THE DILEMMA OF GROWTH : EDUCATION AND PUNJABI SOCIETY 1920-34

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Preface

Traditionally education is regarded as a powerful agent of social change and mobility but at the same time it reflects social reality. The growth of English education has been considered by many historians — B.T. McCulley, Anil Seal and Aparna Basu — as a crucial factor in creating political consciousness in the struggle for freedom. It is important to see the development of education and its impact in a province like Punjab which originally was a compact region with different communities and religions. In Western Punjab the Muslims, in the centre the Sikhs and in the East the Hindu formed the majority. Yet no one had a clear dominance over the others. Education helped in generating new consciousness and led the educated to try to better the prospects for themselves and for their communities.

The fact that education was the avenue which led to new careers and consequently to social mobility and also that it generated new ideas expressed through the press and voluntary organisations brought about changes in Punjabi society. Modern ideas generated by education often clashed with traditional attitudes and resulted in controversies and debates which led to changes in the social condition and thinking of the Punjabi intelligentsia.

During the preparation of this work, I am indebted to many persons. First of all, I avail the opportunity to express my sincere and profound sense of gratitude to my revered teacher and guide, Professor (Mrs.) Aparna Basu, who has given her valuable time and energy, learned counsel and close supervision and above all very humble guidance in all matters, during the course of the present study.

Dr. R.P. Singh took a very keen interest and in moments of difficulty always came to my help. Professor R.L. Shukla also very kindly provided me generosity and help in matters of academic concern.

I am thankful to my friends J. Patel, Mohammad Isaq, Sureshpal, P.K. Satpathy, Ramesh, J.P. Sharma and to Shri Harkesh and Ram Chander for their timely help and encouragement. I also feel indebted to all the persons whom I interviewed orally, for the present thesis. Some of them provided very valuable material.

I made use of the material available in the National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Indian Council of Historical Research's Documentation Centre, Central Secretariat Library, Punjab State Archives, Kurukshetra University Library, M.D. University Library and Delhi University Library. I wish to express gratitude to the authorities of all these for their cooperation in getting the required material. I am thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research for giving me Junior Research Fellowship to complete this work. My affectionate gratitude is due to my parents for the painstaking interest they took in keeping me at ease while working for my thesis.

VED PAL RANA

Introduction

In the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries certain sections of Indian Society underwent remarkable transformation. There were social and religious reform movements, growth of the press, a literary renaissance, and awaking of patriotic feelings. Education was a crucial factor in socialising and communicating new ideas.

The decision to introduce English education was momentous step and the year 1835 can be regarded as an important landmark in the Indian history. Throughout the non-western world in recent century, the process of modernisation has been accelerated by contact and conflict with 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 traditions persists, the impact of new ideas can also be traced. The social reforms among Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, movements for the emancipation of women, and for the removal of caste distinctions and untouchability all reflects to some extent the impact of new ideas which were the result of education.

The negative alienating effects of English education are fairly obvious. The educational system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between intelligentsia and the masses. The use of English raise this barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, contempt for manual work, emphasis on literary education and neglect of technical education, and the creation of a gulf between and elite, educated in English, and the masses — all this constituted formidable obstacles in the path of development.

Can the educational process produce change and restructure society, or must structural transformation precedes social change? This is a question on which there is much disagreement among sociologists and educationists. To examine the interrelationship of education and social change it is necessary to see at a concrete situation and this thesis attempts to do so in the context of Punjab from 1920 to 1934. These were the years when 'Dyarchy' operated in Punjab. It was introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms when education became a transferred subject. The Government of India Act, 1935 bring this to an end. The years 1920-34 thus forms a logical period for examining the relationship between education and social change.

Some work* has been done on education and social change in the case of other provinces but there is a lacuna of such efforts in the context of Punjab. Some books, however, can be listed which have dealt something about the society or education in Punjab. For example G.S. Chhabra, *"Social and Economic History of the Punjab 1849-1901"*, Jullundur, 1962; B.S. Saini, *"The Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1901-1939,* Delhi, 1975; Shyamla Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics in Punjab 1898-1910,* New Delhi, 1987; Prem Chowdhry, *Punjab Politics : The Role of Sir Chhotu Ram,* Delhi, 1984; Kenneth Jones *Arya Dharam,* Delhi, 1976, are some of them. Obviously none of these books concentrates on the relationship of education and social change during our period (1920-34) of study. David Page (*Prelude to Partition,* Delhi, 1982) deals with these years but he is concerned mainly with political aspect of Punjab. Thus on other aspects of Punjab history a lot of work has been done but no one has looked at this particular period, on this particular topic.

While on the one hand, the growth of education created a new intelligentsia which cut across caste and communal lines, at the same time educational disparities between different groups created considerable tension which led to communal antagonisms.

Chapter one, provides social and educational background of Punjab from annexation to the eve of 'provincial dyarchy'. The second chapter traces the Government efforts towards the growth of education between 1920-34. The third chapter is on the role of

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* S.N. Pandey, *Education and Social Change in Bihar 1900-1921,* Delhi, 1975; Y. Vaikuntham, *Education and Social Change in South India : Andhra 1880-1920,* Madras, 1982.

private agencies in spreading the education in Punjab. Chapter four peeps into the role of education, during this period, in awakening and strengthening communal consciousness. The fifth chapter sees the relationship between education and social change in Punjab with special reference to caste, untouchability, status of women, widow remarriage, child marriage, joint family, religious and traditional beliefs, and the way of living.

The present thesis is based on a large number of primary and secondary sources, and oral interviews which are enlisted in the bibliography.

Contents

1

Socio-Educational Background, 1848-1920

Punjab derived its name from two Persian words *Punj*, meaning five and *ab*, i.e. water—the five rivers which flow through the territory[1]. Right through the ages, due to its geographical location, Punjab had been the first victim of foreign invasions. Until the sea route to India was discovered, Punjab also served as the gateway through which India maintained her contacts with the outside world. The shaping of Punjabi character, and its social and cultural life owed a great deal to this.

The Punjabis were known for their adaptability and catholicity. These qualities not only saved them from rigidity of outlook on life and its problems, but also imparted to them a rare capacity to respond to new ideas and influences[2]. Such characteristics were evident in Punjabi Society since many centuries.

In ancient times in the cultural and social field, Punjab had remarkable achievements to her credit. It was here that the holy hymns of the first Vedas were composed[3]. The University of Taxila[4] and the Gandhara School of Art were among the outstanding examples of her ancient cultural life.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mughal empire began to loose its control over its provinces. The Sikhs took the advantage of the chaos and established their rule over Punjab under Maharaja Ranjeet Singh in 1799. Only a decade after his death (1839), the British annexed the Sikh Kingdom of Punjab in

1849, completing the process of expansion that had witnessed the gradual absorption of India into the British Raj.

The Land and the People

Punjab lay roughly between the Yamuna River on the East and the Indus River on the West. In the north, the lofty Himalayas served as a wall between it and Tibet, while in the south, the Thar desert separated it from Rajputana. Punjab was flanked by Kashmir in the north, Agra, Oudh and United Province in the east, Sind and Rajputana in the south and Baluchistan in the west[5].

Water was the life of Punjab which gave strength to its agricultural economy. The five rivers which gave the name to the region were the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej, and Beas. These rivers joining river Indus added to its might. In fact Punjab was the land of six rivers, but the people, who named the region did not count river Indus, possibly because this mighty river was held in awe by the Hindus and was considered to be sacred[6].

Punjab was divided by her rivers into five natural sections. These elongated strips of alluvial land were called *Doabs* (*Do*-two; *Ab*-water). The Sindh Sagar doab[7] was bounded by the rivers Indus and Jhelum with approximate width—from the bank of the river Indus near Attock to the town of Jhelum—of sixty *Kos*[8]. Attock, Hazara, Rawalpindi and Mianwali were the main cities of this doab. The second doab which was situated between rivers Jhelum and Chenab was called Chabihat. The English called it *chaj*[9]. This doab had Shahpur, Gujrat and Chiniot as its important towns. The third doab was Rachnab — situated between the rivers Ravi and Chenab. Some people called this doab, Rachna[10]. Jammu, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Nankana Sahib, and Jhang were its improtant towns. The fourth doab was the Bari, between rivers Beas and Ravi[11]. It contained the central Manjha and the famous cities of Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Qadian. The fifth doab was the Bist Jalandhar, between the rivers Beas and Sutlej[12]. This doab consisted of the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and the native state of Kapurthala.

The inhabitants of each of the doabs had developed distinct dialects of their own and also differences of temperaments. For example the Malwa or Manjha[13] Jat Sikhs hailing from a land with indifferent agricultural potential made better soldiers than the

Sikhs of the rich soil doab region which being more fertile, kept its inhabitants tied to the land and made them more adapt at land cultivation[14].

Networks of numerous canals from the rivers further helped in the acceleration of agricultural produce. The doabs with their rivers and canals, were a characteristics of Punjab plains. But the whole of Punjab did not comprise of plains. The plains were surrounded by high mountains on the north and west and were open towards the south and east.

Punjab could be divided into four clearly marked natural divisions which were as follows :

(i) Indo-Gangetic Plain West — It consisted of sandy tracts like Hissar, East of Patiala and districts of Gurgaon and Rohtak all of which depended for irrigation primarily on rain fall. On the other hand, it also had such highly cultivated and abundantly irrigated tracts such as Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore and Gujranwala. The states and districts included in this natural division were Hissar, Loharu, Rohtak, Karnal, Gurgaon, Pataudi and Dujana state, Jullundur, Kapurthala, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala and states of Faridkot, Patiala, Malerkotla, Jind and Nabha.

(ii) The Himalyan Division — this was the extreme northeast area which comprised the districts and states lying inside the Himalayan range with an average rainfall of 61" per annum and numerous hill torrents provided excellent means of irrigation for cultivation. The states and districts in this area were Kangra and Mandi and the hill states of Simla, Nahan, Saket and Chamba.

(iii) The Sub Himalayan Division — was the area lying at the foot of the mountains with an average rainfall of 33". Ambala, Kalsia, Hosiarpur, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock were the districts and states in this part of Punjab.

(iv) The North-West Dry Area — climatically very hot, this area had an average rainfall of 13" per year. Districts of Montgomery, Shahpur, Mianwali, Lyallpur, Jhang, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzzafargarh and the states of Bhawalpur fell in this division.

Punjab was a province scattered over 99,846 square miles of land, with a population of 20,685,024 in 1921. This population increased to 23,580,852 or by 13.9% in 1931[15]. Compared to 1881,

it was an increase of 39.2% as there were only 16,939,312 people living in Punjab then[16].

Punjab has been a land of different religions. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs formed the three major communities in Punjab. Since 1881 the proportion of the population of different religious communities was as given in Table 1.1.[17]

Table 1.1

Religionwise distribution of every, 10,000 population

Year	*Hindu*	*Sikh*	*Muslim*	*Christian*
1881	4381	824	4785	14
1891	4358	822	4778	21
1901	4127	863	4961	27
1911	3579	1211	5107	82
1921	3506	1238	5105	133
1931	3018	1429	5240	148

These figures indicate that the proportion of Sikh, Christian and Muslims to the total population has been on the increase continuously. The increase among Christian and Sikhs was not due to natural causes alone, but was also due to a considerable extent to conversion. The rise among Muslims which seemed entirely to be due to natural increase was considerably higher than the rise in the total population.[18]

The major portion of the population was rural, since 1881 the percentage of urban and rural population was as follows.[19]

Years	*Urban*	*Rural*
1881	12.0	87.9
1891	10.7	89.3
1901	10.6	89.4
1911	10.1	89.9
1921	10.7	89.3
1931	13.0	86.1

The figures show that the proportion of urban and rural population fluctuated only within a small extent.

Proportionately more Muslims lived in urban areas than Hindus in Eastern Punjab, while in the West situation appeared to be the reverse. The overall picture of communitywise distribution of urban population is given in Table 1.2.[20]

Table 1.2

Distribution of 10,000 of Urban Population

(Communitywise)

Years	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Christian*	*Others*
1981	4526	4805	488	96	85
1891	4461	4851	469	125	94
1901	4333	4996	457	120	94
1911	3923	5121	661	201	94
1921	4021	5060	628	205	86
1931	3765	5190	726	190	129

Hindus formed the majority of the population in Eastern Punjab; Muslims were here in a minority but more urbanised, while in Western Punjab the case was just the reverse.

In 1931 there was a total of 20,513,388, people living in rural Punjab. Of them 11,074,638 were males and 9,438,750 were females. Religionwise distribution of rural population was as shown below[21].

	Hindu	*Sikh*	*Muslim*	*Christian*	*Others*
Total	5,202,341	2,838,463	11,702,800	349,152	400,632
Numbers per 1,000 of total population	254	139	570	17	20

Given below is the position of population of each main religion, living in Towns in 1931, (numbers per 1,000 of the total population)[22].

Population	*Hindu*	*Sikh*	*Muslim*	*Christians*
124	154	63	122	159

The movement of the population had but slightly altered the sex proportion of the province or in the Natural Divisions as indicated by Table 1.3[23].

Table 1.3
Number of Females per 1,000 Males

Locality	*1921*	*1931*
Punjab (British Territory)	830	831
Indo Gangetic Plain West	805	813
Himalayan Division	907	906
Sub Himalayan Division	852	847
North West Dry Area	827	831
Urban	719	705
Rural	841	850

Society

It is clear that Punjab thus consisted of the Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians. Even within different religions, people were divided on the basis of numerous castes and sects, though, as far as Islam and Christianity were concerned, there was no provision of division, within the religion, on the basis of varnas or castes. Still as the majority of their followers were Hindus, converted to Islam or Christianity, they could not forget their previous castes.

Hindus

Hindus who formed 35% of the total population of Punjab in 1921 were divided into four main varnas : Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Traditionally the Brahmans enjoyed the supreme position among the Hindus and the task of learning and teaching was assigned to them. Kshatriyas were the warrior and ruling caste. Vaishyas had to do trading and agriculture. And Shudras were meant to serve all the other three varnas. Hindus were further divided into numerous *jatis* (castes).[24]

The constitution of families in Punjab showed every possible gradation from the individualistic system where married man with his wife and young un-married children formed a separate family, to the true Hindu joint family system[25]. In Hindu Society a joint or undivided family under the care and command of the patriarch or the eldest member of family, has been the most general feature.[26] Various families together formed a *Khandan*[27]. The *Khandans* stemming from one root, together formed a *thok*[28]. The *thoks* usually lived in separate *mohallas*[29], in the village. These *thoks* formed the village community as a whole[30].

In cities and towns lived mostly the ruling, trading and servicing communities. Brahman priests were hereditary and performed all religious ceremonies of the Hindus from their birth to death[31]. So many evils and superstitions had crept into Hindu society under the influence of the priesthood, due to ignorance and illiteracy of the masses. For the majority of the people religion was only a matter of ceremonial performance which to a large extent, maintained the uniformity of their social system. It was hardly a guide to every day conduct and practices which, as a matter of fact, were regulated by social convention and custom.[32]

The villager, specially the lower castes followed what may be called "little tradition" of Hinduism observing various religious ceremonies and rituals mainly of appeasing gods or asking for special favours. They worshipped gods to deliver them from diseases, ghosts, etc. People in cities were somewhat better acquainted with the tenets and doctrines of the great or textual tradition of Hinduism. Many of the beliefs and practices of the urban and rural population were the same.[33]

Distinction of caste[34] among Hindus was one of the fundamental institutions resting on religious sanction. Caste may be generally described as the theory and practice of hereditary social distinctions based on occupation and confirmed by the sanction of religion. It was a barrier to progress since, in effect, it was an enormous system of privileges.[35] "Caste is the most thorough going attempt known in human history to introduce absolute, inequality as the guiding principle in social relations."[36]

The orthodox and popular traditions of Hinduism made a mention of 36 social subcastes including the subdivisions of the higher castes.[37] In the social order the Brahmans occupied the highest ranking. They lived in every village and town, working as *Purohits* (priests), though some of them had also adopted agriculture and were not directly engaged in religious functions. But priest or peasant, the Brahman was held in esteem by Hindus every where. Out of respect for his high socio-religious order, he was called *dada* (grand father).

Traditionally, the second place ought to have been occupied by the Rajputs, the warriors, but due to the changed political systems they were being converted into agriculturists, and though they still lived under the aura of caste pride of the bygone days,

in fact the trading castes such as Banias and Khatris, due to their better economic condition, ranked next to Brahmans in the caste hierarchy. The trading communities controlled trade, banking and the services.

In the third place came the peasant castes, such as the Rajputs, Jats, Ahirs, Gujars etc. The Punjab peasants were bold and accustomed to handle the plough share and wield the sword with equal readiness and success, and second to no other race in industry and courage.[38]

The lowest order were the castes which helped and served the other upper castes. In this category Sunars, Barhis, Lohars and Kumhars occupied a higher position than Chamars, Dhanaks, Mehtars etc. As a whole they were being called *Kamins*, i.e. those village servants — the Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Potters etc. — with whom there was a sort of prescriptive contract to do the work of their respective fields for each agriculturist, who payed them a fixed portion of the produce from his land[39]. According to the nature of functions rendered by them, *Kamins* were usually divided into two distinct groups, (1) those whose labour was intimately connected with agriculture[40], such as Lohars, Tarkhans, Chamars etc. and those who rendered services less regularly, such as Kumhars, Chuhras and Nais, whom the *Zamindars* (peasant) called house menials or *Khangi Kamins*.[41] Their wages were determined by the utility of their services. This was the *jajmani* system in which the servants believed themselves to have a right to be supported by their agriculturist *jajmans* (vaguely patrons), who provided a part of, or sometimes all, the necessities required to live on[42] various kinds of food, site for houses, building materials, fuel, fodder, grazing land, use of tools, credit facilities, and so on.[43] They were usually first to be paid from the produce and the total deduction for their payments varied from one-sixth to one-eighth of the gross produce.[44]

Permanent relationships between a dominant caste family and a family of agrestic servants were common. The latter were called variously — *harwahas*, *halies*, (ploughmen) etc. The lot of some of these labourers could be described as that of slaves or serfs.[45]

Chamars had to remove the dead animals (pulling the *murdar*) also. They used to eat the carrion of the animals. Such dietary practice plus their association with dead animals made them,

along with the *mehtars* and *dhanaks*, a highly polluted caste.

The Muslims

The Muslims formed 51% of the total population of Punjab in 1921. The Muslims were a separate community in the social picture of the country. Some of them were foreigners who settled here after invading India, but they did not form the majority of the community. The larger part of the Muslim population consisted of Hindus converted to Islam.

In the rural areas the Muslims were mostly converts, whereas in the urban areas they were mostly immigrants. S.S. Thorburn observed "one peculiarity of Islam is, that the more ignorant the believer the greater and more easily roused is the potential energy of his fanatism".[46]

As elsewhere, the Muslims of Punjab were marked by sectarian divisions as also by the social differences. They were represented by sunnis, shias, Ismailies etc. The shaikhs, sufis, pirs, shaikhzadas and pirzadas occupied the same status among the Muslims as the Brahamans among Hindus. There were many other tribes and social groups among the Muslims of Punjab such as Yusufzais, Gujars, Rajputs, Jats, Gokhars, etc. The Muslim Jats were an important section of the rural Muslim population. The Gokhars were settled in Gujarat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Hazara districts. The Khoja community, followers of the Aga Khan, lived in Central and Eastern Punjab. They were mostly traders and businessmen. Domestic servants, who formed a familiar feature of every respectable Muslim home, added to the growing Muslim population. They had no definite status in society but they were usually converts to Islam.

Various classes of Muslims lived in separate *Mohallas* in the same city. Respectable social groups among the Muslims lived apart from the common populace. The people of various trades and crafts were concentrated in particular wards in the towns.[47]

The Sikhs

The Sikhs who formed about 12% of the total population of Punjab in 1921, were converts from various Hindu castes and sub-castes. When they embraced Sikhism they were supposed to have lost their previous caste but, in practice, did not do so.

The Jats were the most important and powerful caste among the Sikhs. Khatris and Aroras were next in importance. Generally they lived in towns and most of them worked as traders and shopkeepers. Anybody belonging to any caste could become a Sikh irrespective of his profession. Thus blacksmiths, carpenters, gold smiths, cobblers, sweepers, etc. also embraced Sikhism. Some Sikhs originally belonging to untouchable castes and called '*Mazhabi Sikhs*' joined Ranjit Singh's army. Sikhs who were originally chamars, through the process of Sanskritisation tried to rise up in the caste hierarchy by proclaiming themselves followers of a guru called Ramdas and came to known as *Ramdasias*.

The taboos of caste differentiation and untouchability were abolished by the Sikh Gurus, but they continued, though, with much less rigidity than among Hindus. Despite its best efforts, Sikhism, could not dissociate itself from some Hindu superstitions and beliefs which had crept into the core of the Sikh social and religious order.[48] The cow was revered; at times of birth, marriage and death rites in Sikh families, a Brahman priest was almost always present. All the festivals such as Dussehra, Diwali, Holi, Baisakhi, Basant Panchmi, Lohri, etc. were common among both. *Sradhas* (paying homage to dead ancestors with feasts to Brahmans in the fortnight of a particular month) were also not uncommon among the Sikhs. The observance of common social and religious ceremonies and festivals by Hindus and Sikhs kept both these communities close to each other.[49] Though in some respects they were no doubt different.

Belief in rituals, idol wordhip, superstitions, customs such as female infanticide, child marriage, expensive marriage system, prostitution, untouchability and a variety of other social ills were crying for reform. Lack of contact with the outside world, and knowledge based on blind faith, had narrowed the outlook of the people.

With annexation, Punjab came into contact with the West which brought both technological advance and new ideas about man and nature.

Lord Dalhousie, when taking over the responsibility of governing Punjab, had declared it to be a "Non-Regulation" province, which meant that the rules and regulations passed before 1833 were not applicable to Punjab. For the few years before

1857, Punjab was governed by a Commission under Lawrence[50] and a set of officers whose interest was, as Prakash Tandon, a noted Punjabi, observed, "Development rather than trade.....In the virgin field, with no regrets from the past, the government settled down to the task in which our family like many others was to play a small part, of building an administration; giving the province a new judiciary, for the first time a police; instituting land records and a revenue system; educational development; building irrigation canals which changed deserts into granaries and provided many services that laid the foundation of peaceful and prosperous countryside."[51]

Education

Punjab had widespread system of indigenous education when it came under British rule. There was not a single mosque, a temple, or a dharamsala that did not have a shcool attached to it, to which the youth flocked chiefly for religious education. There were thousands of secular schools frequented alike by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.[52] At the time of annexation, G.W. Leitner, an oriental scholar and one of the promoters of the Punjab University, observed, "The lowest computation gives us 330,000 pupils (as against a little more than 190,000 at present, i.e. 1880) in the schools of various denominations who were aquainted with reading, writing and some method of computation."[53]

Leitner, in his *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab* provides a neat classification of the educational institutions patronised by the three major communities of Punjab. Thus the Hindu indigenous educational institutions comprised Pathsalas, both religious and semi-religious, secular[54] schools of various kinds and grades. The Muslim educational system consisted of Maktabs, Madrasas both religious and secular, and Koran schools. The Sikh institutions were Gurumukhi Schools. Besides, there were mixed institutions apart from provision for female education.[55]

In Punjab as elsewhere, there was a controversy between the Orientalists and Anglicists. The former held that the existing native institutions were the best means for imparting education for raising and improving the character of the people.[56] The Anglicists believed with Macaulay that the ills of India will be cured with the light of Western knowledge imparted through the English language.

Leitner (Professor of Arabic with Muhammadan law and later Director of Oriental Learning of the University of Punjab) was critical of British policies as he held them responsible for the decline of indigenous education in Punjab. Speaking about the result of western education in India Mahatma Gandhi observed in 1931, "Today India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago.....because the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking things as they were, began to root them out, they scratched the soil and began to look at the root, and left the root like that, and the beautiful tree perished."[57]

The Beginning of English Education

As soon as Punjab was annexed, in one of its earlier declaration of policies, the Government declared that it would undertake educating of the masses.[58] But till 1854 there were very few schools. In January 1856 W.D. Arnold was appointed first Director of Public Instructions in Punjab. First of all he had to devise an educational machinery and it was arranged that the Education Department should consist of a Director on a salary of Rs. 1200 per mensem, two inspectors on salaries ranging for Rs. 500 to 800, ten deputy inspectors on salaries not extending Rs. 150, and sixty sub-inspectors on Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 per mensem.[59]

The Department also made provisions for aiding village schools mainly by one percent cess for prizes, scholarships and contingencies. The proposed cost of the direct agency of Government in teaching, supervision and inspection, was in round numbers, three lakhs exclusive of further charge of Rs. 8580 for grants-in-aid to private institutions.[60]

At the close of the year 1856-57, a number of schools had been opened for girls, containing about 300 scholars, nearly all of whom were Muslims. However, Arnold did not want to continue with these schools as after considerable expenditure, the Muslim girls were able to recite only verses of the Koran and they could have done so, even without such schools.[61]

While reviewing the working of his Department for the first two years Arnold was amazed to find a people with their own idea of the meaning of education, and, "to whom our idea of the meaning of education was distasteful, as to an Asiatic everything is distasteful which is new."[62]

During its first five years, the Department organised primary and secondary schools. In 1861 there was a Government or Mission school at the headquarters of nearly every district in which English was taught and there were more than 1500 vernacular schools of elementary character. During the next five years, though the number of schools remained almost the same, the number of boys at schools was almost doubled. Side by side, the number of girls' schools rose from 52, with 1,312 scholars, to 1029 with 19561 scholars.[63]

In his remarks upon the Report for 1863-64 the Lieutenant Governor declared that the increase in the number of girl scholars was "remarkable as the proof of the zeal and readiness with which the people of this provice can respond to an external impulse involving a radical change in their habits, provided they are assured of its beneficial tendency."[64]

School-attending girls were Hindus and Muslims in nearly equal proportion, though the government schools contained a larger majority of Muslim girls, and the aided schools of Hindus.[65]

This period also witnessed the opening of Government College at Lahore and Delhi, and of an aided college at Lahore in connection with the American Presbyterian Mission School.

In 1863-64 an educational committee, convened under the order of the Lieutenant Governor, stressed that the object of the system of grant-in-aid, was to promote private enterprise in education under the inspection of officers appointed by government, so that the government could thus gradually withdraw, in whole or in part, from the task of direct instruction.

During the first decade of the Education Department's existence, however, schools remained still in infancy. They usually imparted some religious instruction only. In the villages, girls of four or five years of age were sent to an old *guru* (teacher) and read texts legibly written for them on a black board, or, in case of Muslims passages from the *Koran*.

In 1871 there were two Government colleges in Punjab, each of which at the end of the year numbered 56 students on the rolls.[66] Thus only a small number of students were attending the colleges and the cost of educating them was, as the Department of education put it, consequently high.

The state of village school education (primary) continued to be very unsatisfactory which could be attributed mainly to the low

salary of the teachers. To give them some relief, however, in 1869 the pay of village school teacher was raised to a minimum of Rs. 10 per mensem. In the same year the middle school examination was also introduced.

Native society did not approve of the adult daughters of good families studying in an institution like a normal school, or going out into the world as female teachers; consequently the students were mostly of the low castes and were not sought by respectable people as teachers for their children.[67]

During the period 1871-81 the cessation of the Afghan war and a healthy season were favourable to the progress of education. There appeared to have been a sufficient improvement in bringing the pupil to schools. Still the increase in numbers (see Table 1.4) failed to keep pace with the increase of expenditure which was nearly 13.5 lakhs of Rupees in 1880-81 as against about 10 lakhs in 1870-71.

As is indicated in Table 1.4 in 1881-82 a total of 100,123 males and 9,353 females were under instruction. It is also clear that progress was mainly centred round the primary education than the higher education.

In the three major communities of Punjab the proportion of educated persons was unequal. Among Hindus, one in 23 could read or write; among Sikhs; one in 31, and among Muslims, one in 108.[68] About one woman in 1000 was educated. Sikhs and Muslims included a majority of agriculturists and among the Muslims especially, there were comparatively few persons to whom education was a means of livelihood.[69]

During the period 1881-82 to 1885-86 the proportionate increase in the total number of students, in boys schools, had been greatest among Sikhs and next among Muslims and it was larger in aided schools than in government institutions.[70] Overall there were 2117 public and 12201 private educational institutions, with 137,286 and 131,903 pupils respectively. The number of college students rose upto 307.

In 1898-99 there were 3073 public educational institutions in the province and the number of students attending them was 1,81,446; in addition to this there were 5,075 private schools with 79,651 students. There were eleven colleges and the number of students in colleges was 1,458.

Table 1.4

Number of Arts Colleges, Schools and Scholars in Punjab, 1881-82*

Total Population	*Institutions and scholars*	*University Education*	*School Education general*			*Training schools or Special schools attached to the Department of Education*						*Total*
		Arts colleges	High	Middle	Primary	Schools of Art	Medical Schools	Engineering schools	Training Schools	Industrial schools	Other school	
Male 10, 187, 148	Institutions											
Female 8, 633, 692	For Males	2	23	200	1,520	—	—	—	5	—	—	1,750
	For Females	—	—	1	307	—	—	—	3	—	—	311
Total 18, 820, 848	Total	2	23	201	1,827	—	—	—	8	—	—	2,061
	Scholars											
	Males	225	585	5,375	93,660	—	—	—	278	—	—	100,123
	Females	—	—	8	9,207	—	—	—	138	—	—	9, 353
	Total	225	585	5,383	102,867	—	—	—	416	—	—	109,476

**Provincial Committee, 1882, p. 87.*

Only one Punjabi out of 26 in British territory (Punjab) was literate in 1901. Only 65 males and 3 females per 1000 could read or write in 1901. Of the total literates in Punjab and N.W.F. Province just about one in ten knew English, *i.e.* 62 per 10,000 males and 6 per 10,000 females had a knowledge of English.[71]

Origin of Punjab University

The principles enunciated in the famous despatch of 1854 by Sir Charles Wood, formed the basis on which universities were established in 1857 in the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. So far as Punjab University is concerned, it was more an outcome of non-official Indian and Europeans' efforts than that of the Government. In fact, the establishment of this University was considerably delayed by the Government.

In January, 1865, Dr. G.W. Leitner founded the *Anjuman-i-Punjab*, the most successful European effort to influence Punjabi opinion.[72] It was a kind of literary club, consisting of European and Indian gentlemen, (to name a few they were Babu Chander Nath Mitra, Pundit Radha Kishen, Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Azad and Savant Faqir Shams-ud-Din), formed with the two-fold object of reviving the study of ancient oriental learning, and diffusing useful knowledge through the medium of the vernacular.[73] The chief practical business of the Anjuman was the foundation of an Oriental University, as it was then called, for Upper India.[74]

In a general meeting at Lahore under the presidency of Sir Donald Macleod (Lieutenant governor, Punjab) a scheme was drawn up for submission to the Government of India. The proposal to establish a University at Lahore was recommended to the Government of India by the Punjab Government in a letter (No. 235) dated 27th May, 1868. Though the Government of India agreed on some parts of the proposal, its stand on the whole was unfavourable.[75] The Punjab University college was thus established in Lahore in 1870 with Leitner as its Registrar. The special objects of the Punjab University college were :

(i) to promote the diffusion of European science as far as possible through the medium of the varnacular languages of Punjab, and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally,

(ii) to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of

Eastern classical languages and literature, and

(iii) to associate the learned and influential classes of the province with the officers of the government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.[76] Whilst these were the special objects of the institution, it was at the same time declared that every encouragement would be afforded to the study fo the English language and literature; and in subjects which cannot be completely taught in the vernacular, the English language would be regarded as the medium of instruction and examination.[77] Besides, this institution was not competent to award degrees.

The work done by the institution was of so substantial a character that at the time of the Imperial Assemblage in 1877 the Governor General, Lord Lytton, pledged himself to introduce a Bill as soon as possible in the Legislative Council for the purpose of giving to this institution the status of a University with the power of conferring degrees.[78]

After protracted correspondance; the Secretary of State, in his despatch dated 18th December 1879, sanctioned the proposals of the Government of India on the condition that he was to be furnished with details about the standard of examinations.[79] A large and influential delegation waited on the Viceroy Lord Ripon, when he paid his first visit to Lahore on 18th Nov. 1880. They pressed for the early passing of the Bill in the Legislature. On 5th Oct. 1882, Sir Courteney Ilbert, the law member of the Government of India, introduced a Bill in the Legislative Council to create the Punjab University.[80]

The first convocation of the University was held on 18th Novemeber, 1882 at Lahore. In his inaugural address Lord Ripon praised the liberality of the leading citizens and nobles of Punjab and approved the establishment of a university on a basis different from that the other existing universities in India.[81]

The Governing body of the University was representative in character and served the purpose of an advisory body to the Government of the province.

The *Anjuman-i-Punjab* wanted to ensure continuity and patronage for their traditional learning and languages. The Government of India, however, made it clear that it did not intend

to establish an Oriental University, at Lahore, rather it intended to found an independent University on the lines of Calcutta University with English as the language of instruction although degrees in Indian languages would also offered.[82]

The newly established Punjab University also differed in many respects from the other existing universities in India. It was designed to give special encouragement to Oriental studies along with imparting education in the higher branches of European knowledge and science through the medium of Indian vernaculars.[83] Side by side, the University adopted the Western system of edcucation, and English language was also used as medium of instruction.

Private Agencies

By the turn of the century different private agencies — Christian Missionaries, Arya Samaj, Singh Sabhas and Islamia Anjumans— started opening schools and colleges.

In 1839 Christian missionaries established their first headquarters in Punjab at Ludhiana. In 1846 mission stations were opened in Jullunder and in 1849 in Lahore. By the 1880's a network of missions covered the Punjab, from Delhi to Simla, from Ambala in the West to Peshwar and from Lahore south to Multan and from Peshawar along the border to Dera Ghazi Khan.[84] The number of Christian converts rose rapidly from 3912 in 1881 to over 19,000 a decade later and by 1901 had reached nearly 38,000.

From about 1860's Christian missionaries decided to send women missions to Indian homes as the tradition of *purdah* kept most women away from mission schools.[85] 'Zanana' education produced not merely the cry of 'religion in danger', but a more damning one—subversion in the home.[86] Conversion or the threat of conversion among students of mission schools, or members of the literate castes, produced a public uproar.

The success of these methods in converting Indians to Christianity, plus a close tie between Missionaries and the government created in the minds of many Indians a deep fear of 'Christian threat'. This led to the rise of a number of socio-religious reform organisations. The first of which was the Brahmo Samaj founded in 1863 by a small group of Bengalis — half a dozen or so — and even smaller number of Punjabi Hindus.[87] The Lahore

Samaj founded branches in Rawalpindi (1867), Amritsar (1873), and Multan (1875) etc. Among most prominent of its leaders in Punjab were, Babu Novin Chandra Rai and Lala Behari Lal etc. Innovative leadership in journalism, in literature, and in social and religious reform marked the early years of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj. It was first among various reform movements and Protestant-like sects that could be linked directly to the clash of Indian and British cultures. Still Brahmos with their indiscriminate attacks on tradition (opposition of idol worship, caste system and religious rituals) had little in their ideology which could or would protect them from the anger of Hindu orthodoxy.

Brahmo Samajist leadership was drastically curtailed by the emergence and the rise of a rival organisation, the Arya Samaj. As more and more Punjabi Hindus began to receive western education and to find places in the new professions, they too became concerned with religious and social questions within the province. A new ideology more militant and at the same time less radical, was needed, which was provided by the Arya Samaj. Aryas would provide a chance to acquire English education without fear of conversion. To do away the fear that the Government was determined to restrict higher education and thus limit the growth of the new elite, Arya Samaj opened an Anglo-Vedic High School at Lahore in June, 1886 which was converted into a College and the Punjab University granted affiliation to this college on May 18, 1889.

In 1888, Lala Munshi, Ram a noted Arya Samajist, started a campaign to open a girls' school at Jullundur city. In 1890 the Jullundur Arya Samaj succeeded in opening a girls' school, the Arya Kanya Pathashala. It was more an outcome of fear of Christian conversion rather than of idealistic concern.[88]

The D.A.V. School system stood in 1914 as a monument to the abilities and dedication of two men, Lala Lal Chand and Lala Hans Raj, besides a host of able Aryas. It taught Hindu youths of all sects and persuasions, producing a growing class of youngmen who shared similar educational backgrounds, expectations, and frustrations. By the 1890's Punjab possessed an impressive array of societies, sects and organization — Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, orthodox, heterodox and reforms each with its own ideology and programme, each caught up in a struggle with one or more opponents.[89]

The Nirankari, Radha Swami, and the Namdhari movements among the Sikhs made only a small impact among the masses. The conversions to Christianity of educated and aristocratic families disturbed the Sikh leaders more than the loss of their untouchable brethern.[90] More serious than the activities of Christian Missionaries, however, was the challenge of renascent Hinduism, chiefly from the Arya Samaj.

A number of literary and educational movements began in the 1870's and 1880's with the opening of an Oriental College, a University Library, a museum, a School of Arts, a Science Institute and a Medical College. Hindus and Muslims started schools and colleges of their own; only the Sikhs lagged behind.[91]

Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, in his book the *Satyarth Prakash (1875)* used unhappy language for Guru Nanak and his followers (the Sikhs). On 25th November, 1888, Pandit Guru Datta, a famous Arya Samajist, in a speech at the Lahore Arya Samaj anniversary celebrations sharply criticised Sikhism. Other Arya leaders specifically Pandit Lekh Ram and Lala Murlidhar, rose to second Guru Datta's comments, adding their own words of condemnation.[92] Protest meetings against such activities were organised by the Sikhs. These meetings had been organised by a society which described itself as the Singh Sabha whose leaders were rich landlords like Khem Singh Bedi, Bikram Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala and Thakar Singh Sandhawalia. The society's objects included the revival of the teachings of the gurus, producion of religious literature in Punjabi and a campaign against illiteracy.[93]

In 1879 another Singh Sabha was formed at Lahore. Leaders of this Sabha were a group of educated and energetic men of the middle class.[94] The Singh Sabha movement caught the imagination of educated Sikhs and branches began to open all over the province.[95] On March 5, 1892 the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Lyall, laid the foundation stone of the Khalsa College at Amritsar. The most important aspects of the Singh Sabha movement were educational and literary. From 1908 onwards, an educational conference was convened every year to take stock of the progress of literacy in the community and collect money to build more schools.[96] "A network of Khalsa Schools were opened in Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozepur ..... Almost every sizeable Sikh village in the Punjab has a school of its own. The most improtant of these

in the field of women's education was established in Ferozepur by Bhai Takht Singh and is known as Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya."[97]

The number of Sikh educational institutions rose during the first decade of the Sikh educational conference from 7 in 1908-09 to 110 in 1914-15 and to 210 in 1917-18.[98]

Muslims also established educational agencies called Anjumans. In 1873, an Anjuman was established in Amritsar in response to the Lieutenant Governor's remarks about the paucity of Muslim students in government schools,[99] which in 1882, was named Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar. In 1884, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was founded in Lahore with greater stress on education and propagation of Islam. In due course, Anjumans emerged in almost all important cities of Punjab, whose main task was to impart education, mainly of a religious character, counter the critics of Islam, strive for social reform and moral reform, and promote education of Muslim girls.

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, started in October, 1886 as a lower primary school which was raised to Entrance level within three years and in 1892, college classes were added and it came to be known as Islamia College, Lahore. These Anjumans played a great role in generating a widespread enthusiasm for education among Muslims.

Expansion of new education in Punjab was steady though slow. In 1901 Punjab had 8,98,365 literates; by 1911 this number had increased to 8,99,195. The proportion of literates to every 1,000 had increased from 36 to 37. Another noteworthy feature was that, while the number of male literates decreased from 65 to 63 per thousand of total population, the female literates registered an increase from 3 to 6 per thousand of total population in the decade.

There were in all 9661 educational institutions where 517989 pupils were being educated in Punjab in 1919-20. So the situation till the beginning of 1920 was that almost out of 25 million people living in Punjab only about half a million were literates.

In the traditional, superstitious and sharply divided society of Punjab while education on the one hand was an agent of social, political and economic change, on the other hand it also promoted the growth of communalism.

It is evident from the above description that Punjab was a region of divisions based on both natural and man-made causes.

