

**ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER
TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN PUNJAB,
1860-1947**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I, Sarabjeet Kaur, declare that this Thesis titled *Origin and Development of Teacher Training Institution in Punjab, 1860-1947* submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my bonafide work. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma of this or any other university.


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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis entitled *Origin and Development of Teacher Training Institution in Punjab, 1860-1947* submitted by SARABJEET KAUR, in fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been so far submitted, as part or full, for any degree of this or any other university. This is her original work, carried out in the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

E.I.C.	-	East India Company
A.V.	-	Anglo Vernacular
N.W.P.	-	North Western Provinces
D. P. I.	-	Director of Public Instruction
D.C. / D. Cs	-	Deputy Commissioner(s)
I.E.C.	-	Indian Education Commission
E.C.	-	Education Commission
C.V.E.S.	-	Christian Vernacular Education Society
M.S.E.	-	Middle School Examination
J.V.C.E.	-	Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination
J.V.	-	Junior Vernacular
D.A.V.	-	Dayanand Anglo Vedic
S.V.	-	Senior Vernacular
S.P.G.	-	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
N.W.F.P.	-	North Western Frontier Province
I.E.S.	-	Indian Educational Service
F.A.	-	First Arts
B. A.	-	Bachelor of Arts
J. A.V.	-	Junior Anglo Vernacular
B.T.	-	Bachelor of Teaching
M.A.	-	Master of Arts
S. A.V.	-	Senior Anglo Vernacular
B. Sc.	-	Bachelor of Science
M.Sc.	-	Master of Science

Chapter 1

Introduction

A trained person is one who can do the chief things which it is important for him to do better than he could without training.¹

John Dewey, the famous American philosopher and educational reformer, mentions that education is a necessity of life. He reveals that it is the nature of life to make efforts to continue in being. And the most striking distinction between living and non-living is that the living beings sustain them by restoration. Since this continuance can be secured only by regular refurbishment, life is a self-sustaining process. Whatever nutrition and reproduction are to physiological life, education is to social life. This education contains primarily spreading through communication. He stresses that as societies become more complex in structure and resources, the need for formal or planned teaching and learning increases.² It is observed that when a person becomes an adult, he has some knowledge, whether true or false, regarding the history and geography of his environment which he gets through social or educative influences. Among such influences a mention may be made of his parents and teachers. These influences modified his development in a precise manner. His own specific environment gave him a definite shape, that is, it educated him in this way. Thus, education can be understood as the adjustment of the unrefined natural human being in accordance with social and moral values and knowledge and skills belonging to the group in which he is brought up.³ Hence education is said to be acquired from various sources.

Dewey speaks about education as training of faculties. He states that this theory known as the theory of formal discipline has a precise ideal that the outcome of education should be the creation of specific powers of accomplishment. Therefore, the above beginning lines hold immense importance, as in the study we have undertaken the training or education of a teacher. Hence training or skilled education can certainly add to the capabilities of an individual. Thus, it gets amply clear that a trained person is one who can do the chief things which it is important for him to do better than he could without training: better here signifies greater ease, efficiency, economy, swiftness, etc. There are a definite number of powers in

¹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930, Reprint, 2009), p. 71.

² Ibid, p. 11.

³ R. R. Kumria, *The Teacher's Mental Equipment*, (Jalandhar: University Publishers, 1959), p. 2.

some untrained form to be trained. Being there in some crude form, they have to be trained in constant and graded repetitions, and they will certainly be refined and perfected. The forms of powers in question are the faculties of perceiving, retaining, recalling, associating, attending, willing, feeling, imagining, thinking, etc., which are shaped by use upon matter offered. In its classic form this theory was expressed by Locke.⁴The trained person can be a teacher student. Furthermore, education is a process involving the relationship of the educator and the student. Teacher's character motivates that of the pupil to transform the latter's performance. This adjustment is brought about by the educator knowingly and purposely by development along distinct lines. The process of education has four important bases or concepts. The philosophical or theoretical base establishes the aims and ideals of education. The psychological or emotional base provides the material and the starting point. Education is a natural process of growth from within. The systematic or practical base highlights the change brought by the human surroundings by the development of skill. The sociological base has been noticed in recent times. Education is a vibrant force which is the means of continuing and developing society. This has been affirmed by Dewey too, 'All education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race.'⁵

Not only does education play a vital role in shaping the mental abilities of an individual but it also forms a crucial part in bringing the physical characteristics of a person to the centre. Education is thus the development of all those capacities in the individual which will enable him to control his environment and fulfil his responsibilities. The teacher, therefore, plays a key role in the entire process of education and learning and consequently the education of teacher.

A teacher after acquiring formal education or training does teaching that is educating its students. Therefore, for teaching to be more successful and useful for a student a teacher has to be trained in teaching. Teaching can be regarded as the first and most obvious work of the school to train children in those ways in which they could not be trained in sufficiently at home. For example, the means whereby we acquire second-hand knowledge, reading, methods of calculating and writing can be shown to a child more easily by a trained teacher

⁴Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 70-71.

⁵I. B. Verma, *Lecture Notes on Principles of Education and General Methods of Teaching*, (N. P., Sri Ram Mehra & Sons, 1952), pp. 8-9.

than by the average parent. One of the most important roles of a school is to give to the pupils such training and instruction as is more effectively given by professionally trained workers.⁶

It has been observed since, that the revival of learning gave rise to a new interest in the nature and methods of education and produced a literature-remarkable for quality as well as quantity-which focussed attention upon the art of teaching as no previous writings had except perhaps those of Quintilian. Montaigne one of the significant philosophers of the French Renaissance himself clearly indicated the social status of the teaching profession during his times by observing that nobody would be proud of having a teacher among his ancestors. He struck a modern note in his reaction against relying too much on books. Knowledge, he said, should not merely be attached to the mind but must become an integral and living part of the mind itself. Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Frobel bring the study of education into the climate of our world. The remarkable thing in modern history of education is that it took so long for the various countries to realize the importance of teacher training-to realize, that schools cannot be better than their teachers. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century in England, the attempts to establish a general system of elementary education were continually hampered by 'the hopeless inadequacy of the teachers.' The earliest European country to establish a system of teacher-training was Prussia, in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Prussia Normal schools trained teachers for elementary schools by means of a three-year course following the completion of elementary school. That is to say, they combined some secondary education with some professional training-a meagre enough preparation for a teaching career, by modern standards. Under the inspiration of Pestalozzi (a Swiss pedagogue and educational reformer) the Normal schools developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷

Dr J.P. Kay, James Kay-Shuttleworth, is credited for leading the way in the field of the institution of training colleges for teachers. The development of training colleges in England was primarily due to Dr J.P. Kay. It was Kay-Shuttleworth who first visualized the power of public education placed fairly on the shoulders of the mature teachers, not on those of older

⁶Nancy Catty, *A First Book on Teaching*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1929, Reprint, 1955), pp. vii-viii.

⁷M. V. C. Jeffreys, *Revolution in Teacher Training*, (London: Sir Issac Pitman & Sons, Ltd, 1961), pp. 2-3.

children. There had to be a satisfactorily long apprenticeship before they became fully qualified.⁸

The general discourse above about education and teaching provides us with a set up to teacher's education or training. As we set forth to explore the inevitability of a teacher's training or teacher's education in an educational system, it becomes highly relevant for us to know what education is? What is teaching? Who is a teacher? Why a teacher needs to be educated or trained? Several other related vital issues also get due attention. This is rightly put across to us by John Dewey who states that education is a necessity of life. It is a crucial need for a human's social life. Professor Kumria's details, too add that, education is the improvement of a rather raw individual into a refined being. Hence, a well-educated teacher would be more suitable to accomplish the task of teaching in the most appropriate manner.

Furthermore, much before the country achieved independence that is during the pre-independence India too; teaching was regarded as the noblest professions. The teachers were considered sacred and accorded extreme respect. It was made sure that they possess the required qualifications in order to achieve their expected objectives. As the colonial rule consolidated in India, the need for the education of the masses was felt alike by all. And for efficient instruction in education, the need of a formally trained/educated teacher was being crucially felt throughout all the provinces. Teaching as a profession was still not a wide choice of the masses due to many clear and unclear reasons. Many of the teachers resorting to teaching were the ones who had failed in other fields. Hence, teaching was not a popular choice. Teaching was therefore the call of a person who was qualified and trained.

Thus before embarking on this journey, we take a quick look at the state of education in India and Punjab, since without this, it will be almost difficult for us to trace the subsequent factors responsible for the establishment of teacher education schools or institutions in India and Punjab.

Education in India has always been a matter of significance and there are ample evidences to reaffirm this. Education was something that was not new to India. It was admitted that since their first appearance in authentic history, the Indians have always enjoyed the reputation of

⁸Jeffreys, *Revolution in Teacher Training*, pp. 4-5.

being learned people. Philip Hartog, Vice Chancellor of the University of Dacca, reaffirmed that education was not unusual in India. He mentioned that there was no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or had exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosophers then there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars.⁹ So before the arrival of the British, an education system already existed and it was much later, that the British realised it was in their welfare to educate the Indians. It was “after the mature deliberations of nearly a century”¹⁰(the Battle of Plassey was fought in 1757 that established the British Empire in India; and the Wood’s Despatch, is dated 1854) that the system of education was introduced.

The company found the four ancient modes of education, the teaching being given in the tols and in the makhtabs and madrasas, or schools of the Mohammedans, and a number of village schools were also present. Thus, solidifying the fact that when, the British started its political career in India, the East India Company (E.I.C) found a deep rooted and extensive system of indigenous education.¹¹

As is known, when the E.I.C received charge of Bengal from the Mughal emperor, it aimed only at carrying out the duties that were being fulfilled by the previous ruling power. Its earliest efforts were confined to the establishment of a Mohammedan and a Sanskrit college. It was observed that there were three influences which forced British into new fields of education. The knowledge of English had become essential to the natives at centres of government hence a demand cropped up for English instruction. As the old court language, Persian fell into disuse the demand for education in the vernaculars was also widely felt. Also, a wave in support of popular education was being formed to make an impact upon the Indian government by missionary and philanthropic bodies both in the country and in Europe.¹²

⁹Philip Hartog, *Some Aspects of Indian Education Past and Present*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 2-3.

¹⁰B. D. Basu, *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company*, (Calcutta: Modern Review Office, 1922, Reprint 2001), p. v.

¹¹Aparna Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1982), p. 8.

¹²*Report of the Indian Education Commission: Appointed by the Resolution of the Government of India dated 3rd February 1882*, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1883), p. 8.

The need for education was being strongly felt and recommended. Henry Sharp, in his educational records, states the situation of education in India elucidating Lord Hastings declaration that the strength of the government in India must be based not on the ignorance but on the enlightenment of the people. He further added that even Thomas Munro without doubt entertained that education had been better in earlier times. But writing in 1826, stated that it does not appear to have undergone any other change than the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, as a result of the shifting of the population, from war and other causes. In an encouraging note, while estimating the number of those under instruction he declared that though the state of education in India was considered to be low but can be said to be advanced than it was in most European countries then.¹³

Even by the turn of the 19th century, the colonizers were yet to realize their call for the education of Indians because they treated India as merely their estate. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the E.I.C, though masters of half of India, still looked upon their possessions in that continent as any area to be managed on business principles alone. They regarded their employees as servants whose exclusive duty was to carry on the business of the firm quietly and economically, with a view to distribute attractive dividends amongst the shareholders. Accordingly, they impressed upon successive Governors-General, the paramount importance of remembering that they were traders, not empire-builders, and exacted a promise from each that peace and reduction of expenditure should be the aim of administration.¹⁴

Not only was the need for education gaining momentum but introduction of modern education through English was also being stressed on. Charles Grant who came to India in 1767 as a cadet¹⁵ lived and worked mostly in Bengal in various capacities until 1790. Grant was the first to recommend the introduction of modern education in English as a medium of instruction. During his stay in India, Grant was deeply motivated by two important aspects of Bengal-the inhuman practice of sati and the acute poverty and suffering of the peasantry. He

¹³H. Sharp, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839*, (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920), pp. 45-47.

¹⁴S. S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, (Punjab: Language Department, 1883, Reprint, 1999), p. 2.

¹⁵Henry Morris, *The Life of Charles Grant: Sometime Member of Parliament for Inverness-Shire and Director of the East India Company*, (London: John Murray, 1904), p.10.

believed that modern education alone could bring about social and economic transformation in Bengal. When Grant returned to England in 1790, the missionaries were agitating for the permission to enter India. Grant located his educational ideas within the missionary polemic in his *Observations* written in 1792, which according to him was an attempt to understand the 'effect of our administration upon the countries which have fallen under our dominion.'¹⁶ The 'Observations' drew little interest then, or even later when he became a member of parliament in 1802. However, his elevation to the position as Director of the E.I.C in 1805 enabled him to campaign much more persistently. Grant laid the *Observations* before the House of Commons in 1813 during the renewal of the Charter of the E.I.C. He was influential in making modern education an important agenda of the colonial state by allocating 1, 00,000 rupees or 10,000 pounds a year.¹⁷

Hence the earliest efforts of the British, towards the education of the Indian people were the establishment of Mohammedan College in 1781 and the Sanskrit College in Benares in 1792, with the objective of providing regular supply of qualified Hindu and Mohammedan law officers for the judicial administration. A possibility was unfolded for them to public employment and the state was provided with a supply of able servants and valuable subjects. It was considered that these men would be better qualified to appreciate the acts and designs of the government.¹⁸ Also, it was being felt, that the compliant and subjugated people of the raj were being used by the British, as a deliberate

laboratory for the creation of a liberal administrative state, and from there its elements-whether a state sponsored education, the codification of law, or a competitively chosen bureaucracy-could make their way back to England itself.¹⁹

Education was thus seen as a means to consolidate the British Empire in India and hence schools and colleges were established.

¹⁶Charles Grant, *Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of improving it, 1792*, p. 5.

¹⁷C.H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 155-158.

¹⁸C. E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, (London: Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1838), pp. 5-6.

¹⁹Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 29.

As regards the earnest efforts made later in the direction of imparting education to the Indian natives it is worth noticing that, in February 1812, Wilberforce, Grant, Henry Thornton, Stephen and Babington took it upon themselves to revive and co-ordinate the missionary agitation and activities of the various religious organizations in Britain, and if possible, to arrange interview with the ministers. However, they soon found that the religious world was “cold about the East India instruction”.²⁰ Zachary Macaulay did more than any other man to change the ministers’ intentions. With Wilberforce’s encouragement, he energetically organized a campaign calling on the religious organizations of Britain to send petitions to parliament for unrestricted dispatch of missionaries to India. Between February and June 1813, 837 petitions were presented. This extraordinary effort had an almost immediate effect on the ministry, and, on 26th May, Liverpool and Buckinghamshire told Wilberforce that they were willing to establish a bishopric in India and also gave the Board of Control the power to grant license to missionaries to proceed to that country.²¹

The Charter Act of 1813 puts down the educational policy of the Company and is aptly regarded as the foundation stone of the English Educational System in India. The parliament included in the Company’s Charter a clause making it lawful for the Governor-General in Council to set apart a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees for education. This was to be spent on the “revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India” and for “the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants.”²² The education clause is significant because the state had not yet accepted its responsibility for education in England. It was first accepted for India in 1813, while a long struggle led to its enactment in England in 1833.²³

The plans and efforts by the British for the education of Indians continued. However, the first giant leap in the direction of education in India came with the Macaulay Minute of 1835. In June 1832, Thomas Babington Macaulay became an Assistant Commissioner of the board and six months later he became Secretary. It is with him that the famous Minute of Macaulay’s on education is associated. On 2nd February 1835 Macaulay presented the

²⁰Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 188.

²¹Ibid.

²²Sharp, *East India Company Act of 1813*, in *Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839*, p. 22.

²³Parimala V. Rao, ed., *New Perspectives in the History of Education*, (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 2014), p. 1.

celebrated Minute on India education, which was endorsed in William Bentinck's Dispatch of 7th March. In his famous minute, Macaulay remarks,

it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. Rather we should do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions of whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.²⁴

William Bentinck, who is regarded as the Father of Modern Western Education in India, accepted the views and arguments of Macaulay and gave his absolute consensus to the sentiments expressed in this minute.²⁵ On 7th March 1835, William Bentinck issued a Proclamation, from which the following quotation may be of interest:

His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all funds appropriated for the purposes of Education would be best employed on English education alone.²⁶

This Proclamation marks a turning point in the history of education in India. It was the first official statement of a definite policy with regard to the course that the government wanted to give to the public education.

In order, to better understand, the consequences of 1835 as a turning point in the history of education, it is necessary to pause a while on its threshold. With the growth of the E.I.C's trade and power and its determination to settle down and transform itself from trader to ruler, the question of its responsibility for the education of Indians as a whole rose again before the directors. Charles Grant had proposed immediate measures for the improvement of Indian morality through education. He said that communication of knowledge would prove the best answer for their disorders and would have great and happy effects upon them, "effects honourable and advantageous for us."²⁷

²⁴T.B. Macaulay, *Minute on Education*, (Simla: Government Printing Press, 1835), p. 9.

²⁵B. D. Bhatt & J. C. Aggarwal, eds, *Educational Documents in India, 1813-1968: Survey of Indian Education*, (New Delhi: Arya Book Depot, 1969), p. 4.

²⁶T. N. Sequeira, *The Education of India: History and Problems*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 41.

²⁷M. R. Paranjpe, *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education, 1797-1902*, (Bombay: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1938), p. 2.

Although, Macaulay's Minute was the first official declaration of the British government in the field of education, and the year 1854 is regarded as the landmark in the history of India. It was the year the Wood's Despatch 1854 was made. The Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1854 has been described as the Magna Charta of English Education in India. To Lord Dalhousie, the then governor general, is credited this great educational reform. In his minute, Lord Dalhousie declared that it contained "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or the Supreme Government could ever have ventured to suggest."²⁸ Such is the magnanimity of the Despatch that H. R James called it the climax in the history of education and has observed about the Despatch: "What goes before leads upto it; what follows flows from it".²⁹ The Despatch made compulsory for the government the task of creating a properly articulated scheme of education from primary school to university. The instruction in state schools and colleges was to be completely secular. It mentioned that among many subjects of importance for the British government, education was the strongest to demand attention. It gave up the earlier theory of filtration that education given to the higher classes would trickle into the masses. The new policy was to fight the ignorance of the people, which was considered probably the greatest curse of the country.³⁰ It created a Department of Public Instruction in each province, with the aim of swiftly increasing the number of schools and to improve the quality of education given. In Punjab, the Education Department consisted of a Director, two Inspectors, ten Deputy, and sixty Sub-Deputy Inspectors. Commenting on the Education Department in Punjab, Tim Allender states that Punjab Education Department was more in keeping with the older models found elsewhere in raj.³¹

In 1857, the British Empire in India was shaken by the outbreak of the revolt. By the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The Secretary of State for India replaced the post of the President of the Board of Control. The first Secretary of State, Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859, did not make any major amendments to

²⁸J. A. Richey, *Selections from Educational Records, Part II, 1840-1859*, (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1922), p. 364.

²⁹H. R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797 to 1910*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), p. 38.

³⁰William J. Mackee, *New Schools for Young India*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: the University of North Carolina Press, 1930), p. 33.

³¹Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab*, (New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2006), p. 34.

the Despatch of 1854. The second great Despatch on education that of 1859 submitted that prior to the Despatch of 1854 nothing serious was done for the cause of education. It documented that the system of grants-in-aid acknowledged by private schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular (A.V.), was not suitable for providing the elementary education to the people. It recommended that the government should itself establish and run the elementary schools.

The brief but significant facts about the state of education in India before the arrival of British in India and post-colonial arrival provided us with a basic summary essential to know about the earnest efforts of British government towards education. This would further aid us in getting information about British attempts for teacher education. The education scenario in India drives us to the one in Punjab.

In the pages of history, there is most likely no story at once so grand, so romantic, and so loaded with instruction, as that of the British conquest of India and the progress of the British state in the East. But no great part of this great empire was British rule received with more genuine satisfaction than in the country of the Five Rivers.³² A Durbar was held at Lahore on the 29th of March, 1849, at which the Proclamation of the Governor-General, announcing the annexation of Punjab, was read in the presence of the young Maharaja and the remainder of the Sikh chiefs who had abstained from acts of open hostility towards the English.³³ With the opening of the era of imperialistic control in India, Punjab was again the last to be integrated into the British Empire because of its geographical location. Once they had conquered the rest of India, the Company raj could not possibly afford to keep this door open. Military recruits and the material resources of all the regions under their control were used to force the successors of Ranjit Singh to submission. Even after the elimination of the independent Punjab state as a result of its defeat in two Anglo-Sikh Wars, imperial control could not be strengthened easily.³⁴

Moving over to education in Punjab it is significant to note that education in the province was also not an easy affair. Though the beginnings of a modern system of education in Punjab

³²Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab: From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*, (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company limited, 1891), p. iii.

³³Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 572.

³⁴Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab, 1926-47*, (Delhi: Anupama Publications, 1979), p. vii.

were made more or less immediately after its conquest, an education system already prevailed in the province. Education in Punjab, prior to 1854, was not in an encouraging state but it is asserted that learning was no new concept to India because respect for learning had always been the redeeming feature of the East and Punjab formed no exception to this. Though broken by invasion and civil war, it preserved and added to educational donations. G.W. Leitner admitted that the state of education, though not flourishing was on a sound basis. There was not a mosque, a temple, a dharamshala that had not a school attached to it, to which the youth flocked mainly for religious education but the conquest of Punjab had “disturbed the minds of believers in Providence.”³⁵ He lamented how true education in Punjab was nearly destroyed and opportunities for its healthy revival and development were either neglected or distorted; and how, the system was convicted of worse official failure. He deeply regretted that the promising education scene in Punjab was changed by the British.

As regards, the start of education in Punjab, the state of education under the Mughals and Sikhs education had been left to the various religious authorities and had been mainly on religious lines. The secular educational system introduced by the British was at first only popular with the Hindu intellectuals, who saw in it a means of obtaining a superiority over their illiterate fellow countrymen.³⁶ Under the Sikh rule, teaching as a profession was almost entirely in the hands of the Mohammedans, who, besides teaching the Koran in the mosque gave instructions in the Persian classics. On these schools were grafted the earliest government vernacular schools.³⁷ Punjab became a British province in 1849, and the situation cropping up out of the possession left little time for educational efforts, before the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction on the basis of the Despatch of 1854. However, a system of indigenous schools had existed in Punjab, as elsewhere, since ancient times. On assuming the charge of the province, the British government declared its intention to take in hand the education of the masses. It found a three-fold indigenous system of instruction at work, consisting of Hindu village schools, Sikh schools, and the Mohammedan schools. Though these indigenous institutions were left untouched, between 1849 and 1854, the new administration established only about a dozen schools in the province. Speaking on

³⁵G. W. Leitner, *History of Education in the Panjab: Since annexation and in 1882*, (Punjab: Languages Department, 1883, Reprint 1971), p. i.

³⁶Hugh Kennedy Trevaskis, *The Punjab of To-day: An Economic Survey of the Punjab in Recent Years, (1890-1925)*, Vol. II, (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1932), p. 138.

³⁷Mackee, *New Schools*, p. 32.

the initial endeavours undertaken by the government for the spread of mass education in the province, the writer in the *Mujm-ool-Ukbar* published an article on “Education” in India, and declared that ‘in educating the natives of India now, the British Government are only repaying a debt long due to the ancestors of the present generation’.³⁸This shows that though, steps in the direction of education were taken by the colonial government, they were long overdue.

