired a little bit of education either by

³¹ Yusuf Husain, *Education In Ancient India*, Antiquity press, Poona, pp.34-39.

their own efforts or through the efforts of their relations and well-wishers. The decline of literacy among the women population of our country was so sharp and rapid during the Middle Ages, that by the beginning of the 19th century hardly one woman in a hundred could read and write. In certain sections of the Hindu population such as the Nayars of the South, the percentage of literacy among women was comparatively much higher, but such groups were very few and exceptional. More than 99% of the Hindu women were now illiterate. There were scanty arrangements and opportunities for the education of the girls.³²

Their education was not regarded as important as that of the boys. Wide spread early marriage of girls belonging to both Hindu and Muslim families acted as a great hindrance to their education.

Abul Fazl refers to this practice of early marriage in his akarnama. He writes that the people of India were very eager to give their children in marriage at a very tender age. Manucci also observes that the daughters of the Hindus are married even before they have learnt to talk. After the marriage of the girl, and certainly after she had attained the age of twelve, she was not allowed to move freely outside her family circle because of family tradition in the case of the Hindus, and the rigid purdah system is the cause of the Muslim. The well-to-do people of the society imitated the rulers and the nobles in every sphere of life. So they did not completely neglect the education of their women. But after their marriage, women had little time or opportunity for carrying on literary or intellectual pursuits, because they had to look after their household and take care of their children.³³

Still some rich people used to engage tutors to impart education (even higher education in some cases) to their daughters secretly at home. That is why we come across a few highly educated Hindu ladies even during the medieval period."

It has been observed that girls belonging to Muslim royal and noble families were often educated privately in their homes. In medieval Spain Muslim ladies like Zainab, Hamda, Fatimah, Aishah and Maryam were highly educated. The Indian Muslim princesses and ladies belonging to noble families tried to follow their example though they perhaps failed to reach the former's level of accomplishment. They were, however, far from being ignorant or illiterate.

³² *Ibid*, p.211.

³³ A.L.Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, Samiya press, Agra, P.203.

Some of the Muslim rulers and nobles in medieval India also established schools for girls. In the Mughal period some women played a very important role in Indian History. They are Durgavati, Chand Bibi, Nurjahan, Tara Bai, etc. The *Mahila Mriduvani*, a famous work of the period contains a list of 35 poetesses of distinction. The poems by Indian Women give us names of other ladies of fame. All these lists prove beyond doubt that some women of the period received a very high standard of education.³⁴

³⁴ Amir Ali, *Short History of the Saracens*, Oxford Press, London, 1951, pp.201-204.

CHAPTER-2

WESTERN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

The history of education is a popular subject in the west but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected or left to a small and scattered group of education, some of whom are unaware of the broad trends of historical scholarship. There has hardly been any serious reach in the subject and the few books that we have here on the story of education are largely based on government of India records and reports. These books present a huge mass of facts and figures without an in-depth analysis of the cause and effect relationship in the developments or changes that appear on the surface of education in India. Before independence there were two India's- one was the India controlled by the Indian princes and the other was the India controlled by the British Raj. In the last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of education and history. While education has increasingly become a social , political, and economic issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like ' the new history' being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history, comparative history, political history, social history, and intellectual and cultural history. According to some scholars, education had been unknown to India and the Education system in India was the creation of the East India Company.¹

What was the nature of this Indian education as it existed when the British came? Indian education had always been, since the Vedic age, of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practical nature. However, this description is mainly applicable to higher education which was generally literary, philosophical and religious. It was communicated through the sacred classical languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, namely Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The subjects taught were the scriptures, grammar, logic and the classics which included codes of law and such scientific works as had come down to them from early times. While the Indian writers had been prolific in their production of philosophical and literary works, they paid little attention to the development of science which, though it had made some remarkable progress in early days, had now fallen in disgrace's how was this learning imparted? Learning among the Hindus had been the monopoly of the high, especially of the priestly castes. The learned Brahmins gathered students from various parts of the country and in the homely atmosphere of their Tols and Chatuspathis as these were known in Bengal and

¹ K.K. Chatterjee, *English Education in India*, Girdhari Press, Delhi, 1976, p 2.

Bihar, imparted knowledge. Life in those places was pure and simple. The teachers not only received no fees but provided free board and lodging for their students. The course of studies extended from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were long and severe. There were also larger education establishments in the various religious centers, the most famous of which in the Ganges Valley were Nadia, Tirhut (Tirabhukti or Mithila) and Benares. These were conducted by learned pandits, who were liberally patronized by the rulers and the aristocracy and were men of high character and immense learning and lived a simple life. The Muslim seats of learning called Madrassas were less spiritual and were smaller in number than the Hindu seats of learning and were meant chiefly for the training of law officers. Besides laws, instruction was also given in these institutions in scriptures, literature, grammar, pen man ship, logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy and arithmetic and average duration of the study was ten to twelve years. One interesting feature was that the Hindus could also attend those seminaries meant primarily for the Muslims².

However, these institutions were not meant for education of an elementary kind. They were the highest seminaries of learning meant for the specialists. For primary education, there were in the villages Pathsalas and Makhtabs where the Gurus and the Maulavis imparted a knowledge of the three "R"s to the boys of the locality. These schools were not paying concerns and had to depend on the generosity of the people. Instruction in these schools was given in the vernaculars. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home. There was no school for the education of the girls though the Zamindars often had their daughters educated at home. The majority of the Indians were unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstition, while the lower classes could not afford it. What was the nature and extent of the elementary education as it existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century?

Unfortunately, we do not have adequate sources of information to answer this question fully, but from a series of surveys carried out in elementary education by the officials of the East India Company between 1822 and 1838 we can fairly assume that elementary education was quite popular in the villages of British India. In a minute of 10 March 1826 Thomas Munro, the Governor of the Madras Presidency, observed that there were 12,498 schools with 1, 88,650 pupils in the whole province out of a total population of 1, 28, 50,941 while a survey conducted in the Bombay Presidency by order of the Bombay Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1829 AD showed the existence of 1,705 schools with

² K. K. Chatterjee, *English Education in India*, Girdhari Press, Delhi, 1976, pp.4-7.

35,153 pupils in a population of 46,81,735. In the Bengal Presidency the survey was conducted by a missionary, William Adam, appointed by the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to report on the state of elementary education in the province. Adam submitted three reports between 1835 and 1838 AD-he estimated that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 1, 00,000 schools in Ben gal and Bihar or roughly two schools for every three villages. Assuming the population of these two provinces to be 4, 00,00and 00,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons. He did not find any school for girls and as girls formed one half of the school going population, Adam concluded that there was one elementary school, for every 32 boys. It must be mentioned here that these surveys, particularly those of Munro and Adam, included places of domestic instruction-the system of providing instruction at home in their interpretation of the term schools and considering this, the figure of villages as offered by these surveys does not appear to be "a legend" or "a myth" as educationists like Philip Hartog would have us believe. From other sources also we are informed of the existence of a school in every village. William Ward, a Baptist Missionary based at Serampore, observed in his A View of the History of the Religion and Mythology of the Hindus that "almost all villages possessed schools for teaching, reading, writing and elementary arithmetic." Malcolm noted in his Memoires of Central India that every village with about a hundred houses had a school-master who taught "the children of the banians or shop keepers and those of such cultivators, as choose"³. "Village schools served a very useful purpose-they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty Zamindar, the bania and the well-to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic (both written and oral). There were no printed books and the locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the pupils needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission-a pupil could join the school at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that he desired to know. Such schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple, and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of pupils could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior pupils were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the Madras Chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras System in England. The teachers for these schools, like their students, came from all classes

³ *Ibid*, p.20.

including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the pupils. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the British Raj. One factor which contributed to it was the gradual destruction of village crafts and industries and the growing impoverishment of the people following a series of economic reforms including the Permanent Settlement in the Bengal Presidency in the late eighteenth century.

British Interest in Oriental Education

It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India—they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian. Foremost among them was Warren Hastings who came to India in the service of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and by 1772 AD rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings developed a great love for Indo-Persian Culture. With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel Hatherly wrote A Code of Centon Laws in 1776 AD and Bengali grammar in 1778 and in 1779 AD. Charles Willis brought out his Sanskrit grammar: Francia Gladwin wrote Institutes of the Emperor Akbar in 1783 AD. In 1781 AD, he established the Calcutta Madrassa at the request of a Muslim deputation. The main object was to qualify the sons of the Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state even at that time largely monopolized by the Hindus" The institution was very popular and attracted scholars from far off places. The period of study extended over seven years and the scholars received stipends to study the courses. The courses included natural philosophy, Quranic theology, law, geometry, arithmetic, logic and grammar all on Islamic lines. The medium of instruction was Arabic Hastings purchased a site and laid the foundation of the Madrassa on his own account and asked the Court of Directors to assign "the rents of one or more villages" near Calcutta as an endowment for the institution. The Directors later sanctioned this and reimbursed Hastings⁴. Another high official of the East India Company who was greatly attracted to higher learning in India was William Jones unlike Hastings, Jones had not spent many years in India to develop a love for Indo-Persian Culture. As a matter of fact, he was already an accomplished

⁴ A.T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, Oxford press, London, 1963, p.12.

Persian scholar, who's Grammar of the Persian Language and translation of the work of Persian poets, published in 1771 and 1773 AD had won him a European reputation, when he came to India as a judge of the Supreme Court established by the Regulating Act of 1773 at Calcutta. He now applied his own enthusiasm to the organization of scholarly efforts in Bengal but he soon realized that without "the united efforts of many" he could not achieve his ambition of knowing India "better than any other European ever knew it" as he later told Lord Althorp. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in London in 1773 AD and had set out to create a similar learned society in Calcutta with the "enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia" as its aim. The "Asiatic Society" of Bengal which was formed on 15 January 1784 AD to pursue this aim gave a great fillip to ancient learning in India by discovering, editing and publishing rare Sanskrit manuscripts, besides bringing out the journal, Asiatic Researches, containing scholarly contributions in Oriental learning. Jones himself developed a greater taste for Sanskrit learning and used to spend "three months every year" in Nadia, a pre-eminent center for Sanskrit learning in Bengal, described by a contributor to the Calcutta Review in 1872 as the "Oxford of the Province", and used to converse fluently in Sanskrit with the Brahmins during his stay there.⁵

Sanskrit learning in the Bengal Presidency received further impetus when in 1792 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares obtained the permission of Cornwallis, the Governor-General to establish a Sanskrit College at Benares, for preserving and cultivating the laws, literatures and scriptures of the Hindus. In this college as in the Calcutta Madrasa, the students were not only taught gratis, but were also given stipends. Eight years later when Wellesley, the Governor-General, set up the Fort William College at Calcutta to train the servants of the East India Company as administrators of the vast territories acquired by the East India Company since 1765 AD, he included courses on Oriental learning including Sanskrit and Persian and appointed Pandits or Oriental experts to teach them.

These examples of patronization of the classical learning by a few high officials of the East India Company do not in any way indicate the attitude of the Company towards education in India. For, both the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College were individual enterprises for preservation of ancient Indian culture and were attempts at reconciliation the feelings of the two major communities in India, while inclusion of Oriental learning in the courses at Fort William was an administrative expediency. Nor do these measures represent the attitude of the vast body of the employees of the East India Company

⁵ Abbe Dubois, *A view of Hindoo manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Lallant press, London, 1897, p.32.

in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras towards education in India. Those who came to Bengal and elsewhere in India were just teenagers of good and influential connation's, with a good hand and knowledge of commercial arithmetic and book-keeping. Since the employees were paid very lowly by the Company, they had to take to various irregularities to increase their earnings. For most of them the major concern was to make money and to enjoy it at home after retirement. Many who were able to survive the climate of Bengal Madras and Bombay did return with a good fortune, purchased landed estates and became members of Parliament as well as on the Court of Directors and thus became an important factor in influencing the policy of the East India Company. Yes, these miscues in classical learning particularly the creation of the "Asiatick Society" initiated by a few high officials of the East India Company had their impact later in raising a group of dedicated Oriental scholars who profoundly influenced the East India Company's policy towards education when it happened to have one in the second decade of the next century.⁶

Concept of Education

We owe the concept of an educational ideal as a means of historical inquiry to Mannheim. He defined it as 'a residue of attitudes, principles and forms of behavior which shapes educational aims and arrangements in a period of history (Mannheim and Stewart 1962). This concept enabled him to debunk the notion-which still prevails that education has certain universal and eternal aims. He was able to demonstrate that educational aims have a historical character that they change as much as the guiding ideals of other cultural activities change over time. The concept of an educational ideal also served Mannheim as a method of analysis. He used it both for historical investigations and for participating in the discussion of educational aims in his own day. I intend to use the concept as a means to identify an organizing principle in Indian colonial Education during the nineteenth century.

The customary statement that colonial education was 'aimed at producing clerks is both theoretically feeble and historically untenable. Its theoretical weakness lies in the fact that it does not help us distinguish between the ideas underlying the educational system and its practical purposes. But even if one saw it as a statement about the immediate outcomes of colonial education, one finds little evidence to support it. Colonial education produced political leaders, professional men and intellectuals, not just office clerks. No simple model or statement will help us understand why colonial education had the kinds of effects it had. It

⁶ Abbe Dubois, *A view of Hindoo manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Lantial press, London, 1897, p.32.

socialized many into colonial values; at the same time, it turned many of its products against those values. The rejection of colonial education may not have been sustained for long periods, but the broader rejection of colonial rule was sustained and we cannot ignore the role of education in inspiring this rejection. A plain, instrumentalist view of colonial education as a factory producing clerks-prevents us from seeing this aspect of nineteenth-century Indian history. It also stops from appreciating the contradictions in which the freedom struggle was caught. One contradiction related to the perception of the uneducated population as an object of moral improvement. On this matter, there existed a strange homonymy between colonial and a colonial discourse on education. To make sense of this homonymy against the broader context of the role of education in the national struggle, we need a more adequate model than exists at present. Such a model should have the capacity to accommodate the contradictions that were inherent in the vision of colonial education as well as those that became manifest in its consequences.

At the heart of the colonial enterprise was the adult-child relationship. The colonizer took the role of the adult, and the native became the child. This adult-child relationship entailed an educational task. The colonial master saw it as his responsibility to initiate the native into new ways of acting and thinking. Like the little elephant Babar in the children's series of that name, some of the natives had to be educated so that they could be civilized according to the master's idea. This may be a simplistic summary, but it does capture the core agenda of colonial rule in education. The agenda was to train the native to become a citizen. Writing in *The Citizen of India* (a school textbook that lasted for many years) in 1897, Lee-Warner described the British Empire as an educational experience for India. It did not matter that the system of education had remained rather limited, he argued, for it was wrong to judge the education of India merely by the development of the education system. The railways, the public works, the posts and telegraphs were all educational agencies of the empire. They all showed the benevolence, the industriousness and the dedication of English administrators, he said (Lee-Warner 1897).⁷

For the English officers of the early nineteenth century in India, the concept of citizen symbolized a new way of life and a new social order. It encapsulated the visions and tasks that post-Reformation social thought, science and literature had placed before the emerging urban bourgeoisie of England. The colonial administration in India had shown little interest in education before 1813 when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed

⁷ *Ibid*, p.34.

and a modest provision was made for expenditure on institutions of learning. However, interest in education which was now expressed was conceptually consistent with the steps that had been taken earlier in matters of general administration. The creation of landed property rights was one such step. It was implemented somewhat differently in the three presidencies, but the ideological assumptions behind it were the same in all three cases. These assumptions were part of the social philosophy of liberalism (cf. Macpherson 1962, 1977). The state's role, according to this philosophy, was to assist the civil society to fulfil its goal of ensuring individual rights, particularly the right to hold and increase property. Ownership of property was thus a key concept in liberal thought (Bearce 1961; Stokes 1959). It constituted the ground on which the emerging commercial class of English society had fought its battle against the powers of the church and monarchy several of the late eighteenth-century colonial administrators in India, who put in enormous efforts to establish the concept of private property, were inspired by early liberal political thought. They were also working under the imperative of creating dependable fiscal base for the colonial state. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the empire had been more or less won. The job now was to keep it, and to use it for profit. The colonial adventure was in a sense over, ready to be exploited by writers of boys' novels over the next 100 years. The construction of an imperial power structure was the task at hand. The East India Company's monopoly over trade with India had come under pressure from a variety of business houses. With the advancement of industrial production, commercial interests in England had begun to be tempted towards the markets of Asia—markets far larger than England could ever provide. The East India Company was accused of monopolizing the Indian market, and of keeping it underdeveloped with its impractical policies. Among the critics was Adam Smith, who had criticized, as early as 1776, the Company's monopoly of trade with India. He had found a serious contradiction between the Company's roles as an administrative body and as a trading concern. With the Company's successes in subduing India's native sovereignties and thereby in clearing away the insecurities that lay in trade with India, the demand for the end of the Company's monopoly became increasingly stronger.

The appropriate role for the Company was now believed to be that of a custodian of English trading interests. Accordingly, it was required to create congenial conditions in which the free trade ideology of an ambitious English bourgeoisie could safely flourish. commercial institution was thus made to become a colonial state and to change its rhetoric from profit for itself into service of the empire. Involving dominant groups of Indian society in the

functioning of the colonial state was part of the Company's new job implied the creation of a new order in the colony, a civil society among the natives. The ethos, the rules and the symbols of the new order had to be constructed in a manner that would not disturb the ongoing commercial enterprise. The violence which had helped build the empire could henceforth be practiced only on the outskirts of the proposed civil society. Within it, coercion had to be replaced by socialization. This is where education had a role to play⁸.

The educational aspect of this role has not received much analytical attention. It is easy to place education within the broad context of empire building, but that does not help us identify the ideological roots of colonial education. We cannot make sense of the Company's educational programmes if we only look upon them as variations on the utilitarian doctrine, or, alternatively, as steps to strengthen imperialist domination. These models may help us narrate what happened during the nineteenth century in India, but they do not impart to us any better understanding of the residues that the nineteenth century left for India to live with. This perhaps is not the historian's job, but it is certainly an important task of educational theory. The residues are related to the idea of creating a civil society in India. It was a complex idea, constituting elements of several different kinds-liberal-economic and political doctrines, paternalism and evangelisms. But what gave it the edge of plausibility was the self-delusory confidence so typical of colonizers. Until the late nineteenth century, colonial officers worked in India with that supreme self-reassurance which demands superficial acquaintance with the colony's society and geography. Colonization was a project undertaken with inadequate data, which is why it was the Adventure depicted in many children's novels of the nineteenth century (Parrish 1977). It was precisely the aspect of adventure in the colonial enterprise that gave the colonizer such craving for security mixed with a sense of prowess. His grand visions and his awe of expense, his paternalism and his readiness for military action.⁹

In order to appreciate the role of education in creating civil society, and to analyse the assumptions behind the role, let us look at an early formulation of the problem. The following note was written by Lord Minto (Gilbert Elliot), Governor General from 1807 to 1812 AD. The specific purpose of this note was to justify the setting up of two new Hindu Colleges and the reform of the existing one at Banaras. It is the wider rationale for the spread of education

⁸ *Ibid*, p.38.

⁹ S.C.Ghosh, *The social Condition of the British Community in Bengal, 1757-1800*, Leiden press, New Delhi, 1971, p.35.

under British initiative that interests us: Minto wrote this note in 1811: The ignorance of the natives in the different classes of society. Arising from the want of proper education, is generally ac knowledge. This defect not only excludes them as individual also from the enjoyment of all those comforts and benefits which the cultivation of letters is naturally calculated to afford, but operating as it does throughout almost the whole mass of the population, tends materially to obstruct the measures adopted for their better government. Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, is in a great measure ascribable, both in the Mohomedans and Hindoos, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths. It has been even suggested, and apparently not without foundation, that to this uncultivated state of the minds of the natives is to be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which were recently so great a scourge to the country The latter's offences against the peace and happiness of society have indeed for the present been materially checked by the vigilance and energy of the police, but it is probably only by the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people that the seeds of these evils can be effectively destroyed."

Minto was talking about the moral role of education in the con text of civil administration. 'Happiness to him was that state e comfort which derives from being governed well Lack of good governance obstructs the opportunities of pleasure-even in the case of those who could individually obtain pleasure through means such as literary reading Their chances of enjoyment are clouded by the prevalence of insecurity For others too, the government cannot offer sustained comfort as its own capacities are exhausted dealing with criminal tendencies. Efficiency of the police helps, but the spread of education would be better. It would make the maintenance of law and order easier. This was the gist of Minto's thought according to Butler: who concluded his speech at the Imperial Legislative Assem bly in 1911 after the discussions of Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill by saying: Exactly a century ago, in the year 1811, Lord Minto, who looks down upon us in this Council from that wall, penned his famous Minute in which he said-for the first time in the course of British rule, it was then said that the ignorance of the people was subversive to good government and conducive to crime (Gokhale 1911)¹⁰.

The validity of Minto's line of argument rests on eighteenth century concepts of happiness', 'cultivation and ignorance: Indeed, his line of thought can hardly be understood at

¹⁰ *Ibid*,p.36

all if we do not remember the extent of poverty in eighteenth-century England and the perception that the aristocratic elite had of the poor as a dangerous mass. Now, to proceed with Minto's English, happiness' was the result of pleasure-causing sensations. The seat of these sensations was the mind which was regarded as a repository of forceful passions. Achieving happiness was like commerce, involving the ability to trade off a harmful passion with a profitable one. 'Reason' was the ultimate, defensible ally in the pursuit of happiness, but we will return to reason later. If circumstances and reason could ensure the formation of a series of profitable pleasant sensations, the amount of happiness produced by the sensations was supposed to be greater. This view of happiness, which was derived from associational psychology and was nourished by Newtonian mechanisms and the fascination of commerce, found a political context in the concept of the civil society under which the sensations causing happiness were deemed to proliferate. Security of one's property was a key necessity in this regard, which the utilitarian's were going to use later as the cornerstone of their model of protective democracy. Security would allow not only the enjoyment of available means of happy sensation, it would also give man's mind the freedom to enhance the sources of such sensations. Indeed, freedom (of the propertied man to apply his knowledge and skills to increase his material comforts) became an aspect of happiness, and the insurance of both was expected to be provided by the state¹¹.

In the civil society that the English middle class regarded as its ideal and which Minto's predecessors had inaugurated in India, rational behavior or the application of reason meant translating one's concern for the safety of property into the desire to strengthen the state's efforts to establish order. This kind of civil rationality alone was supposed to ensure the ultimate advantages of leisure for cultivating one's sensibility. Lack of such rationality meant ignorance. This was the philosophy of a rapidly rising and ambitious urban commercial class. Its determination to wed practical sense with personal morality had found ample literary expression throughout the eighteenth century, from Addison at the beginning to Jane Austen towards the end. The vision had already been scattered widely, not as a utopia of the elite but as a viable dream for all. The dream provided the motive force for popular education movements in nineteenth century England, movements which gradually pushed the state to assume responsibility for the education of the poorest.

This did not happen in India. Here, the dream of the English bourgeoisie merely provided the vocabulary with which a miniscule civil society could legitimize its rise in the

¹¹ A.T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, Oxford press, London, 1962, p.50.

midst of exploitation of the working population. The dynamics of colonial administration in India gave a very long life to eighteenth-century English diction, in which 'people' and 'citizen' meant only the men of status or property. Others were not deemed to possess individuality. The laboring classes were perceived as the 'masses' among whom it was considered unnecessary to recognize individuals. They were used as cheap, often forced, labor by the bourgeois colonizer with the same indifference with which they had been used earlier and continue to be used now by feudal or quasi-feudal powers within Indian society. The use of the colonial government's funds for the diffusion of elementary education among the masses was questioned within the bureaucracy on the ground of good business sense. Warden's argument that education, as a Government concern, will be expressive without being beneficial, and that it could be made beneficial judicious encouragement of the better-off sections of Indian society was shared by many English officers, Malcolm, the Governor of Bomb stated that the expenses of running the government could be reduce by allowing some of the public services to be performed "by native on diminished salaries Along this line of thought, state spending on education could be explained mainly as investment in the preparation of cheaper, trustworthy subordinates. The Charter Act of 1833 opened the civil services to Indians. From here on, every studier was assumed to be aspiring for civil service, and the Indian civil servant was perceived as the heart of the small civil society¹².

The thought that the civil society in India could only be a miniscule minority disturbs neither the ideas nor the terminology we have examined. The perception of the usefulness of education as an aid to social order and peace, by virtue of being a morally uplifting influence remained remarkably aloof from demographic and social reality Trevelyan, writing in 1838, went so far as to predict that the educated classes, a small minority' then, would 'in time become the majority For the colonial officers of the first half of the nineteenth century, the empire had not yet been translated into palpable demo graphic and geographical reality. This was to occur in the latter part of the century, particularly after 1857. The sense of reality that comes from geographical surveys and censuses was a late development. It occurred too late to influence the vocabulary in which the colonial vision of education had found expression. By then it had become clear that the 'civil society' could only be a small network of men of property ('respectable natives), civil servants and professionals (mainly in law and medicine). The fact that education and its effects could not possibly go beyond this small part of the population did little to alter the discourse which continued to echo the eighteenth century

¹² K. K. Chaterjee, *English Education in India*, Gandhari press, Delhi, 1976, p.62.

English equation between good governance and improvement of public morality The persistence of this discourse calls for an explanation, and we can find one in the manner in which colonial conditions distorted eighteenth-century educational ideas. We have seen that the concept of 'order' was central to colonial policy in all areas of administration, including education. This concept was rooted in the liberal belief that the state's role is mainly to maintain congenial conditions for the enhancement of pleasure (of the man who had means to enjoy himself). Emanating from this belief, 'order' stood for the state's contribution to the bourgeoisie's pleasure. The state was supposed to make this contribution by providing for a dual arrangement for education. The arrangement would consist, on the one hand, of a scheme of moral improvement of the masses, and, on the other hand, of a different sort of provision for the intellectual and aesthetic enrichment of the propertied classes. The moral education of the children of ordinary people would emphasize religious and quasi-religious literary learning aimed at imparting virtues such as obedience, modesty, rule-governed behavior and acceptance of one's station in society. The education of upper-class children would provide for the learning of classical languages and literature, and the skills related to reflection and inquiry."¹³

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. It existed to facilitate and expand exploitative trade. Funding a programme of mass education was beyond its purview even if charitable souls like Munro passionately supported it. 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 influential people. But although this collaborating class had men of property within it. The liberal notion of a mainly intellectual and aesthetic education could not apply to their children. They too, after all, were part of the colony, and hence needed moral upliftment in order to become true worthy So 'mass education' became a programme which, owing to s financially restrained expansion, could only reach the upper classes but it remained an essentially moral programme as was appropriate for a colony Literature, political philosophy, history, and later on, even science, were to be treated in it as morally beneficial influences The 1844 report of the Board of

¹³ *Ibid*,p.64

Education for the Bombay Presidency reflected the vision of an educated India in terms of two currents of contemporary English thought—utilitarianism and evangelicism. The first represented a crystallization of the line of thought that Minto was following, sharpened by the faith in scientific reasoning brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The second current was not an altogether new development either, but it had by now virtually reversed the earlier English perception of India. Whereas many eighteenth-century liberals in England perceived India as a developed civilization, Victorian liberal opinion depicted India as a sort of sad, sleeping beauty that needed charity and the touch of a new life. The Bombay report of 1844 AD says: The object of Government we take to be perfectly distinct and intelligible, namely, to make as vigorous an impression upon the Asiatic mind as possible, to rouse it from the torpor into which it has subsided for some hundred years past, and to place it in a condition for receiving and digesting the results of European progress and civilization. Ignorance in all ages has been the fruitful mother of vice, in a great degree by the undue development given to the passions in minds where intellectual enjoyment can find no entry, but mainly by the temptation and facility, which it affords to the crafty and designing of preying upon the ignorant masses. One of the main duties of Government in modern times is to protect one class of its subjects, the weak, the unwary, the helpless, in one word the large majority, from the unprincipled few, and the remedy, acknowledged to be the most available one, is to inspire the bulk of the population with the desire, and to afford them the means, of acquiring as much exact knowledge as possible on the various subjects and ideas.

The problem of immoral behavior is squarely equated with that of ignorance. This understanding gave to many nineteenth-century rationalists a strong hope of seeing the utopia of an enlightened humanity built within a foreseeable future. The state's role in this vision was that of a protector of the 'ignorant masses who personified the Asiatic' mind portrayed by James Mill in his popular history of India: enemies of the state's paternalistic role were considered to be few in number, personified in practitioners of obscurantist forms of knowledge. These forms of knowledge and their hold on 'ignorant people were both characteristics of the Asiatic mind as Victorian intellectuals and administrators had come to understand it. The means by which the state could subdue its enemies, in this perception, was education of the masses in 'exact forms of knowledge. These 'exact' forms represented the West's scientific tradition. If the masses could be prepared to accept it as the guiding light of conduct, the state's role in transforming the Asiatic mind would be largely fulfilled. Education was thus perceived as the chief agency for accomplishing the great moral agenda

of colonialism. Irrespective of the success of the colonial government in educating the masses, the rhetoric of education would provide the legitimation that the colonial enterprise always needed, especially in the moral climate of Victorian England¹⁴.

Although the rationale for public education took an epistemic logical form, it was ethical at its core. No doubt knowledge by itself was seen as a moral influence in post-Reformation thought, but prevailing stereotypes of the Asiatic mind and the further accentuation of these stereotypes by evangelical enterprise made this association far stronger. The core stereotype was that Indians were highly emotional, and were incapable of rational conduct. This perception was based on the eighteenth-century differentiation between 'passion' and 'reason: As numerous examples from English literature of the time show, no success in life could be imagined unless a person controlled 'passions' with the help of 'reason. The idea was that the guiding light of rationality, emanating from puritanical Christianity and scientific reasoning (no conflict had yet developed between the two), was essential to purge the passions which would otherwise lead to certain ruin, both material and spiritual. And this light was precisely what Indians lacked from the English point of view. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the function of education in undermining traditional structures of dominance had become well established. It is true that developments in certain regions expressed this tendency far more sharply than in other regions of the whole, the role of education in disturbing traditional social hierarchies was more clearly expressed in the south than in the north In Kerala, the struggle of downtrodden groups like the Izhavas owe considerably to their educational attainments under Christian missionaries. Pullapilly makes the point that the Izhavas fight for civil rights and justice presupposed a certain amount of social consciousness and educational preparation (Pullapilly 1976). The same thing could be said of several non-Brahman peasant castes and some of the untouchable castes of the areas in present-day Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In Maharashtra, the work of the Satyashodhak Samaj established by Phule led to the demand for educational facilities among oppressed caste groups. In his submission to the Hunter Commission, Phule wrote: Upon what grounds is it asserted that the best way to advance the moral and intellectual welfare of the people is to raise the standard of instruction of the higher classes?" While it is true that the recognition of education as an agency of material and social benefits triggered a competition in the caste hierarchy, the upper castes nevertheless maintained a strong hold over educational facilities, especially facilities for higher education. The small civil society of

¹⁴ A. S. Dhar, *One School, One Teacher*, Kunti publishers, Delhi, 1983, p.43.

the educated remained in all parts of British India largely confined to the higher castes. There was a trickle from below, but it was too small to alter the character of the civil society. It is thus worth asking which of the two roles of education was more influential in shaping the cultural and political life of India at the turn of the century—the role of strengthening group solidarity among the educated, or the role of disturbing traditional hierarchies. The first is rarely acknowledged, whereas the second has been highly overestimated. In his Elementary Education Bill speech in 1911, Gokhale had mentioned that only 1.9 per cent of India's total population was attending elementary schools. One can hardly overemphasize the group-forming force of an experience as narrowly spread as education was in colonial India. Education did facilitate limited upward mobility among lower caste groups in certain regions of British India. This role of education was significant, though it was confined to those regions where cultural resources for an egalitarian social movement already existed to support and enhance the effects that access to education triggered, in conjunction with the implications of competitive opportunity for employment. New modes of transport and ultimately, the beginning of representational politics. When education is celebrated for its historic role in social change, its complex interplay with other factors tends to get underplayed. Also, the identity-forming role that education played. Creating the consciousness among the educated that they were a new elite, is overlooked. The egalitarian effects education had in colonial India need to be carefully balanced against this contrary function.¹⁵

Whether it was the case of the higher castes using education to renovate their repertoire of skills, or the alternative case some areas of middle and lower castes using education to move up, we notice that the major social function of education was to differentiate its beneficiaries from the larger population. It did so by serving as a new cultural property. Certificates, mark sheets and medals were the manifest possessions that this property brought, and people cherished and displayed them avidly. Names of students who had passed Matriculate and higher examinations appeared division-wise in newspapers. Locating one's own name or that of someone from the village became a dramatic social event as several memoirs indicate. But more important were the possessions that education gave in terms of new capacities, particularly the capacity to read and write English and to quote from English literature. The fact that someone could read a letter written in English or compose an application distinguished him from other ordinary people. It gave the educated man a rare

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.49.

distinction, considering how small a proportion of the Indian population came into the orbit of English education.

Command over the colonizer's language, eligibility for state employment and status were the components of the educated Indian's new identity which have been widely acknowledged by historians. What has been ignored was the sense that the educated citizen had of being morally superior to the uneducated masses. This sense obviously arose out of the identification that he felt with the English, but the argument that supported it was different. The moral superiority that the English felt over Indians had two bases—the stereotypes of Indian culture and society, such as the ones projected in James Mill's volumes of Indian history, and the fact of having succeeded in subduing India's native powers. Evangelical as well as utilitarian writings had portrayed Indians as a degraded people, in need of moral reform. But these writings attributed India's depravity to remediable causes, later in the century, the Victorian attitude was quite different—it ascribed India's degradation to racial, climatic and other such incurable sources. Compared to this attitude, moral superiority of the educated Indian in the later nineteenth century and afterwards had more rational props to support it. A prominent philosophical school that provided the rationale for moral superiority was that of evolutionism.¹⁶

Spencer's theory of evolution served educated Indians at two levels. At one level, it answered the search for causes of India's defeat. Bharatendu in Hindi and Bankim in Bengali were among the many creative minds who were making this search and giving it expression through their literary writings. Evolutionism gave a purpose to history, it explained in a modern idiom why the English had to come to India and were propagating their system of administration, law and knowledge here. Ranade thought that it was of crucial importance for Indians to study the lessons that the history of India's defeats had to teach. If those centuries have rolled away to no purpose over our heads' he said, 'our cause is no doubt hopeless beyond cure (Ranade 1965). At another level, Spencer's theory provided the hope that a small body of people could influence and reform the much larger society surrounding it. Spencer had argued that 'while each individual is developing, the society of which he is an insignificant unit is developing too' (Kazamias 1966: 69). This organic role of the individual offered great consolation to the educated Indian who was part of a miniscule minority of the total Indian society, It gave him reason to believe that so small a section of society could be an effective agency for influencing the rest. In his presidential address to the students

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.51.

gathered at a conference in Bihar in 1910. Sachchidananda Sinha echoed Spencer's theory when he said that 'unity can only be the direct result, not the negation, of a full-developed individualism of each organic part of the whole organism' (Sinha 1910). Evolutionism thus provided the educated Indian with a rationale to perceive himself as a shaping influence on the larger society. We find this rationale in the writings and speeches of such eminent Indians as Bankim, Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo in Bengal, Ranade and Gokhale in Maharashtra and Lajpat Rai in Punjab.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA BY BRITISH

Charles Grant's Plan

Among those who were able to retire to a successful life in England after a career in India, Charles Grant shines as a bright star. The reason why Grant is singled out here for a special mention is because of his contributions to the development of a modern education system in India. Charles Grant's contribution to British rule in India has been investigated a few decades ago by Professor A.T. Embree but educationists in India generally tend to overlook his role in the introduction of Western education in India. We shall presently see that he was the first Englishman, at least four decades before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. Grant was no missionary so why did he want to proselytize the Indians? Grant who had come to India in 1767 AD, acquired an immense fortune, and led a hectic life till 1786 AD when through family mishaps and close contact with the Chaplain David Brown and the Civilian George Udny, underwent a great change. He was appalled at the degeneration of the Indian society following the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the late eighteenth century.

