

Structural Development of Hierarchical Education in the British Punjab (1849-1882)

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ABSTRACT

Education is one of the fundamental sources of molding public interest and cultural practices of a society. The history of South Asian education and imperial politics has been studied in this context with the intention to address the question that how does education work to serve this end? Other than the purposes of the education, the structural development of an education becomes very important as how to adjust the conflicting and divergent interests and factions of politics and society into education? The purpose of this paper is to find out the answer to this question in the British Indian context. As the British India had a huge multicultural population and merged ethnic, communal, class and group interests together along with exotic, therefore, the question of educational structure became more important than any other. The paper argues that to combat the challenges to the imperial interest a hierarchical structure of education was established in the British Punjab to adjust the class, communal, group and professional interests and that structure was so powerful that

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postcolonial state has failed to alter it. The purpose of this paper is to explore the evolution and development of structure of education in the British Punjab with a question of research how the British adjusted conflicting and divergent interests and factions of politics and society into the structure of education? It identifies the hierarchical formation of structure of education that maintained the class structure, right from the British conquest in 1849 to the formation of Hunter Commission in 1882.

Introduction

The history of British colonial education in South Asia has become a primary tool to the analysis of ethno-regional and socio-communal constructs of the postmodern society. Therefore, it is widely discussed and analyzed in different perspectives. A large sum of researches have focused the socio-cultural, economic and political development in the context of educational development and thus has analyzed the educational policies, institutions and practices in detail. Categorized into different perspectives, commonly the British educational policies are considered a tool and mechanism for the intellectual westernization of South Asia which created a conflict between the rulers and the ruled.¹ It was developed, as Shive Kumar Saini² is of the opinion, for the promotion of English language and culture or for the British economic benefits.³ They used even religion for this purpose.⁴ Vishwanathan believes that the British educational policies in South Asia were 'masks of conquests'.⁵ Lal Baha argues that the British created a systematic division in educational

1 Shive Kumar Saini, *Development of Education in India* (New Delhi: Cosmos Publications, 1993), 40.

2 Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India* (London: Faber & Gwyer Press, 1950), 63-83.

3 A. Biswas & S. P. Agarwal, *Development of Education in India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1986), 692-705.

4 Thomas R. Mctcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt: India (1857-1870)* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1990), 208-220.

5 Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study & British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

institutions to spread modern education on primary, secondary and higher levels,⁶ and thus raised already strong class conflict.⁷ This conflict and divide was multifarious. Abdur Rauf⁸ and Sanjeev Nayyar⁹ are of the opinion that the British patronized a system of education suitable for elite classes and not for the common masses. It worked for the British imperial hegemony to produce what Macaulay had suggested, a class of good employers.¹⁰ The purpose of British education ultimately developed a conflict between Oriental and Anglican systems of education and culture¹¹ that soon took the form of Anglo-vernacular conflict.¹² P. Hardy views education as a tool to create social, cultural discrimination.¹³ Ian Talbot believes that this attitude created a communal conflict in India.¹⁴ Dr. Sarfaraz Khawaja¹⁵ and M. Yousaf Abbasi¹⁶ are of the view that the English education brought Hindu-English unity while creating Hindu-Muslim conflict in Indian society.

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- 6 Lal Baha, *N. W. F. P. Administration under British Rule (1901-1919)*, (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical & Cultural Research, 1978), 192-221.
 - 7 B. S. Saini *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab* (Delhi: Ess Publications, 1975), 141-176; S. Paul Chinnappa, *The British System of Education in India* (Delhi: Swati Publications, 1988), 141-176.
 - 8 Abdur Rauf, *West Pakistan: Rural Education and West Pakistan* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1970), 11-19.
 - 9 Dharmapal & Sanjeev Nayyar, *Indigenous Education in 18th Century (A Beautiful Tree), Vol III* (Goa: India Press, 1983).
 - 10 T. B. Macaulay, *Minutes on Education. Feb. 2, 1835*.
 - 11 Rubina Saigol, *Knowledge and Identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan* (ASR Publications, 1995), 139-179, 229-235.
 - 12 Lynn Zastoupil & Martin Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate* (Great Britain: Curzon Press, 1999).
 - 13 P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (London: The Cambridge University Press, 1972).
 - 14 Ian Talbot, *Punjabi Identity (Continuity and Change) ed.*, Singh, Gorharpal Singh (Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 1996).
 - 15 Sarfaraz Khawaja, *Sikhs of the Punjab (1900-1925)* (Lahore: Jamal Mahmud Press, 1985), 07-13.
 - 16 M. Yousaf Abbasi, *Muslim Politics & Leadership in South Asia (1876-1892)* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History & Culture, Islamia University, 1981), 181-209.