As is known, during the first four years after occupation, education was positioned under the control of the Judicial Commissioner, Robert Montgomery. In 1854, at the request of Judicial Commissioner, the control of education was reassigned to the Financial Commissioner, D. F. Macleod. It was but in 1853 that a specific plan for the development of indigenous education was prepared in Punjab. That year, it was proposed to extend the system common in North Western Provinces (N.W.P.) to Punjab. This system of vernacular education was known as Halkabandi system. According to this system, locations were selected in each district for village schools. The plan was that no village should be out of reach of a school and basically two miles was the limit of what was expressed as within the reach.³⁹ Prior to 1854, there were government A.V. schools at Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Gujarat. An attempt was made at several places particularly in Gujarat District, to introduce the village school system of the N.W.P; encouragement was given to missionary schools at Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ambala, Kangra, and Kotgarh, some of which had existed before the conquest of the province. A school of engineering, opened at Lahore prior to 1854 but, was soon afterwards abolished.⁴⁰

On the publication of the Despatch of 1854, steps were taken to form an education department in each of the great territorial divisions of India as then constituted; and before the end of 1856; the new system was fairly at work. A Director of Public Instruction (D.P.I.) was appointed for each province, with a staff of inspectors and deputy or assistant inspectors under him, (Refer Appendix-I for details about all the Directors of Public Instruction, Punjab, pp. 340-48). The Education Department in each province acted directly under the orders of the provincial government and developed a distinct system of working. It took over the government or the board institutions which had grown under the earlier efforts of the E.I.C.

³⁸‘Mujm-ool-Ukbar’, 26th July, in *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Panjab and the North-Western Provinces*, from the 16th to the 24th of August, 1865, p. 380.

³⁹Y. B. Mathur, *British Administration of Punjab, 1849-75*, (Delhi: Surjeet Book Depot, Nai Sarak, n. d), p. 82.

⁴⁰*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, pp. 20-21.

While we begin to review the history of education in Punjab, we come across that no province of India entered upon the task of diffusing education of the modern type under greater difficulties or with less assistance from private enterprise than Punjab. It is impossible to state what number of pupils received instruction in the first year of the Department's history; but it is known that there were only 3 secondary schools and 579 primary schools maintained by government.⁴¹

Education in Punjab, in the initial years did not progress to great satisfaction. This state of progress in the province has been described in an article, in the *Lawrence Gazette*, 'The Spread of Knowledge in Hind.' The writer lamented, that despite the well-known favour of the English government, "knowledge is making rapid strides in India and in both male and female schools, great encouragement to learning is being given, yet the ignorant of Hindostahhn keep their children aloof from even this mark of favour."⁴²

The discourse on the education in Punjab has set the stage for further exploration. As stated above, the education of men was slowly progressing in India but it seems that the education of women was yet to make a mark. Though women education was something not very promising across the nation but surprisingly it was being acknowledged in some parts of Punjab however.

Therefore, the subject of women education acquires utmost importance as this entire study about teacher education will be incomplete without the discussion of women teachers, hence the need to study the state of women education. It was felt that if women in Punjab have to be educated then the availability of women teacher only could change the grim scenario. The women education had deteriorated in the province after British control and also because of change of medium of instruction. These issues have been discussed in Chapter 4 & 5 respectively.

Women education was something that was not very popular among the Indian natives. It is mentioned in Richey's report that the natives as a body were rather opposed to the education of their women and it was almost impossible to prevail on the natives, the Hindus, to allow

⁴¹*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 44.

⁴²'Lawrence Gazette,' 23rd April, in *Selections from the Vernacular Newspaper, published in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces*, from the 8th to the 16th May, 1865, pp. 232-233.

their females to be educated. The main reason was that in order to keep the women in subjection and seclusion, it was necessary to keep them ignorant. The initiative, in the matter of women education in India, was taken up by missionary societies in the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.⁴³

Prior to the Despatch of 1854, the attention of the authorities does not appear to have been focussed to the subject until many years after they had adopted definite measures for the education of boys. The education of girls was left entirely to the concern of individuals and private societies. The authorities, both in England and India, were of the opinion that any attempts to introduce women education might be looked upon by the people as an interference with their social customs.

In Punjab, the first D.P.I., William Arnold too, was concerned about the women education in Punjab but admitted that even when the education department was first organised, it was deliberately planned to put the question of women education on hold until the ordinary establishments were well set on foot. But gradually, the government grew above the discrimination of the people and the need of educating girls was felt tremendously. The popularity of the efforts made for women education in the United Provinces reached the authorities in Punjab and started the process by convincing people about the importance of teaching their daughters. The first girls' school in Punjab was opened at Rawalpindi under the patronage of Mr Browne, Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi division, in December 1856.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, it was felt by the colonial officials that education in Punjab simply required revival as there were many examples suggesting the presence of schools and education in the province. A remarkable fact concerning pre-British education in Punjab is the presence of a certain amount of education for girls—a thing almost unknown in other parts of India. G. W. Leitner admitted that in spite of the overall educational scenario being grim and the women education almost retarded yet the indigenous woman education in Punjab basically required revival than development. One factor, that he held responsible for the major decline was the introduction of Urdu as the medium of instruction. He added that earlier the girls who were taught to read Nagri or Gurmukhi or Arabic at home or at a friend's house, where other girls

⁴³Richey, *Selections from Educational Records, Part II*, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁴Sana Ullah Khan, *A History of Education in the Punjab*, Volume I, (*Primary Education*), (Lahore: Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, 1932), pp. 120-121.

could also assemble, after introduction of Urdu had a brother in government school reading it and as a result slowly becoming dissociated from her in language and feeling. The mother also, for the same reason could not co-operate with the teacher. The Punjabi women had, however, been more or less educated, and also been educators of others. In Delhi, for instance, before the takeover of Punjab, there were six public schools for girls kept by Punjabi women, who emigrated to the South for this purpose. The families were supportive of their girls being taught. There were only a few families where the father, brother or mother did not take a pride in teaching the younger girl members to read. Hence, it was suggested that the best means for spreading women education in a way welcome to native thoughts was to employ the maulvis, pundits and bhais for male teaching and their wives, or, sometimes, elder sisters, for teaching women. Furthermore, the co-operation of the wives of European and native officials with the priestly classes would also generate measures for imparting worldly instruction to native girls.⁴⁵

The women education suffered a setback in Punjab due to several reasons including the want of women teachers. The women education, in itself, was something that did not find a mention in any of the government despatches, the topic of training of women teachers was also not paid attention to. Thus, the women education made very little progress in colonial Punjab. Many causes were responsible which stood significantly in the way of bringing about the preferred results. The main defects were not as much as the action or inaction of the ruling power as the prevalent customs of the people themselves and apathy of the people towards the girls' education. This was owing to social and religious constraints of early marriage and several other issues. The want of competent teachers obstructed the growth of women education and every possible encouragement was afforded to women to qualify to the required standard. But it was strongly felt that the young women were unable or unwilling to serve as teachers at a distance from their homes. It was quite late, when a government training school for women teachers came up in Punjab. It was in 1905 that a government Normal school for women was established at Lahore. Earlier, there were Aided training schools for women. This was again due to several reasons which have accordingly been brought out in the related chapters. The present work tries to bring some related issues to the forefront meticulously with complete details in the chapters on women education and the training institutions for women teachers in Punjab.

⁴⁵Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, pp. 97-101.

Besides, the above major factor of unavailability of women teachers, another prominent factor responsible for the lack of women education, was the lack of women schools and discouragement of girls studying in boys' schools i.e., mixed schools after a certain age. The important aspect that needs to be highlighted here is the existence of mixed schools. The mixed schools were not at all encouraged by the natives who objected to girls reading in the same place with boys. There seemed to be a general opinion that mixed schools were not suitable for this country. But mixed schools sporadically existed. There was an age limit in the mixed schools.

The age limits had a lot in connection with the education of girls. There was a certain age till which a girl could go to school. In Bombay, nearly half the number of girls attending primary schools was in boys' schools. Provided the age limit was 10 or 11 there was no prejudice in Bombay but in Punjab some communities, particularly the Mohammedans, would not send their girls to mixed schools unless there was a woman teacher. There were several reasons for girls attending boys' schools. The reason for the number of girls attending boys' schools was found to be the lack of girls' schools and not any preference for boys' schools. As it has been pointed out, the inefficient teaching in many girls' schools, where the teachers were unqualified women or superannuated men teachers was responsible for much of the attendance in boys' schools. In Bombay, girls attended boys' schools because there were no schools for girls in those particular areas.⁴⁶ The large attendance of girls in boys' school amounted to various significant and serious issues like that of no schools and the prejudices against their education. The Report of the Indian Education Commission (I.E.C.) admitted that, 'yet in some provinces, the girls found in boys' schools amount to many thousands. Most of these were undoubtedly infants. Moreover, it was impossible to establish a girls' school in every village, attendance at a boys' school will often be a girls' only chance of learning anything.'⁴⁷

In evidence to the Education Commission (E.C.), on the kind of views held for the mixed schools in the province, the Lahore Arya Samaj replied that there were no comments to offer on the subject of mixed schools except that mixed schools were not liked by the countrymen. Everyone objected to girls reading in the same place with boys and they thought, and in most

⁴⁶*Report of the Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Primary Education of Girls in India, 1936*, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), p. 3.

⁴⁷*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 532.

cases their belief had been confirmed, that bringing up girls and boys in the same institution had an unhealthy effect upon the morality of both. The nation has from ancient times been accustomed to educating its boys and girls in two distinct schools. And also because of practice it was their eligibility, too, which made it very difficult to make mixed schools popular among them.⁴⁸

So, co-education of boys and girls was hardly found in schools around. Furthermore, little or nothing seems to have been done in the way of establishing mixed schools for children, less than seven years of age which could probably had been most useful in laying the foundation for the further education of both boys and girls.

Another detrimental factor to women education was the medium of instruction which plays a crucial role in an educational system. The learner needs to be educated through the medium that is most suitable to them and, the taught, can learn through the medium that happens to be the closest to the script of their vernacular. Regarding the medium of instruction in Punjab, Urdu, came as an unfamiliar language causing widespread decline in the education scenario. Language was an important condition of colonials and thus the languages colonial state adopted for administration bears a significant aspect. The language question finds a mention in the Report by the Punjab Provincial Committee of E.C. There were certain arguments against Urdu- that it was not the vernacular of the people and was known by reasonably few people who studied it. It needed to be learnt in order to be understood and the ones who even knew it hardly conversed in it among themselves. The Hindu community was desirous of Urdu to be in Deva Nagri characters while Mohammedans were in favour of Urdu in the Persian characters. Hence the prejudices of both the communities had turned the language question into the most prominent issue of the time.⁴⁹ This issue caused a serious setback to the women education in Punjab. This subject has been dealt with extensively in the chapter of educating women in Punjab.

⁴⁸Answer of the Lahore Arya Samaj to the questions suggested by the Educational Commission, Evidences taken before the Punjab Provincial Committee, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee; with Evidences taken before the Committee, and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission*, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government of Printing, 1884), p. 480.

⁴⁹*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 105-106.

The education picture in India and Punjab was not that dismal, as already a sound system was in existence since ancient times. However, the colonial rule took quite long to recognise its duty towards education of the Indian people. Therefore, the scenario of the teacher training had been of utmost significance but negligent. The deficient supply of teachers was considered to be the reason behind low standards of education. In India, the extreme importance of training teachers for high schools and even assistant professors for colleges in principles and practice of education was urged by many. Indeed, the unsatisfactory result of the systems of education in India, especially in their lower grades, was traced to the deficient supply of properly trained teachers. Having been convinced of the fundamental importance of making better provision for the training of teachers, it was felt that the universities could afford material assistance in this matter. Hence, efforts were made in all provinces and attempts were made with varying success to train up teachers for schools. In the case of the ordinary teachers required for secondary and primary schools, the courses of study and the examinations were organized by the local governments, and in most provinces there were both central and district or local training schools maintained by government. Since the establishment of training schools, and where a sufficient supply of trained teachers could be provided, the teaching in the schools generally had improved. It was, however, clear that in certain provinces the number of training schools was much smaller than demand, and insufficient to supply more than a portion of the required number of trained teachers.⁵⁰ And in spite of the endeavours being made, the result was still not satisfactory in terms of the availability of trained teachers.

Finally, the introduction arrives at the point where the preceding themes transport us to theme of teacher education along with the need and significance of training schools. The discussion leads us to the fact that education cannot happen without a trained or educated teacher and there has to be a special training school for the education or training of a teacher.

We all are teachers in life at one stage or the other. As also rightfully contended, by Henry Simon, that everyone does some teaching. Parents teach their children, older children teach younger ones, experienced men teach newcomers, and friends give each other friendly advice. They are all, hopefully, imparting skill, knowledge, and maybe even some wisdom to

⁵⁰*Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902*, (Simla: Government Central Printing Office, 1902), pp. 42-43.

others. What sets the professional teacher apart, however, is precisely the fact that he is a professional. He must come to his job already equipped with a real mastery of a body of knowledge. He must find the most suitable and effective ways to train his pupils in the area of knowledge and help to develop their capacities-both intellectual and emotional-to the greatest advantage. The essential part of a teacher's profession is knowledge, training, experience, and personality.⁵¹

Simultaneously, strengthening our arguments for teacher education further, we come across P. Gurrey, citing that the education of good teacher is something much more interesting, more extensive, and more challenging than a professional training: it includes that, but goes far beyond it.⁵² He further consolidates that everything depends on the teachers, wrote Whitehead in 1929, and later in the sixties, the thinking public begun to believe that there is something in it. The schools need better-educated men and women, and it was declared that all those who wish to become teachers must eventually be trained. The training of teachers, however, is commonly regarded as the affair solely of the training colleges. Teachers are responsible for our children. In fact, they carry out their duties in the service of the nation, and the nation has the right to see that its teachers are well educated- the better the teachers, the more valuable will be their work.⁵³

The teacher is someone who is enormously relied upon in shaping the intellectual talent of its students. Moreover, it must be remembered that the quality of a nation depends upon classroom teaching in the school. The quality of classroom teaching in the schools depends upon the quality of education of the teachers. The quality of education depends upon the knowledge of the subject matter, on the one hand and knowledge of pedagogy on the other hand.⁵⁴

Hence, it is certain that the most important factor in the comprehensive progress in the educational system is the teacher- his personal qualities, his educational qualifications, his professional training, and the place he occupies in the school as well as in the community and

⁵¹Henry W. Simon, *What is a Teacher?* (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1964), pp. 13-14.

⁵²P. Gurrey, *Education and the Training of Teachers*, (London: Longmans and Green, 1963), p. vii. (M. L Jacks: The Education of Good Men, p.159.)

⁵³Ibid, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁴Mohammad Sharif Khan, *Teacher Education in India and Abroad*, (New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, n. d), p. 13.

no system of education can rise above the level of the teachers who serve it. Therefore, the aim of all training colleges is to produce good teachers.

In the ancient system of education, few and individually chosen students, were trained for religious leaderships but gradually with time as the value of education became more noticeable another type of educational institutions like-the village schools were developed. The most interesting feature of such schools was the status accorded to the teacher. Teachers were revered and considered to be epitome of knowledge.

Moreover, the fundamental requirement of any educational system is the provision of an adequate establishment of teachers, and of the necessary institution for training them. The latter ought to not only provide the requisite professional training, but should also inculcate a way of life which will attract, and make its mark on the young man and woman who intend to be a teacher.⁵⁵ It is rightfully contended that the quality of the teacher in an educational system is a more important factor than all the other educational factors put together: - syllabus, textbooks, equipment and buildings.⁵⁶ In the past, the training of teachers was unknown. This is not to say that no good or efficient teachers ever existed. But there was no question of professional training and the teachers owed their skill to natural gifts or the influence of a good teacher under whom they studied in their childhood or to family tradition.⁵⁷ It is also apparent that as regards the development of teacher's education, in olden times, there was no systematic provision for the education of teachers but it was assumed that a person who had acquired mastery over knowledge and could translate it into practical life was competent to teach. Later during the medieval times, a person well versed in religious rituals and performances was regarded as a good teacher. However, the need for the systematic education of teachers came to be felt during the British period.⁵⁸

Gradually it was being felt that a trained-educated teacher was crucial for teaching. Therefore, for the education to develop on a sound basis, the need of trained teachers gradually picked up in all the provinces. It also started to get its rightful place in the reforms.

⁵⁵*Post-War Educational Development in India: Report by the Central Board of Education, January 1944*, Fifth Edition (1947), (Allahabad: Indian Press, Ltd., 1947), p. 57.

⁵⁶K. G. Saiyidain, *Problems of Educational Reconstruction*, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1950), p. 297.

⁵⁷Austin A. D' Souza, and J.N. Chatterjee, *Training for Teaching in India and England*, (Calcutta: Orient Longman, n. d), p. 221.

⁵⁸Suresh Bhatnagar, *Indian Education: Today and Tomorrow*, (Meerut: Loyal Book Depot, n. d), p. 322.

Sharp's Educational Report mentions the emphasis on the training of teachers. Writing the reports in Bombay in 1825 Secretary Farish said that a great delay in the establishing of schools at the presidency has arisen from the necessity of educating the schoolmaster.⁵⁹ In March 1825, the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal that the Calcutta School Society apparently integrated with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction an understanding of greater importance for educating teachers of the indigenous schools. The training up a class of teachers provided for the ultimate extension of better education to a section of the people of India.⁶⁰

Similarly in the case of Madras, a presidency in which the training of teachers has always been regarded as of the highest importance, the Court of Directors, commended Thomas Munro's proposal to establish a school for that purpose; and, in 1836, the Secretary to the Committee for Native Education laid before government an elaborate scheme for a Normal school.⁶¹ William Adam in his famous report, stressed that any measures that may be adopted to improve education in this country would be greatly inadequate if they were not directed to increase the attainments of the teachers, and to elevate and extend their views of the duties belonging to their vocation.⁶² He supports the training of teachers in the special schools i.e., Normal schools. He affirmed that it is only by the establishment of Normal schools that teachers can be thoroughly qualified for their important functions.⁶³

The situation regarding the education or training of teachers was not very promising. Such was the state of teachers' education in India that, in Bengal the contemporary observers agreed that the teachers were of low calibre-as in contemporary England. William Adam found them to be inexperienced, poor and ignorant. The profession was not highly regarded; teachers were poorly paid and had no aspirations to any moral influence for good over pupils, nor were they always qualified to teach even the limited course of instruction that was theoretically available.⁶⁴ Perhaps, the greatest single problem that the missionaries had to deal with was the teachers. A Normal school was established at Serampore in 1816, to which

⁵⁹Sharp, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I, 1781-1839*, p. 49.

⁶⁰Ibid, p. 50.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²William Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 & 1838*, ed. Anathnath Basu, (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1941), p. 138.

⁶³Ibid, p. 385.

⁶⁴M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 45-46.

villages sent teachers for a short course, after which they returned to their schools. Nothing is heard of it as a separate institution after 1818. However, its functions were to some extent subsumed in Serampore College, whose objective was the training of teachers.⁶⁵In his famous Minute, 1826, Thomas Munro, strongly admitted that, no progress, however, can be made without having better instructed teachers than there were then. In addition, it was admitted that the foremost requirement was, therefore, a school for educating teachers.⁶⁶

While trying to know the need for systematic education of teachers which came to be felt during the British period, we come across an important revelation in the Selections from Educational Records, 1840-1859. F. Boutros mentions that, Hodgson's plan of establishing Normal schools for teachers was apparently too advanced for the country. It was not because the schoolmasters were lacking that the progress of education did not advance at a quick pace but because the encouragement to receive instruction were either inadequate or the advantages to be obtained thereby insufficiently clear.⁶⁷

Macaulay, regarding the training of teachers, had observed that he was unable to figure out as to how to create the teachers of elementary knowledge more competent or supply more capable men than them. He lamented that this was an evil which time alone could find a remedy for and schools were the centres for social masters for the next generation. He admitted that if a class of educated Indians could be raised up it would of course gradually displace the existing incompetent teachers.⁶⁸

The advent of the practice of imparting systematic training to teachers was during the British rule. However, little official attention had been given to the matter until the Wood's Despatch, 1854. The Despatch made a pointed reference to the scarcity of schoolmasters with proper qualifications and the imperfect methods of teaching prevailing in schools. It recommended the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes in each province of India. The Despatch also insisted that the attractions of the teaching profession should be such that the right type of persons should come forward to work as school teachers. The missionary educationists had already started some work in

⁶⁵Laird, *Missionaries and Education*, p. 113.

⁶⁶Sharp, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I*, p. 74.

⁶⁷Richey, *Selection from Educational Records, Part II*, p. 9. (This is an Extract from Mr. Boutros 'An Enquiry into the system of Education most likely to be generally popular in Behar and the Upper Provinces')

⁶⁸Mackee, *New Schools*, p. 20.

teacher's training. In Bengal, Alexander Duff had started his first Normal school. Originally intended for the training of missionary teachers, it soon supplied some good teachers to the schools too.⁶⁹ Wood's Despatch saw the establishment of Punjab Education Department. When the Educational Department was founded in 1855, it was based on the principle of having a separate Department to be worked solely by educational officers. "A staff of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors was organised, who were, in effect, to act in these several spheres as the local representative of the Director."⁷⁰

Special instructions regarding the training of teachers were issued by the government of India to the E.C. that said that the arrangements existing in different parts of the country for training of teachers of primary schools should be brought under careful review, and suggestions for rendering that training more efficient and practical should, if possible, be submitted. In the Despatch of 1859, it was remarked that the institution of training schools does not seem to have been carried out to the extent contemplated by the Court of Directors. In a later Despatch of the Secretary of State, 1862, satisfaction was expressed at the improvement of the Halkabandi schools in the N.W.P. in consequence of the training masters in Normal schools. The Circle system and the Normal school system attempted to raise the standard of instruction in Bengal village schools through improved teaching. In 1874, the new scheme for the extension of Normal schools came into force. It contemplated the establishment of a first-grade school for training superior vernacular teachers at the headquarters of each division: and a lower grade school for village school teachers in each district.⁷¹ The I.E.C. offered recommendations that for the training of teachers should be established throughout the country.

Also, by now, it was noticed that the special training of teachers for the head-master ships, assistant professorships in colleges and also the second and third masterhips of high schools was also required in many of the provinces. The majority of training schools, educated teachers for the ordinary or lower master ships of secondary schools, and the special training of teachers such as necessary for the headmastership or even the second and third master ships of high schools or for assistant professorships in colleges had in several provinces been

⁶⁹D'Souza & Chatterjee, *Training for Teaching*, pp. 222-23.

⁷⁰ Minute by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Educational Department, 21st October 1863, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, p. 406.

⁷¹ *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, pp. 129-130.

felt quite untouched. In Madras, a central training college for teachers was established, and in this, a considerable number of graduates of the local university were being trained. Such graduate teachers at the end of their course could proceed to take the degree of Licentiate in Teaching at the Madras University.⁷² Besides the Madras Central Training College, the other college imparting training to the secondary, high or collegiate teachers was the Central Training College, Lahore, established in 1881.

Gradually, the significance of the training institutions dawned upon and similar attempts were made in many provinces to establish colleges for teachers' training. In Bengal too, a small training college for teachers, men and women, Indian and European, was established at Kurseong; and in the case of the Indian teachers, the class consisted almost entirely of graduates of the Calcutta University. Since, no examination for a license or degree in teaching had been arranged for in this university till that time, an inspector of schools examined the graduate teachers theoretically and practically and diplomas were given on the result of the examination. Probably great motivation and support would have been given to the provision of trained teachers, if the local University were to examine candidates and grant a License in Teaching as in Madras. Furthermore, the importance of the role of the University in teacher training was also emphasized. It was highlighted that, all Indian Universities should endeavour to recognize and assist in the training of teachers of all classes in the theory and practice of education in any way in their power, and recommend that in those universities where no examination for the License in Teaching has been established steps should be taken to introduce it. The university may well also take part in providing suitable courses of lectures for teachers.⁷³

Thus, the training institutes or schools that came into being resultant to the Despatch of 1854, in successive years can be divided into three grades-collegiate, secondary and primary-according to the grade of instruction to be given by the students after completing their course of training. The institution of collegiate grade in Punjab was the Central Training College, Lahore. It also trained teachers for secondary schools.

⁷²*Report Indian Universities Commission*, pp. 42-43.