What was the state of the society in India as Grant saw it? In India, religion has always been a very strong spiritual force which binds the people together but at the time of Grant it had sunk into the grossest form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had acquired the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will. People had begun the practice of throwing children into the sea for propitiating the gods and of swinging the devotees in iron hooks during certain religious festivals. Overzealous devotees also practiced various kinds of self-tortures such as Dharma in order to atone for their sins. The degenerated Brahmins had begun to impose their self-motivated interpretation of the scriptures upon the credulous simplicity of ignorant people, who looked upon their words as law which no one could contradict. Social life was

degraded. Many abuses, some of the most gruesome nature, had crept into the society. Infanticide was widely practiced in Central India, especially among the Rajput's. The custom of sati or self-immolation of widows was widely prevalent and was looked upon as a sacred act. Caste, once based upon the functions of individuals, had become a rigid system which kept its various branches in water tight compartments, although the members had ceased to adhere to the functions originally assigned to them. Only the Brahmins had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had naturally led to grave abuses because it had given birth precedence over all other consideration and had consigned to the most degraded state of existence, some of the low caste people like the pariahs and untouchables, mere contact with one of whom was sufficient to make one lose one's caste. The aristocracy which had been hit most by the political instability, had degraded themselves in debauchery and dissipation. Kulinism, originally intended to maintain the purity of blood line of the higher classes, had degenerated into child marriage and polygamy. Where the higher castes had sunk to such low levels, the women could not have been expected to have a better fate. Married at quite an early age they got little, if any, opportunity of acquiring education and were kept in seclusion or purdah.¹⁷

Grant felt that these abuses of the Indian society could be removed by the introduction of Christianity. So in 1790 AD when he returned home, he worked for it with greater vigor since the time for the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing near, thus providing for an opportunity of bringing the case for evangelization of India before the Parliament, and thereby also forcing the hands of the Directors who did not allow the missionaries to come to India for proselytization. However, the idea had to be dropped when King George III, having been apprised of the scheme, was reluctant to support it chiefly in consequence of the alarming progress of the French Revolution and the proneness of the period to movements subversive of the established order of things Wilberforce, MP for York, with whom Grant had been in contact before he came to London in 1790, then advised Grant to produce a paper showing a plan for the diffusion of knowledge in Indi rather than for the propagation of Christianity. Grant picked the suggestion and wrote: *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly in the Respect of Morals And on the means of improving it.*

In his treatise which Grant wrote in 1792 and published at London in 1797 AD, he charged the Hindus with dishonesty, corruption, fraud, mutual hatred and distrust, and

¹⁷ C.Y. Chitmani, *Indian Social Reform*, Madrassa Press, Bombay, 1901, p.31.

described their customs such as sati as barbarous; and the Muslims with haughtiness, perfidy, licentiousness and lawlessness and asserted that the inter course of the two communities had led to the further debasement of both because each had imbibed the vices of the other. Grant blamed the East India Company for viewing those grave evils with apathy and contended that it was under no obligation to protect the creed of the Hindus which was monstrous and "subversive of the first principles of reason, morality and religion." As a remedy to all these evils, Grant suggested a "healing principle", namely, the supersession of the existing religions by Christianity through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, "a key which would at once open a world of new ideas" to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered it feasible to use English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said, a knowledge of the English language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translation of English books into the Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious. Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language because that would induce the Indians to learn it. He urged the establishment of English schools under teachers "of good moral character", hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, "the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindus because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them."¹⁸

Grant's observations were reflections of the two forces at home, one unplanned, the other purposeful—the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Movement—in putting forward new social values. The Industrial Revolution created a new class of men with power and authority to set beside the old aristocratic, landowning leadership, where the latter had depended upon inheritance in a fixed hierarchical society and had set an example of grand, even extravagant living, the new men rose by personal effort, by hard work and by frugality. A new economic order developed a new code of social values and behavior in answer to its unspoken need. Contemporaneously, a religious revival affected England which though it had its starting point in Vital Religion, in personal conversion, also served to promote such social virtues as frugality, sobriety and industry. Among the lower wonders of society it was Methodism which inspired "the civilization, the industry and sobriety of great numbers of the laboring part of the country." Among the upper classes the impulse was provided by the

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.38.

evangelicals and by such persons as Hannah More. They number in their ranks men such as Milner of Queen's College or Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, the merchant Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, Henry Thornton the banker and James Stephen, the lawyer, men of the class from which many of the Company's servants were drawn. In 1793 Wilberforce and Hannah More gathered round Joseph Venn, the Rector of Clapham and were there joined by Charles Grant, by Sir John Shore, Stephen, Thornton, Macaulay and others. These Claphamites were, perhaps, social conservatives in their acceptance of the order of the society, but they were radical in their determination to secure a reformation of manners and a new righteousness in the upper ranks of society.¹⁹

When Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control set up in 1784 by Pitt's India Act to supervise the activities of the Court of Directors, was shown Grant's manuscript containing his observations, he asked his Secretary, William Cabell, to write a note on it. Cabell emphasized the political advantages that could be derived from developing an education policy based on Grant's Observations. He mentioned that a common language would draw the ruler and the ruled into closer contact and the introduction of European education would lead to the removal of many abuses from which the people were suffering due to their "false system of beliefs and a total want of right instruction among them." However, when the subject was debated upon on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor General grouped the clauses into a Bill explicitly stating that the real end sought was to send missionaries and school masters to India for the ultimate conversion of Indians. And this was fully detrimental to the trading interests of the Company dominated by men with long experience in India who considered that any such move would result in political unrest in that country. They condemned the Bill and through some of their connections in both the Houses of Parliament maneuvered to defeat it. And thus, was lost Charles Grant's unique opportunity to become a pioneer in *the introduction of Western education in India*.

The failure of Grant's plan of introducing Western education in India to facilitate conversion of Indians into Christianity did not mean an end to his effort to send evangelists to India. This he did indirectly. It was customary, at this time, for the Chairman of the Court of Directors to select Chaplains for Europeans in India, and Grant who subsequently came to hold the Chair, availed himself of this opportunity of sending out ardent evangelists like C Buchanan and Henry Martin. There were also some among the retired officials of the East

¹⁹ J.Ghosh, *Higher Education in Bengal under the British Rule*, Bashi Publishers, Calcutta, 1965, p.53.

India Company who shared Grant's views on the introduction of Western education as a step towards proselytization for the political benefits that it would accrue. For example, Sir John Shore after his retirement from the governor generalship of Bengal observed: "Until our subjects there [India] shall be animated with us by a community of religious faith, we shall never consider our dominion as secure against the effects of external attack or internal commotion." During the decade that followed the Charter Act of 1793, the evangelicals in England focused their attention towards finding some means of avoiding the restrictions imposed on the passage of missionaries to India by the terms of the Act. William Carey, a Baptist Missionary and a shoemaker by profession was sent to India in 1793 in a Danish ship by the London Baptist Missionary Society and his example was followed in 1799 by two other missionaries who came in an American ship and settled down in Serampore, a Danish colony, not far away from Calcutta which was the headquarters of the East India Company in India. Carey had settled down with the help of George Udny in Dinajpore where he opened a free boarding school for poor children who were given instructions in Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali as well as in the doctrines of Christianity. In 1800, Carey joined Marshman and Ward in Serampore with the help of a paper manufactory and the printing press which soon began to receive large commissions from the Company's establishments in Bengal, they carried on their work for the dissemination of education and propagation of Christianity among the people of Bengal. As decided by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, the Charter Act of the East India Company was to be renewed every twenty years. Accordingly, when the term of the Company's Charter was due to expire in 1813, the missionaries were determined to make this occasion another trial of strength in Parliament with the Directors. In February 1812 AD, a committee was formed consisting of Wilberforce, Grant, Thornton, Stephen and Babington to arrange an interview on behalf of the various religious organizations in Britain. Soon there was dissension among the missionaries themselves due to the jealousy of the dissenters of the Church of England but Wilberforce managed to keep them together. He persuaded the Church of Scotland to take the lead of the non-conformists and himself along with Grant interviewed Liverpool, the Prime Minister, who put them off with some vague promises. Moreover, Buckinghamshire, the President of the Board of Control and Castlereagh appeared cold and hostile and refused to countenance any change of the existing system²⁰.

The reluctance on the part of Castlereagh and Buckinghamshire was, however, related to the opposition of the Directors of the East India Company, who produced an imposing

²⁰ A. N. Basu, *Education in Modern India*, Sindi Press, Calcutta, 1947, p.120.

amount of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons against the despatch of missionaries to India by important people who had long experiences of India and were esteemed highly by their countrymen. All emphasized the unfavorable political consequences that would follow the episcopal establishment in India. Malcolm's observations were representative of the views of the East India Company officials who deposed before the Committee. While admitting the blessings which Christianity would bestow on Indians, he warned the Committee that its introduction into India would have the most dangerous consequences for the stability of the empire which depended on the "general division of the communities and their sub-division into various castes and tribes because all these elements would then be united in a general opposition to any scheme which they might think would lead to their conversion. It was at this stage, that Zachary Macaulay, encouraged Wilberforce, organized a campaign calling on the missionaries to send petitions to the Parliament for the unrestrained despatch of missionaries to India. As a result, between February and June 1813, no less than 837 petitions were presented. This extraordinary effort produced almost immediate effect. Liverpool and Buckinghamshire told Wilberforce that they were willing to establish a bishopric in India and to authorize the Board of Control to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed to India. In the House of Lords, the missionary question was not discussed at all, and none took the slightest notice of the vast body of evidence which the Directors of the East India Company had produced against them.

Charter Act of 1813

The new Act renewing the Company's privileges for a further period of twenty years was passed on 21 July 1813 AD. An episcopate with archdeacons was set up in India and the Board of Control was authorized to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed there. The question of dissemination of education among Indians was also taken up into consideration and a Clause to this effect was introduced in Parliament by a former Advocate General in Calcutta and was passed after a slight modification. This Clause (43rd) empowered the Governor-General to appropriate "a sum of not less than one lac of rupees" in each year out of "the surplus territorial revenues" for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India²¹. J. A. Richter, in his *History of Missions in India*, has suggested that the Clause 43 which spoke of the revival and improvement of literature and of the encouragement of the learned natives of

²¹ S. Gopal, *British policy in India, 1858-1905*, Cambridge press, London, 1907, p.132.

India was created as "a reliable counterpoise, a protecting break water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise" enshrined in the Charter Act of 1813. It is possible that the supporters of this Clause were influenced by the Orientalists in Calcutta who had been agitating for some time past for more funds for the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and for the revival and improvement of classical learning of India. In March 1811 AD, Minto, Governor-General of India between 1806 and 1813, had sent home a minute which definitely represented and endorsed the views of the Orientalists in India. In that minute, Minto spoke about the decay and the neglect of Indian classical learning and taught persons which could be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments. It is seriously to be lamented," he had observed that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindu's, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."

An Estimate of the Part played by Bentinck and Macaulay in the introduction of English Education in India:

In India Thomas Babington Macaulay is fully credited with the introduction of English education officially though the necessary order on the subject was issued by Bentinck, the Governor General of India, on 7 March 1835 AD, after going through a long the historical minute written by the former on 2 February 1835 AD at the latter's request. Needless to say, in issuing this order on English education, Bentinck put his own political career in India at enormous risk. For, according to the rules of the East India Company the Governor General in India could not initiate any important action without first obtaining the approval of its executive body, the Court of Directors in London. Since Bentinck took the decision within a few weeks of receiving the papers from the General Committee of Public Instruction, it was clear that the Governor General did not have the necessary time to obtain the required sanction of the Court of Directors. In those days of steamship navigation, a despatch from Calcutta used to take not less than three months to reach London. This simple fact does not need the scholarship of a Spear or a Ballhatchet to prove or disprove that Bentinck acted without the authority of the East India Company in London. Writing on the subject more than a hundred years later in *The Education of India* Arthur Mayhew argued that bentick took the decision without reading Macaulay's minute and was solely motivated by Macaulay's threat to resign. Such an argument is contrary to the image of Bentick that has

emerged through recent researches as a true child of his age²². Bentick who came to India as the Governor- General in July 1828 AD was a firm believer in utilitarian principles. In a farewell dinner at Grote's house in December 1827 just on the eve of his departure for India, he had said to James Mill; 'I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor- General. It is you that will be Governor-General.' A man of great energy, vigor and action he utilized the long period of peace enjoyed by his Government to tackle every problem that his administration faced in India- he was the person who made sati illegal in 1829 and took steps to stop other social evils like Thugi and infanticide. He also persuaded young Indians to learn English language by throwing open subordinate positions in judicial and revenue branches to economy. In a letter to the General committee of public instruction on 26 June 1829 he observed; 'it is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country, and practical degree of encouragement to the execution of this project'. As a mark of respect to the wishes of Governor-General, the General committee of public instruction added English classes to the Benaras Sanskrit College in 1830 thereby providing for English classes in all the important oriental institutions in Calcutta, Delhi and Banaras.²³

One reason why Bentinck was so keen on introducing English education was because he considered it not only to be a "cure for the kind of social evils that he had to deal with at the very beginning of his administration in India but also a key to the improvement of the country. In this respect he fully shared with James Mill the view that Indian society was decadent and the key to its regeneration lay in the introduction of Western knowledge and science. In a letter to Mancy on 1 June 1834 AD, Heer plained: "General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India. The ground must be prepared and the jungle cleared away before the human mind can receive, with any prospect of real benefit, the seeds of improvement... You will anticipate my entire dissent from those who think it better that the natives should remain in ignorance. I cannot regard the advantage of ignorance to the governors or the governed. If our rule is bad as I believe it to be, let the natives have the means through knowledge, to represent their grievances and to obtain redress if their own habits, morals or way of thinking are inconsistent with their own happiness and improvement, let them have the means provided by our greater intelligence of discovering their errors. I approve, therefore, of every plan by which the human mind can be instructed and of course elevated... Such a plan came through Macaulay's minute of 2 February 1835 AD as an expert

²² S.Gopal, *Development of University Education, 1916-1920*,

²³ *Ibid*, p.155.

advice on the subject and Bentinck immediately acted on it. Macaulay, whose interest in consolidating the British empire by the proportion of English laws and English culture began quite early in life when he grew up as the son of Zachary Macaulay in the circle of the Clapham evangelists and gave evidence of it in his Parliamentary speech on 10 July 1883 AD on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, held similar views on the subject with Bentinck. And it will not be unreasonable to surmise that there had been earlier discussions on it either at the time when they were together in the Ootacamund in the Nilgiris in the summer of 1834 AD or at the time when Macaulay was appointed by Bentinck as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction in December 1834 AD at a time when the Committee was seized with the controversy on the future education policy of India. Assuming there had been no such occasions, it was still possible for Macaulay to know the Governor-General's mind through CE Trevelyan, a staunch Anglicist and a great favorite among Bentinck's officials, who was also married to Macaulay's sister. The threat of resignation held out by Macaulay if his recommendations on English education were not accepted was not a threat meant for Bentinck but a subtle challenge thrown to the opponents of English education in India²⁴. The reason why Bentinck issued the order without obtaining the approval of the Court of Directors was because of the fact that following the return of the Tory Party to power in England Bentinck was contemplating his retirement as Governor-General of India by the end of March 1835 AD. He did not want to leave the fate of a subject so dear to his heart to his successor and took immediate steps to decide on it on 7 March 1835 AD. And he did so at a price--he earned the displeasure of the Court of Directors to such an extent that back home he withdrew from the affairs of the Company and led a secluded life. The Court of Directors on the other hand almost decided to reverse the order of 7 March 1835 AD by sending a despatch to Calcutta--the draft of the despatch was almost ready by October 1836 AD but was never sent as Hob house, the President of the Board of Control, did not accept the draft despatch sent to him by Carnac, Chairman of the Court of Directors, under pressure from Auckland, the Governor-General of India. Macaulay's minute became a secretarial sensation from the very moment of its composition on 2 February 1835. It shot him to further prominence in England and in India.²⁵

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER HARDINGS

A great change came with the arrival of Hardings as the Governor-General of India. Although distracted by war with the Sikhs, the last great political opponent of the company in

²⁴ M. L. Laid, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1805*, Oxford press, London, 1972, p.170

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.201

India, Hardings was able to devote a great deal of attention to educational matters and to initiate reforms and innovations of far-reaching importance. Auckland, in his minute of November 1839 AD, had drawn attention to the importance of raising a trained body of teachers and the Committee had suggested a plan for the purpose. But nothing was done till 1847 AD when the Council's plan for a Normal School for training the future teachers was sanctioned and a school, which was also to act as a Normal School, was opened in Bow bazar in Calcutta but the school had to be closed within two years when it did not fulfil the expectations of the authorities mainly for want of funds.

Plan for a University in the Bengal Presidency

In 1814-45 AD the Council of Education drew the government's attention to the necessity of establishing a university with faculties of Arts, Law and Civil Engineering and on 25 October 1845 C.H. Cameron, the President of the Council of Education, decided that "the present advanced state of education in Bengal Presidency renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity to confer upon the successful students some mark of distinction, by which they may be recognized as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable of entering upon the active duties of life." A plan to establish a Central University on the model of London University set 1836, which would grant degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering, and which would be "incorporated by a special Act of the Legislative Council of India and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all Chartered Universities in Great Britain and Ireland" was forwarded in 1846 to the Government of Bengal with the request that royal assent should be profound for the scheme. *The Charter Act of 1833* "opened up" India to the missionary activity of other nations as well. It was in this year that the missionary activities of the non-English missionary societies began in India. The German and the American missions were the most prominent among them. In 1834 the Basel Mission Society began its work at Mangalore followed by the Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society founded at Dresden in 1836 and the Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient, founded in Berlin in 1842. Among the "well-manned and richly financed" American societies were the American Baptist Union, the American Board and the American Presbyterian Mission Board North, Among the most famous of the colleges which were established in rapid succession in various parts of India under the direct influence and inspiration of Duff were the one founded by Dr. John Wilson in Bombay in 1832 which later bore his name, the General Assembly's School in Madras founded by Anderson and Braidwood in 1837 (which later under Dr. Miller became the Christian College) and the Hislop College at Nagpur by Stephen Hislop in 1844. In 1841

Robert Noble founded the Noble College at Masulipatam and in 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra. These colleges were in addition to those built by the Church of Scotland at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras²⁶. Growth and Development of Missionary Enterprise Richter has described the quarter century, 1830-57, as "the age of the mission school." As he observes, "During the period the Government, in spite of the good intentions of Bentinck, lay really in an apathy, which we find it hard to understand; for three years. Lord Ellenborough was Governor General, a man who regarded the political ruin of the English power as the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindus! Hence at that time the mission school exercised a dominating influence over Indian thought which it is difficult to estimate nowadays." The growth of missionary enterprise in education was greatly facilitated by the cordial relations that existed between the missionaries and the Company officials, among whom were many utilitarian's with an evangelical outlook. For example, Duff was a very close associate of Bentinck who encouraged him to establish the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta in 1830 AD . Secondly, the apprehension that interference with the religious institutions of the Hindus and the Muslims would be greatly resented by them gradually began to disappear as the Company officials were often required to manage Hindu temples and Hindu religious fairs. The abolition of sati by Bentinck's Government in 1829 led to no revolt as the opponents of this reform had earlier pointed out and the Company officials became bolder than before in their support for missionary causes now that the East India Company had firmly established itself politically after outwitting the Indian powers and its European rivals.

The missionary activities in education varied from province to province and were most remarkable in areas like Madras where the Company's initiatives in the field were negligible. By 1853 AD the missionary activity in education was almost equal to official enterprises which had 1,474 institutions with 67,569 pupils. If, however, the work of the Roman Catholic Mission were added to those of the Protestant organizations, missionary work in education certainly exceeded the official enterprise. The missionaries resented the Company schools which did not include the teaching of the Bible and were more popular with the Indians. They were therefore clamoring either for the inclusion of the Bible in the Company schools or for direct withdrawal of the Company from education, leaving the field entirely to missionaries. The Company would be indirectly involved through a system of grants-in-aid.

²⁶ S. C. Ghosh, *Education Policy in India since Warren Hastings*, Cambridge Press, London, 1975, p.167.

ENLIGHTENED INDIANS

Prevalent Prejudices against the Western Education

Indian private enterprise in the new education was confined to those who believed it to be an effective agent of modernizing Indian society or those who had been trained in the new education and had found it to be a passport to new jobs which at once brought them money, status and power. The prevalent opinion in most areas was against the new system. Most parents initially refused to send their children to English schools because they were afraid that English education would Anglicize them and make them lose faith in the religious beliefs and practices of their fore fathers. They were also afraid of the spread of Western ideas through vernaculars as they thought the new education to be a part of some secret plan to tamper with their age old religion Therefore the few Indians who wanted to set up schools for imparting new education had to work under this limitation and in most cases their schools, as in the case of the Hindu School in 1817, were the results of active collaboration with and support from European officials or non-officials.

Hindu School Model

Hare, who was one of the founders of the Hindu School, had realized that all the education enterprises of the time were dominated by religion and had been keen on setting up one, whose main object would be to emphasize the study of English language and literature. The model of the Hindu School came to be generally adopted by the Company as well as by private enterprises and the principle of secularism enabled the Company to maintain its policy of religious neutrality while the emphasis on the study of English language and literature enabled it to obtain servants for the government departments where English was being adopted as the official language. Indians also found it convenient to follow the model of the Hindu School because a policy of secular Education involved no administrative problems and a subordination of scientific studies made the functioning of the institutions less costly and difficult. Ram Mohan Roy who was associated with the establishment of the Hindu School but had to withdraw his name from the management of the school under objection from the orthodox Indians, himself set up a school at Suripara in Calcutta for the free education of Hindu boys there. In 1822, he purchased a plot of land at Shimla in Calcutta where he started another school known as the Anglo-Hindu School which was later named the Indian Academy in 1834. In 1818 Jainarain Ghosal started a school in Benares for the teaching of English, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali. Schools for teaching English were also started at different places in Calcutta and at some other places like Hughli, Burdwan, Midnapur, Dacca, Barisal, Santipur, Murshidabad, Rangpur, Allahabad, Agra and Delhi. As Charles Traveyan

observed: "In 1831 AD the Committee [of Public Instruction] reported that a taste for English had been widely disseminated and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya [Hindu School] are springing up in every direction. This spirit gathering strength from time to time, and from many favorable circumstances had gained a great height in 1835. Several rich natives had established English schools at their own expense; associations had been formed for the same purpose at different places in the interior similar to the one to which the Hindu College owed its origin."²⁷

Thus in 1831 Rasik Krishna Mallick, a brilliant product of the Hindu College started the Hindu Free School at Simla (Calcutta) where 80 students received education. In 1832 two wealthy persons, Kalinath Ray Chaudhuri and Baikunthanath Ray Chaudhuri of Taki started a local school for teaching English, Arabic, Persian and Bengali to the boys and placed its entire management under the control of Duff. Five hundred students attended this school daily and many who wanted to study there could not be accommodated. In 1834 Govinda Chandra Basak started the Hindu Free School which was attended by some 130 students in six classes and were examined by David Hare in March 1835. In 1837 one more institution providing free coaching, named the Benevolent Institution, was started at a village called Amarpur in Hooghly.

Dalhousie extended Thomason's Scheme of Vernacular Education to Bengal and the Punjab

Dalhousie was fully convinced of the success of Thomason's scheme and therefore recommended "in the strongest terms" to the Court of Directors that full sanction be given to the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces. At the same time he felt that he would not be discharging the obligations as Head of the Government of India if he were to remain content with this recommendation only. In Bengal, Bihar and other Presidencies too "the same moral obligations" rested upon the government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. He referred to Dr. Mouat's report on the vernacular schools in the North Western Provinces, where he had spoken about "the utter failure" of the scheme of vernacular education adopted in Bengal, "among a more intelligent, docile and less prejudiced people than those of the N.W.P.", as well as to his assurance that the scheme which had been best adopted to dispel the ignorance of the agricultural people of the N.W.P. was also "the plan best suited for the vernacular education of the mass of the people of Bengal and Bihar." Dalhousie therefore extended the

²⁷ S.C.Ghosh, *Dalhousie in India, 1848-56*, Oriental press, New Delhi, 1991, p.165.

scheme of vernacular education for the North Western Provinces to Bengal and Bihar on the recommendation of "the experienced authority" of Dr. Mouat and went further in extending it to the "new subjects beyond Jumna" the people of the Punjab. He also asked for the views of the Governor of Bengal and the Board of Administrators on the subject while awaiting the Court's sanction to the scheme of vernacular education²⁸.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854 AND it's ENDORSEMENT IN 1859 AD

Dalhousie, however, did not allow his personal feelings to stand in the way of the implementation of the provisions of the Despatch, which opened an era of Anglo-Vernacular educational approach in the history of Indian education. He realized that it contained, a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or the Supreme Government would have ventured to suggest it left nothing to be desired." In January 1855 AD Dalhousie laid the proposals for working out the Despatch of 1854 AD before his Council and by February, he was able to report to Wood about the launching of the scheme. He expressed his hope that if he lived, he would see the whole organized and in complete operation (so far as this can be affected at once)" And he did not hope in vain. By the end of 1855 AD a distinct department for the superintendence of education was constituted and a Director of Public Instruction had been appointed in each of the five provinces with inspectors and others appointed in each of them. Provisional rules for regulating grants-in-aid had been sanctioned for the guidance of the local governments. And finally. A committee had been appointed for the purpose of framing a scheme for the establishment of universities at the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By the time Dalhousie retired from India in March 1856 AD it was still engaged on that difficult task²⁹.

Appointment of Hunter Commission

In February 1882 Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with William Hunter, a member of his Executive Council, as its chairman. Among its 20 members, Indians were represented by Anand Mohan Bose, Bhudev Mukherjee, Syed Mahmud and K.T. Telung, and the missionaries by Rev. Dr. Miller of Madras. B.L. Rice, the Mysore Director of Public Instruction, was appointed its secretary. The Commission was asked to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.190.

²⁹ K.K.Datta, *A Social History of Modern India*, Manohar Lal Press, Delhi,1975,p.204.

further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was also asked to keep the enquiry into the primary education in the forefront, partly because of an agitation alleging its neglect in India, and partly because a national system of compulsory elementary education was built up in England two years ago with the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1891. The Commission was further asked to enquire into the position of government institutions in a national system of education, the position of the missionary institutions in it and the attitude of government towards private enterprise. The Commission was also asked to offer suggestions on secondary education. European and university education being excluded from the purview of the commission.

The Indian university Act

The Indian universities Act introduced radical changes into the five existing universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. Among these were, an enlargement of the functions of the university; reduction in the size of the university senates; introduction of the principles of election; statutory recognition of the syndicates where university teachers were to be given an adequate representation; stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university; definition of the territorial limits of the universities; provision for a grant of Rs 5 lakh a year for five years for implementing these changes to the five Indian universities and finally powers to the government to make additions and alterations while approving of the regulations passed by senates.

The Government of India Act of 1935

The British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, summoned the third and final session of the Round Table Conference at London on 17 November which lasted till the end of December 1932 AD. It was largely a small gathering of 46 delegates compared to the Second session in 1931 AD which was attended by 112 delegates including Gandhi. This time the Congress which was then staging Civil Disobedience Movement in India did not attend the session. The Conference was followed by the issue of a White Paper in March 1933 and setting up of a Joint Select Committee of Parliament under Linlithgow with a provision merely for consulting Indians. Quite naturally and expectedly, many of the admittedly restricted concessions offered in 1930-31 AD under pressure of Civil Disobedience Movement were now reduced through this process and in August 1935 AD, the Government of India Act emerged after a long and tortuous process which started eight years earlier with the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927 AD³⁰.

³⁰ S.C. Ghosh, *Indian Nationalism*, Oxford press, Delhi, 1985, p.231.

Radhakrishna Commission

In the midst of all these the utmost that could be done in education was to appoint in 1948 AD a university commission under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishan as reconstruction of university education was considered essential to meet the demand for scientific, technical and other manpower needed for the socio-economic development of country. The recommendations of the commission in 1949 AD were wide-covering all aspects of university education in India. Education in the Constitution Earlier in the same year when the Radha Krishan Commission submitted its recommendations, on 26 January 1949 AD, Independent India had adopted a constitution finalized by the constituent Assembly and the following year on the same date India proclaimed herself a Republic. The constitution made Education a State subject.³¹

³¹ A. B. Keith, *Constitutional History of India*, Oxford press, New Delhi, 1937, p.198.

CHAPTER-3

SOCIAL RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION

A little over seven decade ago, JN Farquhar, Literary Secretary of YMCA in India, delivered some lectures at the Harford Seminary upon the changing social scene in India. The enlarged lectures saw the light in print in 1915 AD. It is a tribute to his missionary zeal as well as method that scholars find his work much relevant even today. One of them calls it's a remarkable solitary basic introduction to the study religions in modern India. He himself revealed the nature of his enquiry by naming his talks as 'Modern Religious Movement in India' Farquhar presented the Indian life as fastly changing from tradition to modernity under the direct impact of Christianity and under the indirect impact of Pax Britannica In the latter context, he emphasized the role of modern Indian intelligentsia and its thinking, Largely, shaped by the writings of Orientalists in causing this change. However, he did not as in any fundamental role to the British regime as such in causing the socio-cultural change, he talked about in fact, and he treated the western impact upon Indian life as if it had a bearing only for the two the major religious systems of India namely Hinduism and Islam. Even in the British administration the regime played for him only a secondary role to the Christian mission.it was the mission that were primarily responsible for transforming India¹. Due to this very reason this transformation was essentially religious it was being brought up by the movements guided by Christianity but grounded in the old religions in India, via Hinduism and Islam in a characteristic manner he proclaimed, the old religions are soil from which the modern movements spring while it will be found that the seed has in the main been sown by Mission "It was said Farquhar particularly true about the Reformation led by the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal by the Prarthna Samaj in Bombay, and Sayyid Ahmed Khan Aligarh Movement in North India .Farquhar also noticed that there was, besides, Christianity, another force influencing powerfully these movements of the Indian spirit in north India including the Punjab. This force was the politicization of 'Reformation' a phenomenon which was discernible after 1870, and which culminated in the formation of the Indian National congress in 1885. The reform bodies which appeared in this era of rising nationalism, were critical of Christianity as well as the Brahmo sakaj, the prarthna samaj and

¹ N.Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, Oxford Press, London, 1967, p.12.

the Aligarh movement². Farquhar termed these reform attempts after 1870 as constituting a 'Counter Reformation'.

The 'Counter Reformation' had its own home in the Punjab where Farquhar remarked it had two shades. In the first instance, there were movements such as the Arya Samaj) that was a bit critical about Indian culture, and was trying to improve it. Secondly, there were movements that were for the full defense of existing religions and customs of India. On the whole a greater part of North India including Punjab experienced only Counter Reformation marked by an intense 'religious Nationalism'. Significantly Farquhar explained this development of modern movements in India from Reformation into 'Counter Reformation only with reference to the rise of the political and national consciousness among the Indian educated classes previously and in the end of the case of emergency of Reformation', he had explained it with reference to the impact of Christianity upon the India elite. In both the cases his explanation of India, Awakening was in terms of the rise of modern intelligentsia. He did not see the birth intelligentsias as a result of British rule. Doing so Farquhar excluded the British rule as such from the cultural reality, he described It was the beginning of a paderi approach towards the question of social change in colonial India. It was an approach which has been careless about the role of Indian colonial state in shaping the sociocultural change and coloring its reflection. It was based upon presumption that religious change was and could be vastness. It identified modern education as to the sole agent of social progress. In the end, it was an approach which was cultural but apolitical." The works of RC Majumdar in India and those of Islamic School of historiography in both India and Pakistan sought to project the religious character of Indian Patriotism of Nationalism. This notion was consciously or unconsciously borrowed from the missionaries. Had Farquhar not described Indian awakening after 1870 as 'religious nationalism'? Following R.C. Majumdar, a number of American scholars in India continued with this communal framework. The lead was given by Charles H. Meimasth in the early 1960's. Presently, this trend in American studies, especially on the Punjab, is represented by the publications of Research Committee on Punjab' with whom have been associated prominently the scholars like NG Barrier and Kenneth W Jones.

Not only this, these later day studies go a step further than Farquhar's work in at least, one respect. Whereas Farquhar did not study these movements' religion and community wise, they have been doing so by their treatment of Indian society during the colonial era. In their

² D. Robert Baird, *Religions in Modern India*, Oxford Publishers, Delhi, 1981, p.67.

treatment, Indian society during the British era is found to be divided into religious communities engaged in a continued process of adopting themselves to modernization. This communication scholarly seldom takes into consideration the heterogeneity of each community and its reflection through the splits in, and the formation of new movements within every community. This denial of social heterogeneity leads to a conflict free view of the movements so far as this conflict was internal to them. This view impels not only the clubbing together of movement religious and community wise but also a deliberate ignorance upon the scholars to overlook historical specificity of the movement in ...of chronological and regional factors. It is in pursuance of this historical approach that movements like the Arya Samaj, the Nirankaria, and the Namdharis, the Prarthna Samaj, Singh Sabha; the Aligarh Movement and the Anjuman are grouped together and described as the expressions of renaissance among the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslim respectively.³

From it flows very broad generalizations sweeping away the internal developments, tensions, and reorganization splits that marked every movement. For example, the Brahma Samaj split twice during the 19 century, the Arya Samaj got a formal split within a decade of its founded death, and the Singh Sabha never took off as organization with one view. Similarly, it is a historical act to study the Arya Samaj and more so its Gurukul wing with reference to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's teachings in the 1830, and 40's Bengal. Unfortunately, this technique suffers for distortions when the study of a community is reduced virtually to the activities of a few leading reformers and movements are interpreted with reference to the life ideas of one or two leaders. This biographical method leaves much desired, especially the role played by the followers of a particular movement in shaping its destiny. For example Dayanand's writings fail to make us understand the Lahore Arya Samaj's attitude towards politics and Indian nationalism. He was an advocate of Hindu classical polity and Indian nationalism. He was an advocate of Hindu classical polity But the Lahore, Arya Samaj did not accept it even in principle. In fact, Samaj as a body never defined its political role. Perhaps, the most glaring limitation of the existence historical account of the movements in the Punjab has been its emphasis upon the role of Indian themselves in the making of these movements. This view from the Indian side, whatever, its other merits might be overlooks, the colonial state, its institutions and men who in some cases initiated and in other guided many among the movements. The fact that the colonial state interacted with the reform bodies even where it partially or totally opposed them is not considered worth a probe. It

³ *ibid*, p. 69.

seems to be doubtful if one could understand the growth of Aligarh Movement in North India, the Arya Samaj in the Punjab and the Singh Sabha among the Sikhs without a reference to M.A.O. College Aligarh, the DAV college, Lahore and Khalsa College, Amritsar Movements. Moreover, the success of these movements can be explained in terms of the rise of so called middle class as it is usually maintained by the Scholars to be so only if they had a very effective educational role. Speaking as a matter of fact the colonial state treated them as educational and formally recognized them so by permitting and encouraging to open denominational institutions of education. In this process, the regime helped them financially and administratively. It also conferred legitimacy and respectability upon them.⁴

However, this behavior of the state was far from being sudden, spontaneous and peculiar in the Punjab. Researches show that at its back stood a well thought out imperial policy whose expressions can be traced to the days of Warren Hasting's 18th Century Bengal." It was a policy of using Indian religions and languages as administrative aids. The British Orientalists were the most vocal exponents of this policy. In this stratagem, education and educational institutions obviously held the key. In North India but outside Bengal, Delhi was the important center that witnessed the execution of this policy of state regulation of the cultural change between 1803 and 1857. The scholars refer to this development in Bengal and Delhi as 'Bengal Renaissance' and 'Delhi Renaissance' which stood as a whole for three fundamental things, viz. (i) historical rediscovery, (ii) linguistic and literary modernization and (iii) socio- religious reformation, In Delhi, the institutional expression of this cultural transformation before 1857 AD were the Delhi College' and seminaries of the Muslim reformer like the successors and followers of Shahwalinullah and the Literary Society and Club in the sixties of the last century. It is desirable to point out in this context that the Renaissance' was, especially before 1857 AD. Predominantly Islamic and Urdu in the same way as the awakening Bengal was Hindu und Sanskritic. Recent studies maintain that it was the Delhi cultural and religious fermentation which produced leading figures of both the Aligarh Movement and the Deoband School of the Muslim reformers. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's mental makeup was initial grounded in the Delhi intellectual fermentation. His commitment to Islam, Urdu language, English education and British manners can be appreciated only by keeping mind that the British Indian State tried successfully to meet the effects of Islamic revival of the family of Shahwaliullah half way between 1803 and 1857⁵.

⁴ J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, Oxford Press, London, 1967, p.14.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.16.