Table 1.5[100]
Number of Institutions and Pupils

Class of Institution	*1911*		*1901*	
	Number of Institution	*Scholar*	*Number of Institution*	*Scholar*
Arts college education	11	2270	13	1251
Arts college Professional	7	709	1	178
School education Sec.	957	92445	406	68067
(general Primary.	3920	190225	2682	117420
School education Training	12	437	6	322
(Special) All other Spl. schools	36	3502	15	2167
Private Advanced	166	3914	378	6541
Institutions Elementary	2769	53408	3978	63218
Total :	7978	346940	7479	259164

Geographically, Punjab presents a variety of climatic difference. It has been the home of various religions and castes, as well. After its annexation by the British, indigenous educational institutions were replaced by those imparting western education. Initially interest was shown by Christian missionaries in this field. As English education was the gateway to the new professions and government employment various private agencies also came forward for starting modern schools and colleges. They were mostly based on communal lines and stressed religious instruction.

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2. L.M. Joshi and Fauja Singh, *History of the Punjab,* vol. 1, (Patiala, 1976), p. ii.
3. *Ibid.,* p.i.
4. Taxila is situated 20 miles north west of Rawalpindi in a valley of Muree Hills, now in Pakistan.
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6. Syed Mohammad Latif, *History of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 1.
7. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (Ed.), *Early 19th Century Punjab* (From Ganesh Das's Char Bagh-i-Punjab), (Amritsar, 1975), p. 37.
8. One Kos is about 1.75 miles.
9. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *op. cit.,* p. 49.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
13. Manjha is area between Beas and Ravi, i.e. Amritsar, Tran Taran and part of Lahore, Malwa area comprised of Ferozepur, Nabha, Jind and Ludhiana. See A.H. Bingley, *Sikhs* (reprint Language Department, Punjab, 1970), p. 143.
14. Bingley, *Sikhs*, p. 144.
15. *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XVII, Punjab, Part I, Report, p. 63.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
24. For detail see Chapter Five.
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53. *Ibid.*
54. In this reference secular means that in these pathshalas and maktabs etc. education was imparted on non-religious lines.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
56. Despatch from the Lieutenant Governor of N.W. Province to Secretary, Government of India, dated 18th Nov., 1864 Quoted in

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57. Dharampal, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
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59. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
60. *Ibid.*
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2

Growth of Education, 1920-34

The pace set in the educational field since the annexation of Punjab, was carried up to 1920 through the efforts of the Government and various private agencies. The Government of India Act 1919 introduced the 'Dyarchy' system in which the responsibility for educational administration was transferred to Indians. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, had both increased public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion.[1]

Government activities were directed towards increasing literacy and encourage private agencies to take some responsibility. There had been a gradual breaking down of some of the obstacles that stood in the way of the spread of education. The isolation of rural areas and the difficulty imposed by distances on the extension of education were being somewhat lessened by the building of new roads and railways, and by the provision of motor services, which were linking even remote villages with the mainstreams of life and acttivity. The conservative and orthodox prejudices against education were not as strong as they were a generation ago.

Our period starts with the time of transition from the old to the reformed regime when the new councils came into being and education as a transferred subject, came under the control of an Indian Minister, responsible to the Legislative Council of Punjab.

Table 2.1 shows the number of educational institutions,

scholars, increase and decrease as compared to last year and the percentage of literates to the total population between 1920-21 and 1934-35.

It is evident from Table 2.1 that all types of educational institutions increased from 9,939 in 1920-21 to the peak of 20,155 in 1930-31 and then decreased to 18,019 in 1934-35. Same is the case of scholars. The enrolment increased from 556,989 in 1920-21 to the climax of 1,385,841 in 1930-31 and came down to 1,268,474 in 1934-35. Percentage of literarcy to the total population increased from 2.7 in 1920-21 to 6.35 in 1930-31 and then decreased to remain at 5.38 in 1934-35.

The rate of increase in enrolment as compared to the previous year remained satisfactory from 1921-22 to 1927-28. After that it began to fluctuate and during 1931-32 to 1934-35 it showed a tendency towards decrease along with the number of institutions, and percentage of literarcy to the total population.

Table 2.1*

Year	*Institutions*	*Enrolment*		*%increase or decrease to last year*	*% to the total population*
1920-21	9,939	556,989			2.7
1921-22	11,403	626,690	(+69701)	+ 12.5	3.0
1922-23	12,795	776,978	(+150,288)	+ 23.9	3.75
1923-24	14,250	841,906	(+64,928)	+ 8.35	4.07
1924-25	15,212	919,649	(+77,743)	+ 9.23	4.44
1925-26	16,915	1,062,816	(+143,167)	+ 15.56	5.13
1926-27	18,773	1,182,736	(+119,920)	+ 11.28	5.72
1927-28	19,060	1,248,131	(+65,395)	+ 5.52	6.04
1928-29	18,100	1,220,769	(-27,362)	- 2.19	5.90
1929-30	19,469	1,313,376	(+92,607)	+ 7.58	6.35
1930-31	20,155	1,385,841	(+72,465)	+ 5.51	5.88
1931-32	18,472	1,333,575	(-52,267	- 3.77	5.61
1932-33	17,909	1,295,770	(-37,797)	-2.83	5.50
1933-34	17,779	1,280,754	(-15,016)	-1.15	5.43
1934-35	18,019	1,268,474	(-12,280)	-0.95	5.38

* *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, hereafter RPEP,* 1920-21 to 1934-35.

Table 2-1 also indicates that progress of education in Punjab was never continuous (during the period of our study). The increase in enrolment to the previous year's enrolment was as high as + 23.9 per cent as in 1922-23. In another year, 1931-32 it decreased upto –3.7%. Having a look at the history of education in Punjab during this period will be helpful in understanding the fluctuating tendencies of its growth.

During the year 1920-21 the work of the Education Department was not only to develop and expand the provision of education on lines previously determined, but to overhaul its machinery to meet new and changing conditions.[3] Expenditure increased by about 33%. In all Rs. 184,06,424 were spent on education during the year. Expenditure on scholarships rose from 4,16,226, to Rs. 4,73,571. Government made grants of Rs. 24,20,016 to district boards and of Rs. 2,38,401 to Municipalities.[4] Fazi-i-Hussain was the first Minister for Education and the Member-in-charge of European education was Sir John Maynard.

Explaining to the Legislative Council about the watchwards of his educational policy Fazi-i-Hussain declared, "Government intends to pursue an education policy which is national, economical, and makes for efficiency".[5] For the Department of Education, "It is again the most difficult task in education to maintain a just balance between the claims of efficiency and economy, between the claims of quality and quantity; between the claims of urban and rural areas, and between the main branches of educational system. Indifferent schools and indifferent teaching may well create a reaction against what all desire; and a disturbing feature of the present situation is that the increase in attendance by no means corresponds with the increase in expenditure and in the number of schools. Exaggerated attention to the requirements of the towns may result in an unhealthy congestion alongside disheartening apathy. Indifference to the development of a well ordered University may weaken the supply of teaching strength for other grades of education."[6]

Even in its first session practically every branch of education excited the keen interest of the Legislative Council. Many questions were asked on educational matters;[7] and important debates took place.[8]

In particular the Council showed a sincere anxiety to improve

the lot of teachers by substituting a more practical form of training for the somewhat exaggerated literary instruction then in force.[9]

Subjecting some of the financial proposals to a stringent scrutiny, the council showed from the outset of its career that it would be the reverse of niggardly in its provision of funds for education.[10]

The enthusiasm of the Education Department was fully backed by public opinion and especially by the Indian soldiers who had returned from the First World War. In 1921-22 there were 1464 or 14.72% more educational institutions and 12.5% more enrolment, as compared to the previous year.

Government began to hope that compulsory education could be introduced in selected areas where the provision of schools was reasonably adequate.[9] George Anderson (Director Public Instruction) felt that the compulsory system was not only the most efficient but also the most economical means of combating illiteracy.[10]

The expansion of education was retarded to some extent by such factors as abject poverty in many areas; the persistence of disease, in particular, of malaria; and inadequate means of communication.

The year 1924-25 noticed an increase of 6.75% in the number of educational institutions and 9.23% in enrolment as compared to the earlier year. The Director, Public Instruction, Punjab was of the opinion that within five years Punjab would be able to achieve all that was possible to achieve[11] for bringing the school going population on the rolls.[12] Shri Ram Sharma, M.A. in an article[13] to *The Tribune* wrote, "The departmental estimate quietly assumed that it is not possible to bring more than two-thirds of the school going population to school, because forsooth, it has not so far been possible to go beyond that number, even in the areas, where compulsion has been introduced."[14] He found the official calculations thoroughly misleading and positively wrong. "It may take almost half a century more if we move at this pace to get to the desired state of things. Can nothing be done to accelerate this pace ?"[15]

The year 1928-29 witnessed a drop in enrolment and number of education institutions i.e. from 1,248,131 to 1,220,769 and 19,060 to 18,100 respectively, as compared to the last year's statistics. The

Director of Public Instruction, Punjab attributed this fall mainly due to the 'closure of a large number of inefficient schools for adults'.[16] Another cause of the decrease described was more serious in that there had been some slackening on the part of inspecting staff in carrying out propaganda work among the people.[17]

As far as our period of study is concerned, the growth of education was at its peak during the year 1930-31. The number of educational institutions of all kinds advanced to a total of 20,155 from 19,469 in the previous year. The number of pupils enrolled increased to 1,385,841 from 1,313,376 in 1929-30. As for literacy rate to total population, year 1929-30 was the period which attained the maximum of 6.35%, best throughout our period of study which opens at 2.7% literacy in 1920-21 and ends at 5.38 in 1934-35. Literacy rate was 5.88% during 1930-31. Apparent setback in the literacy rate was due to the fact that during last ten years the figures were worked out on the census figures of 1921 whereas for 1930-31 figures were taken on the census of 1931. On the old basis the percentage under instructions would have been at 6.70%. During the year 1931-32 a decrease of 1683 in educational institutions and a decrease of 52,276 in enrolment is apparent. Decrease in number of institutions is attributed, wholly due to the closing down of 3,200 inefficient adult schools.[19] These types of schools were being suspected of not making satisfactory progress and the money, time and energy that were being spent on adult education, were, in view of the statistics, not wholly justified.[20]

In 1933-34, there was a further decrease in the number of institutions, scholars and rate of literacy to the total population. Figures stand at 17,909 to 17,779; 1,295,770 to 1,280,754 and 5.50 to 5.43 respectively at the close of the year. This was attributed to the closure of unrecognised girls schools. The chief cause mentioned, was the inevitable retrenchments in the provincial and local body budgets, the prevalence of dire economic depression, especially in the rural areas, the abolition of ineffective schools, closer scrutiny of admissions and greater emphasis on regularity of attendance.[21] The severe outbreak of malaria throughout the province in the autumn also played a great part in preventing an increase of enrolment in shcools which in some cases were empty for week after week.[22]

During the year 1934-35 though the number of educational institutions had risen from 17,779 in 1933-34 to 18,019, in 1934-35,

a decrease from 1,280,754 to 1,268,474 in enrolment was evident. Percentage of literacy continued to lower down from 5.43 to 5.38.

The inspector of schools Lahore accounted the fall due to the economic depression prevalent in the rural areas where the parents still found it extremely difficult to keep their children at school after they had passed the primary stage. They thought that their children could be more useful to them and their family at the farm, field or home.[23] Deputy Commissioner, Montogomery, however, wrote :

"These reductions are not due entirely to the economic distress of the people. Other causes for the decline are the withdrawal of the half fee concessions to Muslim agriculturists and the unemployment of great numbers of educated young men."[24] The Multan Inspector was also of the view that fall in number was due to increasing unemployment among the educated people and the growing lack of faith of the rural masses in the economic utility and efficacy of education and their consequent unwillingness to send their children to school."[25]

The *Tribune* found it satisfactory that apart from widespread literacy, efforts had also been made in Punjab for improving the quality of education in many directions. Such as the gradual reduction of single teacher elementry schools, the increase in the number of lower middle schools, the continual addition to the percentage of trained teachers, though there was still a large gap to be filled up, the attempts at starting adult education centres, and the establishment of Intermediate Colleges.[26]

Primary Education

While asked about the policy regarding primary education Fazl-i-Hussain the then Education Minister, replied, "I want to make primary education real and universal."[27] He, however, held that it depended on money and teachers. For him, it was of no use confining a young lad for four or five years unless that school was so conducted that boy on leaving had his economic value definitely and unmistakably raised, and difference between a boy who had been in it and a boy who had not been in it was so marked that the man in the street could see it and realise it.[28] It was the primary school teacher who was bound to be the centre of intellectual life in the village. Fazl-i-Hussain went on to say that

Table 2.2[30]

Growth of Primary Education

Year	*Schools*	*Students*	*Expenditure (in Rs.)*
1920-21	5365	239,187	24,05,237
1921-22	5624	482,394	27,35,680
1922-23	5733	463,431	28,77,694
1923-24	5676	509,797	30,65,980
1924-25	5562	511,609	31,94,897
1925-26	5711	734,416	32,55,587
1926-27	5908	722,561	34,78,352
1927-28	5691	760,395	34,61,143
1928-29	5516	747,834	35,59,958
1929-30	5580	799,513	36,55,674
1930-31	5696	843,959	37,80,156
1931-32	5607	805,645	37,66,334
1932-33	5598	776,815	37,56,930
1933-34	5604	764,082	37,74,832
1934-35	5623	741,861	39,58,832

in order to enable the local bodies to develop primary education he had relieved them of the duty of maintaining high schools. If the Legislative Council placed adequate funds at his disposal and local bodies realised their obligation in the matter, he hoped to give a good push to primary education in the coming future.[29]

Table 2.2, given above shows that right from the beginning of the period (1920-21) number of students attending primary schools increased rapidly. However, the growth was never continuous after 1927-28. Afterwards number of schools and schoolars sometimes increased and sometimes decreased. Expenditure over primary education also shows the same trends.

In 1920-21 there were 5,365 primary schools constisting of 239,187 pupils.[31] This gives an average of 45 boys to each school, not a very large number. So, for the Department of Education it was possible to expand primary education not only through the creation of schools but through an increase in the attendance at existing schools.[32] Whereas there were about 1,600,000 boys in the province between the ages of 6 and 10, there were only about

482,394 boys in vernacular schools and classes, at the close of 1921-22.

Increased provision of schools and the development of vernacular education was arranged so that schools could be established at every centre where an attendance of 50 pupils might be expected. By the end of the year 1923-24 the average number of pupils in a primary school had reached at 62.

People showed growing enthusiasm for education. At the time of annual inspection, it was by no means uncommon for the village people to flock together round the school and watch the inspection.[33] Very often, they collected money for the distribution of sweets and prizes to the pupils. Sites for the school buildings were usually provided free of cost by the villagers. In some cases the school house was constructed by them at their own expense or on payment of a part of cost by the district board. Another pleasing feature was the tendency in some districts (notably Mianwali and Gurgaon) for little girls to be sent to school with their small brothers. In 1925-26 as many as 2,058 little girls were attending the boys' schools.[34]

After the year 1927-28 there was gradual decrease in the number of primary schools. It was mainly due to the conversion of primary into lower middle schools and the closure of some of the weaker and poorly attended schools, but also owing to a misunderstanding to the relaxation of efforts which had been made in previous years to stimulate parents to send their children to school.[35]

While for the Education Department, the increase in the provision of educational facilities upto the primary standard, was gratifying to some extent, it also caused some nervousness and disquietude on the score of additional financial commitments involved.[36] It was time that local bodies realised that a 'more useful' and 'economical' way of advancing literacy lay in filling up existing institutions and in eliminating too closely situated and poorly attended schools rather than in unnecessarily adding to their number.[37]

The continuous decline in the number of pupils in primary schools in the early 1930s, which was almost entirely in rural areas, was attributed by the inspectors of schools mainly to the unsatisfactory economic condition of the agriculturists and village

Kamins (menials).[38] Famines in some parts of the province, also were responsible for the decline. Another cause was the need for economy forced upon the local bodies to balance their budgets.[39]

In 1921-22, of a total of 6624 primary schools, a very large proportion were manned by single teachers who were expected to cope with all four classes. The main objects of the substitution of the four for the five class primary school, were to meet the requirements of the Compulsory Education Act, to relieve teachers in single teacher schools from the burden of five classes, to eliminate the three class school and also to equate the opportunities of urban and rural boys, the study of English being started in the 5th class.

In 1923-24 it was estimated that more than three quarters of the primary schools had now two teachers or more.[40] The Ministry of Education often expressed "The one-teacher primary school, in which a teacher, often none too-well qualified, is expected single handed to teach four classes is of doubtful utility, especially in the removal of illiteracy."[41] Still, in 1929-30 there were 1,380 single teacher schools. Number of such schools in the Karnal, Hissar, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Mianwali districts was excessive. The Department of Education felt, "It must be borne in mind that geographical conditions in certain districts such as Muzaffargarh, Mianwali, Hissar, Kangra and parts of the Salt Range preclude the possibility of the total extinction of such schools."[42]

The number of single teacher schools was 1,168 in 1930-31 but it increased to 1,258 in 1931-32. The increase was mostly due, as the Education Department put it, to the reduction of the school staff by local bodies and it was hoped that when better times return the process of elimination of such type of school would again proceed unchecked.[43] By 1932-33 the number of single teacher schools increased to 1,442 and reached to 1538 in 1934-35.

Another problem with the primary schools was the low proportion of trained teachers. The general opinion of inspectors of schools was that the vernacular teachers, and even those who had taken the senior vernacular certificate, had an insufficient store of general knowledge and information.[44] Another unhappy position was that trained teachers were usually tempted to service in the cities where prospects and conditions of service were much more promising than in rural areas. Given below is the number

of trained and untrained teachers in primary schools in Punjab in various years.[45]

Year	*Trained Teachers*	*Untrained Teachers*	*Total*
1924-25	7056	4588	11,644
1926-27	6224	5444	11,668
1930-31	8838	5797	14,635
1932-33	10252	4164	14,416
1934-35	10775	3919	14,694

It is evident that though the number of untrained teachers was on the decrease, still, it formed a major proportion. Percentage of untrained teachers to the total number of teachers in primary schools was 39.40 in 1924-25, 46.65 in 1926-27, 39.61 in 1930-31, 28.88 in 1932-33 and 26.67 in 1934-35.

The position in regard to primary school buildings was unsatisfactory, though some improvements had been made. The rapid increase in enrolment during the early 1920s, together with the improved status of a large number of primary schools, had imposed a heavy strain on the available accommodation, and many schools were housed in insanitary and rented buildings.[46] In 1922-23 it was estimated that nearly half the schools in the province were still without buildings of their own; some were housed in dark and badly ventilated rooms quite unsuited for school purposes, while others had accommodation inadequate to the expanding numbers.[47]

The Department of Education, however, noticed with satisfaction that people had began taking interest in the construction of their own school buildings, particularly in Lyallpur, Montgomery and Attock districts village people undertook the erection of their own schools with the aid of a small grant from district funds.[48]

About the real situation of primary education Dr.(Mrs.) M.C. Shave (M.L.C. nominated non-official) said that before any extension was attempted the prevailing system of primary education required a thorough overhauling. She proceeded to describe the primary schools as the 'over crowded dens and hovels with primitive and inadequate sanitary arrangements' which many municipalities consider 'perfect schools', or pretended they do.[49] She spoke of pandits' schools where babies of 3 and 4

were being taught in 'dark gullies, sitting on both sides of an open drain, shouting the multiplication table and drawing in poison with every breath.'[50] She held that the object of primary education should be to produce cleaner, healthier, happier human beings and the monstrous evils of defective hygiene and lack of sanitation which were a reproach throughout the length and breadth of this great country could never be really tackled till education became universal.[51]

An alarming instance of waste was the predominance of pupils in the first class. It means that a very large proportion of the pupils did not gain even a semblance of literacy, while a number of those who did so, relapsed into illiteracy soon sfter leaving school.[52] Table[53] given below presents an idea about the real situation.

	Class I	*Class II*	*Class III*	*Class IV*
1922-23	313,608	99,899	75,402	57,221
1925-26	409,644	140,249	93,490	73,720
1928-29	412,140	218,690	117,981	90,266
1931-32	472,840	206,068	136,396	109,582
1934-35 (boys only)	343,368	159,780	122,192	98,947

It is evident from the table that in 1922-23 Class I formed as many as 57.4% of the pupils reading in primary schools while Class IV formed only 10.47% of the total. At the close of year 1925-26, about 57% pupils were enrolled in Class I and only 10% were in Class IV. Only about 41% of the pupils enrolled in Class I in 1924-25 received promotion.[54] In 1934-35 also 47.4% pupils were in Class I while only 13.6% were enrolled in Class IV.

The most potent and effective means of eliminating this serious form of waste was the successful and widespread application of compulsion. The main benefit to be derived from the successful application of compulsion was the retention of pupils at school for a sufficiently long period of time to enable them to gain a firm grasp of literacy.[55] It was felt essential that enthusiasm should not be blunted by any hasty or vexatious system of compulsion. The Department feared, "To scatter broadcast over the countryside a horde of subordinate officials in the form of attendance officers and to harass the people by the infliction of fines which they cannot afford to pay, would put the clock backward instead of forward".[56]

It was hoped that the initiative should come from within and not be superimposed from above by some distant and uncongenial authority.[57] So, in Punjab it was parents themselves who applied for compulsion and not the local authority which enforced compulsion on an unwilling people.

In 1921-22 there were only 2 areas (urban) under compulsion which rose to 740 rural and 3 urban areas in 1925-26. By the end of year 1927-28 there were 47 urban areas and 1613 rural school areas under compulsion. By the end of year 1929-30 the number of school areas under compulsion was 61 urban and 2,449 rural which reached a total of 62 urban and 2,920 rural areas in 1934-35.

Secondary Education

Table 2.3 gives an idea of the situation as regards Secondary Education during 1920-34.

Table 2.3[58]

Year	*Secondary Schools*	*Increase or decrease of scholars in % and in number*		*Scholars*
1920-21	969			188529 (boys only)
1921-22	1047	(+18985	10%)	207514 (boys only)
1922-23	1089	(+38561	18.5%)	246075 (boys only)
1923-24	1301	(+37778	15.35%)	288853 (boys only)
1924-25	1758			371215
1925-26	2335	(+69440	18.7%)	440655
1926-27	2741	(+71547	16.2%)	512202
1927-28	3175	(+63173	12.3%)	575375
1928-29	3495	(+23348	4.05%)	598723
1929-30	3805	(+55319	9.2%)	654042
1930-31	3941	(+40538	6.19%)	694580
1931-32	3968	(-15100	-2.17%)	679480
1932-33	3892	(-26739	-3.93%)	652741
1933-34	3877	(-7683	-1.17%)	645058
1934-35	3847	(-14350	-2.22%)	630708

It is evident from the above table that the number of Secondary schools and scholars increased rapidly till 1930-31. The number of all type of secondary schools in 1921-22 was 1209 consisting of 222,292 (including girls) pupils which reached to a total of 3941 schools consisted of 694,580 pupils in 1930-31 an increase of 2732 schools and 472,288 or 212.46% scholars. Then onwards the number of scholars began to decline and came down to 630,708 which marked a decrease of 63,872 or 9.19% scholars.

The bulk of secondary schools consisted of middle schools, which were 927 as against 222 high schools in 1921-22. In 1930-31 there were 3584 middle schools as against 357[59] High schools. Though the remarkable rise in number of vernacular middle schools was more apparent than real as it included a large number of lower middle schools which had merely been brought into existence by the addition of a sixth class to the old five class primary schools.[60] It gives us the figures of increased 2657 middle schools against the increase of only 135 high schools. While during 1921-22 and 1930-31 middle school rose by 286.62%, high school recorded an increase of only 60.81%. Further, 1931-32 onwards till 1934-35 middle schools registered a decay of 137 schools or 3.8% while high schools decreased by 16 schools or 4.40%.

Speaking about the nature of secondary education Fazl-i-Hussain admitted,

"I realise that secondary education as at present imparted is too literary and there is very little, vocational practical teaching included in it..... Perhaps at present all the money that is spent on secondary education does not give as good a return as it should."[61] He expressed his intention to introduce variety into it and to make it real and useful and prevent the scheme of secondary education from being wasteful and useless.[62]

Secondary education was like a blind alley as only a very small portion of those who passed went on to the University.

With the inception of reforms, the well-to-do, the agriculturist classes showed an increasing interest in education.

Private bodies were mainly responsible for the increase in the number of high schools and in some measure for that in Anglo Vernacular middle schools.[63] The Department of Education showed great concern over the unequal expansion of secondary schools. It was feared that the comparatively wealthy urban areas had

profited by the provision of facilities for advanced school education at the expense of poorer rural tracts.[64]

The creation of oases in a desert of neglect could not be considered to be the best way to combat ignorance or to foster progress.[65] The provision of suitable accommodation for secondary schools could hardly be said to have kept pace with the increase in the number of institutions and scholars.[66]

The progress of the province as a whole, it was feared, would be retarded so long as large and less favoured areas were allowed to lag behind the more fortunate districts.[67] It was suggested by the Department to make the educational activities of private bodies centralised so as to formate a more provincial view of needs and a more equable distribution of resources.[68] This was, however, made clear to the schools receiving recognition that, recognition carried with it no claim to grant-in-aid.[69]

Provincialisation of schools was found to be the best means to combat the difficulties and deficiencies in the proper distribution of schools. As a result there were 78 Government High Schools in 1926-27 as against 39 in 1921-22. By provincialisation of schools and by timely assistance to local bodies, secondary education had been considerably advanced in backward distant districts such as Dera Ghazi Khan, Kangra, Gurgaon and Muzzafargarh.[70] This policy, however, was often embarassed by a cluster of communal schools in a single place where but one school was really needed.[71]

A large number of secondary schools had very satisfactory school buildings and hostels while on the other hand a number of schools were very badly provided as ill-ventilated and ill-lightened houses occupied in insanitary surroundings.[72]

The wealthier and more advanced areas were not infrequently inundated with schools to the comparative neglect of the more backward areas. The needs of the latter were, however, duly considered in opening or recognising new schools.[73]

Building operations were practically suspended 1931 onwards, on account of the financial stringency. Finanical depression had caused a very serious setback and several schools still remained located in extremely inadequate, insanitry and unsuitable buildings.[74] However, charges of extravagence had often been brought from time to time against the Education Department in the matter of buildings, inspection and staff.[75]

Fazl-i-Hussain the then Education Minister himself admitted that the construction of the Government College hostel and the so-called standard plans of high and primary school buildings, the existence of special inspectors to assist divisional inspectors and of another type of special inspectors who visited high schools in quick succession had lent support to those charges.[76] In Multan Division alone as many as 35% vernacular middle and 55% of the lower middle schools were housed in unsuitable buildings.[77]

Collegiate Education

The number of colleges and students reading in colleges showed a great contrast when compared to the number of secondary and primary schools and pupils attending them. The number of colleges was very small compared to the number of secondary schools and so were the pupils.

But Government officials all over India were paranoid over the expansion of higher education and in Punjab also they spoke of the overcrowding of colleges. In a speech at Government College, Lahore, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor, referred to swelling size of college students. He said, "In order to limit your (collegiate institutions at Lahore) total, you have to reduce admissions to about 50 out of some 300 applicants."[78] He went on to say, "Our colleges are now of a size which destroys their value as collegiate institutions in the sense in which we understand that term. It is impossible that they should have that intimate common life among students, so formative of character and that close touch between the formed mind and the riper experience of the teacher and the growing and eager brain of the student which collegiate life should provide."[79] Unrestricted expansion of collegiate education was linked to political unrest.

Table 2.4 gives an idea of collegiate education numerically.

The Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission noted, "Indian Universities are burdening themselves, and allowing their constituent and affiliated colleges to burden themselves with a very large number of students who have little or no chance of completing a university course successfully and on whom expenditure of money intended for university education is wasted.[80] Large influx of students, many of whom none too well selected, had imposed a heavier burden on most colleges and

Table 2.4

Institutions	*Institutions*					*Scholars*				
	1919-20	*1924-25*	*1928-29*	*1932-33*	*1934-35*	*1919-20*	*1924-25*	*1928-29*	*1932-33*	*1934-35*
Universities	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	18	31	14
For Males										
Arts college	12	17	32	31	32	4566	6721	10691	13443	13679
Professional College	8	7	8	8	8	1501	1714	1908	2038	2365
Total	20	24	40	39	40	6067	8435	12599	15481	16044
For Females										
Arts college	1	2	2	3	4	38	110	128	324	514
Professional college	1	1	1	1	2	27	27	39	29	109
Total :	2	3	3	4	6	65	137	167	353	623
Grand Total :	23	28	44	44	47	6132	8572	12784	18865	16681

RPEP, 1920-21 to 1934-35.

universities than they could reasonably be expected to bear.[81] It further reported, "The gradute on leaving college was only too often a man with no wide or living intellectual interests, with no discipline or art of living in a community, with no training in leadership and with little sense of his responsibility to others."[82]

As for the distribution of colleges, it was noticed that there was an excessive concentration of students in Lahore, and that was good neither for the place nor for the students.[83]

On the basis of the Calcutta University Commission Report, Punjab made a start in the direction of the institution of Honours Schools which provided better and more varied teaching for the abler students.[84] Fazl-i-Hussain in describing the objects of these schools said that, the facilities should be afforded in Punjab University for studying particular subjects to as high a standard as was made available in certain western universities, so that those who were suited for such higher course might be able to take them up.[85] Another reform advocated by Calcutta University Commission was the removal from the university of all tuition of a strictly pre-university standard and its concentration into new institutions to be known as 'Intermediate Colleges' which were to provide the logical culmination of the system of secondary education.[86]

The report on the progress of education in Punjab 1924-25 showed concern over declining Matriculation standards leading to overcrowding of colleges. A solution of this problem was to raise matriculation standards whereby the students would be better equipped to benefit by a university course.[87] Another tendency not liked by the Department was the bias in favour of premature specialisation. Quoting the London University Commission, it was said,

"It is impossible for any but the greatest minds to gain mastery over more than a small part of human knowledge but in addition to the mastery of a part it is possible to acquire a general conception of the whole, a sympathetic understanding of the ideas which guide the work of other men, an almost instinctive sense on the bearing of other branches of knowledge on one's own special work and a just appreciation of its possibilities and limitations."[88]

The Department of Education found it difficult to believe that many matriculates possessed that basis of general knowledge to

enable them after the space of two short years in which they had been trained mainly by means of the mass lecture to undertake a highly specialized course of study.[89]

One way of counteracting these tendencies was found in the creation of Intermediate Colleges,[90] which comprised of four years, two of high school and two of college. It was said that in Punjab these colleges could be instituted with a comparatively small expenditure as in many towns Government High Schools had become a superfluity owing to the existence already of a large number of well conducted and well housed high schools under private management.[91] Still a tendency on the part of boys to delay admission to Intermediate College until they had passed the Matriculation examination was noticed which made them lose the main benefit of this provision.[92]

Principals of different colleges often indicated the difficulties of meeting the needs and requirements of the growing number of students. Yusuf Ali, Principal of the Islamia College, was of opinion that there were a large number of students who were content to pay the fees and to keep the minimum attendance required by the regulation of the University.[93] It was considered that the prevailing system of education was defective because it had failed to make youngmen realise the dignity of manual labour. Need of the hour was the creation of institutions which could fit men for their vocation in life. For that a comprehensive and elastic system of education was required which could be suited to the needs of youngmen as the economic struggle was becoming more acute every day.[94]

The Inspection Committee which Government appointed for the supervision of Intermediate Colleges in 1928 opined that except in a few specially favoured centres, where there were no rival high schools, it was impossible to make the school classes of intermediate colleges a real success.[95] The Committee, however, suggested for the improvement of recruitment, the re-introduction of the Anglo-vernacular Middle School Examination which would have enabled students to leave their old schools and enter the intermediate colleges without undue interference. This, however, had been defeated by the Legislative Council.[96]

Principals of colleges, with few exceptions, reported that the demand for intermediate education was insistent and candidates

had to be turned away for lack of room.[97] Only dire poverty could prevent the average parent from giving his son a further chance. Parenthetically, the 'Izzat', of the parent suffered badly if the son had to return home unemployed and without prospects after passing the matriculation examination.

Professional colleges were more and more demanding the intermediate qualification as their minimum entrance standard.[98] Many of the inter colleges reported increased difficulties in filling their matriculation classes and it could be concluded that the general public resolutely refused to send its sons to the matriculation classes of these colleges in preference to the local high schools.[99]

In his convocation address, Sir Malcolm Hailey said that as yet the University had not captured the imagination of Punjab at large as a guide and influence in the betterment of life.[100] He further said,

"There is a very general feeling that the great increase in the number of our graduates has been followed by a falling off in standards; the matriculation can not be considered a test of ability or even of knowledge; the ordinary degree can be obtained on terms which, however, may strike the examinee — do not secure for it the estimation which it should posses in public opinion."[101]

The Auxiliary Committee (Hartog Committee) noted : "The percentage of failures (in university examinations) .....indicates that something is seriously wrong at an earlier stage and that the Indian Universities are not giving adequate attention to the proper adjustment of admission to graduation standards, but, on the contrary, are burdening themselves and are allowing their constituent and affiliated colleges to burden themselves with a very large number of students who have little or no chance of completing a university course successfully and on whom expenditure of money intended for university education is wasted."[102]

R. Sanderson (Director Public Instructions, Punjab), however, viewed, "Communal rivalry has had the effect of debarring the standard of education in this province as the struggle of profit, power, and patronage has directed the energies of all communities to increasing the output of men with qualifications that will help them to appointments."[103]

The main cause of the congestion in schools and colleges and the consequent loss of efficiency was described in the fact that sections of people, irrespective of their conditions of life and the aptitude of their children had a restricted choice of the mode of their education. The prevailing type of high school so completely dominated the minds of the people that other froms of education were opposed and mistrusted and even the primary schools regarded mainly as the first rungs of the ladder leading upto the high schools and colleges. This lure tempted boys to pursue the time honoured and formerly profitable path leading to academic heights which had become barren.[104]

Hartog Committee also viewed,

"There can be little doubt that one of the main attractions of the university and colleges to men who had no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications, for pursuing them, is the insistence on a university degree by Government and other employers as a passport to service.[105] Even, if a farmer was little better off, he taxed his meagre resources to the utmost and sent his boy to college. Beyond that was the realisation of the fact that his education had been the ruin of his parents, that he himself had grown into a worthless youngman with expensive tastes, and that his long cherished hope of finding an El-Dorado in Government service was no more than a delusion."[106]

Mustaq Ahmed (M.L.C) expressed that the bare fact that the number of unemployed graduates was fast increasing, pointed clearly to the unsuitability of university education to meet the needs of the country.[107]

In 1927, a committee was appointed by the Punjab Government to enquire into the extent and causes of unemployment among the educated classes and to suggest measures of its reduction.

The committee found that there was very extensive unemployment among those of the educated classes whose education had been purely literary and who had proceeded to higher education through the Anglo-vernacular course. The system of education produced men fit only for clerical occupation and was regarded merely a ticket to Government service. It rendered boys unfit for their ancestral occupations. Unemployment was due largely to aversion from manual labour among certain classes. Unemployment was also due largely to the extension of education to classes which previously did not aspire to Government service.[108]

To remedy these tendencies, the committee proposed facilities for higher education to be provided only for the markedly able who, if poor, could be subsidised by the State or for those who could pay its full cost. Education in the early stages must be made a real education related to life, and manual training be compulsory throughout that period. Increased facilities for technical and industrial education must be provided.[109]

Diversion of the boys (not interested) at an earlier stage in vocational training or practical occupations was considered the process on which all reform of higher education should turn.[110]

Still it can be said that the problem was not too many students but too many in relation to jobs available.

Throughout our period of study there had been almost continuous progress as far as collegiate education was concerned. The number of students increased from 6132 in 1919-20 to 16,681 in 1934-35, and institutions reached a total of 47 in 1934-35 as against 23 in 1919-20. So many new arts colleges had been affiliated and some intermediate colleges had been raised to degree status during the period.

Technical and Professional Education

Technical education in general was receiving the greater attention of the Government as it was felt that the solution of some problems lay in the establishment of well equipped and adequately staffed industrial and manual training centres, where a boy could learn to use his hands as part of his general education.[111]

A law school was established in Lahore in 1870, at the same time as an oriental college, for the training of Mukhtars and Pleaders. It was converted into a college in 1909. The number of students increased to 1163 in 1934-35 as against 404 in 1919-20. The Punjab University Enquiry Committee viewed that the proper instruction of such a large number of students in the niceties of a wider range of complex subjects was bound in any circumstances to create difficulties in teaching and administration.[112] This also promoted litigiousness and by acute competition among the less competent practitioners, it tended except in the highest range, strongly to undermine the technical, civic and ethical standards of the legal profession.[113]

The Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore, was founded in

1927 by the munificence of Sir Ganga Ram, with a view to providing commercial training to youngmen, who possessing a good general education wished to qualify themselves for positions in the higher branches of commercial life.[114] Arrangements also had been made for most of the students to be placed in different works and offices for a considerable part of the summer vacation with a view to giving them an opportunity of studying the actual practice of commerce and industry at first hand.[115] The college was controlled by the University and was managed by a committee, representing not only academic interests through representatives of the university and the Education Department, but also the interests of the commercial and banking community.[116] A commercial museum had also been started in the college with a good collection of industrial and agricultural products.[117]

There were 439 students on the roll of King Edward Medical College in 1921-22. Their number further increased to 530 in 1924-25 but decreased afterwards and was 487 in 1934-35.

Medical School Amritsar and the Women's Christian Medical College, Ludhiana also provided medical education. The demand for the product of these institutions was far greater than the supply.

The Ayurvedic Vidyalaya was attached to the D.A.V. College, Lahore. In the pharmacy attached to the Vidyalaya medicines were prepared by the students under the guidance of the staff as part of their training.[118]

The Unani Tibya classes were attached to Islamia College, Lahore. The course comprised all the branches of the advanced Unani system of medicine.

Popularity of the Veterinary College, Lahore, progressed steadily on both the educational and hospital sides. Accommodation and equipment could bear comparison with any other institution of its kind in the world.[119] Government School of Engineering, Rasul and Maclagan Engineering College, Moghalpura, continued to serve the province with their splendid activities.

Punjab Agricultural college, Lyallpur was one of the best equipped agricultural colleges in India. It aimed to give such a combined and systematised course of scientific agriculture as would enable it to send out men, competent to further the progress on the most approved economical and up-to-date lines, either as

assistants in one or other branches of the Agricultural Department or as managers of their own or other estates.[120]

Mayo School of Arts, Lahore remained as the premier art institution of the province. The three special institutions viz., the Metal Works at Ambala and Sialkot and wood working at Jullundur, had begun to attract the students, who in the past used to seek admission in this school.[121]

In the overall activities of the University during the period of study attention had been devoted to the problem of the proper training of the more brilliant students.[122] In science subjects, considerable success had been attained and higher standards established. In arts subjects attempts had been made to improve the general standard of higher teaching. It was claimed that there had been a development of academic ideals, a quickening of the academic conscience and a growing sense of the solidarity of the teaching body.[123]

The possibility of introducing various forms of vocational training into one or other of the stage of college work had also been considered.

Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar was appointed University Professor of Physical Chemistry and Director of the Laboratory in 1924 and had developed his department with great energy and success. Only honours students were trained at the University Department. B.Sc. Honours examination in Chemistry was about the standard of old M.Sc. The new M.Sc. was given on the results of the research work. Technical Chemistry as one subject for the B.Sc. (Pass) was introduced by the initiative of the Forman Christian College.

Honours schools in mathematics and oriental languages were to be followed by a two years M.A. courses. These schools were not popular because specialisation was obained at the expense of English, the most important subject from the commercial and official point of view.[124] Then an Honours school was designed by the Academic Council comprising in particular English, history and economics and philosophy. Honours schools, however, were found expensive by the Punjab University Enquiry Committee owing to their comparatively small enrolment and to their present difficulty of arranging the several courses in such a way that many of the lectures could become common to a larger number of students.[125] In 1926 Mathematical and Oriental Honours schools

were abolished and the combined Honours school was suspended and the Academic Council returned to the system of additional papers in which a B.A. candidate could obtain 'Honours' in a particular subject.[126] Astronomy, French and German were taught as minor subjects in the University.

Punjab University Enquiry Committee viewed,

"Though in some ways the strong individuality of the colleges is a pleasing antidote to the full uniformity of some universities, there is lacking a spirit of co-operation among the colleges themselves and between the colleges and the University. Colleges prized their autonomy and independence, they therefore, tended to single handedly provide complete courses in all the subjects in which each was affiliated. This practice led to extravagence as well as inefficiency. In the second place, the university had very little means of promoting inter-collegiate co-operation or of ensuring that its regulations were carried both in letter and spirit."[127]

The qualification of teachers varied very much from college to college. Most of the teachers were distinguished men, but they were content to do their daily work with their classes, numbering in hundreds. Some of the college staffs were far too dependent on the goodwill on the managing bodies and were placed under the temptation of trying to please the persons in power.[128]

The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam expressed the view that Lahore would continue to be the centre for higher education but obviously could not accommodate all those who were anxious to receive such education. Therefore, the Anjuman demanded the establishment of first grade colleges in different towns in the province to relieve Lahore of its congestion.[129]

Female Education

In 1921, less than one woman in fifty in British India could read and write, and progress in literacy[130] had been very slow.[131] Of the total population of age five and over the number of literate persons in Punjab were 45 mille (thousand), males 74 per mille and females 9 per mille.[132] Of the literate females 14% were literate in English.