The British education supported Hindu community and prepared them for their strong political role in India.¹⁷

The introduction of British education in the Punjab was extension of all India policies to the region. Almost same sort of observations one can find about the history of British education in the Punjab. The education in the Punjab especially Muslim education was fully neglected by the British government. It tried explicitly to create and empower particular groups with special measures, to make them an elite class for the British political and commercial interests.¹⁸ The British system of education created discrimination among the local communities on ethnic, religious and professional bases.¹⁹ Still a large breed of modernists accepts the genuine contribution of British in the socio-cultural, political and economic development of India through the medium of western education. This research paper identifies the hierarchical formation of structure of education that maintained the class structure. For the period from the British conquest in 1849 to the formation of Hunter Commission in 1882 to review the education system in the British Punjab as a whole. It focuses on the thematic assumption that British educational policies and practicing institutions sharpened the conflict within the Punjabi society. The paper analyzes the British educational policies, personalities and policy-practicing persons and institutions through the educational records as well as observations presented in the modern research. Published data of schools, enrolment and expenditures is used applying comparative and discursive methodology as well as analyzing popular narratives. The scheme is divided as per evolution, hierarchy and impact. The

17 See for details, Shafiq Bhatti & Naumana Kiran, 'Muslims of South Asia During Colonial Period', In *Islamic History and Civilization South Asia, ed.*, Khurram Qadir, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2020), 353-398; Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Reading on the History of Punjab (1799-1947)* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1970), 245-255.

18 S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab (1921-1947)* (Lahore: Intekhab-e-Jadeed Press, 1992), 30-40.

19 Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920s* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997).

analysis is adjoined to post 1882 development through the conclusion.

Imperial Educational Discourse

At the time of British conquest²⁰ of the Punjab in last days of 1848, a hot debate on the nature of education in India under the British was going on. Two main groups of British administrator-educationists were contesting with each other on the nature of Indian education. One group wanted to promote the indigenous language and literature while the other wanted to introduce modern English language and literature and modern sciences. The British East India Company officials were reviewing not only the existing indigenous education system but also the Anglo-Indian system of education introduced by the British in India. Although, the issue of Vernacular and Western education had created a conflicting situation in India and amalgamation of Anglo-Indian system was introduced, yet the conflict was dominating the policy matters. The policy of introduction of modern western sciences and literature was observed to be creating a socio-cultural gulf and developing a distance between the British and Indian people.²¹ However, it was providing employment in the Company's government and commercial offices. The British were planning to impart skills and knowledge through the modern Western education useful for the British interests in agricultural and industrial development.

The indigenous system of education prior to the British conquests was based on various advance arts and sciences as the science of war, the science of music, medicine and mechanics or engineering which were taught as part of the religious curriculum. The curriculum of indigenous Hindu

20 When the British annexed Punjab, it covered an area of 180,000 sq. miles, and had a population of around 20 million people. The territory under British administration directly covered an area of 81,000 sq. miles with the population of 13 million (Government Report, *Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1855-56*, 02).

21 Lynn Zastoupil, & Martin Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate* (Great Britain: Curzon Press, 1999).

institutions was included the Vedas, Dhanur-Veda, Gandharve-Veda, Ayur-Veda, Stapatya-Veda, Rig-Veda and the Athervana Vedas. Sikhs had to adopt Gurumukhi character of the Granth encompassing areas of Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, and Medicine. The Patshalas and the Gurukals were the places used as schools. In the Madrassas, concern was with the teaching of the Quran, Hadith, (the sayings or teachings of the Prophet (Muhammad SAW), and Saadis' Gulistan and Bostan. Although devoted to the propagation of religious knowledge, these institutions had also provided space to the worldly disciplines in the curriculum.²² These systems were supported by the elites through the grants of money and lands and were providing free education, including shelter, food, and uniform. Three types of professional educational institutions were also being operated within the religious system. Chatsalas, Mahajani (Business) and Land schools were established for the education of trade, commerce and agriculture. In these schools, the *Padha* (Hindu) and the *Mian* (Muslim) were to teach the arithmetic, court mentality and how to keep business correspondence and record (*Behi Khata*).²³