The state patronage a technique of keeping the reformers within a reasonable limit of opposition to the British rule by diverting their energies either along political channels such as social reform activities or along communal channels such as holding religious debates with the other communities was evolved in this era. Shah Abdul Aziz, the son and successor of Shah Waliullah, approved of English education and Muslim participation in the British administration by issuing a fatwa in its favor. In turn, the British gave him a land-grant. Like many others, he enjoyed the gifts of British rule such as peace and liberty to the extent of allowing a section of his followers to go for Jihad against the Sikh rule in the Punjab in the forties of the last century⁶. However, the weakening of the Muslim community in and around Delhi after the utter destruction of Mughal political power in 1857 broke the power of Muslim nobility: With it went its capacity to patronize the traditional elite both secular and religious. Moreover, the Muslim community of Hindustan (excluding Punjab) became politically suspect in the British eyes as it was chiefly held responsible for the bloody event of 1857. In sharp contrast to the condition of Muslim nobility were the increasing prosperity of the Hindu trading and professional castes such as the Jains, the Khatri and Kayasths. On the whole, they remained peaceful during the crises of 1857. Economically they benefited considerably by the destruction of Muslim nobility, and more so after Delhi was administratively linked with the Punjab, and by the railways with the rest of India. In the 1860's, this city emerged as a major center of trade in the food grains for the Punjab, Rajasthan and Hindustan.

Culturally speaking, lamented Ghalib, it was a time when the bearded persons from Punjab were spoiling the chaste language of Delhi, i.e. Personalized Hindi or Urdu. Continuing the last of the Mughal Court poets, it was an age when the abodes of Islam (mosque) were presenting a desolate look in the face of fluttering flags on the tops of the thakurdwaras. A new class, 'Babucracy', was on the rise at the ruins of Muslim nobility in Delhi. This new class had started making its presence felt at both the Delhi Municipal Committee and the Delhi Literacy Society (established 1861) which were revived by the Punjab administration. However, this revival was not very strong partly because the British Government was still not very interested in restoring to the city its lost imperial and cultural glory. In the meantime 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 AD⁷.

⁶ N.G Barrier, *The Evolution of Punjab Studies in America*, Permit publishers, London, 1982, pp.121-125.

⁷ H.Charles, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reforms*, Horton Press, Poona, 1964, p.231.

The Anjuman-i-Punjab was a semi-official body which soon succeeded in creating a network of educational institutions such as the University College, Lahore (est. 1869), the Oriental College Lahore, and later on the Punjab University, Lahore (est. 1882 AD). In the field of literature, it helped the Punjab Education Department in running Punjab Book Depot for making translation of the European works on education and literature into the Indian vernacular languages, especially Urdu. The Anjuman also encouraged Urdu poetry. The creation of healthy public opinion through discussion and debate on the social and political matters was one of the objectives of the Anjuman. For this Leitner established a Literary and Debating Society of the mode in the Government College, Lahore. The Anjuman also issued two literary and two news organs of its own. All this all good employment opportunities and Lahore attracted not only the Bengalis—who were already there either Christian or Brahmo Missionaries or as men with Education Department—but also a number of Delhi Almunis. A list of latter includes the names of Muhammad Husezin Azad, Nazir Ahmed Nazir Shiv Narain 'Ahram', Bismal Ram Chandra, Pyre Lal Ashob and Khawaja Altaf Hussain Hali.

The most important objective which Leitner wanted to achieve through the Anjuman-i-Punjab was something like the Turkish Tanzimat. The central feature of the Tanzimat was the use of modern European knowledge by the Turkish State to undermine the religious fanaticism of its subjects. It was done by opening state institutions of education—an art obviously taking knowledge away from the sole jurisdiction of the priestly classes. In order to blunt any opposition from the side of religious orthodoxy in this regard, the state undertook to give some instruction in religion in its schools and colleges." Leitner had seen the working of Tanzimat while he was in the Near East, fighting the Crimean War on behalf of England and Turkey⁸. However, this technique underwent some important changes in India at the hands of Leitner. It was because in Leitner's conception of civilization and knowledge in the East, religion occupied a central theme. As such any programme directed towards progress in India, he said, would be futile till it incorporated some elements of indigenous religions as well as enlisted for itself the support of traditional elite both secular (nobles, merchants and big zamindars) and religious. So much so that even the success of modern education in India, upon which was also dependent the political fortunes of the British, was contingent upon it.

Their incorporation into the administrative structure would, argued Leitner, strengthen the government. Because their co-operation would pre-empt any organized move against the British rule by the religious orthodoxy at its own or backed by the upper caste classes of

⁸ *Ibid*, p.267.

India. Not only this, his working together would take much of the British regime's alienness away and thereby would strengthen its legitimacy.

Realizing that the British Indian state could, because of its repeated proclamations of religious neutrality, not operate through the religious institutions or associate the priesthood with administration as a matter of policy. Leitner suggested that the objective could be achieved through the educational institutions. For this education should be left into the hands of its people themselves. However, the Education Department should seek the emergence of 'natural leaders', i.e. the ruling chiefs, big zamindars, merchants and priests, of the natives to form their bodies under the guidance of Europeans- both official and non-official to open educational institutions. The latter should not only impart formal education including religious instructions but also work for the cultivation of Indian languages aimed at producing modern literature⁹. Their chief objective should be the creation of an intelligentsia committed to social reform but owing loyal allegiance to the British.

However, as this cultural revival including social reform through education was ultimately to be religious, it was for the three communities of the Punjab the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs by themselves to decide upon as what they wanted to revive or reform. Implicit here was the argument that the 'Community' was as important, if not more, as the State in determining the future of its members through education and social reform to be made in the light of a specific community's past experience primary to which was obviously its religious life. For it, the 'community' would have its own educational institutions, and its own apparatus for social reform including a modern priesthood and modern techniques of propagation such as the press, etc. It was with this understanding that a special emphasis was put upon the significance of classical languages and religious instruction in the Punjab scheme of education. The task of producing new priesthood especially the Sikh act as reformer was first assigned to the Orient College Lahore. It was later on performed by the denomination institutions of education such as D.A. V's the Khalsa's and the Islamias. The beginning towards realization of this purpose were seriously made during the decade between 1877 and 1878 AD. It was a time when the Anjuman-i-Punjab, a common organization of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab was weakened by the British Government, first by withdrawing its patronage to it, and secondly, by engineering splits in it through its own official members. It was allowed to disintegrate itself. It was also a time when the Punjab Education Department was activated to encourage the 'natural leaders to undertake the tales

⁹ D. Robert Baird, *Religions in Modern India*, Oxford Press, Delhi, 1981, p.243.

of organizing education among the respective communities. This necessitated either the transformation of existing community bodies (formed usually with the approval formal or tactic of the Government) or the formation of new ones¹⁰.

The process of transformation was clearly there in the case of Anjuman-i-Islamia (est. 1869 AD). It was also so in the case of Hindu Sabha and Singh Sabha. The formation of new bodies was represented by the Lahore Arya Samaj (1877 AD), the Lahore Indian Association (est. 1877 AD) and the Anjuman-i-Harndardi-Islamia (est. 1880 AD). In the meantime. The Aligarh Movement had taken a life of its own. The association of the natural leaders with these movements was preeminent. A number of them like Rai bahadur Markat Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Muhammad Hyat khan, Munshi rai, Aluashi Rai Extra-Assistant Commissioner Pandit Moran Singh were not only the founder members of the Anjuman-i-punjab but also the ones to play important role transforming the community bodies. Under the Barkat Ali Khan, the Anjuman-i-Islamia became a body for western education and social reform among the Muslims on the lines of Sir –Sayyid Ahmed Khan. Originally, it was established in 1869 for the limited purpose of looking after the management of one or two mosques in the religion. In this transformation, Muhammad Hyat Khan helped by acting as a link between the Anjuman and the Aligarh Movement.¹¹

Again, it was in 1877 AD at Delhi that Surendranath Banerjee and Swami Dayanand Saraswati conceived the Lahore Indian Association, and the Lahore Arya Samaj. Respectively. The Imperial Assemblage inspired them with the idea of uniting the various groups of Indian reformers around a common programme. The time was ideal for them as the educated men in Delhi were dissatisfied with the Punjab Government for its decision to close down the Delhi College.

The Punjab delegation which invited Dayanand to visit Lahore included in it Munshi Harsukh Rai, Pandit Manphool, Novin Chandra Rai, and the Chief of Kapurthala. All the first three in this list were the leading members of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Lahore. Novin Chandra Rai was the President of Punjab Brahma Samaj. Curiously, all the three had also been the officials of the Punjab Government.

However, it was a man from Ludhiana who drafted the "Constitution of the Lahore Arya Samaj He was Mul Raj M.A., a product of Lahore and Delhi colleges. He was a student

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.244

¹¹ S.R. Mehrota, *Religious Education in India*, Munshi lal Publishers, Meerut, 1980, p45.

of Leitner for many years and had, at least initially, good relations with him. He had been to Calcutta too. Also for some time, he had served as Secretary to the Delhi Literary Society. In Lahore, he became the first. President of the Arya Samaj It was he who shaped greatly the ideology of the Samaj, especially in respect to the samaj's opposition to the Indian National Congress.

Similarly, it was Sir Attar Singh, Chief of bhadour was not only an active member of the Lahore Singh Movement but also the chief spirit behind the Khalsa college, Amritsar Movement.. A loyal Darbari Sardar Attar Singh was in addition to Trumpp, engaged informally by the British Government for translating some portion of the scripture and religious literature into English The whole undertaking was meant for enlightening the British administration in Sikh tradition to that it might deal with the anti-British Namdhari activities with confidence intelligence Attar Singh was consulted more than once not only on Trump's work but also on the Punjab policy towards the Kukas between 1872 and 1876. For his loyal services in this regard, he was made senator of the Punjab University College, Lahore. In 1877 AD, the title of the Malzulma- Juzla was conferred upon him.¹²

According to The Tribune, the Lahore Singh Sabha was virtually a creation of Leitner and his men of the Oriental College. If it stood at the beginning for some religious radicalism, particularly in respect to the question of reform in the Sikh Gurdwaras, it was largely because of the presence of the Namdhari and Arya Sikhs in it. The most influential Kuka member of the Sabha was Dewan Buta Singh of Lahore. The most important of the Arya Sikhs was Bhai Jawahar Singh.

Buta Singh left the Lahore Sabha in 1887, a year by which the British Government had already decided to adopt 'Amritsar Party' as its chief ally among the Sikhs. It made possible the rise of Amritsar Singh Sabhn and its Diwan dominated by the 'natural leaders of the Sikhs such as the cis-Sutlej chiefs; the landed magnates of the Pothohar Baba Khem Singh Bedi and Sujjan Singh, and the Mahants. In its search onatural leaders of Hindu sabha, the British regime had Raja Harbans Singh the adopted son and successor of Raja Teja Singh. He established Hindu Sabha in Lahore in 1882.The sabha was rabidly anti-Muslim, and sought to popularize the idea of the unity of Hindus at large. Though it could not make such progress in the 1880's yet its idea of Hindu Union found new echoes in 1898 when it was revived by Rai Bahadur Balmukand. However, it was Rai Bahadur Lal Chand who gave this

¹² *Ibid*,p.166.

idea of Hindu Union a definite ideological content between these ideas of Hindu Sabha which expanded itself into Hindu Maha Sabha in 1917 at Allahabad.

Features of the Socio-Religious Movements in Punjab

A glance at the studies on the last century of Punjab History, especially in the post-annexation period, presents the socio-religious movements as a relatively well studied fact of social reality of the region. Infact, this reality has been studied predominantly through the socio-religious movements. The region saw the emergence of the movements such as the Nirankaris, the Namdharis and Singh Sabha among the Sikhs; the Dev Samaj, Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharm movements among the Hindus, and the Ahmadiyahs among the Muslims. However, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj preceded these all except, the Nirankaris; and was an all- community movement at least in the Lahore of 1860's. But all these movements have not received equal attention some are more studied than the others. Whereas the movements among the Sikhs have been studied in fairly good detail, those among the Punjab Hindus are, with the exception of Arya Samaj, still to be studied. For example, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj has attracted scant attention so far. Similarly, the role of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement in the life of Punjabi Muslims is yet to be probed into "The Hindu Sabha movement whose origin can be traced to year 1882 remains little known till date.our information regarding these movements is extremely inadequate. Keeping this inadequate in kind any observation made upon them will be nothing short of a preliminary.. It is only a preliminary that few observations will here be made upon them. The movements fall into two broad categories on the as of the distinction which can easily be made between the movements that were completely thrown up by the conditions in the region and the movements which was their origin more to the forces and influences external the communities of the region. The Nirankari and the Namdhari movments and probably the Ahmadiyahs as well come in the first category. These were the representatives of a negative response of a traditional society towards modernizing forces working for alterations in the social structure. These were hardly engaged in social transformation, and were restorative in character. Contrary to them, the movements like Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj were the out-come of the impact of British rule which was the first and major agency for the all-round transformation of society in India. These movements were transformatory in nature.¹³

¹³ S.K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, Meghan press, Meerut, 1940, p.39.

We shall deal, here, with the second category of movements. However, our treatment will not be restricted to the relatively well-known movements because the socio-religious reformation in the Punjab was not the work of these movements alone. In fact, the modern reformation in the Punjab did not even begin with them. It was initiated by the Punjab administration which put it gradually along the community lines. The point has been missed by the scholars of Modern Punjab History with the result that our understanding of these movements remains not only incomplete but also faulty. Hence, a brief review of the existing major studies becomes necessary.

Ever since the publication of J.N. Farquhar's the Hartford-Lamson lectures for the year 1913 in 1916 AD it has been customary with the scholars to describe all reform attempts in the 19th century India before 1885 as socio-religious movements, scattered over every part of India 'together arranged them in 'related groups and subjected them to an analysis which yielded him the conclusion that these movements were the 'Varying expressions of a great religious upheaval'. He called these movements Modern Religious Movements and characterized their results as awaking with 'A' in the capitals. Awakening was attributed to be the result of cooperation of two forces in the 19th century, namely, the British Government in India, and the Protestant Missions. However, it was quacked by a third force which he called, the rise of Orientalism.¹⁴

Farquhar saw the origin of the movements in the western transformation of India, central to which was the rise of modern intelligentsia. However, he did not, while discussing this transformation, assign any fundamental role to the British administration in bringing about it. The transformation took place under western influence in general and under the impact of Christian Missions in particular. The British rule provided only an objective condition for the rise of these movements.

Subjectively, the Awakening' was the fruit of Indian cultural regeneration, and not the handiwork of British administration in India. Doing so, Farquhar departed from the conventional and political approach towards Indian society and history", which had been treating modern Indian history only as the story of the creation of a political dominion par excellence by the British feats. He started his study with the Indian reformers and their organizational and ideological activities, He recognized, no doubt, that the reform movement varied' considerably, but did not look at these variations in terms of regional, social and

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.40

cultural differentiations. He studied the communities, mainly the Hindus, but to a lesser extent the Muslims as well. Farquhar's cultural approach provides two insights into the progress of the movements¹⁵. The insights are important, though need a partial correction. First, he makes a distinction between the movements, which developed before 1870, and those which emerged after 1870 AD. In the first group, he dealt with Brahmo Samaj, prarthna samaj and sayyid Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement. These were the movements in which the educated classes played a significant role by their critical evaluation of India's cultural traditions. However, this critical approach was not carried after 1870 when defense of the old religions took the place of religious reforms. It started with the Hindus, but was followed by the Muslims, Buddhists, Jains and Parsis. This change in the attitude of intelligentsia underlined the politicization of its aspirations which culminated in the formation of Indian national Congress in 1885. Awakening became political. The movements which appeared under its impulse constitute the second group. These were not for vigorous reform of society but were organizations for the defense of Indian religions. It was, in fact, a counter reformation which begot movements as 'distinctly opposed to the Brahmo Samaj, and the prarthna samaj as to Christianity. The Counter-Reformation movements were of two kinds first, there were movements 'which insist on a good deal of all their emphasis on defense of the old faiths.' The Counter- reform'. Of the second kind were the movements which Lay Reformation of the first kind had its "home in Punjab. It was represented by a group of movements namely, the Arya Samaj, the Ahmadiyahs and the Dev Samaj.

In our view, the politicization of intelligentsia was the out-come of education it had." It was not the outcome of social and religious reform movements. It is precisely for this reason that the education, its organization and content, and the educational policy of the British Government becomes important. 'Religious Nationalism' or later day communalism can better be appreciated if one takes into account the symbiotic relationship, secured through the operation of colonial state, between the polity, education, and religion on the one hand, and between religion-based education and the colonial polity on the other. The colonial regime cannot be written off the modern Indian history, as Farquhar, Kenneth W. Jones and K.P. Karunakaran will make us believe.

The second significant point made by Farquhar is that the 19th century movements as a whole stood for an advancement of ancient faiths in India. This advancement was ruled throughout by Christianity. In other words, the Indian reformers borrowed their new methods

¹⁵ Dayal Bhagwan, *The Development of Modern Indian Education*, Kunti Press, Varanasi, p.21.

and ideas of religious organization from the missions. It is visible from the strong desire among the reformers to act and serve like the missionaries. Development of religions in India was, thus, put on the Christian lines. It was obviously, though Farquhar would not say so for the reasons best known to him, the beginnings of the process of somatizations of Indian religions.

The Counter Reformation and for this contradictoriness which included the political use of religion for the secular ends. The process of Somatizations lies in making religions in India socially active and competitive. The movements for social and religious reforms were the manifestations of this social activism which generated, above all, by the political struggles against the British rule, Consequently, the movements which arose against this political background were political with some spiritual and religious elements about all this'. Hence, their study demands an approach directed at revealing the colonial social reality which was colonialism and the Indian peoples' struggle against it. It is not a mere question of studying political consequences of these movements, as it is often done by the students of nationalism and communalism' alike. It involves the study of cultural implications of this political struggle including the change which it brought about into the religions of the land. The scholars of Indian culture and comparative religion are still to address themselves to this problem.¹⁶

Another erroneous way of studying these movements, which is being reinforced by some recent studies, has been to study them as units of reformers of the religious communities. The movements are studied community-wise, and a community is taken to mean the one in which the reformers were born. The reformers are not studied on the basis of the community which actually followed them. The movements are categorized after the religion of the reformer, and are, in addition to this, presumed to be essentially religious. The reformation is seen as the rise of the communities and the reformer as a religiously inspired individual working for the uplift of his co-religionists. The study of each reform organization is prefaced by the life sketches of one or two important reformers, and then this preface is used to highlight the features of the movement.

In other words, the movements are interpreted the ideas and experience of its founders. Interpreted in way, the movements become virtually the biographies of the reformers. The biographical approach results in some negative implications for historical

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.24.

analysis. First, when the movements are grouped together around the personality of a set of reformers to form a single movement for the task of study, and the so constituted movement is treated as a formation arising out of a religious community, each movement forming the group movement loses its individuality and historical specificity. Every movement becomes a community movement even it was followed by a few among the community. It is by the technique, the movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthna Samaj and the Arya Samaj or the Nirankari, the Namdhari and Singh Sabha or the Aligarh Movement a Anjuman-i-Islamia, are clubbed together and are said to be the expressions of renaissance among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims respectively. Significantly this group-technique first employed by Farquhar, but he did not do this grouping only on community lines. This approach results in broad generalizations, sweeping away the internal developments, tensions and splits which marked every movement. Further, in this process, the focus is shifted from the evolution of these movements to the evolution of the communities. This ignorance of the inner developments makes it an a historical act to study, say, Arya Samaj with reference to Ram Mohan Roy's ideas. Similarly, it will be a perversion of historical facts to say that Singh Sabha Movement was either a continuation of Nirankari and Namdhari movements, as the protagonists of Sikh renaissance like Harbans Singh (*The Heritage of the Sikhs*) and N.G. Barrier (*The Sikhs and Their Literature*, p. 219) argue, or an alternative to the Namdhari movement, as it is being suggested recently by the analysts of the colonial and contemporary political scene¹⁷."

Secondly, this biographical approach seldom takes a note of the movements in terms of the role of the followers these drew. That the followers might have played a decisive role shaping a particular movement is not recognized. Yet it had been the case with the Arya samaj that its Followers actually played a greater role than that of its founder in determining its ideology for example, Dayanand's writings fails us to understand Lahore Arya Samaj's attitude towards politics. Dayanand was an advocate of classical Hindu Polity. But the Lahore Samaj did not accept it even in principle. Further, the Samaj as a body never participated in politics. In the last this approach obscures the political and contradictory role of these movements. The point can be made clear by the example of Singh Sabha movement. The first Singh Sabha came into existence in 1873 AD at Amritsar. The second Singh Sabha was established in Lahore in October 1879. The two joined together in 1881 but departed again in 1883 AD. The year 1884 AD saw the emergence of many Singh Sabhas in different parts of the region. Most of these Sabhas were affiliated to the Lahore Sabha whose programme of

¹⁷ J.N Das Gupta, *Bengal in the 16th Century*, Shodha Press, Meerut, 1914, p.87

education proved popular with the Sikhs. It was its educational drive which drew support for the Sabha, helping its conversion into a movement. In fact, the Singh Sabha became a movement only after 1884 AD, when it came as an educational movement. This movement was divided from the very beginning of the second Singh Sabha in 1879 AD, and the Sabhas were continued to be so over the nature of Sikhism as well over the method of reform in the Sikh society. The differences were open and the ideological controversies were as much inter-Sabha as intra-Sabha. The conflict crystalized itself along two lines by 1886 AD, and expressed itself through what had been called by the contemporary press as 'the Amritsar Party' and 'the Lahore Party' which did not necessarily mean Amritsar Singh Sabha or Amritsar Khalsa Diwan, and Lahore Singh Sabha or Lahore Khalsa Diwan respectively.

The Amritsar Party' believed that Sikhism was a religious creed open to all men including the followers of other religions. Consequently, there was no question of Sikhs being protected by a management committee which was not ineffective but also the one over which the Khalsa had influence because it was dominated by the district administration. Even the Guru ka khazana was being used immortal purpose such as drinking wine and gambling by the mahanta who did not submit their account to the managing body. The Sikh Chiefs were immoral and unaware of their own religious heritage. One of them the chief of Kapurthala had rejected Sikhism in favor of Christianity. The Chief of Patiala was virtually a puppet in the hands of his Muslim and Hindu courtiers. The Sikhs living in the Sikh states were more oppressed than those living in the British territories. The former could not raise their voice against the injustice inflicted upon them by their own chiefs. Unlike the situation in Sikh states, the Sikhs in the British territories enjoyed the right to express their opinion on any matter pertaining to them. Due to it, the British regime was better than the Sikh rule, and on thievery account it deserved the loyalty of the Sikhs¹⁸.

Thus, there were two broad streams of thought within the ideology of Singh Sabha. The one represented by the Amritsar Party' stood for the status quo and for this, it interpreted Sikh tradition as non-political and in egalitarian system of beliefs having only a moral and personal value for the individual who followed it. This view served the interests of the ruling classes, both the Sikh feudal lords and their British mentors. By denying any political and social role to the Sikh masses, it tried to reconcile them to the political loss they suffered by the British occupation of the Punjab. By rejecting the Khalsa ideal of equality, the aristocracy sought to justify the social divisions among the Sikhs at the top of which it itself was placed.

¹⁸ *The oriental college Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1937,p.7.

But the view was remarkably secular in the sense that it was extremely non-sectarian treating religion as a universal creed and a personal matter.

The second stream or 'the Lahore Party' represented a religious view which was extremely political progressive to the extent that it rejected caste system stood for the Khalsa brotherhood based upon human quality and independence. But it was sectarian and contradictory well. It preached loyalty to the British, but also attacked at the same time, the Sikh Church and Sikh states, the pillars of British support among the Sikhs. It asserted the sovereignty of the Khalsa and went to the extent questioning the British regime's right to interfere with the Sikh religious institutions. Doing so, it laid bare the feel that Sikh religious ideal was in conflict with both imperialism and feudalism. It was an ideology of the less-privileged which was akin to the one first conceived by Baba Ram Singh, founder of the Namdharis. No wonder many a kukas were the members of Lahore Singh Sabha till 1887. Their leader was Diwan Buta Singh¹⁹.

Because of its conservatism as well as pro-federal and pro-British stance, the Amritsar Party' was more acceptable to the British regime. Its links with the Sikh ruling classes and its influence with the priests of the Golden Temple showed to the government that it could be more effective in keeping the Sikhs on the British side. These links with the government and the Sikhs Chiefs proved very helpful for the Amritsar Singh Sabha in the Khalsa College movement during 1889-92.¹² The Sabha not only took a lead over the Lahore Sabha in collecting funds for the college but also succeeded in mobilizing Sikh support for locating it in Amritsar. During the course of this controversy over the location of the college, a number of Singh Sabhas shifted their loyalty from the Lahore Sabha to the Amritsar Sabha. The Lahore Sabha which had already split between the pro- government and anti-government factions in 1887 further suffered when the government decided that the college would be established in Amritsar and not in Lahore as demanded by it. The loss was not only organizational and financial but also the loss of prestige. 'The Lahore Party' lost the patronage of British rulers of the Punjab as well as of the Sikh ruling and rich sections. The Punjab Administration was conservative and paternalistic. Panjabi Social institutions. It worked on the British policy which initially Stressed the desirability of maintaining, wherever possible basic Punjabi social institutions. It has a view of governance and progress which was unconvincing to the British experience of rule in the rest of India, especially in relation to the British regime's role in the creation of new intellectual and cultural forces

¹⁹ J.N Das Gupta, *Bengal in the 16th Century*, Shodha Press, Meerut, 1914, p.91.

represented by the educated classes as the natural allies of the Raj. It took pride in developing the Punjab in its own way. Gradually, it acquired a ruling philosophy of its own whose underlying ideas were recognized and practiced by the British Government in India, under the name of Punjab School of Administration'.

The 'Punjab School of Administration' questioned the few liberal principles upon which the British rule in India had been working. It rejected Macaulay-Ross-Trevelyan plan co-operative modernization of the Indian society through the modern education and the intelligentsia trained in the western methods of governance. It considered Punjab to be a different case. One of the major administrative fields in which it observed this difference was education. The Punjab administration launched an educational scheme which became a harbinger of modern reformation in the region in the post 1857 period. The scheme was designed to popularize the British regime with the people of the province. The education was to involve the upper classes in organizing education, and to associate them by this way with the administration. It was a measure to integrate the aristocracy, both ruling and dethroned, with the regime and to use it for public welfare activities. Initially, the Darbars were held and the Darbaris were told about the advantages of education. They were also asked to stop inhuman social practices such as infanticide. At the same time, they were inspired to open schools.

In Lahore, the administration helped in the formation of the Anjuman-i-Punjab. The Anjuman was founded by G W Leitner, Principal of Government College, and Lahore for the purpose of diffusing useful knowledge through the Indian vernaculars. The Anjuman gave birth to the Punjab 'Oriental movement' which was an educational and literary movement supposed to work for the creation in the region of something like the Tanzimat in Turkey. The ideas underlying Tanzimat reached the Punjab Administration through Leitner who had seen the working of Tanzimat while he was in Turkey during the Crimean War." The government was also encouraged to adopt them by the example of Sayyid Ahmed Khan's successful Aligarh Movement in India itself. In Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's scheme of social reformation, education was the starting point. He was mobilizing the Muslim community for organizing education which was to be distinctly Muslim in the sense that Islam was never to be excluded from the instructions to be imparted. It was a use of religion and community for public activities which were both educational and political. Community and religion were employed

first for organizing education, and subsequently for political life²⁰. The role of the colonial state in the making of these movements can be understood with reference to its educational and cultural policy which was primarily designed to serve its interests. Initially, the reform organizations originated with the administration. The organizations began 'to rule better.

These also acted as public opinion making bodies. These were secular in the sense that their membership was open to all, Europeans as well Indians, and to Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians alike. Of the more significant official reform bodies, there were the Delhi Institute Library and Reading Room and the Anjuman-i-Punjab. Most important of the two was the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Lahore. One of the chief aims of these organizations was to encourage the leading members of every community to come forward voluntarily to participate in the administrative measures of public good. This voluntarism also marked the formation of associations such as the Punjab Brahma Samaj (1864), the sat sabha (1866), the Anjuman-i-Kasur (1870), the Amritsar Singh Sabha ((1873) .The Punjab oriental or educational movement as well as the political movement in the country as a whole added a new dimension to the voluntarism after 1877. It expressed itself through the schools, literary societies, newspapers and political associations. There were formed a number of associations which can be very broadly classified into three categories namely, the political bodies, the cultural reform organizations, the bodies for the promotion of religious, caste and linguistic interests.

Role of Movements in the Colonial Education in the Punjab

Anjuman-i-Islam at-i-Alam--Muhida, Punjab, popularly called the Anjuman-i-Punjab, was formed by GW Leitner the newly appointed Principal of the Government College Lahore in January 1865.' It was to be an educational and literary society for the diffusion of useful knowledge. However, under the presidentship of Leitner, it acquired a character embracing a variety of roles in the public life of not only the city of Lahore but also that of the entire region. It opened its branches in cities like Kasur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Hissar and Amritsar. The Anjuman had different committees to look after its work in the different spheres. Its three important committees were:

1. The library committee whose two most important achievements were (a) the establishment of a public library in Lahore, the literary revival and the creation of Punjab Book Depot to translate European Works into Indian Vernaculars.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.121.

2. The educational committee whose single most achievement was the establishment of Punjab University, and its senate which was practically a board of education for the province of Punjab.
3. The medical committee aimed at the popularization of indigenous system of medicine.

The Anjuman gave birth to two distinct but inter dependent movements, namely a literary movement for the revival and improvement of ancient and classical studies by the traditional Indian scholars trained in modern methods of criticism and imbued in the spirit of modern European civilization, and (1) Oriental Movement aimed at the establishment of an Oriental University for scheme of education providing (a) encouragement to the vernaculars of India by making them the medium of instruction for the European sciences; (b) creation of modern literature in the vernaculars through the translation of European and western works made under aegis of the University functioning in close touch with the Anjuman, and (c) a more popular indigenous character to the existing system of education (as practiced by the Calcutta University through the association of natural leaders (the chiefs, the leading zamindars, the priests and the rich merchants) with the education department by giving them representation on the management of educational institutions. It was to help in making education national'. This was because, first, there would be Indian participation in the educational enterprise; and secondly, the recognition of the worth of Indian languages, literature and the thought enshrined in them, as well as the association of the scholarly classes of India such the Pandits and the Maulvis with the task of cultural-political Gap not only between the British rulers and the Indians but also between educated Indians and their vast illiterate fellow-countrymen.²¹

On the literary side, the Anjuman started with a library of its own which was to be located in the rooms of the Sikhs Hall, Lahore Pandit Manphool and Munshi Harsukh Rai donated to the library 500 and 700 books respectively. Pandit Radha Kishan was made in charge of the Sanskrit section for the collection and preservation of a manuscript literature in Sanskrit. Similarly, an Arabic and Persian section was provided with works in these two languages. Leitner was himself a good scholar of Islamic Jurisprudence and civilization. The studies in these three classical languages got a further impetus in the year 1871-72 when the Anjuman brought out two periodicals, one each in Arabic and Sanskrit. These monthlies were named, Zamima Anjuman-i-Punjab and Risala Anjuman-i-Punjab, respectively. For

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 201.

encouragement to poetry, the Anjuman had 1 distinct branch called Anjuman-i-Mushaira. Its aim was to promote the composition and translation of poems of higher character more than these had hitherto to be favored by Orientals.

The aim of the Anjuman -Punjab were not limited only to educational and literary fields. The promotion of trade and industry in the province was also their objective. The Industrial Society a branch of the Anjuman dealt with the problems of adoption of new techniques in Industry. Moreover, the Anjuman provided a platform to all those who were interested in public activities concerning different fields varying from art and industry to politics. It became an instrument of organizing public opinion. It had a programme which included the following: The discussion of social, literary and political questions of interest, the popularization of beneficial government measures: the development of a feeling of loyalty and of a common state citizenship and the submission to government of practical proposals suggested by the wishes and wants of the people. The Anjuman's two news organs played an important role in this regard. These were the Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab Urdu weekly, and The Punjab University Intelligencer. The latter was the English organ edited by Nobin Chandra Rai. It was not a regular organ but was issued occasionally as "Supplement" to the Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab.²²

Like the Anjuman-i-Punjab, the Lahore Oriental College was the creation of G.W. Leitner. It began as a school in 1865 and was named a College in the year 1872-73 AD. It was run by the Punjab University College or the Senate. In fact, Oriental Movement' led by the Anjuman had failed to secure Oriental University for the Punjab. Instead of an Oriental University Government of India granted 'Provincial University' to be established at Lahore. The Punjab University College started in 1869 was the proto of this University. However, the Punjab Government which had an intensive interest in the making of the Oriental movement' continued to support the oriental college.

Leitner took two steps to restore the firstly falling public credibility of the Oriental College. First he restricted the admission to those whose parents were hereditary Maulvis and Pandits.' The standing of Maulvis and Pandits with the people was expected to add to the prestige of the college. As the chief aim of the college was to produce new press supposed to be good benchers and reformers in the wider sense of world so the step was to facilitate this process too. Secondly, he started a 'Panjabi class' in the college during the Session 1877-78.

²² K.P. Karunakaran, *Religion and Political Awakening in India*, Jhansi Publishers, Meerut, 1982, P.210.

There Panjabi was taught through Gurmukhi characters. It was also a class where Guru Granth was taught. It was done in spite of the opposition is the education authorities. However, this opposition was soon got neutralized interestingly, the man who performed the task was L.H. Griffin. Significantly the 'Panjabi class' was even officially called as 'Bhai Class'. During 1878-79, there were total 17 boys in this class. Out of them, 9 were 'sons of granthis, mahants and practicing pandits.' The class was obviously created to fulfill the Singh Sabha demand for the upliftment of Panjabi. It was maintained for the purpose of training Sikh priest.²³

Aligarh Movement

Sayyid Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement which originated with the formation of Scientific Society Ghazipur in July 1861 AD did not share some of the fundamental itideas of Punjab education movement. To understand this it is important to keep in mind three things: first, the ideas "Oriental education in respect to the use of vernacular the medium of instruction owed its practice to the NW Provinces and more specifically speaking to Delhi. The vernacular in this context was Urdu. Although Urdu had a important place on the education scheme in the N.W .Provinces, and the development of this language was also a concern of the Muslim reformers, yet the pre-Mutiny 'Dello Renaissance' was not averse to English Education including the study of, and through English language. The significance of English Language was on the increase as its knowledge fetched Government jobs. Aware of its economic and political importance, even the Muslim reformers like Azis Ahmed were not averse to its study by their followers. Sayyid Ahmed Khan was even more appreciative of European knowledge and English language.

Secondly, the educational and reform activities of Sayyid Ahmed Khan were not taking place in isolation from Punjab. It was because Delhi where he was active had been placed under the Punjab in 1859. Its officials were aware of Sayyid Ahmed Khan's programme. For example, Pandit Manphool.

Thirdly, the organizers of the Aligarh Movement were themselves planning to pen an educational institution in the N.W. Provinces. They had raised a demand for it by asking the Government of India to establish a university in N.W. provinces. The demand was parallel to the one made by the Anjuman-i-Punjab. The government of N.W Provinces was leading in

²³ K.P. Karunakaran, *Religion and Political Awakening in India*, Jhansi Publishers, Meerut, 1982, P.212.

the same way as the Punjab administration was organizing Punjab university movement' facing the rival claims of N.W. Provinces and the Punjab, the government of India too was not averse to pen a university for 'Northern India' located possibly in Delhi, a central place to both Punjab and N.W. Provinces. It was opposed by the Punjab. On this account, the Aligarh Movement considered Leitner's Anjuman-i-Punjab as its 'rival' organization.²⁴

However, it does not mean that there were no educational differences between the two movements. In fact, the Aligarh Movement had a different approach towards the educational question. It welcomed the idea of Lahore University and its establishment for giving education through the vernacular but it differed with the promoters of the Punjab scheme on the content of education to be imparted, Aligarh movement was firmly committed to western liberal education, though imparted possibly through Urdu. Sayyid Ahmed Khan had no reverence for the Oriental or indigenous knowledge as it was the case with G.W. Leitner. It was because of this very fact, Sayyid Ahmed Khan led British Indian Association. In the 1870's, Sayyid Ahmed Khan demanded the establishment of M.A. Oriental College Aligarh. Initiative for this enterprise came from the British Government. Sayyid Ahmed's visit to England in 1869 proved decisive in regard. It convinced him of the cultural superiority of British and he sought their help to regenerate his community through modern education. The British regime too him a good ally. About this visit and its future significance Muhammad Sadiq writes:" There is no denying his great ability, courage, and foresight, but at the same time it is fair to recognize that his extraordinary success was in part due to his friendly co-operation with the Government. In the respect it is not at all fanciful to surmise that the distinguished treatment accorded to him in England in part directed by political consideration, namely to be friend and strengthen the Muslims as a counterweight against middle-class Hindus.

Sayyid Ahmed returned from England as an 'Anglicist' believing that the ruled could not progress without learning that language and manners of the rulers. This understanding made English language, western knowledge and English manner significant in the eyes of the supporters of the Aligarh movement. Working on this theory, Sayyid Ahmed never attached the vernacular (Urdu) as well as the Indigenous education more significance than English education in the double sense, education through English and education in Western British knowledge. Unlike Leitner, he had reverence for indigenous system of education, Asian languages and the thoughts enshrining them Also, Sayyid Ahmed looked upon

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.222.