⁷³*Ibid.*

A Normal school included-A college, for boarding, lodging and instructing candidates for the office of teacher in Country Schools, or persons who were already teachers, but whose want of special training hindered their usefulness and a practising department to learn and exercise their profession.⁷⁴The Normal schools were for the training of teachers for primary schools and departments, and vernacular institutions. The training colleges were for the training of teachers for secondary schools, both English and vernacular, and had, in consequence, English and a vernacular section.⁷⁵ The *Punjab Education Code*, 1925, also clearly defined that a Training College is an institution where students are prepared for A.V. masterships in secondary schools. A Normal school is an institution in which students are prepared for A.V. masterships in primary and secondary schools.⁷⁶

The situation at the education department in Punjab was that they had three government training schools for vernacular teachers. They were situated at Delhi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. The students were all stipendiaries from the districts and as a general rule were required to pass the Middle School Examination (M.S.E.) in the vernacular before they entered. Students who had passed the M.S.E. received a year's training before being examined for a certificate of competence to teach in a primary school. They were trained in the subjects taught in middle and primary schools, and were instructed in the job of teaching. There was also an Aided training school maintained by the Christian Vernacular Education Society (C.V.E.S.) at Amritsar, which intended to prepare teachers for employment in mission schools and elsewhere. Provision was made in the government training schools for 170 stipendiary students, and the number on the rolls of the Aided training school was 31.⁷⁷

In 1860, after the formation of the Education Department in 1855, the chief modifications introduced were, the vernacular schools, which formed the great majority, were transferred to the charge of Deputy Commissioners (D.C.). The Indian Deputy Inspectors were dismissed,

⁷⁴Grant-in-Aid regulations for India based on the English Revised Code as announced in Parliament in February and March 1862, Chapter III, Normal School 2*, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, p. 470. (*It was, however, unlikely that Normal schools will be established by private individuals or Societies, till the Grant-in-aid system has succeeded in encouraging private enterprise in the establishment of elementary schools.)

⁷⁵Special reports called for by the Government of India in Resolution, No. 495-506, 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education 1892-93-1896-97, Pros. No. 25, 13th July 1900, Proceedings for July 1900 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1900*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1900), p. 147.

⁷⁶*Punjab Education Code*, Eleventh Edition, (Lahore: Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, 1925), p. 4.

⁷⁷*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 40.

or employed at reduced salaries as school muharrirs. After certain other attempts, each district was provided with a district inspector or chief school muharrir, who was subordinate to the D.C. The department became subordinate directly to the government, without interference of any other officer.⁷⁸ The vernacular education in Punjab underwent the restructuring of vernacular schools with the schools being divided into three classes-lower, middle and higher or Normal school. The higher class or Normal schools were to be filled by students who had gone through the approved course of middle schools. Two kinds of people were to study in Normal schools-the common students, and candidates for teacherships. Teachers of lower-class schools were required to be passed through the Normal schools and obtain certificates of skill, and teachers of middle-class schools were required to have attended certain courses of lectures at the Punjab University or the Delhi College, if affiliated to the former institution.⁷⁹

Before the establishment of a training college, the Normal schools in the primary instruction prepared teachers for both middle and vernacular schools. The Central Training College at Lahore was designed to train teachers for English schools, and for secondary vernacular schools. The vernacular class of the college was in full working order from January 1881. The Aided Normal school of the C.V.E.S. at Amritsar did not train teachers especially for secondary schools. The system pursued was similar to that of training colleges in Great Britain, where the principal and the vice-principal had been trained. The examination for admission to a Normal school, took place half-yearly, in arithmetic to decimal fractions, algebra to simple equations, Indian history and geography, Gulistan, Bostan, Urdu grammar, reading and writing. Scholars who had passed the M.S.E. were also admitted on proof of good character without further examination. While, the men were under training, the stipend was Rs. 5 per mensem.⁸⁰

Much stress was laid on the earliest efforts taken to establish the training schools so it was emphasised that trained masters were needed if the idea of education was to be realized. Many a time complaint were heard about the incompetency of most of the teachers yet there

⁷⁸G. S. Chhabra, *Social and Economic History of the Panjab (1849-1901)*, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, n. d), p. 140.

⁷⁹Vernacular Education in the Punjab, No.50, 4th March 1869, Proceedings for January 1871 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Education, Science, and Art Department for the Year 1871*, (Lahore: Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1872), pp. 2-3.

⁸⁰*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 48-50.

was a tendency to do away with the means of bringing out a qualified staff. The old colleges aimed at producing teachers. In Elphinstone College, students of the two highest classes were called Normal scholars, and while receiving college education they were required to teach one hour every day in the lower school in order to qualify for the duties of a teacher. Admitting the decline in teaching, the Textbooks Committee reported, that the graduates then received no such exercise, and the Normal schools which existed in Oudh and Bengal for vernacular master had been, or were being, abolished, and the students of middle-class schools were appointed teachers without any special qualifications. It was therefore that many of them were useless.⁸¹The Committee further proposed that the government of India be requested to direct that the provision for training masters should be maintained in every province and where inadequate should be made without any delay.

The necessary description of the training institutions in Punjab and India reveals that the establishment and gradual development of the institutions was witnessed throughout India. This comprehensive Introduction is a prelude to a broader picture of the study in the following Chapters. With their need and significance being realised, not only was it considered that said schools were crucial for a sound education system but also the need of the hour, and certain policies and plans made sure it was executed too. The various policies and plans made headway towards the accomplishment of providing trained teachers.

The inevitability of a trained teacher for teaching in any educational system has thus been put forth. It leads us to know more about a teacher and certain definite and crucial issues related with teachers' service. While teachers serve the community with their valuable services for a fairly long period, it becomes inevitable for the authorities to provide them with not only the finest in-service but offer premium post-service (after retirement) conditions. These include in-service offers like that of the best of salary, bonuses, promotions, rewards and awards, leave allowances, annuities and many other perks. Post-service or after retirement or leaving the service, the amount provided in form of pensions and gratuities can actually aid a retired teacher to live a life of respect and dignity. Teachers in colonial rule too were provided with in-service offers as well as post-service offers. We have a discussion about the same in our chapter. Also, there were certain rules implemented for teachers so as to allow the school to

⁸¹*Report of the Committee Appointed to Examine the Text-Books in use in Indian Schools*, (Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1878), p. 76.

function impartially for the betterment of students. All such and many more related issues to a teacher's employment in Punjab during the colonial rule are looked into and reveal some interesting facts. Consequently, this provides us with a required block to complete the picture of teacher education

Review of Existing Literature

Tim Allender's pioneer work *Ruling through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab*⁸², is an appreciable attempt to demonstrate how the actions of a relatively small number of Europeans working within a complex administrative framework retreated from such expansive and imaginative educational policy-making and how government education soon became a town-based system mostly for the children of the elites. His work is concerned with European-led education in the concluding half of the nineteenth century in British India. Its focus is the large northern province of Punjab the land of five rivers. In the middle of the nineteenth century, colonial education began in Punjab with an eagerness for village schooling that assured extensive progress in favour of the poor children. The book offers a significant review to postcolonial suppositions why British education eventually proved futile. It displays that in Punjab, and in most of India, irreparable damage had been done to the image of government education well before the baton of national resistance was taken up by the Arya Samaj, the Khilafat and the Indian National Congress in the early twentieth century. Allender's work provides us with ample amount of information about the education system and mentions sporadically about the teacher training institutions, Normal schools, in Punjab. His is the most detailed work done on the education in Punjab during the colonial times.

M.V.C. Jeffreys in his work *Revolution in Teacher Training*⁸³ attempts to analyse and evaluate the undergoing changes in teacher training in the 1960's. He admits that events in teacher training were moving very fast. In this work, he gives the historical background of teacher training in England. While giving the historical background he reveals that teaching was not recognized as an occupation for which professional training was necessary. It is true that the vast majority of non-graduate teachers were trained but the considerable difference of salary between qualified and unqualified teachers was a powerful deterrent to the untrained

⁸²Allender, *Ruling Through Education*.

⁸³Jeffreys, *Revolution in Teacher Training*, p. 1.

teachers. He also tells us that the prominent thing in the modern history of education is that it took so long for the various countries to realize the importance of teacher training- that schools cannot be better than their teachers. The major issue that Jeffreys brings to light is the influence that the institutes of education exert upon teacher training. Further in his work, he explains the expansion of the colleges for teachers. He also stresses on the establishment of a three-year course when he speaks of the importance attached to the extension of the training course. He emphatically stressed on the development of teacher training and hoped that not only many more teachers will take some form of further training, but also that the training colleges, as well as the university departments of education, will come to play a much larger part.

Austin D'Souza and J.N. Chatterjee in *Training for Teaching in India and England*⁸⁴, presents a comparative study on the existing position of the training of teachers in India and England. Progressive countries are becoming eagerly alive to the importance of improving the school-teaching personnel. Attempts are being made to raise the quality and standard of instruction, by giving teachers better, longer and more varied training, and more attractive pay and conditions of service. Various benefits, such as in-service training, continued education, exchange and secondment and study-leave are offered to teachers, to bring greater interest, variety and freshness into the profession of pedagogy. After the momentous Education Act of 1944 in England, the MacNair Committee fully reformed the provision for training teachers prevailing at that time. In India, too, with her political change, the entire educational system, especially in schools, was being thoroughly revised, on the question of teachers, their training, and efficiency and numerical angles. Both these countries were at very interesting phases of their educational history, particularly, in so far as the condition of their school-teachers was concerned; and the two authors have attempted to present a survey of each, and indicate in what direction the progress goes on.

P. Gurrey in *Education and the Training of Teachers*⁸⁵ admits that much of his work has already existed in the minds of progressive men and women, and has received expression in addresses, articles, letters to the press, and in fuller presentation in longer works. But, he hopes that, what is often thought, but never so simply expressed may promote further thought

⁸⁴D'Souza Chatterjee, *Training for Teaching*.

⁸⁵P. Gurrey, *Education and the Training of Teachers*.

and perhaps more vigorous application. Indeed, problems of time, money, expediency and reform are as pressing as ever. Yet it is obvious that there must be more adventurous thinking about the education of the educators, and also more and better use made of the best that has already been devised for our children, for their teachers and their future teachers.

John Hargreaves in his work *Teacher Training*⁸⁶ says that it is not another book on how to teach but it has been written simply to discuss the aims of teacher training colleges and to put forward methods which have been tried in certain colleges, both in England and in other parts of the world. In his work Hargreaves explains that the process of training, like the art of teaching is far too complex to be tested by any public examination. Another important stage in teacher training is to recollect the problems in the day-to-day life of a School teacher, and the characteristics, the qualities, and the techniques that a teacher needs. He also talks about the aims of a training college. Besides the development of strength of character and self-discipline, they may acquire a philosophy of life, and appreciate the real value of each of the subjects they will teach, to mention a few. The term 'Training College' in his work had no reference to University courses. But the author had in mind those institutions that offer non-graduate one, two, three, and four-year courses, sometimes called Normal schools.

Arun K. Gupta *Teacher Education, Current and Prospects*,⁸⁷ is based on the papers presented at the 'All India Seminar on Teacher Education.' In this volume, the topic of teacher education has been treated from three different angles. Firstly, there are papers which review and discuss the present state of affairs regarding education and training of teachers in the country. Secondly, recent trends in the theory and practice of teacher education and innovation in the field have been taken stock of. There are papers belonging to a separate class by themselves, on the issue of training and reorienting college and university teachers in the modern techniques of teaching. Lastly, they deal with the most vital issue- of future prospects in the field of teacher education. It is true that all other sectors of education have been subject to persuasive enquiry in the past, scant attention has been paid to revamp of teachers' education. It is, therefore, apposite that organized efforts are needed at all levels to initiate efforts in the field of education.

⁸⁶John Hargreaves, *Teacher Training*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

⁸⁷Arun K. Gupta, *Teacher Education: Current and Prospects*, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd., 1984).

Mohammad Sharif Khan's *Teacher Education in India and Abroad*⁸⁸ deals with teacher training in India and abroad. It begins by describing the foundation of teacher education. An attempt has been made to throw light on the philosophical, psychological and sociological foundations of teacher education. Later on, it brings to the forefront the objectives of teacher education. Gradually it moves on to find out the position of teacher-educators and finally it explains the historical development of teacher education in India, the U.K., the U.S.S.R, and the U.S.A. The work ends with the stress on micro-teaching. Micro-teaching provides teachers, a practice setting for instruction in which the normal complexities of the classroom are reduced and the teacher receives a great deal of feedback for his performance.

R. W. Rich in *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century*⁸⁹ describes that the teacher is a most vital factor in any educational system. He hoped that his study would prove a useful addition to the already substantial body of historical work dealing with English education in the nineteenth century, by describing and discussing the development of teacher's training during that period. Whilst considerable attention is necessarily devoted to administrative measures, which, after 1846, increasingly dominated the field of popular education, the work is particularly concerned with the evolution of the technique of training from the first experiments in the early monitorial training centres to the work of the training colleges and universities at the close of the century.

William Taylor in *Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers*⁹⁰ explains that this volume in the Colston Research Society's series constitutes a record of the symposium held in Bristol in 1968. The book is divided into four parts. The first examines the role of the teacher, and the kinds and numbers of teachers that the colleges of education and the universities need to produce to satisfy the present and future requirements of the society and schools. The second part provides some critical analyses of the process of teacher education, while the third is concerned with the relationship, both to this process and each other, of the various partners in the enterprise-government, the universities, local authorities and the teaching profession. An essay in this section on some of the contemporary issues in American teacher education furnishes a comparative perspective for some of our problems of influence and control. The

⁸⁸Khan, *Teacher Education*.

⁸⁹R. W. Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1933).

⁹⁰William Taylor, ed., *Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers*, (London: Butterworths, 1969).

fourth and final part consists of an overview of recent research on the education of teachers, and includes an extensive bibliography.

Henry W. Simon's work, *What is a Teacher?*⁹¹ is an extensive work on a teacher. It describes in detail the job of a teacher and the various ways to do it. The author himself had been a teacher and knows, that teaching calls for more than an under graduate subject major and good intentions. He knows that even the natural teacher can be more effective when he prepares systematically for his work. He emphasizes the need for knowledge about the nature of learning and learners, about teaching techniques, about the social and philosophical concerns in which every teacher is inevitably-and should be responsibly-involved.

The review of existing literature reveals that exclusively foreign authors have spoken about the teacher's education extensively, with an exception of few Indian authors who have come up with work on the topic, that too on India as whole and nothing in particular on the state of Punjab. Perhaps, Tim Allender is the only author who has done an extensive work on the education in Punjab.

Consequently, the proposed study plans to look into the Origin and Development of Teacher Training Institutions for the Primary and Secondary Schools in Punjab in detail and discuss about trained teachers, their employment, schooling of women and the women Normal schools in Punjab.

The work has tried and looked into the entire background including the education in India and Punjab prior to the British capture so as to provide with the information about the vital facts that acted as a setup for the introduction of the Normal schools. The study begins from the year 1860 onwards which is very important in the history of education because it is the period that witnessed the introduction of a number of reforms of great consequence in the field of education. The year of 1854 at the backdrop of this study has the famous Charles Wood's Despatch. Under the Wood's Despatch, a scheme of education from the primary to the university level was suggested. It recommended A.V. schools throughout districts, government colleges in important towns and a university in each of the three presidency towns, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, modelled on the London University. Vernacular

⁹¹Simon, *What is a Teacher?* pp. 5-7.

languages were suggested as the medium of instruction and private efforts in the field of education were also encouraged by giving grants-in-aid. The Wood's Despatch, for the first, time recommended the creation of a department of public instruction in each of the five provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Punjab and the N.W.P. The head of the Department would be called the Director and he was to be assisted by a number of Inspectors who had to submit an annual report to the government about the educational progress in his province. In Punjab, the Department was established in the year 1855 with Mr Arnold as the first D.P.I. This study attempts to explore the progress of education beginning with his tenure and later followed by his successors. It explores the extent to which the change of medium of instruction from Persian and Punjabi to Urdu affected the growth of education in general and of women in particular. An important event that took place just few years after the Despatch was the Revolt of 1857. The end of Revolt brought the end of the rule of the E.I.C. The Act of 1858 laid down the rule of the Crown. Later in the year of 1882, an E.C. was appointed to review the development of education in the country since the Wood's Despatch. It emphasized the state's responsibility for the expansion and improvement of primary education. The E.C. looked into the growth of education during and after the Revolt, and also the extent of the steps taken to implement the recommendations in India. The year 1904 saw the Indian Universities Act being enacted ensuring greater control over universities. Sadler Commission, 1917-1919, made suggestions mainly for higher education. Sadler Commission was followed by the Sargent Plan of Education, 1944. Sargent Plan envisaged universal and compulsory education for children between the age of six and eleven. With these significant happenings throughout the study period this research would explore the progress of teacher's education in Punjab.

The complete dearth of scholarly work related to the Normal schools in Punjab the thesis relied considerably on the primary sources for the information required to weave the chapters.

Objectives of the Study and Research Questions

This fact constitutes the basis of the study, that there are works on language controversy in Punjab, there are works on Arya Samaj and Singh Sabha Schools in Punjab, but there is practically an absolute dearth of historical and scholarly effort on teacher education in Punjab. This topic has not received due academic attention. Therefore, the major objective of the present study is to seek information about the origin and development of teacher training

institutions in Punjab & to explore the process of establishing Normal schools in the various districts of the province. Furthermore, it also studies the training college at Lahore which was established for the training of the masters of the secondary schools. Likewise, the study gradually aimed to explore the various aspects related to the teachers and their employment besides acquiring knowledge about the various training schools established for their education. Similarly, in this context the work also attempts to discover the introduction of Urdu as a medium of instruction and its huge impact on women education. Moreover, the women education in Punjab is another topic of serious concern explored in the development of teacher education institutions. Various interesting issues related to the women education in Punjab have been looked into. The study unfolds the significant part of establishment of training institutions for the education of women teachers and ultimately brings out clearly the number of Normal schools established, when and where did the first Normal school for women come up? And several more intriguing facts are brought to the forefront thus making our travel more exciting. Many of our research questions like the need of Normal schools, the change of medium of instruction effecting the education scene, Normal schools for women, enough women teachers for the same, sufficient funding of schools, people's support to women education and in turn their training and appointment as teachers, the mixed schools or co-education, the caste and community of scholars (men and women) in Normal schools, the standard of education in training schools, the stipends and scholarships provided have duly been answered by a detailed encounter with each. Besides important research questions several other surprising facts related to teacher education and women teachers have also come to light. The study revealed that how and when the teacher education received attention in the Province and its ultimate growth.

Research Methodology

Regarding the methodology followed, the thesis has relied considerably on primary sources due to the lack of availability of secondary sources. The various official reports, files, proceedings of government of India and Punjab form the basis of the present work. The archival documents like Proceedings of the Home Department, Education Branch, reports, and files besides being a storehouse of information form the foundation of the thesis which brings to light the actual situation regarding the teacher education in Punjab. The Proceedings of the Home Department, Education Branch, at National Archives provided an overview of the state of teacher education of India and also of Punjab. Various regional archives like that

at Punjab, Haryana, Kolkata, and Lucknow too provided the priceless records on which the thesis reposes its existence. The Proceedings of the Government of Punjab in the Home Department, Education Branch, Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, deserve special mention. They have provided some important figures and details that helped frame the further trajectory of the study. The education reports from Punjab State Archives, Patiala possessed decisive information mandatory for the study and to know the state of education and teacher education in colonial Punjab. The Files of General and Political Department, and Education, of Ambala and Delhi division at Haryana State Archives, Panchkula furnished decisive district wise information of the Normal schools and the scholars in Punjab. All the files preserved in various state archives produce the reflections of the inner thoughts of official mind and show the background and policies of various decisions making regarding the establishment of Normal schools. Apart from these files and proceedings, British government produced official reports. These reports mainly produced annually or the quinquennium reports have also been taken into account. The primary sources also include the vernacular newspaper reports preserved at National Archives of India. The archival sources have helped had the pulse of the teacher training institutions in Punjab during the colonial period. The contemporary sources are also taken into account that provide some critical inputs regarding the state of education, teachers' education, and also women education not only in Punjab but also across India during the study period. The work also takes into account the available related secondary readings that helped strengthened the arguments. Few important libraries at Central Secretariat, National Council of Educational Research and Training (N.C.E.R.T), National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (N.I.E.P.A), Department of Education, University of Delhi, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (N.M.M.L), Library, Vidyajyoti College of Theology, Delhi, and Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi, have a good collection of some important primary and secondary sources that proved valuable for the proposed study. Nonetheless there was a scarcity of available readings on teachers' education in the province. Many prominent works have been carried out on Punjab but this topic is different. The Appendix List comprises of tables (taken from the archival sources collected from National and various regional archives) which contains precious data of vital information about training schools and scholars, men and women. Women education and training institutions for women teachers have been discussed in detail. The Normal schools in Punjab and India were an answer to the call of hour for trained teachers.

Plan of the Study

The present study is divided into seven chapters including Introduction and Conclusion. Chapter 1, Introduction clearly brings forth the various significant aspects to light, beginning right from what is education? Reflecting on the teaching and proceeding to the Education in India, the education in Punjab-the background, women education- the beginning, and talks about co-education or mixed schools for the women education, the change of medium of instruction, teacher education (training of teachers) have been discussed. It is necessary for us to know about all these in context with the teacher's education. It traces the origin of Normal schools, teacher training-Normal schools-training institutions in Punjab. And it finally reveals the need and significance of the training institutions and completely brings out the content of the work undertaken. The other part of it presents the review of literature; secondary sources that help us have a pulse of the topic. The various secondary works that mention about the teacher training institutes have been talked about. Chapter 2 and 3 engage in detail, with the establishment of training institutions, for teachers of primary and secondary schools, that is the Normal schools, training college, the Model schools, the training classes and the oriental teachers' classes throughout the province. The qualifications for admission, the session in a training school, number of hours required for instruction, the teaching staff in the Normal school, the grant-in-aid to maintain them, their development during the years in the Circles and other fundamental features related to them have also been examined. Chapter 4, talks about the Teachers and their Employment. Teachers' education and the importance of teaching are discussed to better understand the need of trained teachers for a sound education system. The women teachers, their importance for women education, courses, the stipends, rewards and remunerations, teachers' expulsion, their appointments, dismissals, leave and allowance, appointment and promotion, and punishment given has been described in detail. The numbers of teachers in the Normal schools, community class and caste wise, their social position, competency and influence on the society have been looked into. Measures taken for the improvement and, progress in qualification of candidates for teacher training are spoken of. Also, the rules laid down, for teachers and students, for the internal economy of Board Schools are also brought to the notice. Moreover, the chapter talks about the trained and untrained teachers in Punjab. Chapter 5 is related to the Women's Education in Punjab. Women education lacked due to many prejudices that needed to be get rid of. The major obstacle in the women education was the unavailability of the women teachers. Steps were

taken to resolve this major issue with the schoolmasters' wives and widows being encouraged to teach. The native co-operation and contribution for this endeavour was inevitable. Several other stumbling blocks in the women education are mentioned in the chapter, but the substitution of Urdu for Persian as the medium of instruction was a great deterrent to women education. Zenana instruction came to the rescue and so did the missionary efforts and mission teaching. The textbooks for girls and the list of the same are shown. A brief introduction of the curriculum of women schools has been stated. The progress of women education during the study period (selected years) in the Circles and the province has been described. Chapter 6 brings forth the need of trained women teachers and their significance for women education. The establishment of the training schools for women and obtaining European mistresses for Normal schools are engaging as the chapter unfolds several other important issues. Chapter 7, Conclusion, reveals the summary of the work undertaken and reveals the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2

Origin and Development of Training Institutions for Primary School Teachers

This deficiency has been more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools, and classes, for masters in each Presidency of India.¹

A matter of the greatest importance not merely that Normal schools should be established at a few centres, but that they should be widely distributed throughout the country.²

The above first lines form the core to the present study. These are from the historic Wood's Despatch, 1854. Wood while mentioning about the establishment of Normal and Model schools, in England, for the training of masters points out that this deficiency was clearly felt in India as the difficulty of finding persons duly educated (trained) for the work of imparting education was greater and it was hoped that the training schools and classes for the education of masters in each Presidency would be established sooner. Hence the official start to teachers' education was given after this.