In 1920-21 there were 1099 girls' schools containing 59205 scholars. Division wise distribution[133] of schools and scholars was as below :

Division	*Schools*	*Pupils*
Lahore	316	21411
Rawalpindi	226	11359
Jullundur	225	10943
Multan	176	10162
Ambala	156	5330

With the opening of a high school in 1921 in Ambala division, high schools now existed in all divisions. It is clear that progress throughout the province was not uniform. The Lahore division led the way while Ambala division lagged far behind. Same was the case in 1925-26 when Lahore district stood first with 6639 pupils while Rohtak, Karnal, Hissar and Gurgaon lagged behind with only 1262, 1150, 1120, and 753 pupils respectively.[134] The situation remained the same till the end of our period. In 1934 division-wise distribution of scholars in recognised schools for general education was :[135]

Lahore division	52652
Rawalpindi division	30321
Multan division	25724
Jullundur division	25339
Ambala division	11912

It was reported that there was much apathy towards the education of girls in Ambala division.[136]

A detailed view of the position of girls' education can be had from Table 2.5.

Continuous growth in almost all grades of women's education is evident from the table. Though the rate of growth was higher in the lower stages of education, the increase in the number of recognised schools was disappointing which according to the Education Department reflected adversely on the enthusiasm and sympathy of local bodies.[137] It was also opined that some of the unrecognised, schools served an useful purpose and deserved recognition, but local bodies were reluctant to award grant-in-aid.[138] A pinch of financial stringency had probably affected the education of girls more than that of the boys. In days of financial adversity local bodies tended to regard girls' schools as the first and obvious sacrifice.[139]

Table 2.5

	Institutions					*Scholars*				
	1919-20	*1924-25*	*1928-29*	*1932-33*	*1934-35*	*1919-20*	*1924-25*	*1928-29*	*1932-33*	*1934-35*
Recognised Institutions :										
Arts college	1	2	2	3	4	38	110	128	324	514
Professional college	1	1	1	1	2	27	27	39	26	109
High schools	20	19	32	39	40	3315	2654	8395	12153	11709
Middle schools	73	81	100	138	163	10446	12762	17286	30769	37986
Primary schools	1001	1039	1409	1634	1679	45855	51152	73937	98282	101886
Special schools	18	18	62	56	62	991	915	2247	2798	2792
Total	1114	1160	1606	1871	1950	60672	67650	102032	144352	154998
Unrecognised Institutions :										
For females	724	1715	2512	2853	3009	11900	28254	49306	58297	134889
Grand Total :	23	28	44	44	47	6132	8572	12784	18865	16681

RPEP, 1919-20 to 1934-35.

The number of females per 1000 males was 830 in 1921. The total population on the whole increased by 2,895,374 or 13.9% to 23,580,852. The number of literates per 1000 females 5 or above also increased to 17[140] which was far less than Bengal (30), Bombay (29) and Madras (30). The percentage of literate women to total population was :

1924-25	1.02
1926-27	1.37
1928-29	1.67
1930-31	1.74
1932-33	2.07
1934-35	2.19

The figures given in Table 2.5 show that the education of girls was still in its infancy. The Hartog Committee, however, considered the education of the girl as the education of the mother and through her, of her children. It was remarked that the middle and high classes of India had long suffered from the dualism of an educated manhood and an ignorant womanhood — a dualism that lowered the whole level of the home and domestic life and had its reaction on personal and national character.[141] Only through education Indian women could contribute in increasing measure to the culture, the ideas and the activities of the country.[142]

The quality of the instruction was low though this was being improved slightly. The proportion of trained mistresses had been increasing so also the standard of efficiency. For reasons of economy, however, some municipalities had made drastic reductions in the salaries of mistresses and others had closed girls' schools entirely.[143] It was feared by the Department,

"Such measures, if at all extensively initiated, would dislocate the whole system of primary education and produce disastrous results.... It is a matter of regret that local bodies should tend to regard girls' education as the first sacrifice to be made to economy."[144]

Another harmful tendency was for the trained teacher to devote all her time and energy to the upper classes (in primary schools) and to leave the two junior classes to the mercy of an untrained teacher who might not herself had passed even the

primary standard.[145] There were examples, not infrequently of the fake girls' schools particularly in rural areas. These schools in theory had been instituted under the mistresship of the wife of the Master of boys school (single teacher). Only on the days of visiting of some officer from the Department, girls would have been collected. On the general days there had been no school.[146]

In primary schools, the salaries of the teachers were very inadequate and offered very little or no incentive to the trained teachers.[147] Still under these conditions it was reported that the language teaching was very good and arithmatic was fairly satisfactory.[148] Scope of nature study and hand work was limited by the lack of equipment and of a suitably trained staff.

While the provision of secondary education in the Lahore division was satisfactory there was much leeway to make up in the other divisions. The efficiency of the secondary school for girls varied considerably. The middle schools with large primary classes and a handful of girls in secondary classes, showed poor results. Secondary schools in the larger towns, on the other hand showed admirable results.[149]

It was also revealed that the enrolment of the junior classes was out of all proportion to that of the higher classes.[150] In 1923 there were 3265 girls in primary V class and only 67 in High X class. In 1929 number of girls in primary V reached to 4867 and only 147 for High X class. A report of the Kinnaired College, Lahore, however, remarked,

"Because of the new impetus to girls' education in Punjab, the number of those desiring to attend the college has suddenly increased."[151]

Some girls schools had been raised from middle to the high standard without any addition of staff. In others the numbers had increased considerably without a corresponding increase in staff. As a result the staff was over-worked and in some cases quality of work had suffered.

Kinnaired College was started in 1913 with intermediate classes. Degree classes were opened four years later. The college was in receipt of Government aid and was maintained by five Christian societies — The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, the American Presbyterian Mission, the Church Missionary Society,

the American United Presbyterian Mission and the Punjab Indian Christian Conference.[153]

The Lahore College for Women, a Government institution was opened in 1922 and was affiliated upto B.A. and B.Sc. standards.

In November, 1932 an intermediate college was opened in Amritsar. Classes were held in a large bungalow with compound to allow space for court games. Miss Feroz-ud-Din, M.A. was its first Principal to whose interest and energy the college owed its good start.[154]

In June, 1934, an intermediate college for women was opened in Lyallpur, in part of the building formerly occupied by the Government High and Normal School for Girls.[155] In 1930-31 for the first time several girls had joined colleges for men. Formerly one or two Christian girls read at the Formen Christian College, Lahore. Now, there seemed to be a distinct inclination towards co-education at the college stage.[156]

A number of girls, who had passed matriculation in 1932 and for whom there was no accommodation available in either of the existing women's colleges, joined men's colleges throughout the province.[157] Girls whose parents did not wish them to join men's college, had either to give up the idea of further study or studied privately.

Punjab University Enquiry Committee, however, opined,

"It is most unfortunate that just at the very moment when girls are more and more eager to benefit by college education, many applicants are refused admission every year ..... The paucity of women graduates is reflected by the extreme difficulty in finding recruits for the staffs of the high schools for girls."[158]

The Punjab University Union stated to the Enquiry Committee,

"We strongly urge the introduction of co-education to a far greater extent than now prevails. Not only would it terminate the inferiority complex, from which the Punjabi student generally suffers when in the presence of ladies, but it would also get rid of the various represses and complexes which have such a bad psychological effect."[159]

The Islamic Research Institute, however, had declared itself 'definitely against the co-education of boys and girls'. Its witness to the Committee went on to say.

"On the subject of women's education, we want to stress the complaint so often and so widely urged by others, that the education of girls is being conducted on the same lines, as that of boys, while the functions in life of two sexes are going to be entirely different.... the great majority of our girls should be educated so as to become good wives and mothers."[160]

The Director of Public Instructions commented on the problem in the following words,

"Indeed, so much is this so that it is no longer possible to speak of the apathy of middle class population in the towns towards the education of their girls and the main difficulty is to extend the accommodation quickly enough in order to keep pace with the large and increasing number of pupils who apply for admission."[161]

As for children in the primary classes, co-education had been the cheapest form of education. Great care, still, had to be taken so that it could be managed well and on good lines, as in India it was not the practice for women to teach in boys primary schools; nor was the practice at all general for little girls to accompany their little brothers to school. It was therefore, necessary to employ men to teach little boys; and it was also necessary to provide separate schools for little girls. Conditions in the province demanded a further multiplication of schools for girls by the requirements of the several languages and communities.[162] On the successful completion of their training the girls were most reluctant to seek service in the depressing condition to a village school. Where there were women teachers even for the primary classes, co-education worked well, but that state of affairs was usually only found in the larger towns and that too infrequently.[163] It was in the villages where the expense and difficulty of maintaining a girls school was most felt and it was in the villages that was most difficult to get women teachers, unless perhaps the master of the boys school had an educated wife who was willing to teach the lower classes. Though there were problems, still figures for girls reading in boys school and *vice versa* were pleasing. In 1925-26, 10225 girls were reading in boys school and 3461[164] boys were reading in girls schools. In 1930-31 the figures increased to 20907 and 8333[165] respectively. In 1934-35 these numbers were at 29505 and 7304[166] respectively.

The Department of Education had likened a girls school to a younger child of a large family who is never given new clothes, but has to be content with the discarded clothes of his elders. At best, a girls' school had usually to be content with a building or equipment which was no longer required by a boys' school.[167] Thus the buildings and equipment were usually very mediocre and scanty. Girls' schools which had good and suitable buildings could be counted on the fingers that too were mainly in Lahore. The picture of middle and primary schools for girls (especially the latter) was very sad. Local bodies were very ungenerous to the claims of the girls for improved school houses.[168] Primary schools were usually accommodated in rented buildings which though suitable for small classes had become a danger for health as the school increased.[169]

On the state of women's education in Punjab, Mr. E.M. Jenkins, Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur, expressed that the state of girls education was most unsatisfactory and there were few schools and few scholars.

The conservative attitude of parents greatly hindered the progress of girls' education. Even educated fathers appeared to have been primarily concerned with a utilitarian education for their sons and some had considered the prevailing type of education dangerous and unnecessary for girls.[170] In towns conservatism and prejudice were dying out but in the rural areas they had to be overcome.

One of most formidable hindrance in the way of progress had been the early marriage of girls almost throughout the province. Parents whose children were married when they were in infancy (say 2 to 6 months of age) were considered on top of the ladder of social prestige. Parents of unmarried children who had attained the age of 7 years were not considered *izzatwale* (prestigious).[171] Girls at a very low age had been made wives rather than students. Local chiefs who kidnapped young girls (even newly weds) of other communities, always had been the headache of fathers of daughters and each and every one wanted to marry his girls early and be freed of this burden.[172]

The purdah system which prevailed throughout the province had also proved a serious obstacle. Parents were opposed to small girls attending boys schools and to girls being taught by male

teachers.[173] For a girl who was to enter purdah when still so young, formal school education was not always regarded as necessary. The whole structure of a social system in which purdah was maintained militated against the wide spread education of women. Parents never liked their daughters going outside. Their probable attraction towards the opposite sex was considered to be the most secure way to social humiliation for them and their parents which often could create difficulties[174] in marrying them. Her talking to boys was considered a serious crime. Only the professional classes dared to send their girls to school (most of them had settled in towns). Their influence and post, however, saved them from harsh criticism.[175] There were places where girls education was never dreamt of.[176] In a village every girl was considered as one's own daughter or sister and all the villagers worried about unmarried girl and pressurised parents to marry their daughters early.[177]

Among Muslim Nawabs there existed a practice called *Kaulapujan*. This meant the compulsion of sleeping of every newly wed bride with the Nawab, on the first night of her arrival to the home of her in-laws. Example of the Nawab of Kalanaur was particularly cited. Though the Nawab was killed, this dreaded custom cast a shadow of horror on the minds of parents of much larger areas.[178] It was indicated by Shri Chander Singh that it was due to the custom of Kaulapujan in past that girls still weep while going to their in-laws in villages in this area.[179]

The role to be played in their later life by girls was considered to be of mothers and wives. Thus it was regarded useless to educate them. In rural areas almost throughout the province women folk was treated as tongueless, desireless, sensitive and tender creature. The only way of protecting them was their early and safe marriage. After being married, they were no more than the 'shoe for the foot' which could be frequently replaced at ease.[180] They were also regarded as the wealth of others, so educating them was of no advantage to the parents.[181] When rural people visited towns, they saw ladies without purdah leading a fashionable style of life. Imaginating their daughter behaving like this horrified them.[182]

Economically the great majority of the people were not able to afford the education of boys, girls' education was far less improtant.[183] Existence of an agriculture based economy in rural

areas further prevented girls from going to schools. Parents were often unwilling enough to educate their girls who helped them at home or in the fields.[184] Girls going to school meant the reduction of one person from the fields and an added burden to the parents.[185]

There was still a desire among some parents to get their daughters educated but the distribution of girls' school particularly in rural areas was too scanty to enable them to fulfil their desire. Only very rarely girls schools could be found in rural areas.[186] In spite of the above mentioned difficulties, some slow progress was being made. In towns, however, progress was faster. The interest evidenced in the press,[187] in the Councils,[188] in the Department, and in the homes in the education of girls was one of the most hopeful feature for the future.

Inequalities in Educational Growth

Educational growth was not evenly distributed. It was uneven from region to region. The Sub-Himalayan Division showed the highest amount of literacy. The Indo-Gangetic Plain came next, followed by the Himalayan. The North West Dry Area was most backward.[189] Table 2.6 given below gives an indication of the spread of literracy in Natural Divisions.

Table 2.6

Literate in English per 10,000[190]

All ages 5 years and over

	1931		*1921*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
—Indo-Gangetic Plain West	206	24	128	25
—Himalayan	109	9	85	26
—Sub-Himalayan	241	21	155	16
—North West Dry Area	126	9	70	4
—Punjab	188	19	118	12

Given below is Division-wise distribution of education in 1921 and 1931.[191]

Division	*1921*	*1931*	*% increase*
Lahore	217012	355142	63.65
Jullundur	194388	274554	41.24
Rawalpindi	146244	223460	52.79
Multan	143805	227059	57.89
Ambala	123162	167542	36.03

It is evident from the above table that there were wide differences of number of literates among various divisions of Punjab — Lahore on top and Ambala at the bottom. Within one division itself there were differences among various districts. For example in Lahore division there were 132883 literates in Lahore district, whereas there were only 26868 literates in Sheikhupura district in 1931. In Ambala division, Ambala district had a total of 49504 literates whereas Simla returned only 7518 persons as literates in 1931. Quite naturally district headquarters had more educational facilities than other parts, particularly rural areas of the districts.

Of the districts, Ludhiana, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Jhelum, Amritsar, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Khangra, Shahpur and Multan were at the top in the province. Districts such as Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Karnal, Gurgaon, Hissar and Rohtak were most backward in point of literacy.[192]

Following table[193] presents the situation of literates in major cities and towns in 1931.

Total Literates

Town	*Male*	*Female*
Lahore	81,631	19,254
Amritsar	32,643	7,294
Multan	13,596	1,705
Rawalpindi	24,769	2,754
Sialkot	10,987	1,067
Jullundur	11,607	2,421
Ambala	13,479	2,701
Ludhiana	8,891	3,007
Ferozepur	10,126	2,084
Lyallpur	11,190	3,356
Sargodha	5,494	2,023

Schools were established in cities at the expense of poorer rural areas. The Education Department admitted, "Government itself has not been altogether blameless in this respect, for a Government high school is invariably to be found at the headquarters of a district where there are not infrequently several other high schools, while other parts of the district may be left entirely without provision."[194] Even in one city, "One portion of the city is thronged by high schools, while the remainder of that large city remains almost without provision. At Ambala there are some five schools within a stone's throw to each other."[195]

In rural areas schools were usually small; adequate staffing was expensive. The condition of life were not attractive to teachers unless they were specially selected and trained; women teachers could not, as a rule, live in villages unless circumstances were exceptionally favourable; the teachers were isolated and the difficulties of administration, supervision and inspection were much greater; and it was more difficult to secure regular and prolonged attendance of children.[196]

Being illiterate and having an outlook largely confined to their own surroundings and daily routine of life, rural people showed apathy towards education. Either they were reluctant to send their children to school[197] or took them away from the school as soon as they were old enough to mind cattle or goats.[198] Villagers' general economic conditions and scantiness of roads and means of communication presented other obstacles in addition to general trend of Government as well as private agencies to concentrate their educational efforts within cities and towns.

Whereas certain localities, *e.g.*, the central Punjab had schools at intervals of five miles, there were areas, e.g., those bordering the frontiers on the west, north, east and south-east, where schools were far apart. The schools had sprung up as the result of individual effort and philanthropy, but no system had been devised to regulate the location or the distribution of grant to areas.

Table given below shows the number of literates per thousand in terms of religion, sex and locality.

Table 2.7[199]

Literacy by Religion, Sex and Locality

	Hindu		*Muslim*		*Sikhs*		*Christian*	
Natural Division	*Male*	*Femal*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Punjab	147	21	55	8	126	26	123	75
Indo Gangetic Plain West	130	18	66	13	103	16	116	79
Himalayan	90	7	81	12	289	62	661	696
Sub-Himalayan	168	29	66	6	178	45	159	83
North West Dry Area	300	49	37	3	178	51	64	34

It is evident from the above table that there were sharp inequalities in the growth of education by religion, sex and locality in Punjab in 1931.

Table given below presents the literacy figures among three major religious communities of Punjab.

Number of Literates (Males) by Religion[200]

Year	*Muslims*	*Hindus*	*Sikhs*
1921-22	241,743	210,123	76,373
1926-27	533,567	377,314	133,633
1931-32	574,389	369,008	150,345
1934-35	516,215	355,549	141,087

Literacy by castes also gives same inequal growth as is clear from the following Table 2.8 :

Table 2.8

Literacy by Caste 1921 and 1931[201]

Caste	*Number per 1000 aged 7 and over 1931*	*Number per 1000 of the total strength 1921*
Aggarwal	284	209
Arora	227	172
Brahman	164	122
Khatri	295	231
Sayad	133	97

Sheikh	131	87
Chamar	8	5
Chuhra	8	2
Mussalli	4	1

Table 2.8 makes it clear that there were sharp inequalities among various caste groups in Punjab.

It is thus clear that the distribution of education in Punjab shows sharp contrasts among various regions, communities, castes and sexes. These horizontal and vertical divisions created complexities in the already divided Punjabi society.

References

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2. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab*, hereafter *RPEP*, 1920-21 to 1934-35.
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4. *Ibid.*
5. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, hereafter *PLC*, 17th March, 1921.
6. *RPEP*, 1920-21, p. 8.
7. *See PLC* Feb. March, 1921 proceeding.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *RPEP*, 1920-21, p. 9.
10. *Ibid.*
11. It was estimated that 14% of total population at school would mean for Punjab to be called an educated province.
12. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 4.
13. *The Tribune*, 27th March, 1926.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *RPEP*, 1928-29, p. 1.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *RPEP*, 1930-31, p. 1.
19. *RPEP*, 1931-32, p. 6.
20. *Ibid.*
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23. *RPEP*, 1934-35, p. 7.
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25. *Ibid.*
26. *The Tribune*, 21st December, 1931.
27. *The Tribune*, 17th June, 1921.
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30. *RPEP*, 1920-21 to 1934-35.
31. *RPEP*, 1920-21, p. 37.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 53.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
35. *RPEP*, 1928-29, pp. 69-70.
36. *RPEP*, 1930-31, p. 42.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *RPEP*, 1932-33, p. 38.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *RPEP*, 1923-24, p. 46.
41. Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education), No. 2471-R, dated the 7th February, 1931 in *RPEP*, 1929-30, p. 3.
42. *RPEP*, 1930-31, p. 9.
43. *RPEP*, 1931-32, p. 10.
44. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 48.
45. *RPEP*, concerned years.
46. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 48.
47. *RPEP*, 1923-24, p. 47.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *C.& M.G.*, 5th Aug., 1929.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *PLC*, 29th July, 1929, p. 149.
52. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 14.
53. *RPEP*, concerned years.
54. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 54.

55. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 14.
56. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 12.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *RPEP*, 1920-21 to 1934-35.
59. *RPEP*, 1939-31, pp. 2-3.
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61. *The Tribune*, 17th June, 1921.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *RPEP*, 1921-22, p. 61.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
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66. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
67. *Ibid.*, 1923-24, p. 39.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 42.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *RPEP*, 1928-29, p. 62.
73. *RPEP*, 1931-32, p. 45.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
75. *PLC*, 3rd Aug., 1922, p. 184.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
78. *C & MG*, 25th March, 1927.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 135.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
83. *RPEP*, 1921-22, p. 60.
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85. *The Tribune*, 17th June, 1921.
86. *The Land of Five Rivers*, p. 216.
87. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 28.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
92. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 33.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *RPEP*, 1931-32, p. 39.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *RPEP*, 1929-30, p. 59.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
100. Convocation address. University of Punjab, 1926, quoted in Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report, 1932-33, p. 15.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
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103. Quoted in *Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 73.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
105. *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 143.
106. *Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 83.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
111. *RPEP*, 1920-21, p. 52.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
114. *RPEP*, 1927-28, p. 92.
115. *Ibid.*
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117. *RPEP*, 1932-33, p. 52.
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119. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 70.
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123. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
125. *Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 179.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
127. *Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 125.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
129. *Ibid*, p. 208.
130. All persons who could both read and write any language were considered 'Literates', but during the census of 1921 a supplementary instruction was given that a person should not be entered as 'literate' unless he can write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it.
131. *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 144.
132. *Punjab Census Report*, 1921, Part I, p. 289.
133. *RPEP*, 1920-21, p. 53.
134. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 76.
135. *RPEP*, 1933-34, p. 90.
136. *RPEP*, 1922-23, p. 67.
137. *RPEP*, 1926-27, p. 90.
138. *Ibid.*
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143. *RPEP*, 1923-24, p. 73.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
145. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 62.
146. Oral Interview with Sh. Khazan Singh (Ex. Deputy Inspector of Education, Schools, Kheora, Sonepat, 3rd October, 1988. An interesting example was told by Sh. Mamraj of Dhanaura (Karnal) that when in a village school the wife (she was also well qualified) of the teacher began to teach some village girls, people went to the extent of complaining against both the teacher and his wife to the police. They ultimately felt sorry for what had been done. Interview, 16th Sept., 1988.

147. *RPEP*, 1924-25, p. 62.
148. *Ibid.*
149. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 78.
150. *RPEP*, 1928-29, p. 98.
151. *RPEP*, 1928-29, p. 99.
152. *RPEP*, 1933-34, p. 94.
153. *Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report, p. 216.*
154. *RPEP*, 1932-33, p. 69.
155. *RPEP*, 1934-35, p. 84.
156. *RPEP*, 1930-31, p. 71.
157. *RPEP*, 1932-33, p. 66.
158. *Punjab University Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 219.
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163. *RPEP*, 1929-30, p. 123.
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165. *RPEP*, 1930-31, p. 70.
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168. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 78.
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170. *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 152.
171. Interview with Sh. Shish Ram (Retired Teacher) Sonepat, 1st Oct., 1988.
172. Interview with Sh. Ram Saran, Karnal, 15th Sept., 1988.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
174. Interview with Sh. Kartar Singh, Kheora, Sonepat, 2nd Oct., 1988, Interview with Sh. Risal Singh (Retired Teacher), Juan, Sonepat, 1st Oct., 1988.
175. *Ibid.*
176. Interview with Mahashya Ralia Ram, Delhi, 20th September, 1988.
177. Interview with Sh. Ram Saran, Karnal, 15th September, 1988.
178. Interview with Sh. Jai Ram, Juan (Sonepat), 1st October, 1988.

179. Interview with Sh. Chander Singh, Sonepat, 2nd October, 1988.
180. Interview with Sh. Chander Singh, Sonepat, 2nd October, 1988.
181. Interview with Sh. Jai Ram, Juan, 1st October, 1988.
182. Interview with Sh. Ram Saran, Karnal, 15th September, 1988.
183. Interview with Sh. Babu Ram, Jhangera (Ambala) 17th September, 1988.
184. *RPEP*, 1930-31, p. 78.
185. Interview with Sh. Harkesh, Delhi, 29th Aug., 1988.
186. *Ibid.*
187. There were several articles emerging in different Newspapers and even some women magazines were also started.
188. In the Punjab Legislative Council debates on matter of girls education found proper place and increased sympathy towards this cause.
189. *Census of India, 1931, Punjab, Part 1, Report*, p. 249.
190. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
191. *Census of India, 1931, Punjab, Part II*, pp. 233-247.
192. *Census of India, 1931, Punjab, Part 1, Report*, p. 250.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
194. *RPEP*, 1923-24, p. 38.
195. *Ibid.*
196. *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 37.
197. Interview with Sh. Shish Ram, Sonepat, 1st October, 1988, Interview with Sh. Raj Singh, Silana (Sonepat), 10th December, 1988.
198. *Hartog Committee Report*, p. 37.
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3

Growth of Education, 1920-34, Role of Private Agencies

As we saw in the preceding chapter, the Punjab Government played a major role in the growth of education in the province. But the story of educational development is not complete without a description of the role played by different private agencies.

Western culture posed a challenge and a threat and the Indian intelligentsia had to respond to it. European scholars, administrators, missionaries criticised Indian religions, customs, rituals, beliefs, etc., which steered Indians in a process of critical self examination. Western culture and values were disseminated through various agencies including English education. Indians began their own institutions both in response and as a challenge.

Each community discovered a glorious past and lamented its present degraded condition. To improve its position, education was regarded a necessary prerequisite. Fired with the zeal for spreading social reform they took up the cause of education with great earnestness. This led to the growth of denominational institution in Punjab.

Hindu Agencies

The Christian Missionaries in their great zeal to spread the word of God among the 'heathen' Indians, opened schools where propagation of their faith was carried on along with secular

western education. Many young Indians joined these schools and some of them were converted to Christianity. These boys were not only from the lower class but some came from noble families also.[1]

Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs were all alarmed by this. To counteract Christian influence and prevent conversion, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh schools and colleges were opened.

While numerically conversions were insignificant, they struck at two segments of Hindu social structure—outcastes and upper caste students attending the newly established Christian schools. The former threatened Hindu society at its weakest point. Already outcastes were being converted to Islam and Sikhism. The latter, i.e. conversion of high castes caused great public concern as it threatened the integrity of the rising Hindu elite. Western education was necessary for economic success but carried with it the nightmare of potential conversion.[2]

The success of Christian Missionaries in converting Indians to Christianity through Western education and methods of religious competitiveness plus their close ties with the government created in the minds of many Indian religious leaders a deep fear of the "Christian threat, a fear which became one of the major mobilising forces for religious revivalism throughout Punjab."[3]

Aggressive and uncompromising, 'Dayanand's' faith fitted the mid-Victorian atmosphere of dogmatic Christianity and imperial arrogance. A restless questioning generation of educated Punjabis needed a new faith and through Dayanand they discovered it.[4] Past glories and greatness were there and could be revived.

Of the various Hindu Agencies contributing to educational growth, the Arya Samaj was the foremost.

Arya Samaj

Swami Dayanand Saraswati's vision was formed from the study of the Vedas. He founded The Arya Samaj in 1875 in Bombay. It embodied the quintessence of his life's thinking, struggle and achievement. He gave ten principles for the conduct of the Arya Samaj. They intensified the call "Back to the Vedas" in order to make the young men coming out of schools and colleges realise that India was not bankrupt in cultural heritage and that it was

a great nation in its own right.[5]

The VIIIth principle of the Arya Samaj enjoins on its followers to diffuse knowledge and dispel ignorance. The Samaj as a body and its members had accordingly been engaged in educational work of considerable importance.[6] To carry on with the educational system propounded by Swami Dayanand, various educational institutions were established. Though following Dayanand's educational ideas, they varied in their curricula and method of teaching.

Swami Dayanand started his Educational Mission with the opening of schools at Farrukhabad (1869), Mirzapur (1870) Kasganj (1870) and Jasselmer (1870), but due to the lack of zealous teachers and managers they came to a premature end.

D.A.V. Institutions

After the death of Swami Dayanand, D.A.V. High School, Lahore are founded in 1886 as a memorial to the Swami. It became a college in 1889. Swami Dayanand wanted not only to spread the teachings of the Vedas but also to eradicate this ills of illiteracy and superstitions which had been eating into the vitals of Hindu society for centuries. To fulfil his ideas, the D.A.V. College Trust and Management Society (Regd., Lahore) was established at Lahore in 1886, under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. The D.A.V. Society had the following objects.[7]

(i) To establish colleges, schools and ashrams and similar institutions.

(ii) To promote and encourage the knowledge and practice of Ayurveda.

(iii) To promote the study of Hindi Language, Classical Sanskrit and Vedas.

(iv) To promote instructions in English and other languages, arts, and science, including medicine and engineering.

(v) To provide missions for giving technical, industrial, commercial and vocational education.

(vi) To manage institutions having objects similar to those mentioned above.

It started an educational movement in Punjab which was soon

followed by other religious societies as well. It was also assured that a knowledge of English and Western Sciences could be safely imparted to Indians without either converting them to Christianity or making them hypocrites. Charles Grants' fond dream of seeing India converted to Christianity through the impact of western education faded away.

Ever since the foundation of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, the Educational Mission of the Arya Samaj had always been expanding. It was the first institution of its type, as it was totally Indian in its content and character. Self help, self sacrifice and self-reliance were the guiding principles of this institution.[8] The character of these institutions were described by Lala Lajpat Rai, thus :

"It was provided in the rules that the management should be in the hands of elected representatives of such Arya Samajists as contributed to its funds with the addition of a few Hindus representing the professions and the classes; and that rule has been acted upon without exception..... that the teaching should be exclusively done by Indians and there has been no exception on this point..... The third principle imposes on the managers the moral obligation not to seek monetary assistance from the government. This principle has been acted upon, unless a petty grant of a few thousand rupees made by the University be considered an exception. The fourth principle was to aim at giving free education. The paucity of funds, and government and university regulations, have prevented us from giving effect to this; but still our fees have been generally 50% less than those of Government schools and colleges."[9]

About the object of these principles he added;

"The object was primarily to try an experiment in purely indigenous enterprise; secondly to develop a spirit of self help and self reliance in a community in which these qualities had by lapse of time and lack of opportunity degenerated.... This spirit of self help, called exclusiveness by our critics, has cost us dear, because on that account we had always been under the shadow of official mistrust."[10]

Describing the attitude of Department of Public Instruction and Punjab University he went on to say,

"They have generally given us credit for our work, and praised

our public spirit, but they have never been at ease with us."[11]

The D.A.V. College, Lahore, had two purposes :

(i) To bring about a social and cultural renaissance by popularising the study of Sanskrit, of the Vedas and of Hindi Literature and

(ii) To encourage the study of English literature and Modern Science both Theoretical and Applied.[12]

The aims of the D.A.V. institutions were

(i) to unite the educated Hindus and encourage the study of national language,

(ii) to encourage the study of English language and Western literature and to impart technical and practical education which was considered essential for country's moral and material progress and

(iii) to encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and the Vedas.[13]

The persons who managed the D.A.V. institutions and those who were responsible for its internal administration and teachings had been generally those who shared the ideology of the Arya Samaj and that was why the Arya Samaj educational institutions had been able to maintain their traditions.[14]

Religious and moral education had been a regular feature of these institutions. Havans and functions connected with the life and teachings of Swami Dayanand were their special features.[15] There were regular text books for each class called *Dharma shiksha* which were used for giving the religious instruction. In actual practice it was the principal or the Headmasters and the teachers who were supposed to implement and keep up these traditions.

Arya Samaj had refused to be frightened by the ill reputation which denominational institutions had acquired in certain other parts of the country. The distinct religious atmosphere that characterised and differentiated Punjab from other parts of the country was its creation.[16] As regards religious instructions Lala Hansraj himself imparted such institutions to the students and was thus able to mingle with them and ascertain the current of their thoughts.[17]

D.A.V. College, Lahore, having already gained popularity, a network of D.A.V. institutions grew up in the whole province. Some schools which were established as primary schools were later revised to the status of Middle schools and finally of High Schools, while some were directly opened as High Schools and then raised to the college status.

The D.A.V. College, Lahore, began with less than a dozen students, became at once popular. In 1901-1902, it had 347 students. By 1907 there were 457 and by 1909, 471 students, 438 of whom were boarders. The Arya Samaj institutions preferred residential students as it was felt that if the students lived in hostels they would imbibe Arya Samaj ideals more readily.[18]

By 1912, the Arya Samaj was running one college, 16 high schools and a number of middle and primary schools and 8 gurukulas. It was very keen to spread education and wherever the local Government was unwilling to establish a school or to introduce English in the curriculum, the Arya Samaj came forward to do so.[19]

The Arya Samaj acquired some control over the contents of school education to be imparted and a very big place in its direction. Youngmen educated in its institutions, even when they did not become Arya Samajists were influenced by its principles. While the educated Bengali, bhadralok or Mahavastpian brahmins were attracted by government service and liberal professions only, the Arya Samajists also took to trade and industry, because the Punjabi urban trading castes — Khatris, Aroras etc.— were converted to Arya Samaj.[20] The D.A.V. institutions took cognisance of the nation's economic problem. They were probably the first to include in their educational programme the idea of Swadeshi.[21] According to one of the protagonists of the Arya Samaj, the D.A.V. society in order to guide its activities stressed the need of 'moulding and reshaping the youth of the country according to national ideals'. The D.A.V. movement, inspired by the high ideals of Hinduism which means *'bharteeyta'* which was ideal set forth by the Arya Samaj, enveloped in its stream youngmen and women, who not only avowed to fight for the restoration of the past glory of India, but also took a pledge to steer her through the potential challenges posed by Christianity in religion and culture.[22]

The rapidly increasing popularity of the D.A.V. School, Lahore can be viewed by the increasing numbers of its students in the

early 20th century.[23]

Year	*Number of students*
1904	718
1908	1081
1912	1694
1913	1737
1914	1638
1915	1640

The cause of the decrease in the number of students after 1913 can be attributed to the opening of new schools under D.A.V. management at different places in Punjab.

From 1913 onwards Punjab witnessed the speedy growth of D.A.V. Schools and there were 13 schools in 1923 in the mofussil areas. These were at Multan, Delhi, Hafizabad, Kotgarh, Lyallpur, Amritsar, Behrampur, Qadian, Tarn-Taran, Hissar, Kangra, Shujabad and Chuhmanda. By 1931 these were 27 D.A.V. Schools in Punjab and in addition to these schools were established under the control of D.A.V. management at 14 other places. They were at Patti, Sangroor, Batala, Dasuya, Shahpur, Quetta, Abotabad, Ambala, Pundri, Khanewal, Mubarakpur, Ahmedpur, and Salian.[24]

When on the hand, new schools were being opened in the mofussil on the other hand, at Lahore the number of students was still rising in the school which is evident from the table[25] given below :

Year	*Number of students*
1927	2023
1928	2213
1929	2342
1930	2587
1931	2832
1932	3101
1933	3328
1934	3557

Both the D.A.V. School, and D.A.V. College in Lahore gained

much popularity. The college was successful in attracting students from all parts of the province. In 1915 there were 1029 students on the college rolls, which increased further as is shown below.[26]

1929	1122
1930	1129
1931	1155
1932	1209
1933	1180
1934	1172

The college was affiliated to the Punjab University (Lahore) and prepared students for the M.A., M.Sc., B.A., B.Sc., Intermediate Arts and Sciences (both medical and non-medical) examination. Regarding the outstanding achievement of the college, Lala Lajpat Rai observed :

"They (the college students) have several times headed the list in English, Political Economy, History, Philosophy, Chemistry, Persian and other subjects. A considerable number of government and University scholarships, granted on the results of University examinations have every year been won by our students and also medals and prizes. All these have been achieved by the labours of Indian teachers, unaided by any foreign agency."[27] Annual Report of the D.A.V. college committee for 1911-12 took pride in claiming that all the 1500 students of the school branch could read and write Hindi and recite *Sandhya* and *Vedmantras*.[28]

About the progress of the college, Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, President of D.A.V. College Managing Committee, said, "The small sapling planted in 1886 in the Mandir of Arya Samaj has grown into a banyan tree and is one of the biggest and foremost educational institution in the land. There is a college giving instruction to the highest class, making ample provision for science teaching including qualifications necessary for admission into the Medical Faculty and a magnificent Boarding House undoubtedly the best of its kind attached to it. There is provision for theology, for Engineering, for Ayurveda and for research into Sanskrit literature, for tailoring and there exist scholarship for attracting students of other provinces for giving foreign education and for teaching foreign languages."[29]

In addition to D.A.V. College, Lahore, there were some other D.A.V. Colleges.

D.A.V. College, Rawalpindi : The college, like its sister institutions, was founded in memory of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Its aims[30] were *(i)* to spread knowledge, *(ii)* to revive ancient learning, *(iii)* to cultivate a desire for scientific study and research, and *(iv)* to equip youngmen with industrial and technical training.

The management and control of the institution were vested in a committee formed in pursuance of a constitution framed by the Arya Samaj. It was affiliated to Punjab University and was raised to Degree Standard in 1936.

The college was affiliated to Punjab University for F.A., F.Sc. (Medical & Non-Medical), B.A. and honours classes in English, Philosophy, Mathematics, Persian and Political Science.[31]

The college also provided arrangements for separate education of girl students for the Intermediate (Arts and Science) and B.A. classes. A woman professor acted as the tutor of girls.[32]

Dayanand Ayurvedic College, Lahore :- The University of Punjab had been started mainly as an oriental institution[33] and it had been maintaining Ayurvedic classes since 1880. In 1887 they were transferred to the Medical College. In 1897, however, Dr. Browne, the Principal of the Medical College, refused to have anything with an "exploded and antiquated system of science" and requested the University to make its own arrangements for housing those classes. The Dayanand College, therefore, took over the Ayurvedic classes from the University in 1899 and thus Lala Hansraj assumed the care of this neglected body as well. The Ayurvedic college was an independent institution so far as its curriculum and examination were concerned.[34] It continued to teach both to the Indian system of medicine, as well as the western medical system.

D.A.V. College, Jullundur : This college was founded in 1918. Pandit Mehar Chand was the founder Principal and remained its Principal till his death on 13th March, 1944.

D.A.V. College, Hoshiarpur : This college was started in June, 1920. Under the Principalship of Shri Devi Dayal and Shri Ram Dass it made great progress.

In addition to these colleges, several D.A.V. schools also flourished. In all, by 1936, there were 40 D.A.V. schools and 3 colleges.[35]

D.A.V. institutions provided both western education and taught the tenets of Hindu civilization, culture and religion.

Differences soon emerged among Arya Samajists regarding the emphasis on western learning in D.A.V. institutions and the lesser importance given to the Vedas & Sanskrit. One group felt that the system followed, did not come up to their ideal of Vedic education; that the managers cared more for University results than for sound national education; that the fact of their affiliation with the official University prevented them from making radical changes in the curriculum of studies, and materially interfered with their independence.[36]

Some of the leaders of the Arya Samaj in Punjab — specially Lala Munshi Ram (Swami Shardhanand), Durga Prasad, Rambhaj Dutta and others — who were originally in the forefront of the movement for starting and innovating D.A.V. College, Lahore — felt dissatisfied with the educational programme of the college and the emphasis that came to be placed on the English language and Western literature and science.[37] For some time, these leaders who deviated from the dominant thinking that guided the activities of the D.A.V. College, carried on the agitation and directed their efforts to persuade their colleagues by remaining within the fold of the institution. They adopted the democratic process of persuation and argumentation. They set forth the plea that a fair trial should by given to the system of education as propounded by Swami Dayanand in his *Satyartha Prakash.*[38] The opponents of Lala Munshi Ram and others called them, "religious fanatics and debarred them from the management of the college."[39] They, therefore, saw no point in continuing their association with the running of the college and took the historic decision to secede and go their own way.