Simultaneously, the British missionaries were also working for the introduction of Christian education in the Punjab. The Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain was established in 1792 by the efforts of Dr. William Carey and had extended its operation into Punjab by 1837.²⁴ The Ladies' Missionary Society, an inter-denominational society with headquarter in London, had launched its activities in the name of welfare of women in the province. Most of the missions' incomes were received from voluntary contributions and provincial maintenance grants but a huge amount of expenditures was

22 H. R. Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab (1846-1884)*, Punjab Govt. Record Office Monograph No. 5), (Patiala: Language Department Punjab, 1929), 14-15.

23 Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 15.

24 Stanley Reed & Francis Low, *The Indian Year Book 1936-37, Vol XXIII*, (Delhi, 1937), 384.

contributed by the British public. The missionaries began educational activities in the Punjab by 1837 and established school in Ludhiana for promotion of Christian education. The principal aim of missionaries was to spread evangelical education as well as impart western sciences. Then an elementary education institution was established for boys at Kot Garh near Simla in 1843 by the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Along with the CMS other missionaries²⁵ also came to introduce Christian education in colonial areas and established a number of educational institutions with boarding system. In 1852-53, five schools of the higher studies along with a school at Rawalpindi were established by the Christian Missionaries.²⁶ The missionaries maintained that the Punjab was a training ground, where Christian boys and girls had to come in the boarding schools to exploit the opportunities provided to learn Christian manners and morals. These missionaries also established many Normal Schools for vernacular education in different areas of Punjab.²⁷ They kept a soft corner for modern scientific education in English

25 The American Presbyterian Missionary society established first English School at Jullundur Doab in 1848 and in Lahore in 1849. The American Presbyterian School, Ludhiana was opened in 1851, while the American and the Church missions established their more schools at Amritsar and Ambala Cantonment in 1853 and 1854 respectively. In 1855, a mission was established in Sialkot which worked in ten civil districts of Punjab. Its educational work composed of one Theological Seminary, one college, four high schools, one industrial school, seven middle schools and 181 primary schools. Another missionary society established in 1905 started, financed and managed by the Indian Christians, had staff of 28 missionaries and 100 helpers worked in various Indian areas including Montgomery district of Punjab. Quoted by (editor) Stanley Reed & Francis Low in *The Indian Year Book, (1936-37)*, vol. xxiii, on pp. 385-386 & 389. The Methodist missionary society started work in India in 1817, organized in 7 districts of 149 circuits of Bengal, Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Nizam's dominion, CP and UP and established a number of institutions for Christian education.

26 Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 26.

27 Rev Clark, and Rebert Rev, *The Punjab & Sindh Mission* (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1885), 63.

language and enthusiastically worked for its expansion in the Punjab.²⁸

After the conquest of Punjab, the British established a mixed Anglo-Oriental system of education in the Punjab in collaboration with the missionaries on Macaulayan model. First Government school in the Punjab territory was opened at Simla on March 1, 1848 by Mr. Edward. Another school at Hoshiarpur was opened in the same year by Colonel Abbott. The former was maintained from Imperial Revenue, and the latter from the revenue collected from local landlords called *Zamindars*. In 1849, the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, proposed the establishment of a Government school at Amritsar. An amount of Rs. 5,000 per annum was sanctioned from imperial revenue for that purpose and the school became functional in May, 1851. Later, during the same years schools were established in Ferozpur, Gurgaon, Shahpur, Bhera, Sahiwal, Kalowal Rawalpindi, Fathajang, Jhelum, Pind Dadan Khan, Chakwal, Gujarat by the orders of the Commissioners.²⁹ In the same row, a school was established in the Multan District by the orders of Major Browne officiating Commissioner of Multan. The subjects of study in these schools included English, Geometry and Geography with other general subjects such as language and agriculture.³⁰

Expansion of Educational Space, Scope and Scale

A visible transition in the system of education began to appear during the last years of the British East India Company's rule. This transition seems to be multi-dimensional. On one hand it was concerned with the establishment of structural development of education system and on the other hand it was associated with the hierarchies and classes below elites and establishment, especially marginalized, poor and peripheral. Simultaneously, the authorities had begun to

28 Clark and Rev, *The Punjab & Sindh Mission*, 65.

29 W. D. Arnold, *Report of the Director of Public Instruction, 1857, Punjab* (6th July 1857), paragraphs: 3, 4, 5 & 6 of page 1.