The succeeding lines above been mentioned in the I.E.C Report of 1882. As regards the recommendations for the training of teachers it strongly admitted that greatest importance was attached to the continued and systematic action being acted upon without any question. And it was also admitted to set up more Normal schools at few places but they need to be extensively distributed across the country hence solidify the necessity of Normal schools.

The study of the origin of the teacher training institutions in India in general and Punjab in particular is a path that was less traversed by the natives before the British. With the spread of education among the natives, the need for trained teachers increased, which forced the government to look into the matter with utmost priority. As we look further into the development of training institutions in Punjab, we realize that this was a mammoth task, given the vast demographic constituents in India. We come across certain facts that make us aware of the different dimensions of the education and especially the teacher's education that is to say teacher training in the Province.

¹*The Despatch of 1854*, on the "General Education in India", reprinted by the General Council on Education in India, (London: Adam Street Strand, n. d), p. 28.

²*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 132.

Learning in Punjab had always been a redeeming feature of the education system that existed. A Despatch from the Court of Directors of the E.I.C. to the government of India stated that it was highly rewarding to note that in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner “the people of the Punjab have a real determination for education, and would willingly second the efforts of the Government for the promotion of educational measures.”³It is believed that both necessity and encouragement for the educational measures existed in Punjab as much as in any other province in. The reports also stated that “There are less prejudices and fewer elements of passive hindrance or active opposition here than elsewhere”.⁴The Sikh zeal as well as political intensesness was disappearing. The Hindus were less superstitious and less priest-ridden. The Mohammedans were less bigoted, less bound by traditional practices, than their co-religionists in any part of India. The upper classes exhibited an open aptitude and curiosity. The agricultural classes were less indifferent along with being less ignorant in their tastes. On the whole, it was reported that, “the Panjab is ripe for the introduction of an educational scheme.”⁵ The above two statements provide us with ample of evidence that government too realised that there was a need for education in the province and it was time when some real educational endeavours were undertaken for the same.

The arrival of Hardinge as the Governor-General of India marked an era where great attention was paid to matters pertaining to education, and where far-reaching education reforms were initiated. Auckland, in his minute of November 1839, had drawn attention to the importance of having a trained body of teachers. But nothing was done till 1847 when the Council of Education’s plan for a Normal school for training teachers was sanctioned and a school, which was also to act as a Normal school, was opened in Bowbazar in Calcutta. (The general committee of public instruction was replaced by a Council of Education). The school closed down within two years after its commencement when it failed to accomplish the expectations of the authority largely owing to shortage of finances.⁶ One of the important features of British was the recognition of the need for training or apprenticeship in the art of teaching. The opening of Normal schools had been deliberated by the educational scheme framed in

³From the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Government of India, No. 43, 18th April, 1855, *Selections from the Records of the Government of India: A Collection of Despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education in India 1854 to 1868, Home Department, No. LXXVI*, (Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing, 1870), p. 30.

⁴Richey, *Selections from Educational Records, Part II*, p. 281. (The reports of 1851-52, 1852-53)

⁵Ibid.

⁶S. C. Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India, 1757-2007*, (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009), p. 49.

1854, so the sanctions contained in the despatch of the same year, were instrumental in accelerating the progress of work in this direction.⁷

Punjab was also coming up with other provinces in the field of education since plans for development of education in Punjab were under way. One of the earliest Administration Reports claimed that, popular education was a crucial matter not easily to be considered and encouraged under the pressure of urgent business, which preoccupied the Board ever since British authority. Some initiatory steps had, however, been taken. Therefore, though not abroad scheme on education was established but the ground work was prepared, the educational possibilities of the province were discovered and a programme for the future prepared.⁸

Furthermore, as regards, the plans for development, there were remarks on elaborate plans having been made for the introduction of a system for popular education in Punjab. These plans were formed on the receipt of a recommendation from the government that “the Punjab Government should consider whether the system of vernacular education in the North-Western Province might not beneficially be introduced into the Punjab.”⁹Hence a complete scheme based on the system of education then prevailing in the N.W.P. was prepared and submitted for sanction in May 1854. The main proposals embodied in this scheme included- the establishment of four Normal schools and fifty Tehsildari schools, and the establishment of a Central College at Lahore. The government of India approved the scheme with certain changes in June 1854.¹⁰

Origin of the Normal Schools

Normal schools were established by government for the better education and training of vernacular schoolmasters. It was situated at the headquarters of each Circle for the training of vernacular teachers for primary schools. The institution of Normal schools for primary teachers, which was initiated by the Despatch of 1854, had been carried out. Investigation into the sufficiency of the number of Normal schools had shown that there had been an increase in some provinces notably in Bengal. Provisions were made for the increase,

⁷H. R. Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab, 1846-1884*, (Punjab: Languages Department, 1929, Reprint 1971), p. 75.

⁸Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development*, p. 10.

⁹Richey, *Selections from Educational Records, Part II*, p. 281.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 282.

depending partly upon the salaries paid to primary teachers, to induce men to go through a course of training. The common type of Normal school was a boarding school, for those students who had received a vernacular education, were maintained by the stipends in order to impart further general education, combined with instruction in the methods of teaching, and practice in teaching under supervision. The course, in a Normal school, differed in duration in the different provinces. In future, it was to be as a common rule, to follow a course in Normal school for not less than two years.¹¹

The Normal schools in Punjab had two classes: one preparing for vernacular teacherships in primary schools and departments, the other for teacherships in Zamindari schools, which were a diminishing class as compared to few years ago. At the Normal schools the similar attention was given to the theory and practice of teaching and to school management as at the Training college, and in the same manner; by lectures on method, by model criticism lessons, by work in the Model School, and by keeping registers, the frequent drawing up of the timetables, etc. All the teachers in both the Normal and Model schools themselves were trained men with proper knowledge of interest and mind.¹² The Zamindari schools are explained in the table below and the training college, the Central Training College in Lahore, for the secondary schools' teachers, that is, the middle and high school has been taken up in detail in Chapter-3.

For the training courses and teachers' examination there was a system where a certificate was awarded to the student at the end of the completion of course. In the system, proposed for male teachers prevailing throughout India, there was no training school for women teachers, the training courses and teachers' examinations were arranged with reference to the various grades of certificates, which were arranged by the system. The following table shows the various grades of certificates which were granted in the provinces in India and the posts for which the certificates made the holders eligible.¹³

¹¹ Training School for Primary Teachers, Appendix D, Indian Educational Policy, Resolutions of the Government of India, Calcutta 14th March 1904, *Educational Policy of the State in India: Being a Reprint of the Halifax Despatch of 1854, of Portions of the Report of the Education Commission and of the Orders of the Government of India on the Commission's Report, and on the Quinquennial Report on Education up to 1897, and the Resolution of the Government of India on Education, dated 11th March 1904, with an introduction*, (Madras: Satakopchari & Co., 1904), p. 164.

¹²J. S. Cotton, *Progress of Education in India, 1892-93 to 1896-97*, Third Quinquennial Review, (London: Darling & Sons, Ltd., 1898), p. 241.

¹³R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-1902*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 193.

Table 2.1 The information about various grades of certificates granted in Punjab.

Province	Grade of certificate	Posts for which the certificate qualifies
Punjab	Anglo-vernacular teacher's certificate-	-Head master, high school. -Head master, middle school, or assistant, high department. -Assistant master, middle department -Head master, primary school.
	Senior- First grade	
	Second grade	
	Junior- First grade	
	Second grade	
	Vernacular teacher's certificate-	As above
	Senior- First grade	
	Second grade	
	Junior- First grade	
	Second grade	
	Zamindari certificate	Head master, zamindari school

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-1902*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 194.

The broad characteristics of the system in Punjab, throughout India too, were that usually the certificates were approved on the result of departmental examinations at which two classes of candidates could present themselves, that is, the students of training colleges and schools who had completed a prescribed course of theoretical and practical study; and teachers of recognized schools who had delivered a definite period of service and had specific general educational qualifications.¹⁴

Moreover, some special features of the provincial systems need a special mention here so as to have a clearer picture about the certificate system. The provincial characteristics of the system in Punjab was that a temporary second grade Senior and Junior Certificate, either vernacular or A.V., was awarded to Normal students and to teachers with at least two years' reputation (having approved common educational qualifications) who passed the related examinations. Provisional second grade certificates were made permanent after a set period of approved service; possessors of second grade certificates could obtain provisional first grade certificates and these could be made permanent after another such period.¹⁵

Besides the A.V. Teacher's Certificate, senior and junior for first and second grade each for both and Vernacular Teacher's Certificate, senior and junior for first and second grade each, there was a Zamindari Certificate too. The Zamindari Certificate Examination required familiarity with the local method of accounts in the mahajani character and qualified for teacherships in Elementary Zamindari Schools, which were particularly planned to meet the wants of an agricultural people. The qualifications and supply of the candidates and the

¹⁴Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 195.

¹⁵Ibid.

examiners were the same as in the case of the Junior Vernacular Certificate Examination (J.V.C.E.)¹⁶

Educational Qualifications for Admission and Duration of Course in Normal School

It is significant to note here about the duration of course or the period of training in the beginning, for a Normal student. The initial period of training was six months though teachers were called up yet again after two or three years to undergo fresh training for about a year. By 1864-65, most of the teachers had received training at these schools and the time of training was then extended, till it covered a period of three years.¹⁷ It shows that the length of the course unfavourably influenced the quality of Normal student who turned out were not of the reasonable accomplishments. Hence the rules for admission seemed to have undergone several changes over the years in order to have better students for training. Reports mention that by the year 1901-1902, the length of course was one year only.

Table 2.2 The educational qualifications, length of course, examinations and certificate provided after the completion of the course. (Normal school or Lower Grade Institutions)

Province	Grade of institution or class	Preliminary educational qualifications		Length of course	Examinations	Certificates
Punjab	Junior vernacular	Middle school examination		One year	Ditto	Provisional second grade junior vernacular certificate
	Zamindari class	Ditto		Ditto	Ditto	Zamindari certificate
*Note-Ditto for Junior vernacular class examinations means that they were held at the end of the course and it was ditto for the Zamindari class.						

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 206.

It however appears that a Normal school, with all its exclusivity, was nothing better or higher than a good primary school. The training given in Normal schools was hardly effectively changed to keep pace with the increase of higher education in the country and the subsequent growth of a reasonably learned class who would be willing to enter the profession of schoolmaster. There were no rules to control the admission of students. The following rules were implemented in 1873 after discontinuation of the ones existing for the admission of students into Normal schools. Nominations were to be made by the D. Cs and inspectors in

¹⁶From J. Sime, Under Secretary to Government, Punjab, Home Education Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Pros.No.12, No.10 S, 10th June 1899, Proceedings for February 1901 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1901*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1901), p. 18. (Correspondence was regarding the grant of fees to officers of the Education Department for conducting examinations.)

¹⁷Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development*, p. 76.

consultations with each other in the month of January each year and at no other time during the year. Officers were to be guided in their nominations by the results of the previous middle examinations. Such candidates were to be placed in the posts of monitors or pupil-teachers. In June, the year after their selection they would be examined at the Normal school for the subjects taught in classes V and VI and in the mode in which they themselves learnt to teach a class. And this would be tested by their being set to give a lesson to a class before an able reviewer and by a report submitted upon their work in the Zillah School. If any nominee failed in this examination or if he was considered too young to enter into the Normal school he was to be sent back to his post as pupil-teacher. Confirmations were to be taken from the parents or other representatives at the time of appointment of nominees that they would put up with by these rules under fine of being forced to refund whatever they had received as their stipends from government. They would also be obliged to continue in the educational department for 10 years, unless permitted by the Director to leave it.¹⁸

However, later by almost 1888, it is noted that the candidates for admission to a Normal school were required to have passed the Middle School Entrance Examination in or some equivalent or higher examination, as well in Persian as one of the subjects. Candidates who had not passed the M.S.E.in Mathematics needed to satisfy the Headmaster that they had a competent knowledge of Euclid and Algebra to the middle standard before they could be admitted. As in the case of the Central Training College, students attending a Normal school were generally stipendiary. Some of these stipends were at the disposal of D.C. and others with inspectors. Non-stipendiary students could be admitted at the choice of the Headmasters, and would pay no fees. Local Bodies and Managers of Aided schools were allowed to send in for training teachers or others not receiving government stipends who were qualified for admission under the rules, provided that the whole cost of this arrangement should be paid by the Local Bodies or Managers concerned.¹⁹

¹⁸Nominations to Normal schools, Circular No.6, 13th March, 1873, *Nominations to Normal Schools*, File No.2, General Department, Delhi Division, Haryana, pp. 5-6.

¹⁹Normal Schools, Section D, Training Institutions for Masters, Pros. No. 4, No. 143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January,1888*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1888), pp. 11-12. (The Chapters on the Department, on Lahore Training College, and on Training Institutions for Masters, together with Section G. to Chapter VII on Stipends on p.53 of Pros. Chapter on the Department, pp. 1-17)

The Normal school students, later by 1900, were either young teacher sent in for training from primary schools or departments, government or aided, or youths who had passed the M.S.E., and wanted to become teachers. The course of training covered a year. The syllabus consisted of additional higher instructions in the subjects of general education most necessary to a teacher, complete scheme of lessons on school management and methods of teaching, Model and Criticism Lessons, and an ample amount of practical teaching, under trained masters in the Model School. The inspectors of schools, except in the case of the Training College, controlled and took a deep interest in the Normal schools within the Circle*of each. In order to ensure that quality education was delivered to all the students, the principal of the Training College visited the school once a year. The discipline maintained was strict but healthy; the boarding houses were carefully managed and supervised; games and athletics were encouraged. As remarked in the preceding quinquennial reports for the province that Normal schools were so organized and conducted as to make them well suited to the object they were meant to serve.²⁰

Subjects of Study in Normal School

Regarding the subjects of study, in Normal school, we come across that there was theoretical as well as practical course. The table below shows in outline the subjects of study followed in the institutions and classes of the lower grade that is the Normal school.

Table 2.3 Subjects of the study for the lower grade institutions and classes.

Junior vernacular	1.Vernacular language
	2.Classical language
	3.Mathematics
	4. Geography
	5. Agriculture
	6. School management
	7. Practice of teaching
Zamindari	1.Vernacular language
	2. Arithmetic
	3.Agriculture
	4. School management
	5. Practice of teaching

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 209.

²⁰Special reports called for by the Government of India in Resolution, No. 495-506, 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education 1892-93-1896-97, Pros. No. 25, 13th July, 1900, Proceedings for July 1900 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1900*, p. 148. (Subject -Training schools in the Punjab for teachers in both primary and Secondary schools. *Districts were distributed in educational circles. Like in 1869, the districts in the Lahore, Rawalpindi and Frontier circle were redistributed into Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan).

Besides the aforesaid theoretical course there were courses of practical training for the students of Normal schools. The practical course of training included the teaching in the model or practising school, involvement in criticism lessons and presence at model lessons. The character of instruction has been given by the following summary of work done under the above heads in the training schools of Punjab.

Table 2.4 Courses of practical training in Normal school.

Institution.	General practice in the model school.	Criticism lessons.	Model lessons.
Normal schools, Punjab	Students give instruction in model school in rotation, each student taking the class for one hour daily during a week. The head master and second master superintend this work, each having two classes under his supervision, and they take one of the classes for a quarter of an hour before handing it over to the student.	During half the year criticism lessons are given daily to one or other of the classes. Students teach and criticise in rotation; two or three students being appointed to criticise the lessons for each day. The head master sums up, and the students enter notes of the lesson in a book which is submitted to, and criticised by, the head master.	The head master occasionally teaches a class from the model school in the presence of the students.

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 213.

The reports disclose that there were a certain number of hours or time required for instruction in different subjects in Normal schools during each week.

Number of Hours required for Instruction in Normal School

Table 2.5 The estimate of the number of hours required for instruction in each subject weekly in the Normal school, 1888.

Persian	3
Urdu	3
Arithmetic and Mensuration	6
Geography	2
Common things	3
School Management	5
Practice of Teaching	4
Algebra and Euclid	4
Drill	3
	33

Source: Normal Schools, Section D, Training Institutions for Masters, Pros. No. 4, No. 143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January, 1888*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1888), pp.11-12.

Almost 20 years later by 1902, practice of teaching was for 5 hours; the study of agriculture for 2 hours each week was introduced in. This probably seems due to the reason that Zamindari Class was dwindling. Furthermore, the time fixed in each week for each subject was the maximum for arithmetic and mensuration followed by school management, Practice of Teaching. We also see that it was the least for Geography. Consequently, total numbers of hours for instruction of various subjects were 36 in a week in 1902 as compared to 33 in 1888. The Table below provides necessary details.

Table 2.6 The division of the hours of class of study contained in one week in Normal school, Punjab by 1902.

Urdu	3
Persian	3
Mathematics	10
Geography	2
Agriculture	2
Object lessons	3
School management	5
Practice of teaching	5
Drill	3
	36

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 210.

Teaching Staff in Normal School

As regards, the teaching staffs of a Normal school, the following table shows the number of each.

Table 2.7 Strength of teaching staffs in a Normal school.

Normal School, Punjab
1 Headmaster
1 Second Master.
1 Oriental Master
1 Vernacular Teacher
1 Gymnastic Instructor

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 201.

The staffs employed in these schools were reported to be satisfactory regarding adequacy and competence. However, in order to improve the efficiency of training, it was strongly urged by the inspectors that successful assistant district inspectors of schools should be appointed to

the staff of these schools. These suggestions received consideration at the time of making changes and fresh appointments.²¹

Stipends in Normal School

Stipends and scholarships make up essential constituents of a scholar's academic spell. The Normal students were also provided with stipends and were awarded with scholarships on exceptional performances. Scholarships and Stipends had been defined in the Punjab Education Code. Scholarship, as a periodical payment guaranteed for a fixed time on certain conditions, and awarded subject to certain set limitations, absolutely in accordance with the results of a public examination. Stipend, as a subsistence allowance made to a scholar on certain conditions to enable or induce him to pursue certain specified course of study.²²

Furthermore, it is stated that the new system of contribution towards the stipends of students attending the Normal schools was to be introduced from the beginning of the next financial year. The district was entitled to the maintenance of students in the Normal school and the training college at Lahore. Students were required to have passed the M.S.E. before entering a Normal school for primary teachers except in the case of men from backward districts, where candidates who had passed the M.S.E. were then not forthcoming. Stipendiary students attending Normal schools for primary teachers received stipends of Rs.6 or Rs.7 p.m., the latter awarded to those of superior attainment. Students attending Normal schools then received the same scholarships until the close of the period. Students, who particularly distinguished themselves in the Normal schools for primary teachers, were eligible for admission on stipends at Rs.9 per mensem. Success in the entrance examination of the Punjab University College qualified for direct admission to the Central Training College, provided that pass marks had been obtained in Arabic, Persian and Elementary Science. It was requested that in the event of the number of students from the district falling short of the certified number specified, those still waiting may be sent to the Normal school with as little delay as possible. Any students in excess of the official number who may in future be sent by

²¹ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 70.

²² Resolution of the Proceedings of the General Education Conference held at Lahore, April 1887, Pros. No. 3, Proceedings for July 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1887*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1887), pp. 138-39. (Scholarships, Article 30, and stipends, Article 31, defined in the Draft Chapter IX of the Punjab Education Code)

districts must be paid for individually, these stipends were forwarded directly to the Headmaster:²³

Furthermore, for provision of stipends the following rules applied to the Normal schools at Delhi, Jalandhar, Lahore and Rawalpindi: -Junior Vernacular (J.V.) Stipends. -Three hundred stipends were made available for students attending the government Normal schools including the Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi, acceptable throughout the session. Normal school stipends were usually of the value of Rs.6 per mensem. Teachers to whom stipends awarded were permitted to draw a part of their salary in addition. An added grant of Rs.2 per mensem, raising the stipend to Rs.8, was given to students from the Frontier Districts that is Hazara, Kohat, Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan. An extra allowance of Rs.1 per mensem was given to Normal school students from other backward districts namely Shimla, Kangra, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Shahpur, increased the stipend to Rs.7, on the recommendation of the inspector. It was noted specifically that the students receiving extra grant were to be selected as far as possible from amongst the natives of the districts by which they were supplied. The D. Cs were expected to make up the full number of Normal school stipendiaries to which their districts were entitled, and District Inspectors were held responsible for bringing to the notice of the D. Cs of the names of available candidates. The D. Cs were further required to inform the Inspector of the Circle, not later than the 15th August, of how many stipendiaries they could supply. If they were unable to supply the full number to which the districts were entitled, the available stipends were to be at the disposal of the inspectors, whose duty was to arrange the consumption of all the stipends. No stipendiary student was permitted to draw his stipend for any period exceeding one day in each month that he was absent from school, except in case of illness for a period not exceeding one week, and then on the condition that he remained in the Boarding House attached to the institution.²⁴(While discussing the stipends provided to Normal students, we have with us the list of stipends acceptable at government Normal schools, (Refer Appendix II, p.349).

²³Circular No. 10, Serial No. 323, Lahore, 5th March 1880, *System of Education and of contributions towards stipends to students of Normal Schools*, File No. 8, General Department, Delhi Division, p. 1.

²⁴Stipends, Section-G, Chapter VIII, Training Institutions for Masters, Prog.No.4, No. 143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January, 1888*, pp. 15-17. (However, this rule was not applicable to sanctioned holidays or in the case of the Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi to the authorized vacation.)

Grant-in-aid for Normal Schools

Certain amount was paid by the government in form of grant-in-aid. And various provisions were made for the training schools too. Sums of money set apart from the public revenues of Punjab, from local, district and provincial funds, were to be expended, in grants-in-aid for the purpose of encouraging and extending initiative in education. This object of the grant was carried out under some rules mentioned in detail in Punjab Education Code, 1925.

Grant-in-aid regulations for India based on the English revised code, declared in February and March 1862, mentioned that the money annually spent by the state on the promotion of education in British India, part was distributed in the form of grants-in-aid. The funds consisted in aiding voluntary efforts, under certain conditions, to establish or maintain schools which were either for the instruction of children of elementary school or for training teachers of Normal schools.²⁵ Grants for building, enlarging, improving or fitting the premises of Normal schools were made. Grants to maintain Normal schools were depending on the expertise of all students who were already a year under instruction. For every student who had been one year in residence, the managers could claim-Rs. 50 subject to examination in the test-standard for certificates of the 1st grade, Rs. 30 subject to examination in the test-standard for certificates of the 2nd grade (Test standard has been detailed out in a table below). Every student, for whom the grant was claimed, paid Rupees 10 for failure in each subject. If he failed in two subjects, he received no certificate, but could be re-examined after a second year of residence. No grant was made to a Normal school unless the inspector reported favourably about the premises, management, and staff.²⁶

And in respect with the Despatch of 1854, special grants were to be made to Normal schools to meet the important initial charge supporting the needs of their establishment and the continuation of the pupils training for educational usefulness. As stated above, the test standards for the certificates of various grades, for every student in normal school, formed a significant constituent in the conferment of grants.

²⁵Grant-in-aid regulations for India based on the English Revised Code as announced in Parliament in February and March 1862, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, p. 465.

²⁶Normal Schools, Chapter- III, 2*, Training Institutions for Masters, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, p. 470.

Test Standards or Grades for Normal Schools (Vernacular)

Table 2.8 The Test Standards or Grades for Normal school (Vernacular)

Subjects	Grade I.	Grade II.
Reading	A passage from any well printed or lithographed book of ordinary difficulty Grammar and explanation	Ditto ditto with a higher degree of merit.
Writing	A passage similar to the above dictated slowly once To be written in a clear well shaped hand.	Ditto ditto with a higher degree of merit.
Arithmetic, &c.	To explain the working of any sum of ordinary difficulty on the black board Leading questions in Indian History. Ditto ditto in General Geography. To be required to take up a Class in the practising School in both subjects. Explanation of ordinary Natural Phenomena. A few general questions. Map, Drawing, and elementary Plan Drawing.	Ditto ditto with a higher degree of merit.