The Gurukulas

On 26 November, 1898 Munshi Ram's motion to open a *Gurukal* was formally accepted by the general meeting of Pratinidhi Sabha and it was decided that the work should commence as soon as 8000 rupees were collected for the purpose.[40]

The educational aim of the institution was to produce a truly 'national' adult, who realized that the key to Arya greatness was to be found in the Vedas and in ancient Indian history, who was

prepared to structure his life according to that Vedic ideal, and devote his formative years to its study. The main thrust of the instruction was therefore, to be the study of the Vedas and of all the linguistic and historical disciplines necessary for that study.[41]

The students would be isolated from a bad environment and allowed to develop physically and mentally in natural surroundings. They would be taught to think for themselves, not just to memorize as the prevailing examination system tended to demand.[42] The scheme was extremely ambitious, and it shows that from the very start the organizers did not underestimate the importance of English and European science.[43]

On 16th May, 1900 the Gurukal was officially inaugurated at Gujranwala with twenty boys among whom were Munshi Ram's sons Harish Chandra and Indra. This was finally shifted to Kangri near Hardwar on 2nd March, 1901 and came to be known as Gurukula Kangri. The students were called Brahmacharis on the pattern of the Ancient Gurukulas.

The Gurukula had developed its own syllabuses for different school standards. It included wide range of subjects with special stress on vedic studies, memorization, religious instruction. Study of English and European studies was imparted from 5th standard onwards. Their primary aim was simply to give to boys the best moral and ethical training to make of them good citizens and religious men and to teach them to love learning for learning's sake. Dr. K.M. Munshi in his convocation address to the University hailed the experiment because it had a method and aim different from other traditional universities. He said, "Educational institutions should not merely train and equip the intelligence but to provide moral training, a religious and national background and the will to reintegrate our culture in the light of modern needs. Thus, the urge which led Swami Shardhanand to establish the Gurukula University has been more than justified."[45]

The aims and objects of the Gurukula Kangri were :

(i) To receive the long forgotten system of *Brahamacharya* and make it the basis of education.

(ii) To provide and opportunity for the natural development of the physical, mental and spiritual faculties of students by rearing them in a favourable environment away from the pernicious influence of city life.

(iii) To develop a strong character in the students and to foster in their hearts a love for their indigenous culture, for plain living and high thinking and for knowledge for the sake of knowledge.

(iv) To create between the teacher and the taught, relations of love like those between a father and a son.

(v) To assign to the Vedic and Sanskrit literature as well as to the mother tongue (Hindi) a place worthy of their importance in the scheme of education.

(vi) To make possible the study of ancient Indian branches of learning with that the English language and modern science.

(vii) To purge the scheme of education of the defects of the prevalent examination ridden system.

(viii) To give education free of any charge.

(ix) To institute research into ancient Indian history and to touch from a national point of view.[46]

The advantage of a Gurukula student was due in a still greater degree to the fact that instruction was imparted to him in his own language and was therefore, readily understood and assimilated. The use of Hindi as medium of instruction was one of the features of the school which was regarded as exceedingly important.[47]

Due to the sincere efforts of its founders, Gurukula Kangri attained the status of an independent national University. In 1917 there were 340 *Brahamcharis* — 276 in school department and 64 in college department — reading in it.[48]

In 1909 a branch of the Gurukula was founded at Multan. Education imparted here was upto school level only. It had the syllabus similar to that of at Kangri. Two years later (13th April, 1912) another branch was opened at Kurukshetra. In 1912 Inderprastha Gurukul was established at Delhi, in 1915 another branch was opened at Matindu (Rohtak District). Supaa (Gujrat), Bhainswal, Jhajjar etc. were other centres to be provided with Gurukula branches.

The gurukula institutions deserved every thing to be called as national. They were active in spreading education with all the elements of forestalling the impact of foreign rule.

It is evident that in the earliest part of the 20th century,

Gurukula Kangri and its various branches attained wide popularity. Still degrees awarded by the Gurukula Kangri were not recognised by the Government and there was no question of its graduates being getting any service in Government or Government institutions.[49] Obviously as far as the material value or getting any service was concerned, the Gurukula education provided only very limited scope. Even getting admission in Government institutions was not possible after being educated from Gurukulas for eight or ten years.

Though there were difficulties of one or other sort, still, Gurukulas were popular educational institutions and attracted quite a sizeable number of students. During the period 1921-40 almost 100 students were being taught every year in the four classes of college department. These students invariably came from the school department of Gurukula Kangri or from its other branches after about ten years of study as *Brahamcharis*.[50]

Women's Education

Arya Samaj took the cause of women's education as early as 1886. After that it contributed continuously to the progress of this almost neglected aspect of education. The social condition of Punjab, a century ago., was not favourable for this cause and efforts in this direction were criticised sharply.

Lala Devraj was the founder of first Arya Samajist girls educational institution, Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Jullundur. Thrice his efforts failed to bear any fruit. The fourth time however he succeeded.

There were several reasons why the Arya Samaj took up girls' eductation. They were, *(i)* Reforming society through women's education *(ii)* Expectations of being back to the Vedic period where women were free to take education[51]. *(iii)* Female Christian missionaries had made special efforts to reach upper caste Hindu women through *Zenana* (women's section of the House) visiting or house to house tutoring classes for women, while the men were away at work. This provoked sharp reaction; it was feared that the missionaries were out to subvert the stability and sanctity of Indian family by these denationalizing influence.[52]

Swami Dayanand was a staunch supporter of women's education. He observed "All women and men (all human beings)

have the right to study .... whosoever prohibits women from being educated, that is under the impact of foolishness, selfishness and mindlessness. Women must follow *Brahmacharya* and receive education."[53] He wanted women to become good housewives and proper performers of their duties after being educated.

Associated with the general betterment of women was the cause of female education, which received fitful support by Aryas during early 1880's. Aryas had founded schools for girls in Lahore, Jullunder, and Amritsar but had met with only indifferent success. Women's education had to wait upon the development of leadership within the mofussil Samajes[54].

The Kanya Mahavidyalaya was set up in 1890's in response to the need to impart to women a special kind of education which would enable them to adapt themselves to the new demands made by the educated men of the family without losing their cultural moorings.

After having tried in 1886, 1887, and 1890 Lala Devraj once again tried in 1892 to open a girls school at Jullundur. This time his efforts bore fruit and he managed to admit 55 girls in the school. At a time when there was such a deep prejudice against women's education, this was not easy. To bring girls to school Lala Devraj assigned to his wife two tasks (1) on meeting a lady she had to ask her to send her daughter to school, and (2) visiting girl's houses to ask their parents to send them to school.[55] To popularise women's education a hostel called Ashram set up in 1895 and by 1897 there were as many as 22 hostellers. The number of students and hostellers began to increase steadily which is evident from the figures given below[56].

Year	*Students*	*Hostels*
1891	8	—
1895	77	5
1897	134	22
1904	166	60
1907	203	105
1912	262	198

The main subjects taught in the Kanya Mahavidyalaya were, Dharm shiksha, Hindi, Sanskrit, Mathematics, English, Geography,

and Music. Stress was naturally given to religious instruction and character building.

As the institution grew beyond the parameters initially envisaged for it, Lala Devraj began to feel the need for a curriculum more suited to the girls' every day lives. Since such literature was not readily at hand, he began to write textbooks specially for girls.[57]

As early as January 1902, Devraj began to propagate the necessity for girls to learn English on the grounds that since English was the *Rajya Bhasha* (State language) and a knowledge of it was becoming essential for men, it was imperative for women too to learn it so that a gulf was not created between men and women.[58]

From 1933 onwards, a stiff battle was fought with the various sections of the Arya Samaj on the question of introducing university examinations in English at Kanya Mahavidayalaya. It was argued that the "university examination had an undesirable effect on the moral character of examinees."[59] The Kanya Mahavidyalaya champions, however, viewed that all their permanent medals and Prizes were for Sanskrit, Hindi, Dharamshiksha and other non-university subjects, not for English. It was thus clear that the Vidyalaya held every encouragement to the girls taking the non-university course. But the question was whether the mere fact of the University course having been introduced in the Vidyalaya made it non-Samajic.[60]

The change that came with this attempt to keep Kanya Mahavidyalaya in tune with the times, was a many faceted one. Kanya Mahavidyalaya students fared well in most examinations. In the matriculation examination of May, 1938, 24 girls appeared, out of whom 23 passed. For the F.A. (Intermediate) examination in 1935, seven girls appeared and five passed, B.A. classes were started in Golden Jubilee year of Kanya Mahavidyalaya. The students not only travelled for *shastrarths* (religious debates) to different Samajes in Punjab but also participated in inter-college debates and national conference.[61]

However, the introduction of university examination brought a certain rigidity into the curriculum. Now onwards it began to make adjustment to the conservative demands of the commercial classes, among whom it had its base as well as to government

educational system which was general to learning by rote and reproducing the memorised material in the examinations.[62] Although Kanya Mahavidyalaya had resisted government funding, it was not able to resist the pressure for uniformity that government exercised through its control over employment and educational institutions.

Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Narvana, was founded in 1928. Education imparted here was upto Matric level.

Arya Kanya High School, Karnal was founded in 1930. Arya Girls High School, Bhatinda was founded in 1932. All these institutions aimed at physical, mental and intellectual progress of girls.

Hans Raj Mahila College, was established in 1932 with a view to equip girls with necessary knowledge and efficiency for facing the problems of everyday life. The college prepared students not only for various University examinations but also educate them according to Hindu ideals of life, acquainted them with the ancient lore and ideals of India and developed in them a religious consciousness.[64] It also aimed at developing a spirit of service and sacrifice among students. The wearing of Swadeshi clothes was compulsory during college hours.[65]

Gurukula branch of the Arya Samaj educational institutions also contributed greatly to women's education in Punjab.

Kanya Gurukula, Khanpur Kalan (Sonepat) was founded by Bhakta Phool Singh in 1936. It aimed at reforming the society the lifting the status of women in the society. This was started with only a few girls on rolls.[66]

On the whole in 1925 the family of Arya Samaj educational institutions was comprised of 28 Gurukulas, 10 Colleges, 200 high schools, 151 middle and primary schools, 3 Kanya Gurukulas, 4 girls colleges and high schools, 700 girls pathshalas, 300 Sanskrit pathshalas and 322 depressed pathshalas. They taught 61567 pupils.[67]

In 1940 in Punjab their numbers were as given below :

1. D.A.V. College Society — 5 colleges, 34 high schools and 5 other schools.[68]
2. In 1926 an Arya Shiksha Samiti was established by Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab to preach Vedas and religious

instructions. In 1939, 1 college (Dayanand Mathura Das College, Moga), 10 High schools, 8 Middle schools, 5 Primary schools and 5 other schools were attached to it.[69]

3. Arya Vidya Sabha controlled the Gurukulas.
4. Punjab Shiksha Samiti had got 10 High schools, 42 Middle, 48 Primary and, 6 other schools attached to it.[70]

Besides these institutions there were 2 girls college and aboaut 40 girls schools[71] who were also participating for the Arya Samaj's cause of spreading education. It is obvious that Arya Samaj educational institutions tried hard to cater to the educational needs of Punjab. The rates of tuition fees were intentionally kept lower to help middle and poor classes. Vedic ideals were propagated both by example and precept with a healthy blend of Western thought and sciences. They proved that a knowledge of English and Western sciences could be safely imparted to Indians without either converting them to Christianity or making them hypocrites. They were being operated throughout the length of our period, on the trinity of the principles of self help, self sacrifices and economy. They also implied that the task of spreading education was to be shouldered mainly by the Indians themselves.[72]

Sanatan Dharam Sabha

The Aryas based their rejection of unwanted customs on an appeal to ancient authority, the modern truth of science, and contemporary life in the more advanced countries. These sources of underlying truth were universal. When, however, the Aryas criticised the Hindu rituals connected with birth, death, marriage etc., — they lost all orthodox allies, creating instead implacable opponents. Arya replacement of life-cycle ceremonies not only threatened existing beliefs, but also struck at the economic position of Brahmin priests. Arya ceremonies did not employ Brahmans but were conducted by Arya Pandits or even samaj members, if they knew the proper ritual. Arya Samaj programme for women's emancipation and education also frightened a society still living in the shadow of purdah.[73]

The struggle between the Arya Samaj and the Bharat Dharam Maha Mandal (founded in 1887) soon developed a personal note with attacks on Din Dayal and Pandit Gokal Chand, 'the seven tongued' spokesman of the Mandal.[74] The spread of Sanatan Dharam

Sabhas intensified the struggle between orthodoxy and Aryas.

Sanatan Dharam Sabha stressed the defence of religion. For their cause they adopted the preaching and lecturing method. Slowly the Sanatan Dharam Sabha network spread all over the province. The Sanatan Dharam Sabha set up the organisation almost similar to Arya Samaj. Pt. Ralia Ram Sharma who was a force behind the Sanatan Dharam movement, urged for :[75]

(i) The propagation of the ideals of the Sanatan Dharam.

(ii) Suitable modification of keeping the traditions.

(iii) Founding temples in every locality.

(iv) The arrangement of *Kathas* and *Kirtans.*

(v) The renovation of old temples.

(vi) Making provisions for preaching through daily newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and tracts.

(vii) Starting of the press of their own.

(viii) Educating masses by establishing academic institutions (to teach Hindu Philosophy including *Darshans, Nirukt, Karam Kand*, etc.)

In 1901-02 weekly *Sanatan Dharm Parcharak* started its publication.

To counter the 'maligned' forces in a proper way, the opening of educational institutions was considered to be the most suitable method. A large number of educational institutions were founded under the auspices of the Sanatan Dharam Sabhas. Among them, Hindu College, Delhi, and the Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore, were the most outstanding. In these institutions instruction of Sanatan Dharam and Hindi was stressed.[76] Educational institutions for girls were also opened where education upto Matric, Shastri and Prabhakar standards were imparted. The girls in these institutions were imparted modern education at the same time keeping the old tradition intact.[77]

Strenuous efforts on the part of Sanatan Dharam Sabha reinstated the faith in Sanatan religion in Punjab. Side by side it worked for the reformation of Hindu Society.[78]

It is evident from the above discussion that Sanatan Dharam Sabha successfully countered the ever increasing influence of the Arya Samaj. Old and new were so harmoniously linked that

respect for old traditions increased in the minds of the students. It was only due to the Sabha that Hindus were being assured about the merits of Sanatan religion, and prevented from going into the Arya fold.

Muslim Educational Institutions

The attempts by Aryas, Brahmos and Dev Dharmis was limited to Hindus, while other religions sought to convert universally without restriction of community or creed. Aryas sought to redress this imbalance and in so doing greatly intensified religious competition in Punjab.[79] The potential subjects of reconversion included both Christians and Muslims. The Arya Samaj performed Shuddhi ceremonies solely on its own. Muslims, naturally resented this and it alarmed them greatly and they also became concerned with modernizing and reinterpreting their religious traditions.

It is commonly accepted that the Muslims, less nimble than the Hindus, were less ready to seize the opportunities offered by western education and less quick to adapt themselves to changing conditions under British rule.[80] English education, however, had become the passport to positions of profit and influence. They had watched the transformation of Hindus through English education. Whereas the object of the young Hindu was to obtain an education which would fit him for an official or a professional career, a young Muslim was not allowed to turn his thoughts to secular instruction until he had passed some years in going through a course of sacred learning because for him; "the teaching of mosque must precede the lessons of the school."[81] The Muslim parents often chose for their sons an education which would secure for them an honoured place among the learned of his own community rather than one which would command a success in the modern professions or in official life.[82] The Hunter Commission Report, however, suggested that the most powerful deterrants to Muslim education were pride of race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam.[83] The Sadler Commission said that no better explanation could be given for Muslim backwardness than this.[84]

Muslim conversions to Christianity and the establishment of Arya Samaj Schools were also responsible for the desire among Muslims for modern education in Islamic institutions.

In the late 19th century, Punjab witnessed the birth of several Muslim Anjumans (societies). These Anjumans were the product of Muslims' growing consciousness and means of collective effort for their betterment.[85] A great stimulus was provided by Sir Ahmed Khan and his Aligarh movement. Some of the Anjumans were meant solely for religious instruction while a few were restricted to certain tribes, castes and sects.

In 1873, an Anjuman was established in Amritsar. It set up a school immediately for religious education in a mosque but after a grant from the Nawab of Bahawalpur added other subjects, including English. In December, 1882, it was named Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar and its objects[86] were defined as below :

(i) to popularise religious and secular education amongst Muslims,

(ii) to strive for their social and moral improvement,

(iii) to acquaint the Government of their needs and desire,

(iv) to suggest and endeavour for other matters beneficial to them,

(v) to discuss and agitate for political matters from time to time,

(vi) to provided scholarship for higher education.

The decade 1880-90 produced a large number of Anjumans at least one in every important city. Most of them were named as Anjuman-i-Islamia. Their leadership was assumed by members of the upper middle classes in cities. In fact Syed Ahmed Khan's visit to Punjab produced a profound impact upon Muslim awakening and as a sequel, generated a wave of Anjuman formation in the province.[87]

In 1884, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was established in Lahore with greater stress on education and propagation of Islam. Its objectives[88] were :

(i) to counter through oral and written word, the opponents of Islam and for this purpose, to appoint preachers and publish journals etc.

(ii) to make arrangements for religious institution of Muslim boys and girls.

(iii) to strive for social reform and moral improvement of the Muslims and to promote amongst them a desire for religious and secular education, mutual cooperation and unity.

(iv) to care for destitute and orphan Muslim boys and girls.

(v) to acquaint the Muslims of the benefits of gratefulness and loyalty to the Government.

Several Anjumans under the same title were established in other cities as well. Their objectives were mostly identical with slight variations.[89]

Many societies were affiliated with the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore and contributed an 1/20th of their monthly proceeds to the latter. The Lahore Anjuman thus became the largest Muslim voluntary educational society in the province and it was also supported by several Anjumans in other parts of the country. Their members usually included notables, scions of aristocratic families, honorary magistrates, lawyers, traders and government officials. The president was often a *rais* (aristocrat) to retired government official. For this reason, these Anjumans remained moderate and loyalist in their attitude towards political issues and concentrated their activities mainly on educational progress and social and religious reform.[90] These societies and associations not only made efforts to eradicate social and religious evils but also to check conversion to other religions.[91]

The Anjuman's most important and major contribution was in the field of education. Many of them established schools for boys as well as for girls. Though not of a very high standard, these schools fulfilled an important need. Schools were established by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Multan and the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Rawalpindi. Institutions of varying standards were opened also by the Anjumans in Ludhiana, Jullundur, Simla, Ropar and several other towns.[92]

These were managed by their respective educational committees and usually followed the courses prevalent in government schools, in addition to instruction in religious subjects. Their fees were generally kept low and in addition a number of students were granted stipends and other financial assistance. Special emphasis was laid upon religious education, moral training and the observance of collective prayers during school hours and fast in the month of Ramzan. In some *Madarsas* (schools) separate sections were also provided for purely religious instruction and the correct reading of the Quran.[93]

Islamia College, Lahore

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam started a madarsa in October, 1886 in Lahore as a lower school with only thirty boys and two teachers, housed in a rented building. It progressed rapidly and within three years raised to the Entrance level. In 1892, College classes were also added. It became the biggest private Muslim institution with 1211 students in December, 1901. The Anjuman also published text books on several subjects which were used in a number of Islamia schools all over the country. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore can be regarded as second to the Aligarh movement in spreading education among Muslims. This body of leading Muslims had a first grade college, some high schools, an orphanage, Tibbiyyah classes and other activities and was actively concerned with female education. Religious instruction of a type slightly more orthodox than that offered at Aligarh had been the aim of the founders. The course of instruction in general in the institutions of the Anjuman was that enforced by the University of Punjab and the Department of Education Punjab.[94]

Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College, Amritsar

It was founded by Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar in 1873 as a religious school but soon other subjects were introduced. In July, 1885, it was raised to entrance level. It was open to all creeds. It was raised to Intermediate level in 1893 and to degree standard two years later. No grant was received from the government and the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar financed the college. In 1939 there was a staff of 15 including the Principal. Teaching was given upto B.A. and F.Sc. to about 400 students.[95] The Islamia College at Peshawar also provided higher education to Muslims.

In addition to these major institutions, the Anjumans had opened several schools of all standards. They were running 4 high schools in Amritsar district alone.[96] The Madarsas of Anjuman-i-Islamia in Multan and Rawalpinidi were established in 1888 and 1896 respectively. Almost all the Anjumans had their schools. These institutions fulfilled the educational needs of local Muslims and succeeded in breaking their prejudice against modern education.

The Anjumans also pioneered women's education. Several girls' schools were opened. Separate courses with special emphasis

on religious and household subjects were prepared for them. These schools provided only elementary education according to a syllabus prepared to suit the needs and traditions of Muslim society.[97] Though not largely attended, these schools provided facilities particularly for those families which were opposed to sending their girls to government schools or who had prejudices against female education. In such schools three or four years' schooling was provided and only reading, writing and simple arithmatic were taught. This too was confined, in most cases, to the mechanical reading of a few chapters of the Quran. Some rich parents engaged *Mullas* but the instruction did not seem to have gone beyond a very elementary stage. Here and there one could meet cases of advanced instruction but they were not many.[98]

The Anjumans awarded scholarships and other primary assistance to Muslim students, particularly going for higher education. Despite their weaknesses and failings, they generated a wide-spread enthusiasm for education.

About their work, Mr. Atma Ram (Inspector of Schools, Ambala) in Education Report remarked :

"The total number of recognised institutions maintained by Muhammadan Anjumans is eighty seven with a roll of 7,557 (in 1927-28), the corresponding figures for the year 1926-27 being sixty two and 5,685 respectively. It is gratifying to note that Muhammadans are gradually awakening to the need of modern education for boys and the enlightened section are taking steps to make up for lost time in the matter of Anglo-vernacular education. The facilities for providing English education of optional English in vernacular middle schools continue to be a boon to Muhammadan agriculturists, the majority of whom cannot afford to incur the expenses of sending their boys to towns to learn English."[99]

The Jullundur Inspector observed :

"Every facility is being given to them (Muslims) in the matter of concessions in fees and scholarships. The Muhammadan societies are alive to the necessity of education of their children and have been doing their best to promote literacy amongst Muhammadan boys and girls. Their high and middle schools are all aided with the exception of one at Kot Abdul Khaliq and in backward areas where Muhammadans themselves would not establish their own

schools, local bodies and Government have helped them with liberal grants and a large number of Muhammadan teachers."[100]

The Lahore Inspector reported :

"The Muhammadan community is going ahead of its sister communities in the field of vernacular education. Even in the anglo-vernacular field Muslims are not now far behind the Hindus and Sikhs where percentage of increase works our respectively as 7.4 and 5.7 against 5.4 in the case of Muhammadans."[101]

The observations made by Mr. Wilson from Rawalpindi, however, were not gratifying :

"During the year (1927-28) under report the number of Mussalmans increased by 3,924 from 65,688 to 69,612 in secondary schools, but it has gone down by 3,140 to 54,067 in primary schools, showing an increase of 784 in both kinds of schools. The number of schools managed by Muhammadans remain ten, the same as last year but the roll therein has gone down from 4,130 to 3,525. Their apathy coupled with their poverty remains the cause of their backwardness."[102]

The report of Multan Inspector was :

"The increase of 12,512 in the total enrolment is very satisfactory, but it is chiefly confined to the lowest stage..... There were 11,404 students as compared to 8,247 in last year i.e. 1926-27."[103]

Speaking to Punjab Muslim education conference on 17th October, 1923, Chaudhri Shahab-Uddin suggested the following measures to improve Muslim education :

"*(i)* By improving education;

(ii) By making education general among boys and girls;

(iii) By uniting in loving brotherhood, the Muslims of all sects."[104]

He went on to say, "For the regeneration and rejuvenation of religious, social and economic condition Islam depend more on the education of Muslims than on any thing else."[105]

A number of purdah schools had been opened in several towns of Punjab and particularly urban Muslims of upper and middle classes were availing these facilities.

Anjuman-i-Islamia, Punjab, however expressed, "The Anjuman had never relaxed its efforts in the direction of smoothing sectarian differences and of promoting social concord, harmony and

cooperation between the communities of the Punjab."[106]

Though the Punjab Government encouraged Muslim education, it was mainly due to the efforts of different Anjumans and associations that Muslims soon equalled Hindus and Sikhs and even took a lead in education. A network of Muslim schools, widely spread over Punjab took care of the educational needs of Muslims. Provision for religious instruction by means of bi-weekly lecture and classes was the chief feature of these schools.[107]

In 1920-21 only 15,473 Muslims were under instruction. In 1925-26 the number reached to 480,559 and in 1930-31 it increased to 572,828. In 1934-35, 449,009 Muslims were under instruction.

1931-32	503,292
1932-33	483,916
1933-34	465,976
1934-35	449,009

It was, however, found that the Muslims seldom prosecuted their studies beyond the middle schools and that few attended college. "Muhammadan boys spent years in learning the Koran by rote in mosques and thus reached the manhood before their education could be completed."[108]

Sikh Educational Institutions

Young educated Sikhs found themselves caught up in a historical process like their Hindu compatriots. The Arya Samaj's efforts to re-convert Sikhs to Hinduism and the attack of militant Aryas on Guru Nanak and the Sikh faith[110] led the Sikhs to search for a distinct identity of their own.[111]

The Sikh intelligentsia were also reacting to the Aligarh Movement and to Christian missionaries who had begun converting lower caste Sikhs. Out of this maelestorm was born the Singh Sabha movement and its more aggressive successor the Akali Movement.[112]

The Singh Sabha movement was launched in Amritsar in 1873 to spread literacy, education and religious awareness among the Sikhs. A large number of Singh Sabhas were set up all over Punjab which worked for propagating education among sikhs.

To coordinate the activities of the Singh Sabha a Khalsa Diwan

was established in Amritsar in 1883 and another one at Lahore in 1886. For some years there was bitter internal rivalry between the two till they were merged in the Chief Khalsa Diwan in 1902 under Sunder Singh Majithia.[113]

The derogatory remarks about Sikkhism made by some Arya Samaj leaders[114] in a meeting hastened the establishment of the Khalsa College. The foundation stone of the Khalsa College was laid by James Lyall on March 5, 1892. It not only brought about a renaissance of the Sikh culture but also confirmed the fact that no community can survive unless it keeps the torch of its heritage burning. "The flickering torch of religious, social and political life among the Skihs that was becoming dimmer and dimmer every day after the fall of Sikh empire has not only been kept burning by the Khalsa College, but it has contributed floods of light and learning to the remotest and dark corners of the country and has helped to raise the Sikh community to its present enviable position in the field of education and social uplift."[115]

The issue of religious instruction became linked to the survival of the community and it was to be done by Khalsa Schools. A literacy drive was launched, educational institutions were established, religious tracts were published and newspapers were founded.

A step forward was taken in the All India Sikh Conference held on April 12, 1904 when the prince and the peasant and the rich and the poor, all came forward in a spirit of service to help it.[116]

The Sikh Education Conference born in 1908 under the stewardship of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia to safeguard religion, culture and language of the Sikhs and to promote primary, secondary and college education among them. It aimed at organising Sikhs along religious lines by linking sectarian and secular education. At he first conference, Jodh Singh asked all Sikhs to get aside *daswandhi*, i.e. 1/10th of their income for educational betterment of the community.[117] By 1920, Sikhs had established 200 primary schools and 49 secondary schools. The Sikh education Conference also ran primary and middle shools for girls special attention was given to religious education.

During the years 1920-23 the Khalsa schools and college, Amritsar, were able to make good progress. With a small grant

from the Trust established by Rai Bahadur Boota Singh's will, the college was able to start commercial and typewriting class for the benefit of students.[118]

During the years 1925 and 1926, the University of Punjab chalked out a new programme and launched forth a new policy which aimed at centralising all higher education at Lahore. This adversely affected the mofussil colleges. The only course left for the Khalsa College was either to find sufficient funds and arrange for the teaching of subjects which were to be taught at Lahore or to slip down to the position of a second grade college.[119] At the prize giving ceremony of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, Sir Malcolm Hailey said, "Your Principal does not only speak of the present; he looks into the future. He is much concerned[120] with the new Honours Schools institute at Lahore. He fears that unless you can institute Honours schools, you may be confined to what amounts to pass degrees and many even be denied access to the M.A. and M.Sc. courses."[121]

B.Sc. in Physics was started in October, 1927 and arrangements were made for honours classes in Chemistry and Botany from October, 1929. Another useful addition to the courses of study was the opening of J.V. (Junior Vernacular) training class from September 2, 1927. This proved to be a boon for the spread of literacy and knowledge in the villages.[122]

In June 1930, the Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur refused to admit all the Khalsa College, F.E.A. passes into its III year class. Admission for them was at last secured by the President of the College, Sardar Sundar Singh, through the intervention of Punjab Government and from October, 1931, Punjab University granted to the Khalsa College affiliation upto B.Sc. degree in Agriculture.[123]

Soon afterwards Honours classes in English, Mathematics History and Economics were introduced and Fruit Preservation class was started in the Botany Department and Soap making class in the Chemistry Department. The teaching of political science was commenced from March, 1933.[124] The 23rd Sikh Educational Conference held at Peshawar resolved "This conference invites the attention of the Panth to give immediate consideration for development of Khalsa College into a Sikh University which is a great Panthic necessity and urges upon the community both, Princes and People alike, to cooperate with the Khalsa College authorities to raise necessary funds for the purpose."[125]

The college stood well above the average in it is 1933 university results. In M.A. English the pass percentage was 75. In M.Sc. and B.Sc. Chemistry, Botany, the pass percentage was 100. Result of B.Sc. Agriculture was 90%.[126]

The Khalsa College could be placed at par with the Government and Formen Christian colleges at Lahore, as far as the cosmopolitan nature of its atmosphere was concerned. Out of a total of 986 students in October, 1932, 165 (19.8%) were Hindus, 99 (10.4%) Muslims, 690 (69.98%) Sikhs and 2 (.20%) were from other communities.[127]

Among the aims of the Sikh Education conference the following may be cited as principal ones.[128]

(i) Promotion of new education.

(ii) Promotion of female education.

(iii) Promotion of religious education.

(iv) Promotion of Punjabi language.

The system of education as envisaged by the conference was a well rounded one with emphasis properly distributed between various aspects. It laid as much stress on male education as on female education; as much on Sikh religion, Sikh history and Sikh tradition as on the new ideas of the West; as much on liberal education as on professional education; and as much on learning English as on learning the mother-tongue and its use as the medium of instruction.

During the period 1908-1947 the conference functioned with zeal and devotion and the Sikh community not only made up the existing lag but also went ahead of other communities in the province in respect of education.

Due to efforts made by them, the Sikhs attained steady progress in higher education. The following figures for the year 1928 speak for themselves.[129]

M.A.	7/22	9.72%
B.A.	97/786	12.34%
Honours	4/39	10.25%
B.T.	13/85	15.29%
M.B.B.S.	12/88	13.63%
LL.B.	38/225	16.88%

From the very first conference it had been planned to encourage female education on account of the great importance it possessed. The number of girls schools had reached 100 by 1919. In these female institutions special subjects were taught which could meet the requirements of girls in their careers, such as handicraft, cooking, stitching etc. The attitude of people, however, was not gratifying. "As long as Indian ladies are to be the slaves of their husbands or their functions are to be those of living including it is difficult to see how the cause of female education could find sufficient supporters."[130] For getting trained women teachers junior vernacular and senior vernacular training classes were started in the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepur.[131] There were appreciations for services rendered by the Sikh school mistresses. "They have brought the girls grouping in the darkness of illiteracy of new light."[132]

By the time of the Silver Jubilee session was held in 1933 the number of Sikh educational institutions had risen from 7 in 1908 to 427. Two years later the number of boys' high school stood at 52, middle school at 26 and primary schools at 291.[133] In addition to Khalsa College, Amritsar, a few other colleges such as Dayal Singh College, Lahore, and Guru Nanak College, Gujranwala were established.

Religious education was considered to be the best means of achieving the aims of character building of the community and to give it a practical orientation. It was stressed, "our business is not only to save our brothers from getting into the clutches of the non-Sikh, but also to bring non-Sikh to the right path. The chief aim and object of our schools should be to deliver the message of Guru Nanak to every human being, be it man, woman or child; to fulfil the mission of the Lord of the White Hawk, to preach the Gospel and to spread the khalsa Panth."[134] ..... "The most important features of the Khalsa schools should be the spreading of the Punjabi literature, Punjabi language and Gurumukhi characters."[135] .... "The last but by no means the least is that the schools should produce as they always, do, loyal subjects of the British Crown and full attention paid to the following :

Be loyal to your sovereign;

Leave life and death in the hands of God."[136]

There can be no doubt that the Khalsa educational institutions

performed yeomen's services to the Sikhs in advancing the cause of their education.

Literary societies as the term is understood now, did not exist in Punjab. Machinery for the incorporation of such societies was provided by Act XXI of 1860, but most of the bodies which sought registration under the Act were not of a literary character. Numerous societies, both registered and unregistered came into being, the majority of which, however, were primarily religious and were meant for the advancement of interests of particular communities which they professed to represent. Various branches of Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharam Sabha among Hindus, the chief Khalsa Diwan among Sikhs and many Muslim Anjumans could be identified as such bodies. The social roots of their leadership could be traced to the western educated elite which was drawn from the upper middle classes of each community.

The description of various private educational agencies in the foregoing pages indicates that invariably all of them were motivated by religious feelings. Among the main cause of their emergence and rapid growth was the growing consciousness of the social evils existing in each community. Education was considered to be the best means of combating these evils. All of them had a similar set of aims for their respective communities. Their efforts were directed towards the diffusion of knowledge through western education and a greater stress on religious instruction and thus to moral and material uplift.

The origins of these educational societies lay in a reaction to the educational efforts of Christian missionaries. All of them aimed at proselytising activities through education in their zeal to reform and consolidate their communities. The origins were identical and so also their aims and actions.

The religious enthusiam created by these circumstances brought in the field energy and resources which otherwise would have been very difficult to bring out so soon. Punjabi opinion had not reached the point where an appeal to it, for the education of the province, could have been fruitful wihout awakening religious susceptibilities of the public. Imitation and rivalry had done more than would have been otherwise possible. But this was achieved at the cost of creating communal differences.

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4

Education and the Growth of Communal Consciousness

Private educational institutions in Punjab, which were mainly denominational, played an important role in the growth of communal consciousness. The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms introduced provincial dyarchy under which 'education was a transferred subject with an Indian minister responsible for its management. In Punjab's demographical and political structure, this led to an unhealthy race for patronage between the three major communities.

Both government and private agencies directed their efforts in one way or the other towards sharpening of communal cleavages and entangled the province in the web of bitter rivalries for material benefits. The British on their part did everything to stove the communal fire.

The introduction of separate electorates divided the province into three competing groups. This brought into prominence, communal leaders who, in order to gain political importance, inflamed the religious passions of the ignorant voters.[1] The Legislative Council elected on the basis of religious divisions provided a fruitful soil for sowing the seeds of communal hatred and bitterness.

With the collapse of the Sikh kingdom in 1849, it seemed to many that Sikhism had run its course and would soon become an episode in the history of Hinduism. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-

General, who annexed Punjab, was of the opinion that within a few years the Sikhs would cease to be a community. However, it was he, more than any one else, who took measure to prevent a whole-sale sliding back off Sikhism to Hinduism. He made observance of Khalsa traditions compulsory for the Sikh soldiers. Every unit had a *granthi* (Sikh priest) attached to it and attendance at Gurdwara was made obligatory.[2]

The Sikh intelligentsia responded to these Government gestures. Under the auspices of Singh Sabhas, Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Sikh Educational Conference they opened a large number of educational institutions. To remain loyal to the government, was, invariably among the aims and objects of these. In return they received economic assistance and support from the Government of Punjab.

After 1857 most British officials held Muslims responsible for the revolt and generally took a stiff stand against them. After 1870, the changing political climate and the desire to counter the 'educationally-advanced' Hindus, who were regarded as polished 'agitators' led to a change in government policy. In 1873, the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab remarked about the extreme paucity of Muslim students in government schools.[3] The Government of Punjab helped in the establishment of several Muslim Anjumans and educational institutions.

Through the ages, the Hindus of Punjab had witnessed several onslaughts of foreign invasions. Their historical traditions had made their life-style adaptable to new situations. With the rise of the Arya Samaj ideology they also started responding to the new challenges militantly. They established a vast network of educational institutions which remained under the shadow of official mistrust. These institutions which did not seek government aid and stressed on self-reliance created a suspicion among government circles that they were anti-British.

The population distribution, in the eastern, central and western divisions, gave no community a dominating position in any area. No single group dominated politically, economically and socially, nor was there a single homogeneous pattern. Each community had a social hierarchy, ranging from outcastes to the aristocratic elite.[4] Added to this there were past migrants and invasions which gave the province a history of continual change.

The traditional varieties of religious competition and conflict in Punjab were several — a struggle for converts produced by two proselytizing religions, Islam and Sikhism, as well as the Arya Samaj's Shuddhi movement, economic tensions where class and religious differences overlapped; and periodic violence arising from points of tension inherent in the communal structure.

The coming of Christian Missionaries caused great concern. Western education was necessary for economic success but carried with it the nightmare of potential conversion.[4] This fear became one of the major motivating forces for religious revivalism throughout Punjab.[5]

Modern methods of communal education and organisation coupled with rising literacy, created an increased potentiality for ideological debate. The printing press became a major weapon of religious controversy. Books, pamphlets, and periodicals[6] appeared in a widening stream which carried with them the rising consciousness of communal identity.[7]

With the passage of time Punjab came to possess an impressive array of societies, sects, and organisations[8] — Hindu, Muslim and Sikh — orthodox, heterodox and reformed — each with its own ideology and programme, each caught up in a struggle with one or more opponents. These organisations were fully equipped with newspapers, tracts and ministers to publicize their programme, to seek converts, and to condemn their opponents. Religious identity dominated and Punjabis became lost in a world of their own creation.[9]

Under the Reforms introduced in 1921, Fazl-i-Hussain became the Education Minister of Punjab and apart from undertaking steps to expand the educational facilities generally, he practically initiated a programme of expansion, using government grant-in-aid, to further rural primary education — a move which was more likely to benefit Muslims than Hindus as Muslims were less urbanized. A large number of scholarships and stipends were granted to Muslim students. Muslim head masters were appointed to make schools more popular with conservative Muslim parents in pre-dominantly Muslim areas.[10]

It was mainly with the assistance of the official bloc in the Legislature that Fazl-i-Hussain succeeded in carrying through his policy. Government reports bear testimony to the fact that the

Government was not wholly disinterested in strengthening the Muslim Minister's position. Pandit Nanak Chand, Member Legislative Council, by quoting from the Reforms Enquiry Committee Report 1924, wrote, "The Minister of Education has subordinated the interests of his department to the support of communal interests of the Mohammadans. It was not unreasonable that the Minister should attempt to secure definite opportunities to the community which constitutes the chief support in the Council."[11]

Fazl-i-Hussain was described as an autocrat working under the influence of his community and particularly of a set of men who were by no means progressive and were great advocates of communalism.[12] They made him believe that his community had suffered and were suffering at the hands of the Hindus.

It was alleged by Hindus and Sikhs that, "The desire to conciliate the Mohammadans persist and no matter whether the Mohammadans are in a minority in any province or in a majority, they must be propitiated at the cost of efficiency and fitness and also at the cost of the lives of the innocent people killed in communal disturbances."[13]

The Muslim quarters, however, believed, "Wherever a Moslem held the post of importance under the crown, the Hindus have made it extremely hot for him. No efforts were spared to bring him into disrepute and make his administration a failure."[14] They also believed that wherever there was a Muslim headmaster, the Hindu members of the staff made things hard for him and often conspired against him.[15]

Fazl-i-Hussain successfully led a fight in the budget debates in 1923 for a fixation of a proportion of Muslim entrants into certain educational institutions and services and the extension of communal representation in local bodies. It was thought that the Muslims as a body, had not derived so much benefit from education as other sister communities had done. It was felt that due to the keen interest evinced by Hindus from the very beginning in acquiring higher education, they had secured an absolute monopoly over the Department of Education and Muslims had to face at every step discouraging treatment.

Assured of the support of official members in the council, Fazl-i-Hussain went ahead with his policy of fostering sectionalism and

communalism by promoting employment of Muslims and agriculturists in the services and also to safeguard their 'interests' in the field of education.[16] He felt that there was lack of Muslim representation in the University syndicate, senate, Faculties and Boards of studies and, that the Muslim standpoint was ignored in the laying down of curricula and courses of study.