30 Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 29-30.

ponder over the issues of levels of education from primary to higher and establishment of compatible infrastructure. For that purpose, the administrative structures and financial schemes were underway to implementation before the transfer of power to the British Crown in 1858.³¹

Establishment of Department of Education

After the conquest of Punjab, the early administration was mostly based on the military hierarchies and missionaries' role as educationist was generally taken for granted. However, some crucial changes with lasting impact in this system of education began to appear by 1853, when an Administrative Board was abolished in the Punjab and the administration was centered to a Chief Commissioner of Punjab. John Lawrence became first Finance and Judicial Commissioner, who also dealt with the local and municipal funds and in this position with the allocated funds for the planning and promotion of education.³² Therefore, due to financial constraints the education remained a neglected service.

Charles Wood's Dispatch of 1854 insisted to focus on the promotion of elementary education in India and sought a commitment by the British to expand their educational efforts beyond the elite groups.³³ It was suggested that a properly articulated scheme of education from the primary school to the university should be introduced by the British East India Company. It was also urged that the indigenous schools and education be increased but a change to Western-style institutions to be brought into the indigenous institutions. For, the Wood's Dispatch proposed the establishment of a centralized administrative department of education, as well as the establishment of Universities as an examining body and as institution for the training of teachers in the major cities on pattern of London University, which was founded in near past in 1826 with a secular model of education. To develop

31 Zastoupil & Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*.

32 Ruliya Ram, *Nizam-e-Punjab* (Lahore: Mufeed-e-Aam, 1926), 17.

33 Zastoupil & Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*.

uniformity in the education system and centralize this system the Wood Dispatch 1854 proposed the establishment of the Departments of Public Instruction in three presidencies, UP and the Punjab. In September 1854 the education was transferred to the Financial and Judicial Commissioner Mr. D. F. MacLeod, afterwards to Sir Donald MacLeod. Mr. MacLeod was a philanthropist and wanted to change the conditions of the people of Punjab through the promotion of education. For, he planned to establish a full-fledge administrative Department to deal with the issues of promotion of education. On his recommendation, the Department of Public Instruction was established in the Punjab in January 1856 and M. E. D. Arnold was appointed Director General with inspection staff, consisting of two Inspectors, eleven Deputy Inspectors and seventeen Sub-Deputy-Inspectors. With this administrative structure, the British planned to control and promote the education in Punjab. Mr. Macleod continued to serve the province until the mid 1870 and encouraged and supervised the education in Punjab. E.D. Arnold became his enthusiast ally. And this enthusiasm, along with structure and model of public instruction was opted by British Crown after the transfer of power from British East India Company.

The indigenous population was included in the system of monitoring of educational institutions. For, the office of District Moharrirs³⁴ was created which was to be paid from the District Educational Cess Funds. The number of education inspectors was increased from three to four. Accordingly, education circles were re-constituted by readjustment of groups of the Districts as Ambala, Lahore, Rawalpindi and the Frontier (also Multan), Circles in 1864.³⁵

The government English educational institutions were divided into primary, middle and high grades. Primary section was

34 In early period the government officials and inspectors were appointed to enquire the system of educational institutions but gradually the people were appointed from the indigenous communities, who called Moharrirs and appointed in every district under supervision of government officials.

35 Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 30.

consisted of four classes, while middle section was divided into two sections lower middle (5th and 6th classes) and upper middle (7th and 8th classes), and higher section was attached with the University for Secondary School Certificate (matriculation) examinations. The schools which had Persian medium of instruction were called Vernacular Middle, while others with English medium of instruction were called "Board Middle schools or Anglo Vernacular". In the vernacular schools English (optional), Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Hindi (Sanskrit & Gurmukhi), Arithmetic, History, Geography, Geometry, Algebra, Drawing, Art and Science subjects were taught.