Source: Test Standards or Grades for Normal School, Vernacular, Schedule-D, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, p. 472.

Boarding Houses attached to Training Institutions

A boarding house was attached to the Central Training College and to each of the four Normal schools in the province. All students under training had to live in the boarding house provided for them unless especially excused by the Controlling Officer. Students of Normal school residing in a boarding house were required to pay a boarding fee of two annas, and students of the Central Training College a fee of eight annas only.²⁷

In the development of the teacher training institutions, the eminent role played by Model schools cannot be over looked. The relationship between the Normal school and the Model school was like that of a river and its tributary. Though not as big as a river yet, they have all the characteristics of it. In the same way, the Model schools complimented the Normal schools in the best possible way. Not only did they act as feeder to the Normal schools but also as a best place for the practice of teaching for the upcoming teachers. The details in the following paragraphs provide a clearer picture.

²⁷Boarding Houses attached to Training Institutions, Chapter VIII, Section -B, Training Institutions for Masters, Pros.4, No.143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab, Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 15.

Model School-Relationship between a Normal and a Model School

Model or practising schools attached to Normal schools and training colleges were accorded extreme importance in which the students received practical instruction in the art of teaching. Even in England, there were suggestions to improve the quality of teachers by improving the Normal schools and to make all training centre like Borough Road and Westminster. It was maintained that the Model school was sufficient to prepare a teacher for elementary teaching, if the length of training was extended and the quality of the candidates improved. It was stressed that, good Model schools should be set up in the great centres of population.²⁸ Model schools were A.V. and provided instruction to the upper primary standard. The staff of each Model school consisted of the Headmaster, the Second master and an English master. The boys were taught drill and gymnastics by the gymnastic instructor of the Normal school. The Headmasters of Model schools were under the direct control of the Headmaster of the Normal schools to which they were attached. The school year began at the same time as that of the Board Schools of the district to which each Model School was attached. A break of one month was given at any time during August and September at the discretion of the Controlling Officer. The course of study was the same as that laid down in the scheme of studies for the Primary Departments of A.V. schools and the rules relevant to Board schools were applicable normally to Model schools.²⁹

The opening of the Model schools was a measure of the Special Development Scheme launched by Punjab government for the interests of the rural areas. With help and association from other departments attempts were made to bring about a competent usefulness in these schools. The chief feature of these schools was that they had a high enrolment and regular attendance; they possessed advanced equipment and educational appliances; they taught agriculture on an attached farm. A medical officer held regular inspections which were followed up by proper treatment. Many of these schools had their own school magazines and helpful supply shops. In addition to the above, each school was taking an active part in rural boost up work, war propaganda and the adult literacy campaign. These schools also served as centres to which teachers and others came to from surrounding schools and neighbouring villages and learned better new methods of instruction. As a result of this contact, a distinct

²⁸Rich, *The Training of Teachers*, p. 47.

²⁹Model Schools attached to Normal Schools, Section -E, Training Institutions for Masters, Pros. No. 4, No.143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 13.

improvement was noticeable in the modes of instruction in use predominantly in the primary classes. Since 1938-39, the Department had opened 113 Model schools in the province. The following amounts had been spent on these schools-Rs.50, 000 in 1938-39, Rs.1, 00,000 in 1939-40, Rs.1, 50,000 in 1940-41, and Rs.1, 56,000 in 1941-42.³⁰

The number of schools was 113 in 1944-45. These schools continued to receive special grants from the Development Fund and had efficient staff, adequate equipment, well-stocked libraries and industrial hobbies. They were carrying on a large number of activities which enabled them to act as models for the schools situated within a certain zone usually a tehsil. The Inspectors of Schools were unanimous in the opinion that these schools were exercising a wholesome influence over the pupils and on the teachers of the surrounding area and had proved a valuable means of establishing the much-sought contact between the school and the rural public.³¹

Model schools were proposed to have criticism lessons beginning each year in January which were to be taught for one hour daily. In this class the students both taught as well as criticized in turns, with two or three students selected to evaluate the lesson each day. The Headmaster in the summation pointed out the faults of the lessons and how far the criticisms were defective. Headmaster was to teach a class intermittently in the presence of the students from the Model school. Students had to give instruction in the Model School in turns. The Headmaster and the Second master superintended the work of Normal school students in the Model school.³²

Model schools too had their share of criticism. Model or practising schools were attached to each of the departmental schools in Punjab. The formation of these Model schools experienced some criticism; and it was recommended that the existing system, under which the pupils were taught in turn by students under training in the Normal schools, should be

³⁰ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1943), pp. 4-5.

³¹ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab in 1944-45*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1946), p. 6.

³² Criticism lessons, Normal schools, Section-D, Pros. No. 4, No.143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888, *Government of the Punjab, Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, pp. 12-13.

substituted by one in which a full permanent staff should be attached to each Model school, the students under training simply visiting the schools and taking part in the instruction.³³

Development of Normal Schools

Charles Wood, while consulting many others in the preparation of the Education Despatch of 1854, “how we could embark on so gigantic an undertaking”³⁴ focussed on providing trained teachers with the establishment of Normal schools and Classes in each Presidency on the model existing in England. By the end of 1855, separate department for the superintendence of education was constituted and a D.P.I. appointed in each of the five provinces. However, there was a need for the approval of the Despatch after the Revolt of 1857. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State, and his Stanley’s Despatch of 1859 did not make any drastic change but categorically stated that the administration should refrain from acquiring teachers from England and generally recruit teachers employed in schools. The above statement by Wood was true as carrying out educational reforms in India was actually going to be a gigantic task. Hence, in light of the above circumstances, the development and expansion of the Normal schools in Punjab is given below.

Given below in brief is the development of Normal schools, 1856-67, that is after the establishment of the Education Department. It is necessary in order to have a pulse of the existing Normal schools prior to 1860 (the period of present study). It provides facts and figures till almost 1867 collectively in the province. Followed by this we have development of Normal schools as in each Circle from 1860 up to the year 1868-69, and eventually followed by the progress in later years.

After the establishment of the Education Department, for the training of teachers of primary schools, Normal schools were opened at Lahore and Rawalpindi in 1856 and 1857. The school at Delhi followed next year and five more schools were opened at various places by the close of 1859-60. These schools were however integrated with the schools at Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Delhi, as it was felt advantageous to have a few good quality institutions

³³Alfred Croft, *Review of Education in India in 1886: with special reference to the Report of the Education Commission*, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1888), p. 79.

³⁴Ghosh, *The History of Education*, p. 76.

servicing the various parts of the province than a large number of institutions spread about at unimportant places where educational facilities may possibly not be easily available.³⁵

The development of training institutes for the period under study starts hereafter. During 1859-60, nine Normal schools were opened. The one at Peshawar had to be closed down because of the shortage of pupils. The schools at Lahore and Rawalpindi, were paid from the general revenues, and possessed a fairly efficient staff of masters. The cost of the rest was discharged from the one per cent Educational Cess Fund and because of scarcity of money they were organized on a poor footing. Several incentives had been held out to secure the ready and cheerful attendance of vernacular teachers at Normal schools such as each student was sanctioned one rupee towards the purchase of class books and received, after final examination, one month's pay of the grade of teachership the certificate of qualification for which he may probably be successful in obtaining.³⁶

In 1860-1861, the Normal schools were eight in number, and were placed at Delhi, Ambala, Jalandhar, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Dera Ismail Khan, and Peshawar. The number of teachers receiving instruction increased during the year from 325 to 431, and the daily attendance from 292 to 352. Of the teachers, 334 were Mohammedans and only 111 Hindus; altogether 273 received certificates of proficiency. A manual of directions was furnished to the teachers in training, relating to their attendance, conduct, and studies. It was, however, admitted that no striking improvement in vernacular education could be expected until the present generation of teachers has passed away. In the meantime, the ineffective fears of the people on the subject of teacher education, seemingly, had been rapidly dispersed.³⁷

In 1861-62, the 8 Normal schools formerly existing continued to be maintained. The proportion of the Mohammedans to Hindus studying in these institutions was not quite as high as earlier, though still large; 289 to 104.³⁸ The Normal schools at Delhi and Ambala had not been working well and the number of failures at the quarterly examinations was quite large, and certificates had only been obtained by 59 students. Many of the students were

³⁵Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development*, p. 75.

³⁶*Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India, Educational Reports, 1859-71*, Volume I, (Delhi: Management of Publications, Government of India, 1960), pp. 65-66.

³⁷*General Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, for 1860-61*, (Lahore: Home Secretariat Press 1861), p. 24.

³⁸A. R. Fuller, *Report on the Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies in the year 1861-62*, pp. 18-19.

being kept beyond the stipulated six months, and the last examination showed sure signs of improvement among them.³⁹

A vital piece of information enclosed in the proceedings for 1864, mentions significant development made earlier in 1860. Almost after four years, in 1860, after Education Department's establishment, experience proved it necessary to modify the Educational Department founded in 1855. Some chief changes introduced by Captain Fuller who succeeded Arnold as D.P.I., Punjab, including training institutions, Normal schools for the training of vernacular teachers, resulted in the most beneficial results.⁴⁰ These changes had been awarded with the most favourable results in every way. The following Abstract from the Annual Returns show the progress made.

Table 2.9 The Annual Returns, showing the progress made in different schools, including Normal schools, during 1859-1863.

Year	Zillah Schools		Normal Schools		Tehsilee Schools		Town Schools		Village Schools		Female Schools		Grant-in-aid, Superior		Grant-in-aid, Inferior	
	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars	Number	Scholars
1859-60	5	1,414	2*	292	139	10,353	.....	.....	1,704	37,000	.....	.....	2	568	10	1,229
1860-61	23	2,309	8	431	123	6,437	.....	.....	1,686	32,165	38	812	10	1,921	10	547
1861-62	23		8	405	119	6,765	.....	.....	1,750	38,849	52	1,312	10	1,729	20	1,137
1862-63	22		8	368	.....	.....	56	4,472	1,807	46,559	103	2,224	7	2,559	23	1,067

* And seven maintained from one per cent. Cess Fund.

Source: Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Educational Department, 21st October 1863, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, pp. 406-408.

During this period of 1856-68, the state of training of teachers was not quite adequate as few schools were closed down too. However, the government seemed to be satisfied with the progress made. The Secretary of State, to the government of India, stated that, that he was satisfied with the attention being paid to the training of masters for vernacular schools in

³⁹ Fuller, *Report on the Education in the Punjab 1861-62*, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁰ Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Educational Department, 21st October 1863, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June 1864*, pp. 406-408.

Punjab. The provision of a supply of masters qualified to impart, efficiently, the elementary teaching which the lower classes of schools were proposed to give, must free from obstruction or difficulty the way for successful attempts to extend popular education, and for schools of this character it appeared as the best plan to form a number of small Normal schools for the supply of districts of limited extent.⁴¹

Furthermore, during this period we discover some worth mentioning information about the Normal schools in Punjab that would further assist us in having a broader look at the state of training schools in the province. It is revealed as to what was the reason that the cost of Normal school education was higher in Punjab as compared to other provinces? Regarding the explanation of high rates of education in Normal schools, the D.P.I., Punjab, proposed to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, that one Normal school in each of the three Circles be provided with a Headmaster of higher achievements on a salary of Rs.300 per mensem. It further mentioned that Punjab government recommended a considerable increase in the scale of charges for the eight Normal institutions in Punjab. Given the great importance attached to the provision of educated masters, the government of India agreed to the increase of expenses proposed at that time, but remarked that Normal school education in Punjab would thereby be made more costly than in any other part of India.⁴²

Moreover, the high cost of Normal schools of Punjab as compared with other presidencies and provinces and consequently the cost of schools of this class in Punjab could not be compared with that of similar schools elsewhere were explained by the director. The Director clarified that although the aggregate cost was higher, yet the actual charge on the Imperial Revenues was lower in Punjab than elsewhere, the difference was made up from the Local Educational Cess; and, that high all-inclusive cost in Punjab was not due to the expensive nature of the Educational Staff, but to the high stipends paid to the students. This was due to the fact that men of any education would not come to Normal schools on smaller stipends.⁴³The D.P.I. also explained that while comparing the cost of these institutions in the

⁴¹*Selections from the Records of the Government of India: Education in India 1854 to 1868*, p. 161.

⁴²Copy of a letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, No.211, Lahore, 18th November 1862, No. 15, 27th November 1862, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, pp. 23-25.

⁴³From T.D. Forsyth, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab and its Dependencies, to E.C. Bayley, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, No.131, Lahore, 25th March 1863, *Proceedings of the Government of India, 1864*, p. 93.

several presidencies and provinces a fact needed to be noted that, while everywhere else the total annual cost of educating each Normal student fell almost entirely upon government, whereas in Punjab only Rupees 39.6, out of the aggregate Rupees 97.9, were charged to the State, the balance Rupees 58.3 being allowed by the one per cent Educational Cess Fund. The following table shows this in detail for each presidency and province in India.

Table 2.10 The amount of cost of a Normal student for each presidency and province in India.

PRESIDENCY	Total amount cost of each Normal Student	Annual cost to Government for each Normal Student
	Rupees	Rupees
Bengal	94.0	90
North-Western Province	76.5	95
Punjab	97.9	39.5
Madras	42.6	42*
Bombay	104.6	104.6
Average.....	70.6	70.2
Average omitting Punjab	.....	77.9

*out of 49.9 according to Returns for 1859-1860, the latest available in this Office.

Source: Copy of a letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, No.68, dated the 17th March 1863, *Proceedings of the Government of India, 1864*, pp. 98-100.

Therefore, the high cost of Normal school education, in Punjab was solely owing to the higher rate of stipends paid to students than any other presidency or province, and not in the expensive nature of the Educational Staff provided for their instruction.⁴⁴ Moreover, the Administration Report of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1862-63, too explaining the high rates of education in Normal schools in Punjab province stated that the lowest pay of a village school teacher in Punjab was five rupees, and he apparently would not go the Normal school unless he received at least that amount as stipend. Elsewhere, two or three rupees were the lowest rate of pay, and that amount of stipend was sufficient enough to draw students in other provinces and presidencies. And also the cost of the teaching staff leaving aside the cost of student's stipends, Punjab spent the least of all in its Normal schools.⁴⁵

In 1865-66, the seven government Normal schools in Punjab were designed for training vernacular teachers. Out of 2,012 teachers employed in government vernacular schools in Punjab, 1417 had undergone Normal school training. There were 166 students under

⁴⁴Copy of a letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, No.68, dated the 17th March 1863, *Proceedings of the Government of India, 1864*, pp. 98-100.

⁴⁵*General Report for 1860-61*, pp. 30-31.

instruction, leaving 429 yet to be sent to training institution. The three private Normal schools were all for training women vernacular teachers. The one at Delhi was under the S.P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) Mission and the other two at Lahore and Amritsar were under native committees.⁴⁶

Along with, the government Normal schools, there were private or Aided Normal schools too. As per the Punjab Education Code, 1925, institutions under private management which received aid from public revenues whether imperial, provincial or local were Aided institutions or schools. An Aided Normal School at Amritsar was opened in 1866-67 by the C.V.E.S.⁴⁷

It is appropriate to mention here that schools and institutions for special education included Normal schools, industrial schools and other schools of special character. We have figures from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Education Department for the year 1867. Though the figures relate to all India but we get a clear picture for Punjab province too. It gives figures for the number of Normal schools, number of pupils attending them, and the expenditure incurred on them, (Refer Appendix III, pp.350-51),

Development in the Circles 1860 onwards (for selected years)

Before moving ahead, an essential detail is worth mentioning here. As stated that we will be seeing the development of training schools in the various Circles, let us be familiar with what these Circles were? The districts of Punjab province, for the purpose of education, were distributed into Educational Circles under the divisions. In 1860-61, Punjab was divided into three Circles that of *Ambala*- Delhi, Gurgaon, Feozepur, Thanesar, Shimla, Rohtak, Hisar, Jhajjar and Karnal, *Lahore*- Rahon, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Batala, Lahore, Gujranwala, Multan, Jhang and Sialkot, and *Rawalpindi*- Gujrat, Shahpur, Jhelum, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Abbottabad.⁴⁸ A fourth inspector of schools was appointed for the *Frontier Circle* in 1863-64, and a redistribution of the districts was consequently made among the four inspectors who held the charge of Ambala, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Frontier (known as Multan) Circles. The Frontier Educational Circle was added in 1863-64. Furthermore, the redistribution of Districts

⁴⁶*Selections from Educational Records in the Government of India, 1859-71, Vol. I, p. 226.*

⁴⁷Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development*, p. 75.

⁴⁸*General Report, for 1860-61, p. 26.*

in Circles was again made in 1869. The Districts in the Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Frontier Circles were reallocated. No change was made in the Ambala Circle. The reallocation showed Lahore Circle with Jalandhar, Amritsar and Lahore Divisions, Rawalpindi with Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Derajat Divisions (Bunno and Dera Ismail Khan), and Multan Circle with Multan and Derajat divisions (Dera Ghazi Khan).⁴⁹Besides, the Report on Popular education in Punjab, 1873-74, mentions that the circles of inspection were distributed as- *Ambala Circle*- Ambala, Delhi and Hisar Divisions, *Lahore Circle*- Lahore, Amritsar, and Jalandhar Divisions, *Rawalpindi Circle*- Rawalpindi and Peshawar Divisions and *Multan Circle*- Multan and Derajat Divisions.⁵⁰This division remains the same until 1881. We find the mention in the Punjab Provincial Committee Report of I.E.C. The Ambala Circle had, number of villages 7,759 and number of towns-65, the Lahore Circle, 13,385 villages and 91 towns, the Rawalpindi Circle had 6,794 villages and 40 towns and the Circle of Multan had 6,148 villages and 42 towns. As per the Report of 1897-98-1901-02, there were five educational circles each under an inspector. The number of circles remained unchanged till November, 1901; the structure of the circles was re-arranged in consequence of the separation of the North-West Frontier Province and the constitution of the new Mianwali district. Hence the circles were as follows: Delhi Circle- Delhi, Hisar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Ferozpur, and Ambala, and Shimla, Jalandhar Circle- Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Kangra, Gurdaspur, and Hoshiarpur, Lahore Circle- Lahore, Amritsar, and Montgomery, Rawalpindi Circle- Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujarat, Shahpur, Gujranwala, and Sialkot, Multan Circle-Multan, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Dera Ghazi Khan and Mianwali.⁵¹

Below is the description of the development made by Normal schools in each Educational Circle that is Ambala, Lahore, Rawalpindi and the Frontier Circle (for selected years that is till the province continued to be divided in these four circles) in detail. Though in the preceding paragraphs we had a combined picture of all the training schools, yet it would be of interest to know about every school specifically. The information in the circles provides considerable particulars of the Normal schools as to how was each training school making progress including the status of students, the teachers and the schools and much more. This encourages the reader to know more about them. We begin with the Ambala Circle and

⁴⁹Circular No. 104, 18th September, 1869, *Redistribution of Districts in Educational Circles*, File No. 7, General Department, Delhi, p. 1.

⁵⁰W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1873-74*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1874), p. 21.

⁵¹Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 23.

proceed on to the other circles to discover the state of Normal schools situated in each during the years of 1860-1869.

Ambala Circle

The reports stated that the school at Ambala, in July, turned out some pupils, but they did not possess the required amount of information. Of the training institutions at Delhi there were no observations made⁵², (For details refer Appendix IV, p. 352). In the review about the condition of several classes of schools within the circles of the three inspectors, Ambala, Lahore and Rawalpindi, the defects noticed by the Inspector in the education given at the Normal Schools at Ambala and Delhi were highlighted. The defect was the bad habit of reading and explaining, incorrect mode of translating, deficiency in giving accurate and precise signification of words and sentences, ignorance of the grammatical construction of sentence, and want of practice in mathematics, and it demanded for early rectification. It was of great importance that skilful teachers should be procured for the Normal schools. Frequent written examinations were recommended.⁵³ Captain Fuller, the D.P.I. in his quarterly report stated that the Normal Schools both at Delhi and Ambala had been working effectively; but, of the two, the former had a better educational staff. In Delhi, the number of Normal students was 67 at the beginning of the 2nd quarter, and was 83 at the end of the quarter, while in Ambala there were 54 at that period, and 59 later⁵⁴, (Refer Appendix V, p. 353). By July, the Normal School at Delhi excelled in the superiority of its educational staff over the one at Ambala, but the results obtained by both were creditable.⁵⁵ In July 1862, the Normal schools showed decided improvement. Model schools had been organized in connection with the Normal schools at Delhi and Ambala⁵⁶, (Refer Appendix VI, pp.354-55). Till October 1862, there was nothing to record regarding Normal schools as the result of the last quarterly

⁵²Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1860, *Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1860*, File No. 8, General Department, Delhi, p. 6.

⁵³From R. H. Davies, Secretary to Government Punjab to the Director of Public Instruction No. 126, Educational Department, 4th April, 1861, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January 1861*, File No. 1, Education Department, Delhi, (Lahore: Government Press, n. d), p. 2.

⁵⁴Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January 1861, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861*, File No.1, Education Department, Delhi, p. 9.

⁵⁵Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1861, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 1, General & Political Department, Ambala Division, Haryana, (Lahore: Government Press, n. d), p. 2.

⁵⁶Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the 1st quarter of 1862-63 ending 31st July 1862, *Report on Popular Education in Punjab*, File No.10, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

examination of students, who had completed their course, had not been figured out at the time the Inspector closed his report*, (Refer Appendix VII, pp.356-57). The Model schools attached to both the training institutions at Delhi and Ambala were functioning well.⁵⁷

Table 2.11 The Normal schools in the Ambala Circle in 1862.

Name of Institution	Tehseeli			Village		
	1 st Grade	2 nd Grade	3 rd Grade	1 st Grade	2 nd Grade	3 rd Grade
Normal School, Amballa	4	6	7	8
Normal School, Delhie	1	...	11	6
Total	5	6	18	14

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending, 31stOctober, 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department, Ambala Division, Haryana, p. 8. (Note to paragraph 4-since received has been given in the table, given on page-8 of the Report.)

Normal schools had been working fairly in the Ambala Circle in 1863. About 37 students at Ambala and 26 students in Delhi were ready to be awarded certificates for various grades⁵⁸, (Refer Appendix VIII, pp.358-60). And till June same year, these institutions, at Delhi and Ambala had been working smoothly. Several vernacular teachers, from Rohtak district, at their own request, had been allowed, to extend their period of training, so that the number under instruction at Delhi was higher than usual⁵⁹, (Refer Appendix IX, pp.361-63). But in September, the Ambala Normal School was integrated with that of Delhi as this arrangement strengthened the educational staff of the institution considerably, and proved to be more productive. Greater attention was being paid to training the students in the art and practice of teaching. There were 105 men under instruction at the close of the quarter, and sixty-five had obtained certificates of qualification of various grades⁶⁰, (Refer Appendix X, pp.364-65). The month of December witnessed that Delhi Normal school had ninety-four students making fair progress. No examination had been carried out as it was considered advisable to conduct them in future half-yearly, in April and October.⁶¹ By June that is in 1864 the Delhi Normal

⁵⁷Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st October 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General and Political, Ambala, pp. 2-3. (*Note to paragraph 4-since received has been given in the table, given on page 8 of the Report)

⁵⁸Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st January 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab, 1863*, File No. 9, General and Political, Ambala, p. 2.

⁵⁹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 14, General and Political, Ambala, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁰Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th September 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 2, Political and General, Ambala, p. 3.