Fazl-i-Hussain made some significant changes in the working of the municipalities and local bodies. He introduced communal representation in eleven municipalities in addition to thirty eight already existing in January 1921, and adopted a new formula of representation according to which the elected seats were distributed among the communities in proportion to their population. This policy was obviously calculated to benefit the numerically preponderant Muslim community at the expense of the educationally and economically advanced Hindus. The same applied to the district boards over 53% of which were controlled by Muslims in 1925.[17]

Apart from assisting the Muslim cause in Government institutions, he helped organisations such as Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, which had been founded at Sialkot in 1903 by him to expand their educational activities and were assisted by liberal government grants.[18]

According to Fazl-i-Hussain, prior to 1920, though the British followed a policy of helping Muslims they could not in practice change the situation to the desired extent. During those days, it was not merit which was the passport to Government offices, but the favouritism and nepotism particularly Hindus and Sikhs. "It is the old principle of 'have gots' getting more and 'have nots' being deprived of what little they may have."[19] Bashir Ahmad Khan, Muslim League Gurdaspur, observed, "India contains many communities..... They form a mass of hetrogenous people who do not understand each other and perhaps do not want to do so. Every community breeds its black sheep only, the Hindus seem to have had far more than their share of the black sheep."[20] But within fifteen years of dyarchy position had been revolutionised; the Muslim Minister and members of the council dominated the situation so that Muslims were no longer backward.

In the educational field, Fazl-i-Hussain initiated the four-fold programme of expansion, economy, efficiency, and equality. The hidden objects and direction of this policy, however, raised serious

doubts among members of the other two sister communities. The Hindus openly challenged his four-fold scheme on education as a deliberate attempt to uplift the Muslims at the expense of the other communities.

"The expansion has been confined to particular areas and to a particular section of population."[21] The concept of economy in education, it was alleged, only meant the withdrawing of money from some existing institutions and spending it in areas where a particular community was dominant. *The Tribune* called it "robbing Peter to pay Paul".[22]

Refusal of Government grant to schools maintained by non-Muslim agencies meant that the Muslim Minister of Education not only wanted to stop or reduce state aid to non-Muslim schools, but he also wanted that Muslims should not even read in non-Muslim schools.[23] The method of awarding scholarships and the admission to educational institutions also showed a communal bias.

"As to efficiency, it is the usual bureaucratic efficiency, and in the present case means the employment of more 'efficient' teachers and increasing the facilities for their training. This must, of course, incidently lead to the replacement of old by new teachers and naturally in the process the claims of the Mohammadan community could not be ignored."[24] The policy of the Government was to consider the need for efficiency in the fullest sense but at the same time to avoid any undue predominance of any one class in public services to the exclusion of reasonable claim of other classes or community. The Government was not able to strike a balance between efficiency and communal representation, and thus many times the Punjab Government had to sacrifice communal representation to the alter of efficiency.[25]

Equality in practice had only been taken to mean that "from him that hath shall be taken away, and to him that is strong it shall be given."[26]

Fazl-i-Hussain in the Reformed Council had still further developed and perfected, and pushed his policy to extremes. In the Education Department, he had not only practically stopped all direct recruitment of Hindus.[27]

Fazl-i-Hussain's policy naturally sparked the flame of discontent, "It should be height of unwisdom to do nothing to

check the policy which carries the idea of class divisions to unreasonable lengths.... It would be a travesty of Representative Government if a minister supported in the council by a majority consisting mainly of one community frames a policy prejudiced to the interests of minorities."[28]

Particular orders of the Education Minister created serious discontents. They were : *(i)* the order introducing communal representation in admissions to Medical College and Government College, in place of former rules which regulated admissions solely on merit, *(ii)* the orders dispensing with the services of some of them, *(iii)* orders as to appointments, permanent and officiating, in the Education Department. These steps were considered dangerous for the youngmen who, "At the very threshold of their university career, learn lessons of class division and consequent class rivalry and hatred."[29]

It was also alleged that in order to promote Muslims very rapidly, from lower grades, they were very often given double and triple promotions in the course of a couple of year. "A teacher's line is now practically closed to the Hindus, so far as Government and Board schools are concerned."[30] At first officiating chances were given to very junior Muslims, and then shortly, after that, they were promoted to higher grades.

The Table (4.1) indicates that what Fazl-i-Hussain was trying to do, was to secure to the Muslims, 50% of appointments by direct recruitment and 40% of the appointments by promotions from subordinate educational services to Provincial Educational services. The picking out of 40% Muslims from subordinate services however junior they might have possessed, created an injurious effect on senior officers belonging to the communities who, were superseded.

The case of subordinate services was also similar. Table 4.2 reveals that 41% of the appointments in direct recruiting and 44% of the appointments by promotions from the lower grades were being reserved for Muslims.

In making selections, greater weight, it was alleged, was attached to religion rather than to qualifications, which only created a great amount of discontent in the services.

Still it was demanded, "The number of appointments to be filled up by Muslims alone and which are by statute very very small in services should be fixed in each province and should

Table 4.1*

	Direct appointments					*Promotion from subordinate Educational services to P.E.s.*					*Grand*
	Hindu	*Sikh*	*Muslim*	*Others*	*Total*	*Hindu*	*Sikh*	*Muslim*	*Others*	*Total*	*Total*
1921	1	1	2	1	5	1	x	1	x	2	7
1922	x	1	3	1	5	8	4	2	x	14	19
1923	x	x	x	x	x	2	x	2	1	5	5
1924	1	x	1	x	2	2	x	5	x	7	9
1925	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	1	x	2	2
	2	2	6	2	12	14	4	11	1	30	42

* ISCWEP, Vol., E-Pun-42, p. 26.

Table 4.2*

	Direct Recruitment					*Promotion*				
Grade	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Others*	*Total*	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Others*	*Total*
200-250	3	3	1	x	7	13	10	2	1	26
140-190	8	9	4	x	21	12	16	5	1	34
110-135	13	16	4	x	33	22	26	9	x	57
80-90	54	43	12	2	111	x	x	x	x	x
Total	78	71	21	2	172	47	52	16	2	117

* ISCWEP, Vol.I, E-Pun-42, p. 32.

generally be double the number of Hindus to rectify the past wrongs done to the Muslims."[31]

The time-lag theory that Muslims were left behind in education, however, needs re-examination and critical analysis, regionwise. A detailed examination of data drawn from educational and census reports reveals that Muslim educational progress varied from province to province and even between districts within the same province.[32]

It is misleading to compare Hindus and Muslims as monolithic units. There were extreme variations of literacy among different castes within the same community in Punjab. Table 4.3 explains the fact clearly.

Table 4.4, thus reveals that till 1921 only the trading castes had sizeable literacy returns. These were the traditionally literate castes and their occupation required ability to read, write and count.[33] Progress achieved during the decade 1921 to 1931 was almost identical, which reveals that the utility and want of education was largely based on caste and occupation. The position of the Sayads among Muslims was comparable to that of the Brahmans among the Hindus. They were on top of the Muslim hierarchy and formed part of a privileged group close to the centre of wealth and power. Together with the Sheikhs, they constituted the intellectual elite of Muslim society. Among them education was far more advanced than among the *ajlaf* or lower caste and *arzal* or degraded caste of Muslims.[34] Muhammad Shah Nawaj stated in the Legislative Council, "Both communities have good and bad points. The tension between the two communities is great in the Punjab because both are well balanced."[35]

As far as the agricultural castes, i.e., Gujars, Jats, and Rajputs were concerned all of them showed almost the same trends.

The percentage of English educated among literates shows strikingly higher returns. As for higher literacy return of the English educated it seems that it was most prominent among big land holding classes. Another important fact that attracts attention is that Muslim Rajputs, Muslim Gujars, and Muslim Jats were far more advanced in English education than the Hindu and Sikh Gujars, Jats, and Rajputs in 1921.

Data about down trodden castes again shows an identical

Table 4.3*

Percentage of Literacy among Various Castes, Tribes and Races in 1921 and 1931 (males only)

Caste, tribe or race	*Religion*	*Percentage of literates*		*Percentage of literates in English among literates*	
		1921	*1931 7 yrs. & above*	*1921*	*1931 7 yrs. & above*
Khatris	Hindu	37.57	43.71	27.28	29.51
Aggarwal	Hindu	37.07	48.51	6.95	9.28
Arora	Hindu	28.99	35.74	8.92	11.40
Arora	Sikh	31.37	40.58	7.57	14.66
Brahman	Hindu	20.83	26.73	14.95	16.84
Sayad	Muslim	16.14	21.63	18.40	22.32
Sheikh	Muslim	13.61	19.77	28.31	27.55
Rajput	Hindu	10.30	13.26	11.84	15.52
Rajput	Sikh	---	19.53	---	19.24
Rajput	Muslim	3.88	7.01	16.62	21.25
Jat	Hindu	2.20	3.57	10.88	13.73
Jat	Sikh	5.44	8.93	10.41	13.20
Jat	Muslim	1.92	3.45	12.18	15.24
Gujar	Hindu	1.21	1.89	7.06	8.71
Gujar	Sikh	---	5.11	---	10.90
Gujar	Muslim	2.10	3.57	9.84	14.82
Jhiwar	Hindu	1.92	3.65	13.27	10.77
Jhiwar	Sikh	4.59	8.17	6.39	6.88
Jhiwar	Muslim	1.22	2.55	8.66	11.17
Julaha	Hindu	1.16	2.50	5.08	7.11
Julaha	Sikh	---	12.50	---	0
Julaha	Muslim	2.08	3.22	4.98	9.15
Tarkhan	Hindu	2.96	4.48	8.33	8.99
Tarkhan	Sikh	7.50	14.83	7.12	16.45
Tarkhan	Muslim	2.75	4.26	8.63	11.07

* *Census of India, Punjab*, Vol. 2, 1921, pp. 132-133 & 1931, p. 265.

Table 4.4
Comparative Statement of Voters in Rural Constituencies and Land Owners

(Actual figures in thousands)

Communities	*Voters in rural constituencies*		*Land owners and Crown Tenants paying land revenue*											
			Rs. 25 upwards		*Rs. 20-25*		*Rs. 15-20*		*Rs. 10-15*		*Rs. 5-10*		*Total*	
	No.	*% age*	*No.*	*% age*	*No.*	*% age*	*No.*	*% age*	*No.*	*% age*	*No.*	*% age*	*No.*	*% age*
Muslims	256	46	169	48.5	47	46	72	45	126	47	258	50	672	48
Others	157	27	76	21.5	27	26	42	27	75	28	152	29	372	27
Sikhs	158	27	105	30	29	28	44	28	68	25	108	21	354	25
Total	571	100	350	100	103	100	158	100	269	100	518	100	1398	100

Source : ISCWEP, Vol. II, E-Pun-354.

situation with Sikhs having secured a slight lead over others of the same castes.

In India (at the level of castes) upto this time (1920) western education had been sought after, not so much for the sake of education, as for the sake of joining 'liberal professions', or Public administration. Castes such as Khatris, Brahmans, Kaysthas, Sheikhs, Sayads and Kashmiris, took to western education. From literacy figures in English it was to be found that among literacy classes there was nothing to choose between Hindus and Muslims.[36]

Caste or tribe	Literates in English per 10,000 (for males)
Khatris	976
Sheikhs	385
Brahmans	312
Sayads	297
Qureshis	273
Aggarwals	258
Aroras	255
Kashmiris	167
Khojas	118

It was, thus, occupation which had more to do with the educational growth rather than belonging to a particular religious community. This was not new for the British period as since ancient times literacy castes had assumed the role of religious teachers and kept up with their occupation. Education was necessary also for trading castes. Keeping of accounts required educational abilities. Role and occupation of the traders remained almost unchanged since long, while the Muslim *Nawabs* and aristocrats had been replaced by the British. It was more the sense of past *Nawabi* which made the aristocratic Muslims keep away from English education than religious bindings.

For agriculturists, it was the same old business of cultivation which hardly required any education. Only the rich among them availed of English education as that enhanced their social status besides providing Government posts.[37]

For the masses, education was still a chimera and it was only

the upper layer of society which had gained through education. Conversion to Islam was mainly from the lower castes and classes and this fact also contributed to the low percentage of literate Muslims. Still in 1920-21 Muslims formed 41.62% of pupils in Punjab and within a short span of time their numbers increased sharply.

Table 4.5 presents a picture of the growth of education, community-wise.

Table 4.5[38]

Year	*Hindus*	*Muslims*	*Sikhs*
1921-22	210,123	241,743	76,373
1923-24	274,683	364,386	95,748
1926-27	377,314	533,567	133,633
1929-30	384,201	572,828	151,658
1930-31	397-239	606,172	157,520
1931-32	369,008	574,389	150,345
1932-33	355,646	547,452	145,553
1933-34	354,104	533,114	142,074
1934-35	355,549	516,215	141,087

The table indicates that the number of pupils of all the three major communities increased greatly during the period 1921-22 to 1934-35. It is clear, however, that 1930-31 onwards continuous decrease (due to economic depression funds were not enough to keep the pace going) in their number is noticeable. Upto 1930-31 the increased percentage was, for the Muslims 150.75, for the Hindus 89.05 and 106.25 for the Sikhs. The percentages decreased between 1930-31 and 1934-35. It was 14.84, 10.5 and 10.43 respectively.

By 1923-24 number of Muslims under instruction almost equalled the number of Hindus and Sikhs put together and by the next year outnumbered the other two, even if combined.

The previous chapter revealed the fact that there was in these years (1920-34), a remarkable increase in the number of denominational schools as well as pupils attending them. The Report of the Punjab University Enquiry Committee remarked that communities vied with each other in opening schools.[39]

Probably no other province in India had developed private enterprise in education to the same extent and with the same success as Punjab had.

These denominational educational institutions did much to advance anglo-vernacular education in the province but also contributed to the growth of communal feelings of rivalry. It was observed, "We have innumerable sectarian schools and colleges.... where religious education on old lines is imparted. This restricts liberalism and communalises our outlook."[40] And, "What a place we live in ! An army of religious preachers run about.... preaching unchecked that the faith they belong to is the divine one and condemning the faiths of others as satanic."[41]

There was a tendency for two or three rival communal schools springing up in a small town where a single school would have sufficed. Jealousy and hatred among the educated persons of various religions were directly traceable to the sectarian instruction imparted in these institutions. Feelings between different religions were never so strained as after the foundation of these institutions.[42]

The Ministry of Education agreed that while schools of this type (denominational) had undoubtedly done gratifying service in the cause of education, the fact remained that the general tendency was to foster a narrow communal outlook and to lead to an unwholesome spirit of communal rivalry and jealousy."[43]

Denominational educational institutions had been the product of the revivalist movements, launched to consolidate the position of the different communities. These institutions were run by Hindu, Muslim and Sikh literary societies.[44] Their primary aim being the fostering of religious education of the community, which financed these institutions.[45]

Religious education had been the main feature which distinguished these institutions from those run directly by the Government. Attendance was necessary in the class of religious instruction. In all cases, however, the religious instructor was not competent enough to impart *Dharm Shiksha* in an objective and unbiased manner. So often the classes of religious instruction became nothing but a platform to criticise the other communities by distortion of their religious teachings. "The mischief that is done by denominational schools in instilling antagonistic and conflicting ideas and ideals in youthful mind is incalculable indeed.

These schools are in a great degree responsible for the bitterness and animosity among the various sections of the community."[46]

The rapid growth of the Arya, the Sikh, the Islamia and the Sanatan Dharm Schools and Colleges in Punjab had produced matriculates by thousands who were likely to fall prey to communal propaganda.

Most of schools, save a few, had children with slovenly manner who were being handled by underpaid, half educated, inefficient and unimaginative teachers. *The Tribune* commented, "what jobbery is being practised with a view to obtaining recognition and what window dressing is going on in our schools?"[47]

The Department of Education observed that the rapid multiplication of anglo-vernacular schools maintained by private bodies had brought in its train unhealthy rivalry and keen competition.[48] Sheikh Nur Elahi, Inspector of Schools opined, "Being denominational, the staff and pupils of these schools belong in most cases only to one denomination. In theory, of course, they are open to boys of other communities, but in actual practice it is extremely rare that a Hindu boy goes to an Islamia school or that a Muslim boy attends a Hindu institution. The result is that the entire atmosphere in such schools is sectarian to a degree. The product is therefore a starved and narrow minded bigot who, on entering manhood, finds it difficult to understand and cooperate with men of other denominations. The present communal tension, when analysed, could be tracted if not directly at any rate indirectly, to these sectarian schools."[49]

Teachers in such schools were in a difficult situation. The headmaster of an Arya School wrote, "The condition of teachers in private schools has been far from satisfactory for a long time, but has gone from bad to worse during the last few years. They are generally ill-paid and have absolutely no security of tenure and very often.... They are compelled to leave for very paltry reasons."[50]

Religious education was compulsory, but the way in which it was imparted was very unsatisfactory (particularly in smaller towns). An example can be cited from the experience of Sanatan Dharm School, Una, where the Pandit taught that if gods and goddesses were not properly appeased by *parshad* or sweets given to their votaries — One of whom was the Pandit himself, evil would befall them.[51]

In some smaller towns, however, there was often considerable tolerance, good humour and common sense.[52]

Of the persons interviewed for this thesis, those belonging to cities were much more aware of the communal role of educational and particularly denominational educational institutions than those who lived in small towns, and those from villages were least aware.

There were provisions in almost all denominational institutions for admitting students from other denominations. But where the parents had a choice they invariably put their children in schools run by their own religious group. The choice was available only in cities, where there were schools belonging to various denominations.

Being educated among members of his own community foreclosed any opportunity of instruction or even general understanding of the norms of other religions. That was bound to breed narrowness of outlook.

The Punjab Legislative Council debates throughout the period (1920-34) reflect the underlying communal tensions. Almost every issue was given a communal flavour. There were also caste cleavages and a number of questions were asked in the Council regarding the number of Jats, Rajputs etc. employed in government service. Territorial cleavages also developed and questions were asked as to the number of persons belonging to particular districts being appointed as judges, police inspectors, or in the co-operative department. Communal and caste consciousness was increasingly evident in public and political life.

In the very first Legislative Council the members began to organize themselves into parties and there was an embryonic grouping of members according to rural and urban interests. The other interests notably communal were not slow to awaken, and in 1927 the post of a third Minister (earlier two) was created to enable a Minister drawn from each of the chief communities to be included in the cabinet.[53]

It is evident from the reaction of the Hindu members in the council and outside, that they condemned Muslim communalism with a view of protecting the communal interests of the Hindus. This, instead of making any dent in the communal atmosphere thus only helped in extending it in all walks of life in Punjab during subsequent years.[54]

The policies of Fazl-i-Hussain and his successors helped in consolidating the position of Muslims in educational institutions and in public services and in drawing maximum advantage for Muslim upper classes. Their counterparts, the Hindu communal leaders, who belonged mostly to the urban bourgeoisie, opposed the system in the name of secularism but with the object of safeguarding the sectional interests of their community which actually meant preserving their own class interests. Thus both groups willingly or unwillingly, fanned communalism.[55] Even the nationalist leadership was contaminated with communalism.

Instead of attacking Muslim and non-Muslim communalism and side-stepping these parochial issues, middle class Hindus and Sikhs faced with a loss of position, reacted by branding Fazl-i-Hussain as pro-Muslim and this strengthened his claim of being the champion of the Muslims.

During these debates, whether with correct or incorrect arguments, figures of admissions of different communities to educational institutions or the services, were produced which played into the hands of the colonial administration, which not only encouraged communalism but nurtured it with great care. Thus, the divisive forces were able to further consolidate their base in their respective communities.[56] Leaders like Lajpat Rai, and Lal Chand, criticised the Congress theory of an united nation and contended that the Hindus were a nation in their own right separate and distinct from the Muslims and others. Lajpat Rai went to the extent of saying "If the Hindu community does not wish to commit political *Harakire*, they must move every nerve to be communally efficient and united."[57]

Sheikh Faiz Muhammad asked the Government to state how many Muslims from Dera Ghazi Khan district had been taken into the service of the Government during the last ten years.[58]

By 1935, position of the Muslims in the services had considerably improved, and the ratio had changed from 40-40-20 to 50-30-20 for the Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs respectively. At the time of fresh recruitments Muslims were given preference over non-Muslims regardless of their educational qualifications. Temporary non-Muslim employees were discharged and the vacancies kept unfilled so that the Muslim could get a fifty percent proportion or more.[59]

The Council wasted two days (in 1936) over the unseemly controversy of representation. While the non-Muslim members preferred recruitment on the basis of merit, the Muslim members attacked even the existing system wherein merit was already at a discount.[60]

In 1923 Malik Karim Ullah Khan asked the total numbers of Headmasters in Government High Schools to be stated by creeds.[61]

The Council conducted debates on resolutions such as, "this Council recommends the Government that it may be pleased to issue orders to all the departments under its control that all Muhammadan government servants, whatever their rank, who may be anxious to offer such fixed prayers as fall during the house of duty and do their Juma (Friday) prayer, be allowed sufficient time for performing these duties, and that in case of pressure of official work they may be given the alternative of making up the time so spent in prayer by overtime."[62] It was, however, assured that "this will be done."

The members took up the grievances of their community in the departments where they were under-represented and ignored the overall picture of the combined services. The problem vitiated the whole atmosphere and even Indian Christians, who were over represented in certain departments, revised objection through a cut motion about their non-representation in the forest department.[63]

In March 1925 Chaudhry Ram Singh asked the Government to state, "How they arrived at the conclusion that the book entitled 'Maharishi of the Nineteenth Century' had not obtained sufficient publicity, while the book entitled 'Rangila Rasul' had attracted general attention and obtained sufficient publicity ?"[64]

Once the reservation of jobs on communal grounds was accepted, society was threatened with fragmentation, and the call for unity petered out into an empty slogan.[65]

In the Legislative Council all discussions on education and representation in services were given a communal complexion and the great majority of inter-pellations were based on communal considerations. Controversies arose from time to time about the distribution of grants-in-aid to privately managed communal schools. There was a constant pressure on the officers of the Education Department by political leaders to help this or that community.

With the limited employment opportunities available to educated Indians Hindus and Sikhs were apprehensive about their future.

The Christian missions and the government introduced the printing press in Punjab. Missions used printing primarily for popularising the Bible but the religious press was also used for publishing general newspapers and books. As for the Government, in order to be effective, it had to solve communication problems and printed circulars and orders extended and supplemented personal contact and authority.

The first newspapers in Punjab were started after the Anglo-Sikh wars. But Punjabis felt the impact of western technology already a few years before the formal annexation of Punjab.[66] Since the time when the chiefs and nobles of Punjab surrendered their sovereignty to the British in the 1840s, printing presses had operated, some of which were supported by princely patrons. These presses earned their keep either by defending the interests of their patrons, or by refraining to publish defamatory articles against their 'blackmailed' patrons.[67]

The Missionaries sought public debate and were argumentative, they continued to identify themselves and their interests with the British Government. British administrators, both civil and religious tried to establish British political, military, economic, and educational dominance in Punjab.

Education was limited to a few but a number of the educated Punjabis had begun to show an interest in local, regional, national and international affairs. This generated want of news and this need was fulfilled by the newspapers. The exponent of Government views was the *Civil and Military Gazette* while the liberal views of the people were represented by *The Tribune*. By the end of the 19th century several other papers also appeared. Most of these papers were started by different societies and helped propagate the ideas and views of the leaders of these societies.

The chief papers in the 1920s were the *Tribune, Civil and Military Gazette, Khalsa Advocate, Pratap, Paisa Akhbar, Arya Gazette, Siyasat, Zamindar, Watan, Leader*, etc. overall in 1920 there were 276 newspapers and periodicals of all kinds published in Punjab during the whole or part of the year. Of these 178 were in Urdu, 58 in English, 26 in Gurumukhi, 10 in Hindi, 3 bi-lingual, and tri-

lingual. The number of daily newspapers was 22, weekly 79 and monthly 141. The remainder appeared at irregular intervals.[68]

Of the newspapers and periodicals 162 were published in Lahore, 43 in Amritsar, 14 in Simla, 10 in Gurdaspur, 7 in Ferozepur, 6 in Sialkot, 5 in Gujranwala, 4 each in Rawalpindi, Gujarat and Lyallpur.[69]

The combined circulation of the whole Punjab press was estimated at 342, 354 copies in 1919-20. In 1920-21 it was 358,661 copies. Table 4.6 given below shows important newspapers and periodicals with their ownership and approximate circulation in 1920-21.

Table 4.6[70]

Newspapers/ Periodical	*Ownership (Religious)*	*Time of appearance*	*Approximate circulation*
Civil and Military Gazette	English	Daily	above* 3000
Tribune	Hindu	Daily	above 6000
Khalsa Advocate	Sikh	Weekly	between 500-1000
Himala	Hindu	Weekly	above 7000
Zemindar	Muhammadan	Daily	above 6000
Bande Matram	Hindu	Daily	above 5000
Paisa Akhbar	Muhammadan	Weekly	above 3000
Partap	Hindu	Daily	above 2000
Loyal Gazzette	Sikh	Weekly	3000
Siyasat	Muhammadan	Daily	above 2000
Arya Gazzette	Arya	Weekly	above 2000
Akhbar-i-Adm	Hindu	Bi-weekly	above 2000
Rajput Gazzette	Hindu	Weekly	above 2000
Al-Fazal	Ahmadiya	Bi-weekly	above 2000
Brahman Samachar	Hindu	Weekly	above 2000
Akali	Sikh	Daily	above 2000

* above 3000 means between 3000-4000.

It was reported, "At a very moderate estimate there are some 60 newspapers which exist apparently for the sole object of attacking the rival community or whose writing are at any rate calculated to foment communal hostility..... Attacks on religious leaders are by no means the only stock-in-trade of these journals; nor are they

the monopoly of any one community. Vilification of historical personages[71] is another common feature. Thus abuse of Shivaji appear in Muslim papers, while Taimur, Aurangzeb and Muhammad Bin Qasim are frequently held upto obloquy in Hindu journals. Several papers make it a practice to quote obscene passages, especially those dealing with sexual relations from the scriptures of the opposite religion, and the social habits of the different communities are constantly held up to ridicule."[72]

H.D. Craik, Chief Secretary to the Government on Punjab, speaking in the Council had, "No hesitation in saying that the Punjab vernacular press exceeded the virulence, in obscenity and in deliberate formation of communal hatred, the press of any other province in India."[73]

As for literature, poetry and religion absorbed about half the publications, biography were 14 and fiction 55 in 1919-20. Art, Philosophy, Science and Voyages and Travels continued to be poor. A few books on 'Politics' dealt with the Punjab disturbances, the nature and necessity of the Rowlatt Act, India's part in the Great War, the duty of the people to keep order, the dangers of the Passive Resistance Movement etc., also appeared.[74] Overall 1,848 books were produced in Punjab in 1920. Table 4.7, however, shows the production of books in Punjab.

Table 4.7[75]

Year	*Books Produced*
1921	1,947
1922	2,224
1923	2,548
1924	2,413
1925	2,208
1926	2,696
1927	2,537
1928	2,324
1929	2,587
1930	1,849
1931	1,610
1932	1,657
1933	1,727
1934	1,775

In Punjab since literacy rates were in any way under ten percent,[76] it is obvious that the printed word was not a universal and direct form of communication, rather it supplemented the traditional and oral modes of communication. Literary societies were started where Punjabis met and discussed various issues. But the majority of these, however, was primarily along communal lines, were meant for the advancement of the interests of a particular community.[77]

Printing increased the speed with which news of religious troubles, riots, and conversions could spread. Associations (Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharm Sabha, Singh Sabhas, Muslim Anjumans) usually had at least one journal to propagate their point of view. Some, such as the Arya Samaj, had several newspapers and a few journals, often with wide circulations. The articles of these journals contained, discussions of ideology; replies to issues raised by other groups; and increasing expressions of concern over political issues, educational opportunities, government employment quotas, the establishment of schools, and responsibility for the most recent communal riot.[78]

Those who joined associations, pooled their money and energy to promote a cause and soon learnt to run massive publicity compaigns to edit and publish newspapers journals and books, and to deal with the Government.[79]

The cirulation of English newspapers was strictly confined to the English educated intelligentsia, while the vernacular newspapers had a large audience as they were not only read by more people but also read out to illiterate by their literate fellows in towns, villages, railway carriages, public meetings and so on. The fact that many who read the printed matter took the content as 'Gospel truth', explains why the vernacular press was instrumental in promoting communal antagonism.[80]

In Punjab during our period of study, the press not only reflected the mood of the educated but also was instrumental in shaping it. Some important themes discussed in newspapers were:

(i) the growing self consciousness among the communities,

(ii) the efforts made by each community to propagate its own views at the expense of others,

(iii) criticism of government policies of divide and rule, and

(iv) cleavages within the communities.

Mass level production of communal literature which had greatly accelerated and intensified the atmosphere of hatred, doubts, fears and suspicion had been the outcome of unfulfilled ambitions of the intelligentsia, *(ii)* intention of consolidating their position short-cut way to it was the rousing of communal feelings, and *(iii)* the motives to attain as much concessions, from the reformed regime, as possible. In brief, the educated started newspapers which spread communal hatred.

Newspapers often spreaded communal hatred but escaped punishment as they usually had dummy editors. Sir Malcolm Hailey in a semi-official letter to Sir Alexander Muddiman pointed out, "For some time I have not troubled to prosecute these (*Akali* and *Zamindar*). We did a good deal of this kind of thing at one time, but it really proved of little avail, as we only sent dummies to prison. The state of the law on the subject is of course deplorable. Our *Akali* newspaper have for years had no one but dummies as publishers. I was told yesterday that Zafar Ali's paper the *'Zamindar'*, had a blind beggar registered as Publisher."[81]

Publication of the book *Rangila Rasul* and the article *Sair-i-Dozekh* in *Vartman* were deliberate attacks on the founder Prophet of Islam; the book *Unnisvin Sadi Ka Mahrarishi* and the article *Sair Din-va-Duniya* attacked the Arya and Hindu leaders, and created hostility among both.

In his judgement in the case against Devi Saran Sharma (author of *Sair-i-Dozekh)* A.B. Broadway wrote, "The article is extremely bad in taste, scurrilous in nature and is disgusting satire on certain incidents in the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam..... (to depict the founder of Islam with his wives and numerous followers in hell undergoing the tortures of the damned) was bound to influence the minds of Musalmans in general against the writer of the article and the class who, rightly or wrongly, were believed by them to be behind him.... In the circumstances, I am of the opinion that this article was written and published by Devi Sharan Sharma with the deliberate intention of promoting hatred and enmity between Muslims and Hindus."[82]

It was found, "There has lately grown up in the Punjab a class of newspapers which appears to exist only for the purpose of aggravating communal feeling and which publishes matter which

is frequently as absence as it is virulent. The prosecution of these newspapers under section 153-A of the Penal Code, though frequently undertaken, had been on the whole infructuous and had not proved to be a sufficient deterrent."[83]

It was further explained, "It is acknowledged by all sober opinion throughout the Province that a certain section of the press is one of the principal of these causes; it is notorious that many weekly and daily newspapers depend for their circulation on the publication of matter deliberately designed to increase communal hostility, and that there exist a considerable class of pamphleteers and cartoonists who thrive by the dissemination of such matter. This class of journals and pamphlets panders to the demand for excitement on the part of the lower classes, and it is generally admitted by those in close touch with the journalistic profession that the more exaggerated the story to which they give currency and the more alarmist the rumours which they spread, the greater is their sale."[84]

Nearly all such types of vernacular journals had dummy editors, most of them being ex-convicts for whom imprisonment was no real deterrent.

Feelings of bitterness between communities ran high. Shuja-ud-din Khan, Superintendent of Post Offices, Ludhiana Division, in his memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission, wrote, "Thuggy as a separate trade, may have been abolished by Government, but every Hindu by birth was thug and so the thuggy Department had to be introduced."[85] He went on to say, "In the face of all this there is the show of Indianization. Why ? It is thuggy pure and simple and our Britisher is too shallow to fathom through these deep waters. Therefore, my advice is, avoid all this Thuggy or Indianization. Just imagine what in the Government of India and Provincial Executive Councils, Hindu Executive Members and Ministers have done. No burglar, no dacoit, no ruffian, nothing has a more brilliant record of thuggi than those contemptible creatures have had.... Reforms have given the semi-educated classes all foul earnings and that too at the point of bayonet viz., press and platform, speeches and loud agitation and why should they come to you to be deprived of these.... Your plain duty to India lies *(i)* in receiving the stolen property from the dacoits, robbers, thieves, liars, which the semi-educated Indian are, *(ii)* in handing over the same to the real owners, and *(iii)* to create a

future Government which will stop all such aggressions of the semi-educated Indians, and the masses in general and Muslims in particular and if your Commission fails to do this it shall have failed badly.... Will make the masses and Muslims believe that no further order to justice would lie; rebellion, anarchy, crime, bloodshed, is therefore bound to result."[86] Such language could produce nothing but communal hatred.

Remedy for 'ills' done against Muslims was found in, "The only means by which peace can be established and lasting settlement between the different communities of India can be arrived at, by deliberately inserting the amplest and most liberal safeguards for the protection of linguistic, racial and religious minorities."[87]

A section of Muslim intellgentsia believed that Hindu leaders like Swami Shradhanand and Lala Lajpat Rai followed a policy of aggression to crush the Muslims.

There was a growing feeling among the Sikhs that the Muslim Minister, backed by his co-religionists in the Legislative Council and often by Government, which had to depend upon the Muslim majority for its own maintenance, trampled upon the cherished rights of the other communities under his feet.[88] It was freely alleged that if the Muslims secured job reservation in provinces, where they were in a minority, how could it be justified in a Muslim majority province like Punjab. Such a tendency was apt to be abused as much in one place as in another.[89]

Still the All India Muslim League opined, "It is most essential that the constitution should be founded on the needs and rights of the principal communities in legislatures and local bodies, educational institutions and public services, should be so regulated that no injustice is done to any."[90] It added further, "In view of the serious economic disabilities of the Musalmans their adequate representation in the services is a very vital matter to their general progress, more especially as their unemployment in such large numbers not only makes it more difficult and often impossible for them to educate their children even for a trade or profession, but also creates unrest."[91]

Government was reminded that the procedure adopted by the Public Service Commission had been defective. "In selecting candidates no regard is generally paid for the war services of the families or their social status which in the long run may be

detrimental if the loyal classes find that nothing is gained by their loyalty.... Their response may be wanted at a critical moment."[92]

Comparisons made were still more interesting, "The game is being played between two extremely astute chess players, i.e., the English and the Hindus, both to make a tool of the Muslims. The English try to make a scape-goat of them for earning the goodwill of the Hindus and thus ensure their perpetual rule in India; and to pitch Hindus against the Muslims whenever they (Hindu) try to stand at bay against them. The Hindus on the other hand understand that there is only one way of poisoning the minds of Muslims against the English, and it is to grind them under the Hindu official yoke."[93]

Justifying the Government in favouring the Muslims, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Minister for Local Self Government, Punjab said, "It is not the salary of an appointment that matters, it is the powers of the man who draws the salary that is required for the uplift of a community. Can any one say that this race for public appointments is not justified. Is it not a fact that the majority of employers in most of the Government offices have hitherto been members of the sister community? Has it not been alleged that they have made Government service a special pressure of their own... There will be no one who will contest the argument that the Muslims are very backward in education as compared to Hindus. The greatest relative advance is, that made by the Mussalman community, but it is still very backward community in education and will have to make a great deal of leeway, before it reaches the standard of literacy against Hindus."[94]

It was the Muslim leaders who launched and supported the policy of protection. But the moral support which was accorded to them by the Government, created further complications. While being questioned on the policy of communal representation and if it accentuated the communal differences, W.H. Emerson, Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab, replied. "It certainly gave an opportunity if Government chose to take it, but Government does take it."[95] However, he did not admit the predominance as a whole of one community over the other in all the departments of the Government or in any department, but admitted. "Slight changes in the communal distribution may occur as one community becomes more educationally advanced, and so on."[96]

About the biased role in communal riots it had been a general tendency that Hindu quarters complained against Muslim policemen and *vice-versa.*

To the question of Sir Hari Singh Gour whether voters are influenced by religious considerations such as cow-protection or direct appeal by the Maulvis, Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Joint Secretary, Government of Punjab, replied in the affirmative.[97] Instances such as this clearly indicate the motives of leaders of the concerned communities. For political power, which was at their disposal after being elected in an election, they could make the religion instrumental for their own narrow ends and exploited the religious feelings of the voters to reach to the top. To be more vocal advocate of the communal interests and depicting particular community as the hurdle in the way of progress of their own, had been the most secure way of popularity. Behind relating education with religious communities, this tendency also seemed prevalent.

Communal representation had not only intensified communal hatred and bitterness but it was responsible for frequent communal riots, murders and bloodshed. In the anger of the moment, religious groups in Punjab seemed to have lost their balance, and lashed out at each other in fury.

It was a pity that while on the one hand, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, were demanding that the Government should safeguard the interests of each of their sister communities. On the other hand, the same people were denying any safeguards to protect the weakest of their own communities, i.e., depressed classes from the bulldozing efforts of the higher castes.[98] The depressed castes were denied education and jobs and though their upliftment was being apparently tried, they could not compete with the high castes. Efforts for the removal of their disabilities were confined only to limited urban areas. Their fate in the rural areas remained unchanged under the dominance of high castes for a long time to come. They were even denied petty jobs such as that of a constable in the Police service.[99] Unanimity, it seems, existed only when it came to denying to the depressed their due position in society.

When asked whether he would propose that a member of the depressed class should have a right to enter the Hindu temple, Pt. Nanak Chand on behalf of the National Reform Party, replied, "I

do not say that, I exclude that point from consideration."[100] This was evasion pure and simple.

Inflamatory writings in the newspapers and journals and intemperate language used in speaches and debates in the Legislative Council and outside contributed to the growth of communal tension and poisoning the political and social life of the Province.

Lala Manohar Lal, Education Minister, Punjab admitted that, "The leaders have done much in the Council by their speeches and by their support of educational demands, but it is probable that this movement has had its genesis in the people themselves and has not been inspired from above."[101] Among the causes of the rise and growth of dissension according to him were :

(i) return of a large number of soldiers from the war who had seen life and the world and were determined that their sons should benefit by education,

(ii) the belief, firmly and persistently held, inspite of grievous disappointments, that education must necessarily bring in its train the reward of the rich things in life,

(iii) the hope, that education will place the debtor class in a better position to secure a fair dealing from its creditors, and remove the general disadvantage under which the rural classes felt, they laboured as a result of illiteracy.

Out of these apprehension and misapprehensions, Lala Manohar Lal opined, "The reforms have emphasised the importance of the communal school and communal problem throughout the educational system. In discussions on educational matters in Council the communal problem and the difference between the urbans and the rurals constantly arise and the great majority of interpellations are based thereon."[102]

The recruitment for the provincial services was done mainly by direct nomination or by promotion from the subordinate services. The subordinate services were recruited mainly by promotion or direct appointment; competitive tests were very rare and selection boards, though sometimes employed, were unusual. The subordinate services included the great majority of Government servants, who ranged from officers holding responsible charges, such as Tehsildars, to clerks on low salaries.

"In the present state of educational attainments, recruitment by open competition would result, for some services, in an undue proportion of post falling to one particular class to the prejudice of the reasonable claims of other classes. To prevent this it has been necessary, subject to the condition that efficiency shall be maintained, firstly to give a limited degree of preference directly to the rural classes and thereby indirectly to Muhammadans and Sikhs, and secondly, to grant special educational opportunities to the same communities.... During the period of transition, increasing pressure will be brought to bear on Government, firstly to regulate recruitment on a religious basis according to population, secondly, to increase the degree of preference in favour of rural classes."[102a]

During the period there had been increasing demands of a communal, class, sectional and local character for Government employment. As for as such demands threatened to affect vested interests by substituting privilege for intellectual ability, they contributed to class and sectional feelings. "While it may be said.... that communal friction has not as yet a serious effect on the partiality of individual officer, its existence has undermined the confidence of many."[103]

Describing the two communities, Bhai Parmanand said, "The Muhammadans have a bright future and they believe in it. We Hindus have no conception of it. Time is with them — time is against us. At the end of the year they calculate their gains, we calculate our losses. They are growing in number, growing in strength, growing in wealth, growing in solidarity, we are crumbling to pieces. They look forward to a united Muhammadan world, we are waiting for our extinction."[104]

The awakening brought about by the Singh Sabha movement had made the Sikhs conscious of their rights. While the educated began to press for their due in services and administrative bodies (municipalities, district boards, provincial and central legislators), the masses were more anxious to gain control of their gurudwaras.

The chief of Khalsa Diwan had made its stand clear over the question of representation, to be given to Indians. "A minority community cannot allow itself to be swamped by the majority vote, purely on a numerical basis."[105]

On the introduction of elections under the 1919 Act, an appeal was made to the Sikh graduates by the Khalsa College, Amritsar,

staff. It read, "Keeping in view the duty and special educational qualification of the graduates, we desire to make their voice a respectable force in the shaping of educational policy of the province and the administration of Sikh national institutions. This need seems the more urgent when we see that great changes are contemplated in the constitution of the University, and that education will be a transferred subject. We have a right to struggle for our due share in the new state of affairs, just as it is necessary to clear our minds of all wild dreamings of encroaching on the rights of others."[106]

The Sikhs were not in favour of communal representation, but felt that if communal representation was to remain in force, their "special position and importance in Punjab required special treatment" i.e. excessive representation.