(Western) education a panacea for the problems of Indians, especially the Muslims. It was this notion which led him to oppose Punjab Government's education policy. He condemned the abolition of Delhi College in 1877 and exhorted the Delhi people to organize their education themselves instead of looking the Punjab Government.²⁵

However, it was during 1880-61, that Sayyid Ahmed most heavily against the Punjab education policy and its main spokesman, Leitner. He criticized them through his Aligarh Institute Gazette that was prescribed by the Panjabi Schools and Colleges. This criticism came in the wake of Lord Ripon's visit to Lahore on 11 and 12 November, 1880 when the Viceroy promised to raise the Punjab University College to a University committed to, unlike the other universities in India, Indian traditions of knowledge especially its religious-philosophical nature. Ripon's predecessor, Lord Lytton had also defined the object of education as social conservation rather than social change. Reacting sharply to Ripon's Lahore speech, The Aligarh Institute Gazette wrote: The natives have undoubtedly obtained great benefit from the spread of high English education. But it is to be deeply regretted that the Government has lately shown an inclination to adopt a retrogressive policy which is calculated to check it. We read with concern Lord Lytton's speeches which he delivered at some places in the Punjab and in which he showed that he was inclined in favor of the promotions of oriental studies. We have been with the same feel the address which was lately presented by the Senate of Punjab University to Lord Ripon. There is a wild clamor in the Punjab for the advancement of oriental learning. The Gazette further said that Indian classical literature and sciences were backward in comparison to the sources of modern European knowledge. Hence, Indian vernaculars could in no way be the medium or higher western knowledge. The technique of bringing this knowledge by way of translations within the reach of common man was also not very appropriate. It was so because the work of translation could not keep pace with the rapidly expanding knowledge particularly in the field of science. The Gazette wrote, The fact of the matter is that the regeneration of India depends entirely upon the spread of English education among the native.

This attack upon the Punjab scheme provoked the Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab to react in defense of the scheme. On December 10, 1880, The Akhbar wrote that a nation in the world has risen to greatness without cultivating and improving its own language and literature. The Punjab University was not only to revive the dead Eastern Sciences but was also to improve them in the light of western experience and discoveries. The history of

²⁵ *The Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab*, Report on the Native Newspapers, Punjab, 1880, p12.

Lahore College showed that "it has done more towards the spread of English education in the Punjab than towards that of Oriental Learning. The Akhbar was one with the Viceroy "in thinking that no education is perfect without a religious education. The Akhbar's opinion lithe government should patronage only those men who distinguish themselves both in Eastern and Western Science and adhere to their religion and not the so-called votaries of Western Science who are free thinkers and whose conduct is calculated to promote disaffection towards the Government on December 18, the Aligarh Institute Gazette shot-back by saying that the Punjab was wrong in thinking that the province was doing something new and unheard before. Something similar to Punjab education was attempted at Calcutta and Delhi before 1857well as by the Aligarh Scientific Society in the NW Provinces. "The Directors of Public Instruction in both Bengal, and NW Provinces were aware of this philosophy The underlying ideas of this scheme were not in the interest of the progress of the Indian People. The Gazette says: True, every nation in Europe has attained to greatness by the improvement of its own literature and science, but our case is quite different from that of the European nations.

There is a nation rule in every country in Europe, but we are subject to a foreign nation whose language is different from us. We never heard of any nation, subject to another nation acquiring honour wealth and power by the cultivation of its own language and literature. It would be as absurd for the natives to expect to improve their condition by the revival of their sciences as for the aborigines of America by the improvement of their science, whatever that science may be. National progress and national greatness are as it were two sisters ... The revival of oriental literature and science is calculated to check rather than further our progress. The secret object of the advocates of the Oriental system is that we should always remain in our present state Gazette was in agreement with Sir Alexander Arbuthrot in thinking that the Punjab had not only revived the old controversy between the Orientalists and Occidentalists but it had also added a new dimension to it. Through this new dimension, the western education was being seen as fostering 'political discontent and it was being opposed on that very ground. A few months later, the Gazette published a report by Sayyid Ahmed Khan upon the proceedings of the Northbrook Indian Society and club held on August 5, 1881 AD, in London, The Society feared that the Punjab University would be an institution of Oriental classics and deprive the people of high education in English literature and European science. On this account, the Society noted that, "High Education in the Punjab

is doomed.²⁶" Fortunately for the Punjab, the format legislative incorporation of the University happened to be undertaken in the time of a liberal viceroy like Lord Lytton and an equally liberal Lieutenant Governor like Sir Charles Aitchison and the Punjab was saved from what would have been nothing short of disaster to the educational progress of the province. These were those good old days when the present ill feeling between the Hindus and Mohammedans had not yet started and when no less a person than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan considered it an honor to speak under the auspices of the Indian Association calling the Hindus and Mohammedans the two pupils of his eyes.

Brahmo Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj opened its branch in Lahore in 1863 although the Brahmos tried to run their branches in the other cities of Punjab, yet they could succeed nowhere except Shimla. In fact, the Brahmo movement came to this region with the Bengalis, and it remained confined to the Bengali community. The strength of the Brahmos largely depended upon the strength of the Bengalis in the region. Their Lahore Branch owed its relative success to a comparatively large Bengali concentration in that city where they had come either as petty-Government officials or missionaries accompanying the British administration. But this very fact of their being related by their profession to Government and Church helped them in becoming the vanguard of public life in Lahore." Eminent among them were Babu Praful Chandra Chatterjee, Kali Prasanna Roy, Joginder Chander Bose and Novin or Nabin Chandra Roy. First three were on the Lahore Bar.²⁷

The most prominent of the Lahore Brahmos was Novin Chandra Roy who came to Lahore in 1869 AD to join as the Deputy-Superintendent of Oriental College, and Deputy Registrar of the Punjab University College. He was also the President of the Brahmo Samaj, Lahore and an active member of the Anjuman-i-Punjab. As a member of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, he assisted Pandit Radhakrishnan, in charge of Sanskrit committee, in reviving Sanskrit learning in the region. However, his position as a social reformer was soon challenged by the Hindu orthodoxy led by Pandit Sharda Ram philouri.

The association of the Brahmos with the Arya Samaj was far from being sudden. It had begun in 1873 AD when advice of Brahmo leaders of Bengal like Keshab Chandra Swami Dayanand visited Calcutta. In fact, it was on the advice of Brahmo leaders like

²⁶ *Supplement of the Lahore Gazette*, Lahore, 16th April, 1879.

²⁷ David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, Muslim Solidarity in British India, p.206.

Keshab Chandra Sen and Devendra Nath Tagore that the Swami had adopted Hindi for his work. This association continued and Novin Chandra Roy met Dayanand during the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in January 1877 AD. He invited Dayanand to visit Lahore. In Lahore, the Brahmos were the first to play host to the Swami and to project him as the restorer of greatness to Indian civilization.

The Lahore Singh Sabha came into existence on November 12, 1879 AD, against a historical background of the introduction of Gurmukhi Punjabi at the oriental college during the session of 1877-78 AD as well as the heightened educational controversy over the issue of the Punjab University during 1877-1879 AD²⁸.

The development of Panjabi had acquired some urgency for the rich administration in the wake of the rise of Namdhari movement among the Sikhs of Punjab in the 1860's. Feeling the necessity of better knowing the Sikh tradition that it could be able to handle the community rights the Government had hired the services of Ernest Trumpp to make available the Sikh scriptures in English. During the course of translation work, Trumpp found the Sikhs hopelessly ignorant of their tradition. Certain India advisors of the Government, who were especially consulted in connection with Trumpp's mission, to know as to from which part of the Sikh literature, Ram Singh, the Namdhari had derived his anti-establishment ideology, suggested that the Kuka creed was something new and unheard before even by the Sikhs." The Sikhs and non-Sikhs, including a few Muslims were following the Kukas out of ignorance. This ignorance had thus, a political aspect and Trumpp had proposed a remedy to overcome this ignorance. The remedy was that Panjabi in the Gurmukhi should be developed as the national language of Punjab. In 1873 AD there was formed the Singh Sabha, Amritsar, with one of its objectives as the upliftment of Panjabi'. Leitner introduced Panjabi at the Oriental College in 1877-78 AD. Doing so, he implemented the Singh Sabha's programme of cultivating Panjabi among the Sikhs so that they could be made aware of their religious beliefs. Working on the educational theory of Leitner, the Singh Sabha Lahore opened a Gurmukhi School in 1880 AD in Lahore. It was the beginning of denominational education among the Sikhs. It was based upon the notion that education should be such that it could be helpful in preserving Sikhism and highlighting its distinct identity²⁹.

²⁸ *Supplement to Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 16th April 1879.

²⁹ G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in Punjab*, Guru Kirpa press, Patiala, 1971, p.201.

CHAPTER-4

CONTRIBUTION OF MOVEMENTS TO PRESERVE THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION OF PUNJAB

Let us begin with an old and somewhat banal question and see if we have any new answers: it may enable us to situate the subject of vernacular histories in a new perspective. The question is: was there history writing in India before the British colonial intervention? The old answer to this question, carried over from British colonial times, is 'no'. Other than the much cited but little read Rajatarangini Kalhana's twelfth-century chronicle of Kashmir kings-there is no text in Sanskrit that resembles what we take to be a historical narrative. What is called itihasa, of which the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the great texts, is largely indistinguishable from mythology because, even if it contains a kernel of narratives about historical events and characters, the conventions of reading those texts do not allow us to tell the historical from the mythological. Indeed, in the Sanskrit literary tradition, the itihasa is virtually indistinguishable from the purana which is the usual name given to the large body of mythological literature. The other genre for recording the past in Sanskrit is the vamsavali, which is the collective name for genealogical chronicles of ruling dynasties and families of distinction. Closely related to the vamsavali is another genre called caritra, which consists of hagiographical life histories of kings or saintly religious figures. These, even when they speak of relatively recent periods, cross over oneself-consciously between mythic and historical time, make no appeal to rules of narrating evidence or procedures of verification of sources, do not care to distinguish between the legendary and the historical, and do not feel bound by the requirements of rational causation. These genres of Greek, the past did percolate, over the past thousand years or so, into the various regional languages of India. But, unlike the genres Latin, and Chinese literature, they did not offer a 'classical' tradition of what could be properly called historiography.¹

The methods of proper historical writing came to India, according to this old answer to the question, in the form of the court chronicles of the Islamic rulers of the country. From the days of the Delhi Sultanate, these were written in Persian and followed the conventions of history writing established in the Turko-Afghan and Iranian political traditions. The writing practices of their authors, acknowledging a common classical source in the Greek tradition and sharing a more recent history of political encounters during the Crusades, were much

¹ Nazir Anand, *Lecture on Mussalmanon Ki Halat-i-Talam*, Ganga Publication, Agra, 1980, p.32.

closer to European conventions of history writing. But these Persian histories of India, even though they comprised the overwhelming part of the history of India as told by its own historians', were-or so it was argued a foreign implant, made necessary by the political technologies of foreign conquerors and framed by the ethical principles of an Islamic, i.e. foreign', political tradition. These Persian chronicles remained confined to the military and administrative activities of sultans and their officials, and did not strike roots in the indigenous, local, and vernacular traditions of retelling the past.

Does more recent scholarship suggest any new answers to this old question? First, the characterization of Indo-Persian historiography as 'foreign and disconnected with later practices of history writing in the regional languages of India has been thoroughly criticized and rejected. Persian histories of India did undoubtedly derive their conventions from Arabic, Persian, and Turkish histories, and thus brought into India many historiographical practices hitherto unknown in the country. But, in writing their Indian histories, Indo-Persian chroniclers developed their own body of practices, giving birth to a tradition of their own. A major consideration here, as Muzaffar Alam has argued, was the twofold narratological requirement of upholding the normative authority of Islamic principles of government while, at the same time, theorizing a ruling order in which the bulk of the subjects of the sultan were non-Muslim. This necessarily meant that 'theory, orthodoxy and fundamentalist positions' had to be questioned, and political doctrines inherited from the dogmatic traditions of Islam modified. The result was a body of historical writing and scholarship which, though written in Persian, was distinctly Indian in its practices and sensibilities. It had its own canonical texts that, by the seventeenth century, were part of the required reading of all princes, bureaucrats, and persons of refined courtly culture in northern as well as southern India.² C.A. Bayly has located the practices of Indo-Muslim history writing in the eighteenth century within what he calls an Indian ecumenism', characterized by a distinct information order and an indigenous public sphere. He identifies a series of people, from official letter-writers and spies to scholar-bureaucrats, who participated in this information order and processed the material that went into the production of numerous Indo-Persian histories written in the eighteenth century. Bayly also notes the emergence of certain distinctly modern concerns in these histories, which appear to come from entirely indigenous sources and not from the promptings of a colonial education. Thus, a historian like Ali Ibrahim Khan, who wrote about political events between 1757 and 1780 AD, was, Bayly says, an unacknowledged founder of

² Jagnath Shankar, *Urges Education in Indian Language*, Fatima Publication, Meerut, 1999, p.12

a consciously modern Indian history. Bayly's work has been influential in demolishing prejudices against the existence of history in pre-colonial India. However, notions such as 'ecumenism' and 'information order' lack theoretical clarity and analytic power, while the attribution of a Habermasian public sphere to the literary world of eighteenth-century northern India is too quick. Given the absence of meaningful conceptual distinctions, Bayly's slide from the pre-colonial to the era of colonial modernity in the nineteenth century seems far too smooth and unproblematic. The elision is fatal for our understanding of the domain of the vernacular under conditions of colonial and post-colonial modernity. Pursuing the question of the emergence of new literary forms in India in the period of early modernity, V. Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam have also explored the field of history writing. They question the facile but common assumption that there was no history writing in India before the colonial encounter.³

They suggest that by employing more careful and appropriate techniques of reading, we would be able to identify distinctly historical narratives factual, bound by secular causal explanations, informed by an awareness of the credibility of sources, and largely having to do with the life of the state. Such narratives, they argue, are embedded within non-historical literary genres, such as poems, ballads, and works within the larger itihasa-purana tradition, but are marked by discursive signs that cause them to be recognized as historical narratives by the community of readers or listeners. They also argue that, from the sixteenth century in southern India, a distinct group of literati, whom they broadly label the *karanam*, produced these distinctly new historical narratives in the languages of southern India as well as in Sanskrit and Persian. If history is to be identified as a particularly receptive vehicle of the modern, then the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam argument is that it had already appeared, at least quite certainly in the southern Indian languages, well before British rule was established.

Elsewhere, in northern India, the 'men of the pen', known as *munshis*, produced a form of history that, even when written in Persian, was decidedly vernacular rather than classical in style and sensibility, and which would trickle later in the nineteenth century into various written forms of Hindustani, including Rajasthani. Further, in the Maratha territories of western India, a distinct genre called the *bakhar* emerged, which recorded the history of a lineage, or of a family of property or political distinction, or of a significant event. Extensively described and analyzed by Prachi Deshpande, these Marathi prose texts are

³ *Ibid*, p.5.

indubitably historical in their aspirations to factuality, secular causation, and political rationality. Rao Shulman-Subrahmanyam close their book with the remarkable example of the Dupati kaifiyatu, a Telugu text by an anonymous karanam author of the early nineteenth century. It is a text that appears to pass every test of modern historical writing, and yet it was produced within a tradition outside the disciplinary grid of colonial education.⁴

The common assumption is that the first historical narratives in Bengali were produced under the auspices of Fort William College in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The discursive antecedents of these prose narratives have not yet been adequately investigated. It is noteworthy that the first-Rajabali by Mrityunjay Vidyalkar has the form of a vamsavali, while the other two, by Ramram Basu and Rajiblochan Mukhopadhyay, are called *caritra*. But the influence of Persian historiography on these texts has not been studied closely. It is improbable that these three texts were suddenly conjured out of thin air at the beckoning of the missionary William Carey, which is what the standard histories of Bengali literature would have us believe.

If we follow the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis, we do not find any historical narrative embedded within the most well-known literary work in Bengali of the early eighteenth century-the Annadamangal by Bharatchandra Ray. Bharatchandra would have perfectly fitted their description of the karanam: he was a revenue of fiscal rising to the position of court poet to the Brahmin zamindar of Nadia a man who was to play a significant role in the power politics of Bengal in the period leading up to the battle of Palashi. Annadamangal describes the rise to fortune of Bhabananda Majumdar, the founder of the Nadia dynasty, by virtue of the benevolence showered on him by the goddess Annapurna. There are passages in the poem dealing with real historical events, such as the battle between the Mughal general Man Singh and the rebel zamindar Pratapaditya of Jessore, in which Bhabananda ingratiates himself with Man Singh by supplying his troops-bogged down by the Bengal monsoon-with food and provisions. Man Singh takes Bhabananda to Delhi to seek an audience with the emperor Jahangir and plead for a zamindari. Jahangir launches into a stock diatribe against infidel Brahmins who have no religion and who try to scare people by talking about the miraculous powers of their false gods and goddesses. That night, the goddess Annapurna lets loose her army of demons and ghosts in the city of Delhi. The inhabitants are terrified, and the emperor himself is driven mad with fright. Subdued at last, Jahangir bows

⁴ J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society*, California Press, New Delhi, 1968, p.23

before the goddess, seeks her forgiveness, and bestows the zamindari of Nadia on Bhabananda.⁵

It is worth investigating if the notion of power in the so-called man gal kavya literature of Bengal reveals a certain amoral realism, since the gods and goddesses themselves seem to respond most favorably to flattery and calculations of self-interest. Yet there is little of the historical narrative suggested by the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis in the last great mangal kavya of Bengal. There are however other historical narratives from the eighteenth century worth considering, which are far less acclaimed for their literary merit. The best known is the *Maharashta puran* by Gangaram (the 1751 manuscript preserved in the Calcutta University collections apparently misspells it *Maharashtra*). Gangaram too fits the category of *karanam* since he appears to have been a *Kayastha* of *Kishoreganj* who worked as an officer in an East Bengal zamindari and, having been sent to *Murshidabad* on official business, became caught up in the tumultuous political events of Bengal in the 1740s. The text is in verse but describes in graphic and realistic detail the Maratha raids on Bengal led by *Bhaskar Pant* (known in Bengal as *Bhaskar Pandit*), and the ultimate defeat of the Maratha forces at the hands of *Ali Vardi Khan*. Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam note this text as a remarkable piece of factual history placed within an ostensibly puranic frame, but in which human actions turn out to be entirely autonomous, independent of that frame. The dominant rhetorical mode is irony: there are no heroes in the story and the moral order is not restored at the end.

It has sometimes been said that the *Maharashta-puran* is an exceptional text in eighteenth-century Bengal. But *Ahmed Sharif*, in his magisterial history of Bengali literature, mentions several other texts of this kind: the *Pathan prasamsa* (1767) and *Jorwarsimha prasasti* (date unknown) by *Nawazish Khan*, the famous author of *Gulebaka wali*; the *De Barros prasasti* (probably 1770s) by *Etim Kasem*; all the way down to a verse account of the *Kuki raids on Feni (Noakhali)* in 1869. However, this is little more than a somewhat detailed catalogue of manuscripts-it awaits proper analysis. That leads us to the conclusion that the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis about pre-colonial historical narrative in the Indian vernaculars cannot be taken as a general presumption: its applicability must be tested for each language region.⁶

⁵ *Ibid*,p.25

⁶ C.F.Andrew, *The Rise and Growth of Congress in India*, Meenakshi Parkashan, Meerut,1967,p.89

However, the question of traditions of history writing in eastern India is complicated by the presence of a distinctly north-eastern genre called the buranji. The tradition is little discussed in mainstream Indian historiography. Yet it is present not only in Assam, where it has become a central source for the writing of the history of pre-colonial Assam, but also represents a significant body of written chronicles of ruling houses in the supposedly peripheral regions of Koch Bihar, Cachar, Sylhet, Manipur, and Tripura. Yasmin Saikia has shown the difficulties in claiming any kind of unmediated access to the so-called Tai-Ahom buranji tradition without dealing with the interventions of British colonial officials and Assamese nationalist historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But the claim is that the buranji chronicles began to be recorded from the thirteenth century in the Tai Ahom language as the history of Ahom rulers who came from Yunnan and Upper Burma. Although, as Saikia points out, the earliest extant buranji manuscripts come only from the late seventeenth century and seem to be the work of Brahmin writers, there is nevertheless a strong case to be made that this eastern Indian historiographical genre should be identified as a distinct pre-colonial tradition, different from the Sanskrit vamsavali as well as the Indo-Persian chronicle traditions. This is a topic to which we will return shortly.

To better deal with the problem of pre-colonial vernacular historical traditions and what happens to them under conditions of modernity, it is useful to make a conceptual distinction between the early modern and the colonial modern in South Asia. The early modern is not necessarily a period' with specific dates marking its beginning and end. It is preferable to use the term to characterize elements of thought or practice that have been identified as belonging to early modern historical formations in other regions of the world, thus providing, at least potentially, a comparative dimension with other modern histories. These early modern elements could appear in the South Asian historical evidence at any time from the fifteenth century to the present (assuming that the historical trajectory of postcolonial modernity is still incomplete). They may be found in diverse regions of South Asia, as innovative elements within traditional literary and cultural disciplines that question previously held beliefs and practices, or that recognize their passing because of the unstoppable sway of the new, or that represent novel ways of comprehending or coping with the unfamiliar. They may arise at different social strata-among elite groups or among popular classes such as artisans and peasants⁷.

⁷ A. Appardorai, *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1978, p.34

The crucial historical point would be to distinguish such elements of the early modern from the recognizable components of the colonial modern. The latter might be dated from roughly the 1830s, achieving its fully developed form in the historical period of the British Raj in the second half of the nineteenth century⁸. It is in this period that the Indian economy acquires the form of a characteristically colonial economy. Politically, the British power is established as paramount all over the subcontinent a violent process of warfare, conquest, suppression of rebellions, and unequal treaties-with associated consequences in terms of the symbols and practices of sovereignty and law, which bring about a profound transformation in the character of government and politics. Intellectually, the institutions of colonial education spread as the breeding ground of new cultural styles and movements that create the Indian middle classes and shape an entire range of nationalist responses to colonial rule. The colonial modern has a recognized shape as a formation and a period in South Asian history. It also exerts full weight of its dominance over all discussions of South Asian modernity after the middle of the nineteenth century. However, even if we accept the distinction between the early modern and the colonial modern, that would still leave the earlier period of British rule, from the middle of the eighteenth century to the 1820s or so, open to reinterpretation. This reinterpretation was partially achieved by revisionist histories in the now well-known debates of the 1980s and 1990s about India in the eighteenth century. These histories contested the old idea of the eighteenth century being a century of decline. But there is now a further possibility of exploring this period for historical possibilities of transition not teleological predator mined by the ascendancy of the colonial modern. This could mean early modern elements that were simply erased and lost forever. But, more interestingly, it could mean early modern tendencies that, despite being suppressed or devalued by the rise of the colonial modern, continued to live a peripheral or subterranean life in the domain of the vernacular. However, there is no point in gesturing towards such elements of the vernacular early modern in the abstract: to assess the usefulness of the concept, we need to identify and evaluate specific cases⁹.

Socio-Religious Movements

Ram Mohan Roy was the first fruit of the new plant which grew as a result of the dissemination of Western culture in the Indian soil. His approach in religious matters was largely intellectual. The Society (Brahmo Samaj) which he organized was based upon his

⁸ *Ibid*, p.36
⁹ *Ibid*, p.39

severely rational attitude. Again, his discovery and exaltation of the principle of monotheism was the outcome of an individual mind which had the courage to defy the contemporary beliefs of the Hindu community. Thus his Brahmanism could only attract minds of an intellectual cast, His deistic theology, rational ethics, liberal attitude in social, economic and political matters, thorough-going repudiation of medievalism in thought and practice, and differentiation between secular and religious concerns was strong meat not easy to digest¹⁰. In its practical aspects, Brahma worship consisted in congregational study, contemplation and meditation without the colorful appurtenances usual in the ritual and ceremonial of churches for holding the attention of the worshippers. In the dry and rarefied atmosphere of its hall of prayer, it was not easy for the puritanical faith to flourish.

The death of Ram Mohan Roy was followed by a decade of inaction and regression. Then, in 1843, Debendranath Tagore, (son of Dwarkanath Tagore, the saintly collaborator of Ram Mohan Roy) was initiated into the Samaj. He undertook the reorganization of the Samaj. He opened a school known as the Tattvabodhini Pathshala to train Brahma missionaries, established the Tattvabodhini Sabha for philosophical and religious discussions, and started the Tattvabodhini Patrika, under the editorship of A. K. Dutt, to propagate Brahmoism. He drew up the rules of membership and regulated the appointment of the ministers. A Brahma Covenant, consisting of vows for the members enjoining love and worship of one God and performance of deeds loved by Him, was drawn up and a liturgy of theistic prayer and adoration was introduced; a treatise on religion based on Hindu texts (Brahma Dharma) and a prayer book were compiled. The Samaj, thus rejuvenated, made much progress. Its missionaries visited different parts of India and established its branches from the Punjab to East Bengal¹¹. Thus from 1843 to 1857, there was much progress in the religious movement started by Ram Mohan Roy. Then, in 1857, Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Samaj and threw himself with all the fervor of his ardent nature into its work. By this time, Brahmoism had travelled far from its original stand. The intellectualism and individualism of Ram Mohan Roy had not been abandoned, but other sectors of the mind and ranges of human experience which he had neglected, were brought to the fore and his religion was humanized. The ideas of prayer and communion with God, of consecration of life, of loving devotion to God and service of man according to His will, and of search for His light, inspiration and blessing, became parts of the faith and imparted to it the emotional content which it had lacked.

¹⁰ Annie Besant, *India A Nation*, Oxford Press, New Delhi, 1990, p.56

¹¹ Anil Chandra, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Mukhrjee Depot, Jaipur, 1980, p.10

However, the spirit of enquiry, reform and change once roused, could not remain satisfied with the Covenant and the doctrines of Debendranath. He had started with the dogma of the infallibility of the Vedas, but soon discovered its unsoundness and fell back on the rationalism of Ram Mohan Roy. Nature and intuition remained the two sources of religious knowledge. Debendranath rejected not only the belief in the divinity of the Vedas, but also in the Hindu doctrines of Karma and transmigration. The basis of Brahmanism henceforth would rest on "the human heart illumined by spiritual knowledge born of self-realization." But so keen was his sense of national dignity that throughout his life Debendranath persistently refused to receive any favors from the British Government or even to enter into any manner of association with the representatives of the alien authority in his country. In the words of Raj Narayan Bose: "Debendra Babu is usually unwilling to be acquainted with the Europeans because he cannot agree with them on the Indian affairs. It is easy to get recognition in England and India by endorsing their views, but Debendra Babu is not anxious to get the recognition from the British. The Principal of the Krishnanagar College, Mr. Lobb, once wrote: "The proud old man does not condescend to accept the praise of Europeans."

On the other hand, Keshab Chandra Sen's ebullient mind eagerly sought to explore new ideas and to undertake fresh experiments, so that he soon found himself unable to remain within the fold of Hinduism. In 1860, he founded the Sangat Sabha (the Friendly Association), where enquiries were held into the validity of the Hindu rites like the 'Durga Puja,' and the Hindu institutions like the caste. It was decided to discontinue their observance. In 1861, the Calcutta College was established to impart English education, and the Indian Mirror was started to give publicity to the activities of the mission¹².

In 1864, Keshab Chandra undertook a tour of India-the first important attempt in modern India to bring about ideological unity in India. As a result of his mission, the Veda Samaj was established in Madras and the Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra. Meanwhile, Keshab's radicalism was pushing the Samaj so fast that soon a clash occurred between him and Debendranath on questions relating to Hindu customs and Hindu religious attitudes. It led, in 1865, to Keshab's withdrawal from the parent body and the establishment of a new association. The objects of this association were to admit all the Brahmas of India, men and women, in one body, and to establish the principles of Brahmo religion on a universal basis, gleaned from the teachings of all religions. Significantly, it chose for itself the name of

¹² *Ibid*, p.12

'Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj,' that is, the Brahmo Samaj of India. Debendranath's society came to be known as the 'Adi Brahmo Samaj,' or the 'Original Brahmo Samaj.'

The first schism in the Samaj was followed by a second a few years later. From the commencement, the new Samaj was under the complete spell of Keshab Chandra, whose enthusiasm and genius attracted the youth of Bengal. But his was a restless spirit. In 1870, he visited England and returned with redoubled enthusiasm for social reform and social welfare work.. In 1872, he persuaded the Government to place on the statute book the Brahmo Marriage Act, which legalized the form of marriage according to Brahmo rites. This constituted a distinct break with Hinduism, In the meantime, Keshab had been developing new ideas. On the one hand he was greatly attracted by Christianity; on the other, he was gripped by the devotional practices of the Vaishna rites. The concept of Avatara-God incarnating Himself as man, in both these religions, led him to add revelation as a source of religion, besides nature and intuition. He began also to give more and more time to prayer, adoration of God and Kirtana. The feeling that he was an especially inspired messenger of God gradually took possession of his mind. Keshab, who had ruled the Samaj as an authoritarian patriarch, now began to speak of his deeds as God-inspired. This aroused opposition among a section of his followers. In 1878, the marriage of his daughter to the young Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar when both the bride and the bridegroom were under-age, in accordance with Hindu rites and in violation of the Brahmo Marriage Act of 1872, infuriated his opponents, and they seceded from the Samaj in a body¹³. The secessionists formed a new organization under the name of 'Sadharana Brahmo Samaj,' whose membership was open to only those who completely refrained from idolatrous practices, repudiated the caste system, supported the emancipation of women, followed Brahmo rites in all domestic ceremonies, and adhered to the new creed formulated by the society. The young Brahmos who founded the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj took a prominent part in political movements. Under Sibnath Sastri's leadership, they "proclaimed their faith in independence, forswore service under the alien Government, but promised to work in a peaceful way in view of the circumstances of the country." They also worked for the universal liberation of all peoples "under the banner of democratic republicanism." Surendra Nath Banerjea, who later rose to the position of the uncrowned king of Bengal, was the most prominent among them. For Keshab Chandra, this schism was an occasion of sore trial, but he came out of it with a fresh resolve to revitalize the Samaj with deeper spiritual intent and greater reforming zeal. He promulgated his new

¹³ Edwyn Bevan, *Indian Nationalism*, Martin Publishing House, London, 1987, p.42

mission which he called the Nava Vidhana or the 'New Dispensation'. Its most marked features were: (1) emphasis on the mystic aspect of religion; and (2) an attempt to combine Christian and Hindu ideals and practices. He organized a band of twelve disciples who were declared as God-appointed 'apostles,' and an order of men and women who were placed under strict vows¹⁴. On the one hand, he avowed that "Christ was a model man, a model Theist in so far as he attained to that high degree of communion in which the soul lost in Divinity," and looked upon him as a prophet; on the other, he came under the influence of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, from whom he learnt to regard God as Mother, the sweet and tender benefactor of man and of the whole creation. Keshab Chandra desired his 'New Dispensation' to be "the harmony of all scriptures and prophets and dispensations." It also endeavored to convert outward facts and characters into facts of consciousness, so that man might realize the objective divinity of God in his own heart, not merely as a person, but also as a character. His last years were devoted to the development of the doctrines, ritual, and organization of his new church. In the field of religion, his was the most outstanding attempt to bring about deliberately a fusion of the ideals of the Christian West with those of Hindu India.

After his death in 1884, no leader of his grand stature arose in any of the three Samajas. But Keshab's eclectic religion failed to evoke any considerable response among his educated countrymen and the Brahmo Samaj ceased to expand. In 1911, there were 183 Brahmo Samajas in India with a total membership of 5504.

Though small in numbers the Brahmo Samajists were spread all over the country. For the first time, a modern religious movement propagated by the representatives of the middle class intelligentsia had sought to unite followers all over India together. The Samaj may not have achieved striking success numerically, but its influence on the social reform movements was considerable. In rousing the sentiment of patriotism the Samaj played a prominent role.¹⁵

Bipin Chandra Pal assessed the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj in the evolution of nationalism in these words: "The Brahmo Samaj, under Keshab Chandra Sen, had proclaimed a new gospel of personal freedom and social equality, which re acted very powerfully upon the infant national consciousness and the new political life and aspirations of young Bengal... The old paralyzing sense of superiority of their political masters over them was visibly replaced by a new self-confidence in our educated countrymen."¹ Among the prominent leaders of the social reform movement was Raj Narayan Bose (1826-99), a broad-minded

¹⁴ J.H. Broomfield, *Conflict in a Plural Society*, California Press, London, 1968, p.54

¹⁵ D. B. Barve, *My Aggressive Swadeshi*, Oudh Printing Works, Lucknow, 1980, p.57

scholar who was well acquainted with Persian language and literature. He wrote *The Science of Religion* which has a unique interest for the Brahmos. "It is, in short, their theology," wrote the *Brahmo Public Opinion*. He was a bitter critic of Keshab Chandra Sen and his disciples who wanted to set him up as an incarnation of God. He laid stress on the essential identity of Brahmanism and Hinduism; only he held that in Brahmanism the Hindu faith had reached its highest development.

He founded the Society for the Promotion of National Feeling whose objects were the physical improvement of youth through Indian gymnastics, the development of Hindu music, medicine, Sanskrit language, and ancient learning through schools, and the replacement of the foreign usages, manners and language by Indian forms. In order to popularize his movement of Indianization he started the Hindu Mela, in 1867 AD, and the National Society¹⁶. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891 AD), was more an educationist than a religious reformer. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar who became a professor in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1850 AD and a year later, Principal. He served also as a Special Inspector of Schools. He resigned from Government service in 1858, but continued to advise informally the Government on educational matters.¹⁷

He accelerated the process of secularization initiated by Ram Mohan Roy by introducing the study of English in the Sanskrit College in order to promote the modern outlook. He wrote to the Council of Education: "For certain reasons... we are obliged to continue the teaching of the Vedanta and Sankhya in the Sanskrit College. That the Vedanta and Sankhya are false systems of philosophy is no more a matter of dispute. These systems, false as they are, command unbounded reverence from the Hindus. While teaching these in the Sanskrit course, we should oppose them by sound philosophy in the English course to counteract their influence." For the modernization of society in Bengal he advocated a number of social reforms. The evils which he attacked were polygamy, child marriage, and prohibition of widow remarriage. It was due to his efforts, supported by those of other influential men, that the Legislature passed the Act of 1856 legalizing the marriage of Hindu widows. In his advocacy of reform he did not reject authority, but rather relied upon the one which was most suitable for modern conditions. For this purpose he selected the *Parashar Samhita*. Unfortunately, the other social reforms in which he was interested, viz., that of

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.59

¹⁷ J. M. Brown, *Gandhi's rise to Power*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1999, p.89

polygamy and child marriage, did not succeed, in spite of his powerful support through pamphlets like *Bahu-vivaha* and *Balya-vivaher Dosh*.

Prarthana Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj was the first missionary movement in when he visited modern India and Keshab Chandra the first missionary to tour the country for propagating the new faith. Bombay in 1864 AD, the ground had already been prepared to receive his message. An educated middle class of the same type as that of Bengal had arisen in the Presidency. It was absorbing Western ideas and receiving English education. It had felt the need of religious and social reform and resented proselytization by Christian missionaries. Societies to combat the spread of Christianity were formed like the 'Paramahansa Sabha.' In 1867 AD, as a result of Keshab Chandra Sen's visit, the 'Prarthana Samaj' (Prayer Society) was established. Its main tenets were theistic and its object social reform. When such eminent men as M. G. Ranade and R. G. Bhandarkar joined the Samaj, it gained in stature and strength, and its activities expanded. A newspaper *Subodh Patrika*, was started to spread the teachings of the Society and a night school was opened to impart education to the working classes. The Samaj started missionary work in 1882. Pandita Ramabai, a talented Maratha lady, gave much help in founding the 'Arya Mahila Samaj' (Arya Women's Association). Soon a number of men of light and learning joined the society and gave a great impetus to the work of social reform and social welfare¹⁸.

The chief architect of the Samaj was Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901 AD), a man of the highest intellectual stature in the India of the nineteenth century. A brilliant student, an inspiring teacher, an upright and talented judicial officer, Ranade rose to the highest position in the judiciary of India. He had very broad interests and there was no important aspect of national life to which he did not apply his mind. But above every other matter, he devoted his energies to religious and social reform. For forty long years he was engaged with unremitting zeal in removing the evil practices and superstitious notions which had been responsible for the pitiable condition of the Indian society.