Financial Subsidies System

In this structure, education was attached with the public services that required heavy funding without any direct financial returns. The British East India Company (BEIC) was a merchant company and could not spend too much amount of funds directly on the education. On the other hand, the BEIC required developing a mechanism that could create soft feelings among the indigenous masses and promote acceptability of western, especially British political and commercial growth in the minds of indigenous people which required a strong system of education. The paradox of this conflict was resolved through a mechanism of gradual development of professional and communal hierarchies of education.³⁶ The Wood Dispatch of 1854 urged the BEIC that indigenous schools and education be increased but a change of western style institutions to be brought into the indigenous institutions through financial subsidies. Under this proposal, the schools run by the Missionaries had to receive the financial support by the government, initially. Later the scope of this scheme was extended to the schools run by the indigenous masses and institutions. Need of extension of this scope was materialized through a realization of the importance of classical languages and literature for public instructions which the BEIC wanted to impart on indigenous

36 Zastoupil & Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*, 65.

masses. It was believed that destruction of vernacular education could create problems in developing a cordial relation between indigenous masses and the BEIC. However, creating vernacular education institutions was difficult for the BEIC, therefore, it was suggested that the government should spend some public funds on the private educational institutions through grant in aids, in the form of scholarships to the vernacular education institutions of different communities and class.

By the transfer of power from the BEIC to the British Crown in 1858,³⁷ the British government helped out some Oriental schools by grants of lands and financial aids. The teachers were paid for their services with the annual grant of 50 mounds of grain, or by amount of grain five seers on every plough. According to Mr. Montgomery (Commissioner of Lahore), in 1850, average salaries of masters ran from 1 rupee 2 aana to 8 rupees 8 aana.³⁸ However, a Cess amount of one percent (1 percent) of land tax of Punjab was reserved for the development of education and within two years 456 village schools were established; while the grant-in-aid was also used to support various Missionary schools approved by the government for aid.

Hierarchical Expansion of Education System

The Wood Dispatch laid the foundation of a multiple hierarchical system of educational structure. These hierarchies were vertical as well as horizontal in geographic, administrative, professional, purposive, curricular and mediumistic terms and were established, developed and promoted gradually on the cost and spaces providing to each other. On the educational level, the British adopted a bottom to top approach for educational levels and it was reversed for the higher social strata. On the class level, the elites were provided opportunities of education first and then facilities of British education were trickled down to the lower strata. The

37 Zastoupil & Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*, 07.

38 Fredrick P. Gibbon, *The Lawrence of the Punjab* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1908), 16.

work begins by the establishment of lower-level schools or the funding to the indigenous Madarsas or Pathshalas and culminated in the establishment of British Universities, first at Presidencies' Headquarters and later on Provincial Headquarters.

Halkabandi School Scheme

By the Wood's Dispatch, began a new era in the history of education in Punjab, where its first and second recommendations of organization of departments of education and foundation of universities were applied. The Wood's Dispatch approved that the education of the Punjab fitted well with the Halkabandi Schooling Scheme that had already been decided upon for this province.³⁹ Halkabandi scheme focused on the establishment of a school with a defined area of service and was to be run through the income from that area. Although by 1856, over three million pounds had been spent on public works (roads, irrigation and canals), yet, education received a very low amount of funds.⁴⁰ Under this scheme, schools at the headquarters of central stations of various districts and Tehsils were established as revenue collection administrative units within the districts. Initially, these were vernacular schools which were classified as Town schools and Village Schools in 1862-63. These schools were established in the interior of the districts⁴¹ and were Elementary (primary) Vernacular Schools. Later, these schools had to introduce English education; however, the vernacular education with Urdu medium of instruction was also permitted in some of these schools.

39 Tim Allander, *Educational Features: Creating a Female Educational Space in Colonial India (1854-1934)* (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1995), 06.

40 Comparative statements of expenditures can be found in the Government Gazettes of India and Punjab. Some details can also be found in Mehta, A *History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*.

41 As in Hoshiarpur District, three schools at Tahsil towns in Shahpur District, four school in Gujrat District established by Mr. Temple, two schools in Jhelum District, two schools in Multan District besides a school at Gugera, two schools in Sialkot and Ferozepore were established in 1856 also included, and a school in Fathejang in the Rawalpindi District.

Village School System

The concept of village community system was adopted for the advancement of education in the rural areas. The Lamberdars (a community officer appointed by the British administration to collect revenue and assist in law and order) of the villages generally were made responsible for the administration of education of their respective villages.⁴² Under Halkabandi School System, Village School Scheme was introduced in early 1860s by William Arnold, the Director of Public Instruction in the province of Punjab for the educational development of the rural communities. The real objective of primary education was not to keep away the children from their rural surroundings or the normal preoccupations of the village community but to enable them to take their place in village life with greater intelligence, understanding and appreciation. Under this Scheme, a Parganah [Urdu: an administrative unit of the Indian subcontinent] was selected for the establishment of schools with an assertion of the number of school going children. The number of schools were to be made compatible with the revenue, the Parganah generated and expenses it could bear.