In 1936 Fazl-i-Hussain wrote, "During the last fifteen years or so the Hindu-cum-Sikh Press has been most voriferous in giving their dismay and despair, at the way in which non-Muslim interests have been sacrificed and Muslims have been favoured by Government. Favouritism of a community is not easy to define, but in India it can only mean either giving undue representation in services, or in local self government, or in grant of lands, jagirs or even little."[107]

The Sikh community in the 1920s was divided into two groups; the reformers who wanted to make a complete departure from Hinduism and the incumbents who thought that Sikhism was a purified monotheistic Hinduism with a sacred, scripture of their own. Every symptoms of Sikhs being under the identity crises were evident. And Sikhs vigorously tried to exist as a separate cultural entity apart from Hinduism.

The Sikhs realized that if they were to have a distinct voice as a community, they had to consolidate as a distinct entity apart from the Hindus. In reality, however, Gurudwara reform was a struggle waged by the Sikhs to stand as a distinct community against the political domination by the Muslims and the cultural absorption by the Hindus. The greatest gain to the Sikhs from the Gurudwara movement was the strengthening of the will of the Sikhs to exist as a distinct community.[108]

The persistent efforts made by the Hindus to keep the Sikh community within their fold only produced negative results. The

Sikhs became more determined to scrape off their alleged affinities with the Hindus and de-Hinduise their religious institutions, even if that meant a protracted struggle with the Government.[109]

"The most significant outcome of the four years of intense agitation, in which the Hindus supported the Udasi *mahants* against the Akalis, was to widen further the gulf between the two communities."[110]

The breakway from Hinduism, to which Kahan Singh of Nabha had given expression in his pamphlet *Ham Hindu Nahin Hain.* We are not Hindus —- was even more emphatically stated by Mehtab Singh. "I for one, say that if the Sikhs do not wish to remain in the fold of Hinduism, why should the Hindus seek to force them to do so. What benefit can they obtain by keeping an unwilling people as partners in their community? Why not let them go? that Sir, is at the bottom of the whole excitement. The Hindus say, we will manage your affairs for you as your gurdwaras are partly yours and partly ours. We say that we wish to look after our own gurdwaras and are determined to do so."[111]

Being a minority, the Sikhs were unable to protect their rights in the council and they were eager to safeguard their communal interest. "In 1925 a minister (Fazl-i-Hussain) with the bloc of votes of his own community forced the Gurudwara Bill on the Sikhs in the teeth of their united opposition."[112]

Sikhs were annoyed due to the attempt to reduce the importance of the Sikhs in the local bodies. Compared to their numbers, their voting strength was very large; to reduce that voting strength, a formula was invented that on local bodies, the representation should be according to the mean of the voters, and of the population. Separate electorates were not introduced but orders were issued on behalf of the Minister of Education to the effect that the constituency should be looked in such a way as to produce that result and the Sikhs suffered in consequence.[113] It was made clear that Sikhs were not so devoid of sense as not to know how to protect their interests and which way their interest lay.

They held that the introduction of separate electorate had contributed both to communal tension and lowering efficiency, due to favouritism, in the services. As far as Punjab was concerned, they believed that the various communities tried to put in their own candidates and national interests were set aside.

To ensure adequate and effective representation for the Sikhs, they claimed a much larger share of seats in the legislature as their first and appropriate right.

It was no exaggeration to say, stated Abdul Haye, M.L.A., that enimity and ill-will between different communities, was the order of the day and, "If they do not sometimes openly fight and quarrel with one another, it is either due to hypocracy or cowardice. The feeling in Punjab is so strong that it affects almost every phase of life. For instance, a Hindu will not purchase the goods he requires, from a Moslem shop-keeper and *vice-versa*."[114] He went on to say, Hindus are the worst sinners in their respect and the Moslems the greatest sufferers because the Hindus received English education at a time when Mullahs of the Moslems had put a ban upon it,[115] with the result that services, to began with, were completely monopolized by Hindus. Since then the Moslems are scrupulously kept out under the false cloak of efficiency."[116]

The Hindu-Muslim struggle in the 1920s was bitter, hostile and frequently violent. While Muslims had made rapid gains in the sphere of educational appointments in government services and representation in local bodies, they still feared the strong and at places dominant influences of Hindu bureaucracy and elites. The Hindus, on the other hand, were equally unhappy, if not even more so, and began to moan over their declining position and influence by singing a "Swan song" of a dying race.

Communalism in Punjab in our period of study was largely a struggle for educational opportunity leading to government jobs and later to a bitter struggle for political power. The groups who benefited from the progress of education belonged to the upper strata of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Hence communal hatred was largely among the intelligentsia though later it spread among lower classes and the semi-literate and illiterate.

Among the students in the Government schools and colleges in the 1930s' communal rivalries were not yet visible.[117] Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian students had here the opportunity to mix freely unlike in the denominational educational institutions. This was true of men as well as women students.

Denominational educational institutions and the press played a very important part in accentuating communal feelings. There are few, if any, examples of the press playing a restraining role in communal controversies.

It is equally a sad reflection that less the penetration of education, less there was religious animosity. Communalism was largely a urban phenomenon in the 1930s,[118] — All through these years the Unionist Party which represented the rural landed classes, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh was in power — through the instruments of inflamatory press and denominational educational institutions, which left their pugmarks on the history of Punjab in the years to follow. On the whole rural Punjab was free from communal tensions till the eve of partition.

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4. Kenneth Jones, *Communalism in Punjab*, p. 42.
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6. See description of the role of press in the growth of communal consciousness.
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16. Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab, 1897-1947*, (Delhi, 1984), p. 106.
34. Aparna Basu, *Growth of Education and Muslim Separatism* p. 224.
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37. Table 4.4 reveals the real situation of Muslim agriculturists.
38. RPEP, concerned years.
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41. *Ibid.*
42. *The Sikh Review*, Vol. 2, No. 8, Dec. 1914.
43. *The Tribune*, 21st March, 1932.
44. See Chapter Three.
45. *The Tribune*, 7th August, 1933.
46. *The Tribune*, 19th May, 1923.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *RPEP*, 1925-26, p. 43.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
51. A.N. Bali, *Glimpses of Punjab History*, (Delhi, 1969), p. 69.
52. On a particular occasion, the whole class (VIIth of S.D. School, Una) was asked to learn by rote the poem of *Dharm Putra Yudhishtra* and recite it turn by turn. One Sikh, Rajender Singh and another Muslim, Mubarak, could not recite it. They both refused also to extend the palms of their hands for receiving the cane blows of the Pandit. What might have caused an uproar in Una (in parallel circumstances of big cities) was soon blown over with both parties not pursuing the matter after a few days. Mubarak and Rajender Singh did not memorise the poem on *Yudhishtra* and the Pandit reserved his cane blows for softer palms than theirs. *(Ibid).*
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54. See Punjab Legislative Council Debates. These are full of such evidence in the 1920s and early 1930s.
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60. *P.L.C.*, 1936, p. 546.
61. *P.L.C*, 26th Feb. 1923.
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63. *P.L.C.*, 1936, p. 541.
64. *P.L.C.*, 3rd March, 1925.
65. Emmett Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab 1836-1947*, (Delhi, 1983), p. 13.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

68. *Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the year 1919-20,* p. 144.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Punjab Administration Report, 1920-21,* pp. 142-143.
71. This had been the basic cause of dissensions and hatred towards each other in rural areas. Almost all the rural Hindus, interviewed for the present work, are still hostile of the wrongs done to their co-religion historical personalities — Rana Partap, Shivaji are being treated as the protector of Hinduism. Story of Hakikat Rai, however, inflamates the Hindus against Muslims even to this day (Hakikat Rai, an innocent Hindu child of 12 years of age had been victimised by the Muslim fanatics on the charge of abusing Bibi Fatima. He was offered the conversion to Islam as the solitary apology which he boldly denied and thus was hanged). Stories like this were presented by folk singers in a way to appeal upto the innermost. Muslims, however, depicts Shivaji and Partap and all other Hindu historical personalities as cowards and cheats.
72. Home Poll, No. 3375 — S. H. (General).
73. *C. & M. G.*, 20th July, 1927.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Emmett Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.
76. See Chapter Two.
77. *Punjab Administration Report (The Land of the Five Rivers),* 1921-22, p. 234.
78. Emmett Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Prem Raman Uprety, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
81. Home Deptt. Political, File No. 24/26, Poll. 1926.
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84. *Ibid.*
85. ISCWEP, Vol. 1, E-Pun-63.
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94. Memorandum to the ISL by Malik Feroz Khan Noon, pp. 3-4.
95. ISCOEP, Vol. I, O-1/Pun.
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98. Interview with Hira Singh (Bhangi), Delhi, 1st Sept., 1988.
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100. ISCOEP, Vol. II, O-6/Pun., A-16.
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113. *Ibid.*, A. 7.
114. ISCWEP, Vol. II, E-Pun-469, p. 7.
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5

Education and Social Change in Punjab, 1920-34

History records the process of change from primitive society to modern times. The extent and rate of social change varies from one country to another, even within a country between different regions, communities and classes. Change in society is brought about by several factors acting and reacting upon one another. Education is one of them. While education is a powerful agent of social change and mobility, at the same time it also reflects social reality.

In Punjab, with the ascendancy of the British, the period from 1849 onwards witnessed political, economic and social change. This is not to imply that pre-British society was static but in many spheres changes which had already started in the 18th or early 19th century now spread over a wider area or were speeded up in the same region. Among other reforms, the British introduced a new system of education which brought in ideas and influences from the West.

The new forces of change were strengthened and accelerated by the increasing facilities of transport and communication, the setting up of a new pattern of law and justice and the development of new modes of administration. As a result new possibilities of progress and achievement loomed up on the horizon.[1]

In the social and religious domain a number of reform movements made their appearance, which sought to reorient and

reinvigorate society by purging it of many cumbersome and archaic practices. The fresh dynamism acquired by society soon found expression in the rise of political consciousness.

By the 1920s and 30s education permeated to new strata of society. Prakash Tandon observes that education facilitated the emergence of, "A new generation of Punjabis, educated in English thought, who were beginning to think accordingly for themselves. My father's generation of professional men read the news and editorials in *The Tribune* and though they spoke discreetly they began to think politics for the first time. Everybody discussed, even we boys in school learned new names like Gandhi, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Ali Brothers, Mother India and Azadi, was a change underway."[2] The growth of English education has been considered by many historians as a crucial factor in creating political consciousness in the struggle for freedom.[3]

The widening of political franchise during this period (1920-34) made people aware of how political pressures could be built and how political power could be used for improving the socio-economic status of their respective communities. They became more and more conscious of the importance of providing educational facilities for their own community. The prospect of greater transfer of power to Indians strengthened this process.[4]

The Non-Cooperation Movement evoked an enthusiastic response among students who became increasingly aware of the politically enslaved condition of their country.[5] Though the staff of educational institutions was not in favour of their students' indulging in political activities the latter were drawn to Gandhiji and the Non-Cooperation Movement.[6]

The programme of Non-Cooperation adopted by the special session of the Congress in September 1920 at Calcutta included gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces. The movement for national education arose out of the firm conviction that the Government's educational efforts were anti-national.[7]

The first Punjab Students' Conference was held at Gujranwala on 30th and 31st January, 1921 which was attended by delegates from different places. The conference welcomed the Congress resolution as far as it concerned the students above the age of

sixteen and strongly urged upon the students to make immediate and effective response to the call of the nation, an unconditional withdrawal from all arts, science and professional institutions connected with the Government, directly or indirectly.[8] It also urged the students to suspend their studies for one year at least and offer themselves to the service of the nation.[9] Lala Lajpat Rai in the course of his speech appealed to the students to remain firm in their resolve, and to sacrifice education to the political need of the hour.[10] However, leaders like Lala Hansraj were against the students taking part in the non-cooperation movement. He warned the students against the risky step that they were going to take. For him, the movement was bound to end in disaster for students.[11]

The Department of Education noticed that due to the Non-Cooperation Movement, a few institutions severed all connections with the Government,[12] and the University system. Some others bowed to the storm, for a brief period, but soon resumed work with a slight decrease in number.[13]

Students organised processions in different parts of the province. They observed strikes in several educational institutions. Many of them took a vow not to use foreign goods and requested their fellow students to use Khaddar.[14] However, it was observed that with very few exceptions, the members of the teaching staff remained at their work inspite of the 'ridicule' that was cast upon them.[15] J.A. Richey, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, observed that the power of the appeal of withdrawing from educational institution was strengthened by a very genuine discontent with a course of education which appeared to lead to nothing but the acquisition of a degree, and honour no longer worth the money spent in obtaining it.[16]

During the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-31 and 1932-34 students took part in hartals (strikes) and other political demonstrations. The Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepur, declared, "Alternatively, of course, it may be assumed that the teaching staff does not desire to turn youthful energies into more profitable channels than quasi-political interests."[17] The Education Report for the year 1930-31 revealed, "The year under report was a trying one since in addition to the normal difficulties of controlling our schools, there was a considerable amount of political excitement and in some cases a determined effort to upset our educational institutions.... On the whole it may be safely asserted that the

schools of the Punjab behaved better than those of many other provinces."[18]

Khushwant Singh observes, "Most Hindu-Sikh students were nationalistic in their outlook and some wore Khadi. Muslims were aware of their separate identity but less politically conscious."[19] Even girls took active part in the Congress programme of picketing. Man Mohini Sehgal said that in Lahore mainly women performed picketing.[20]

As we have seen education was confined to a very small section of the population which enabled them to adopt a profession and get a job. It was also a means of improving their economic condition and acquiring social status. Education also led many to question religious traditions and social customs.

Change in an individuals' life occurs often because he becomes aware of new values and then feels a necessity to adopt them in whole or in part. School or College curricula contained some new ideas but more importantly taught English which gave access to knowledge coming from the West. In the political field education taught the means of attacking the imperial power whose structure of Government had to be understood before it could be criticised.[21]

Education transmits knowledge, love, hatred and values.[22] Modern education encourages rational and independent thinking which consequently affects the behaviour of the individuals, as thought and behaviour are closely interrelated. Development of rational and independent thinking rejects or modifies stereotype norms as principles. The process of education thus helps in the inculcation of some new thought patterns and also in the reshaping of old ones. Education leads to changes in social roles and thereby affects the social structure in a significant manner.[23]

It would be proper to see how and to what extent education affected social roles, social units and institutions, social practices, and way of living in Punjabi Society.

Caste System

A traditional society has historical continuity which leads to persistence of the social structure despite endogenous and exogenous changes. The hierarchical division in Indian Society not only led to inequal status which was highly rigid and ascribed through birth but also implied social and legal disabilities specially

to certain caste groups. These disabilities got institutionalised and were mutually accepted by the discriminated and discriminators as divine or nature — ordained which operationally meant their social legitimatization. As Christian missionaries and British officials criticised institutions such as caste, Hindus began defending and glorifying India's past and felt it necessary to search for new facts and theories to defend ancient practices. Hinduism was seemingly awakening from its lethargy of centuries to defend itself.[24] The caste system was defended by the orthodox while the reformers tried to remove it.

Essentially a Hindu institution, the caste system was not confined to the Hindus. Converts to Sikhism and Islam from Hinduism retained many of their old prejudices, including caste, and more often than not clung to them most tenaciously.[25] The gradation of rank among them was very similar to that of Hindus so that some families enjoyed a higher hereditary rank than others. Not only were these particular families placed in superior ranks, but there were whole clans among whom there were degrees of dignity and social position.

The popular conception about caste was:

(i) caste is a Hindu institution,

(ii) it consists primarily of a fourfold classification viz. Brahmans, Kshtriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras,

(iii) caste is a social far more than a religious institution and

(iv) that caste is perpetual and immutable and has been transmitted from generation to generation throughout the ages of Hindu history and myth without the possibility of change.[26]

But in reality the caste system was not static.

Brahmans who gave up the priestly profession and took to agriculture, ceased to be Brahmans despite religious sanction that a man born of a Brahmin parentage would remain ever a Brahmin. They were not accepted as such and because they had abandoned *(tyaga dena)* the priestly profession, they became *Tagas* or *Tyagis*. Likewise the Brahmin who took to handicrafts became *Thavic* and were no more Brahmans. The Maha Brahmans (*charajs*), who performed the last rites of persons to earn their livelihood, became so impure that in many places they were not allowed to enter the

gates of temples. Similarly, the *Dakauts* and *Gujratis* who took to non-Brahmanical professions also fell from the sacred order and became separate castes.

Caste being hereditary, it was next to impossible for an individual to rise. Professor Srinivas has shown how it was possible for a caste to rise in the caste hierarchy during the British period as a result of improving economic position and adopting rituals and customs of the higher caste and through education. He calls this the process of Sanskritisation.[27]

The rules regulating social intercourse between different castes in Punjab are set forth by Denzil Ibbetson in his Karnal Settlement Report:

"Broadly speaking, no superior tribe will eat or drink from the hands or vessels of an inferior one, or smoke its pipes... All food is divided into *pakki roti* or fried dry with ghi, and *kachchi roti* or not so treated. Thus among the Hindus a Gujrati Brahman will eat *pakki,* but not *kachchi* roti, from a Gaur, a Gaur from a Taga, any Brahman or Taga from a Rajput, any Brahman, Taga or Rajput from a Jat, Gujar or Ror. Excepting Brahmans and Tagas, each caste will drink water from a metal vessel if previously scoured with earth *(manjna)* and will smoke from a pipe with a brass bowl, taking out the stem and using the fingers closed instead from the same people with whom they will eat *pakki roti;* but they will not drink or smoke from earthen vessels or use the same pipe stem except with those whose *kachchi* bread they can eat. Jats, Gujars, Rors, Rahbaris and Ahirs eat and drink in common without scruples. These again will eat a goldsmith's *pakki* bread; but not in his house and they used to smoke with carpenters; but are ceasing to do so. Musalmans have lately become much less strict about these rules as governing their intercourse among themselves and many of them now eat from any respectable Musalman's hand, especially in the cities. And subject strictly to the above rules, any Musalman will eat and drink without scruple from a Hindu; but no Hindu will touch either pakki or kachchi from any Musalman and will often throw it away if only a Musalman's shadow falls upon it, partly perhaps because Musalmans eat from earthen vessels, which no Hindu can do unless the vessel has never used before... Brahmans and Rajputs will not eat from any one below a Jat, Gujar or Ror while these three tribes themselves do not as a rule eat or drink with any of the menial castes and the

following castes are absolutely impure, barber, blacksmith, dyer (chimpi), sweeper, dum, and dhanak. The potter is also looked upon as of doubtful purity. The pipes of village being often left about in the common rooms and fields are generally distinguished by a piece of something tied round the stem-blue rag for a Musalman, red for a Hindu, leather for a Chamar, string for a sweeper and so forth; so that a friend wishing for a smoke may not defile himself by mistake."[28]

Caste distinctions were maintained by regulating marriages also. "The best definition would probably be obtained by taking endogamy and exogamy as the differentiate of the caste and tribe respectively; a caste being the smallest group outside which and a tribe (gotra or so) the largest group within which marriage is forbidden."[29] There were further complications lasting from one caste, clan to another.

In every caste, there was some authority charged with the duty of compelling obedience to customary laws. Most castes or rather sub-castes had a regular system for government of which the ruling body or caste panchayat was a council or tribunal as a judicial tribunal, with rather indefinite jurisdiction entirely unrecognised by law.[30]Scope of its jurisdiction included restrictions on drinking and smoking, disregard of caste customs of trade and occupation, neglect of caste regulations regarding social privileges and violation of caste concubial rules which covered breaches of marriage law in every aspect such as seduction or adultery, immorality or concubinage; refusal to carry out marriage after agreement; refusal to carry out the *'gauna'*[31] ceremony; refusal to maintain a wife; marrying a widow without permission and other allied matters.[32]

Violation of these gave the Panchayat the right of conferring punishments on the defaulters. Punishment could be in form of fines and feasts to the brotherhood or to Brahmans, pilgrimages, begging and various forms of degradation. In all cases, whether serious or trifling the penalties imposed would normally be proportionate to the enormity of the offence committed as measured by caste standards and might range from a mere reprimand to final expulsion from the caste, which could be temporary or permanent, depending on the offence. It symbolised living death of the outcaste.

Though the caste system promoted cleanliness and was a check in certain directions on moral conduct still it produced

division and discord, it made honest labour contemptible; it brought on a physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles; it checked internal and external commerce; it was a source of conservation in everything, it supervised the development of individuality and independence of character.[33]

This picture of the caste system as it prevailed in Punjab in the early decades of 20th century was more true of rural areas than urban. The expansion of education, new professions, formation of voluntary organisations, the growth of social reform movements, and political awakening all led to a gradual decline of caste restrictions in some aspects particularly in urban areas.

The impact of English education and western civilization served as a stimulus for new thought processes. The educated few, however small in numbers, were beginning to hold the caste system responsible for many ills of society. The bold and courageous among the educated were not only treating caste authority with scant regard but often flouting it.[34]

Prakash Tandon observes very interestingly, that in the early years of this century his father made no bones about eating with Muslims and bringing them home. "This problem was solved in our home as in many other homes where a similar changes was at work, by the introduction of China-ware. My mother would not at first use the Chinaware herself and reserved it for the menfolk and Muslim, Christian and English guests, but she began to weaken. This led to the next stage, that of accepting unpeeled fruit in non-Hindu homes."[35]

P.C. Chatterji a Christian reveals his experience of School days in the 1920s, "I had very close friendship with 3 Muslims, 2 Hindus, one Sikh and 3 Christian boys. It was my most intimate circle. We went to each other's house frequently. In case of one Muslim student who belonged to a very poor family, I used to eat with him even in the same plate."[36] He goes on to say, "Caste was something of which we were totally unaware. It was common for students in school and colleges — even among Hindu and Muslims —to eat out of the same plate in the tuck shops. I was surprised when I first saw Hindus and Muslims doing that, but it was common."[37]

B.R. Nanda said that in his student days in the 1930s he never made distinctions by caste as education had widened his ideas and

thoughts.[38] He further stated that even inter-caste marriages had started in the 1930s.[39]

K.L. Gauba son of Lala Harkishen Lal, Minister in Punjab in the 1920s, in his book *The Rebel Minister* (biography of Lala Harkishen Lal) wrote that in July 1923 he married a Muslim girl. "As this was the first marriage of its kind, it created widespread sensation and comment."[40] He went on to describe, "The marriage however, had one good result: it enabled a number of mixed hopes that had been in the air for some time, to assume a legal shape."[41]

In his tribute paid to late Prof. G. C. Chatterji, R. P. Singhal observed, "He had no distinction of caste or creed. All religions were equally dear to him. In fact he respected the religions of others. This was not only preached but practised in his own home as two of his daughters are married to Hindus, the third one to a Mohammadan and the fourth to a Christian."[42]

A. N. Bali in his book *Glimpses of Punjab History*, depicts the example of a successful inter provincial marriage. "Rana Jang Bahadur Singh (Assistant Editor of *The Tribune)* married in 1929 a noble class girl from a Jullundur Khatri family and they for all purposes settled down happily in this new inter-provincial and inter-caste relationship."[43]

The educated husbands often influenced their wives who also gave up observing caste taboos regarding inter-dining etc. D. N. Bhalla while paying his tribute to late Prof. G. C. Chatterjii, a Christian, appreciated the latter's wife's role as, "He was a generous host and his hospitality was both lavish and spontaneous.... In fact quite a large part of his success in life can be attributed to the public relations work done by Mrs. Chatterjii by her... enthusiastic support and wise counsel in all his activities."[44]

Man Mohini Zutsi (now Sehgal) observed, "There was all sort of social intermixing between the students of different castes and communities. We treated a class fellow as a class fellow and friend and never thought about caste or community he belonged to.[45]

R. S. Bhatnagar, a retired insurance officer of Ambala who was educated at D.A.V. College observed, "There were no barriers of caste and community among students as far as social intercourse among them was concerned."[46]

The above cited opinions were expressed by city dwellers. Some opinions from the rural Punjab would also help us in getting

the complete picture.

Harkesh, a Brahmin of village Siraspur, educated at an Arya School, said, "Among my closest friends were one Muslim (Yusuf) and another Sikh. We ate and drink at each other's house. I had no caste and community based distinction in thought or action. In our school chuhra and chamars were almost negligible. Other backward and artisan caste students were treated on equal grounds almost by all."[47]

Mahasya Rulia Ram a Chamar of village Sirsapur, who was a student of a D.A.V. School, opined, "As far as caste was concerned, we intermixed. We opened a branch of the Arya Samaj in our village which was a joint venture of both upper and lower caste literates. We ate and drink together."[48]

Om Prakash, a pandit for chamars of Sonepat had an even more exciting experience, "I had some Muslim friends. None of us could eat without others. I even used to steal the tiffin boxes of my Muslim friends and ate and they stole mine and ate. However, some teachers and students could not accept eatables at the hands of lower castes and Muslims."[49]

Sunder Singh a Jat of village Khukhni remembers that there were no caste and community distinction when he was at school in the 1920s.[50]

A major aspect of the caste system was regulating eating — drinking and social intercourse among various castes. Occupation was another major source of caste consolidation. Education provided an opportunity for giving up the traditional occupation. A clear trend was noticeable among the literates to opt for professions or trade rather than follow their heriditary occupation. They came into contact with fellow Punjabis from other castes and communities in clubs and societies, voluntary organisation in the playing fields and in the common room of colleges and also by the guidance of wise teachers.[53] All this lessened caste based distinctions.

Sri Ram Sharma observed, "The 'higher classes', however, found themselves very often tied to their professions... Gurdas Ram Chaddha, son of the Mahatma's (Hansraj's) brother-in-law, when finished his usual education and came of age the question of his entering a profession came up for decision. Mahatma Hansraj made a rather revolutionary suggestion. Why not let him

start a laundry on modern lines? His relative stood aghast... But Mahatma Hansraj persisted, and the 'Chaddha Laundry Work' was founded in 1903. The charm was broken. No profession was unclean if one earned one's living honestly."[52]

In another incident Mahatma Hansraj's cousin, Lala Dhani Ram Bhalla was looking out for a job.... Hansraj suggested that he should enter business. What business he asked? The answer startled the inquirer. Why not sell shoes? The young man and his relatives thought he was not serious. A Bhalla to sell shoes everyday of his life! Yet the result was the 'Hindus Own Shoe Shop' with Lala Dhani Ram presiding over its destinies.[53]

Education was gaining popularity as it was a source of employment. The Hartog Committee observed, "There can be little doubt that one of the main attraction of universities and colleges to men who have no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications for pursuing them is the insistence on a University degree by Government and other employers as a passport to service."[54]

Caste Panchayats were powerful specially in villages. The dominant castes which held land, controlled the panchayats but they had a paternalistic attitude. Through centuries people had learned to rely upon them. The panchayat elders would have forfeited respect and confidence if they had transgressed certain limits of justice. A strong man could defy the *biradari* (panchayat) for a while; but ultimately for marriage funerals and other 'Sanskars' he had to rely on members of his caste. No one could therefore afford to defy the panchayat for long.

The introduction of law courts deprived the biradari panchayats of their function to adjudicate and arbitrate. The growth of western education also weakened their social importance as people developed personal standards which made them decide social issues in an individual light rather than according to custom.

Weakening of biradari preceded the weakening of the caste system because obligations of caste were enforced by a biradari through the restraints that they exercised by day to day contact, backed by the threat of sanctions, but as Prakash Tandon observes, "Once you moved away from your town the biradari ceased to have a place on you. In the new place you formed new friends and sometimes new relationships and although you tried to keep

contact with your original biradari the ties soon began to weaken. In a strange town you made a briadari of your two families with all its obligations and rights and exchange of gifts of fruits and sweets on ceremonies, festival and weddings."[55] Anywhere in the strange town when one discovered a man hailed from the same village or town, there would be an immediate shout of *"Lao tusan to sadde vatni hoay, sadde apne ghar de, sadde bhra, wah wah!"* (You belong to my country-region, my family, you are my brother).

A victim of the Panchayat could now defy its undue harassment and shift to the town with bag and baggage. Members of the higher castes under the stress of economic circumstances were choosing careers, which a few decades ago would have been regarded with terror. Many Brahmans were thus setting up as cart-drivers, tailors, traders, shop-keepers and even cooks. Similarly the Khatris were taking to grass cutting and selling fuel and the other menial occupations. Vocation ceased to be an index of caste and the quest "what a man is", was even more and more taking precedence of the question what his father was.[56]

Western education also tended to relax certain taboos on food and drink and there were many Hindus who frankly condemned caste as antiquated and wholly unfit to bear the strain of modern conditions of life.

In the 1920s, and 30s, many left their native place and migrated to towns. Education thus lessened to some extent caste restrictions and prejudices among a small section of the population.

Untouchability

Untouchability was prevalent almost throughout the province and all religious communities contained a large number of untouchables.

A substantial proportion of agricultural labourers of Punjab were untouchables. Socially they were the lowest of the low. Their hereditary occupation was scavangering, sweeping the houses and streets, removing dead animals. Under the jajmani system, they also had a customary share of the village agriculture in return for the duties they performed. Untouchables were segregated in a special part of the village, were denied use of wells and tanks and were usually the poorest.

"These innocent untouchables have reached such a stage that

they have even lost the sense to feel injustice and cruelty done to them. They are happy in the slavery of high castes. Commonly they can be seen at the owners door waiting for the bread for hard work which lasted all the days and nights."[57]

Untouchables worshipped different distinguished temples. Ramchander, a chamar who was interviewed, observed: "People believed in deities but untouchables never knew who Lord Krishna and Rama were. On the day of *Janamashtami* they celebrated *Googa Navmi.* High caste boys visited temples but they never told untouchables about what they did in the temple. Untouchables knew only this much that there was something which do good to the visitors."[58]

Untouchables were not allowed to sit in the direction from which the wind would be blowing. At the *piaos* (water Kiosks) they were given water by putting a wooden pipe on the tip of the *sagar* (pot). Invariably they had to live away from the area where high castes lived. They were not allowed to erect *Pakka* (bricked) houses. Their women folk could not put on ornaments made of precious metals.

While the higher castes regarded the touch of an untouchable as polluting, low caste women had the "god ordained duty" to fulfil the sexual demands of high caste men and did not dare utter a word about that.[59] Of course, there was no one to listen to their grievances or complaints.

The following Table 5.1 gives an idea of literacy among some untouchable castes in Punjab.

Figures given in the Table 5.1 show that among the untouchable castes literacy rate was very low, though with the passage of time they were taking to education.

The socio-religious movements helped in liberating the low castes from the bondage of heriditary occupations and polluted status. The Arya Samaj, particularly, did a great deal through its *prachar* (preaching) and educational institutions. Education attacked untouchability both from outside and inside.

Lower caste people were welcomed into the Arya Samaj. For bright, ambitious youths from lower castes, the Arya Samaj's educational institutions provided a way out and up, and its organisational structure offered a training ground for leadership. Those who did not work directly with the Arya Samaj or attend

its schools were associated with its service organisations for the untouchables, such as the *Dayanand Dalit Udhar* at Hoshiarpur and the *Achut Udhar* at Lahore.

Table 5.1
Literacy among Lower Castes in Punjab

Caste	1921			1931 (7 yrs. and over)		
	Total	Literate	Lit. in English	Total	Literate	Lit. in English
Bawaria (Hindu)	25,517	49	2	12,148	150	11
Bawaria (Sikh)	—	—	—	12,329	164	3
Chamar (Hindu)	952,329	3,007	114	545,026	2,769	257
Chamar (Ad-Dharmi)	—	—	—	203,600	2,647	63
Chamar (Sikh)	161,862	2,418	40	124,036	1,686	35
Chuhra (Hindu)	689,662	1,369	166	287,549	2,374	274
Chuhra (Sikh)	40,345	305	2	123,268	1,107	48
Chuhra (Muslim)	—	—	—	16,886	105	26
Meo (Muslim)	111,563	758	27	98,353	1,152	59
Mirasi (Muslim)	225,164	3,559	209	190,731	4,437	303
Tarkhan (Hindu)	161,833	2,785	223	118,385	3,042	266
Tarkhan (Muslim)	312,125	5,165	383	271,390	6,978	722
Tarkhan (Sikh)	139,327	6,250	423	128,034	11,924	1,809
Jhiwar (Hindu)	215,210	2,459	307	100,173	2,183	221
Jhiwar (Muslim)	86,720	618	51	73,927	1,110	127
Jhiwar (Sikh)	48,456	1,289	77	43,645	2,071	133

Source : Census of India, Punjab, Part 2, 1921, pp. 132-33 and 1931, p. 265.

The Samaj (Arya) after all, was also a reform movement, and one dedicated to returning Hinduism to a purer sense in which the more unpleasant features of caste prejudice would be alleviated. This received practical expression in the Samaj gestures of benevolence to the lower castes including associations for their social uplift and in some cases invitation for them to participate in *Shuddhi* so that they could be admitted to full membership in the Hindu fold.[60]

No doubt, the Arya Samaj in its early years wanted gradual reform of the caste system through the medium of education but by the 1920s particularly with the founding of *Jat Pat Torak Mandal*[61] in 1922 it adopted some more advanced goals. At the anniversary meeting of the Lahore Arya Samaj in November 1922, Bhai Parma Nand made a vigorous speech attacking the caste system. The *Jat Pat Torak Mandal* planned programme for,

(i) Educating and organising public opinion against the caste system and hammering down the caste mentality by propaganda from press and platform,

(ii) Establishing an inter-caste Marriage Department in order to encourage and help in arranging inter caste marriages, and

(iii) Encouraging and arranging inter caste dinners and adopting such other means of social intercourse as would be conducive to the removal of untouchability.[62]

It was admitted that general caste attitude of Hinduism had been liberalised and that the number of educated girls whose parents had found their marriages hard to arrange had greatly increased; also that a number of untouchables whose economic position had improved, who had been educated and who wished to help in making successful marriage would be willing to accept the services of the Mandal.[63] Evidently the *Jat Pat Tolak Mandal* with its rise undertook a deliberate policy of encouraging inter caste marriages and dining.[64]

The Arya Samaj did a great deal to better the conditions of untouchables and to try to provide them higher status. When groups from the lower strata of society were purified, they retained their old caste or social group, but simply advanced up in the caste scale so that they were within the pale of respectability and touchability. Whether their members would receive the privilege of social intercourse with the higher castes to any appreciable extent was doubtful, but still some of the harshness of untouchability had been removed.[65]

There were indications that the depressed castes were searching for a separate identity under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who took the cause for separate provisions to the bitter end and successfully attained the Communal Award of 1932. Congress leaders particularly Gandhiji hastened to work for improvement in the conditions of untouchables. Gandhiji even staked his life to the protest against the Communal Award and the Poona Pact succeeded in keeping the depressed castes well within the main body of Hindu society.

On the social level the high caste Hindu women's attitude was a major hurdle in the removal of untouchability. Men frequently used the argument that women being conservative did not allow

them to mix with the untouchables.[66] This attitude however, was criticised harshly, "Sometimes in the name of God, sometimes in the name of religion, hurdles were created, and now the high castes, like the animals full of sexual lust, are hating us in the name of their women."[67] Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, a women's leader felt, "It is a crying shame that these people (untouchables) who cater for our well being and without whose services we should not be able to exist, are relegated in most towns to live in the most abominable dwellings."[68] Rameshwari Nehru another women's leader of Punjab wrote, "With untouchability living, Hinduism was in great danger. Under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, a great wave of purification has been set in motion. It will wash of the accumulated toxins of centuries in the old body of Sanatan Dharma and give in a new life and vigour."[69] Rameshwari Nehru was associated with the newly constituted *Harijan Sewak Sangh* since its very inception. In order to feel one with the Harijans, she visited the Bhangi colony every day regularly and later started living in Harijan Niwas. She fought for complete eradication of untouchability demanding to provide Harijans with basic amenities of life, supply of drinking water, improving economic condition and last but not the least, their education.[70]

Various organisations such as *Harijan Sewak Sangh*[71] and *Jat Pat Torak Mandal* came up to aid the depressed classes. They helped in providing Harijans admission to educational institutions, awarded scholarships, opened separate schools and Adult schools for them, gave books and stationery and admission expenses. Ashrams (orphanage type) of educational character were also opened for them. Intensive propaganda was undertaken so that temples and wells could be thrown open to the untouchables. The Secretary of the *Servants of Untouchables Society* i.e., *Harijan Sewak Sangh*, Lahore, wrote, "The local branches of *Harijan Sewa Sangh* are doing their level best to raise the standards of Harijans. In Lahore propaganda was carried on by the various societies. Besides meetings organised by the Lahore *Harijan Sewa Sangh* and other bodies, efforts are being made to instruct Harijan boys and girls in hygiene."[72]

In 1927-28 Atma Ram, Inspector of Schools observed, "The time has gone when the ordinary public objected to the admission of depressed class students in ordinary schools. In any case if even fifty students withdraw as the result of admission of a single depressed class student, we should still welcome the admission

of a single depressed class .... If by chance unmeaning opposition takes place anywhere, the opposition would be a very short lived one.... the depressed classes are taking a larger share in the educational advance, and the outlook is full of promise."[73]

The Education Department noted in 1930-31, "Fellow feeling among the different communities was encouraged and the disabilities such as untouchability and prejudice of caste and creed was dying fast."[74] Educated persons even in the most backward and traditional areas agreed that there was a marked difference in the observance of untouchability at schools. Pandit Omparkash said that he "never believed in untouchability."[75] Ramchander, found society outside the school much tougher to live in.[76] While at school, high caste boys were cordial with the untouchables but they were not so in their homes, in the traditional environment and in front of conservative elders.

Nur Elahi, Inspector of Schools, remarked in 1928-29. "In the beginning no doubt, the high caste boys feel a little reluctant to mix with the low caste boys, but the teachers' equal treatment gradually breaks down their prejudice, and they begin to play and mix with them as freely as if the low caste children were their own kith and kin."[77]

To attract greater number of depressed class students it was decided. "In addition to fee concessions already enjoyed by the children of these classes as village *Kamins* (benefits given to agriculturists were accorded to them) it was ruled that, with effect from April 1930, boys and girls of these classes should be exempted from the payment of fees at the primary stage and should receive half fee concessions at the middle stage in vernacular and anglo vernacular schools in all districts. With a view to encouraging higher education four college scholarships of the value of Rs. 10 each and 30 high school scholarships of the value of Rs. 6 each were also instituted and local bodies were invited to provide close scholarships at the middle stage."[78]

The apathy of the depressed class parents towards the education of their children was still very great, particularly during the days of economic depression in acute poverty, they could ill afford to keep their children at school when they could be of service to them in earning a living for the family.[79]

The attitude of many teachers showed that though educated,

they could not get over their prejudices against Harijans. There were examples of teachers who would not touch even the books of untouchables and use wooden sticks to indicate something to them in their books and note-books. To punish an untouchable, they would use the lower portion of their shoe without putting it off to prevent the danger of any contact even of their feet, to the body of their subject. The watermen at schools were allowed to serve water to the untouchables only by adding a wooden pipe on the tip of the pot.[80] Such teachers were usually *sanatani* (orthodox) Brahmans who would not allow any laxity of the laws of the old *Rishis* (Saints).

On the other hand, there were teachers who were very liberal. Tarachand, a (Bania) said, "Untouchables used to sit with us. They helped us in cooking food for our teacher. We were like brothers in our behaviour."[81] Hira Singh, a Bhangi, remembered, "My teacher Pandit Zandu allowed only me to sit by his chair which was the greatest honour among the students. This however, led to objection among high caste people but the teacher remained unmoved."[82] Ram Kishan another Bhangi, felt, "At school a far more liberal attitude towards us was evident. Our teacher forced us to learn."[83] Pandit Shiv Narayan opined that at school almost equal treatment was accorded to the untouchables but generally poor hygienic conditions at their homes prevented us from coming nearer to each other."[84]

Rulia Ram (Chamar) felt that much of the ugliness prevalent at their homes was due to the scavenging occupation. "I found dealing with dead animals to be the main cause of our being untouchables. The bad smell out of this occupation and eating the carion created hatred towards us. We formed a panchayat of chamars and decided not to go on with this profession any more. Upper castes were angered on account of this but the educated among them made others understand the real motive. This opened our way to high caste people. Some upper caste Hindus even married the lower caste girls and sometimes even escaped the wrath of their biradari Panchayat."[85] Students began to visit the untouchables' houses with the feeling of going to a friend rather than of going to a chamar or a Bhangi's house.[86]

In connection with the anti-caste compaign regarding the ommission of caste in the college admission forms started by the *Jat Pat Torak Mandal*, Lahore, one Anand Sarup appealed, "Hindu

young men, how much longer will you remain divided? True, that you have shaken off several of your old prejudices and turned a new leaf in your history, but how can you hope to stand shoulder to shoulder with other people so long as you are disunited among yourselves? Has not a fancy for the false pride of caste almost dried up the mighty stream of Hindu national life?... The idea of propaganda work against caste amongst college students is a happy one."[87]

Census of India, Punjab, 1931 noted, "There has been in the last few years a movement among the untouchable classes to organise themselves as a separate community in order to consolidate their position and many of them have returned themselves, particularly in the central districts, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur, as Ad-Dharmi or the follower of Ad-Dharm, meaning the ancient or original religion of Hindustan."[86] Table 5.2 given below shows the districts returning more than hundred of them.