Ranade's approach to the problems of religion and society was rational, but he was not a blind follower of Western ways or an uncritical admirer of Western thought. He took pride in belonging to the Hindu faith and regarded himself a devout lover of the Bhagavata

¹⁸ Bipin Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India-Economic Policies of Indian Leadership*, Orkut Press, New Delhi, 1973, p.70

Dharma. He had freed his mind from all narrowness and from beliefs which could not be justified by reason. He condemned the isolationism and exclusiveness of the Hindus and asked them that they should embrace the whole of mankind with open arms. He exhorted them to give up asceticism and contempt of the world, to exert themselves to fulfil their duties in society, to abandon the complacency which possession engenders, and to strive for progress and development. Hinduism was the chosen faith of Ranade, but it was a Hinduism purified of the excrescences and reinterpreted in the light of modern theistic philosophy. Ranade rejected the mystic pantheistic exposition of Hindu Vedantic philosophy by Sankara and approved the theistic interpretation of Ramanuja, the Vaishnavas, and the medieval Maratha Saints. He said: "They have attained to a higher and truer conception of Theism than any of the other prevailing systems." He looked upon the 'Bhakti Movement' as truly theistic and not at all idolatrous.

He recognized that religious truth did not possess the validity of logical demonstration but of intuitional certitude, just as faith in the truths of science was based on the belief in the continuity and uniformity of natural laws and not on logical deductions. The way in which he argued in favor of Theism suggests that he had studied European philosophers on the problem, but it is doubtful if he had fully grasped the subtleties of their cosmological, teleological and ontological arguments, proofs and refutations. His views regarding theism are set out in the thirty-nine articles which he drew up under the title, A Theist's Confession of Faith. They may be summarized in a few fundamental principles as follows:

(1) God is the absolute object of worship. He is Lord, Father, Judge and moral Governor. "God is One and without a second and not many persons, not a triad, nor a duality of persons. Neither is He self-absorbed Brahma resting in the world of matter and spirit." There are no other gods besides Him and idol worship is folly. He has no incarnations, but He reveals Himself in nature, man and history creation and is real.

(2) "The universe is God's mere appearance. The existence, motion and life of matter is Religion and Social Reform: A collection of Essays and Speeches by Mahadev Govind Ranade, collected and compiled by M. B. Kolas rom God." But the problems of the origin of the world, man and of the relation between God, man, and the universe, are mysterious and insoluble.

(3) Man's nature is spiritual. His soul is not material. It is immortal. It is neither identical with God, nor an emanation of Him. The souls are many and every one of them is endowed with

powers of reasoning, willing and discriminating between right and wrong. They are free and responsible for their conduct. Man's life here is one of discipline, trial and preparation for a future state of existence. But the nature of future life is unknown. Only there can be no eternal punishment for the sins of a finite life. There is no original sin and no one is predestined to heaven or hell.¹⁹

Man's relation with God involves progressive development of man's conception of the divine and its realization. In this process prayer, communion, fellowship of good and pious men, repentance and purification are essential. Congregational worship in temples, ceremonies to solemnize the great land marks in life are helpful. But asceticism, adoration of 'Gurus,' beliefs in redeemers and miracles, are wholly unnecessary.

Above all, obedience to conscience is paramount over all considerations of expediency. The only limits to this obedience are considerations of morality and of equal rights of other men. Under the moral law, all men and all women are equal and it is the supreme duty of man to love man and love God, with devout sincerity and reverent faith. The end towards which the moral process leads man is to attain freedom from the trammels and lusts of the body²⁰. From these religious tenets followed Ranade's ideas of social reform. Since man is essentially divine and all men are equal, it is natural to conclude that human society which is the consequence of the God-implanted social instinct in man, is equally divine. Hence progress of the individual and society is moral progress, which implies the removal of those customs, institutions and modes of behavior which obstruct this progress, and deny the divine nature of man.

If Ranade was proud of the ancient Vedic religion as he understood and explained it in his speeches and writings, he was equally convinced that the superstitious practices, irrational and inhuman customs from which Hindu society suffered in modern days, were the "alienations from the old standards for which you cannot hold the old law-givers responsible. They are the work of human hands, concessions made to weakness, abuses substituted for the old healthier regulations." But he had sensed that the argument from history was susceptible of misuse by his opponents. He, therefore, placed the idea of reform on firmer grounds, and justified it by reason. He affirmed that "reform is really the work of liberation from the restraints imposed upon an essentially superior religion, law and politics, institutions and customs, by our surrender to the pressure of mere brute force for selfish advancement." In his

¹⁹ *Ibid*,p.72

²⁰ Amales Tripathi, *Freedom Struggle*, National Book Trust Barn, Oxford Press, New Delhi, p.80

address on "Revival and Reform," he stated that "it is not the outward form but the inward form, the thought and the idea which determines the outward form that has to be changed, if real reformation is desired." The root ideas which required change were isolationism, submission to outward force rather than to the voice of conscience, observation of differences between man and man based on heredity, passive acquiescence in evil or wrong-doing, and a general indifference to secular well-being, almost bordering on fatalism." Then he points out the responsibility of the individual to his own conscience in these words: "Great and wise men in the past or in the present, have a claim on our regards. But they must not come between us and our God-the Divine principle seated within every one of us, high or low. It is this sense of self-respect, or rather of respect to the God in us, which has to be cultivated, and it is a tender plant which takes years and years to cultivate. But we have the capacity, and we owe it as a duty to ourselves to undertake the task."

The weakness of the appeal to the past which he had at one time supported was realized by him and in a passage full of bitter sarcasm, he lashed out against the revivalists who were advocating a return to the old institutions and customs²¹. He asked: "What shall we revive? Shall we revive the old habits of our people when the most sacred of our castes indulged in all the abominations, as we now understand them, of animal food and intoxicating drink? .. Shall we revive the twelve forms of sons, or eight forms of marriage, which included capture, and recognized mixed and illegitimate intercourse?... human-beings were not Shall we revive the hecatombs of animals sacrificed from year's end to year's end, in which even spared as propitiatory offerings to God? Shall we revive the Shakti worship of the left hand, with its indecencies and practical debaucheries? Shall we revive the Sati, and infanticide customs, or the flinging of living men into the rivers, or over rocks, or hook-swinging, or the crushing beneath the Jagannath Car?" In this connection, the pertinent question was which particular period of the past should be revived. Society is a living organism in which the process of change is continuous. Usages change, institutions, laws, customs, religious concepts and beliefs have all undergone modification. "The dead and the buried or burnt are dead, buried, and burnt once for all, and the dead past cannot, therefore, be revived." Only the old has to be reshaped into a new organism, and that is social reform. Among the reforms which he persistently advocated, the most important were the establishment of the equality of men which involved the abolition of caste and the recognition of inter-caste marriages; the prohibition of child marriage, the legalization of the marriage of

²¹ *Ibid*, p.81

widows, the repudiation of the seclusion of women, and the promotion of women's education; the rejection of all irrational and cruel customs and all practices which degraded human beings. In short, social reform was the purification and improvement of the individual and the recasting of the family, village, tribe and nation into new molds²².

The philosophy of religion and society which Ranade pro pounded was deeply steeped in Western ideology. But apart from the actual concepts of theism, human equality, social freedom, anti-asceticism and activism which he adopted from the West, he owed a far more precious debt to the West, in as much as his intellectual approach to the problems of the individual and society was affected by it. His attitude was objective and critical, and his method largely historical and, where necessary, deductive. His striving for reforms was based upon his faith in the idea of progress. But progress, according to him, did not mean merely an improvement in the material conditions of life, nor even in knowledge, but rather in the moral and spiritual conditions. Nor did he believe that progress was an advance in a straight and continuous line towards some ideal of human betterment, For example, there were a number of periods in the past of India which were materially and morally more glorious than the present. That which comes later in time is not necessarily superior to the anterior. Nor is a stagnant or retrogressive period in a country's history, a forerunner of permanent and irretrievable decline. Progress for him was the onward movement of social life in which man operated as a free agent.

Applying these principles to Indian history, Ranade found that it was a story of ups and downs, of peace and order followed by disruption and chaos, due to inner moral decay and violent external intervention. In every case, God secures His benevolent purpose through the conscience of man, and every major event takes place according to the providence of God. For instance, about the Muslim rule over India he says: "It cannot be easily assumed that in God's Providence, such vast multitudes as those who inhabit India were placed for centuries together under influences and restraints of alien domination, unless such influences and restraints were calculated to do lasting service in the building up of the strength and character of the people in directions in which the Indian races were most deficient. It will be seen from this that so far from suffering from decay and corruption the native races gathered strength by reason of the Mahomedan rule when it was directed by the wise counsel of those Mahomedan and Hindu statesmen who sought the weal of the country by a policy of

²² Ramchandra Chaterjee, *Towards Home Rule*, Durga Publications, Calcutta, 1995, p.78

toleration and equality. Since the time of Ashoka, the element of strength born of union was wanting in the old Hindu dynasties who succumbed so easily to the Mahomedan invaders²³."

After enumerating "a hundred other ways the Mahomedan domination helped to refine the tastes and manners of the Hindus," he points out that "more lasting benefits have however accrued by this contact in the higher tone it has given to the religion and thoughts of the people." He concludes: "If the lessons of the past have value, one is possible unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together, and are determined to follow the lead of the men who flourished in Akbar's time and were his chief advisers and councilors, and sedulously avoid the mistakes which were committed by his great-grandson Aurangzeb." The future of India which took shape in the grand vision of Ranade, was that of a great nation proud of its past, marching on towards a bright future under the providence of God, united firmly in the pursuit of the ideals of equality and liberty, purified of social evils and inspired by the voice of conscience and morality.

Veda Samaj

The movement of reform which had commenced in Bengal, was carried by Keshab Chandra Sen to Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. In 1864, he paid a visit to Madras and by his eloquence persuaded the people to establish the Veda Samaj. Under its auspices, weekly prayer meetings were held and a newspaper to publicize its doctrines was started. Among the first leaders, the most prominent were two respected members of the Madras Bar-V. Rajagopal Charlu and P. Subrayala Chetti, and a retired judge and Telugu author Visvanath Mudaliar. But the real founder of the organization was the young K. Sridharalu Naidu, a poor man of great vision, promise and enthusiasm. He travelled to Calcutta, studied the Brahmo movement and on returning to Madras, changed the Veda Samaj into the Brahmo Samaj of southern India in 1871 AD. He introduced a new, bolder and more spiritual confession of faith in place of the older covenant, translated the books of Brahmo Dharma into Tamil and Telugu, and undertook missionary tours to propagate the faith. Unfortunately, he died in accident in 1874 AD. And His tragic death was followed by dissensions within the society. Some members remained true to the faith of Sridharalu Naidu, who was a disciple of Keshab Chandra, but the majority formed a society of their own on the lines of the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj. The dispute, however, weakened the movement and reduced its popularity²⁴. Ram Mohan Roy and Mahadev Govind Ranade were two mighty spirits who appeared in the

²³ J. C. Chatterjee, *Indian Revolutionaries in Conference*, Mukut Publications, Jaipur, 1990, p.67

²⁴ Sir Valentine, *The Inclined Plane of Gandhism in his Old India*, Oxford Press, New Delhi, 1993, p.31.

nineteenth century and summoned India to ahead her fears and weaknesses and forge ahead in the fulfilment of her destiny. They were both far in advance of their times, and though their countrymen did not pay immediate heed to their message, they blazed the trail which unmistakably points to the goal towards which India is moving inevitably, though falteringly.

Keshab Chandra Sen's Theism had developed into a mystic emotional eclecticism beyond the pale of Hinduism. Of the three branches of the Brahmo Samaj, the 'Adi Samaj' declined as it became, more or less, indistinguishable from Hinduism. The 'Nava Vidhan' of Keshab Chandra Sen suffered from the founder's excessive individualism and extravagant views. Only the 'Sadharana Samaj' continued to maintain its position and to make steady progress. Its missionaries, service organizations and newspapers served it well²⁵.

Ranade taught a religion in which intellectualism dominated although the claims of the heart were not neglected. But its severe puritanism and condemnation of some of the most cherished, although out of date Hindu traditions, gave the opportunity to the more conservative religious leaders to take advantage of the growing discontent against Western domination to popularize movements of revivalism which appealed to the people's sense of pride in the achievements of their predecessors in their days of freedom. Both in Bengal and Maharashtra the radical and liberal movements received a setback.

Revivalist Movement in Bengal

Round about 1870 in Bengal and 1880 in Maharashtra, revivalism began to replace in popularity the creed of the Brahmo Samaj and the Parthana Samaj, and a new note of assertive Hinduism began to sound above the voice of rationalism, which had reverberated in the land for nearly forty years.

Many factors combined to promote this tendency. In Bengal the orthodox section of the Hindu middle class under the lead of the learned Radha Kanta Deb of Sobha Bazar had founded the Dharma Sabha in 1830, in opposition to Ram Mohan Roy's liberal Brahmo Sabha. But the movement was unable to make much progress because of the stir made by the radicals of young Bengal and by the reformers like the saintly Dwarka nath Tagore and his son, Debendranath. The two continued to dominate the scene for nearly half a century. The social reform movement was ably supported by Akshay Kumar Datta (1820-86 AD), Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91 AD), Ramtanu Lahiri (1813-1898 AD), Raj Narayan Bose

²⁵ *Ibid*,p.33

(1826-99 AD) and others whose co-operation greatly enhanced the reputation of the Brahmo society²⁶. But in the decades following the Revolt of 1857 AD, a change occurred in the political atmosphere of the country. The play of the new factors began to modify social attitudes. The influence of radicalism in religious thought and urgency of social reform began to recede, and conservative tendencies were accentuated. During the seventies the change became marked.

The two movements which swayed more and more the mind of Bengal after 1858, were those of nationalism and romanticism. Both were the product of common urges—the feeling of individual self-assertion and of pride in the past of the race, resentment against the haughtiness and oppression of the ruling class, sympathy for the growing misery and poverty of the rural population, and yearning for liberty and equality. These urges combined to stimulate the desire for political emancipation, without which even social reform on a large scale seemed impossible.

The feeling of pride in the past was initially aroused by religious movements. It was fed by historical studies and the discoveries of the archaeologists and ideologists. Ancient literature, philosophy, science, law, arts and monuments which had been buried in oblivion were raised to life, and they enormously enhanced the reputation of India in the world and the self-respect of the people in their own estimation.

The result was a revulsion of feeling against Western culture and an eagerness to repudiate Western superiority. The movement, popularly known as neo-Hinduism, had a number of adherents. But it was divided into two distinct schools of thought the one totally opposed to all reform, and the other admitting the need for change in particulars but not in the main substance. The pioneer of the first was Tarka Chudamani and of the second, Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

Sasadhar was an exponent of the orthodox Pauranic ritualism and ceremonialism. He defended the popular ceremonies, social customs and institutions of the Hindus by attempting to show that they were based on profound scientific laws. About him Tagore wrote in his *Reminiscences*, "Pandit Sasadhar's school carried to absurd length their attempt to justify even current superstitions by pseudo-scientific explanation." Among the leaders of neo-Hinduism who were nearer in their views to Sasadhar Chudamani were Krishna Prasanna Sen, Nabin Chandra Sen and Hemchandra Bandyopadhyaya. Krishna Prasanna Sen did not function on

²⁶ Nirad Chaudary, *An Autobiography of an unknown Indian*, Aakash Publishing House, New Delhi, 1998, p.90

an intellectual plane and his approach to religious discussion was a crude one, Nabin Chandra Sen, essentially a poet, had his own views regarding the existing social institutions. He believed in monism but found nothing wrong in idolatry. He argued that the age-old social customs such as the caste-system, child-marriage and marriage within one's own caste, need not be without their good points. He vehemently criticized the secular Western education system as it was being gradually introduced in Bengal and he forcefully pleaded that the purpose of education should be the development and preservation of religious values²⁷.

Like Nabin Chandra, Hemchandra Bandyopadhyaya was a conservative Hindu. In 1857 AD, he wrote a long biographical essay on Sri Krishna which was later published in the book form. In his *Brahmo Theism in India*, Hemchandra explained the educated Hindu should not embrace Brahmanism.

Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94 AD)

The most influential pioneer of the movement in Bengal was Bankim Chandra Chatterji. He represented the general awakening which was taking place in the old traditional sects in the nineteenth century. Before him the defense of conservative Hinduism had been undertaken by the Dharma Sabha under the leadership of Radha Kanta Deb (1784-1867 AD). But there were similar developments in other parts of India among the Madhvas, Sri Vaishnavas, Saiva Siddhantas, Lingayats and Smartas of the South, the followers of Chaitanya in Bengal and the Vaishnavas of central India. They held conferences, encouraged religious studies, published literature in defense of their doctrines, established educational institutions and engaged in organising religious activities.

Bankim Chandra combined in his person nationalist fervor with religious devotion. English education and the study of the philosophical systems of Kant, Fichte, Bentham, Mill and Spencer had aroused his critical faculties. Auguste Comte's Positivism deeply influenced his mind. He became a strong advocate of the study of Western sciences. But neither the Utilitarianism of the Benthamite school, nor the evolutionary Hedonism of Spencer, nor the godless Positivism of Comte satisfied him²⁸.

His intellect found satisfaction in the study of Hindu philosophy and religion. But the methodology of Western philosophy shaped his approach towards religion and he strove to apply a scientific, critical and rational method to the great problems of life and those facing

²⁷ *Ibid*, p.91

²⁸ T. L. Crombia, *Towards Liberty*, Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1915, p.67

the society. His aim was to develop independence of outlook, to overthrow the domination of Western thought, and to speak to the masses in the language which they understood.

His philosophical interests led him to become the defender of Hinduism. He was provoked into religious polemics by the attacks of the Christian missionaries. He found that neither the obscurantists like Sasadhar, nor the radicals like the Brahmos, could adequately meet the challenge of modernism. The controversy brought from his pen, *Letters on Hinduism* addressed to Yogesh Chandra Ghosh. Hinduism revived in its purity was the answer to the problem which pestered Hindu society. Sasadhar's pseudo-scientific justifications were as out of place as Keshab's extravagant eclecticism. As Bankim Chandra grew older the sense of his exalted mission gripped him. He came more and more to believe that the solution of India's problem lay in the revival of Hinduism—the mystical and intuitive religion of the Gita reinterpreted for the new India. He incorporated his ideas in the two volumes of *Dharmatattva* (principles of religion) and *Krishnacharitra* (Life and character of Krishna).²⁹

Religion for him was the instrument for the moral and political regeneration of society. "Religion cannot be separated from Utilitarianism," he said. In his approach to the problems of social reform in India he differed from other progressive reformers. He did not approve of piecemeal acts of reform, and believed that religious and moral regeneration alone could effectively remold society. It was no use attacking social customs and practices which bound society even more than the sacred books. What was needed was the fullest development of the personality of the individual.

The appeal of these reformers reached a very small class. For, the progress of education was slow and the middle class was weak. The Bombay University was established in 1857 AD, but even after twenty years the number of matriculates was only 1,100, of graduates 179, and of law graduates 53. In 1880, there were only 8 colleges, of which 6 were in Bombay city. The number of High schools was 48 and that of middle schools 177³⁰.

Those educated in these institutions were mostly poor boys who aspired to low-paid jobs. They could hardly rise above their old social prejudices and orthodox views. Social reformers like Ranade, Bhandarkar, Agarkar and Chandavarkar had thus to appeal to men against their centuries-old habits of thought.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.68

³⁰ C. R. Dass, *Speeches Banerjee*, Durga Publication, Calcutta, 1998, P.95

After 1870, new forces began to operate which made the task of reformers still more unpopular. The conviction founded upon the frequency of famines that the country's poverty was increasing, created prejudice and distrust against the foreign government and its culture, and the discovery of India's ancient past strengthened self-esteem and pride in the country's destiny and disparaged the value of Western culture. Revulsion against foreign rule weakened the urge for religious and social reform, and politics began to assume a dominating influence over minds.

Social reform in the then existing condition of India, he thought, was merely destructive, for it relaxed social bonds without putting anything in their place. He believed in educating public opinion on social problems rather than having recourse to legislation at the hands of a foreign government. He looked upon the foreign government as the greatest obstacle in the way of India's progress. Therefore, he regarded the immediate problem to be that of organizing resistance to foreign rule, rather than that of religious or social reconstruction. He rejected the idea that it necessary to abolish caste or establish equality of rights between women and men, before attaining self-government. He did not subscribe to the view that social reform must precede the achievement of political power. Although he was not averse to social change, he did not want to tie it up with political advance. In fact, according to him, the social reform movement was likely to create divisions among people and this might retard progress towards independence.³¹

Tilak desired to rally the Hindu masses under one political flag, because he had realized the importance of mass action for political purposes. He, therefore, introduced the public festival of Ganesh and the celebration of Sivaji's anniversary to revive in the people's mind the glorious achievements of the past. He also endeavored to convince the educated Hindus that Hindu religion was not merely a contemplative, mystical, other-worldly faith, but that it called upon its followers to live a life of action. As the Bhagavadgita is read by most Hindus for edification, he wrote an extensive commentary on it in proof of his views.

This religious appeal greatly stirred the people of Maharashtra and strengthened the revivalist movement in other parts of India, but unfortunately what was the gain of one community proved to be a source of alarm and apprehension to the other.

³¹ Chittaranjan Das, *Freedom through Disobedience*, George Town Publishers, Madras, 1992, p.110

The Arya Samaj

The temper which produced the movements of religious and social reform among the Hindus of Bengal and Maharashtra, as also among the Muslims of northern India, the Parsis of Western India and others, was in fact characteristic of the whole of India. There had been a stirring of the spirit in all parts of the country and among all sections of the people. What happened in Bengal and Maharashtra was repeated in Gujarat, in 1824 AD, in the petty state of Morvi, in Kathiawar, was born a child who grew into a reformer of an unusual type and of a different grain. Mul Shankar, the son of a Samavedi Brahmana, who became famous under the name of Dayananda, was a child of a stern and rebellious mood. He came into conflict with his father when he was barely fourteen years of age for rejecting idol worship: he renounced his home in order to escape the entanglement of marriage and to seek to pacify the turmoil and commotion of his soul. For 15 years he led the life of a wandering scholar in search of the knowledge which removed all doubts. His search took him into the hidden glades of the mountain ranges of the Himalayas, the Vindhya and the Aravalis, and across the valleys and along the banks of the Ganga, Jamuna and Narbada rivers. He acquired a mastery of the Sanskrit language, its grammar, philosophy and religious literature. Then at Mathura he spent two and a half years as a disciple of the blind Virjananda, a profound master of ancient learning, an erudite teacher and a rational thinker, who hated idol worship, superstitious practices, and polytheistic ideas. He taught Dayananda the philosophic interpretation of the Vedas and then charged him with the mission to purge Hinduism of all its ugly accretions and aberrations.³²

In 1863 AD, began his apostolic career which ended only with his death in 1883 AD. These twenty years were a period of the most strenuous labor-touring over India, holding polemical discussions, preaching his gospel, organizing the 'Arya Samaj,' writing books and propagating social reform.

Dayananda was no ordinary person. His intellectual gifts were of a high order; in Sanskrit learning few surpassed him. He was an impressive speaker and a keen and ready-witted debater, who could overwhelm his opponents with a wealth of subtle arguments. At the same time, he was a man of strong, unflinching, almost dour character, a born leader, determined and self-assured to the extent of overbearingness.

³² Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*, St James Publishing House, London, 1969, p.112.

He had a clear and precise mind in which there was nothing shadowy, vague or mystical. With Calvinistic explicitness he defined the articles of his faith which admitted of no compromise. He possessed the rugged individuality of a Martin Luther and made individual reason the arbiter in the solution of all religious problems. His selection of the authoritative divine scriptures from among the multitude of Hindu sacred books was based upon his personal convictions. Again his choice of the dogmas and doctrines concerning the unity of God, the rejection of the plurality of the Hindu gods and the doctrines of metempsychosis and law of action (Karma), the relations of men, nature and God, were the result of a process of his own analysis and ratiocination, in which he was not guided by tradition or history.

He believed that the Hindu religion and the Vedas on which it was based were eternal, unalterable, infallible, and divine. The Vedic religion alone was true and universal. He held that the Aryans were the chosen people, the Vedas the chosen gospel, and India the chosen land. All other religions were imperfect and it was the duty of the 'Arya Samaj' to convert the followers of other religions to the Hindu faith.³³

He provided the 'Arya Samaj' with a code of social conduct and moral values. In this code there was no room for caste based on birth, inequality among men, and inequality of man and woman. His slogan was "Back to the Vedas," so far as spiritual and ethical life was concerned. But he was in favor of Western education, teaching of sciences and the betterment of the material conditions of society.

The 'Arya Samaj' which he founded in Bombay in 1875 AD made rapid progress. Its branches were founded in the greater part of northern India, in the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan especially. It largely appealed to the middle and lower middle class Hindus. Although it helped to spread ideas of reform in society, its crusade against caste did not make much headway. Its greatest contribution was to evoke a sense of pride in India's past and to stimulate a militant enthusiasm for the propagation of the Aryan faith. To promote these objects the 'Arya Samaj' endowed and established educational institutions-colleges of higher learning, schools for secondary education, institutions for the education of women, and institutions to impart education according to ancient Indian methods. Some of the activities of the 'Arya Samaj' were controversial. Dayananda was the first Hindu reformer who turned over from defense to attack, from protecting the Hindu faith from the assaults of the Christian and the Muslim critics to fighting them on their own ground in order to oblige them to defend

³³ A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Kautlya Publishers, Bombay, 1969, p.43

their position. His work, the Satyarth Prakash, raised a pole mic against all the other religions. Inevitably this sharpened communal differences and accentuated mutual antipathies.³⁴

Another plank in the programme of the 'Arya Samaj' which led to serious troubles was the protection of the cow. In 1882 AD, a cow protection association was formed, preachers were appointed for propaganda, and funds were collected to save cows from slaughter. The cause had much to commend itself as the cow is a great economic asset and its preservation has enlisted the deep sentimental attachment of the Hindus. Unfortunately, some over-zealous agents of the Samaj carried on their activities in an aggressive manner, and although many non-Hindus, including a number of Muslims, sympathized with the movement, the hypersensitive Muslim theologians and their followers among the poor classes took offence. The result was that serious riots occurred between Hindus and Muslims, which strengthened the growing ill-will between the two communities, Apart from this, the movement inaugurated by Dayananda made an endeavor to awaken the spirit of self-reliance and strengthen the sense of self-respect among Indians. The tribute which an English missionary paid to Dayananda's ideals is of value as it comes from an unexpected source not too well disposed towards the 'Arya Samaj'. Said Dr. Griswold:"It is evident from all this that Pandit Dayanand Sarasvati was a man of large views. He was a dreamer of splendid dreams. He had a vision of India purged of her superstitions, filled with the fruits of Science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, having a place in the sisterhood of nations and restored to her ancient glory."

Effects on Society

In Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Dayananda, the best of Hinduism was blended with the modern spirit of humanism which was flooding India of the nineteenth century. A new inspiration was abroad and under its urge the medieval molds, already weakened, began to break down. The individual realized the significance of the self as well as a new responsibility towards society. The circumference of his society which had been limited to the family, the caste and the tribe, began to broaden out, transcending the old limits and identifying the individual with larger wholes. Even before the appearance of these reformers, the concept of territorial community embracing all the inhabitants of the country, irrespective of race or creed, was emerging in the minds of the educated, but differentiation between

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.44

religion and politics which is the essential basis of a secular society, was still confined to the few³⁵. Social change is at the same time a change in ideals as well as a change in practical life. The peculiar nature of the British impact upon India as a whole was that while it transformed the intellectual outlook of the educated middle class by providing the modern intellectual environment, which affected some aspects of practical life, it left the economic condition of the people as a whole and specially of the masses inhabiting the villages stagnant, with the result that their habits and customs remained almost static. The reform movements which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy affected Indian educated class, but made little impression upon the masses who continued to think and live in the traditional ways. The administrative changes which transformed the condition of the villages did not lead to the development of a new economic system; agriculture and industry remained medieval in technique and modes of production, and hence medievalism lingered on and capitalism and industrialism had a stunted growth. In the circumstances, it was inevitable that social organization should remain static.

The progress of urbanization, which is the sign of economic evolution, was slow and the population remained overwhelmingly rural. From 1881 to 1911 AD, which is during thirty years, the percentage of the urban population did not exceed ten. The result was that no radical departure from tradition was effected in the villages, and even the urban population including the middle classes, with the exception of a small group, continued to follow in the old grooves. The caste as an institution was linked with occupation and economic activity. So long as economic activity continued in the old ruts its structure remained unaltered. In fact, the pressure of caste and custom was so pervasive that even the followers of the reformed sects were unable to overthrow their yoke. For instance, the Brahmo Samaj rejected idol worship, but the family of Tagores who led the Samaj continued to celebrate the idolatrous Durga festival every year with great éclat. The Arya Samaj condemned the classification of the Hindus on the basis of birth, yet few Arya Samajists had the courage to marry outside their caste. The situation was ethically unhealthy, for it promoted a dichotomy in moral standards one for the home and the other for the public.

The Hindu and Muslim reform movements tended to consolidate the two communities in two all-India groups comprising and uniting the multiplicity of smaller regional and

³⁵ B. C. Dobbin, *Basic Documents in the Development of Modern India and Pakistan*, Veena Publishing House, London, 1970, p.49.

cultural sections which existed independently in the middle ages³⁶. This process of internal communal integration made marked an advance during the nineteenth century. The other process of political integration of the communities into a national unity advanced *pari passu*. Although the economic backwardness of the country, the medieval outlook of the masses, and the colossal neglect of their education, prevented the equally rapid development of the sentiment of nationalism, many among the educated communities thought, felt and acted alike. They realized that in a country of many races, languages, cultures and religions, a free Indian polity could only be built on the foundations of secularism. But the highly emotional and romantic religious upsurge of the second half of the nineteenth century directed minds into religious channels which slackened the vigor of the secular national movement.

The growth of the religious reform movement was equally vigorous in Hinduism as in Islam. In both communities protestant and counter-protestant or liberal and revivalist ideas spread. These parallel developments were inspired by identical motives. In the first place, the aim was the recovery of the community's past greatness. History told them that their ancestors had built vast empires, made glorious contributions to the advancement of culture, and played an unforgettable role in world affairs. In the second place, compared to their past, their present appeared humiliating and shameful. They had lost their independence, pride and pomp of their states had been trampled into dust by alien races, their industry was destroyed, their people impoverished, their upper classes reduced to helpless beggary for the small favors of their masters, their moral stature stunted and spirit dwarfed³⁷.

Role of Indian Writers

Indians have used English language with fluency and literary merit. The contribution made by Indian writers to English literature is considerable. The language has become an Indian language due to the spread of English education. English became the language of communication among the educated people. During the days of freedom movement our leaders spoke and wrote in English so that their message reach more people.

Rammohan Roy, Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Phiroze Shah, Surendranath, Bepin Pal, Sankaran Nair, Tilak, Gokhale, Motilal, C. R. Das, Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and hundreds of other nationalists wrote and reasoned in English. The Indians have accepted English as their language. Their contribution have enriched the English literature. Our

³⁶ J. E. Ellam, *Swaraj the Problem of India*, Hutchinson Publications, London, 1989, p.95.

³⁷ M.K.Gandhi, *An Autobiography*, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmdabad, 1999, p.122

nationalist leaders used English as the forceful means of communicating their meaning and message to the people of India.³⁸

Raja Rammohan Roy was born in a village in Bengal in 1722 AD. He was a scholar in many languages. In 1821 he started a weekly paper *Sambad Kaumudi*. He was a Brahmin who felt that Hinduism, Christianity and Islam were all one and the same in essence. He felt that they were fundamentally one and started *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828 AD. Also he was a great social reformer.

Rammohan Roy fought for the rights of women, religious toleration and the uplift of peasants. Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Sen were attracted to *Brahmo Samaj*. Keshub Sen was a great orator. His speeches moved both Indians and English. He succeeded in making the people of India see that they were the inheritors of a great and ancient culture.

Dayanand Saraswati founded *Arya Samaj* (1875 AD) to purify and preserve Hinduism. Lala Hansraj, Swami Sraddhanand and Lala Lajpat Rai continued the work started by Dayanand Saraswati. *Arya Samaj* continues to play an important part in half of nineteenth century, were men who took themselves the society. The educated men of India during the second seriously. They acted as leaders of the people and helped the awakening of the nation. They believed that social reform, educational reform and religious reform had to go together, they thought that these reforms would bring economic progress and make the people politically aware of the need for freedom. Mahadeb Gobind Ranade and Kashinath Trimbals Telang were two of the leaders of *Prarthana Samaj* established in Bombay in 1867 AD.

Telang was a great scholar. He wrote on literary, Also he was national, social, religious and political matters. A good lawyer. His speeches and writing were in simple language but they had great force to attract people. His thought speeches were powerful and influenced people very much. Telang used his pen to create in his fellow men correct views, pride in one's country and countrymen were progressive and enlightened.

Mahadev Govinda Ranade has been called the "Father of Modern India." He had great mastery over all fields of knowledge. He worked hard for the welfare of the nation. By his great mastery over all fields of wisdom Ranade attracted brilliant young men to him, He influenced them and instructed them in such a way as to make them workers of national welfare, Ranade was an eminent scholar, economist and jurist. His book "Rise of the Maratha

³⁸ Shankar Ghosh, *Congress Presidential Speeches*, West Bengal Committee, Bengal, 1995,p.101

Power" is a classic in English language. Telang conveyed the idea that the many races of India will form united nation. According to Gokhale Ranade had a noble vision of a great and living nation responsive to truth and justice, and self-respect. Ranade worked in many fields to achieve this noble vision.

Ranade is called the Father of Modern India. Ranade had many disciples who became great leaders of India. Among them Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the foremost. Ranade was a scholar, economist, educator and above all a sage who drew everyone to himself³⁹.

During this period of awakening many spiritual organisations, Brahmo Samaj, Theosophical Society, Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj tried to awaken the slumbering Indian. But they were not really effective to outdo the supremacy of the British. The Hindus could not shake off the effect of Christianity brought by English Education. The re-establishment of Hindu Spirituality, was achieved by Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Ramakrishna animated the people. Ramakrishna was the Truth and the people who went to him were infused with this Truth. He led them to unity through love of God. His teachings were gospels of love. Above all he helped the educated Indians to turn away from the west and see the value of Indian heritage. After Ramakrishna, his disciple Swami Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission for spiritual and humanitarian work. Vivekananda's speeches and writings are effective and compelling. His poems Kali the Mother and Song of the Free are very powerful. The most powerful poem by Swami Vivekananda is the Song of the Sannyasin. B. R. Rajam Iyer, he first editor of the Prabuddha Bharata was a great scholar. He wrote an English novel Vasudeva Sastri. His essays and studies of saints are collected in a volume called Rambles in Vedanta, Another important Indian Writer of 19th century is Romesh His two novels "Lake of Palms" and "slave girl of Agra" were first written in Bengali and then translated Chunder Dutt into English by his son, Ajoy Dutt. The main contribution of Romesh Chunder Dutt to English literature are "A History of Civilization in Ancient India". "Later Hindu Civilization", "India in the Victorian Age", "The Economic History of British India" and "A Brief History of Ancient and Modern Bengal". Also he rendered in English verse the great epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and selections from the Rig Veda, the Upanishads, Kumarasambhava and Kiratarjuniya.

The translation of Indian poetry into English deserves special mention. It is not an easy task. The Sanskrit verse is very different from English verse in many aspects. But.

³⁹ *Ibid*, pp.102-103

Romesh Chander Dutt condensed and curtailed the two great epics; causing the translations to lose some of their natural beauty. Yet they are very valuable because they are the best introductions in English verse to the Indian epics.⁴⁰

Manmohan Ghose is another writer from Bengal who wrote beautiful English verse. He was Sri Aurobindo's brother and was educated in England from an early age. He wrote two long poems which he could not complete. His lyrics were very exquisite. Behramji Malabari was a poet, social reformer and journalist "The Indian Muse in English garb" was a verse autobiography His verse was satiric in spirit. "Gujarat and Gujaratis" and "The Indian Eye an English Life" are two fine prose works. Behramji Malabari was a great editor, social reformer and author. His journals the Indian Patriot, the Voice of India and East and West voiced protest against social reforms. He wanted to create reconciliation between East and West of any Indian city of his time. Pai selected his characters His book "Stray Sketches in Chakmakpore" gives a picture Nagesh Viswanath Pai was a lawyer who wrote in prose. From a wide cross section of the society. The Mother-in-law, the reformer, the street singer, the sweet vendor, even the stray dog and cow are pictured vividly in these sketches.⁴¹

⁴⁰ O.P.Gopal, *Studies in Modern Indian Political Thought*, Kitab Mahal, Allahbad,1964,p.132

⁴¹ *Ibid*,p.133

CHAPTER- 5

IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND CULTURE

In the course of the 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. English education was a crucial factor in socializing and communicating political ideas.