The government began to choose a cluster of villages, and fixed mark a central village as site for the establishment of Village School. These schools mostly supported by the revenue collected from the Zamindars. The government also proposed to charge fees from boys of commercial and nonagricultural classes, who were attending village schools. In 1860-61, the government implemented fees system in government schools of all grades except girls and normal schools, although ratio of fees was very low and different in different schools.

By the time the village school education was considered not satisfactory and according to the needs of village people as it was developing discrimination in rural-urban education

42 Gibbon, *The Lawrence of the Punjab*, 207.

system.⁴³ So, by 1870s, the number of village schools was decreased gradually and had fallen from 1,746 to 1,660 and by 1876, the number of students too decreased from 55,593 to 53,757. but the proportion of different communities who were studying Urdu, Persian, Hindi and English language remained same.⁴⁴ During the early eleven years of British Crown's rule in Punjab, the number of Government Primary Schools had reached up to 1403 with 97,195 scholars, while 9,742 boys were enrolled in 126 aided schools. The progress of modern education in the Hoshiarpur District was faster than other areas of Punjab. However, in the hill districts, of Trans-Indus Frontier, and in the Multan and Hissar Divisions, the British education failed to win mass support.⁴⁵ By 1871-72, number of aided and European schools established only for the Europeans was increased and residential facilities were also provided with some schools of attractive areas. The central government neglected vernacular aided institutions and reduced the amount of grants-in-aid.⁴⁶

Thus, by 1875-76, the number of government education institutions in the Punjab increased from 1,271 to 1,585 while, the number of aided institutions decreased from 502 to 480. Local Committees of Public Instruction had been established at districts level by 1864-65 and had been empowered in 1866-7 to spend part of local funds on the education. A further decentralization of finance by the central government in 1870-71, adopted by Punjab Government through Punjab Local Rates Act or Act XX of 1871, had empowered the local governments to charge necessarily required funds for educational development from local land revenue. These

43 Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 33.

44 W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies (1875-1876)* (Lahore, The Albion Press, 1876), 15.

45 Das, *The Punjab Administration Report (1882-83)*, Lahore.

46 W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies (1868-69)* (Lahore: The Albion Press, 1869), 48.

developments became a major breakthrough in the growth of government education in Punjab.⁴⁷

Middle and Higher Education

Initially, the middle education was the responsibility of local government institutions. However, the Punjab government was used to provide financial aid. A sort of District, Town and Cantonment middle schools were introduced to promote the education. The District or Zillah Middle Schools remained limited only to four classes of middle department, while Town Schools' were allowed to provide instructions up to eighth classes. The Town and Cantonment schools of the province were handled by the Deputy Commissioner, while the Vernacular schools under Deputy Commissioners were funded by the local government sources. However some Oriental education schools were provided financial aid by the central imperial government.⁴⁸

On the same model, two types of Middle schools, the Board Middle Anglo Vernacular Schools and the Aided Middle Anglo Vernacular schools, were also established to provide a further space of disseminating knowledge to the people of Punjab. The Aided Middle Schools were provided grants-in-aid by the government and a large number of indigenous people learnt in these Anglo-Vernacular schools. The government established educational institutions mostly in those areas which were out of missionaries' access and mostly at the urban centres, thus providing rural areas a link with urban centres. Same model with a bit larger city-centres was adopted for Higher Schools.

In spatial terms, a number of new institutions were opened in different areas and in terms of scale a number of village schools were upgraded to middle level. Most of these schools were attached with the colleges for higher education. By

47 Mehta, A *History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 47.

48 Mehta, A *History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 62.

1866-67, 82 Town Schools had been established and enrolment had increased from 6,999 to 8,598. Although the major concern of Punjabi population was fixed to oriental and vernacular languages and sciences yet more than 16 percent of the students were interested in learning English language and western sciences. However, the number of Muslim youth joining government schools was very low as compared to the Muslim Population. There were 5,702 Hindus, 2,232 Muslims and 564 Sikhs studying in the government education institutions.⁴⁹ At the end of the year 1875, there were 116 Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools of middle class under management of Deputy Commissioners.⁵⁰ In Anglo-Vernacular schools teaching of English was not satisfactory at elementary level, because attention had been paid to the higher education rather than the lower or elementary. The government and private management for schools created an unsatisfactory distinction in the education.