⁶¹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 31st December 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

school contained 100 students, and was working steadily and successfully⁶², (Refer Appendix XI, pp. 366-67). The Half-Yearly Report stated that the Delhi Normal School had received 99 stipendiary students from various districts, but only four non-stipendiaries were admitted. Endeavours were being made to attract non-stipendiary students to the Normal schools, but they did not succeed in Delhi during the past half-year. But considering that the examinations were conducted on a stricter system than before by making each inspector examine in certain subjects, not only his own, but Normal students of all other Circles, so that the results depended on all the four inspectors, this was considered to be a very satisfactory result⁶³, (Refer Appendix XII, p.368-69). In 1867-69-Inspector E. Wilmot, Ambala Circle, reported that the schools of the circle were classified into, the Normal School at Delhi, the Zillah schools at Rewari, Jhajjar, Rohtak, Bhiwani, Jagadhri, Ropar, Karnal and Shimla, and their branches, Town schools, Village schools, Grant-in-aid schools, Female schools, Jail schools and Indigenous schools. The number of students on the rolls in the Normal school was 72. With the gradual progress in the Normal schools, various encouraging measures were forthcoming so as to maintain this promising advance. Prizes for special ability were granted to the scholars in order to motivate them for a better performance and to set an example for the rest of the scholars. Amount of Rs.53 were awarded to the following students-Tej Ram Rs. 15, Shadi Ram Rs. 12, Rahmat Ulla Rs. 10 Barkat Ali Rs. 11 and Azam Ali Rs.5. Special notice of masters of the Normal school was had. The three headmasters, Lala Piyare Lal, Mr Staines, and Lala Bharon Parshad, had directed the institution to great success. The efforts of Lala Purbhoo Dyal, the second master, were highly commended in the annual report of the headmaster.⁶⁴We now move on to the Lahore Circle for significant information on Normal school (for selected years).

Lahore Circle

As regards the Lahore Circle, there were some difficulties in getting the Normal schools filled. It had been the constant concern of all, that good vernacular teachers were urgently needed, and the only way of procuring them was by sending indigenous teachers or likely

⁶²Quarterly Report on the Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June 1864, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 15, General & Political, Delhi, p. 2.

⁶³Half-Yearly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the period ending 30th September, 1865, Copy of No. 43, 5th February 1866, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 4, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

⁶⁴W. R. M Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1868-69*, (Lahore: Albion Press, 1869), pp. 73-74.

candidates for instruction at the Normal schools. One could imagine that District Officers would send in, not only their authorised quota of teacher-students at once, but as many more as they could possibly provide stipends for, out of their available savings of establishment. The D. Cs of Hoshiarpur, Ambala and Jalandhar, had tried this into practice most effectually; but from Gurdaspur, Sialkot and Kangra, many men were still required to fill the requisite capacity,⁶⁵(Refer Appendix XIII, p.369). It was observed, in January, that in the Normal schools of this circle the available seats were fully filled and the Inspector acknowledged for the gradual improvement in the qualifications of the teachers who had studied in the Normal school.⁶⁶The Normal schools were doing well by July. The Lahore and Jalandhar Normal Schools had fully maintained their credit for efficiency.⁶⁷The Normal schools were reported as doing well and all was progressing smoothly there, and everything was going on smoothly as at Lahore and Jalandhar.⁶⁸The month of October witnessed that the attendance at Normal schools was rather lower than before. At the last quarterly examination for certificates, 24 out of 26 at Lahore, and 28 out of 31 at Jalandhar, were successful as shown in the table below.⁶⁹

Table 2.12 The quarterly examinations for certificates in the Normal schools, January, 1863.

Name of Institution	Tahseeli			Village			Total	No. Of failures
	1 st Class	2 nd Class	3 rd Class	1 st Class	2 nd Class	3 rd Class		
Normal School, Lahore	...	2	9	1	12	...	24	2
Normal School, Jullundhur	5	5	9	9	28	3
Normal School, Mooltan	8
Total	...	2	14	6	21	9	...	13

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st October 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General and Political, Ambala, p. 7.

The failures at Multan were unfortunate. The new Headmaster was working zealously and favourable results were expected in due course from his efforts.⁷⁰The appointment of Mackintosh, as Headmaster, in January 1863, on Rs.300 per mensem, greatly strengthened

⁶⁵Quarterly Report for 31st July, 1860, File No. 8, General, Delhi, p. 10.

⁶⁶Report for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861, File No.1, Education Department, Delhi, p. 4.

⁶⁷Supplement to the Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 31st July 1861, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 1, General and Political, Ambala, p. 7.

⁶⁸Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the 1stquarter of 1862-63, ending 31stJuly 1862, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31stJuly 1862*, Education Department, Delhi, p. 4.

⁶⁹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st October 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General and Political, Ambala, p. 6.

⁷⁰Report on Popular Education, October 1862, File No. 2, General & Political, Ambala, p. 7.

the Normal school at Lahore. Mr Mackintosh's considerable experience in teaching and having entered upon his duties with zeal and pleasure, the best results were expected, in due course.⁷¹The Normal schools were reportedly functioning well. The object first considered of improving all the vernacular teachers to some little extent in these institutions had been achieved. Proposals for re-organizing these institutions, with a view of giving a more complete training to some of these vernacular teachers, were under consideration.⁷²Forty-five students, by September 1863, had passed for certificates of various grades, with only seven failures.⁷³And later by December same year, 172 students were attending the three Normal schools in the Lahore circle. It was a good sign to find eighteen of the students at Lahore paying, instead of being paid, for their own instruction. During the quarter, fifty-five students altogether obtained certificates of qualification as shown below.⁷⁴

Table 2.13 The Normal schools, in the Lahore Circle, December, 1863.

Schools	TOWN GRADE			VILLAGE GRADE			TOTAL	TOTAL
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd		
Jullundur	...	2	12	3	1	9	27	5
Lahore	2	3	4	13	22	8
Mooltan	1	...	1	4	6	3
Total	15	6	6	26	55	16

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 31st December 1863, 28th March, 1864, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political Department, Ambala, p.3.

Normal Schools at Lahore, Multan and Jalandhar, during this period, had 162 students, of whom 87 were at Lahore. The Normal Schools at Jalandhar and Multan were to be maintained on a lesser footing, and their duties were confined to putting the most underdeveloped teachers not yet trained at all through their first or preliminary course of instruction.⁷⁵The work of the Normal Schools in the Lahore Circle was expressed to be as highly satisfactory in the half yearly report. There were altogether 131 Normal school students, viz., 103 at Lahore, and 14 in each of the elementary Normal classes held at Hoshiarpur and Multan. And in the Half-Yearly Examination held in June last, no less than 42 attained certificates.⁷⁶By 1867-68, 1868-69- C.W.W. Alexander, Inspector of Schools, Lahore Circle, reported that the only point specially requiring notice in the Normal schools of Lahore Circle was the increased saving that had been introduced into their working. The cost

⁷¹*Popular Education in the Punjab, January 1863*, File No. 9, General & Political, Ambala, p. 3.

⁷²*Popular Education in the Punjab, June 1863*, File No 14, General & Political, Ambala, pp. 4-5.

⁷³*Popular Education in the Punjab, September 1863*, File No. 2, Political and General, Ambala, p. 5.

⁷⁴*Popular Education in the Punjab, December 1863*, General & Political, Ambala, p. 3.

⁷⁵*Popular Education in the Punjab, June 1864*, File No. 15, General Department, Delhi, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶*Popular Education in the Punjab, September 1865*, File No. 4, General & Political, Ambala, p. 4.

of education, however, when compared with that in 1866-67, or two years ago, indicated substantial decline. In 1866-67, the total cost of the education of each pupil was Rs.179. The usual examinations for the certificates were held in April and October, and the results were satisfactory on the whole.⁷⁷ Normal school of the C.V.E.S., Amritsar, matched up in almost every respect with that of the government Normal schools. The education imparted was felt to be remarkably good and students received special training on art of education, which eminently prepared them for their future. This was what the government Normal schools did not attain properly due to the lack of trained masters. The institution had produced 9 trained teachers since its establishment.⁷⁸

Following is a brief account of the Normal school in Rawalpindi Circle:

Rawalpindi Circle

We have a favourable account of the Normal school at Rawalpindi while the Peshawar Normal school was described as a failure as none of the teachers could be got to attend it⁷⁹, (Refer Appendix XIV, p.370). Whereas by January the report on Normal schools at Rawalpindi, Layyah, (previously spelled as Leiah, is a city in Punjab province of Pakistan) and Peshawar came as satisfactory, and showed great improvement. Every district was sending across its share of men for instruction. The Normal School at Rawalpindi had 82 under instruction and the Derajat and Peshawar had about 18 each. Captain A. R. Fuller, D.P.I., too, in quarterly report had also strongly stated that the condition of the Normal schools in Rawalpindi had improved a lot.⁸⁰

Alexander, Inspector of Schools, Lahore Circle, too, had remarked that the Normal schools, especially that at Rawalpindi, were progressing satisfactorily. The Multan Normal School did not work to the satisfaction of the authorities. The teachers sent in for instruction from districts of the Multan division were evidently far more ignorant and less intelligent than those coming in from other parts.⁸¹ For the quarter under review the Normal schools were

⁷⁷W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1868-69*, (Lahore: Albion Press, 1869), p. 123.

⁷⁸Holroyd, *Report in the Panjab, 1868-69*, p. 124.

⁷⁹*Quarterly Report for July 1860*, File No. 8, General, Delhi, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁰*Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861*, File No. 1, Education, Delhi, pp. 5 & 12.

⁸¹*Report on Popular Education, July 1861*, File No. 1, General & Political, Ambala, p. 5.

reportedly working satisfactorily, 23 candidates had obtained certificates at the last examination at Rawalpindi. At the Derajat Normal School, half the students who had been six months under instruction, succeeded in passing out; a fair result considering the state of education on the frontier.⁸²By October 1862, the Normal schools had been working fairly, and 22 certificates of various grades were obtained at the last quarter examination as shown below.

Table 2.14 The Normal schools in the Rawalpindi Circle, 1862.

Name of Institution	No. of candidates	Tahseeli			Village		
		1 st Class	2 nd Class	3 rd Class	1 st Class	2 nd Class	3 rd Class
Normal School, Rawalpindi	16	...	...	6	5	4	1
Normal School, Dera Ismail Khan	3	...	...	1	2	...	...
Normal School, Peshawur	3	...	...	...	2	...	1
Total	22	...	...	7	9	4	2

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st October 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department, Ambala, pp. 7-8.

The cholera outbreak at Peshawar delayed the progress of the training institution greatly—the headmaster and some of the students had endured the epidemic.⁸³ No examination for certificates reportedly was held at Normal schools since the date of last report, but they continued to work steadily during the quarter. Those on the frontier had to contend against the disturbing outcomes of the severe sickness which was widespread during the previous quarter.⁸⁴ The returns for this period however showed little change in any class of schools. The Normal schools were well supplied with students, working steadily, and were expected to turn out some favourable variety of teachers at the next periodical examination.⁸⁵ However by September 1863, there was very little to comment upon in this circle. The Rawalpindi Normal school sent up eleven candidates for examination this quarter, of whom eight obtained certificates. There were seventy-two men under instruction at the three institutions of this kind; and, with the exception, of that at Dera Ismail Khan, which was too remote to be properly looked after by the Rawalpindi Inspector, they were doing well.⁸⁶ By December end,

⁸²*Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, July 1862*, File No. 10, General & Political, Ambala, p. 5.

⁸³*Report on Popular Education, October 1862*, File No.2, General & Political, Ambala, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁴*Popular Education in the Punjab, January 1863*, File No. 9, General & Political, Ambala, p. 4.

⁸⁵*Popular Education in the Punjab, June 1863*, File No. 14, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 5.

⁸⁶*Popular Education in the Punjab, September 1863*, File No. 2, Political & General, Ambala, pp. 5-6.

the Rawalpindi Normal School had 48 students in training.⁸⁷The Rawalpindi Normal School contained 52 students, and had been doing good service under its head maulvi Illahee Buksh.⁸⁸ The Normal School had been working steadily and there were 67 students at the close of the period under review, of whom 54 stipendiary and 13 non-stipendiary.⁸⁹ Inspector Rawalpindi Circle, C. Pearson, stated that, by 1867-69, the number of students on the rolls of the Normal School was 47. It was creditable to maulvi Ilahi Bakhsh, the 2nd master; that for 3 or 4 years during which he had officiated as Headmaster, the Rawalpindi Normal School in proportion to the number of students had generally been equally successful with those of Delhi and Lahore.⁹⁰

As has been described earlier, in the introduction about the distribution of districts into circles, the circle of Frontier or the Multan circle came into existence much later that is precisely by late 1864. The various tables in the Appendix also support this. Below, we have information of the state of Normal schools in the Frontier circle for selected years.

Frontier Circle

As per the quarterly report, the two Normal schools had twenty-eight students under training.⁹¹The two Normal schools by June 1864 were doing all that could be expected of them with their small educational staff and the backward students they had to instruct. There were 25 students overall attending these institutions, that is, 15 at Dera Ismail Khan and 10 at Peshawar.⁹²It was reported in September 1865 that the two small Normal schools at Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan were working fairly. The former had 17 students at the end of the period under review, and the latter had sixteen.⁹³ By 1867-69, Inspector of Frontier Circle, D. W. Thompson reported that the two Normal schools in this circle were at Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan- the former educating vernacular teachers for the Peshawar and Kohat Districts, and; the latter for Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Gazi Khan and Bannu⁹⁴, (Refer Appendix III-XIV, pp. 348-70, for the tables showing the number of students attending the Normal schools in the

⁸⁷*Popular Education in the Punjab, December 1863*, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 4.

⁸⁸*Popular Education in the Punjab, June 1864*, File No. 15, General & Political Department, Delhi, p. 4.

⁸⁹*Popular Education in the Punjab, September 1865*, File No. 4, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 5.

⁹⁰Holroyd, *Report in the Panjab, 1868-69*, p. 132.

⁹¹*Popular Education in the Punjab, December 1863*, General & Political, Ambala, p. 4.

⁹²*Popular Education in the Punjab, June 1864*, File No. 15, General & Political, Delhi, p. 5.

⁹³*Popular Education in the Punjab, September 1865*, File No. 4, General & Political, Ambala, p. 6.

⁹⁴Holroyd, *Report in the Panjab, 1868-69*, p. 145.

various districts in the Educational Circles of Ambala, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Frontier also known as Multan).

After the successive facts about Normal schools during 1856-1867 on the whole, and later from 1860-1869 as for each circle-wise, in the subsequent paragraphs is the development of Normal schools, from 1867-68 onwards.

In 1867-68, the number of Normal schools in the province was reportedly 9 government schools (including two small branch schools at Rohtak and Jagadhari and they had been returned as separate schools in the report), and 1 aided school. The government Normal schools contained at the close of the year, 271 students who were all receiving instruction in Urdu and Persian, 136 were learning the elements of English and 14 Hindi. The reports admitted with dismay that the men sent to the Normal schools were mostly of a mediocre class. As many failed to achieve the certificates and not even a few passed the elementary class, hence they could not enter the regular course of study at all. The ones who could go through the whole course were hardly able to spare little of their time and attention for what was thought-out to be their most important work at training institution, which was to learn the art of teaching. This state of affairs was assigned to the lack of enough inducements or attractions not being held out by the educational department for promising pupils to enter the Normal schools. Therefore, a very lesser amount of importance was attributed to the certificates gained at the Normal school. Consequently, it was approved that except for in special cases no one would be nominated on any condition unless they possessed a certificate which made them eligible for an appointment of that grade. It was further stressed that in order to attract a finer class of teachers to department a definite raise in the salaries was required. The report further disclosed that in England the average salary of a certificated master exceeded £87 per annum and the majority were provided with a rent free house; and yet the supply was not equal to the demand, though the profession was one of huge respectability. Sadly, in India the majority of teachers were no better paid than the lowest menial servants. The Aided Normal school of the C.V.E.S. at Amritsar was working fairly well and had sent out five or six trained teachers during the period.⁹⁵The number of Normal school students who had gained certificates during these years is as follows.

⁹⁵W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1867-68*, (Lahore: Indian Public Opinion Press, 1868), pp.37-38.

Table 2.15 The Table shows the number of students who obtained certificates of various grades during the year, 1867-68.

CIRCLE OF INSPECTION	NO. OF NORMAL STUDENTS WHO HAVE GAINED CERTIFICATES				
	1 ST Grade	2 nd Grade	3 rd Grade	4 th Grade	Total
Amballa	...	5	6	7	18
Lahore		3	7	4	14
RawulPindi		4	10	1	15
Frontier				1	1
TOTAL		12	23	13	48

Source: W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1867-68*, (Lahore: Indian Public Opinion Press, 1868), p.38.

W.R.M. Holroyd, D.P.I., Punjab, in his report for 1868-69, mentions that by means of the number of government Normal schools and the number of pupils attending them, there were five government Normal Schools at Delhi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, and Dera Ismail Khan; and three branches, at Jagadhri in the Ambala District, at Hoshiarpur, and at Multan (here the masters of the Zillah schools provided elementary instructions to the students before they proceeded to the Delhi Normal School). At the close of the year, there were 255 students, of whom 86 were Hindus, and 153 Mohammedans. Regarding the quality of the students of Normal schools and of the instruction given to them, as discussed above it was felt necessary to remove the two major defects that of the low salaries of teachers of vernacular schools and the absence of any hope of improvement; and, secondly, the insufficiency of the stipends allowed to pupils at the Normal schools. It was considered enormously essential to increase the stipends of students at the Normal schools in order to promote a better class of men as teachers.⁹⁶

It was observed that though the number of certificates awarded to students of higher grades was small yet there were exceptionally good teachers in the Normal schools, and taking into account the lower academic level of the taught, the results were much better than could be possible. Among the private Normal schools, there were 5 Aided Normal schools, of which 4 were women schools. The Normal school of the C.V.E.S. at Amritsar persistently made satisfactory progress.⁹⁷

⁹⁶Holroyd, *Report in the Panjab, 1868-69*, p. 41.

⁹⁷Ibid, pp. 41-42.

Table 2.16 Number of Normal students who gained certificates or passed the teachers' examinations in 1869.

	1 st Grade	2 nd Grade	3 rd Grade	4 th Grade	Total
Ambala Circle	...	2	9	4	15
Lahore Circle	...	2	14	23	39
Rawalpindi Circle	2	2	4
Frontier Circle	1	1	2
Total	...	4	26	30	60

Source: W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1868-69*, (Lahore: Albion Press, 1869), p. 41.

There were three government Normal Schools, Delhi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi, which contained 207 students of whom 82 were Hindus and 121 Mohammedans at the close of 1870-71. As reported earlier, the pupils attending Normal schools were men with unsatisfactory achievements. Therefore, in order to invite an improved class of men, the stipends allowed to students were raised and the salaries of village school teachers increased, hoping that it would produce better results. These measures were already yielding fruitful results in Rawalpindi and Lahore with better men beginning to enter training institutions. The following table shows the number of students who obtained certificates during 1869-70. It can be seen that in all these schools improvement had taken place. During 1869-70 no less than half the total number of certificates awarded were of 4th or lowest grade, four-fifths of the certificates awarded during the year 1870-71 were of the 2nd and 3rd grade.⁹⁸

Table 2.17 Number of Normal students who had gained certificates in 1869-70-71.

	1 st Grade		2 nd Grade		3 rd Grade		4 th Grade		Total	
	'69-70	'70-71	'69-70	'70-71	'69-70	'70-71	'69-70	'70-71	'69-70	'70-71
Total	6	14	18	27	24	10	48	51

Source: *Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India, Educational Reports, 1859-71*, Vol. I, (Delhi: Management of Publications, Government of India, 1960), p. 441.

The E.C. Report's account for Punjab Education Department in 1871, also discloses that there were three Normal schools for training vernacular teachers, of whom the majority were Mohammedans. They were located at Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi. Including stipends, the average cost per annum of each student was about Rs.136. There were seven Aided Normal schools, of which six were for women and the seventh institution for training masters maintained by the C.V.E.S. at Amritsar. The Normal schools for masters for many years

⁹⁸*Selections from Educational Records from the Government of India, 1859-71*, Vol. I, pp. 440-41.

supplied the only means of instruction for teachers of vernacular schools in object of some general knowledge. The Aided schools for mistresses trained some good teachers but owing to social difficulties the services of these women could hardly ever be availed.⁹⁹

For 1873-74, we have vital statistics, from all the government schools which give us a picture of different schools then including the Normal schools.

Table 2.18 The statistics of government schools, including the number of scholars in the government Normal schools, 1873-74.

Description of Institutions	Number of students	Number on rolls at the close of 1873-74	Average number on rolls monthly during 1873-74	Average daily attendance	Total expenditure	
					From Provincial Services	From Local Funds
Government Schools, Higher class	7	327	321	253	53,063	3,086
Ditto Middle Class	129	14,278	13,150	11,062	84,654	81,370
Ditto Lower "	1,152	52,861	48,136	39,466	6,193	1,80,400
Ditto Female schools	101	2,599	2,413	2,020	135	9,970
Ditto Normal Schools	3	240	228	194	17,946	9,450
Ditto Jails Schools	27	4,528	4,302	3,625	5,627	206
Total	1,419	74,833	68,550	56,620	1,69,618	234,482

Source: W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1873-74*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1874), p. 39. (Note-Government Schools, Section -IV)

On the whole the number of Aided institutions (Normal schools included, 5 for women and 1 for men) also rose from 488 to 499 and the number on the rolls from 25,363 to 28,256.¹⁰⁰ We have a statement below showing the general statistics of Aided schools.

⁹⁹Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰Holroyd, *Report for the year 1873-74*, p. 67. (Aided Institutions- Section-V)

Table 2.19 The statement showing the general statistics of Aided Institutions, inclusive of Normal schools, in Punjab

Description of Institutions	Number of Institutions	Number on rolls at the close of 1873-74	Average No. on the rolls monthly during 1873-74	Average daily attendance	Grants given by Government		Expenditure from all sources other than grants given by Government	
Schools of the Higher Class	9	2,098	2,036	1,665	31,293	7	43,167	9
Do. Middle do.	51	6,384	6,028	4,931	52,090	13	68,026	1
Do. Lower do.	201	12,699	12,218	9,897	27,336	11	43,546	7
Female Schools	232	6,827	6,663	5,256	28,819	9	49,893	7
Normal Schools	6	248	252	207	16,349	5	11,654	13
Total	499	28,256	27,197	21,956	1,55,889	13	2,16,388	5

Source: W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1873-74*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1874), p. 67. (Aided Institutions- Section-V)

Furthermore, the reports admitted that for several years the Normal schools were simply engaged for the most part in teaching the students who attended them the elementary knowledge, much of which could have been obtained in a primary school, and no training was given in the art of teaching. The salaries of the teachers of vernacular schools and the stipends to students attending the Normal school were so low that competent students could be influenced to enter only in small numbers. Therefore, though the Normal schools were not entirely without good scholars, the quality was for the most part appalling. Men, whose whole time was spent in learning what they should have learnt as boys, could not be trained in the art of teaching even if the necessary mechanism was made available. With provision being made for admission of improved class of students in Normal schools, which is, by raising the salaries of village school teachers and the stipends paid to students in Normal schools, the schools were competent enough with improved class of students. With the introduction of practice of giving criticism lessons, the ability displayed in giving lessons by some of the students, and the intelligence with which these lessons were criticized by the others the result was notable in Delhi.¹⁰¹

The district authorities had succeeded in their attempts to have better students by 1873-74. A new system of examination came into operation in June 1872. In order to obtain a certificate qualifying to teach in a primary school a student was required to pass an examination in the

¹⁰¹Holroyd, *Report for the year 1873-74*, p. 88.

subjects taught in the middle schools and to gain 50 per cent in each. During first and second years, a student was prepared for this examination, and during the third year he read for the examination qualifying for employment in a middle school. This created the demand for teachers that it was difficult to keep men till they had finished the whole course.¹⁰²

Table 2.20 The number of candidates who passed the teacher's examination from Normal schools in 1872 and 1873.

Year	Number of candidates	Number passed				
		First grade	Second grade	Third grade	Fourth grade	Number failed
1872	70	....	1	....	2	67
1873	45	...	...	....	19	26

Source: W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1873-74*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1874), p. 89.