The decision to introduce English education in India was a momentous step taken by the British raj and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history. Throughout the non-Western world in recent centuries, the process of modernization has been accelerated by contact and conflict with the West. The introduction of English education was one of a series of acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of the democratic state, its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration. Similarly, the social reforms in Hindu society, the movements for the emancipation of women and for the removal of untouchability reflect Western influence to a considerable extent.

The negative alienating effects of English education are fairly obvious. The education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary education and neglect of technical education which was inevitable in a colonial context, and the creation of a gulf between an elite educated in English and the masses all these constituted formidable obstacles in the path of development. The precise pattern of learning from the West' depended on the degree of political independence¹.

Initially the raj depend on the support and consent of the English educated intelligentsia. But during the latter half of the nineteenth century this class turned to nationalist politics. Official British interest in education dates from the early years of the nineteenth century. From the time of Lytton's viceroyalty both Calcutta and London began to

¹ H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Naman Press, Patiala, 1970, p.21.

feel uneasy about the political implications of the movement which their predecessors had set under way. But it was not until the time of Lord Curzon that any serious administrative effort was made to halt this drift and correct these implications. Accordingly, it is the inception of Curzon's viceroyalty in 1898 which the present work takes as its starting point. Successors continued his efforts to control the education system and attempts in this direction lasted till 1920 AD when under the system of Dyarchy introduced by the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms, education became a 'transferred' subject in the hands of Indian ministers. The years 1898 to 1920 AD thus form a logical period for examining what government wanted to do in the field of education and for assessing how far its policies were successful.

Between 1898 and 1920 AD there were four Viceroys, but Curzon's administration has received the greatest attention because he was the originator of the new policy. His successors were never able to give the same time to education and did not fundamentally alter his policy. Moreover, they lacked Curzon's energy, vision and drive. Again, Calcutta University and Bengal are dealt with in more detail, because Bengal was the problem province during these years. The government of India was also more concerned about the university in the capital of which the Viceroy was the Chancellor. During the period there were three principal agencies for the spread of Western education. They consisted of the schools and colleges created by the government, by Christian missionaries and by private Indian enterprise. Roman Catholic missions had been operating in South India since the sixteenth century. Protestant missions had made a small beginning in the eighteenth century, but their activities expanded rapidly after a ban on missionary activity was removed in 1813. The pioneering work in the field of education: of men like William Carey, Henry Martyn or Schwartz cannot be overestimated. In the days when the East India Company was unwilling to accept a direct responsibility for the education of the Indian people, the Christian missions came forward and established some of the earliest modern schools and colleges. Later on the Company did accept the responsibility for education, but the extension of direct government effort was so slow before 1854 that the needs were largely met by missionary institutions. Christian colleges were among the first to bring Western ideas of education to India, thus preparing the way for many of the cultural and political events which were to follow. But after the report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882, the missions generally gave up plans for extension and decided to concentrate on the efficient maintenance of a few institutions. The impetus behind their effort had slackened by the end of the nineteenth century and during the years under consideration the demand for Western education was

increasingly satisfied by the efforts of private individuals. To begin with the missionary educational institutions had some differences with the East India Company, but during the years 1898-1920 AD they rarely came into conflict with the Education Department. The influence which they exercised upon the development of education was of the highest value and importance. Nevertheless, a study of missionary schools and colleges has not been included here because they posed no problem for the government at this time².

Private Indian enterprise in education had also begun its operation early in the nineteenth century, but it was during the last quarter of the century that private charity, public spirit and educational aspirations combined to cover much of the three presidencies with a network of schools and colleges largely beyond the reach of the government. Since it was at this time that the government began to associate English education with unrest, and since it was precisely in these institutions that education came closest to disaffection, it was they who bore the brunt of the new education policy.

Three themes are interwoven. The first is official education policy and its transformation towards the end of the nineteenth century. A detailed examination of education policy emphasizes the importance attached to the subject both by officials and by Indian politicians. It shows that education was regarded as a subject of crucial importance, invaluable as an ally, terrible as an enemy. It also reveals the amount of time and effort involved in formulating policies and the difficulties of implementing them. Even a Viceroy as powerful and autocratic as Curzon could not carry his educational reforms to a successful conclusion. There were educational and political reasons why education should have been taken in hand, but efforts to do so proved ineffective. The educational history of this period cannot, however, be merely based on official documents and files. Government policy is only one side of the story. Any realistic study of this nature must be concerned not only with the educators but also with the educated. The second theme is, therefore, the growth of English education. Though India was administratively a single unit, there were regional variations which cannot be ignored. This makes it necessary to move from an all-India standpoint to a consideration of the nature and spread of education in different provinces. Here a selection has to be made. Obviously, the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay must be studied, since here British rule had the longest history and here too the impact of British policies had been the deepest. As a contrast to these long established bases, a study has been made of the growth of education in the United Provinces as an interesting specimen region in

² *ibid*, p.24.

central India which came under British rule at a comparatively late date. The third aim is to explore the extent to which education was a determinant of political activity. There was obviously some connexion between the growth of modern nationalism and the rate of social change.³

But what this connexion was is not always clear. The earliest Western educated elite was produced in Bengal and here it contributed much to the growth of nationalist politics. The Bengal model need not of course necessarily apply to the whole of India. There is in any case no monocausal explanation of Indian nationalism.

The Western educated elite was not the only one in the field. There was a traditional social elite which overlapped it, because these groups were the first to see that the new education could help them to keep their old pre-eminence. There was a traditional political elite also, such as the zamindars and taluqdars. Below these levels, the richer and middle peasantry were politically important. Thus there were elites and sub-elites of various kinds⁴.

In the years under consideration the nationalist movement was dominated by the Western educated elite and it is with this group, particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra, that this study is mainly concerned. Political development was not uniform all over the country and this had something to do with the uneven rates of educational growth. There were different rates of growth in one region as compared with another and also between one groups in a region as compared with another. An analysis of the differential rates of growth of education among various regions, communities, castes and linguistic groups throws light on some questions which are of great importance in the history of the sub-continent during the first half of this century.

Before the Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha came under the influence of the British, primitive system of education was prevalent in these States. The three chief community of Punjab, the Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs had their own educational institutions. The Hindu school known as Pathshalas, the Muslim schools known as madras and the Sikh schools known as Dharamshalas. "There was not a mosque, a temple, a Dharmshala that had not a school attached to it, to which the youth flocked chiefly for religious education." There were also some chatshalas or mahajini Landa schools which ministered to the wants of the trading communities. In these schools, the panda if a Hindu or

³ B. S. Sahni, *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab*, Canam Press, Patiala, 1923, p.4.

⁴ W.H. Wiser, *The Hindu*, Kohli Press, Ambala, 1990, p.27.

the mian if a Muslim, taught his students mental arithmetic by means of which they could count mentally and carry on business correspondence and Behi khata. Thus education imparted to the pupils was almost entirely of a religious and semi-religious character. In fact, education was not considered to be the concern of the State but that of the priestly class⁵. There was no fees levied in these institutions. The teachers received voluntary offerings in cash or in grains at each harvest from villagers. No doubt, indigenous education was cheap but the quality of instruction was far from satisfactory.

The Christian missionaries were the first to establish English schools in Punjab⁶. 'The missionaries were in a true sense the pioneers of education in Punjab were largely instrumental in popularizing the British system of education in Punjab, 'The Wood's Despatch of 1854 constitutes landmark in the history of education in India. It laid down the basis and broad principles of education to be adopted in British India. It recommended, inter alia, the establishment of education department in each province, opening of Anglo-Vernacular schools and encouragement of private enterprise by grants-in-aid. Most of these recommendations were also implemented in the Punjab. The separate education department was established in this province in 1854.

In the second half of the nineteenth century western education began to develop in the Punjab and almost simultaneously in the Princely States of Punjab under British inspiration. Among the Princely States of Punjab, Patiala State took the lead in this sphere. As early as 1860 AD Maharaja Narinder Singh opened the first school on modern lines in Patiala which came to be known as the Central School. Besides Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit, English and Mathematics were also taught in this school. The management of the school was entrusted to the charge of Diwan Kulwant Rai, In 1862 AD Diwan Kulwant Rai prepared a comprehensive plan relating to education known as 'Hidayatnama'⁷, It contained twenty-seven articles and may be regarded as the first education code of the Patiala State. Maharaja Mohinder Singh (1862-1876 AD) established a regular and a separate education department in the State in June 1870 AD on the line of the British education department in the Punjab and appointed his tutor, Master Ram Chandra as first Director of Education. By the close of 1870 AD, there were 20 schools in the State and number of students on roll was 1700. In 1872 AD the Central School was raised to the status of a college and soon after it was

⁵ *Ibid*, p.29.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.32

⁷ H. A. Rose, *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, p.34.

affiliated to Calcutta University. The ceremony of the foundation stone laying was performed in March 1875 AD by Lord Northbrook, then Viceroy of India. During the reign of Maharaja Rajinder Singh (1876-1900 AD) a state education code was framed in 1889 AD on the lines as existed in British Indian Education Department, by Dr. J. Simes, the English Tutor of Maharaja Rajinder Singh. The code fixed the grades of the Principal and Professors of the college. The admission fees for various classes in the college, the amount of scholarships to be paid to the students and also provided for the regular inspection of education institutions in the State. After the formation of Dr. Simes Code, 12 middle schools for boys and 96 primary schools for boys and girls were opened in 1891 in the state.

The first notable step towards modernizing the education in the Nabha State was taken by Raja Bharpur Singh in 1863 AD when he established a school in Nabha where English and Arabic were taught. But it was during the period of Raja Hira Singh (1871-1911 AD) that some substantial progress was made in the development of education on British pattern in the State. Raja Hira Singh evinced personal interest for the development of education. He raised the primary school of Nabha to middle standard in 1880 and to the status of a high school in 1888 and a new headmaster was appointed who improved its administration. Some new schools were also opened by Raja Hira Singh at Bawal, Amloh, Dhaura, Dhanaula, Lohatbaddi and Bhadhaur and a girl's school at Phul." At Chotan, near Phul, a Zamindari School was also established in 1898 AD. In this school only the sons of agriculturists were admitted with the permission of the Raja. In 1890 AD, a separate cantonment school at Nabha was opened in which English, Gurmukhi, Persian and other subjects were taught. Raja Hira Singh made arrangements for the payment of liberal salaries to the teachers in the same way as the teachers were paid in British India. He also made provisions for the payment of pension to the teachers on British pattern from 1891 onwards⁸.

The State of Jind was administered by a Council of Regency during the minority of Maharaja Ranbir Singh from March 1887 to November 1899 AD. During this period some important changes were brought about in the educational system of the State. The education department was re-shaped on the pattern of the Punjab Education Department to some extent. The four schools maintained by the State at Sangrur, Jind, Dadri and Safidon were remodeled. They were made Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools." At the same time primary schools were opened at Sangrur, Balanwali, Dialpur and Badrukhan in Sangrur tehsil, Jind and Safidon in Jind tehsil, Dadri, Kaliaana and Ranila in Dadri tehsil. In 1894 the Anglo-

⁸ C. Kane, *History of Dharamsastra*, Lotus Press, New Delhi, 1997, p.22.

Vernacular Middle School of Sangrur was raised to the high school grade and a boarding house was added to it. No doubt, till the end of the nineteenth century some steps were taken by the rulers of these States for the development of modern education on British pattern but still it suffered from many shortcomings. The girls education was mostly ignored, percentage of educated people was very less, in most of these schools people were educated only up to primary standard and the number of higher schools was also very low, there was only one college in the Patiala State among the three Phulkian States, which also did not have proper facilities, mostly, teachers were untrained as no proper arrangement in the States existed for their training, there was no suitable provision for physical exercise of the students, no proper library, medical and laboratory facilities existed in the schools, for higher studies especially in technical and professional education the students had to go outside the state, lack of funds hindered the development of education on proper lines⁹.

Actually, it was in the first half of the twentieth century that education system of Phulkian States made substantial progress under British influence and inspiration. This may be attributed to a number of factors. In the first instance, the province of Punjab under the British rule had witnessed remarkable expansion and development of education. Quite a large number of primary, middle and secondary schools and colleges were established in the province and the Punjab University at Lahore also made great strides, The Princely States of Punjab could not remain uninfluenced by these developments and tendencies, as their territories were interspersed with those of the Punjab.

Secondly, the minority of some of the Punjab Chiefs (Patiala, Jind and Nabha) during this period furnished propitious circumstances for the development of education on western lines in these States. In accordance with the stipulation of 1859 AD a Council of Regency of three able and trustworthy officials of the State was appointed to conduct the administration of the State during the minority of the Chief. The Council of Regency functioned under the close supervision and control of the British Political Agent on whose directions measures were taken for the development of education in the State on the pattern of the educational system operating in the Punjab. Very often the services of some British or native officials from the education department of the Punjab were procured for reorganizing the structure of education on modern lines in the State. Thus British influence on the education of the Patiala,

⁹ *Ibid*, p.34.

Jind and Nabha States was sought to be exercised effectively during the minority of their Chiefs¹⁰.

Thirdly, the British authorities had taken upon themselves the responsibility of the education and training of the Phulkian Chiefs during their minority," for they believed that in view of the emerging ideas and forces of the age it was essential to give education on western lines to the young Chiefs in order to broaden their outlook so that they might develop into enlightened rulers afterward. As Mackworth Young, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab observed: "The march of events and change in modern ideas render it necessary that those who are destined to be rulers and leaders should be qualified to deal not only with the questions of a passing age, but also with those of the present and of the future, not only with the science of government as known to an Akbar or a Ranjit Singh, but with the development of the West, its progress, its toleration, its activity."¹¹

This resulted in the appointment of English tutors in the case of almost all the leading Chiefs and in the establishment of Chiefs colleges in various parts of India. For the education of minor Phulkian Chiefs, too, English tutors were appointed and subsequently they were sent to Aitchison College, Lahore for higher education. As a result of getting education on western lines, the three Chiefs became enlightened rulers and they evinced keen personal interest in the development of modern education in their States Specific and summary references may be made here to the modern education received by the rulers of the Phulkian States during the period of our study. Maharaja Ranbir Singh of the Jind State (1887-1947 AD) got the modern education under the British supervision. During his minority Captain F.E. Bradshaw, Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur, was appointed his Tutor-cum Governor for his education and training. The appointment of English tutor was objected by the Council of Regency on the ground that it was against the custom and norms of the country. President of the Council made representation to the British Government that the education and tuition of the minor Chief should be left to the charge of the Council of Regency. But the British Government turned down the representation of Council of Regency stating that the education and training of the young Chiefs in the three Phulkian States of Punjab during their minority would be the entire and exclusive responsibility of the British Government of India and not that of the Council of Regency. Bradshaw was instructed to exercise 'both tact and temper' in dealing with the young Chief. After some time he was succeeded by Lieutenant Irvine. Both the

¹⁰ J. A. Abbe, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford Press, London, 1959, pp129-132.

¹¹ *Census Report of Patiala State*, 1911, p.57.

tutors molded the mind of the young Raja and he started thinking and behaving like an English person. After assuming the reins of government in his hands he was keen on the requisition of the services of such officers as had worked in the British India preferably in the Punjab. The Punjab Government did lend to the State government the services of some experienced and tried officers especially retired persons. They were offered key posts in the State administration. In the Patiala State, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh (1900-38) got modern education on British pattern. The Maharaja was just nine years old at the time of his succession in November 1900. On the recommendation of Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, arrangement was made for education and training of the young Chief. Accordingly, Mr.A.C. Sells, an English Guardian and Tutor, was appointed for his education and afterwards he was sent to Aitchison College, Lahore for higher studies. Major H. Hendley (L.M.S.) was appointed as Medical Officer to attend upon the Maharaja.¹²

Maharaja Yadavindra Singh (1938-1948 AD) had got early education under the supervision of Indian tutors and the personal supervision of his parent in the Rajmahal. In 1927 AD, after his early education, the Maharaja was sent to the Aitchison College, Lahore for higher education. He did graduation from the institution and won the coveted Rivaz Gold Medal for the best boy of the year. He accompanied his father to England on the occasion of the First Round Table Conference. During his wide and extensive travels in Europe, he met reputed politicians, big businessmen and other great man of international fame. It developed his mind with noble ideas and value of education.¹³

In the Nabha State both the rulers, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh (1912-1923 AD) and Maharaja Partap Singh (1928-48 AD) got the modern education from their English and Indian tutors. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh for his education was put under the charge of Bhai Kahan Singh, a highly learned scholar of his days. For imparting him knowledge of English, a special tutor, Lala Bishan Das was appointed. Sin due course of time the Maharaja developed a political acumen of high order. Ripudaman Singh had a confrontation with the British and was compelled to sever his connection with the administration in July 1923 in favor of his minor son, Partap Singh. The British authorities appointed Mr.A.G. Dix as tutor of young Maharaja. Maharaja Partap Singh received his early education at the Woodslock College, Mussoorie and in March 1934 he proceeded to England for further studies in accordance with the programme approved by the Government of India. In England he joined

¹² S. P. Shrivastva, *Art and Architecture of Patiala State*, Kashi Printers, Patiala, 1992, p.101.

¹³ *Ibid*, p.115.

the Badingham College, Leatherhead, where he made very good progress. On completion of his studies at the college, he joined Sandhurst in 1938 AD for military training. He returned to India in February 1940 after passing near about six years in Europe. After the death of Maharaja Rajinder Singh in November 1900 AD, his son Patiala. As the new Maharaja was only nine years old at that time, Bhupinder Singh succeeded to the Chiefship of the charge of administration of the State was entrusted to the Council of Regency of three high officials of the State. For the administration of Education Department, the Council of Regency adopted the system introduced by Dr. Simes in 1889 AD. The Director of Public Instructions was entrusted with the duty of supervision of state schools. For his assistance two Inspectors were appointed who were required to visit each school at least twice a year. In 1902 AD for administrative convenience the State Education Department was divided into two circles - Patiala Circle and Barnala Circle. The Patiala Circle had 58 schools with 3,138 students and Barnala Circle had 48 schools with 2,483 students.¹⁴

During the period of Council of Regency a scholarly work on education for the Patiala State was produced by Pandit Ram Singh Sharma a senior Inspector and officiating Director of Public Instruction known as *Asul-i-Talim* (Principles of Education) which was greatly appreciated by educational experts of the Punjab and United Provinces. The General Text Book Committee Punjab approved it for the Libraries of high schools and training institutions.

In 1903 AD. H. T. Knowlton of the Indian Education Service was taken on deputation from the Punjab Government to draw up a scheme and to reorganize the department of education on British pattern." He made a thorough survey of the working of the education department and submitted a damaging report on 21 October 1904. In his report he drew the attention of the state authorities on the shortcomings of the existing education, such as limited sources of finance, inadequately qualified teachers, limited number of schools and poor condition of Mahendra College etc. Regarding Mahendra College he reported: "The maintenance of Arts classes in Mahendra College costs the state an amount of rupees 10,000 per year. The college exists solely for the purpose of granting higher education state subject in the present year, i.e. 1904 AD, only 14 state subjects were in the F.A. and B.A. classes. In other words, Rs. 700 per head was the cost. Was the state receiving a fair return for this outlay? The abolition of the college was a question to be decided by the Regency Council. I suggest that Patiala students can be given stipend for education in more efficient colleges of

¹⁴ S. P. Shrivastva, *Art and Architecture of Patiala State*, Kashi Printers, Patiala, 1992, p.105

the British India. If the college is abolished rupees 4,000 can be spent on 20 state subject scholars in any good institution and rupees 6000 thus saved can be spent in maintaining a Normal School for primary school teachers at Patiala"¹⁵. However this suggestion of Knowlton was not accepted by the Council of Regency as it appeared that Knowlton gave more importance to the commercial aspect than to the social and welfare responsibilities of the State. But other suggestions of Mr. Knowlton for the extension and development of education in the State were accepted. The council of Regency then borrowed the services of Lala Shiv Dayal of the Punjab Education Service and appointed him Director of Public Instruction with special powers to bring into effect the recommendations of Knowlton. The reforms brought into effect were:

- i. Primary schools for boys and 8 for girls were started.
- ii. Bassi school was upgraded to a high school.
- iii. Small Anglo-Vernacular primary schools within walking distance from large towns were converted into vernacular primary schools.
- iv. Some new school buildings were constructed.
- v. Drawing as a relative subject was introduced in two high schools.
- vi. Evening classes for the training of untrained teachers were opened as an experimental measure. Teachers were trained at State expenses.
- vii. For the first-time regular gradation of pay scales of teachers was introduced.
- viii. Clerical commercial classes were started on experimental basis in the city High School in October 1909 AD he had in his mind the recommendations of Mr. When Maharaja Bhupinder Singh assumed full ruling powers Knowlton. He took keen interest in the development of education in accordance with these recommendations. He realized that without education the administrative machinery could not be run effectively, as it is evident from the decree issued by him. "No one, even if he belonged to the royal family shall be taken in state service, if he had not passed certain examination."¹⁶

Considering the necessity of education, he took some important steps to promote education among the people of the State In 1911 he made primary education free in the State. He passed the Primary Education Act in April 1927 under which education was made

¹⁵ Robert William, *A Text Book of Punjab Administration Report*, Cambridge Press, New Delhi, 1990, p.110.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.112

compulsory in the Patiala Municipal Limits." Every school was being supervised the Director of Public Instructions. According to the Act, it was the duty of every parent that a boy residing within such area who was not under 6 years and not over 11 years of age should be sent to the recognized schools with exceptional excuse .In 1928 Maharaja Bhupinder Singh framed out a new scheme called "Ten Years Education Programme" for the development of education in the State. Under this scheme, it was proposed to open one primary school for boys in every town with a population of 1600 or at least one school within 212 miles of every village; one middle school in every town with a population of 10,000 or more.¹⁷

At the start of this programme there were 7 high schools (6 for boys and 1 for girls), 21 middle schools (20 for boys and 1 for girls) and 238 primary schools (194 for boys and 44 for girls). After five years in 1933 AD they were 3 high schools, 18 Anglo Vernacular, 20 lower middle and 245 primary schools. After ten years the State had 306 high, middle and primary schools for boys and 57 schools including one high school for girls. For the carrying out of such an ambitious programme special funds were invested out of normal budget. The profits from some other department of the State were also utilized for the development of education, particularly for proper equipment and furniture in the schools and for securing recruitment of better and trained teachers. Moreover, special grants were also issued to the education department. No fee was charged from the students of primary and middle school. It was only in the secondary school that the fees were charged. Though the tuition fee was slightly increased yet it was still cheaper than that in the British Punjab School.

As in British India. A system of grant-in-aid was introduced in the state by Council of Regency to encourage the private enterprise in the cause of education. Following that pattern the Council of Regency also started giving grant to the schools run by the private agencies. The important schools which received monthly state aid between rupees twenty-five to rupees thirty-five were Sat Narain Middle School for Boys at Mandi Gobindgarh, Suria Ashram Vidayala for Boys at Kanti, Kanya Pathshala for girls at Mandi Phul and Kanya Pathshala for girls at Mandi Jaito.¹⁸

The other notable work of the Council of Regency was that the State High School, Mandi Phul, was granted permanent recognition by the Panjab University while the Arya High School Nabha was granted recognition for two years and the Public High School, Jaito was also recognized provisionally for two years. Moreover, Nabha was declared by the

¹⁷ J. C. Feaver, *Religion in Philosophical and Cultural Perspective*, Mahajan publishers, Nabha, p.34.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.38.

Panjab University as a center for students appearing in the Matriculation Examination. As a result of this, the State students for the examination were saved a lot of expense, worry and time involved in going over to different university centers outside the state. Due to all these reforms introduced by the Council of Regency the number of scholars which was 1,636 in 1925 AD, rose to 3,034 in the year 1928 and further rose to 5,547 in 1941 AD, at the end of the rule of Council of Regency.¹⁹

In order to fight illiteracy on all fronts, the Council of Regency started evening classes for adults in the two adult schools at Sulkha and Amloh, for it was believed that the general spread of literacy among the parent was sure to lead to the universal spread of education among children." The Inspector of Schools, Jallunder Division, in the Report on Education (1932-33) writes. "If illiteracy is to be fought in all earnestness I am definitely of opinion that school is the only effective weapon to do it. Literacy of adult alone can popularize literacy among children. Hence every effort should be concentrated on making the adult schools a successful institution. For the achievement of this object evening classes for adults were started in the various centers in the State. The total number of such evening centers was 50. Some of them were running very successfully.

Female education was not ignored by the Council of Regency. Until 1934 AD there was one Anglo-Vernacular Middle School for girls at Nabha and one primary school for girls at Dhanaula. For girls three new primary schools were opened at the headquarters of the three districts during 1936 AD and the number of State girl's schools was increased to five. The number of girl's schools remained the same. till the end of Council of Regency but the number of students increased from 323 in 1934 to 796 in 1940 AD.²⁰

In order to encourage promising students of the State to acquire college education, the Council of Regency granted three scholarship, two of rupees 30 per month and one of rupees 20 per month, to the deserving scholars of the State who prosecuted their studies in different college outside the State. For female education one scholarship of rupees 20 per month was granted to a girl student of the State. Woman teachers granted stipends of rupees 35 per month each and deputed to Lahore for training in the J.A.V. classes at R. B. Sohan Lal Training College for Women and the Muslim Training Centre for Women respectively." The Darbar spent a considerable amount of money every year in awarding scholarships to poor and deserving students. A major portion of this grant was sanctioned in favor of the scholars

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.38

²⁰ Fauza Singh, *Patiala and its Historical Surroundings*, Oxford Press, New Delhi, 1987, p.12.

going for higher studies. A special sum aggregating rupees 1920 called the Chotian scholarships was reserved every year for awarding scholarships to deserving agriculturist students in order of merit in the high and middle classes of the State schools for higher studies. During the last year of rule of Council of Regency the Darbar sanctioned a number of scholarships for Arts. Professional and Technical education of the value of rupees 5,803." Due to the expansion and development of education the total expenditure of the State was increased highly. It was rupees 10,000.²¹

The British impact on the society of the Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha was multi-dimensional, though not radical. The Western impact is obvious on the urban society but it was less on the rural sides. However, the impact was not so brisk as to shake the grass-root of the traditional Punjabi culture of this region. The British impact on religion, education, manners and customs, trade and industry, and the emergence of elite class is perceptible but its extent depends upon the reaction and response of the people²².

The European influence on the society of Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha cannot be fully understood and appreciated without knowing the structure of the society and the geography of the region. The territories of these States lay with the British districts of Rohtak on the north-east, Gurgaon on the east, Hissar on the north-west and the States of Alwar and Jaipur on the south-east. The sandy and dry tracts of Bangar, like Narnaul, Mohidergarh, Charkhidadri were at a far off distance from the capitals of the respective states and as such did not experience substantial changes in the socio cultural milieu. The socio-cultural pattern was more or less based on the social stratification of the society of Punjab States. The population of the Punjab States can be classified', according to their profession, into classes such as agricultural class, commercial class, priestly class, menial class and other occupational classes.

The unique feature of the village community with different classes and castes was the harmonious co-operation of the functions of the various class-groups. For instance, the chamar (shoe-maker) provided desi jutti (country-shoe); the tarkhan (carpenter) made the hall (plough); the lohar (blacksmith) made the iron-work (lohe da phal) of the wooden plough; the julaha (weaver) made the cotton cloth. It is important to observe that the money paid to these skilled people for their labour, was given not in cash but in kind and that too biannually in the season of hari and sauni. The other two occupations namely nai (raja) and mirusi (bards)

²¹ Harjeet Kaur Maan, *The Mahajans*, Dheer Publishers, London, 1999, p.26

²² *Ibid*, p.29.

played no less significant role in the village life. At the time of marriage or some other similar occasions, the functions of cooking the meals and cleaning the house were performed by the nai. The mirasi all the time would sing songs in praise of his master. Even it was said to be the duty of the mirasi to find out the suitable match for the son or daughter of his master. It is said that almost all castes and classes of the Hindu social organization were proportionately represented in the States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha', however, the jats were predominantly represented. They were the backbone of the agriculturists. The jats of the Punjab States, especially of the Patiala State, were said to be the best and the finest peasantry of India.²³

The majority of the population of the Punjab States lived in the village and therefore, a village was the lowest unit that determined the socio-cultural set up of the States. Though a village had been an independent unit but it was closely connected with the socio-cultural milieu of the adjoining villages located both within the State territories and the British Indian territories.

The British impact on the village society was not substantial but it was not negligible either. The agriculturists had improved their way of cultivation and marketing of their products because of the means of transportation either by railways by road, and that had provided a co-relation or nearness for the agriculturists of the adjoining areas for their betterment²⁴. The limited mechanization in the agriculture sector in the early twentieth century was due to the British impact on the people of Punjab States. But this impact was confined only to the rich landlords. The irrigation through Persian-wheel become popular in the Princely States and that had helped to increase the products of the cultivators. The rotation of crops, the use of good quality of seeds and the utility of manure was due to the awareness initiated by the British officials." The irrigation through canals both in the Punjab and Punjab States may be attributed to British impact .Although the construction of canals had been motivated largely by the British imperialist interests, yet the agriculturists derived considerable benefit from this. The British Government in 1870 sanctioned a joint venture under British and the Native States for canal irrigation scheme." Therefore, in 1873, an agreement was formed between the British Government and the Punjab States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind to settle their shares in the cost of construction work of the Sirhind Canal. The headwork's of the canal was at Roper and from here distributaries were opened, one of

²³ Ganda Singh, *Christianity in the Punjab*, Royal Press, Patiala, 1980, p.121.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.125.

these belonged to the British Government and the other to Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha.²⁵

The rich landlords, namely biswedars were living in good houses as 'havelis' which had almost all the comforts of life. Their social set-up was entirely different as compared to the poor cultivators living in the villages. The people living in the cities, the so-called urban society, consisted of high officials, big land lords and other well-to-do people. The houses of such people reflected the British influence on the architectures as well as on the interior decoration. The furniture inside these big 'havelis' or palaces had tended to suggest the prominent impact of Westernization. The palaces of the Chiefs of the Punjab States reflected a synthesis of Rajput architecture and the European style of architecture.

During the reign of Maharaja Mahinder Singh (1862-1876) of the Patiala State, a change occurred in the rudimentary architecture that had developed in this State. The buildings constructed during his period represent a mixture of Western style mingled with Rajput style of architecture. The peculiar characteristic of Western style like thick and long pillars. Study base, big are with proportionate height and upper part of the building represents the Victorian style of architecture.²⁶ "The aforesaid characteristic of Western style is also reflected in the buildings of Mahindra College and Rajindra Hospital, both at Patiala. During the early twentieth century, the architectural style of the Punjab States represents a synthesis of Victorian architecture, as referred above, and Rajput style. The Rajput style of architecture is visible from the huge pillars with lotus style or bell shaped base and proportionate height of the plinth, the false windows and doors, with Kiosk of good height on the roof and visibly huge building with open doors from all sides having upward steps to go inside the palace. A very impressive and a good specimen of Western¹ influence on architecture is found on Rajindra Victoria Diamond, Jubilee Public Library building constructed during the reign of Maharaja Rajinder Singh (1876-1900) of Patiala. The Punjab Chiefs felt proud of their houses which they had constructed for their European friends or officers. It is said that the rulers of the Patiala State were known for their good houses built for the comforts of European guests; one of such houses was built in Chail adjoining Shimla²⁷.

The British impact on the religion of the native people is obvious, insofar as the Christian Missionaries in the early twentieth century made a considerable impact on the

²⁵ Neelam Soni, *Socio-Cultural Life in the Phulkian States*, Punjabi university press, Patiala, 1995, p.170

²⁶ *Ibid*, p.176.

²⁷ P.Thomas, *Hindu Religious, Customs and Manners*, Oxford Press, New Delhi, 1960, pp.72-75

existing traditions. "Religion is manifestly a content of element of human experience." The relationship between religion and society has been one of the central concern though for different perspective Inflect, religion is "a belief in a divine being. Thus divine being become a Supreme Power, a central theme for the beliefs of the people. The innocent as well as ignorant villagers believe in the Super Power which they felt exists to control the universe, and this ultimate 'Super Power' became the central pivot around which moved the rituals, beliefs and many superfluous customs of the people. It was one of the Sikhs followed Guru Granth Sahib and were forbidden the use of tobacco: and did not eat flesh of any animal killed by halal. Many Sikhs of the Punjab States also worshipped devi or kali-mata." For instance, in the Patiala State, the Maharaja himself had got constructed a temple in reverence to kalt-mata': here a lot of devotees whether Hindus or Sikhs visited daily."

The Muslims were also in great number in the Punjab States. It is said that a Muhammadan may freely mix-up with the Hindus or the Sikhs but he will avoid dining with the Christians." In the villages Christians were considered at par with the low Varna, the out-caste. However, in the urban society, where the Christians were in the high jobs, they were well-received by the native people not only this, rather the urban native people felt proud to be in the company of the Christians. It may be due to the fact that the British Agent, and other British employees in the States considered themselves as a privileged class of a separate group which belonged to Her Majesty's servant in the State and hence they considered themselves of an exalted position and this became a source for their respect.

No doubt, there were no notable or accountable conversions of the native people into the Christian faith, but the impact of the Christian Missionaries seemed to have exercised great influence on the lowest Varna of the Hindu social organization.³⁵ We find the construction of Churches in the Punjab States and the visitors to these places included not only the Christians but also some low born Hindus.³⁶ The most important British impact in the religious field was to remove ignorance and superstition of the people about the treatment given to the patients by some 'sadhus' and their blind faith in mari, devi etc. and in the cure of diseases of the patients only just by repealing some mantras told by the sadhus. Though the Chiefs of the States had constructed hospitals but the missionary work done by the European doctors by visiting the villages and then providing free medicines like quinine against malaria, free vaccination and potassium permanganate (popularly known as 'lall dawae' or red medicine) to protect water from harmful bacteria and other preventive medicines for the poor villagers was said to be highly commendable." This type of free service rendered by

some of the European officials and missionaries had diminished the people's blind faith in jadu-tona and also on similar other superstition.²⁸

As regards the spread of Christianity in the Punjab States, it was done not under the royal patronage, rather it was the result of efforts of the individual British officials and Christian Missionaries. The Government policy in the Punjab States was that of religious neutrality. The British officials never forced the State rulers to make the study of Bible compulsory in the schools nor was it their policy to promote Christianity at the cost of other religions." The Christian community did exist in the Punjab States, especially at the headquarters of the respective State, but it was just a microscopic minority.

It is said that Roman Catholics and Protestants, the two well-known sects of the Christians, had established some Christian Missionaries in the Punjab States towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century. For Example, American Reformed Presbyterian Church was established in 1892 by Dr. Scotch, a medical missionary, with the permission of Maharaja Rajinder Singh with its headquarter and Church at Patiala. From here, the Christian Missionaries extended their area of preaching Christianity as far as Sirhind and Kandaghat. In the Patiala State another Missionary Center was established by American Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1890 at Patiala. However, its headquarter was at Ludhiana* and it extended its missionary activities in the area of Sunam, Bhawanigarh, Narwana, Dhuri, Barnala, Mansa and Narnaul, the third Christian Missionary centre in Patiala was that of Presbyterian Church of Bassi founded towards the end of the nineteenth century." It is said that at Bassi about twelve to thirteen sweeper boys from the fourth Varna were given education in this missionary school, however, it could not flourish and later on a community center was opened at Rajpura. These missionaries did a Commendable job in eradicating 'false and superfluous' rites and rituals from the poor villagers. Not only this, these European people went to the villages to provide free medicine as said earlier and also efforts were made to remove illiteracy from the villages²⁹."

In spite of the efforts and zeal of the Christian Missionaries, the spread of Christianity in the Punjab States remained slow and remained confined largely to the Shudras. The increase in the number of the Christian population remained very slow as compared to the rate of general increase in the population. In the Nabha State as well as in the Jind State, the spread of Christianity was almost negligible. However, there was a remarkable increase in the

²⁸ Partap Singh, *Education Development in Punjab*, Lotus Press, New Delhi, P.120.

²⁹ *Ibid*, P.122

Christian population in the Patiala State as compared to that in the other two sisterly States, it may be due to the fact that Patiala was the headquarters of all the Missionaries with their Church at the capital of the State. For instance, number of Christians in this premier State in 1911 AD was 739 and their number increased to 1949, after a gap of twenty years, in 1931 AD. The British impact on modern education in the Punjab States is significant. Before the advent of the British, the traditional system of education was prevalent in the Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, according to which, the students were sent to some religious institutions where they were taught simple arithmetic and a good knowledge about their scriptures. Infact education was said to be the concern of the priestly class and no regular system of education existed.