However, there emerged a clear cut demarcation between Imperial masters and Punjabi subjects. After the appointment of Sir Robert Montgomery as first Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in 1865, the scope of education was further expanded to the girls' education and the plan for the establishment of Girls' schools was initiated. The European subjects were given a special status and their schools were separated from the schools of Punjabi Subject. The Following hierarchy of middle and higher schools had been established by the establishment of Hunter Commission in 1882.

- A. Eu. H. b. =Aided European High School for Boys
- A. Eu. M. g. = Aided European Middle School for Girls
- BHE=Board high School Anglo-Vernacular
- AHE= Aided High School Anglo-Vernacular
- AHg= Aided High School Anglo-Vernacular for Girls
- AMg=Aided Middle School Anglo-Vernacular for Girls

49 Holroyd, *Director's Report on the State of Education in the Punjab (1866-67)*, 14.

50 Holroyd, *Director's Report on the State of Education in the Punjab (1866-67)*, 37.

BMS= Board Middle School Anglo-Vernacular
 BHV= Board High School Vernacular
 AME=Aided Middle School Anglo-Vernacular
 AMV=Aided Middle School Vernacular
 OME=Other Departmental School Anglo-Vernacular
 UHE=Unaided High School Anglo-Vernacular

College and Professional Education

GC = Governmental Colleges
 AC= Aided College
 CTC= Central training college
 At.C= Aitchison College
 OC= Oriental College
 MC= Medical College

Although First Secretary of State of India Lord Allenborough's Dispatch of April 1858 has brought into sharp focus the necessity of expanding higher education, yet first step in the promotion of professional higher education was taken in the form of the establishment of Normal Schools for the training of school teachers. The number of village schools had reached to 700 by 1858, and village people's strong participation in the War of 1857 had developed a realization among the British authorities to focus on the purposive school education. To complement these ends three Normal Schools for the training of teachers were opened in Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi.⁵¹ Later these schools were converted into Central Training Colleges (CTC). The genuine impact of the dispatch for public education appeared in 1860s, when Colleges for general education were established in Lahore and Delhi Divisions and a Medical College in Lahore. Although, these colleges were affiliated with Calcutta University, yet, the Punjab Administration Report (1862-63) expressed satisfaction on educational development of the province in this context.

51 J. F. Bruche, *A History of the University of Punjab* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 2-3.

The objectives of the efforts to promote higher education, it was felt, were not being achieved. In one opinion, it was due to the unnecessary focus on the use of English language. Dr. Leitner felt the inability of English and modern scientific European education system in addressing the needs of the indigenous population and seeking attachment of the indigenous people.⁵² He was convinced that the objectives of the promotion of higher education could be achieved through the promotion of indigenous education through the vernacular languages. For that purpose, he founded Anjuman-e-Punjab on 21st January 1865 for the development of modern scientific knowledge through the vernacular language; for the promotion of education of commerce and industry and for the association of learned and influential classes of the province with the government officers. The cause of the Anjuman-e-Punjab was supported by many English men but especially, Mr. C. U. Aitcheson, and Sir Lapel Griffin. Sir John Lawrence, the Governor General, promised to provide a sum of Rs. 2000 per annum for the development of higher education in Punjab.⁵³ Meanwhile, a proposal was presented to the British government in 1868 for the establishment of Punjab University which was accepted in 1869, but not materialized until 1882. Generally, the scope of the educational development in the Punjab remained limited than the measures proposed and the major hurdle in this expansion was the scarcity of government funds which never exceeded to three lacs of rupees (0.3 million), until the establishment of Punjab University.

Simultaneously, Leitner's advocacy for indigenous and oriental education found fruits in the form of establishment of the Oriental College at Lahore in 1875, under the supervision of Dr. Leitner. Other than initiating Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, some major subjects like history and geography were to be taught in two vernacular languages Hindi and Urdu, two hours per week. However, English language was given a

52 G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since annexation & in 1882* (New Delhi: Konark Offset Printers, 1882), 05.

53 Bruce, *A History of the University of Punjab*, 10-11.

weightage of six hours' instructions per week as an optional subject, along with a medium of communication with the official and political elites.