Moreover, there existed one Aided Normal school for men and five for women. The male school belonged to the C.V.E.S. at Amritsar. A large number of the students of this institution had obtained employment in the government schools of several neighbouring districts. Mr Burney, D.C. of Gurdaspur, admitted the praiseworthy work of the institution and specified that it had proved very useful in supplying trained teachers. All the young men that had been appointed from this school as teachers in the district had turned out good.¹⁰³

It is stated, in the report of 1878-79, that the progress of overall education was obstructed by the sickness and scarcity throughout the province. In some places, the epidemic fever was so severe, that schools had to be closed for weeks, and in others the average attendance in large schools was greatly reduced. Many boys passed away, while others were forced to leave school by the death of close relatives. Many went home sick, and reappeared after the lapse of several months in a state hardly fit to continue their studies. In consequence of the failure of funds in some places, there was a slight decrease in the number of schools 20 lesser than the beginning of the year.¹⁰⁴

There were three government Normal Schools, at Delhi, Lahore and Rawalpindi by 1878-79. At the close of the year there were 225 students, besides 48 boys attending the Model school in connection with the Normal school at Delhi. As confirmed in the last report, proposals

¹⁰²Holroyd, *Report for the year 1873-74*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁰³Ibid, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1878-79*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1880), p. 1.

were submitted, which received the approval of the government of India, for the closure of the higher classes of the Delhi and Rawalpindi Normal Schools, and for the establishment of a Central Training College at Lahore. The attendance in the three Normal Schools during 1877-78 was affected by the closing of fresh admissions, and the work at Lahore and Delhi suffered from the brief absence of headmasters. In the Delhi Normal School, 1 student gained Middle School Teacher's Certificate of the 1st Grade, and 11 Primary School Teachers' Certificates of the 4th grade. The school was in a satisfactory condition. In the Lahore Normal School, 6 men obtained middle school teachers' certificates of the 2nd grade, and 29 Primary school teachers' certificates of the 4th grade. The Inspector reported that the 2nd and 3rd year classes at the close of the year were larger and more promising than ever. In the Rawalpindi Normal School, 4 students obtained Middle School Teachers' Certificates of the 2nd grade and 10 Primary School Teachers' Certificates of the 4th grade. According to the report, the school had improved during the year under report.¹⁰⁵

There was at the close of the year 1 Aided Normal school for men. Amritsar Aided Normal School, for men, was maintained at Amritsar by the C.V.E.S. At the close of the year there were 32 students, and the average attendance was 28. The government grant amounted to Rs.3, 000. It continued to make satisfactory progress under the management of Mr Rodgers.¹⁰⁶

Table 2.21 The statistics of Aided Institutions, inclusive of Normal schools, 1878-79.

Descriptions of institutions	Number of institutions	Number on rolls at close of 1878-79	Average number on rolls monthly	Average daily attendance	Grants given by Government	Expenditure from all sources other than grants given by Government
Higher class	10	2,799	2,779	2,122	32,924	58,595
Middle do.	37	4,346	4,484	3,449	47,860	57,541
Lower do.	176	10,666	11,547	8,859	24,636	47,094
Female schools	240	7,216	7,208	5,441	33,608	63,077
Normal do.	6	277	256	214	15,915	11,557

Source: W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies for the year 1878-79*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1880), p. 55.

The Report shows that the total number of the aided institutions was 469. The statistics above prove useful in discovering the particulars for the same.

¹⁰⁵Holroyd, *Report for the year 1878-79*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁶Ibid, p. 71.

Moving over, it is essential to talk about one significant point that is the three most important instructions of the Education Despatch of 1854 being-vernaculars, professional education and trained teachers-did not describe the developments of secondary education. During 1855-1882 the absence of trained teachers in the secondary schools had aggravated the situation. The report of 1878-79 divulges an interesting detail regarding the establishment of training schools for the teachers of secondary schools by the government. It is disclosed that the proposal to establish a training college has already been agreed to. However, it was much later after the establishment of Normal schools in Punjab that government finally realised the need of training higher grade teachers as well.

The Central Training College at Lahore for the training of secondary teachers came up only in 1881. Therefore there were only two training institutions for secondary school teachers-one at Madras and one at Lahore. There was no practice school (Central Model School came up later in 1883) and all the students despite their differences in attainments were required to go through the same course. Therefore, only a small number of teachers could avail themselves of this inadequate training. The Central Training College would be discussed in detail in Chapter-3.

Meanwhile, continuing with the development of training schools, in February 1882 Lord Ripon appointed the First I.E.C. with William Hunter, a member of his Executive Council, as its Chairman. The Commission was asked to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think in demand with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. The Commission underlined further the need for establishing Normal schools for the training of teachers, preferably at least one in each division, suggested that the provision of Normal schools along with the cost of direction and inspection of primary education should be the first charge on provincial funds.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile, moving further, by 1881-82, it is discovered that there were 4 Normal schools for the training of masters. Those at Delhi, Lahore and Rawalpindi are government institutions, and the one at Amritsar was an aided institution. In the government Normal schools, the number of students at the close of the year was 189 against 168 in the previous year. The total

¹⁰⁷Ghosh, *The History of Education*, p. 96.

expenditure amounted to Rs. 12, 304 against Rs. 15,267 in the previous year. The total cost of educating each student was Rs. 6-8, and the cost to government Rs. 18-12. As per the recent examinations held then, 9 certificates of the third grade and 89 of the fourth grade were awarded. In the previous examinations 1 of the third and 37 of the fourth were obtained by the students. The C.V.E.S. Normal School at Amritsar contained, at the close of the year, 31 students, or 4 less than at the end of 1880-1881. The total expenditure amounted to Rs. 9, 330, of which Rs. 2,700 were contributed by government. The total cost of educating each scholar was Rs. 304-3, and the cost to government Rs.87-1, against Rs. 314-3 and Rs. 93-1 in the previous year.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, Alfred Croft's Report, D.P.I., Bengal, Education in India from the close of the year 1881-82- to the close of the year 1884-85, mentions about the state of training institutions in the province. In the training schools in Punjab, the number of teachers in departmental primary schools who held certificates of training, or who had passed some equivalent public examination, numbered to about two-fifths of the whole. In Aided schools, the number of trained teachers was small. For admission to the government schools, a new condition was required- that a student should have passed the M.S.E., though exceptions were still allowed in the case of teachers. Model or practising schools were attached to each of the three departmental schools. The Aided school at Amritsar, under the management of the C.V.E.S., was described as an admirable institution, where the results were expressed as noteworthy. The total expenditure on training institutions for masters increased from Rs.37, 000 to Rs.57, 000. The difference was due to the inclusion of the cost of stipend.¹⁰⁹

In 1883-84, 174 scholars were in attendance at the three government Normal schools, while the number of pupils studying in the Aided school was 32.¹¹⁰

In 1887-1888, the government Normal schools in Punjab were 4 in number with a new Normal school being established at Jalandhar; the schools at Delhi, Lahore and Rawalpindi were reorganised. Apparently, some measures were taken so as to raise the number of

¹⁰⁸*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1881-82*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1882), p. 200.

¹⁰⁹Croft, *Review of Education in India in 1886*, pp. 79-80.

¹¹⁰Mehta, *A History of Growth and Development*, p. 76.

stipendiary students, from 170 to 300. And therefore at the end of the year there were 244 students.¹¹¹

The Normal School at Lahore, by July 1888, was under the immediate control of the principal, Central Training College. The other three Normal schools were controlled by the Inspectors of the Circles in which they were situated. The staff in each consisted of the Headmaster and two Assistant Masters, and a gymnastic instructor. The session commenced on the 1st of October every year and ended on the 31st of July every year. The Normal schools closed for the annual vacation from the 1st of August to the 30th of September every year. Each Normal school had one class in two parallel divisions preparing for the J.V.C.E. In the Rawalpindi Normal School, a Preparatory Class also was maintained. (Preparatory Class has been discussed in detail in Chapter-2). The course of study in the Normal schools was in compliance with the standard of examination for J.V. teacherships as laid down in Article 151(1) of the Punjab Education Code, 2nd Edition.¹¹²

The third quinquennial review of the Progress of Education in India, 1892-93 to 1896-97 states that the number of training institutions for masters in Punjab stayed unaffected at 6 (5 Normal schools and one Central Training College), while the number of students in them had somewhat descended from 357 to 352. They consisted of the Central Training College at Lahore, for the training in the science and practice of teaching of English teachers for all classes of A.V. schools, and of vernacular teachers for secondary schools; and a Normal school at the headquarters of each Circle, for the training of vernacular teachers for primary schools. All were government institutions. It was confirmed that there were no schools for the training of mistresses.¹¹³

By now the matter of teacher training was slowly gaining momentum and the government officials too seemed to be aware of the seriousness of it. One such detail below is particularly noteworthy.

¹¹¹*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1887-88*, (Lahore: Punjab Government press, 1889), p. 158

¹¹²Normal Schools, Section D, Training Institutions for Masters, Pros. No. 4, No. 143, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January, 1888*, pp. 11-12. (Students therefore had to join practically on the 1st of October, though in special cases they were admitted up to the 1st of November. After this date no one could be admitted without the sanction of the Director of Public Instruction.)

¹¹³Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 240.

In 1895-96, the number of Normal schools in the province remained 5 or 1 at the headquarters of each inspectional circle. The number of students in all schools at the end of the year was 27 or 4 more than last year. All the students were stipendiaries.¹¹⁴

There is comprehensive information about the quinquennial review on education in India in 1892-93-1896-97, contained in the proceedings of the government of Punjab, 1900. J. Sime, under-secretary to government of Punjab, submitted the special report called, on the subject of training schools in Punjab for teachers in both primary and secondary schools. In calling for this report the government of India had made the observation that the facts regarding training schools as set forth in the last quinquennial review of education had not pointed out that this important subject received the attention that it deserved. Three provinces were mentioned where more attention was given to the subject than elsewhere, as well as two others which were turning their attention to it but Punjab was not named in either of the category showing as if it was particularly backward in the matter. In this connection, he stated that, for many years, no effort was spared in this province for the improvement of its training institutions and a high degree of efficiency had been attained. He presented details as to what was done in this province for the training of both primary and secondary school teachers, making reference to the recommendations of the E.C. on the subject, and showing how these recommendations had been complied with. The institutions for the training of male teachers in Punjab were 6 in number, namely 5 Normal schools, and 1 Training College. The Normal schools for the training of teachers for primary schools and departments were purely vernacular institutions. The Training College was for the training of teachers for secondary schools, both English and vernacular, and had, in consequence, English and a vernacular section.¹¹⁵ It specified that since 1881-82, the number of government Normal schools had risen from 3 to 5 due to the formation of two additional Circles of Inspection, and there was one Normal school at the headquarters of each Circle. Each school drew its students from the districts of the Circle to which it was attached, and the number of stipends allotted to the different districts being in proportion to the planned requirements of each. This was in direct agreement with the major suggestions of the E.C. on the subject, that the supply of Normal

¹¹⁴*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1895-96*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1897), p. 232.

¹¹⁵Special reports called for by the Government of India in Resolution, No. 495-506, 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education 1892-93-1896-97, Pros. No. 25, 13th July, 1900, Proceedings for July 1900 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1900*, pp. 147-150.

Schools, whether government or Aided, should be so localized as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether government or Aided, within the division under each inspector. The Aided Normal school maintained by the Christian Vernacular Education, and Normal School Society at Amritsar were soon subsequently closed. The 5 schools that existed then were all government institutions. Simultaneously, the number of stipends for Normal schools was increased from 170 to 316; the equipment and general organization of the schools had been greatly improved; and to four of the schools new buildings and boarding houses of an approved type had been supplied. Each Normal school was provided with a Model School for practice in teaching; the teachers attached to these schools were the best obtainable and they were all on a thoroughly sound and efficient base. Each school had a gymnasium and a gymnastic teacher and the students were fitted to have charge not only of class-room, but also of play-ground, work. According to the educational department, the Normal schools in Punjab were functioning well; and, with an attendance of over 200 newly trained primary school teachers a year, the provision was considered to be sufficient. It is true that the number of untrained teachers was considerably high but they mostly belonged to the Aided and unaided schools. In government and board schools, the supply of recognised teachers was nearly equal to the demand.¹¹⁶

As stated earlier, there was a Normal school at the headquarters of each Circle, namely, at Delhi, Jalandhar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan. During the mentioned period in Punjab between 200 and 300 newly trained primary teachers had been turned out. This provision was considered to be practically sufficient. It was also noticed that on the whole there had not been any important change in the rate at which teachers were produced.¹¹⁷

Meanwhile, Lord Curzon appointed the Indian University Commission in 1902, to inquire into the conditions and prospects of the universities established in British India. Furthermore, the Resolution of 1904 on Indian Education referred to as the first comprehensive document on Indian Education Policy ever issued by the government of India since the emergence of a modern system of education in 1854 accepted the recommendations of the Hunter Commission that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching should be made a

¹¹⁶Special reports called for by the Government of India in Resolution, No. 495-506, 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education 1892-93-1896-97, Pros. No. 25, 13th July, 1900, Proceedings for July 1900 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1900*, p. 147.

¹¹⁷Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 216.

mandatory condition for permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school. It further emphasised that training institutions for secondary teachers should have good practising schools attached to each one of them. It also felt the number of Normal schools for primary teachers should be increased, with an increase in the salaries paid to primary teachers to induce them to undergo a course of training which would in future be of a duration not less than two years.¹¹⁸

Regarding the Normal schools, at the close of the year under report that is 1901-1902, there were 261 students studying in the five Normal schools; and, with the exception of one, all were in receipt of government stipends. Twelve students were under training for work in Zamindari Schools; the remainder, 249, for work in ordinary primary schools. Sixty nine were teachers selected for training by inspectors of schools, and 192 students who had passed the vernacular M.S.E. and desired to become teachers. In 1896-97 there were 270 students in training in these institutions, so that there has been a slight falling off in the numbers. Of the 299 candidates who presented themselves at the Junior Vernacular Teacher's Certificate Examination, 248 were students of the Normal schools and 51 were private candidates. One hundred and ninety-nine of the Normal schools and 29 of the private candidates were successful. These figures show that 80 per cent, of the candidates sent up from the Normal schools passed a result which was satisfactory. For the Zamindari Certificate 36 candidates appeared: 18 of these belonged to Central Training College, 14 to the Lahore Normal School, and 4 were private candidates. All of the Central Training College students, 11 of those from the Lahore Normal school, and 3 of the private candidates were successful. At Lahore the Normal school students visited the horticultural gardens twice a week. Mensuration was also being taught practically. Concrete illustrations were used to demonstrate the rules, and the students were required to measure, draw, and estimate the area of fields in the neighbourhood of the schools.¹¹⁹

In 1905-1906, the institutions for the training of teachers in Punjab were Normal schools for men at Lahore, Delhi, Multan, Jalandhar, and Rawalpindi. With a Normal school for women

¹¹⁸Ghosh, *The History of Education*, p. 130.

¹¹⁹*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1901-1902*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1902), p. 178.

coming up in 1905 at Lahore, also there were six training classes for girls attached to various schools.¹²⁰

Moving further with the discussion, the Fifth quinquennial review of, 1902-1907, offers an interesting piece of information about the various training institutions in India. The report states that there existed a similarity between the systems of training vernacular teachers followed in different provinces in India. In the seven provinces of Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Punjab, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Central Provinces and Berar, and the North-West Frontier Provinces (N.W.F.P.), the chief feature in the training of vernacular teachers was the provision of institutions, called in Bombay Training Colleges, in the United provinces, Punjab, the Central Provinces and the N.W.F.P., Normal schools, and in Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, Training schools. To these institutions, vernacular students were admitted for training after they had completed the most advanced course of instruction given in vernacular schools that is after they had reached what was known as in most provinces known as the vernacular middle standard, being as a rule the seventh standard of vernacular instruction. In the training institutions, they received the vernacular course of instruction lasting for two years, and containing some extension and revision of their general studies and also professional training in the theory and practice of teaching. During the period of their training the students received stipends, usually of about Rs.7 a month, for their food and their expenses. At the end, of their period of training, they found employment both in primary schools, middle vernacular schools and the vernacular classes of secondary schools. Nearly all the institutions of this kind had been established and were maintained by government under the direct management of the Education Department, but there were ones which were conducted under private management in connection with missions. The numbers of these institutions and of their pupils were as follows: -Training schools for vernacular teachers, 1907-Punjab-Institutions-5 and pupils 401. In Punjab they were all conducted by government and were situated at Lahore, Delhi, Multan, Jalandhar and Rawalpindi.¹²¹ During the quinquennium, new Normal schools had been built at Lahore and Delhi. The accommodation had been increased and improved, two new boarding houses had been established and the others were expanded. Few changes had been introduced in the set of

¹²⁰ *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1905-1906*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1907), p. 54.

¹²¹ *Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907*, Volume I, Fifth Quinquennial Review, (London: Darling & Sons Ltd, 1909), pp. 221-22.

courses; efforts had been made to make the instruction more practical by the general adoption of kindergarten methods of teaching. These developments had resulted in considerably increased expenditure and better results of examinations than those of 1901-1902.¹²²

The engaging travel unfolding several interesting facts about the Normal schools continues. The report brings out that during this period a further move was made towards the broad regularity of organization-colleges preparing both graduates and under graduates (sometimes separately, sometimes together), to be secondary teachers; Normal schools and school or classes of lower grade instructing primary teachers or candidates for such posts. A general difficulty of training institutions was to attract students to them and to keep them to the career of teacher subsequently. The difficulty of ensuring that the trained teachers practise their profession was greater in the case of elementary than of secondary schools. A characteristic of training courses of various standards in India was that attendance was necessary at an instruction specially designed for instructing in the course and superintending practice. Another feature common to all the institutions of whatever grade, was the practising or Model school attached.¹²³Elementary teachers throughout India were trained in various forms of institutions, and the special facilities offered were divided into- training in Normal schools, training in special schools of lower grade, and training in apprentice classes. The first system was common in all provinces. The system of special schools of lower grade for elementary teachers existed in Bengal. The apprentice system consisted in the placing of candidates for service at selected vernacular middle schools where students could pursue their ordinary studies and also obtain a certain amount of instruction in method and practical experience. They were to be found only in United Provinces, Assam, Central Provinces and Punjab. As about the staff of the training institutions or Normal schools in Punjab, each school had a headmaster on pay ranging from Rs.120 up to Rs.200 and five assistants (including a drawing master) on Rs.45 ranging to Rs.100. The average annual cost of a student in a training school for masters in Punjab was Rs.154. The work of the trained teachers was highly spoken of. The strength of the staff and the possibility of bestowing individual attention upon pupils in comparatively small classes rendered the possibility of good results.¹²⁴

¹²² *Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907*, pp. 225-26.

¹²³ Henry Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914), pp. 187-88.

¹²⁴ Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, pp. 198-99.

A reference here is necessary about the Training classes- where boys who had passed the upper primary examination were trained for six months and then sent out to work as teachers in lower primary schools and departments and such classes were held at 15 centres.¹²⁵As explained above the apprentice system was the placing of candidates for service at selected vernacular middle schools where students could follow their regular studies and also acquire a certain amount of instruction in method and practical experience. Both had been introduced in the existing training system of vernacular teachers almost during the year of 1912-13 in order to meet the rising demand for trained teachers.

Between 1909-1910-1913-1914, the training institutions including Normal schools remained the same. Also progress of Normal schools and training classes continued to be satisfactory.

However, the Normal schools apparently improved in number from five to ten for the period under review that is quinquennial of 1916-1917. Training classes for students of a lesser standard had been opened at a number of centres to supply local and immediate needs. The number of students going through training at the close of the year was 415 in 1911-12 and 776 by 1916-17.¹²⁶A candidate looking for admission to a Normal school, i.e., for the J.V. course must have passed the Vernacular Middle Examination. With the rise in the salaries paid to the teachers of primary schools, the applicants for admission to Normal schools had increased. The course of training in a Normal school was of one year's duration and the syllabus had been made easier. In order to complement the work of the Normal schools training classes were opened which were attached to vernacular middle schools at a number of centres in the province during the quinquennium. The existence of Normal classes was justified by the insufficient output of the Normal school. The work in the Normal classes was different in quality in compliance with the ability of the masters in charge. The number of Normal schools throughout the province was inadequate for the needs. Some of the existing Normal schools were capable of extension to admit more students. The principle that a teacher to be efficient needs training had been strongly established in this province.

¹²⁵*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1912-13*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1913), p. 11.

¹²⁶*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, during the quinquennium ending, 1916-1917*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1918), pp. 31-32.

Fortunately, there was no scarcity of candidates for training and all that was required was the provision of facilities with the availability of funds.¹²⁷

Nonetheless, Henry Sharp's report declares about the facilities being provided to the candidates as being particularly good in Punjab. He further mentions about several reports bearing a witness to the satisfactory feature of improvement in the general qualifications of the candidates admitted to the institutions whether for English or for vernacular training. The institutions had grown more popular and the choice for admission was wider.¹²⁸

Meanwhile, a significant development that took place in India in 1910 was that of the Gopal Krishna Gokhale's attempts at introducing Compulsory Primary Education. He moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country. However, the Bill was turned down in the Council.

Furthermore, on the national front, the Resolution of the government of India on Educational Policy (1913) made major recommendations including that the teachers should have passed vernacular middle examination and received one year's training. Emphasis was laid on the education of women too and the number of women teachers and inspectors also needed to be increased.¹²⁹

After the conclusion of the World War I in 1917, the government of India appointed the Calcutta University Commission or the Sadler Commission, under the chairmanship of Michael Sadler to inquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta. The Commission studied the problems of secondary education and held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential base for the progress of university education. The Commission recommended an essential reorganisation of the system of secondary education.

¹²⁷*Report during the quinquennium ending, 1916-1917*, pp. 34-36.

¹²⁸H. Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, Volume I, Seventh Quinquennial Review, (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1918), p. 167.

¹²⁹Bhatt and Aggarwal, *Educational Documents*, pp. 30-31.

The Government of India Act, 1919, saw the transfer of the education to the Indian ministers. However, there was a considerable opposition to the idea of a total transfer from the Anglo-Indians, the resident Europeans in India and some provincial governments. Hence, it was decided that the education of the Anglo Indians and the resident Europeans were to be looked after by the government of India.¹³⁰

A progress in the training of teachers was reported in 1919-1920. There was an increase of two government Normal schools for men with a new school being opened at Kasur and the Normal school at Dharamshala previously supported by the Canadian Mission was taken over by the government (the total being fourteen), and the opening of one new government Normal school for women. (We will get to know more details of women education and training of women teachers later in the chapters 4 & 5) Special mention was made of a training class for ex-soldiers opened at Gujar Khan in the Rawalpindi District. Besides some promising progress affirmed in the Province, there was another interesting development that of the reorganisation of school classes. The primary was now only a four-class school and it prominently changed the condition of the primary practising- schools-called Model schools- attached to Normal schools. Hence, the complete question of practising-schools requires careful study. One of the complications that arose was to adjust the supply of candidates for admission to the demand for teachers. There were numerous applications in advanced districts but in underdeveloped areas, where in fact the need for trained men, was all the more pressing, it was not easier to acquire enough men to fill up the positions, whereas selection was impossible.¹³¹

In 1921, Lala Ram Chandra, Inspector of Training Institutions, attempted to show the capacity of the then Normal schools. He declared that the government planned not only to make the necessary improvements in the existing Normal schools, but also to establish new ones. The state of Normal schools in Punjab during that year revealed that there were 14 Normal schools in Punjab all maintained by government. The number of students attending them was 1,089 against 955 in the previous year. The J.V. teachers were trained chiefly for rural primary schools. The Ambala Division had two Normal schools- at Delhi and Karnal, Jalandhar three-at Jalandhar, Dharamsala and Moga; Lahore four- at Gurdaspur, Sialkot,

¹³⁰Ghosh, *The History of Education*, p. 150.

¹³¹*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1919-1920*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920), pp. 31-33.

Gujranwala and Kasur; Multan two-at Multan and Lyallpur; Rawalpindi three-at Rawalpindi, Sargoda and Mianwali. The last of these served the most backward area in Punjab. Of the total enrolments 514 were Hindus, 493 Mohammedans, 71 Sikhs and 11 Christians. Agricultural communities contributed 501 or less than half the total strength.

Table 2.22 The distribution of students, division-wise in 1921.