The priestly class's main concern was to train the students to become preachers. The students were sent to pathshalas, dharamsalas, madrasas, masits (mosques), and gurdwaras, where they got instruction from their respective teachers.⁴⁵ However, with the British impact, the rulers of Patiala, Jind and Nabha States started paying attention for the development of education on modern lines The British officials encouraged the Chiefs to introduce modern system of education and to take measure for the development of female education also.³⁰

The Western system of education was properly organized in Patiala and other States. The Wood's Despatch of 1854 AD had set certain principles for the scheme of education to be followed in the British India. In each of the Provinces of British India, a regular Education Department was established which controlled and guided the education system, and this was followed by the rulers of Punjab States also. In the Patiala State, a premier state in the northern region, Maharaja Narinder Singh opened the first education institution on modern lines in 1860 AD, known as Central School. The first official order i.e. 'Hadayatnama' for the above referred institution was issued in 1862 AD. It marked the beginning of the visible British impact on the education of these states.

The Western impact on education was more perceptible during the period under review. Maharaja Bhupinder Singh (1900-1938 AD) took personal interest for the development of education in Western style. He was of the opinion that good education was an urgent need to produce good citizens and good administrators³¹. The Maharaja realized that the present system of education was not conducive and he felt the need of an organized

³⁰ Jarmani Das, *Foreign and Political Development*, Bashika Press, Madras, 1971, pp.7-10.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.11

system of education and he suggested that an institution must have at least six classes, i.e. a student will have to stay in the school minimum for six years and it became the lowest unit in the education system of the Patiala State. Further improvement in this system was done in the year 1928 AD, when the Patiala State introduced 'Ten Year Education Programme.

The Western impact on education was reflected in no less degrees in the Jind and Nabha States. The Council of Regency during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's (1887-1889 AD) period adopted the British Punjab educational system to be followed in Jind." The influence of British impact on educational affairs of the State became more evident when a European tutor was appointed for the Maharaja; and hence a craze for the western education became popular among the influential people.

The Nabha State did not lag behind in introducing modern education on the Western pattern. It is said that the first notable attempt at modernizing education in the Nabha State was made by the raja Bharpur Singh (1846-63 AD) in 1863 AD, when he established a school at Nabha and appointed an European teacher to teach English. However, during the reign of Hira Singh (1871-1911 AD) a noteworthy cantonment school at Nabha was opened in 1890, in which students were provided with boarding, clothes and books from the State. Under Council of Regency during the period of Maharaja Partap Singh's minority (1927-28 AD) which worked under the guidance of the British Resident, the impact of Western education became more and more evident, as it was on the British Punjab.

A system of grants-in-aid was introduced in the States under British protection, as it was elsewhere in British India, to encourage the cause of higher education. It is said that H.T. Knowlton made recommendation for the introduction of grants-in-aid to the private denominational institutions all over the State of Patiala during the minority of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. It helped in the growth of various institutions maintained by the private efforts of various communities.³²

The appointment of British officials in the schools provided a liberal platform for the girl's education. Though it was in the interest of the States to give education to girls but the conservative atmosphere in the villages and lack of awareness about the education posed a hindrance for their education, however, in the cities rich people preferred to give education to girls and this was considered a symbol of dignity. The Western impact on education probably

³² *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Patiala*, p.210.

made the urbanite people more conscious about the need for female education, which was earlier altogether neglected.

The development of higher education in the Punjab States was not a small measure under the Western impact. It became an honor for a Chief of a State to send brilliant students abroad for higher education. After return, these students definitely made Western impact not only on the educational sphere but also on many other aspects of the society. This interaction of the scholars from the Princely States with the scholars of the British within India and outside India earmarked a definite progress in education and Westernization of the urban elite. For instance, in 1929-30, the Patiala State had sent eight students to England for higher education. In the Jind State, Maharaja Ranbir Singh had sanctioned one scholarship under the name 'Dane-Ranbir - Foreign Scholarship' and under this scholarship one student every year was sent for higher education in Europe and America. Similarly, Raja Hira Singh of Nabha paid special attention towards development of higher education and after his death Hira Singh Trust was founded and under this trust brilliant boys were sent to England for higher education. In fact, this was the actual thrust of the impact of the British, which was brought by the scholars of these States when they returned from abroad and yielded a considerable impact on every sphere of life.

For the Westernization of the urban elite, credit goes to the enlightened rulers for having paid personal attention for the spread of higher education in their respective States. The Chiefs of the Punjab States Westernized the State's education to such an extent as if the Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha were the Province of British India. The new education system borrowed from British became a catalyst for Western impact on the development of education in the Princely States though this type of education was for limited people but still it led to the propagation of modern ideas in the states and this helped in the process of modernization.³³

The British impart which became evident in the urban society began to spread in the early twentieth century and it was perceived on the dress-decoration, manners and etiquettes of the people living in the cities. The inhabitants of the Punjab States comprised of different communities and groups and there was variation in their dress and decoration. The dress of the common people was simple and made of raw cotton. The people of this region generally wore dastar (turban), pyjama, and dhoti (generally worn by the Hindus). majhla (chadar or

³³ Gernal Singh, *My Ruler*, Ambar Publications, Ambala, 1990, p.210

chadra or tahmat, a type of loose dhoti, worn by the Muslims as well as by the Sikhs living in the villages), the upper garment was usually a short, with different styles. Some of the Muslims and also the official class wore pyjamas or breeches which were close fitting garment coming down to the ankle and even longer enough to be plaited. The Hindus and the Muslims both wore 'salwars' which were all loose and tied by a string with tassels at the waist. The Sikhs generally wore short drawers coming down to knees, known as kachh or nicker (a western name of short drawes). The most popular dress worn by the Hindus.

Muslims and the Sikhs for the upper part of the body was kurta, a type of shirt reaching up to knees. Even kurta, with a slight change was worn by the women of Malwa resion." The kurta worn by the upper class was studded with gold or silver buttons." Well-to-do Hindus and Muslims both wore long coats known as sherwani."³⁴

The Hindu or Muslim women's dress usually consisted of salwar also called suthan, a loose kurta also known as kameej. choli, petti-coat. ghagra and burqa." The Muslim women commonly wore Kameej, salwar and dupta to cover the body; petti coat, choli or angia and ghagra for the Hindu women; whereas a Sikh woman usually wore kameej and salwar with dupata on the head: phulkari, though costly, was the most famous head-dress for the Sikh women of Malwa region.⁷⁶ Phulkari was worn especially at the wedding ceremonies and other festive occasions. The women of the palace though wore some traditional dress but they used gorgeous clothes which were embroidered with pure gold and silver wires as could scarcely be seen in any part of the world. The palace people had also shown a considerable attraction for the European dress and decoration. The royal ladies had a craze for the dress made of English fabrics of better quality." It is said that the officials and darbaris used to attend Darbar after wearing Patiala Shahi Turban -dastar"." A special officer was always in attendance at the palace to tie the turban around the head of the Maharaja." One interesting instance of Western impact was witnessed in respect of the Nabha State when its ruler, Maharaja Partap Singh went to England for education, cut his hair and followed the European style of having hat on his head instead of turban.

The rich urbanite people gave evidence of British impact on their dress. As said earlier, they preferred to wear English dress such as pent and coat, shirt with necktie, and other English dress in accordance with the seasons. The educated people were said to have more attraction for the Western dress and their living style. It is one of the reasons that

³⁴ Ram Gopal, *British rule in India*, Octave Press, Bombay, 1963, p.199.

educated people under the British influence wore their hair short and were following the habit of shaving their beards. The well-to-do people in the duties wore English shoes, boots and gurgabis (open shoe or shoe without laces). In the cities, English shoes were also made by Indian shoe-makers.³⁵

The Maharajas of Punjab States were very fond of drinks. The liquor prepared at Nabha had acquired a great reputation and became a part of the Punjabi folk-tore. 'Nabha dhian band botlan, peenge nasiban wale; i.e. one who is lucky will drink liquor of Nabha.⁸⁶ It is said that the Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala and his women in the harem frequently used wine. Some of the Patiala nobles were known for their heavy peg of drinks-Patiala shahi peg. The rulers of the Patiala, Jind and Nabha States used to have sumptuous food and took liquor every day. It became a fashion among the rulers of the States to drink or to serve liquor to the guests. The Maharaja and the Maharanis of the States were served food in gold plates studded with precious stones and gems and countless numbers of dishes were served to them." On the occasion like birthday of the Maharajas or Maharanis, Princes and Princesses banquets were held. The banquet was served by Italian, Indian and English waiter and butlers, and the quality of food and wines was exquisite. Such parties ended in the early hours of morning when all of them were intoxicated with wine and liquor." On the other hand, diet of the common people of the Princely States was the preparation from wheat, maize, gram, barley, jawar and rice which was in their reach for the economic reasons. The favourite dish of the majority of the people living in the villages was make de roti (baked bread prepared from maize) and sag." But in the south-east part of the States such as Bawal, Dadri, Mohindergarh, i.e. Bangar area."sattu, bajra and gram were the staple articles of diet. In this part of the Punjab States, Gram, Grain, Maize, Barley, Jawar etc. were also eaten. The khichri made of bajra moth and mong was also popular throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab States. Thus, the food of the poor people consisted of dried bread which was taken with cooked pulses or vegetables or with the butter milk or sometimes they mixed salt in their bread and ate it with butter-milk. Ordinary peasant's food consisted of wheat, barley and gram in summer and maize in winter with mung³⁶, A brief review of the village society and urban society makes it clear that the Western impact was confined to only a small section of the urban people, who had taken to Western dresses and manners and more prominently on the Maharajas and Maharanis who lavishly spent on their dresses and decoration. But, the

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.111.

³⁶ M.Fullar, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, Oxford Press, London, 1861, pp.120-124.

British impact on the diet and food of the common people was tantamount to negligible. However, the urbanite elite started the use of cigars and cigarettes." and had developed a taste for tea % because of Western influence but again it was among the only few urbanites.

As regards 'recreation and amusement of the people of the Punjab States, it depended upon the economic position of the persons, availability of time and the outlook of the people. It is obvious that poor peasants had neither time nor money to indulge themselves in merry making or enjoying life in Western style. Their social life was generally one of drudgery. Most of their time was spent in agricultural activities, while the period free from agriculture was utilized for rest. Their income from agriculture was very low and with that they could hardly make both ends meet." Thus the poor peasants were cut out from the outside world and were deprived of all the amenities and charms of a civilized life." But on the other hand, the rulers of the States had little time for administrative work as most of their time was taken up in attending shooting parties, playing cards, drinking brandy, celebrating birthday parties of princes and princesses and other functions arranged for their pleasure." The common people of Punjab States whether in the cities or villages, had not been influenced by the western modes of amusement and recreation.

The Maharajas of Punjab States were known for their love for secularism. The Chiefs of Patiala, especially Maharaja Bhupinder Singh had Maharanis like Vimla Wati, Jashodha Devi. Rewti Devi and Rupwati Devi from Rajput States. The Maharaja of Jind, had married an English lady, named Dorothy. The rulers of Punjab States had liberally patronized the Sikh gurdwaras, Hindu temples and Muslim mosques. Some of the Punjab Chiefs especially Patiala ruler Bhupinder Singh used to worship Kali Devi. A beautiful temple in reverence to Kali Devi was constructed at Patiala during the reign of Bhupinder Singh. The Patiala Chief had also constructed a Shiva temple near Qila Mubarak. It is said that apart from the Hindus and Sikhs temples the Patiala City had about fifteen mosques. The rulers of Punjab States had granted freedom of worship and respected the beliefs, practices and rituals of all the religions. They themselves participated in the celebration of the festivals of all the religions such as Dushera and Diwali of the Hindus, Gurburb of the Sikhs and id of the Muslims. However, later on in the first half of the twentieth century, with the growing impact of the British the Christmas day too was added and it was celebrated at the capitals of the respective States.

The cotton industries at Patiala, Bassi, Amloh, Nabha, Gobindgarh, Jaitu, Phul, Sunam, Sangrur, Narnaul had become popular in the early twentieth century for the product

of lungi, pagri, dhotis, khes, daris, cotton carpets, cotton shirts etc. The embroidery work and the manufacturing of laces, crepes, gota, zari and especially the gold and silver wires were restricted to Patiala and Sangrur." The gold button and silver button used for the Shahi pushak (royal dresses) were manufactured at Patiala and Narnaul."

The leather works whether in the villages or in the cities had been considerably developed. In the rural side, the chief occupation of the leather workers (chamars) was the tanning of leather and making desi-juti, shoe for the villagers. But in the urban area, the manufacturing of boots on the English pattern too had become common. Like leather workers, wood-workers (carpenter) too had trained themselves to make tables, chairs and other furniture with English style. Some of the other industrial works like ceramic, metallic, chemical etc. too were popular in the States, but these industries developed just on the traditional pattern as per need of the people and had not shown any clear or visible British impact.³⁷

The development of trade in these Punjab States was dependent on the safety of traders and condition of the roads. Even as late as nineteenth century, the rulers of the States had not shown any seriousness towards trade. Whether inside the States or with the outside world. The roads were defective and even not safe for the traders. Moreover, the extraordinary heavy tolls and duties imposed by the Sikh rulers on the merchants passing through their territory had discouraged the traders. "However in the beginning of the twentieth century, the well-built roads, spread of railway track in the Punjab States, interaction of the British officials with the Chiefs had encouraged the traders to improve and establish trade at far off places. The surplus grain of the States was taken to the nearest railway station for import and export. The States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha had to import raw and refined sugar and rice from the United Provinces, many other goods from Delhi and Bombay; and for export these States had enough to sell like wheat, barley, bajra and cotton. In spite of all this, the economy of these States reflects a dismal picture painted on the conservative canvas of India, probably because of the reason that Westernization that took place in the States was so slow that basically no substantial impact of the British took place to bring a change in the conservative pattern of the States' industries³⁸.

To remove evils from the society, the British had played most pertinent and prominent role. The strenuous task for the British authorities was to convince the native people either by

³⁷ Ram Gopal, *British rule in India*, Octave Press, Bombay, 1963,p.201

³⁸ Neelam Soni, *Wisdom and Waste in Punjab Villages*, Oxford Press, London, 1989,p.145.

pressure or by persuasion to remove the evils from the society whether that of the Punjab States or that of the British India. The evils of the society like female infanticide, sati, child marriage and burqa, in fact all these were the concern of the women. The position of the women in the Punjab States was deplorable. Female infanticide was a heinous evil which was in vogue in the Punjab States since long the birth of the girl was considered inauspicious and a liability for the parents. Since the infanticide being a secret and domestic practice, therefore it had become difficult for the police to check it. Sir John Lawrence issued proclamations prohibiting the practice and threatened to punish the kuri-mar or daughter-slayers with severest penalties if they continued it. Various other measures were taken by the Government to inculcate fear as well as sympathy of the people to eradicate this evil. The Punjab States adjoining with the British Punjab had also been influenced by the various measures adopted by the Government to remove this evil of sati and other social evils. In fact it had been provided in the sanads issued to the Punjab Chief in 1847 and 1860, enjoining upon them to eradicate the evils like female infanticide, sati etc. The Punjab rulers also did a commendable job by making the people aware of the stern action to be taken who will do the heinous crime of kuri-mar. The village headman and other responsible persons were made responsible for reporting the offenders to concerned officials. In the British Punjab, the Lieutenant Governor "proposed the appointment of Indian Medical Officer on the spot to whom the birth, illness and deaths of all female infants would be reported and whose business it would be to see as far as possible that such infants were not ill-treated or neglected". This had caused a considerable impact on the rulers of Punjab States also. The British Officials in these States did a yeoman's service in the way of missionary style by persuading the people and making them aware that female infanticide was a sin.

The practice of sati or the burning alive of the widow on the pyre of her husband among the high caste Hindus was another evil of the society prevalent particularly among the Rajputs. In the British India, sati was declared illegal and punishable in the British Punjab and this left a deep impact on the Punjab States also. The British officials, employed in the Punjab States to streamline the administration on the modern lines also worked to make the people aware about the evil of sati. Similarly, the other social evils like purdha and child marriage were also gradually eradicated from the States mainly due to the British impact. 132

The rulers of Punjab States took personal interest in the abolition of these evil practices and they took special measures for the encouragement of female education³⁹.

The Western impact on the society of Punjab States gave rise to the emergence of middle class in the cities. This middle class took keen interest in the social and reformative movements which began to grow in the States in the early twentieth century. The spread of education among the ruralites and urbanites also inculcated the national feelings among the common masses. The educated people, though less in number, started realizing their rights and duties and become conscious of their welfare. The rise of reformative movements, alike Gurdwara Reform Movement, Arya Samaj Movement and Praja Mandal Movement in early twentieth century were basically due to the spread of education. It is significant to note that Praja Mandal Movement, a democratic movement against the Princely regime launched in the Punjab States in 1928, had been led in the early stage not by the urbanite middle class and the Congress but by the rural based peasant leaders backed by the Akalis. It was in the 1940s that urban middle class came into prominence in the politics of the Punjab States. Summing up, may be said that the British impact on the society of the Punjab⁴⁰. States was in proportion to imperialist requirements of the Paramount Power. The British impact on these Princely States was, for obvious reason, much less than that exercised on the society of the Punjab which was directly under the British rule. It may be explained largely in terms of the despotic rule of the Punjab Chiefs who, with few exception, cared more for their personal pleasures than for efficient administration and upliftment of the society on modern lines. On the whole, whatever British impact on the society of Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha had been that was benevolent and for the introduction of Westernization among the urbanites.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.179.

⁴⁰ *Phulkian State Gazetteer*, p.86.

CONCLUSION

In the light of this evidence, it is clear that Education has great importance in the whole world and the fact is, it was equally important in the ancient and as well as in medieval age. In this thesis I have elaborate the role of Social Movements in the India and their contribution in the take care of Education system. In the first chapter I have written the background of Education in India. Education was no concern of the state. But the rulers and the nobility were not indifferent to the cause of education. In fact, in some cases they were great patrons of learning. The Muslim rulers of India took interest in establishing educational institutions and endowing them. They also founded Libraries and literary societies. Moreover, they patronized learned men and liberally endowed them, so that they might devote themselves whole-heartedly to their studies, undisturbed by financial worries. The cause of education was equally championed by the rulers and private individuals during the medieval (specially the Mughal) period. Some of the institutions and libraries established during this period exist even today. Others have met with their ruin and are known only by their names. Poets, scholars, and literary men used to receive remuneration from the royal court, and so they cherished the idea of becoming courtiers. Poor and promising students would sometimes get the benefit of free education and stipends were granted to them for their maintenance. Schools of Islamic Learning, like the Maktabas and Madrasahs were financed both by the state and by private individuals. Salaried teachers were appointed by the state. Large endowments were also made for these educational institutions. In schools held in private houses, teachers got personal services from their student in lieu of fees.

During the early period of Muslim rule in Northern India, the Muslim population was centered mainly in towns and cities (except in East Bengal where a large section of rural people were Muslim). The Muslim rulers and nobles in the towns generally patronized Muslim education alone. Thus at the beginning of the Muslim rule, Muslim education remained confined very largely to urban areas, and did not spread among the village people. The number of people receiving Muslim education at that time in towns and cities was also very small. It is true that a few Muslim Kings also showed interest in Brahmanical education and encouraged translating of Sanskrit works into Arabic and Persian. The real foundation of Muslim rule in India was laid by Muhammad Ghuri (Sultan Shahab-ud-Din or Ghor) 1191-1192 BC). He was the first Muslim King to promote education in India. At Ajmer he established some schools and seminars' for the spread of Islamic culture. He even picked up his promising slaves and gave them education.

The Mughal conquest of India gave a great impetus to cultural and educational activities. The beginning of Mughal rule in India marks the beginning of a new chapter in Muslim education in the country. The Mughal kings were zealous exponents of education. The Mughal court received cordially all who came there from any country whatsoever in search of patronage.

Islam attaches much importance to the acquisition and extension of knowledge which is considered the only way to the realization of truth: Prophet Muhammad emphasized upon the importance of education and made it compulsory for all the Faithful, ---men as well as women. The popular idea that women debarred from acquiring it is incorrect. We know of so many Muslim women. -- Bibi Fatima Zainab, Hamda, Hafsa, Safia. Maria and others who have left an ineffaceable impression on the literature of their times. The Muslim in India also did not neglect the education of their children. During the Muslim rule in India, education was imparted through (a) maktabas and madrasahs, (b) mosques and monasteries and (c) private houses. There was a unique method of dissemination of knowledge in those days; it was the method of discussion between the learned and the novice Mosques had schools attached to them.

During the Mughal period, mathematics was considered as the first among the science subjects included in the curriculum. Emperor Akbar, by issuing an order, made mathematics compulsory subject to be taught in the madrasah. The Hindus were particularly proficient in mathematics. They could orally solve difficult sums with utmost accuracy and facility. The European visitors were struck with wonder to see the skill and ingenuity in mathematics of the Hindus Though the Hindus in general were proficient and skilful in mathematics, yet some of the Muslim also distinguished themselves in this science. Khwaja Amir-ud-Din alius Nun, Fatehullah of Shirus and Hafiz Muhammad Khiyab were famous mathematicians.

With the advent of the Muslim in India the state support for Hindu education was withdrawn. It was now dependent on the village communities. Rich people and scholars who kept the torch of culture burning. The educational system in medieval India was connected with religion. The Hindu education was dominated by the Brahmins, and the Mohammedan education was controlled by the Moulavis. Higher Sanskrit education in the tols was intended mainly for the Brahmins, though students belonging to the upper castes were also admitted to it. Side by side with this system, there grew up a popular, elementary system of education, arising out of the demand of the common people for instruction in the three R's.

This elementary course taught in the pathsalas covered roughly a period of three years. Men of the trading and agricultural classes were benefited by this popular system of education, while the tols catered to the needs of the priestly and the leisured classes. After the background of education system, in the second chapter I have been written the information regarding Western education system and its development because there were many changes came across with time in society. The history of education is a popular subject in the west but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected or left to a small and scattered group or education, some of whom are unaware of the broad trends of historical scholarship. There has hardly been any serious reach in the subject and the few books that we have here on the story of education are largely based on government of India records and reports. These books present a huge mass of facts and figures without an in-depth analysis of the cause and effect relationship in the developments or changes that appear on the surface of education in India. Before independence there were two India's- one was the India controlled by the Indian princes and the other was the India controlled by the British Raj. In the last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of education and history. While education has increasingly become a social , political, and economic issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like ‘ the new history’ being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history, comparative history, political history, social history, and intellectual and cultural history. According to some scholars, education had been unknown to India and the Education system in India was the creation of the East India Company.

“Village schools served a very useful purpose-they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty Zamindar, the bania and the well-to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic (both written and oral). There were no printed books and the locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the pupils needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission-a pupil could join the school at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that he desired to know. Such schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple, and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of pupils could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior pupils were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the Madras Chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who

introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras System in England. The teachers for these schools, like their students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the pupils. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the British Raj. One factor which contributed to it was the gradual destruction of village crafts and industries and the growing impoverishment of the people following a series of economic reforms including the Permanent Settlement in the Bengal Presidency in the late eighteenth century.

It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India—they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian. Foremost among them was Warren Hastings who came to India in the service of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and by 1772 rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings developed a great love for Indo-Persian Culture. With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel Hatherly wrote *A Code of Centon Laws* in 1776 AD and Bengali grammar in 1778 and in 1779 AD. Charles Willis brought out his Sanskrit grammar: Francia Gladwin wrote *Institutes of the Emperor Akbar* in 1783. In 1781, he established the Calcutta Madrassa at the request of a Muslim deputation. The main object was to qualify the sons of the Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state even at that time largely monopolized by the Hindus. The institution was very popular and attracted scholars from far off places. The period of study extended over seven years and the scholars received stipends to study the courses. The courses included natural philosophy, Quranic theology, law, geometry, arithmetic, logic and grammar all on Islamic lines. The medium of instruction was Arabic. Hastings purchased a site and laid the foundation of the Madrassa on his own account and asked the Court of Directors to assign "the rents of one or more villages" near Calcutta as an endowment for the institution. The Directors later sanctioned this and reimbursed Hastings. We owe the concept of an educational ideal as a means of historical inquiry to Mannheim. He defined it as 'a residue of attitudes, principles and forms of behavior which shapes educational aims and arrangements in a period of history' (Mannheim and Stewart 1962). This concept enabled him

to debunk the notion-which still prevails that education has certain universal and eternal aims. He was able to demonstrate that educational aims have a historical character that they change as much as the guiding ideals of other cultural activities change over time. The concept of an educational ideal also served Mannheim as a method of analysis. He used it both for historical investigations and for participating in the discussion of educational aims in his own day. I intend to use the concept as a means to identify an organizing principle in Indian colonial Education during the nineteenth century. Among those who were able to retire to a successful life in England after a career in India, Charles Grant shines as a bright star. The reason why Grant is singled out here for a special mention is because of his contributions to the development of a modern education system in India. Charles Grant's contribution to British rule in India has been investigated a few decades ago by Professor A.T. Embree but educationists in India generally tend to overlook his role in the introduction of Western education in India. We shall presently see that he was the first Englishman, at least four decades before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. Grant was no missionary so why did he want to proselytize the Indians? Grant who had come to India in 1767 AD, acquired an immense fortune, and led a hectic life till 1786 AD when through family mishaps and close contact with the Chaplain David Brown and the Civilian George Udny, underwent a great change. He was appalled at the degeneration of the Indian society following the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the late eighteenth century. In the third chapter the information about Social religious movements and education has been given in the thesis. Renaissance' was, especially before 1857. Predominantly Islamic and Urdu in the same way as the awakening Bengal was Hindu and Sanskrit. Recent studies maintain that it was the Delhi cultural and religious fermentation which produced leading figures of both the Aligarh Movement and the Deoband School of the Muslim reformers. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's mental makeup was initially grounded in the Delhi intellectual fermentation. His commitment to Islam, Urdu language, English education and British manners can be appreciated only by keeping in mind that the British Indian State tried successfully to meet the effects of Islamic revival of the family of Shah Waliullah half way between 1803 and 1857 AD. This new class had started making its presence felt at both the Delhi Municipal Committee and the Delhi Literacy Society (established 1861) which were revived by the Punjab administration. However, this revival was not very strong partly because the British Government was still not very interested in restoring to the city its lost imperial and cultural glory. In the meantime Lahore had acquired an added significance by giving birth to an educo-political movement beginning with the formation of Anjuman-:-

Punjab by G.W. Leitner in January, 1865 AD. The beginning towards realization of this purpose were seriously made during the decade between 1877 and 1878 AD. It was a time when the Anjuman-i-Punjab, a common organization of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab was weakened by the British Government, first by withdrawing its patronage to it, and secondly, by engineering splits in it through its own official members. It was allowed to disintegrate itself. It was also a time when the Punjab Education Department was activated to encourage the 'natural leaders to undertake the tasks of organizing education among the respective communities. This necessitated either the transformation of existing community bodies (formed usually with the approval formal or tactic of the Government) or the formation of new ones. The process of transformation was clearly there in the case of Anjuman-i-Islamia (est. 1869 AD). It was also so in the case of Hindu Sabha and Singh Sabha. The formation of new bodies was represented by the Lahore Arya Samaj (1877 AD), the Lahore Indian Association (est. 1877 AD) and the Anjuman-i-Harndardi-Islamia (est. 1880 AD). In the meantime, the Aligarh Movement had taken a life of its own. The association of the natural leaders with these movements was preeminent. A number of them like Rai Bahadur Markat Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Muhammad Hyat Khan, Munshi Rai, Aluashi Rai Extra-Assistant Commissioner Pandit Moran Singh were not only the founder members of the Anjuman-i-punjab but also the ones to play important role transforming the community bodies. Under the Barkat Ali Khan, the Anjuman-i-Islamia became a body for western education and social reform among the Muslims on the lines of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan. Originally, it was established in 1869 AD for the limited purpose of looking after the management of one or two mosques in the religion. In this transformation, Muhammad Hyat Khan helped by acting as a link between the Anjuman and the Aligarh Movement. A glance at the studies on the last century of Punjab History, especially in the post-annexation period, presents the socio-religious movements as a relatively well studied fact of social reality of the region. Infact, this reality has been studied predominantly through the socio-religious movements. The region saw the emergence of the movements such as the Nirankaris, the Namdharis and Singh Sabha among the Sikhs; the Dev Samaj, Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharm movements among the Hindus, and the Ahmadiyahs among the Muslims. However, the Punjab Brahma Samaj preceded these all except, the Nirankaris; and was an all- community movement at least in the Lahore of 1860's. But all these movements have not received equal attention some are more studied than the others. Whereas the movements among the Sikhs have been studied in fairly good detail, those among the Punjab Hindus are, with the exception of Arya Samaj, still to be studied. For example, the Punjab Brahma Samaj has

attracted scant attention so far. Similarly, the role of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement in the life of Punjabi Muslims is yet to be probed into "The Hindu Sabha movement whose origin can be traced to year 1882 AD remains little known till date.our information regarding these movements is extremely inadequate. Keeping this inadequate in kind any observation made upon them will be nothing short of a preliminary. It is only a preliminary that few observations will here be made upon them. The movements fall into two broad categories on the as of the distinction which can easily be made between the movements that were completely thrown up by the conditions in the region and the movements which was their origin more to the forces and influences external the communities of the region. The Nirankari and the Namdhari movments and probably the Ahmadiyas as well come in the first category. These were the representatives of a negative response of a traditional society towards modernizing forces working for alterations in the social structure. These were hardly engaged in social transformation, and were restorative in character. Contrary to them, the movements like Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj were the outcome of the impact of British rule which was the first and major agency for the all-round transformation of society in India. These movements were transformatory in nature.The fourth chapter describes the contribution of Social-Religious movements for preserved the vernacular education. They had made many efforts for preserved the education in India.

If we follow the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis, we do not find any historical narrative embedded within the most well-known literary work in Bengali of the early eighteenth century-the Annadamangal by Bharatchandra Ray. Bharatchandra would have perfectly fitted their description of the karanam: he was a revenue of facial rising to the position of court poet to the Brahmin zamindar of Nadia a man who was to play a significant role in the power politics of Bengal in the period leading up to the battle of Palashi. Annada mangal describes the rise to fortune of Bhabananda Majumdar, the founder of the Nadia dynasty, by virtue of the benevolence showered on him by the goddess Annapurna. There are passages in the poem dealing with real historical events, such as the battle between the Mughal general Man Singh and the rebel zamindar Pratapaditya of Jessore, in which Bhabananda ingratiates himself with Man Singh by supplying his troops-bogged down by the Bengal monsoon-with food and provisions. Man Singh takes Bhabananda to Delhi to seek an audience with the emperor Jahangir and plead for a zamindari. Jahangir launches into a stock diatribe against infidel Brahmins who have no religion and who try to scare people by talking about the miraculous powers of their false gods and goddesses. That night, the goddess

Annapurna lets loose her army of demons and ghosts in the city of Delhi. The inhabitants are terrified, and the emperor himself is driven mad with fright. Subdued at last, Jahangir bows before the goddess, seeks her forgiveness, and bestows the zamindari of Nadia on Bhabananda.

It is worth investigating if the notion of power in the so-called *man gal kavya* literature of Bengal reveals a certain amoral realism, since the gods and goddesses themselves seem to respond most favorably to flattery and calculations of self-interest. Yet there is little of the historical narrative suggested by the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis in the last great *mangal kavya* of Bengal. There are however other historical narratives from the eighteenth century worth considering, which are far less acclaimed for their literary merit. The best known is the *Maharashta puran* by Gangaram (the 1751 manuscript preserved in the Calcutta University collections apparently misspells it *Maharashtra*). Gangaram too fits the category of *karanam* since he appears to have been a *Kayastha* of *Kishoreganj* who worked as an officer in an East Bengal zamindari and, having been sent to *Murshidabad* on official business, became caught up in the tumultuous political events of Bengal in the 1740s. The text is in verse but describes in graphic and realistic detail the Maratha raids on Bengal led by *Bhaskar Pant* (known in Bengal as *Bhaskar Pandit*), and the ultimate defeat of the Maratha forces at the hands of *Ali Vardi Khan*. Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam note this text as a remarkable piece of factual history placed within an ostensibly puranic frame, but in which human actions turn out to be entirely autonomous, independent of that frame. The dominant rhetorical mode is irony: there are no heroes in the story and the moral order is not restored at the end. To better deal with the problem of pre-colonial vernacular historical traditions and what happens to them under conditions of modernity, it is useful to make a conceptual distinction between the early modern and the colonial modern in South Asia. The early modern is not necessarily a period' with specific dates marking its beginning and end. It is preferable to use the term to characterize elements of thought or practice that have been identified as belonging to early modern historical formations in other regions of the world, thus providing, at least potentially, a comparative dimension with other modern histories. These early modern elements could appear in the South Asian historical evidence at any time from the fifteenth century to the present (assuming that the historical trajectory of postcolonial modernity is still incomplete). They may be found in diverse regions of South Asia, as innovative elements within traditional literary and cultural disciplines that question previously held beliefs and practices, or that recognize their passing because of the

unstoppable sway of the new, or that represent novel ways of comprehending or coping with the unfamiliar. They may arise at different social strata-among elite groups or among popular classes such as artisans and peasants. Social change is at the same time a change in ideals as well as a change in practical life. The peculiar nature of the British impact upon India as a whole was that while it transformed the intellectual outlook of the educated middle class by providing the modern intellectual environment, which affected some aspects of practical life, it left the economic condition of the people as a whole and specially of the masses inhabiting the villages stagnant, with the result that their habits and customs remained almost static. The reform movements which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy affected Indian educated class, but made little impression upon the masses who continued to think and live in the traditional ways. In the Fifth Chapter I have been explained the effects of education system on society and changes came after the establishment of education board in India.

The decision to introduce English education in India was a momentous step taken by the British raj and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history. Throughout the non-Western world in recent centuries, the process of modernization has been accelerated by contact and conflict with the West. The introduction of English education was one of a series of acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of the democratic state, its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration. Similarly, the social reforms in Hindu society, the movements for the emancipation of women and for the removal of untouchability reflect Western influence to a considerable extent.

The negative alienating effects of English education are fairly obvious. The education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary education and neglect of technical education which was inevitable in a colonial context, and the creation of a gulf between an elite educated in English and the masses all these constituted formidable obstacles in the path of development. Private Indian enterprise in education had also begun its operation early in the nineteenth century, but it was during the last quarter of the century that private charity, public spirit and educational aspirations combined to cover much of the three

presidencies with a network of schools and colleges largely beyond the reach of the government. Since it was at this time that the government began to associate English education with unrest, and since it was precisely in these institutions that education came closest to disaffection, it was they who bore the brunt of the new education policy. The Western educated elite was not the only one in the field. There was a traditional social elite which overlapped it, because these groups were the first to see that the new education could help them to keep their old pre-eminence. There was a traditional political elite also, such as the zamindars and taluqdars. Below these levels, the richer and middle peasantry were politically important. Thus there were elites and sub-elites of various kinds.

In the years under consideration the nationalist movement was dominated by the Western educated elite and it is with this group, particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra, that this study is mainly concerned. Political development was not uniform all over the country and this had something to do with the uneven rates of educational growth. There were different rates of growth in one region as compared with another and also between one groups in a region as compared with another. An analysis of the differential rates of growth of education among various regions, communities, castes and linguistic groups throws light on some questions which are of great importance in the history of the sub-continent during the first half of this century. The British impact on the village society was not substantial but it was not negligible either. The agriculturists had improved their way of cultivation and marketing of their products because of the means of transportation either by railways by road, and that had provided a co-relation or nearness for the agriculturists of the adjoining areas for their betterment. The limited mechanization in the agriculture sector in the early twentieth century was due to the British impact on the people of Punjab States. The British impact on the religion of the native people is obvious, insofar as the Christian Missionaries in the early twentieth century made a considerable impact on the existing traditions. "Religion is manifestly a content of element of human experience." The relationship between religion and society has been one of the central concern though for different perspective Infect, religion is "a belief in a divine being. Thus divine being become a Supreme Power, a central theme for the beliefs of the people. The innocent as well as ignorant villagers believe in the Super Power which they felt exists to control the universe, and this ultimate 'Super Power' became the central pivot around which moved the rituals, beliefs and many superfluous customs of the people. It was one of the Sikhs followed Guru Granth Sahib and were forbidden the use of tobacco: and did not eat flesh of any animal killed by halal. Many Sikhs of the Punjab States

also worshipped devi or kali-mata." For instance, in the Patiala State, the Maharaja himself had got constructed a temple in reverence to kalt-mata': here a lot of devotees whether Hindus or Sikhs visited daily."