Table 5.2[89]

District	*Persons*	*District*	*Persons*
Jullundur	113,580	Gurdaspur	6,545
Hoshiarpur	111,829	Karnal	5,011
Lyallpur	59,718	Multan	4,927
Ferozepore	36,262	Shahpur	1,591
Kangra	20,883	Gujarat	1,010
Ludhiana	17,720	Lahore	1,006
Montgomery	16,119	Amritsar	164
Sheikhupura	11,741		

The south eastern districts of Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon, where Hindus were in a majority, had returned very few Ad-Dharmis, while the districts with predominantly Muslim population such as Attock, Rawalpindi, Mianwali, Jhelum, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan had no Ad-Dharmis.

Sahbhoj (meals of all castes) were organised which in the beginning were attended only by literates but in the due course illiterates also started attending.[90]

The increasing consciousness led the untouchables even to fight (physically) the dominant castes for their legitimate rights.[91] The extent of awakening was remarkable in some respects. Rulia Ram observed, "The Brahman who performed our religious

ceremonies and rites never ate at our places, intead he took the *dakshina* (offerings in cash or kind) with him. When we objected to this and insisted that he should eat with us, he got annoyed and declared his non-availability for the future.[92] I know some *Mantras* (spells) and Sanskrit and my castemen asked me to perform the same rites. I began to do the religious duties also by reciting the *Mantras* and performing the *havana*".[93]

The most unfortunate aspect of the affair was the lack of incentives for education. Adverse economic conditions of the untouchables further held them back. While orally examined by the Indian Statutory Commission, Mr Charles Stead, I.G. of Police, Punjab, said in answer to the question whether any special efforts had been made to alleviate these unfortunate depressed classes (untouchables) in Punjab when there was a provision for instance in colleges and schools for 40% Muslims, "As for as I knew there is no distinction between depressed classes and any other class. The schools are open to all... I think they probably have benefited largely by the general facilities given to everybody."[94] He replied in the negative while asked whether depressed classes were taken into service. "Why?... For various reasons. One reason is that the men would not tolerate them, another thing is that the depressed classes are the most criminal classes in the Punjab."[95]

In 1925, the Punjab Legislative Council rejected Lala Mohan Bhatnagar's resolution recommending to the Government that necessary steps be taken to ensure that people of the untouchable castes were not prevented from drawing water from public wells in charge of local bodies.[96] The Education Minister expounded the doctrine that though the evil did exist, no remedy on the part of the Government was called for, because the evil was not of the Government's creation. Official members and a large number of Muslim members voted against the resolution. Thus indicating that the question was made a communal question. "Heaven alone knows what fields of human activity the monster of communalism is not going to invade."[97]

Though owing to the efforts of different educational institutions and societies, literacy was increasing among the untouchables, the question, however, was what would become of them? Their situation was compared to that of *Trisanku*[98] who neither could go up nor come down. The Punjab Ad-Dharm (i.e., aboriginese) *Mandal*, Jullundur city, in its memorandum to the Indian Statutory

Commission, wrote "In spite of the fact that there are some highly educated and capable men in our community still we are not given any honourable status in society. Respecting education, public services and social condition, we 7 million people, form the most backward classes in India. We have no confidence in Hindus and consequently we do not want to have social and political ties with the Hindus who desecrated at our shadow of the sights vested in them."[99]

Ad-Dharm Mandal was founded by untouchable people like Swami Shudranand, Vasant Rai, Thakur Chand, at Jullundur in 1925. They shared several characteristics in common aside from their youth and their education: their caste was chamar, they were financially secure, many had been associated with the Arya Samaj.[100]

They demanded that books like *Manu Smriti* be proscribed which was the root cause of their subjection, and be not styled as *Shudras* in future.

Mool Chand reflected the true feelings of the general masses while describing the prevailing situation; "At the time of the decline of the Mughal Empire, the country was infested with *Thugs* (roughs) and robbers. The non-Dwijas who form one half of the population of land were made slaves in the hands of *Dwijas* (twice born). In this pitiable state of affairs God sent the British to set us free from the yoke of the so-called higher castes... In most of the offices and departments the whole of the subordinate staff comprises the kith and kin of the chief Indian officer or is recruited from the first three castes (Brahmins, Kshtriyas and Aroras). The Non-Dwijas are never allowed to come in.... Arya Samajist deny the right of education to the *Non-Dwijas* in their schools and colleges. We bring it to the notice of the Commission (Indian statutory) with the request that equal share be given to all and then and then only the *Dwija* spirit of disloyalty and agitation will be curbed."[101]

Education was the focus of the activities directed towards the emancipation of the depressed classes. On the one hand, the depressed castes had been awakened enough to demand certain safeguards for themselves, while, on the other, there were sharp and rigid classification amongst them. Chamars treated Bhangis, Dhanaks and Khatiks with equal hate as other high castes.[102] Still a marked difference was evident in observance of untouchability among literates and illiterates. Poor economic conditions of most of the untouchables, lack of incentive and motivation,

comparatively less expansion of education in rural areas, however, contributed as restraints to the awakening among them. Still signs of decay in the conservative attitude and treatment were evident to a considerable extent.

Status of Women

In Vedic times women are said to have held a high status in society. In course of time, gradually, they were brought under men's domination and their position declined. Many popular proverbs reflects the attitude towards women. To cite a few examples, *Janani di matt paran wich* (women's mind is in her feet or women are not wise).[103]

Janani de ishaare jihada chale ouh chutia[104]

(He is fool who follows woman's advice).

Aurat se sach our maalik se jhooth kabhee na bolo[105]

(Never tell truth to woman and lie to the owner)

Lugaai our chor ka saath kaun kare?[106]

(Both woman and thief should not be accompanied as they are selfish and deceivers).

Lugaai kisi ki sagi nahin hoti[107]

(Woman belongs to none, she can deceive all)

Tiriya Charitr jaane na koi Khasam mar ke sati hoi[108]

No one knows about woman. She can kill her husband and burn herself on his funeral fire (becoming sati).

In all these, women are depicted as unwise, foolish, selfish and untrustworthy and the property of men.

In the late 19th and early 20th century women were by and large ignorant and illiterate. Reading and writing were deemed superfluous for them, if not completely pernicious. They were reduced to mere physical and mechanical entities, owned and regulated by men for the satisfaction of their physical happiness. The birth of a daughter was looked upon as a great reproach, an encumberence, a source of trouble.

The inherent pride and supposed sanctity of their order made some tribes (particularly Rajputs) unwilling to contract marriage alliances for their daughters with those lower in the caste hierarchy,

and this even led to the practice of female infanticide among these castes.

The attitude of contempt towards girls was common to all the communities. They were brought up in the most careless manner. A popular saying maintained.

Chhora mare nirbhag ka

Chhori mare bhaagwan ki[109]

(The son of an unfortunate dies and the daughter of a fortunate dies).

After marriage girls from upper classes were subject to many restrictions. They had to live in extreme seclusion. The seclusion of women, though observed much more strictly among Muslims, was also observed among some Hindus as a mark of social superiority. For women to be subjected to public gaze was the acme of misery.[110] These restrictions, however, were confined only to the higher and middle classes, for women of the lower classes could not afford the luxury of remaining in seclusion. Still in rural areas men spent most of their time with men and women most of their time in the company of other women.[111]

Among high caste Hindus the position of widows, more often than not, was miserable. As child marriage was prevalent, often girls at a very young age became widows, before even becoming wives in the real sense of the word. A widow was looked upon as a sinner. Her miserable fate can be adjudged by some popular proverbs:

Randi agge gaal ki[112]

(There is no abuse worse than calling someone a widow).

Randi mare na kar digon[113]

(Widow never dies early and remains of a building also lasts long).

Raand maand mein hi khush[114]

(Rice soup is enough for a widow).

However, among Jats and lower caste people the custom of widow remarriage was followed which was known as *Karewa, Karao, chudi pehnana* or *Chadar andezi.* It was a throwback to the old Rigvedic custom of Niyog[115] (levirate marriage). During these times it was prevalent more due to the security of *izzat* (honour)

and keeping land holding undivided than for other reasons. This did not show a mentality any different from one which kept women in a degraded and secluded position. Invariably *Karawa* was followed within the same family, most commonly with the elder or younger brother of the husband. It was an insult to a family if the name of its women came on to a stranger's lips.[116] Links with other families were established through women and if the honour of a family's women was lost so also was the family's entire public position.[117] Purda strengthened *izzat* as *izzat* strengthened purda.[118]

Among land holding castes, brothers were supposed to look after sisters. Brothers sometimes shared a wife and when a man died, it was frequently his brother's responsibility to look after the widow and her children, if she had any. This was due to a desire to keep land holdings undivided, so that if there was only one woman, there was an agreement among the brothers themselves to hold her in common. It was unlikely in that condition that during their life time land would be divided. Also the male female ratio of population favoured the provision (818 in 1911, 830 in 1921, and 831 in 1931 females per thousand males). *Karewa* marriage was therefore, a custom which ensured that brothers could get the property and land within the family and prevented women from causing disputes between brothers. When widows tried to hold on to property rights, frequently they were murdered.[119]

Among the Muslims, there was no legal inhibition against widow marriage but strong prejudice against it prevailed among the higher classes and was gaining ground particularly among the high caste converts.[120]

In Punjab in general, and in rural areas in particular women who had no children or only girls were treated very badly. The pressure on a woman to have a male child was enormous. It was said that a woman, usually regarded as a coward, could be brave just like any one else in the fulfilment of her desire of getting a male child.[121]

There were women who could not bear all this and committed suicide or went to red light areas. Prostitution though not as prevalent as in other parts of India, was still common in the big cities of Punjab. In several cases Hindu widows changed their religion, took to prostitution or had illicit connections with other men and having conceived a child either resorted to abortion or

killed their off spring or, if over powered by affection of motherhood, placed themselves in the streets.[122] In rural areas low caste widows, often took to prostitution[123] to justify the saying:

Raand te randaappa kaat le

Randuye be kattan dien[124]

(Widowers never allows a widow to remain a widow. They were the main factors to bring them to body selling). Widows, taking to prostitutions gave birth to proverbs such as:

Raand, bhaand aur ulatati gadi Inki samajh na aaye naadi[125]

(Widow, bhand (person of loose tongue) and upside down going cart cannot be controlled) and

Raand, bhaand, saand bigre bure[126]

(Widow, person of loose tongue and a bull are very dangerous when furious. A widow runs away, a bull hits, and bhaand can abuse for no reason).

Women, thus, suffered from disabilities of all kinds and were victims of unjustifiable social tyranny which imposed obligations on them without giving them corresponding rights. However, as mothers and mothers-in-law women enjoyed some power. In rural areas, particularly a mother-in-law, controlled all domestic affairs and every major family project had to have her consent.

With the coming of western education some change in the position of women became visible. But this was tardy, stumbling and faltering.[127] Many urban families of established wealth and education gave up parda restrictions. Rural families were more stringent about women's seclusion than their class and caste counterparts in cities.

Voluntry social welfare organisations like Sewa Sadan, Arya Samaj, Chief Khalsa Diwan and various Muslim educational associations had become active in the field of education by 1920s. Earlier, "No children were sent to schools in those old days. A few elderly women were collected together and with the assistance of stipends, were taught in the hope that they would become teachers in the elementary schools, but this hope bore no fruit."[128]

Education was an important vehicle in speeding social justice to women. Education was taken up first by higher, wealthier groups.

Education for girls was taken up by Indian reformers to meet the challenge posed by Christian Missionaries who were proselytising while imparting education. Indians became suspicious of their aims, and afraid that their daughters may be so influenced as to want to convert to Christianity. They were suspicious of the *Zenana* schools and missions which had been set up at various centres.

People had come to realise that education could bring about changes in the status and power potentials of individuals and groups. The educated differed from those who were not in respect of fertility, health, occupation, life style and in their practices concerning gender roles and relations.

Education of women had definitely become a public issue by the early 1920s, opposition to it not withstanding. The slogan of Indian leaders and social reformers by this time was : educating a girl means educating a family'. The 1920s saw a great social and political awakening which was followed by intense reformist efforts. Under 'Dyarchy' education was in charge of Indian Ministers and popular issues like women's education received grater attention.[129] As more and more women received formal education they became conscious of their problems and social status and sought amelioration of their situation. However, as far as their social background was concerned, educated women belonged to families involved either in social reform or in the independence movement or both.[130]

As far as literacy among women is concerned, 17 females per 100 males were educated in 1931. In 1921 out of a total of 9,378,759 only 78,148 women were educated.[131] The numbers increased to 12,929,663 and 163,200 respectively in 1931.[132] In 1924-25 percentage of literate women was 1.02 which rose to 2.19 in 1934-35. Overall there were 72,572 women scholars in 1919-20 which reached to 289,887 in 1934-35.

A few early twentieth century Punjabi families included fathers who had received an English education and who wanted their daughters to do something new, as an early alumna described her father, "Sending daughter out of their homes to school was a dramatic departure since *paradah* demanded that they stay, protected at home. The fact that some girls schools created a *Pardah* atmosphere outside the home, unquestionably encouraged Punjabi families to send their daughters to school."[133]

Jhan Ara Shahnawaj observed, "my mother and my aunt had begun to take an interest in the advancement of Muslim women. Mother was known as a rebel in the family circle.... Her father had been the first man in the Mian family to teach his daughter English, and he worked actively for the acceptance of the Islamic Law of shariat by the Muslims in the Punjab, which was the only province in India where customary Law had taken the place of Muslim Personal Law and where women had been, deprived, of the rights given to them by Islam."[134] She further wrote, "Always advocating the cause of the emancipation of women, he (Muhammad Shaifi, Jhan Ara's father) was often heard to repeat the well known saying of the prophet: *"Heaven lies under the feet of the mother"*.[135]

There were educated families with the inspiring atmosphere to strive for progress and social reform. Young men who had gone abroad particularly pointed out how well advanced and educated women were in other countries. This inclined their families also to educate their girls and make them learn to stand on their own feet. Jhan Ara recollects, "Throughout the week we girls used to study hard to show the elders that we were in no way inferior to the boys in any sphere of learning."[136]

A small group of women comprising those who felt oppressed by conventional practices and women from elite families who were dissatisfied with acceptable roles for women, took advantage of the opportunities that were available in this time of change.[137]

The first mothers who educated their daughters found that in spite of orthodox opposition a B.A. degree was a definite asset to their daughters in the marriage market. "They found many men of higher status and wealth than themselves willing to marry their daughters in the hope of getting a wife who would be companion to them in the best sense of the word, who would share their love of books and travel and a more orderly and westernised type of life, who would be able to sit at the head of their table and receive their official friends, instead of maintaining the semi purdah and limited outlook of their less educated sisters, with no thought above family, babies, gossip with women friends, marriages and jewellery."[138] Common women were backward, ignorant, superstitious, and wasted family resources on useless folk rituals and unnecessary ceremonies at the time of births and marriages. It was impossible for uneducated women to be companions of their educated husbands or to raise their children properly.[139]

As for highly educated girls it was alleged that since the beginning of their studies, they had come to regard themselves as people apart, destined to some great 'modern' match and had developed snobbishness. "Education instead of turning out cultured girls who would be excellent mothers and useful members of society, has truned out a breed who have the veneer of western education, its social graces, and snobberies..... They are too grand to take an interest in the home; they do not know good sewing or baby welfare, the thought of a life without luxury depresses them."[140]

Some of the highly educated boys, however, opined, "We want an educated wife but rather than marry the kind of product that the University are turning out, we would prefer a simple village girl."[141] Many, already married to graduate girls, complained that their houses were hopelessly and extravagently run and that in fact had houses which were being run by servants while their wives thought of nothing that was worthwhile.

What was being reflected from the above given views was that society, though willing to educate girls, still wanted them to be good housewives, mothers and prefect at handwork. The instrumental value of education was to be different for boys and girls. The effects of the teaching of various religions on male and female roles had often been to limit the access of women to education.

Education was intended to train boy students for jobs since girls were not expected to work outside the home, any education that did not train them for the roles of housewife and mother was viewed as wastage. Education for girls was thus sought to be moulded along the requirements of their traditional role expectations.[142]

Social reformers reasoned that reform in the social position of women should be an integral part of family and society and since the family was the basic unit of society, the contribution of women to the stability of family, and through it to society, was crucial. Moreover women were seen to have considerable influence on the socialisation of children and were considered central of child rearing and housekeeping.

Development of women's education was confined to urban areas because women's education was considerably in private

hands and the activities of private organizations were restricted to urban areas. Lack of resources inhibited the government from taking it to the rural areas.[143]

It was opined, "The problem that preys upon the souls of many parents at the present moment is the marriage of their daughters whom they have given high education. Most of them and perhaps all of them in their heart of hearts do not like the idea of their daughters entering professions. They want them to marry and marry well.... Much against their wishes they consent to their daughters accepting jobs. So far only two professions had been mainly tried by educated girls—the medical and teaching."[144] The teaching profession because of its easier course drew more followers. The rapid increase in numbers who sought admission in training institutions was almost amazing.[145]

The image of a woman which did not fit the traditional role assigned to her within the family was disapproved of. There were a few girls who took to higher education and crossed the role fixed for them in society. Most of them belonged to upper strata of society, and some took active part in the national movement and became enlightened and conscious of their capabilities.

Education made some women more rational and they protested against many supersitions. Amrita Pritam recalls that three glasses were kept reserved in their kitchen to serve tea or *lassi* (buttermilk) to her father's Muslim friends. She insisted on taking water, tea or milk only in thoses glasses. Her revolt bore fruit when her father came to know about the descrimination. Hence forth no separate vessel remained for Muslims.[146] Despite strong opposition from her father, Amrita ceased believing in God and stopped observing religious prayers.[147]

Mrs. Satyavati Sanatika, a noted social worker, while returning after attending Arya Samaj celebrations in 1928 found the Hindu tea shop at the Railway Station very dirty. Unhasitatingly she went to the Muslim shop which was cleaner, and took tea.[148]

William Shirer, an American journalist, wrote in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1930 "The woman of Hindustan long hidden in *Purdah* and crushed down by child marriage is coming into her own in this new India which is evolving out of the present struggle."[149]

Mrs. Byramji in a paper read at All India Women's Social Conference in 1929 said "How much better would India be if

marriage is not made the only source of bread and butter for women. Besides if marriage is to be the only salvation for women is it not making womenhood absolutely dependent on man?..... If an attempt is made to make a wife economically independent of her husband, it would be simple sowing the seeds of domestic strife and ultimately destroying the very foundation of society."[150]

The stereotype image of the Indian woman was that of a tradition-bound, religious and subservient person. She functioned in an environment which provided limited opportunities of self expression. With the advent of nationalist struggle and the growth of education elite women began participating in politics.

Educational and social reforms for women formed an integral part of modernizing the society. Women organized themselves in a variety of ways in an effort to improve their position.[151] The Indian women's movement was smaller and more elite in nature. The early women's associations in India were limited in scope but focussed on spreading new values and knowledge to women, often with remarkable skill.[152]

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur who at various times was All India Women's Conference's Secretary, President and Chairperson acknowledged that its members were drawn from all classes of the intelligentsia or western educated women, the ignorant and the illiterate while attending All India Women's Conference's meetings were non-vocal.

The Women's Indian Association was formed in 1917. In 1922 it had 43 branches and 2300 members and, by 1927, had 80 branches and 4,000 members. In addition to purely social service orientation it was also concerned with influencing government policy on women's sufferage, education and social reform issues. Its aims were : (1) to present to women their responsibilities as daughters of India; (2) to secure for every girl and boy the right of education through schemes of compulsory primary education, including religious instruction; (3) to secure the abolition of child marriage and other social evils; (4) to secure for women the vote for Municipal and Legislative Councils on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men; (5) to secure adequate representation of Women in Municipalities, Taluks and Local Boards, Legislative Councils and Assemblies; (6) to establish equality of rights and opportunities between men and women; (7) to help women to

realise that the future of India lies largely in their hands; (8) to band women into groups for purpose of self development and education, and for the definite service of others.[153]

The existence of communications network among educated women, the provocation of a crisis concerning women's education and the activities of a capable organiser contributed to the formation of the All India Women's Conference. It was founded in 1927 as an educational conference, but, from its first session it focussed on both social and educational questions.[154] The All India Women's Conference formally established an educational and social section in 1929. By 1932 numerous sub-committees had been established within the educational and social sections : literacy, rural reconstruction, labour, indigenous industries, harijans and textbooks.

There were 58 delegates representing 5,000 women at the first Conference (Poona) in 1927. In 1936 there 126 elected delegates, 41 constituent organisations and 25,000 members. Year 1934-35 shows 137 branches enlisted to All India Women's Conference.[155] The goals of the Conference were, women's uplift and the equal rights.

These organisations were non-political interested in promoting educational opportunities for women and improving their position by social and legal reform. They, however, became incerasingly involved in the question of women's right to vote.[156] In the All India Women's Conference a resolution was unanimously carried in favour of keeping intact the Sarda Act, and the formation of Vigilance Committee was planned to prevent and bring to light any breaches of law against child marriage.[157]

On November 28, 1934 in a meeting under the auspices of the Central Punjab Branch of the All India Women's Conference Rameshwari Nehru[158] said that there was a growing school of thought which advocated that daughters and wives should be made co-partners with the male members of the family.[159] Miss Sharda Jai Lal B.A., L.L.B. referred to the law of marriage and pointed out that both among Muslims and Hindus the law was unjust to women. While among the Hindus marriage was considered to be a sacrament, its eternal tie was binding only to women, for while man could marry as many wives as they liked and also could desert them, there was no redress for such wives. She stressed that whenever there were sufficient grounds a woman

should be empowered to have her marriage annulled.[160] Mrs. Bashir Ahmad said that the Muslim women had the right of divorce, called "Khulla" in former days but that right was not recognized by the civil courts. She demanded that Muslim women's 'Shariat' right should be given back to them.[161]

Shrimati Puran Devi, Chair person, Reception Committee, All India Arya Mahila Conference said, "It is an acknowledged fact that no country can prosper and progress unless its women are also advanced. It is .... essential for the growth of a healthy society that both men and women must be equal to each other in freedom and education .... today, the educated Mohammadan ladies even, are discarding purdah. Why should, then, we observe it ?..... It is good to be simple as well as free from purdah".[162] She further added that as long as women at large were not educated, no reform could be made, yet female education so far was like salt in flour. Even one twentieth part of the attention given to the education of boys was not given to the education of girls. She requested that when men were allowed to marry as many virgins they liked, why should those girls, who were widowed in the prime of their youth, not be allowed to remarry.[163]

While speaking at the Women's Conference held at Lahore, in 1934, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur said :

"We are anxious to have the fullest and freest opportunities of service to our country. We want to find out rightful place in the new constitution provided we are given what we have asked for on the right lines. We want our full quota of numbers but we want them in our own right. We want to enter the Councils by the will of the majority and by our own individual merit. We want to return to the Councils both men and women of our choice."[164]

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur not only worked and asked women to work for their emancipation but appealed to men to help the cause of women. She even suggested that they should refuse to early marriages do away with purdah and polygamy and enroll themselves as voluntary workers and help women's cause both practically and financially.[165] She found that in spite of the Sarda Act child marriage continued. "There is no remedy for it except education and more education for the people. Laws help to check on evil upto a point but it is the realization of the evil on the part of every member of society that contributes most towards its

abolition. Nothing but education can make us refuse to bow to custom and usage which deal harshly with any member of society."[166] She went on to describe, "The worst opponents of social reform are men who are steeped in ignorance, who have never felt where the shoe pinches and who glibly talk of religion and tradition being in jeopardy whenever any attempt is made to get rid of their domination over women."[167]

Rameshwari Nehru attempted to define and to establish women's position in a new social order of India where woman would be the equal of man in economic, social and political spheres, where there would be no longer any exploitation of women.[168] She worked for the abolition of child marriages and caste prejudices and for the spread of education. She thought, "Swaraj cannot be attained by people whose other halves are stricken by paralysis. The process of curing that paralysis, of shaking the sleepy partner out of her inertia, of infusing life into her cannot but bring strength to the whole nation."[169] Rameshwari Nehru found that in the heart of the Indian woman had arisen a desire to live the life of companionship with her mate with an equal status of life." With that desire awakened, conditions are becoming different and a new adjustment of things is needed."[170] In 1929 she wrote, "Though the grievances of women are as old as the world, it is only quite recently that organised efforts are being made to remove them."[171]

Girls belonging to educated and liberal minded families took to higher education. Many of them took active part in the freedom movement. It was undoubtedly the outcome of educational growth and consciousness. By their participation in political movement, Indian women helped their own struggle for liberation. In India feminism and nationalism were closely interlinked.[172]

Jhan Ara Shahnwaz described that the women of her family used to wait anxiously for the return of the men for all they had to tell about conferences. "I used to dream of the day when women would be allowed to attend such gathering and even address them and I would picture the moment when I would have a chance to make my speech to the conference."[173]

By 1920, it was taken for granted that women would form organisations to deal with women's problems. They explicitly denied any similarity between their movement and the movement

of western feminists' with their applied sexual antagonism.[174] Women's movement participants were drawn from the tiny sector of urban educated families. Indeed, they were a small minority of this number. Members of all religious communities were represented in the Indian women's movement, although high caste Hindus appear to have been numerically dominant. A vast majority of these women came from families in which the men participated actively in social, religious and or political associations. These movements thus wanted to educate women by opening schools and influence government policy concerning women's education. They founded ameliorative institutions and encouraged social reform legislation. They demanded women sufferage, lobbied for women's issues, and promoted candidates for election to the Councils and appointment to government commissions. Their work included political participation voluntary social work and local organisation.[175] These organisations provided a way for women to meet with other women to develop organisational skills, to become socially active in ways which were limited but acceptable to their society, political action was not far behind. Polite petitioning may have been one of their chief means of expression, but such approaches to the British administration did not prevent some of their membership from taking part in boycotts of British goods or marching in processions of non-cooperators.[176] Besides these organisations Congress was attracting a large number of educated women to participate in its programmes.

Miss Man Mohini Zutshi in a letter to *The Tribune* wrote, "Recently four lady volunteers from Lahore went up to Simla to picket the Assembly together with some lady volunteers from Ambala and from Simla.... There was elaborate police arrangements, but the officers of law order were completely baffled.... while an argument was in process the Viceroy arrived and the ladies moved their national flags and raised shouts of "No peace yet", "Inquilab Jindabad," "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai, etc."[177]

Mrs. L.R. Zutshi, Mrs. Pindi Das and Miss M.M. Zutshi created quite a lively protest in Lahore city during Civil Disobedience Movement. "S. Kishan Singh, Assistant sub-Inspector of Police, deposed that on the 6th March last (1932), in the afternoon, he received information that a procession of women and men entered Anarkali and had commenced picketing. As he came near the Lal Imli shop, he saw the accused (Miss Zutshi) picketing the

shop with a national flag in her hand."[178] While interviewed Man Mohini Sehgal (Zutshi) expressed, "I was the first ever a girl President of any college (President, Students' Union Govt. College, Lahore). A large number of ladies and girls participated in National movement. We saw ladies in jail who never come out of purdah earlier. Ladies even from the very conservative families were enlightened and frequently used to go to jails."[179]

It was generally admitted, during my interviews that the educated husbands in rural areas treated their wives better than the uneducated.[180] The old fashioned were still against education for girls and, "when he (a Zaildar) made a speech in its favour, some one got up and said if girls are educated, they will be able to write to their friends."[181] Omprakash said "Though I considered my wife as shoe (which can be frequently changed) but I never beat her. As far as uneducated were concerned they used to beat their wives mercilessly."[182]

The Divisional Inspector, Multan, wrote, "It is in the rural areas that the problem (of girls education) is acute, for facilities are the scantiest there and the prejudice against female education is the strongest, and there the money spent is least expected to bring a suitable return..... Co-education appears to be the most economical method of spreading female education.... but the experiment is delicate and the opposition to it, especially from Muhammadan parents, has not yet subsided."[183]

There was one very popular saying :

Baap ke Beti Gudar Lapeti

(At her parents home girls must be kept fashionless and with most simplicity).

Kanya Dan (Donation of daughter) (marriage) was considered to be the most essential duty of the parents. This could be performed smoothly if the girl had a clean record and was considered of high character.[184] It was the wish of easy marriage which added to the *izzat*, proved greater restraint towards girl's education. Another problem coupled with the above mentioned one was to the availability of suitable match for girls. Unless the ideologies favoured the educated wives it was extremely difficult to get one's educated daughter married.[185]

Though the impact of Age of Consent Act was not evident too much in the rural areas directly but it helped in raising age for

marriage. This meant that girls now got more time for schooling. Opinion strongly favourable to schools for girls began to develop in numerous villages.

Although so many had been educated but most of them were opposed to co-education. They thought that even small boys were often wicked (*Sharir*).[186] M.L. Darling quoting a Head Master of High School, Moga, wrote, "The home has influenced the school more than the school the home, but gradually sometimes in the teeth of hot protest, the process is being reversed."[187]

Life in the rural areas was difficult for an educated girl, for she had little opportunity of bringing the new light into a home over which uneducated elders reigned.

Most of the girls' school whether government or private imparted education under purdah conditions. And most village girls who had no idea what purdah meant, learned its ways for first time when she came to school. It is difficult to decide, whether the leaders, Hindus as well as Muslim, men as well as women, tried to re-inforce purdah by setting up Zenana schools for reasons of strategy or whether they were convinced that these traditional social practices should continue. Social opposition to women education was so strong that it is likely that they played it safe by not hurting the prevailing public opinion and adopted a neutral or pro-purdah stance for purpose of strategy alone. In fact, they needed to assure the parents of prospective students that established social practices and behavioural pattern would be followed in the new institutions.[188] M.L. Darling observed, "Such change as has accurred is most marked in the canal colonies and the central Punjab, but its extent in any area will, broadly, be in proportion to the amount of education there and the rise in the standard of living."[189] The education of men was women's best ally in increasing her status especially in rural areas.

This period also shows the rise of different widow re-marriage societies. Their reports showed how fast the custom of enforced widowhood, blindly followed by numerous generations of Hindus for many centuries, was losing its hold. The most striking feature exhibited was the large number of re-marriages which were taking place among Hindu widows of high caste.[190] Prakash Tandon observed, "young widows were infact, a great problem for while people would not accept re-marriage at any cost, they did not know what to do with them.... lot of widows improved somewhat

with the spread of Arya Samaj which advocated re-marriage or education to befit them for a teaching job, but people were slow to react."[191]

It was estimated that widows re-married during the year 1923 were no less than 892, as compared with 433 and 317 in the preceding two years or about twice as many as in 1922 and nearly three times the number reported in 1921.[192] Classified according to castes, 163 widows, remarried in 1923, were Brahmans, 183 Kshtriyas, 232 Aroras, 105 Aggarwals, 63 Rajputs, 19 Kaysthas and 127 belonged to other castes. There were 93 inter provincial remarriages in which no distinction of caste was observed and of these 26 widows were Brahman and 36 of Kshtriya caste.[193] The most prominent body which made arrangements for remarriage of widows was the *Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha* of Lahore under the leadership of Sir Ganga Ram. The society engaged a *prachar* to go about from town to town, circulated pamphlets in the vernaculars. The society aimed at encouraging and arranging widow remarriages and educating public opinion to accept this. During the first year of its foundation it arranged 12 such marriages.[194] No less than 317 widow remarriages were celebrated (in 1921) as compared with 220 in the previous year.[195] In 1931, 5464 widow remarriages took place in Punjab. The total number of widows remarried between 1914 and 1931 was 44,967. Still the number of the widow remarriage was negligible in view of the enormous number of widows of marriageable ages. Yet the figures of widow remarriages shows that prejudice against widow remarriage was slowly dying out in Punjab.[196]

It is clear that women's status in Society was higher than earlier but still a long way was to go. Women essentially had to remain within family as daughters, wife, and mother. Only within these roles she could fetch more rights but the time had not come to bring women in active field outside the family boundaries. Social change envisages structural and fundamental changes wherever reform can be achieved without effecting or basically altering the system. "Therefore, even those who argue that women should be educated and trained for jobs do not want them to do so at the cost of their traditional role."[197] In our period of study education to women was not to change their role in society but to train them through education so as to play their traditional role better. "In the villages, women is still far from being an equal, but

her stock is rising and amongst more educated it has risen to par."[198] Education influenced almost all patrons of social interaction, including a lessening of gender segregation for educated women. It coloured all aspects of marriage arrangements, from the age of the bride, to the choice of suitable husband, to their expectations of married life. Education changed mothers' expectations for children, especially daughters.

Joint Family

The family, on the whole, was an organisation based on the idea of the *pater-families* (the father as head of the family), chiefly for the building up of common property. Its plain and simple object was to provide for the maintenance of a number of persons connected together by some sort of relationship. It undertook not only the support of the old parents, but also that of needy sisters, brothers, cousins, uncles, aunts and other relations. Instances were common when a single family consisted of nearly hundred persons or more.[199] Daughters born in the family were its members till their marriage and women married into the family were equally members of the joint family. Head of the family was invariably father (there were cases of mother being head of the families also) who had all the responsibilities over his shoulders and enjoyed unlimited powers. The sons, grandsons or nephews, who formed the family regarded all their earnings as belonging to the common treasury and their expenditure was under the direct control of the head.[200] This traditional family system prevailed almost unchanged, unquestioned and unchallenged through centuries.

With the growth of education cracks in the rigid social system began to appear. As new ideas filtered in through education on western lines and contact with the western world increased, though only on a small scale in the begining, sense of values began also to be change."[201]

The growing frequency of exchange of ideas and intercourse with the outside world and the remittances of those who had gone out for employment played an important role in change of values. The individualistic bias of the British Civil Law and procedure further paved the way for the dissolution of the system. The increasing struggle for existence combined with the growth of the individualistic ideals was gradually making the joint family more

or less an anachronism.[202]

The attractions of rural life could no longer compete with those of urban life and a number of educated youth migrated to the cities by breaking the barriers of joint family. The growth of individualism which was the result of modern education and western influences impelled the classes who performed the humble functions in the economy of village life to aspire for higher status. Members of higher castes under the stress of economic circumstances were changing careers and migrated to cities. Census datas shows a steady increase in the percentage of urban population. They were[203] :

Year	*Urban*	*Rural*
1911	10.1	89.9
1921	10.7	89.3
1931	13.0	86.1

The educated urban society, though small, was beginning to view the system with scepticism. They began to fill public service, flocked to learned profession or adopt occupations of trade and commerce it was becoming obvious to them that they could not live together in the same place or that the earnings of different members could not be pooled for common use. Members of the family; in some cases, were being separated, each living in a place to which his avocation called him.

With the coming of educated wives in the joint family it was further pushed to the corner. Comparatively more conscious than their illiterate counterparts, they began to show discontent over the matters. They were unable to do physical work which was, particularly in rural areas, an essential feature of agricultural economy. That very fact began to explode the very basis of joint family, the sense of equal responsibilities and rights. Invariably educated wives were reluctant to follow joint family and compelled their husbands for separation.[204] It often happened that a family had one or two individuals, who, on account of their education were advanced in ideas, habits and tastes, the others being backward intellectually with the result that they felt they were misfits. In family life education became often source of strife between the young and old members, challenging the traditional submission of the members to the head of the family. The tendency to support the idle and distantly related in the family was

considerably getting diminished.

Child Marriage

Irrespective of caste and community, the custom of child marriage was prevalent all over the province. Marriage of their children was parents' foremost duty and in performing it they, invariably, hastened extraordinarily. One's social prestige was measured by the earliest marriage of his children. It was sometimes infants who were married.

Those whose children were married early reached the top of the social ladder.[205]

Inke balak te potran mein hey byahe jaa sain[206]

(Children of them are married when they are just in baby clothes).

Parents of unmarried children who had attained the age of 7 years were not considered to be socially honourable. Specialation began to take place what the reason of not getting one's children married even after 7 years.

Risal Singh as well as others expressed the view that when they were married, they never knew what marriage was. It was regarded as getting good clothes and sweets for some days and nothing else.[207] *The Chand* observed, "Small children have become bride and bridegroom. Boy has not learnt how to wear *dhoti*, girl asks for bread and at this innocent age, forcibly they are being pulled under the cart of married life."[208]

In addition to this evil, marriages particularly in rural areas were settled by traditional priestly and barber classes (Brahman and Nai). They were least concerned with the good of boy and girl rather than to their material gains which they could get after fixing the marriage of someone's boy or girl. They could easily be bribed to get married one's boy or girl as the most unsuitable match.[209]

No doubt, real marriage *(Dussar Gaona or garbhadan)* took place years after the marriage, still it took place at very tender age, "cohabitation in my part of the country is rather common with girls before they attain puberty or before 13"[210], and "consummation soon after puberty seems to be a general custom among Hindus and Muslims. In Haryana co-habitation is not uncommon before puberty."[211] Women were generally in favour of early consummation

of marriage because they could not realize the gravity of the harm they were unconsciously committing. Marriage was looked upon as the only means of setting down a girl in life and giving her a legal status, and parents had the same desire to marry their daughters early as they had to settle down their sons in life as soon as possible.[212] Mr. Jagat Parsad observed, "I have seen girls to the same class of community and living in similar circumsatances show a far better physical development if they remain virgins upto the age of 15 than if they began to live a married life earlier."[213]

Needless to say that early marriage had all the negative effects on both the physical and moral development of children. A girl becoming mother at a low age essentially had very bad impact on her physique. Most of them, unable to bear the pains and in the lack of maternity experts, died at the time of delivery. Boys still boys themselves were unable to bear the responsibilities of father and this had very untoward impact on the proper development of their children. "There is a good deal of seduction and abduction of young girls in the Haryana Division. There is a regular traffic in girls, practically of all ages in the Punjab in general. The evil appears to be due to the paucity of female population in the province. The prevalent negligence of girls would also to some extent probably account for the paucity of females."[214]

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur described that there was no religious injunction enjoining the consummation of marriage before or at puberty, but the orthodox Hindus believed that a girl should be married at the first sign of puberty.[215] In case of poor parents they waited till they could get funds, but as soon as they got money, they went through the marriages of their children. Economic insecurity also helped the prevailing child marriage system.

Mr. Bhagvad Datt, Superintendent, Research Department D.A.V. College, Lahore, stated, "The stopping of child marriage will prevent one kind of crime, but the other cases which generally happen cannot be fully stopped by any ordinary measure. Compulsory female education with a great stress on physical culture is one way of checking the evil..... In big cities and amongst educated classes people have began to dislike early marriage."[216]

Lala Duni Chand wrote that education and propaganda work could made an effective change in the matter. He claimed that there had been certainly further development in the opinion of the

educated people of Punjab in favour of raising the age of consent as well as that for the marriage. He admitted that the illiterate orthodox Hindus were not generally in favour of that change but by their coming in contact with the educated, there had been a change in their opinion too. "So much so that these illiterate orthodox have not courage in seriously opposing the change for the higher ages in the case of marriages and consummation. Illiterate orthodox women have generally been in favour of early marriages and consummation in the case of their children. But recently by coming in contact with grown up educated children has been produced a change for higher ages as to the matrimony and consumation."[217]

Din Mohammad, M.L.C., observed, "The educated section of the town living people do not favour early marriage as the parents of boys believe that if their sons are better qualified, they would secure better matches for them and the parents of girls also wait to secure mature husbands for their daughters lest they might plunge into the dark and ruin their daughters' career for ever."[218]

Anand Singh, Secretary, Singh Sabha, Sheikhapura, expressed, "Of late years the society has made rapid strides towards civilization. With the advent of education the public opinion has greatly advanced."[219] Lachhman Singh, President, Singh Sabha, Sheikhupura found education as the great solvent of the problem.[220]

Public opinion had been stimulated to a considerable extent in the educated society while the country people had begun to realise the benefit of it, people especially educated ones, had realised that the early consumation of marriage and the age of consent as it existed was proving very detrimental to the health of the nation.[221]

Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan, Deputy Commissioner, Mianwali held, "Education and social propaganda are no doubt very effective means of bringing about a change in the outlook of the people in this respect and cases are not wanting in which educated parents have refused to marry their girls before 15 or 16 years of age."[222] Rai Sahib Lala Ganga Ram, President Hindu Sabha, Kasumpati found, "with the progress of educational and social propaganda mainly, and to some extent with the amendment of 1925, raising the age of consent within the marital state to 13 years, it has now become quite common to witness the marriages of girls above 15

and boys above 20."[223] Educated class of women were totally against the child marriage.