The conflict of indigenous and imperial or English and Vernacular appears to be a permanent feature of South Asian education till now. However, following table developed by Dr. Leitner highlights the history of this conflict and contribution of two approaches to the growth of British education in Punjab in between 1856 to 1879.⁵⁴

However, by 1876, the number of students in government institutions had risen than the indigenous institutions. It also indicates that government had erected large establishments of educational institutions which had capacity to accommodate a large number of students and to promote the concept of the splendour of imperial government. The boys' of school going age in indigenous schools were 6 percent of population.⁵⁵ The Municipal and District Boards were directed that the school funds should be spent on the primary education through the grants in aid system, based on the system of payment by results.⁵⁶

The growth of schools and colleges proceeded most rapidly between 1871 and 1882, and further augmented by the development of the municipal system. The government of India record of 1881-1882 indicates the maximum contribution in the growth of education by indigenous unaided institutions and shifting interest of government to higher education.⁵⁷

In the period of 1880s, the ratio of literacy in various wings of education in the province was different from one another. Only 1.4 percent of agricultural community could read and write,

54 Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since annexation & in 1882*, 05.

55 Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Education in the Punjab*, 18.

56 K. G. Saiyadain, *The Educational System (Oxford pamphlet on Indian affairs)* (London: Oxford University press), 07.

57 S. Paul Chinnappa, *The British System of Education in India* (Delhi: Swatti Publications, 1988), 83.

which was very low against 7.7 percent of the professional classes, and 19.8 percent of the commercial classes. While, the total number of people in the British Territory of Punjab was 6,94,147 and only 5.89 percent of the total population were literate, which indicated that one person in 26 was literate.⁵⁸

However, it took fifteen years to the establishment of Punjab University College, Lahore in 1882 after the Hunter Commission Report, to promote oriental and vernacular languages and literature and for the diffusion of western knowledge by the vernacular medium of instruction.

As a result, the government educational expenditures of these years from provincial services, exclusive of buildings and grants for building, endowment, libraries and the Punjab university College, had risen from Rs. 6,20,757 to Rs. 6,37,625. So, a sum of Rs. 6,69,184 was debited to the educational grant and Rs. 65,805 to the public works department.⁵⁹

The government educational institutions of the province enjoyed their own system on the pattern of imperial principles, the government schools and colleges took aids and support from the government but the vernacular education was supported by local funds and individual supports. Therefore the results of the policy were not satisfactory for the oriental subjects and a low strength of students entered in these subjects as compared to English in the College.⁶⁰

The Hunter Commission of 1882 reviewed the whole system of education and pointed out the neglect of primary or elementary education on the cost of higher education. So, it recommended that special funds from provincial revenue to

58 Nian Puri, *Political Elite and Society in the Punjab province* (New Delhi: Vikas publishing house, Pvt. Ltd. 1985), 19-20.

59 W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies (1875-1876)* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, Successor to the Punjab printing company 1877), 01.

60 Holroyd, *Report on popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies (1875-1876)*, 10-11.

be spent on primary education, and higher education be promoted by the private or individual contributions.⁶¹ The commission also recommended the extension of primary education to the backward districts of Punjab. The grants in aid were to be given to those departments which wanted to open schools for all communities.⁶²

Conclusion

During the British period the question of education was basically connected with the medium of instruction. The British had made some basic changes in the system of education which created the problem of medium of instruction. The British introduced English language to impart knowledge to the people. In this way they wanted to overcome the minds and thoughts of indigenous people. On the other side, the British wanted to insert deep rooted impacts of western culture, literature and language on the Indigenous society, culture, language and literature. The Europeans claimed that there were more fundamental linguistic differences between one Indian vernacular and another. So, uniform educational system was possible with English by medium of instruction. The Persian and Urdu languages were, however, continued to be taught in schools under the patronage of Government, though the chief language to be used was Urdu with the Persian characters. In the Zillah Schools English was a medium of instruction and education of higher classes was generally provided in English. In some places of Tahsil, Towns or interior of Districts, elementary education was also imparted in English. In the Tahsil schools, education consisted only the rudiments of history, geography, arithmetic and grammar.

61 Frank Ernest Keay, *A History of Education in India and Pakistan* (3rd edit.), (Calcutta: Oxford University press 1959), 206.

62 M. R. Paranjpe, *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education (1797-1902)*, (Bombay: Macmillan & Company Limited 1938), 173-74.