The British impact on modern education in the Punjab States is significant. Before the advent of the British, the traditional system of education was prevalent in the Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, according to which, the students were sent to some religious institutions where they were taught simple arithmetic and a good knowledge about their scriptures. The Western impact on the society of Punjab States gave rise to the emergence of middle class in the cities. This middle class took keen interest in the social and reformative movements which began to grow in the States in the early twentieth century. The spread of education among the ruralites and urbanites also inculcated the national feelings among the common masses. The educated people, though less in number, started realizing their rights and duties and become conscious of their welfare. The rise of reformative movements, alike Gurdwara Reform Movement, Arya Samaj Movement and Praja Mandal Movement in early twentieth century were basically due to the spread of education. It is significant to note that Praja Mandal Movement, a democratic movement against the Princely regime launched in the Punjab States in 1928, had been led in the early stage not by the urbanite middle class and the Congress but by the rural based peasant leaders backed by the Akalis. It was in the 1940s that urban middle class came into prominence in the politics of the Punjab States. Summing up, may be said that the British impart on the society of the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

NEWSPAPER

- *Ajit*, Jalandhar, 1965
- *Khalsa Advocate*, Amritsar, 1905
- *Khalsa Akhbar*, Lhore, 1886
- *Khalsa Gujat*, 1949
- *Khalsa Samachar*, Lahore, 1889
- *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, 8181

REPORTS/FILES

- *Census of India*, Volume XIV, Punjab, 1911.
- *Census of India*, Vol. 15, Punjab and Delhi, 1921.
- *Punjab Administration Report 1851-52 to 1852-53*, Calcutta, 1854.
- *Report of the Hunter Commission, 1882-83: From Educational Documents in India (1831-1968)*, New Delhi, 1969.
- *Report on the Administration of Punjab and its Dependencies for 1901-02*, Punjab Government Press, Lahore.
- *Report on the Administration of Punjab and its Dependencies for Lahore 1897-98*, File No. 162.
- *Report on the Administration of Punjab and its Dependencies for Lahore 1897-98*, File No. 162.
- *Report on the Administration of Punjab and its Dependencies for 1901-02*, Punjab Government Press, Lahore.
- *Report of the Hunter Commission, 1882-83: From Educational Documents in India (1831-1968)*, New Delhi, 1969. (NAI)
- *Selections from Educational Records (1840-1859)*, Part 2, Calcutta, 1922.

GAZETTEERS

- *District Gazetteer of Gurgaon*, Delhi, 1883-84.
- *Lahore District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1883-84.
- *District Gazetteer Multan*, Lahore, 1901-02.
- *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904.
- *Punjab District Gazetteer Vol. 8A*, Hoshiarpur District, Lahore, 1905.

- *Imperials Gazetteers of India*, Provincial Series, Punjab, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1908.
- *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol.1, Delhi, 1907, 1909.
- *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Amritsar, Vol.20, 1914.
- *District Gazetteer Gurdaspur*, Lahore, 1915.
- *District Gazetteer of Karnal*, Lahore, 1919.
- *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Hoshiarpur, Revenue Department, Punjab, Chandigarh, 1980.
- *District and States Gazetteer of the Undivided Punjab*, Vol. 1&2, New Delhi, 1993.
- *Gazetteer of Rawalpindi District*, 1893-94 (Lahore; Punjab Govt.1895 reprint, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 2001).

BOOKS

- Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam, *Jesus in India* (Masih Hindustan mem), Qadian, 1899.
- James Dowie, *the Punjab North-West and Kashmir*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1916.
- Jammu, Parkash Singh, *Changing Social Structure in Rural Punjab*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1974.

SECONDARY SOURCES

PUNJABI BOOKS

- Amol, S.S., *Bharti Samajak Sansthavan*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969.
- Arsi, Sahib Singh, *Athahrvin Sadi Da Sikh Itihas*, Arora Publishers, Chandigarh, 1987.
- Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, *Punjab Da Sankhep Itihas*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1961.
- Bajaj, S.K. and J.S. Rekhi, *Bharat Da Itihas (1818-1919)*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987.
- Brar, Gurcharan Singh, *Bharti Azadi Da Andolan*, Punjab State University, Textbook Board, Chandigarh, 1975.
- Dinkar, Ramdhari Singh, *Sabhiachar De Char Adhiyay*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1992.
- Gandhi, Rajmohan, *Punjab: Aurangzeb Ton MauntbaitanTak Da Itihas*, Unistar Book Pvt. Ltd., Chandigarh 2015.
- Giani Amar Singh, *Sikh Itihas*, Chatar Singh Jivan Singh, Amritsar, 1968.

- Gill, Tarlochan Singh, *Bharat Di Azadi Lehar*, Velvis Publishers, Mauriya Enclave, Delhi, 2000.
- Gill, Tarlochan Singh, *Sikh Itihas*, Mauriya Enclave, Delhi, 1998.
- Gupta, Amrit Lal, *Bharti Sutantarta Da Itihas*, Punjabi Publishers, Jalandhar, 1964.
- Idris, Mohammad, *Mughal Bharat (1526-1707)*, Lokgeet Publications, Chandigarh, 2004.
- Kasel, Kirpal Singh, *Tavarikh Sant Khalsa Gur Itihas*, Arsi Publishers, Chandni Chauk, Delhi, 2006.
- Lamba, Krishan Gopal, *Punjab Da Azadi De Andolan Vich Yogdan*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2017.
- Mukherjee, Ravinder Nath, *Bhartiya Samaj Aur Sanskriti*, Vivek Prakashan, Delhi, 1987.
- Nabha, Bhai Kahan Singh, *Mahan Kosh: Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1974.
- Nanua, Surjit Singh, *Sankhep Sikh Itihas*, Manjot Parkashan, Patiala, 2008.
- Padam, Piara Singh, *Sankhep Sikh Itihas 1469-1989*, Kalam Mandir, Lower Mall, Patiala, 1990.
- Rana, Rajwant Singh, *Azadi Di Lehar Vich Punjab Te Bangal Da Hisa*, Manpreet Parkashan, Delhi, 1997.
- Singh, Bhagat, *Punjab Da Itihas*, Punjab State University Textbook Board, Chandigarh, 1983.
- Singh, Ganda (ed.), *Punjab 1849-1960, Bhai Jodh Singh Abhinandan Granth*, Khalsa College, Patiala, 1962.
- Singh, Gurcharan, *Punjab Da Itihasak Sarvekhan (Aad Kaal Ton 1947 Tak)*, Kapur Printing Press, Ambala, 1962.
- Singh, Jagjit, *Singh Sabha Lehar 1873-1902*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1974.
- Singh, Kartar, *Sikh Itihas, Bhag Dujia*, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1961.
- Singh, Khushwant, *Sikh Itihas (1839-2004)*, Tr. Gurcharan Singh Aulakh, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 2006.
- Singh, Kirpal, *Sikh Itihas De Vishesh Pakh*, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1995.
- Singh, Manmohan, *Sufi Matt Ate Dharmak Leharan*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1993.
- Singh, Narinder Pal, *Punjab Da Itihas (1469-1839)*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969.

- Singh, Rajpal, *Punjab Di Itihasik Gatha (1849-2000)*, Peoples Forum, Bargari, Punjab, 2016.
- Singh, Sangat, *Itihas Ch Sikh*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2003.
- Singh, Sudarshan, *Punjab Da Itihas (1849-1949)*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1991.
- Singh, Sukhdial, *Khalsa-Prabhusata Sidhant*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987.
- Singh, Sukhdial, *Shiromani Sikh Itihas (1469-1708)*, Sangam Publications, Samana, 2014.
- Singh, Sukhjit, *Punjab Diyan Rajnitak Te Itihasak Lehran*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2014.
- Virk, Suwarn Singh, *Kuka Lehar De Amar Nayak*, Lokgeet Parkashan, Chandigarh, 2017.

ENGLISH BOOKS

- James Dowie, *The Punjab North-West and Kashmir*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1916.
- Jammu, Parkash Singh, *Changing Social Structure in Rural Punjab*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1974.
- Kaur, Bhupinder, *Status of Women in Sikhism*, S.G.P.C. Amritsar, 2000.
- Kaur, Manmohan, *Role of Women in the Freedom Movement*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1975.
- Khanna, Raj Kumar, *Development of Educational System in India*, Twenty First Century Publications, Patiala, 2007.
- Leitner, G.W., *History of Indigenous Education in Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Calcutta, 1882.
- Majumdar, R. C., *British Paramount and Indian Renaissance, Part 2*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1965.
- Mehta, H.R., *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab (1846-1884)*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1971.
- Nijjar, B. S., *Punjab Under the Great Mughals 1526-1707*, Thacker, Bombay, 1968.
- Pandey, A.B., *Society and Government in Medieval India*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1965.
- Payne, C.H., *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Nelson & Sons, London, 1915.

- Saini, B. S., *The Social and Economic History of Punjab (1901-1939)*, Ess Publications, Delhi, 1975.
- Sarkar, J. N., *Swami Dayanand Saraswati: His place in India, A life History*, Harbilas Sharda (ed.), Dayanand Commemoration, Ajmer, 1937.
- Sharma, S.P., *The Press: Socio Political Awakening*, Mohit Publications, New Delhi, 1996.
- Sharma, Satish Kumar, *Social Movement and Social Change A Study of Arya Smaj and Untouchables in Punjab*, B.R. Publishing, Delhi, 1985.
- Singh Mohinder (ed.), *History and Culture of Punjab*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1988.
- Singh, Fauja, *History & Culture of the Punjab*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2010.
- Singh, Fauja, *History of the Punjab, Vol 3*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, (Third Editor- 2002).
- Singh, Fauja, *Kuka Movement*, Moti Lal Banarsi Das, Delhi, 1965.
- Singh, Ganda, (ed.) *The Singh Sabha and Other Socio Religious Movement in the Punjab (1850-1925)*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1973.
- Singh, Sudarshan, *Life-Style of the People of Punjab 1849-1925*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2009.
- Singh, V.B., *Economic History of India*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1945.
- Srivastava, A. K., *Hindu Society in the Sixteenth Century*, Milind Publications, New Delhi, 1981.
- Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.2, Ministry of Education Government of India, New Delhi, 1974.
- Walia, Jagjiwan Mohan, *A History of the Punjab 1797-1947*, Kalyani Publishers, Ludhiana, 1992.

BOOKS IN HINDI

- Chopra Madhu, *Bharat Ke Samajik Aur Dharmik Jivan Me Arya Smaj Ka Yogdhan*, Satyam Publishing House, New Delhi, 2006.
- Nanda, Satyender Parkash, 'Aas', *Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati: Jeevan-Karye Avam Darshan*, Alok Parkashan, Pathankot, 1996.

JOURNALS

- James Dovie, *The Punjab North-West and Kashmir*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1916.
- Jammu, Parkash Singh, *Changing Social Structure in Rural Punjab*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1974.

THESIS

- Walia, Amrit, *Development of Education in the Punjab 1882-1919*, M. Lit Thesis, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1979.
- Walia, Amrit, *Development of Education and Socio-Political Changes in the Punjab 1882-1947*, Ph.D. Thesis, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1999.
- Dhillon, Gurdarshan Singh, *Character and Impact of the Singh Sabha Movement on the History of the Punjab*, Ph. D. Thesis, Punjabi University, Patiala.
- Kaur Sukhinder, *Status of Women (1849-1901)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980.

**IMPACT OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS
ON EDUCATION IN PUNJAB (1849-1947)**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

BY

MAMTA

UNI. ROLL NO: J196821002

SUPERVISOR

DR. DALJIT KAUR GILL

ASSISTANT DEAN

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES



FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

TALWANDI SABO (PUNJAB), INDIA

2023

CONCLUSION

In the light of this evidence, it is clear that Education has great importance in the whole world and the fact is, it was equally important in the ancient and as well as in medieval age. In this thesis I have elaborate the role of Social Movements in the India and their contribution in the take care of Education system. In the first chapter I have written the background of Education in India. Education was no concern of the state. But the rulers and the nobility were not indifferent to the cause of education. In fact, in some cases they were great patrons of learning. The Muslim rulers of India took interest in establishing educational institutions and endowing them. They also founded Libraries and literary societies. Moreover, they patronized learned men and liberally endowed them, so that they might devote themselves whole-heartedly to their studies, undisturbed by financial worries. The cause of education was equally championed by the rulers and private individuals during the medieval (specially the Mughal) period. Some of the institutions and libraries established during this period exist even today. Others have met with their ruin and are known only by their names. Poets, scholars, and literary men used to receive remuneration from the royal court, and so they cherished the idea of becoming courtiers. Poor and promising students would sometimes get the benefit of free education and stipends were granted to them for their maintenance. Schools of Islamic Learning, like the Maktabs and Madrasahs were financed both by the state and by private individuals. Salaried teachers were appointed by the state. Large endowments were also made for these educational institutions. In schools held in private houses, teachers got personal services from their student in lieu of fees.

During the early period of Muslim rule in Northern India, the Muslim population was centered mainly in towns and cities (except in East Bengal where a large section of rural people were Muslim). The Muslim rulers and nobles in the towns generally patronized Muslim education alone. Thus at the beginning of the Muslim rule, Muslim education remained confined very largely to urban areas, and did not spread among the village people. The number of people receiving Muslim education at that time in towns and cities was also very small. It is true that a few Muslim Kings also showed interest in Brahmanical education and encouraged translating of Sanskrit works into Arabic and Persian. The real foundation of Muslim rule in India was laid by Muhammad Ghuri (Sultan Shahab-ud-Din or Ghor) 1191-1192 BC). He was the first Muslim King to promote education in India. At Ajmer he established some schools and seminars' for the spread of Islamic culture. He even picked up his promising slaves and gave them education.

The Mughal conquest of India gave a great impetus to cultural and educational activities. The beginning of Mughal rule in India marks the beginning of a new chapter in Muslim education in the country. The Mughal kings were zealous exponents of education. The Mughal court received cordially all who came there from any country whatsoever in search of patronage.

Islam attaches much importance to the acquisition and extension of knowledge which is considered the only way to the realization of truth: Prophet Muhammad emphasized upon the importance of education and made it compulsory for all the Faithful, ---men as well as women. The popular idea that women debarred from acquiring it is incorrect. We know of so many Muslim women. -- Bibi Fatima Zainab, Hamda, Hafsa, Safia. Maria and others who have left an ineffaceable impression on the literature of their times. The Muslim in India also did not neglect the education of their children. During the Muslim rule in India, education was imparted through (a) maktabas and madrasahs, (b) mosques and monasteries and (c) private houses. There was a unique method of dissemination of knowledge in those days; it was the method of discussion between the learned and the novice Mosques had schools attached to them.

During the Mughal period, mathematics was considered as the first among the science subjects included in the curriculum. Emperor Akbar, by issuing an order, made mathematics compulsory subject to be taught in the madrasah. The Hindus were particularly proficient in mathematics. They could orally solve difficult sums with utmost accuracy and facility. The European visitors were struck with wonder to see the skill and ingenuity in mathematics of the Hindus Though the Hindus in general were proficient and skilful in mathematics, yet some of the Muslim also distinguished themselves in this science. Khwaja Amir-ud-Din alius Nun, Fatehullah of Shirus and Hafiz Muhammad Khiyab were famous mathematicians.

With the advent of the Muslim in India the state support for Hindu education was withdrawn. It was now dependent on the village communities. Rich people and scholars who kept the torch of culture burning. The educational system in medieval India was connected with religion. The Hindu education was dominated by the Brahmins, and the Mohammedan education was controlled by the Moulavis. Higher Sanskritic education in the tols was intended mainly for the Brahmins, though students belonging to the upper castes were also admitted to it. Side by side with this system, there grew up a popular, elementary system of education, arising out of the demand of the common people for instruction in the three R's.

This elementary course taught in the pathsalas covered roughly a period of three years. Men of the trading and agricultural classes were benefited by this popular system of education, while the tols catered to the needs of the priestly and the leisured classes. After the background of education system, in the second chapter I have been written the information regarding Western education system and its development because there were many changes came across with time in society. The history of education is a popular subject in the west but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected or left to a small and scattered group or education, some of whom are unaware of the broad trends of historical scholarship. There has hardly been any serious reach in the subject and the few books that we have here on the story of education are largely based on government of India records and reports. These books present a huge mass of facts and figures without an in-depth analysis of the cause and effect relationship in the developments or changes that appear on the surface of education in India. Before independence there were two India's- one was the India controlled by the Indian princes and the other was the India controlled by the British Raj. In the last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of education and history. While education has increasingly become a social , political, and economic issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the third world, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like ' the new history' being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history, comparative history, political history, social history, and intellectual and cultural history. According to some scholars, education had been unknown to India and the Education system in India was the creation of the East India Company.

“Village schools served a very useful purpose-they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty Zamindar, the bania and the well-to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic (both written and oral). There were no printed books and the locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the pupils needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission-a pupil could join the school at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that he desired to know. Such schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple, and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of pupils could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior pupils were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the Madras Chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who

introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras System in England. The teachers for these schools, like their students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the pupils. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the British Raj. One factor which contributed to it was the gradual destruction of village crafts and industries and the growing impoverishment of the people following a series of economic reforms including the Permanent Settlement in the Bengal Presidency in the late eighteenth century.

It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India—they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian. Foremost among them was Warren Hastings who came to India in the service of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and by 1772 rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings developed a great love for Indo-Persian Culture. With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel Hatherly wrote *A Code of Centon Laws* in 1776 AD and Bengali grammar in 1778 and in 1779 AD. Charles Willis brought out his Sanskrit grammar: Francia Gladwin wrote *Institutes of the Emperor Akbar* in 1783. In 1781, he established the Calcutta Madrassa at the request of a Muslim deputation. The main object was to qualify the sons of the Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state even at that time largely monopolized by the Hindus. The institution was very popular and attracted scholars from far off places. The period of study extended over seven years and the scholars received stipends to study the courses. The courses included natural philosophy, Quranic theology, law, geometry, arithmetic, logic and grammar all on Islamic lines. The medium of instruction was Arabic. Hastings purchased a site and laid the foundation of the Madrassa on his own account and asked the Court of Directors to assign "the rents of one or more villages" near Calcutta as an endowment for the institution. The Directors later sanctioned this and reimbursed Hastings. We owe the concept of an educational ideal as a means of historical inquiry to Mannheim. He defined it as 'a residue of attitudes, principles and forms of behavior which shapes educational aims and arrangements in a period of history' (Mannheim and Stewart 1962). This concept enabled him

to debunk the notion-which still prevails that education has certain universal and eternal aims. He was able to demonstrate that educational aims have a historical character that they change as much as the guiding ideals of other cultural activities change over time. The concept of an educational ideal also served Mannheim as a method of analysis. He used it both for historical investigations and for participating in the discussion of educational aims in his own day. I intend to use the concept as a means to identify an organizing principle in Indian colonial Education during the nineteenth century. Among those who were able to retire to a successful life in England after a career in India, Charles Grant shines as a bright star. The reason why Grant is singled out here for a special mention is because of his contributions to the development of a modern education system in India. Charles Grant's contribution to British rule in India has been investigated a few decades ago by Professor A.T. Embree but educationists in India generally tend to overlook his role in the introduction of Western education in India. We shall presently see that he was the first Englishman, at least four decades before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. Grant was no missionary so why did he want to proselytize the Indians? Grant who had come to India in 1767 AD, acquired an immense fortune, and led a hectic life till 1786 AD when through family mishaps and close contact with the Chaplain David Brown and the Civilian George Udny, underwent a great change. He was appalled at the degeneration of the Indian society following the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the late eighteenth century. In the third chapter the information about Social religious movements and education has been given in the thesis. Renaissance' was, especially before 1857. Predominantly Islamic and Urdu in the same way as the awakening Bengal was Hindu and Sanskrit. Recent studies maintain that it was the Delhi cultural and religious fermentation which produced leading figures of both the Aligarh Movement and the Deoband School of the Muslim reformers. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's mental makeup was initially grounded in the Delhi intellectual fermentation. His commitment to Islam, Urdu language, English education and British manners can be appreciated only by keeping in mind that the British Indian State tried successfully to meet the effects of Islamic revival of the family of Shah Waliullah half way between 1803 and 1857 AD. This new class had started making its presence felt at both the Delhi Municipal Committee and the Delhi Literacy Society (established 1861) which were revived by the Punjab administration. However, this revival was not very strong partly because the British Government was still not very interested in restoring to the city its lost imperial and cultural glory. In the meantime Lahore had acquired an added significance by giving birth to an educo-political movement beginning with the formation of Anjuman-:-

Punjab by G.W. Leitner in January, 1865 AD. The beginning towards realization of this purpose were seriously made during the decade between 1877 and 1878 AD. It was a time when the Anjuman-i-Punjab, a common organization of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab was weakened by the British Government, first by withdrawing its patronage to it, and secondly, by engineering splits in it through its own official members. It was allowed to disintegrate itself. It was also a time when the Punjab Education Department was activated to encourage the 'natural leaders to undertake the tasks of organizing education among the respective communities. This necessitated either the transformation of existing community bodies (formed usually with the approval formal or tactic of the Government) or the formation of new ones. The process of transformation was clearly there in the case of Anjuman-i-Islamia (est. 1869 AD). It was also so in the case of Hindu Sabha and Singh Sabha. The formation of new bodies was represented by the Lahore Arya Samaj (1877 AD), the Lahore Indian Association (est. 1877 AD) and the Anjuman-i-Harndardi-Islamia (est. 1880 AD). In the meantime, the Aligarh Movement had taken a life of its own. The association of the natural leaders with these movements was preeminent. A number of them like Rai Bahadur Markat Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Muhammad Hyat Khan, Munshi Rai, Aluashi Rai Extra-Assistant Commissioner Pandit Moran Singh were not only the founder members of the Anjuman-i-punjab but also the ones to play important role transforming the community bodies. Under the Barkat Ali Khan, the Anjuman-i-Islamia became a body for western education and social reform among the Muslims on the lines of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan. Originally, it was established in 1869 AD for the limited purpose of looking after the management of one or two mosques in the religion. In this transformation, Muhammad Hyat Khan helped by acting as a link between the Anjuman and the Aligarh Movement. A glance at the studies on the last century of Punjab History, especially in the post-annexation period, presents the socio-religious movements as a relatively well studied fact of social reality of the region. Infact, this reality has been studied predominantly through the socio-religious movements. The region saw the emergence of the movements such as the Nirankaris, the Namdharis and Singh Sabha among the Sikhs; the Dev Samaj, Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharm movements among the Hindus, and the Ahmadiyahs among the Muslims. However, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj preceded these all except, the Nirankaris; and was an all- community movement at least in the Lahore of 1860's. But all these movements have not received equal attention some are more studied than the others. Whereas the movements among the Sikhs have been studied in fairly good detail, those among the Punjab Hindus are, with the exception of Arya Samaj, still to be studied. For example, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj has

attracted scant attention so far. Similarly, the role of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement in the life of Punjabi Muslims is yet to be probed into "The Hindu Sabha movement whose origin can be traced to year 1882 AD remains little known till date.our information regarding these movements is extremely inadequate. Keeping this inadequate in kind any observation made upon them will be nothing short of a preliminary. It is only a preliminary that few observations will here be made upon them. The movements fall into two broad categories on the as of the distinction which can easily be made between the movements that were completely thrown up by the conditions in the region and the movements which was their origin more to the forces and influences external the communities of the region. The Nirankari and the Namdhari movments and probably the Ahmadiyas as well come in the first category. These were the representatives of a negative response of a traditional society towards modernizing forces working for alterations in the social structure. These were hardly engaged in social transformation, and were restorative in character. Contrary to them, the movements like Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj were the outcome of the impact of British rule which was the first and major agency for the all-round transformation of society in India. These movements were transformatory in nature.The fourth chapter describes the contribution of Social-Religious movements for preserved the vernacular education. They had made many efforts for preserved the education in India.

If we follow the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis, we do not find any historical narrative embedded within the most well-known literary work in Bengali of the early eighteenth century-the Annadamangal by Bharatchandra Ray. Bharatchandra would have perfectly fitted their description of the karanam: he was a revenue of facial rising to the position of court poet to the Brahmin zamindar of Nadia a man who was to play a significant role in the power politics of Bengal in the period leading up to the battle of Palashi. Annada mangal describes the rise to fortune of Bhabananda Majumdar, the founder of the Nadia dynasty, by virtue of the benevolence showered on him by the goddess Annapurna. There are passages in the poem dealing with real historical events, such as the battle between the Mughal general Man Singh and the rebel zamindar Pratapaditya of Jessore, in which Bhabananda ingratiates himself with Man Singh by supplying his troops-bogged down by the Bengal monsoon-with food and provisions. Man Singh takes Bhabananda to Delhi to seek an audience with the emperor Jahangir and plead for a zamindari. Jahangir launches into a stock diatribe against infidel Brahmins who have no religion and who try to scare people by talking about the miraculous powers of their false gods and goddesses. That night, the goddess

Annapurna lets loose her army of demons and ghosts in the city of Delhi. The inhabitants are terrified, and the emperor himself is driven mad with fright. Subdued at last, Jahangir bows before the goddess, seeks her forgiveness, and bestows the zamindari of Nadia on Bhabananda.

It is worth investigating if the notion of power in the so-called *man gal kavya* literature of Bengal reveals a certain amoral realism, since the gods and goddesses themselves seem to respond most favorably to flattery and calculations of self-interest. Yet there is little of the historical narrative suggested by the Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam hypothesis in the last great *mangal kavya* of Bengal. There are however other historical narratives from the eighteenth century worth considering, which are far less acclaimed for their literary merit. The best known is the *Maharashta puran* by Gangaram (the 1751 manuscript preserved in the Calcutta University collections apparently misspells it *Maharashtra*). Gangaram too fits the category of *karanam* since he appears to have been a *Kayastha* of *Kishoreganj* who worked as an officer in an East Bengal zamindari and, having been sent to *Murshidabad* on official business, became caught up in the tumultuous political events of Bengal in the 1740s. The text is in verse but describes in graphic and realistic detail the Maratha raids on Bengal led by *Bhaskar Pant* (known in Bengal as *Bhaskar Pandit*), and the ultimate defeat of the Maratha forces at the hands of *Ali Vardi Khan*. Rao-Shulman-Subrahmanyam note this text as a remarkable piece of factual history placed within an ostensibly puranic frame, but in which human actions turn out to be entirely autonomous, independent of that frame. The dominant rhetorical mode is irony: there are no heroes in the story and the moral order is not restored at the end. To better deal with the problem of pre-colonial vernacular historical traditions and what happens to them under conditions of modernity, it is useful to make a conceptual distinction between the early modern and the colonial modern in South Asia. The early modern is not necessarily a period' with specific dates marking its beginning and end. It is preferable to use the term to characterize elements of thought or practice that have been identified as belonging to early modern historical formations in other regions of the world, thus providing, at least potentially, a comparative dimension with other modern histories. These early modern elements could appear in the South Asian historical evidence at any time from the fifteenth century to the present (assuming that the historical trajectory of postcolonial modernity is still incomplete). They may be found in diverse regions of South Asia, as innovative elements within traditional literary and cultural disciplines that question previously held beliefs and practices, or that recognize their passing because of the

unstoppable sway of the new, or that represent novel ways of comprehending or coping with the unfamiliar. They may arise at different social strata-among elite groups or among popular classes such as artisans and peasants. Social change is at the same time a change in ideals as well as a change in practical life. The peculiar nature of the British impact upon India as a whole was that while it transformed the intellectual outlook of the educated middle class by providing the modern intellectual environment, which affected some aspects of practical life, it left the economic condition of the people as a whole and specially of the masses inhabiting the villages stagnant, with the result that their habits and customs remained almost static. The reform movements which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy affected Indian educated class, but made little impression upon the masses who continued to think and live in the traditional ways. In the Fifth Chapter I have been explained the effects of education system on society and changes came after the establishment of education board in India.

The decision to introduce English education in India was a momentous step taken by the British raj and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in modern Indian history. Throughout the non-Western world in recent centuries, the process of modernization has been accelerated by contact and conflict with the West. The introduction of English education was one of a series of acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of the democratic state, its secular character, the structure of its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration. Similarly, the social reforms in Hindu society, the movements for the emancipation of women and for the removal of untouchability reflect Western influence to a considerable extent.

The negative alienating effects of English education are fairly obvious. The education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary education and neglect of technical education which was inevitable in a colonial context, and the creation of a gulf between an elite educated in English and the masses all these constituted formidable obstacles in the path of development. Private Indian enterprise in education had also begun its operation early in the nineteenth century, but it was during the last quarter of the century that private charity, public spirit and educational aspirations combined to cover much of the three

presidencies with a network of schools and colleges largely beyond the reach of the government. Since it was at this time that the government began to associate English education with unrest, and since it was precisely in these institutions that education came closest to disaffection, it was they who bore the brunt of the new education policy. The Western educated elite was not the only one in the field. There was a traditional social elite which overlapped it, because these groups were the first to see that the new education could help them to keep their old pre-eminence. There was a traditional political elite also, such as the zamindars and taluqdars. Below these levels, the richer and middle peasantry were politically important. Thus there were elites and sub-elites of various kinds.

In the years under consideration the nationalist movement was dominated by the Western educated elite and it is with this group, particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra, that this study is mainly concerned. Political development was not uniform all over the country and this had something to do with the uneven rates of educational growth. There were different rates of growth in one region as compared with another and also between one groups in a region as compared with another. An analysis of the differential rates of growth of education among various regions, communities, castes and linguistic groups throws light on some questions which are of great importance in the history of the sub-continent during the first half of this century. The British impact on the village society was not substantial but it was not negligible either. The agriculturists had improved their way of cultivation and marketing of their products because of the means of transportation either by railways by road, and that had provided a co-relation or nearness for the agriculturists of the adjoining areas for their betterment. The limited mechanization in the agriculture sector in the early twentieth century was due to the British impact on the people of Punjab States. The British impact on the religion of the native people is obvious, insofar as the Christian Missionaries in the early twentieth century made a considerable impact on the existing traditions. "Religion is manifestly a content of element of human experience." The relationship between religion and society has been one of the central concern though for different perspective Infect, religion is "a belief in a divine being. Thus divine being become a Supreme Power, a central theme for the beliefs of the people. The innocent as well as ignorant villagers believe in the Super Power which they felt exists to control the universe, and this ultimate 'Super Power' became the central pivot around which moved the rituals, beliefs and many superfluous customs of the people. It was one of the Sikhs followed Guru Granth Sahib and were forbidden the use of tobacco: and did not eat flesh of any animal killed by halal. Many Sikhs of the Punjab States

also worshipped devi or kali-mata." For instance, in the Patiala State, the Maharaja himself had got constructed a temple in reverence to kalt-mata': here a lot of devotees whether Hindus or Sikhs visited daily."

The British impact on modern education in the Punjab States is significant. Before the advent of the British, the traditional system of education was prevalent in the Punjab States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, according to which, the students were sent to some religious institutions where they were taught simple arithmetic and a good knowledge about their scriptures. The Western impact on the society of Punjab States gave rise to the emergence of middle class in the cities. This middle class took keen interest in the social and reformative movements which began to grow in the States in the early twentieth century. The spread of education among the ruralites and urbanites also inculcated the national feelings among the common masses. The educated people, though less in number, started realizing their rights and duties and become conscious of their welfare. The rise of reformative movements, alike Gurdwara Reform Movement, Arya Samaj Movement and Praja Mandal Movement in early twentieth century were basically due to the spread of education. It is significant to note that Praja Mandal Movement, a democratic movement against the Princely regime launched in the Punjab States in 1928, had been led in the early stage not by the urbanite middle class and the Congress but by the rural based peasant leaders backed by the Akalis. It was in the 1940s that urban middle class came into prominence in the politics of the Punjab States. Summing up, may be said that the British impart on the society of the Punjab.

**IMPACT OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS
ON EDUCATION IN PUNJAB (1849-1947)**

A Thesis

*Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of
the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

BY

MAMTA

UNI. ROLL NO: J196821002

SUPERVISOR

DR. DALJIT KAUR GILL

ASSISTANT DEAN

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES



FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

TALWANDI SABO (PUNJAB), INDIA

2023



GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work which is being presented in the thesis, entitled "**Impact of Socio-Religious Reform Movements on Education in Punjab (1849-1947)**" in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in **Faculty of Arts, Discipline of History** and submitted in Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo is an authentic record of my own work carried out during the period from January 2019 to May 2023 under the supervision of **Dr. Daljit Kaur**.

The matter embodied in this thesis has not been submitted by me for the award of any other degree of this or any other University/Institute.

I further declared that in case of any violation of intellectual property right or copyright I as the candidate would be fully responsible for the same. My supervisor, external examiner and my institute should not be held for full or partial violation of copyright if found at any stage of my degree.

Mamta

Ms. Mamta

Ph.D Research Scholar

Univ. Roll No.: J196821002

This is to certify that the above statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my knowledge.

D. Kaur

Dr. Daljit Kaur

(Supervisor)

The Ph.D Viva-voce examination of Ms. Mamta has been held on 19.05.2023 and accepted for the award of Ph.D Degree.

J. S. Dhankhar

Dr. Jaiveer S. Dhankhar

(External Examiner)

D. Kaur

Dr. Daljit Kaur

(Supervisor)

ABSTRACT

Before the advent of the British, the traditional system of education was prevalent in the Punjab State according to which the students were sent to some religious institutions, where they were taught simple arithmetic and a good knowledge about their scriptures. The history of education is a popular subject in the west, but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected. According to some scholar's education system in India was the creation of the East India Company. The region of Punjab saw the emergence of movements such as the Nirankari's, the Namdharis and Singh Sabha among the Sikhs, the Dev Samaj and Santana Dharma movements among the Hindus and Ahmadiya, Aligarh movements among the Muslims. However, the Punjab Brahmo Samaj proceeded these except the Nirankari's, the Namdharis and probably the Ahmadiyas as well were representative of a negative response of a traditional society towards modernizing forces working for alternations in the social structure. Contrary to them, the movements like Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj were the outcome of the impact of British rule which was the first and major agency for all-round transformation of society. The reform Movements which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy affected Indian educated class, but made little impression upon the masses.

The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the methods of teaching contempt for manual work emphasis on literary education and neglect of technical education, creation of a gulf between elite educated in English and the masses constituted obstacles in the path of development but introduction of English education was one of the series of acts which opened the doors of the west to the east. The western impact on the society of Punjab state gave rise to the emergence of middle class in the cities. This middle class took keen interest in the social and reformative movements, the rise of reformative movements alike Gurudwara Movement, Arya Samaj Movement and Praja Mandal in early 20th Century were basically due to the spread of education. Summing up, may be said that the British impart on the society of Punjab.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people supported and helped me in the completion of this doctoral thesis. I would like to owe my sincere gratitude to all of them. In the course of this study, I have received considerable help from several libraries. Research work is impossible without a library. I am thankful to the Guru Nanak University Amritsar, Khalsa College, Research Centre Amritsar, Punjabi University Patiala and Punjab University Chandigarh.

I express my gratitude to a number of individuals. First of all, I am thankful to my research supervisor, Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill, Head of history Department, Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo, for her constant guidance and support, sparing her valuable time whenever I required.

I express my gratitude to Dr. Satnam Singh Jassal, Dean UCBS&H and Dean Research Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo for their supervision throughout the course of present work. I am indebted to these individuals and institutions for their cooperation. Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill, Head of history Department is also worth mentioning that helped me to improve the quality of my present work.

I am also thankful to my friend Meenakshi (Assistant Professor) Sunam for her regular advice in my work.

I am extremely grateful to my family, my parents father Sh. Devraj Kaushik, Mother Late Smt. Shakuntla Devi without whose blessing, love and sincerest support, it would be difficult for me to complete my work. I sincerely gratitude to my husband Sh. Rejesh Kumar and both my sons Divyansh and Laddu for supporting me spiritually.

Finally I would like to thank God for letting through all the difficulties due to his grace I could be able to accomplish my present Ph.D Thesis.

Mamta

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DESCRIPTION	PAGE NO.
CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS FROM THE THESIS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1-17
CHAPTER-1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	18-44
CHAPTER-2 WESTERN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND DEVELOPMENT	45-77
CHAPTER-3 SOCIAL RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND EDUCATION	78-103
CHAPTER-4 CONTRIBUTION OF MOVEMENTS TO PRESERVE THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION OF PUNJAB	104-134
CHAPTER-5 IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND CULTURE	135-161
CONCLUSION	162-172
BIBLIOGRAPHY	173-178

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS FROM THE THESIS

PAPER PUBLISHED IN JOURNALS

1. Development of Educational Medieval India in Journal of Scientific Computing, ISSN: 1524-2560, Impact Factor: 6.1, Volume-10 Issue-10, 2021.
2. Development of British Education System in India in International Journal of Current Research, ISSN: 0975-833X, Volume 10, Issue, 01, pp.20182-20186, January, 2022.