On the 18th February, 1922, R.B. Bakshi, Sohan Lal, M.L.A. moved for leave to introduce a Bill in the assembly to amend section 375 Indian Penal Code (it included the offence under rape, and prescribed a punishment which might extend to transportation for life for the husband who consumated the marriage, when his wife was below 10 years of age) by raising the age of consent in both marital and extra marital cases. The government of Punjab while opining over this Bill, inclined to leave it to Indian opinion and thought that the Government ought to be neutral.[224]

On 1st September 1925, Sir Alexander Muddiman introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly to amend section 375, Indian Penal Code by fixing 14 as the age in extra marital cases and 13 in marital cases. The Bill was passed by 84 votes to 11. In 1927 Dr. Hari Singh Gour introduced a Bill to amend I.P.C. raising the age of consent in marital cases to 14 and in extra marital cases to 16.[225] This led to the appointment of Age of Consent Committee 1928-29. The Age of Consent Committee observed, "The Punjab presents fewer difficulties than most other provinces..... It is clear that the tendency has been for Muslims to approximate themselves to the Hindu custom in this regard, rather for Hindus to modify their practices. Under the influence of Muslim example (late marriage).... most of the reformed religious societies particularly amongst the Hindus and the Sikhs are conducting a regular crusade against this custom.... matters as regards early marriage are more or less at a standstill and that the influence of the reforms is confined to the educated section and has not reached the masses."[227]

Various religious organisations such as the Arya Brahma, Dev and Sanatan Dharm Samajists had been at work. They had also formed in most of the important castes of the Hindus. The Rajput Sabha, the Khatri Conference, The Arora Bans Sabha, and the Brahmin Sabha were some of the institutions which had made the abolition of early marriage one of the principal items of their programme.[228]

Prakash Tandon expressed, "To allow my uncle to remain unmarried till he was twenty four was something that had never happened in our biradari. But now that uncle was earning, father agreed with mother that marriage was opportune and this was

made known."[229] Age of consent Committee opined, "Witness including school teachers who have dealt with girls of this age, have declared that there is no fear to the morals of the girls if kept unmarried till 14 or 16. There are others who have expressed these apprehensions the other way, more so about girls in rural areas and those working in factories."[230]

On the recommendations of the Age of Consent Committee Report ultimately the prevention of child marriage Act popularly known as Sarda Act, was passed by the Legislative Assembly. It fixed minimum age of marriage as 14 years for girls and 18 years for boys. It attracted wide opposition throughout the province especially from Muslim and orthodox Hindu quarters. Opinion of the educated however, favoured it and the opposition subsided in the course of time.

In reply to a deputation of 25 Muslim from various parts Lord Irwin stated, "It is not necessary for me to stress the civic side of the evils of child marriage with which the Bill introduced by R.B. Har Bilas Sarda was designed to deal. The action taken by my government, though it was taken in my absence was one with which I whole heartedly concurred."[231]

It should be made clear however, that though through legislation it was tried to prevent child marriage but the reality was that this was not even known in the rural and distant parts of the province. It was mainly education which was responsible in raising the age of marriage in due course of time.

Religious Beliefs

In Punjab as elsewhere in India, there prevailed numerous superstitions, and magic. The Hindu believed in their *Shastras*, the Sikh in the *Granth* and the Muslim in the *Quran*. The Hindu and Sikh prayed generally to the east and never to the south; the Muslim prayed towards Mecca. The Hindu venerated the cow, the Sikh still more fanatical in his reverence for cow, but killed and ate several other animals; the Muslim abhorred the pig and dog, but killed and ate most other animals. The Sikh abstained from tobacco, but Hindu could indulge in all; to the Muslim spirits were forbidden.

The Hindu and Sikh married by circumambulation (*phera*), the Muslim by consent of the parties formally asked and given. The

Hindu and the Sikh burnt while the Muslim buried his dead.

Some Hindus worshipped Gods and goddesses and the shrines and burying places of dead, and others, forsaking the religion of *Vedas* and *Shastras* which was the primeval religion of the Hindus. Most Hindus would say that they worshipped all the gods alike, and there were 33 crores of them of worship.

Gates of Hindu Olympus had ever stood open to the strange gods of the neighbourhood and wherever Hindus came into contact with worship other than their own, they had combined the two and had even given the former precedence over the latter. The Hindu of the plains worshipped the saint of his Muslim neighbour and called his own original gods by Mohammadan names unknown to an Indian tongue : the Hindu of the hills worshipped the devils and deities of the aborigines and selected for special honour that one of his own proper divinities whose nature was most akin to theirs; both mollified by offerings innumerable agencies, animal, human, demoniacal or semi-divine who were not perhaps ranked with the greater gods of the temples but who might do harm and to propitate whom was therefore a wise precaution.[25]

The state of religions and superstitions can best be explained through some popular songs :

Hey bud peeple aur Gadhi pujti

Ganga Jamna ka paani[233]

(You worship banyan and peepal tree, female donkey, and water of river Ganga and Yamuna).

Koi alakh alakh kar sandey

koi larkon ke bandhe gandey

Jisko ho larkon ke chahna

Aadhi raat kuti mein aana

Shraab peekar maans ko khakar

Sulphe ka dam chilam udaakar[234]

(The so called yogis (saints) are of such types. Some of them says Alakh-alakh, some ties *gandey* (Talismans — instrument to save from devil spirits) to boys. Whoever wants a son, she should come in the kuti (his residence) at midnight. They drink liquor, eat meat and use narcotics).

Tajkar apna pati mastandi hey
Shivji ki puje pindi hey
Sasu ke tode paansu hey
Sasure ke baat na bujhe
Sayyad piron ko puje[235]

(You are praying Shivji's stone (Lord Shiva) after leaving your husband. You beat your mother-in-law. You never care about your father-in-law instead you pray *Pirs* and *Sayyads* (graves of some Sufi saints).

Thus every saintly looking personality was revered by the people. Numerous were the godlings whom the people in village had to propitiate. These could broadly be divided into two classes, pure and impure. To the former, pure food offerings were made, generally on a Sunday and they were taken by Brahmans. To the latter were made impure offerings, such as the left overs from the food for fowls, pigs, and so forth, never made on Sunday and never taken by Brahmans but by the impure castes. The former class of deity was benevolent; and the latter malevolent which were worshipped only by women and children at their mother's apron and not by men. The example of the former class were *"Suraj Devta, Jamuna ji, Dharti Mata, Khwajah Khizr,* and that of the latter were the seven sisters the *Sitala* or Small pox goddess. *Masani, Basanti, Maha Mai, Polamde, Lam Kasia* and *Agwani. Singhs* or snake gods occupied an intermediate place between the two classes.[236] Worship of the Saints was universal and they again could be divided into the sainted and the malevolent dead.[237]

There were blind beliefs over so many things. Nothing of slightest importance would be done without the *muhurta* (lucky moment). Jyotishi (astrologer) was consulted for journey, marriage, digging of well, business and trade, harvesting, naming a child, starting of schooling etc."[238]

There were certain days of a week which were not good for particular work. For example, shaving and nail cutting was prohibited on Tuesday, some would not touch or see oil on Tuesday. For buying important things Tuesday was bad. For buying steel Saturday was bad. Washing of clothes was not good on Thursday.[239] Prohibition of certain things, however, differed from place to place. According to Lunar months, certain days (for

example 1st day of each fortnight) were bad.

In agriculture several beliefs were prevalent from sowing to harvesting.

Budh bovani malamaal[240] (Crop sowed on Wednesday bring prosperity otherwise coming of famine was feared).

Chaturdashi (fourteenth of Lunar month) was considered unlucky for sowing. On all *Amavasyas* (no moon day) and in *Magha* on the day *Sankranti* bullocks were given rest.

While going for journey seeing, some one with wood, black Brahman, bhoora (white complexion) Chamar, widow, single eyed or snake were considered bad. If some one crossed with pot full of water, it was a good sign.

Kaga miriga dahine, bayen bisiyar ho,

Gai sampatti bahavade jo garud samne ho[241]

(Crow and deer on right, snake on the left were good. If eagle was in the front side that meant bad debts would also be recovered).

Breaking of stars regarded a pre-information of someone's death and they were not allowed to see.[242]

According to the situation of stars and *muhurta* it was said :

Dishashool le jave bayan

Rahu yogini pooth

Sanmukh leve chanderma

Lave laxmi loot.[243]

(Dishashool[244] should be in the left, Rahu[245] and yogini[246] in the proper situation added with front side moon could bring huge money as the result of journey)

Aatta satta ghee ghara

Khulle keshon naar

Devan bhala na jeevana

Lyali zarak sunar.[247]

(Flour, pot of ghee, open haired woman, Lyali and zarak (specific animals) and gold smith are not good meeting anywhere).

Teen kos tak mile jo kana,

Ghar laute wo param sayana.[248]

(He is most wise who would return back to his home if he meets any single eyed upto three koses (a *kos* is equal to 1.75 miles) from the place he started his journey)

Black Brahman, bhoora (or white complexioned) chamar and kaira (brown eyed) Jat were considered bad.[249]

Fight between two snakes was considered symbolic of quarrel in the viewers' family. Two snakes going in the same direction brought poverty. Swallowing of one snake by the other meant famine. Seeing snake climbing up the green tree was very good for the viewer. Snake's climbing down the tree was considered bad. Viewing snake entering the house was good and *vice versa.* Seeing dead snake on the earth was information of someone's death.[250]

Falling or touching of lizzard at 65 various spots on human body meant good and bad signs. On the head it meant coming of disease or quarrels. On the thumb of right foot it was the information of coming of wealth.[251]

While waking up in the morning too much of precautions were taken lest the day be spoiled by viewing anything considered unfortunate or bad. It was tried to at first see good and lucky things such as sandalwood, glass, ring or silver. Some rubbed their palms and viewed it. It was said for this :

Karagre baste Laxmi
Kar Madhye saraswati
Karprishthe che Govinda
Prabhate kar darshanam.[252]

(On the front of palm lives Laxmi (goddess of wealth), in the middle Saraswati (goddess of learning) and in the back part is God himself, better viewing them first in morning).

Sneezing was unlucky on good occasions and while beginning travelling. Sneezing twice consequetively, however, reduced the bad luck. At places sneezing twice was considered lucky.

Chhinkat khana, chhinkat pina
Chhinkat rehna soy
Chhinkat per ghar mat jaiye
Isase bura na koy.[253]

(Eating, drinking and sleeping was good while sneezing but going out while sneezing was most unlucky).

Sneezing as a result of smelling tobacco, chilly or by cold, however, were not connected with the *shukan* (omen).

Evil eye was firmly believed in. Thus the proverbs were known :

"Sap da khada bachde

Nazar da khada nahin bachde.[254]

(The snake bitten escapes. He that is affected by the evil eye escaped not).

Nazar pahar ko be tod deti hai.[255]

(Evil eye can break the mountains).

Eye of any one from devil to mother, could be evil. Putting black spots on all charming things, such as son, daughter, house, etc., however, could prevent from being victimised by evil eye. Pet animals were also being tried to prevent from evil eyes. Milking particularly was never done, as a rule, in outsiders presence and after milking, milk was kept under cover lest anyone would see. Ugly things like torn shoes were tied to animals neck to prevent the danger of evil eye.[256] If evil eye had affected someone there existed various method to do it away such as throwing 5 or 7 red chillies into hearth after being rounded them 5 or 7 times from the affected's head.[257]

Evil eye was considered to be the outcome of jealousy. When any one praised anything, the respondent (or patron to respondent) at some places had been quick enough to say, "your heel is being dirtied by night soil".[258]

Want of son could made a woman mad. She could commit anything to have one. Most common were cutting some hair or a part of any boys' clothes, cutting a piece of veil of a son's mother or spotting it with blood of some animal 7 or 5 times.[259] She could perform rituals in the graveyard or in funeral place (the most dreaded place to visit) in the night at 12 o'clock. The extreme could be the killing of a boy on the guidance of an ojha[261] (one who deals in ghostly spirits). Out of fear of evil eye and sonless women mothers usually kept their children unclean and called them by bad names,[261] such as Ghisa, Fakiriya, Gudriya, etc.

At particular places animal sacrifice was quite common. It consisted mainly of goats, sheeps and cocks.

Number of 3 and 13 were regarded bad while 5 and 7 were good. South side was considered to be the residence of evil and ghostly spirits. Oscillating of men's right and women's left eye was considered good and *vice-versa*.[262]

There were various devices which could be used to do good or harm to anyone. Invariably they were in the forms of witchcraft and spells.

There were several devices which could kill the enemies. The spells and methods were various. To look at a few, they were :

(1) *Spell : Om Namah Shrvakal Sanharay Amukam Han*

Krin Fut Kuru Swaha.

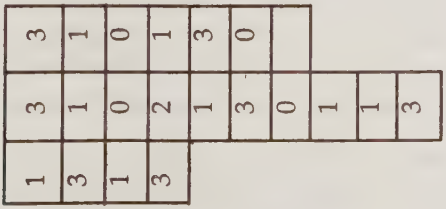
Method : Take a finger's shape of spike made of neem tree. Encircle enemy's head's hair and write his name on it. After three or seven days put it in front of dhoop (burnt perfume) after writing enemy's name from the coal of a funeral pire. From the 8th to the fourteenth day of dark part of Lunar month recite the spell 108 times daily. This way enemy would be soon captured by the ghost.

(2) *Spell : Hnu Hun fut swaha. Sapt Dashmi n*

Mantritam — Kritva Nikhant.

Method : A horse bone of four anguls (width of a finger is an angul, almost one centimeter) should be put in enemy's house by influencing it with reciting the spell one thousand times. This finishes enemy with family.

(3) The following spell if, written 108 times in ink would destroy enemy.



Benevolent witchcraft was also prevalent. The following spell could increase repute and pride if written 100 times daily. If this be drawn on account books trade would be flourishing.

6	1	8
7	5	3
2	9	4

If this be tied as talisman on arm or neck in keeping it in cover, made of silver, it would save from all odds.

If the following written on new cloth by red sandalwood be shown to pregnant lady who was afraid in the dreams or startled while sleeping, she would become fearless and passes pregnancy time securely.

4	2	2
2	4	2
2	2	4

If the following be written by asgandh (some herb) on the *bhoj patra* and kept in home, there would be no fear of ghostly spirits.

6	3	84	83
80	87	2	7
4	5	60	63
86	81	8	1

Needless to say there were numerous omulet, spells and exorcism. If the Punjabi society of the 1920s, 30s presented any homogenity, that was the wide spread prevalent religious beliefs.

A man could do but nothing without following more or less of them. Irrespective of caste, status and religion, such practices were universally followed.

Above given description suited directly to the Hindus but as most of Muslim and Sikh stocks were converts from Hinduism, such beliefs formed almost an equal part of their lives, the only difference was that of degree. S.S. Thorburn observed, "The Musalmans having embraced Islam between 200 to 300 years ago, retain many of their ancient Hindu customs and superstitions.... To this day Hinduism has so strong a hold upon them that as it has been well put, they observe the feasts of both religions and the fasts of neither."[263]

In Punjab nearly 90% of the population was rural. "The great agricultural tribes are Jats and Rajputs. They are still ... what they were 2000 years ago — simple, superstitious, idolators Hindus .... But whether Hindus or Musalmans, both are socially one people, ancient tribal custom and ties of blood being stronger than .... the teaching of a half learnt religion."[264]

Due to the prevalence of widespread illiteracy it was very difficult for any one to escape out of the cycles of useless social rituals, customs, religious beliefs, superstitions, spells, witchcraft and exorcism.

There were cases of beliefs which did harm than any good to the persons. Feroz Khan Noon remembered, "Going to Multan as a Minister Incharge of Health in the 1920s when there was plague there, I learned that the Jains were catching plague stricken rats in cages supplied by the municipality and were letting them loose in the neighbouring parts of the city. Thus plague was spreading towards other areas..... Unfortunately due to lack of education and proper training nothing happens in this country unless it is done by order of government."[265]

Whenever there was rinderpest or other disease among the cattle the farmers used to come to priest — Pandit or Maulvi and he would give them the holy book, which they used to tie up and hang across a village street and the cattle was made pass underneath it (this was called, observing *akhta*). This was supposed to give them immunity from the disease.[266]

Qazis also used to give talismans. They used to write on a piece of paper some words from the Holy Quran and the people used

to carry these words away and the paper was tied to the arm of the patient.[267]

Feroz Khan Noon noticed, "Certain individuals would be standing at the door of the mosque with little pots full of water in their hands and they would request each member of the congregation (coming out of the mosque after morning prayers) to blow his breath on it to sanctify it. They would take this water to the patients in their homes. The breath of Imam was supposed to be the noblest of all and most curative. This practice has not ceased even after fifty years of education and numerous hospitals."[268]

However, with the coming of education and contact with the western world, superstitious and religious beliefs began to give way to reason and rationality. The Education Department noted, "The teachers generally speaking have now a wider outlook on life and boys are not only healthier and happier but also mentally more alert than they were five years ago."[269]

Essentially dependent upon reason, western education began to show the irrationality of many superstitions. The educated not only learned geography and acquired skills in reading and arithmetic, they evidently also learned new attitudes and values and developed new dispositions to act. Education inculcated modernism not only in value and attitude, but in one's basic personality.

When there was mass illiteracy, it was difficult for people to study what their religion had to say about prevalent superstitions. A few took the advantage of the ignorance of the masses and for self convenience created baseless beliefs.[270] The critical eyes of the educated saw that the greed of money could make the jyotishis alter the *muhurta* to the subjects' convenience.[271] Their mathematical ability saw the wrong calculations done by the almost illiterate astrologers.

Instances such as the plunder of the Somnath Temple, despite the obvious invincibility of the God there, shook the faith of the educated in such myths.[272]

The educated experienced that whether travelling according to *muhurta* or not the inevitable was always to happen : *Karamgati Taare nahin tare.* They also saw the uselessness of *muhurta* as a saying depicted :

Muni Vashishtha se Pandit Jyani,

Ruchi ruchi lagan dhare

Sita haran maran Dashrath ka

Ban mein vipatti pare.[273]

(Learned man like Rishi Vashishtha calculated the muhurta but it resulted in nothing else; but problems for Rama in the forest, kidnapping of Sita and death of Dashratha).

It was argued that the East India Company had come to India without the calculation of *muhurta* and still it was too successful to become the almighty of India. Indians who believed in *muhurtas* were subjudicated by the non-believers in *muhurta.*[274]

In the fast changing living conditions the beliefs were found most irrelevant to the needs of life. For marriages were being performed according to *muhurtas* which sometimes fell on the days of examination, someone's going out for service etc. The conditions created by education also held the beliefs out dated and unnecessary hurdles. Inconvenience and problem caused by these were no longer tolerable to the educated.

In a climate of deep-rooted superstitions it was always difficult to do away with them. Pt. Shivnarayan said, "Exorcism to remove ghostly spirits was being practised in my family since long. My father compelled me also to take to do the same. Though from the innermost corner of my thoughts I was opposed to it. As a duty it still continues in my family."[275] He would tell the persons coming to him for *Zhada* (removal of ghostly spirits by exorcism) that it was nothing but useless.

Rulia Ram expressed, "our elders were illiterate so as to believe in all superstitions and baseless beliefs. I successfully opposed all *mata-masanis,* evil eyes, devil spirits and witchcrafts."[276]

Such knowledgeable students who unquestionably followed the religious practices according to the wishes of their parents later realised the futility and inconvenience caused by the beliefs. Even though the elders of the family persisted with their old fashioned ideas, the educated did not feel necessity to bow before it.[277] Some, however, believed in the gradual removal of these with the spread of educational ideas. As a result of irrational superstitions the educated looked upon themselves as men to whom mysteries, hidden from others had been revealed.[278] Warning against the

probable role of Imams, Feroz Khan Noon expressed, "The people are very illiterate and ignorant and any superstitious propaganda by the Imams ..... can be very dangerous. I think educational qualifications should be fixed for all Imams."[279]

There was no regret if the age long inertia was overcome gradually. These superstitions were shadows and phantas-magoria of human passions and of inexplicable calamities from the earliest times.[280] The social and religious ideas directly stemming from western education, came easily to redefine and purify old identities. The formation of ideas that set in the small section (among the educated) in the first instance, began to show results by affecting society at large.

The English educated generation differed from that which preceded it in its attitudes to life and social problems. An assertive self importance, a questioning outlook, a tendency to reason, to look into the why and wherefore, and even negation and defiance of the accepted way, were their outstanding traits.[281] The educated following western society, were giving the individual into greater prominence and not infrequently causing conflicts in the traditional society.

Irksome superstitions and customs were often examined ignored and set aside by the educated who appeared to be rational and defiant. In life the educated tended to adopt the habits, mannerism and mode of living of the ruling class. The liberal ideas developed by English education to which much of the primitive beliefs were an anti-thesis were the source of inspiration to see things in their right perspective. They brought about a state of mind on which influences of a creative or reformative nature could work. The spirit was manifest among the advanced sections of the educated irrespective of their religion. There was an upheaval of the mind and the educated were marching up with contempt for irrational beliefs and institutions that seemed to be absurd on the face of them.

It is a very widely held assumption that the educated, westernized elites steered Indian society away from its myopic consciousness. Education was the chief instrument by which such steering was accomplished.

Life Style

Education was instrumental in bringing about considerable change in the life style. Old and traditional style seemed inconvenient to the newly educated. Under their influence others also began to go for new style. M.L. Darling observed, "An analogous change reported from various districts in an improvement in dress, which is shown by a greater demand for silks, especially the cheap silks of Japan. Ten or fifteen years ago women used to cloth themselves in voluminous trousers (Salwar and Ghanghra) of thick homespun cloth — 10 yards to a pair and now they use 5 yards of fine mill made cloth instead. Sleeves, once worn to the wrist to conceal the whole arm, now stop at the elbow and here and there even high heels are finding their place into villages."[282]

The words 'fashion' and 'suit' were passed into the feminine vocabulary and more fashionable liked the shirt, trousers and scarf (doputta), all of the same colour. Fashion set respectable ladies wearing clothes (sparkling) once confined to prostitutes.[283]

Punjab was deeply conservative in matters of dress but the influence of education made it susceptible to change. M.L. Darling recalled, "Another official told me that in 1918 when he was reading for his B.A. he brought a pair of ordinary black slippers. When he appeared in them in his village....such shoes, he was told, are worn only by those of ill repute. Five years later he found one of his critics wearing a pair himself. They are very comfortable, he said, apologetically."[284]

Darling further said, "A sweeperess is employed to clean the byres and make the dung cakes. Till ten years ago his (an official) wife did this too and only gave it up because, as the Jat said, we were educated and said it was not good."

Earlier men used to wear dress of simple kind and in plains it was made entirely of cotton cloth. A turban, a loin-cloth, a loose wrap, thrown round the body like a plaid, and in the cold season, a vest jacket of some kind were the usual rounds. White was the usual colour, but dyed stuffs well often worn, especially on festive occasions. As a rule, Muslims avoided red, while Sayads and others claiming descent from the prophet, favoured green. Hindus similarly avoided blue, but it was the characteristic dress of Sikh zealots, like the Akalis.[285]

With the spread of education and thus western ideas, English cloth began to be increasingly used. The European style of dress was spreading. The local and tribal peculiarities were disappearing among the people[286] and the art of calico printing declined as the time passed. Trousers and shirt made of fine cloth replaced the traditional dresses. In place of turban highly educated began to wear hat in the western style.

Names of children also began to change considerably. Earlier the name consisted of two words which were selected from astrological, religious and superstitions causes. For example, Ram Prasad, Bhagwan Devi, Parsu Ram, Sukh Darshan (pleasant to see), Phule Ram (flower), Mange (begged), Ghasita (rubbed). Affiliation of Mohammad was common in Muslim names. All Sikhs had names ending in "Singh". Now names were given on western style. Earlier there had been hardly any surname. Now the educated felt proud to be known from their surnames. Traditionally the Hindu and Jain shave their heads with the exception of scalp-lock. They would not shave their moustaches. The Sikh allowed the hair of his head and face to grow uncut and untrimmed. The Muslim never shaved his beard, but always the lower edge of his moustaches; he often shaved his head and when he did so, he left no scalp lock.

With the progress of education the Hindu began to keep neatly cut hair with no odd scalp-lock. He began to be clean shaved on the line of his British masters.[287] The Sikh began to get his beard and moustache trimmed and in some cases even cut his hairs to ordinary level so as to be called *Mona Sikh*.[288] The educated and enlightened Muslims began to keep shaved beard and unshaved moustaches. He also got well combed hair.[289] In the traditional hair, beard and moustaches style it was often easy to identify a Hindu, Sikh or Muslim in the crowd. The influence of education, however, rendered it impossible.

The place of hookah (common smoking device) was taken by cigarettes, cigars and pipes. Shoes made of rough leather by traditional leather workers were being replaced by costly fine company made shoes.

As for the mode of entertainments and pastimes, *chausar* and *pansa* were replaced by carrom and playing cards. The place of Kabaddi and wrestling was being captured by Tennis, hockey and

cricket. The popularity of folk songs were reduced by the inception of theatre and radio.

It would be said that society was changing due to the spread of education, which affected many more than those who actually received it. This was coupled with the rise in the standards of living and the general trend of the time since Great War.

The most unfortunate aspect of the existing scene, however, was what Dr. E.D. Lucas, Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore, had to put, "In India, old traditions are crumbling away very fast and new beliefs and ideas which are to take their place are not yet firmly planted."[290] The new literates followed their British masters blindly in every aspect of life without creating anything new, appropriate according to the want of the time, and the country. Still whatsoever had been attained was confined mainly to cities and the middle classes in rural areas. The meaning of change brought about by education in rural areas was quite shallow as these areas had been the least affected by educational expansion. M.L. Darling wrote, "When I asked (to a village gathering) what were advantages of going to school tongues were unloosed." "With education one can measure the land, understand accounts, perhaps get service; said a tenant." One becomes a human being; one does not eat fraud; added an elder member who had read in the primary school. Then quoting Saadi : "Without knowledge one cannot recognize God." Which is the greatest advantage of all ? I asked, "He who reads may take part in the assembly (ijlas) of a king."[291]

As a result of uneven distribution of education a tendency of formation of cleavage between English educated and the rest emerged which was consolidated in the course of time.

English educated formed a class of men into a powerful political force that fought for Indian "independence". On the other hand there emerged a widening gulf between them the persons literate in vernacular languages or illiterate.

English educated gradually were confined to their own little world knowing little or nothing about the rest. This hastened the division on the urban rural basis. Education served different strata of society in different ways allowing each of them to develop their own ideas, ideologies, values, and social behaviour.

In Punjab of 1920s and 30s education accelerated the pace of

social change along with the rising consciousness on caste, community, region and materialistic levels.

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5. Majority of the persons interviewed for this work, showed growing consciousness about India's political future.
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11. *Ibid.*, 27th October, 1920.
12. The Management of Nurmahal Arya School (District Jullundur) complained, "We are, however, informed that the Kasur and Rasulpur schools are not the only ones that have suffered as a result of the disturbances and in whose case the wrong that has been done has not been so far redressed. It appears that the Doaba Arya Middle School at Nurmahal was disaffiliated because of its alleged 'participation' in the present movement." W.S. Hamilton, Deputy Commissioner remarked, "This school has been deprived of recognition, because the, members of the managing committee took a prominent part in the agitation.... The exaggerated laudation of early Indian civilization which is a part of the Doctrines of the Arya Samaj, inevitably leads to contempt of the present British Raj when adopted by the half educated." The managing committee, however, replied, "Every Indian worth his salt should not only take pride in India's glorious past but what is more he should gather inspiration from it...." (*The Tribune*, 24th February, 1920).
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42. Prof. G.C. Chatterjii — The Unforgettable Man, A Collection of the Tributes paid to Late Prof. G.C. Chatterjii, who dedicated his life to the cause of education and service of Mankind, p. 24.
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48. Interview with Rulia Ram, Delhi, 20th September, 1988.
49. Interview with Pandit Omparkash, Sonepat, 1st October, 1988.
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56. B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
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65. *Ibid.*, p. 522.
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69. Roshni, Oct.-Dec. 1987. p. 24.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
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80. Interviews with Jai Ram Juan (Sonepat), 1st Oct., 1988, Ramchander, Delhi, 15th Sept., 1988, Babu Ram, Jhangera (Ambala), 17th Sept., 1988.
81. Interview, Kheora (Sonepat), 3rd Oct., 1988.
82. Interview, Delhi, 30th Sept., 1988.
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122. Interview with Harkesh.
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244. 245. 246. All these are indicators of some specific situation of stars.
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259. Basic idology behind these was that this would lead to the death of that boy and sonless lady would get one in barter.
260. Interview with Khazan Singh.
261. It was thought that the god of death would not be looking for a child of bad name. Parents whose sons did not remained alive also applied this method. They also sold their children (mockery selling) to prevent them

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Conclusion

Punjabi society underwent significant changes in the second and third decades of this century. As Punjab stood as the gateway to India, it had witnessed a chain of invasions and bloody wars through the centuries. This gave Punjabis a unique capacity of adaptability to new ways and manners of life.

Fresh ideas and ideologies entered Punjab as a result of its annexation by the British. To run the administration smoothly and cheaply the British needed Indian clerks and the imparting of English education was necessary for this. Conversion to Christianity was another motive for starting schools and colleges which provided education in English. The aim of colonial education was not only to produce clerks but to produce political leaders, professional men and intellectuals. It socialised many into colonial values; at the same time, it turned many of its products against colonial values. Colonial education thus had complex and conflicting impact.

Education did not lead to Indians becoming Christians as Charles Grant, Trevelyan, Elphinston and many others had hoped, but it did influence the self perception of the educated Indians. In some individuals, education caused a turmoil and identity crisis. It led them to take a critical look at their own religious beliefs and traditions, and led to the beginning of new socio-religious reform movements.

In the pre-colonial Punjab there existed a widespread system of indigenous education, but to serve their ends the British decided against supporting it and gradually these institutions withered away.

Punjab of 1920s and 30s presented a jumble of conflicting interest and ideologies. It had always been a land of geographical and demographical distinctions. It was a compact region composed of various religions, castes and tribes. Broadly speaking Muslims were dominant in the West, Sikhs in the central areas and Hindus in the East, yet no religion had clear cut dominance over the others.

Educational facilities were mainly concentrated in the cities and it was here that the impact of western education was markedly evident. There was a great demand for education here as youngmen wanted to enter government services and professions such as teaching, law, medicine, journalism etc. Educational qualifications were also helpful in enhancing one's social status and acquiring political power.

By the provisions of Government of India Act — 1919 educational administration passed into Indian hands. This, on the one hand, encouraged expansion of educational facilities and, on the other, it led people to improve the conditions for themselves and for their respective communities.

In comparison to the earlier period, *i.e.*, 1859-1920, educational growth made rapid strides in the post 1920 period. Whereas in 1920-21 only 2.7% of the total population was literate, in 1934-35 it had risen to 5.83% and in 1929-30 it was 6.35%. As for numbers were concerned, there were only 556,989 under instruction in 1920-21 which rose to 1,385,841, in 1930-31 and to 1,268,474 in 1934-35. World wide economic depression of 1929, however, had some adverse effects on the development of education and the number of educational institutions and pupils showed a tendency of decreasing. Throughout the period of our study educational activities were restricted by financial constraints.

Education was not evenly developed and there were differences among the precentage of literates in rural and urban areas, between men and women, between upper and lower castes and some districts were more advanced than others.

Private educational societies, almost all of them denominational, did excellent work in promoting education. The enthusiasm they generated did much for education which would not have been possible by just official efforts. Each and every community and sub-sections of communities produced educational networks of their own. All of them had *Dharam Shiksha* (religious

instruction) as an essential feature in their curriculum. The most tragic part of this was that untrained teachers often gave religious instruction and in the process misinterpreted ideas and misguided students. Also in these denominational institutions, students came in touch only with their own religion as most of the students of these institutions came from one particular religious community. Though in theory there were provisions of admitting students from all religions, in practice, this provision was of no avail. This produced fanaticism and narrow-mindedness among the students.

It is evident from statistical figures that to count literacy by religious does not give a true picture since, when literacy is seen by caste, it is clear that the same castes among different religions were almost equal in attainment of literacy. The new educated groups used all forms of media and platforms to further their interests and safeguard their communities' educational position. Legislative Council and the Press were openly used to serve their desired ends. It is, however, a sad reflection that each community thought of educational advance only for itself.

The birth and extension of a new social consciousness in modern Punjab was largely the outcome of English education. It widened the outlook of the educated and was responsible for the release of new forces. Education solidified the group identity of the intelligentsia which cut across caste and communal barriers. The educated regarded themselves as a morally and culturally superior group. English education alienated them from the masses. Those who availed of the new educational opportunities usually were from the higher castes and education further strengthened their superiority. The lower castes and other backward communities resented the power and prestige that education gave to the higher castes and started agitating for educational facilities for themselves.

Education made people aware of existing social evils and awakened them to the need of improving society. W.C. Banerjee who became the first president of the Indian National Congress wrote from Englend to his uncle in 1865, "I have discarded all ideas of caste, I have come to hate all demorallising practices of our countrymen and I write this letter as an entirely altered man."[1]

Education brought a new awakening among at least a small section of women and the first generation of educated women took up the cause of educating their less fortunate sisters and bringing

them out of seclusion. They formed organisations and demanded political rights.

With the growth of education the caste system, untouchability, child marriage, traditional religious beliefs were questioned and challenged.

Education spread mainly among the higher and middle castes in urban areas and created a gulf between them and the masses who were largely illiterate.

It would not be wrong to conclude in the words of Kushwant Singh that education "was a double-edged dagger. While it created an educated elite which intermingled, it also gave opportunities to educated with political ambitions to exploit religious sentiments."[2]

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3 : Oral Interviews : (of persons who were educated in the 1920s and '30s Punjab or related to education as teachers or education officials)

S.No.	Name	Religion	Caste* (upper or lower)	Rural or urban	Profession adopted	Place and date of interview	Place of Education	Type of Educational Institution (Govt. or Private)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Ali, Yasin	Muslim	Upper	Rural	Service	Delhi, 7th November, 1989	Sonepat	Private
2.	Azra	Muslim	Upper	Urban	House wife	Panipat, 17th August, 1989	Lahore	Private
3.	Anand	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Delhi, 4th April, 1988	Lahore	Government
4.	Babu Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Agriculture	Jhangera (Ambala) 17th Sept 1988	Ambala	Government
5.	Bhatnagar, R.S.	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Ambala, 18th September, 1988	Ludhiana	Private
6	Chatterjee, P.C.	Christian	—	Urban	Service	Delhi, 6th August, 1988	Lahore	Government
7.	Das, Bhagwan	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Ambala, 18th September, 1988	Rohtak	Private
8.	Devi, Phoola	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Soc service	Kurukshetra, 20th September, 1988	Sargodha	Private
9.	Dhani Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Delhi, 10th November, 1989	Ambala	Private
10.	Dhawan, Roshan Lal	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Ambala, 18th September, 1988	Sargodha	Private
11.	Farida	Muslim	Upper	Urban	House wife	Delhi, 5th November, 1989	Lahore	Government
12.	Garg, Shyam Lal	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Chandigarh, 18th November, 1988	Sangroor	Private
13.	Jai Lal	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Palra (Sonepat) 2nd January '89	Murthal (Sonepat)	Government
14.	Jai Ram	Hindu	Lower	Rural	Agriculture	Juan (Sonepat) 1st October, 1988	Sonepat	Private
15.	Khurana, H.L.	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Panipat, 17th Aug. 1989	Lyallpur	Government
16.	Khurana, L.R.	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Panipat, 17th August 1989	Lyallpur	Government
17.	Lal Chand	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Agriculture	Delhi, 3rd April, 1988	Sonepat	Private
18.	Lal, Girdhari	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Business	Panipat, 8th November, 1988	Jhang	Private
19.	Maha Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Politics	Nethari (Karnal) 16th Sept. 1988	Karnal	Government
20.	Mam Raj	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Politics	Dhanaura (Karnal) 16th Sept 1988	Lahore	Private
21.	Mangat Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Politics	Jhazzer, 15th February, 1989	Rohtak	Private
22.	Mange Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Bhaprauda (Rohtak) 13 Feb., 1989	Rohtak	Private
23.	Mauji Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Politics	Bhaprauda (Rohtak) 13 Feb., 1989	Rohtak	Private
24.	Mohammad, Jumma	Muslim	Upper	Urban	Service	Delhi, 7th November, 1989	Rawalpindi	Government

* Upper Castes are the Persons who belong to upper three varnas of the Society. Lower belonged to the Shudra Varna.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
25.	Mool Chand	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Bhaprauda (Rohtak), 13 Feb., '89	Rohtak	Private
26.	Nabh Raj	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Business	Panipat, 8th November, 1988	Naushahra	Government
27.	Nand, B.R.	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Delhi, 6th July, 1988	Lahore	Government
28.	Naqvi, Ali Raza	Muslim	Upper	Urban	Service	Delhi, 30th August, 1988	Muradabad	Government
29.	Naseerudin	Muslim	Lower	Rural	Business	Delhi, 2nd January, 1989	Sonepat	Private
30.	Om Prakash	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Business	Sonepat, 2nd October, 1988	Sonepat	Private
31.	Ram Chander	Hindu	Lower	Rural	Service	Delhi, 15th September, 1988	Ambala	Government
32.	Ram Kishan	Hindu	Lower	Rural	Service	Murthal (Sonepat), 2 Oct., 1988	Murthal	Government
33.	Ram Saran	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Business	Nethori (Karnal) 15 Sept., 1988	Mukhala (Karnal)	Government
34.	Sarfuddin	Muslim	Lower	Rural	Agriculture	Palra (Sonepat) 13 Jan., 1989	Sonepat	Private
35.	Sehgal, Man Mohini	Hindu	Upper	Urban		Delhi, 3rd February, 1988	Lahore	Government
36.	Sharma, Harkesh	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Delhi, 29th August 1988	Narela	Private
37.	Sharma, Shiv Narayan	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Delhi, 23es Octoberm, 1988	Ambala	Government
38.	Sidhwani, Ram Chand	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Panipat, 8th November, 1988	Jhang	Government
39.	Shish Ram	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Sonepat, 1st October, 1988	Sonepat	Private
40.	Singh, Chander	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Murthal (Sonepat) 2nd Oct., '88	Murthal	Private
41.	Singh, Dhoop	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Politics	Deepalpur (Sonepat) 4 Oct., '88	Sonepat	Private
42.	Singh, Hardyal	Singh	Upper	Urban	Medicine	Ambala, 18 September, 1988	Campbelpur	Government
43.	Singh, Hira	Hindu	Lower	Rural	Service	Delhi, 30th September, 1988	Narela	Private
44.	Singh, Kartar	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Kheora (Sonepat), 2nd Oct., '88	Delhi	Private
45.	Singh, Kesar	Sikh	Upper	Urban	Medicine	Delhi, 8th May, 1988	Amritsar	Private
46.	Singh, Khazan	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Kheora (Sonepat) 2 Oct., 1988	Delhi	Private
47.	Singh, Khushwant	Sikh	Upper	Urban	Service Journalism	Delhi, 7th August, 1988	Lahore	Government
48.	Singh, Puran	Hindu	Lower	Rural	Service	Kumarpur (Sonepat) 2 Oct., 1988	Lyallpur	Government
49.	Singh, Raj	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Politics	Silana (Sonepat), 10 Dec., 1988	Rohtak	Private
50.	Singh, Risal	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Juan (Sonepat) 1 Oct., 1988	Gurgaon	Government
51.	Singh, Sunder	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Khukhni (Karnal), 16 Sept., '88	Gumthala (Kurukshetra)	Private
52.	Suraj Mal	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Service	Murthal (Sonepat) 2 Oct., 1988	Murthal	Government
53.	Tara Chand	Hindu	Upper	Rural	Business	Lheora (Sonepat), 3 Oct., 1988	Kheora (Sonepat)	Government
54.	Vashishth, Sunder Lal	Hindu	Upper	Urban	Service	Delhi, 30th Aug., 1988	Rohtak	Government

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