Ambala	176 against	180 provided in the budget
Jullundur	198 against	205 provided in the budget
Lahore	350 against	350 provided in the budget
Multan	181 against	180 provided in the budget
Rawalpindi	184 against	250 provided in the budget
Total	1,089 against	1,165 provided in the budget

Source: *Proceedings of the Conference of Inspecting Officers held in Lahore in April, 1921: together with the Punjab Government's (Ministry of Education) Review thereon*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1921), pp. iv-v.

Nevertheless, more Normal schools were needed to keep pace with the expansion of primary education in rural areas. As a rule, one or two new Normal schools were opened each year. It was acknowledged that some of the Normal schools had no practising schools of their own and, hence experienced difficulty in training their pupil teachers efficiently. It was proposed that provision should be made to construct the practising school along with the Normal school and practising schools were to be regarded as an indispensable part of the Normal schools to secure efficient training. The staff of the practising schools attached to Normal schools needed a makeover.¹³²

J.A. Richey in his report states about the economic and political unrest which India shared with the rest of the world during this period. The long continuance of World War I brought depression. The cost of education rose with the price of food clothing and school materials. Funds were limited, employment proved hard or impossible to get. The Report states that though the Non-Cooperation movement did not make any direct attack, but in 1920 at the Nagpur meeting, resolutions were passed declaring a boycott of all schools recognized by government. (There was a gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned Aided or controlled by government) And another grave issue that marked the year 1918-19 was a terrible outbreak of influenza which wiped off many lives throughout India. In spite of

¹³²*Proceedings of the Conference of Inspecting Officers held in Lahore in April, 1921: together with the Punjab Government's (Ministry of Education) Review thereon*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1921), pp. iv-v.

the various unfavourable factors, political and economic, it was acknowledged that there was satisfactory advance in education.¹³³

The report of the Quinquennial, 1917-1922, unfolds the statistics for the trained masters and some vital evidences about the Normal schools. The number of Normal schools increased to fifteen. A few training classes were there but their work had been mostly taken over by Normal schools. One important change in organization was made in 1920 when six of the normal schools were combined with local government high school so that full use could be made of the staff and buildings of both institutions. An interesting fact related to secondary teachers-vernacular is worth citing here. For employment, in middle schools and in the middle departments of secondary schools, a higher type of vernacular teacher was required. The training of such teachers was provided in some provinces in special Normal schools while in others including Punjab by special continuation courses in the training schools for elementary teachers. The qualification for admission to training as a secondary vernacular teacher was never lower than the middle standard and, in some cases; the candidates were also required to have obtained an Elementary Teacher's Certificate. The large increase in the number of lower middle schools had necessitated the opening of classes for senior vernacular teachers at a number of Normal schools in Punjab.¹³⁴

Furthermore, changes had been introduced, in Punjab, in the Normal school programme in the way of removing subjects such as physical training and formal drawing which the master of a primary school would never be asked to teach. A reference of the special practising or demonstration schools often attached to training institutions is noteworthy. These schools were envisioned to be the laboratories of the institution to which they were attached. One such example was the Normal school run by the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga under W. J. McKee, where the students were taught practical agriculture on a farm of fifty acres and were trained in simple village handicrafts in addition to the practice of teaching.¹³⁵(The Moga School has been discussed in Chapter-2.)

The quinquennium report of Punjab specifies the growth during the period. The number of normal schools had increased from eleven to fifteen and the number of scholars being 796 in 1916-1917, 1,250 in 1921-22, and 1,480 in 1922-23, at the end of the quinquennium 1921-22.

¹³³J. A. Richey, *Progress of Education in India, 1917-1922*, Eighth Quinquennial Review, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1923), pp. 1-2.

¹³⁴Ibid, pp. 145-46.

¹³⁵Ibid, p. 150.

The development of vernacular training had been more marked. This growth had been achieved not only by the addition of new Normal schools but also by the expansion of existing schools. In 1918, the Normal school in Lahore was removed and expanded into two institutions which were located at Gujranwala and Sialkot (the former had since been transferred to a spacious and permanent home at Gakhar).¹³⁶

Meanwhile, a major development on the national front, that had educational implications, had taken place. In 1927, the British government announced the appointment of a Commission (Simon Commission) to enquire into, and report on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as a basis for further action. As the Commission was also asked to submit a report on education, an Auxiliary Committee with Philip Hartog as President was set up. Despite the fact, that the Simon Commission was boycotted on the exclusion of Indians; the Hartog Committee submitted its report and admitted that during the decade between 1917 and 1927 education had made considerable progress. The Committee noted that in the case of primary schools, the quality of the teacher and of the teaching depended to a significant amount on the pay and condition of service. Therefore, the best men could not be engaged in the teaching profession as long as these continue to be disappointing and often teachers had no compassion for their work. Also, in none of the provinces was the pay of teacher sufficient to give them the status which their work commanded and, in some provinces, the pay of the teacher was considerably low. Hence conditions of service of the teacher needed to be greatly changed.

The particular feature in 1927-28 was that, of the arrangements for the training of vernacular teachers that were divided between combined institutions and the Normal schools which were spread over the Province. Moreover, the system was to continue during the period of expansion until saturation point was reached when the department possibly would be competent to establish the number and position of its permanent developed Normal schools.¹³⁷

¹³⁶*Report on the progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending, 1921-22*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1923), pp. 99-101.

¹³⁷*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1927-28*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1929), pp. 72-73.

Table 2.23 The Separate Normal schools as per the 1927-28 report on progress of education in Punjab.

Division	Institutions	UNITS		No. of Junior Vernaculars	No. of Senior Vernaculars
		Junior Vernacular	Senior Vernacular		
Multan	<i>Nil</i>	...	...	...	...
Rawalpindi	1.Lala Musa	4	...	155	..
	2.Gujar Khan	2	...	80	...
	Total	6	...	235	...
Jullundur	Jullundur	1	3	44	137
	Total	1	3	44	137
Lahore	1.Daska	3	...	117	...
	2.Gakhar	...	3	...	128
	Total	3	3	117	128
	Grand Total	10	6	396	265

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1927-28*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1929), p. 81.

Further, gradual progress reveals that the training was given to senior and junior vernacular teachers in what were usually called combined institutions or in separate Normal schools. The number of training units consisted on an average of forty pupils. The combined institutions came into existence as a measure of economy in a period of rapid expansion.¹³⁸ (Refer Appendix XV, p.371).

The Hartog Committee, 1929, made recommendations for teacher training programme. It stressed on the improvement in the quality, training, status, pay, service condition of the teachers. Also suggested on the curriculum and methods of teaching to be apt to the conditions of villages in which children lived and read. However, to the utter dismay the suggestions of the Committee remained mere hopes as they could not be implemented effectively and the progress of education suffered massively due to the worldwide economic depression of 1930-31.

An advance was made in the training of teachers during the year 1929-30. It was calculated that the percentage of men teachers who had received training of one sort or the other was approximately 74. The percentage of trained teacher was adequate. It was also hoped that successful efforts were being made to stimulate the teachers on their return to the schools to improve their methods of teaching by means of refresher courses.¹³⁹ (Refresher course has been discussed later during the course of Chapter-3.) Moreover, it was strongly

¹³⁸ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1928-29*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1930), p. 75

¹³⁹ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year, 1929-30*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1931), p. 4.

acknowledged that the training institutions successfully put up with the pressure put on them by the speedy expansion in vernacular education and the position was such that the number of training units could be reduced and their continuance as attachments to high schools could be reviewed.

Table 2.24 The Statement showing the Separate Normal schools 1929-30.

Division	Institution	UNIT				Number of junior vernaculars	Number of senior vernaculars
		Junior Vernacular	Senior Vernacular				
			Ordinary	I year	II year		
RAWALPINDI	1.Lala Musa	4	...	...	...	169	...
	2.Gujar Khan	2	...	...	...	77	...
	Total	6	...	...	...	246	...
JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	1	...	2	2	48	165
	Total	1	...	2	2	48	165
LAHORE	1.Daska	3	...	...	...	121	...
	2.Gakhar	...	...	2	1	...	119
	Total	3	...	2	1	121	119
	Grand Total	10	...	4	3	415	284

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year, 1929-30*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1931), p. 100.

The growth of education was resulting in the increasing demand for trained teachers. And as has been mentioned above that the reasonable progress of an educational system depends very largely on the teachers; and this was more important at a time when a profound pressure was imposed on the system by rapid expansion.

The report for the quinquennium, 1931-32, stated that the five years' programme of expansion in vernacular education ending 31st March 1927 was responsible for an imperative demand for large numbers of vernacular trained teachers. Since the existing Normal schools could not meet this demand, a number of J.V. and Senior Vernacular (S.V.) units were attached to high schools, as suitably as possible with respect to rural areas. Within a short period of time, sufficient trained teachers were produced to deal with the demand and to substitute many untrained teachers. Because of the need for S.V. teachers, many J.V. units were replaced. It was realised that a one-year course was too short to train a suitable type of S.V. recognised teacher. In 1927-28, it was decided, therefore, to extend the course to two years. The experiment proved a success in producing men of better qualifications, deeply interested in rural uplift. A steady rise in the percentage of trained teachers and the slowing down of expansion, however, made the department reduce the number of training units in 1930-31. The Khalsa College, Amritsar, was started during the quinquennium, a training

class for Gurmukhi speaking teachers who had passed the vernacular final examination. In the Rawalpindi division, a class for the training of discharged soldiers was maintained at first at Daulatabad in the Gujarat District, which was transferred later to Domel in the Attock and then to Rohtak in the Jhelum district.¹⁴⁰

Table 2.25 Number of men teachers under training in the several Normal schools and combined institutions during 1927-28-1931-32.

Classes	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
S. V.	908	1,045	1,100	1,087	711
J. V.	2,360	2,702	2,737	2,020	716
Total	3,268	3,747	3,837	3,107	1,427

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1933), pp. 67-68.

It is however noticeable, in the above Table, that during the final year the number fell considerably, whereas it had kept rising steadily up till the year ending March 1930. This was explained by the fact that saturation point having been reached the number of junior vernacular and senior vernacular units was reduced in 1931-32 by 30 and 9 to 15 and 6, respectively, and these were likely to make provision only against death or retirement, or for the proper recruitment of schools raised from primary to secondary level. Another noteworthy progress was that of Adult schools providing education to constables, coolies, etc. They were maintained by most of the training institutions. This was due to the regular efforts made by and the keen interest taken by the pupil-teachers of these classes.¹⁴¹

By now, the vernacular training institutions had developed into centres of training in community and propaganda work also. The departments often sought the help of pupil teachers and several D. Cs particularly in the Rawalpindi Division employed their services in connection with the organisation of health weeks, fight against locust and the continuance of the cause of rural uplift. The praiseworthy activities of the Normal school students were recognized by all.¹⁴²

Gradually the Normal Schools were being appreciated and began to have some ideals associated to them. Like Lala Hardayal Chopra on his being appointed the Headmaster of the

¹⁴⁰*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1933), pp. 67-68.

¹⁴¹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, pp. 68-71.

¹⁴²*Ibid*, p. 72.

Government Normal school, Moga, had removed the board with the words 'Normal School' and had in its place replaced with 'a laboratory for the research of ills which are impairing the vitality of the body politic of our society'. He said that he had always looked upon the Normal schools or for the matter of that any training institution for teachers, as nothing more nor less than a laboratory where problems regarding the development of the child of the future and who is to become the father of the future perfect man are to be solved. He further added that this ideal was being kept constantly in view in the western countries especially in Germany and the United States, where the best intellects of the university were engaged in the study of the problems of child development. He consolidated his statement by saying that Punjab with three vernaculars had many more puzzles for the students of Child Psychology and this problem could secure a solution only if experiments were tried with varying conditions. Therefore, the major question was where were they to be tried? In the University College, viz., the Central Training College where highly qualified staffs were employed, only secondary education problems were tackle. The headmaster admitted that it was the Normal schools alone, where all impediments in the path of progress had to be removed.¹⁴³

The subsequent period, is that of, the Government of India Act of 1935. This Act ended the diarchy system of administration set up by the Act of 1919, removed the difference between reserved and transferred subjects, and placed the whole field of provincial administration under a ministry responsible to a legislature with a majority of elected members. Furthermore, it divided the educational administration into two categories Federal or Central and State or Provincial.

Like the previous one, the quinquennium of, 1936-37, was again a period of lean years marked by economic distress and monetary severity and resulting retardation in the rate of expansion. Up to the year 1930, when funds were available in generous measures for expansion and the introduction of new schemes, educational progress obviously depended upon a regular supply of skilled teachers to deal with the growing requirements. In the past seven years of depression however, consolidation and decline of expenditure were the guiding policy. Every attempt was made to achieve savings in all directions. Educational development, therefore, came more or less to a standstill and the need for more teachers also

¹⁴³Normal School Ideals by Lala Hardayal Chopra, Head Master Govt. Normal School Jullundur, *Proceedings of the Educational Conference, Jullundur Division, held at Jullundur City, on 13th, 14th and 15th of October 1932*, (Lahore: the Kanpur Art Printing Works, n. d), pp. 23-27.

declined, while the market value of the trained unemployed reduced greatly. These circumstances presented a chance for focussing more on the efficiency of training and the quality of the teacher than quantity. Attention was directed; therefore, to the betterment of the training facilities, hence the accomplishments of the period under review were not so much in numerical progress as in the qualitative improvement of the product.¹⁴⁴ The Abbott-Wood Report, 1937, recommended for the duration of the teacher training programme to be of three years.

During the final year of the previous quinquennium facilities for training of vernacular teachers were being provided at 20 centres-15 government, 4 Aided and one unaided. In 1932, however, a careful examination was made of the maximum requirement of trained teachers and it was found that at the old rate of outturn the supply of trained teachers would far exceed the demand. The number of training institutions was, therefore, reduced to five-three government Normal schools and two privately managed ones at Moga and Amritsar.¹⁴⁵

Table 2.26 The statement providing comparative information about the number of institutions and scholars, 1936-37.

Year	Number of Vernacular Training Institutions			Number of Pupil teachers under Training			
	Government	Private	Total	Government Institutions		Private	Total
				Junior Vernacular	Senior Vernacular		
1931-32	15	5	20	1,470		272	1,472
1935-36	3	2	5	212	188	86	486
1936-37	3	2	5	196	181	79	456
Increase or decrease as compared with year 1935-36	...	...	...	-16	-7	-7	-30

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 69.

The method of enrolment of the candidates for admission to Normal school was also modified during this period. Despite every attempt being made to select the best available candidates for admission to the training institutions the standard of recruitment was obviously being affected to an extent by a number of key deliberations such as communal and territorial, and by interests such as the needs of the depressed classes, agriculturists and

¹⁴⁴*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 62.

¹⁴⁵*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 67-68.

underdeveloped communities. Divisional distribution was fixed as before, by the Director, on the receipt of the inspectors' list after a prescribed test in composition, dictation, calligraphy and general knowledge. After the selection, all the selected candidates had to produce a certificate of medical fitness. A study of the figures for admission showed that the percentage of agriculturists had been duly maintained. The percentage of Muslims to the total enrolment in all the centres was 50.4 per cent., but in the government Normal schools, it stood at 64 per cent. The number of depressed class pupils admitted to the centres during the quinquennium was 21.¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile following the political developments, the hopes of any educational reconstruction under Provincial Autonomy (the new system of governance popularly known as Provincial Autonomy came into action in 1937 in eleven provinces of British India) had suffered a blow as the Congress ministers resigned and the caretaker governments that succeeded in the provinces were too occupied solving out the problems created by war to have any time and money for education.

The quinquennium under review, 1941-42, confirms with the initial five years of provincial autonomy after the coming of a popular government in the Province. These five years had given the province some satisfying signs of overall progress and positive development in the sphere of education. Two batches of about 400 teachers trained had already passed out of the Normal schools during the years 1941 and 1942. There was a broad agreement that these new teachers were proving better instructors of children and more useful village guides to the rural public in all matters, social, economic and educational. Also a committee was set up by Punjab government in October, 1941, to consider the important question of the re-organisation of the A.V. secondary training system and of the revision of the syllabus for the course.¹⁴⁷ Another remarkable feature was the increase in the Normal schools from 5 to 8; one government Normal school at Gujarat, and two privately managed schools-Mission Normal School, Kharar, and D.A.V. (Dayanand Anglo Vedic) Normal School, Lahore, the latter meant exclusively for town teachers to teach the primary classes through the medium of Hindi. The total number of pupil teachers under training in the 8 schools (including 2 women

¹⁴⁶ *Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁷ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1943), pp. 1-2.

teachers in the Moga Mission School) was 823, 512 in government Normal schools and 311 in privately managed ones.¹⁴⁸

John Sargent, the then education adviser with the government of India was asked by the Reconstruction Committee of the government of India to prepare a memorandum on the post-war (World War II) educational development in India. In 1944, Sargent report entitled *Post-War Educational Development in India* was accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education which aimed at attaining the educational standard of contemporary England in India. It made some recommendations in terms of teacher training programme. It suggested for qualified individuals to opt for teaching and practical training to be provided in suitable manner.

Steadily coming to the end of the study period, the number of privately managed normal classes, as revealed by 1944-45's report of education, remained the same as in the previous year, that is, 3 but, one additional government Normal school was opened during the year at Kamalia, raising the number of government schools from 4 to 5. The Agricultural Teachers' Training Class at Lyallpur continued to train selected S.V. teachers in Agriculture.

At the same time, difficulty was being experienced in finding suitable qualified candidates for admission to the Normal schools. The major cause being the opening of many profitable posts in the military department to which matriculates as well as middle passed could find admittance. It was stated that the staffs employed in the Normal schools were sufficient numerically and competent professionally.¹⁴⁹

The total number of the Normal and training schools in India, in 1946-47- in East Punjab was 3 for men and 6 for women and in 1947-48-3 for men and 7 for women¹⁵⁰, (refer Appendix XVI, p. 372 and XVII, p.373). As mentioned in the figures about the women teachers this matter would be taken up extensively in Chapters 5 and 6.

¹⁴⁸Report during the quinquennium 1941-42, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹Report in 1944-45, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵⁰Education in India, 1947-48, Publication No. 96, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1951), p. 95.

Table 2.27 Number of teachers under training in various Normal schools, 1944-45.

Hindus	305
Muslims	483
Sikhs	48
Christians	18
Others	10
Total	864

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab in 1944-45*, (Lahore: Government Printing, 1946), p. 11.

With the discussion closing it becomes evident that the journey of the training of teachers that so enthusiastically began with the *Wood's Despatch, 1854*, followed up by the successive reports and policies tried and attempt making recommendations that supported the teacher education. Training Schools that is, Normal schools that were started with much zeal gradually retained making progress in the province since their initiation with considerable number of institutions coming up between 1905 up till 1947. The increase in the number of training schools led to increase in number of trained teachers. However, there were several incidents that happened during the period of study which at times influenced the growth of education. Be it the famine of 1877-78 that affected Punjab, the two World Wars or nation's struggle and the major turmoil on the political front as the war for independence gained momentum. The education kept moving ahead with frail steps. The government and Aided Normal schools trained teachers providing them with the teaching services and arrangements. The present chapter dealt entirely with and brought to light the education of teachers of primary schools in Normal schools. Nevertheless, it becomes equally significant to know about the education of teachers of secondary schools. Though it came up late yet it is imperative to know what the institution was and other necessary information about the education of teachers of secondary schools has been intricately discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Origin and Development of Training Institutions for Secondary School Teachers

An examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted success in which should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school Government or aided.¹

The Report of I.E.C, 1882, had invited evidence on the question- Does the university curriculum afford a sufficient training for teachers in secondary schools, or are special Normal schools needed for the purpose? The Commission revealed that an overwhelming opinion was in favour either of giving teachers of secondary schools a definite Normal training, or at any rate of requiring them to possess some acquaintance with the principles and methods of teaching. Thus, consolidating the demand for separate training school for secondary teachers Commission recommended that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted success in which should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school government or aided.

Origin of the Training College

We know, by now, that there were quite a significant number of teachers that were still untrained in spite of the existing training institutions. Unfortunately, the facilities available for the training of teachers were far short of the requirements. Though various attempts were underway to make a greater number of teachers trained yet the picture was not very promising.

A brief review of the training institutions that existed tells us that there were two types of training institutions in the country- the Normal and Training Schools for primary schools and middle school teachers and the Training Colleges for high school teachers. Graduates and under-graduates were admitted to the training colleges, while students with lesser qualifications were admitted to the Normal and Training schools.

¹*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 236.*

The training institutions in Punjab were all maintained by government. They included the Central Training College, Lahore, four Normal schools at Delhi, Jalandhar, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. To each of these institutions a Model School was attached.²

It is imperative to know the details of the various institutions of training so as to know the status of teachers in the province. We now move on to the next in training institutions that is the training college for education of teachers of secondary schools.

The training college was an institution where students were prepared for A.V. masterships in secondary schools.³ It trained teachers for employment in the high, middle and primary departments of secondary schools. The training college was believed to be of utmost significance for teaching in secondary schools. It was emphasized that if teaching in secondary schools was to be raised to a higher level than it was most necessary that the teachers should themselves be trained in the art of teaching. The I.E.C. while cautiously laying down a general rule requiring secondary teachers to be trained had suggested that the only possible substitute an examination, in the principles and practice of teaching should be introduced, success in which should be made a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school. The standard of providing training institutions for secondary teachers was met with wide spread recognition among the local governments and administrations. Institutions for training students in secondary schools existed in Madras, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore, and Jabalpur. These students had either passed the entrance or the intermediate examination of the university or were graduates. The success of the system of these institutions needed to be extended to other provinces, and also the endeavour to supply sufficiently trained teachers to the needs of the secondary schools throughout the country.⁴

Robert Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, in his review of the report of 1875-76, had mentioned three measures, which, he trusted would influence the future state of education in Punjab. These were the formation of a University in the province, the establishment of a central training school for the masters of district schools, and the abolition of Delhi College or rather its amalgamation with the Lahore College.⁵The

²The Central Training College, Section-B, Chapter on Training Institution for Masters, Pros. No. 4, No.143, Notification, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 8.

³*Punjab Education Code*, p. 4.

⁴*Educational Policy of the State in India: being a Reprint of the Halifax Despatch of 1854*, p. 163.

⁵*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 24.

training college in Punjab that is the Central Training College at Lahore was the first of its kind.

Central Training College, Lahore

The Central Training College at Lahore (established in 1881) was designed to train teachers for English, and secondary vernacular schools. In simpler terms, it provided training for A.V. teachers and for vernacular secondary teachers. It was for the training in science and practice of teaching of English teachers for all classes of A.V. schools, and of vernacular teachers for secondary schools.⁶The Training College for the training of teachers, both English and vernacular, for secondary schools was the first of its kind in India. It absolutely counted on the suggestions of the E.C., that Training Schools for teachers of secondary schools with an examination in the principles and practice of teaching should be promoted, and success in them to be a requirement for permanent service in any secondary school. Since its establishment, it is said to have met with extraordinary success that most of the secondary schools in the province were largely supplied with trained teachers. It may also be credited that Punjab, was able to supply the N.W.P. and Oudh with a number of trained and experienced men, enabling them to modify and improve their Training School system.⁷As discussed in Chapter -1 about the practising schools attached to the Normal schools, the Central Model School served as a practising school for the Normal School at Lahore, as well as for the Central Training College and had a boarding house common to both.

The institution consisted of three classes: 1) A Senior English Class, training teachers for A.V. secondary schools; 2) a Junior English Class, training teachers for A.V. primary schools; and 3) a vernacular class, preparing for vernacular teacherships in secondary schools.⁸This explains that the College had an A.V. department and a vernacular department. The A.V. department was sub-divided into a senior class and a junior class. The vernacular department had an S.V. Class.⁹

⁶Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 240.

⁷Special Reports called for by the Government of India in resolution No. 495-506, dated 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education, 1892-93 to 1896-97, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1900*, p. 149.

⁸Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 240.

⁹The Central Training College, Section-B, Chapter on Training Institutions for Masters, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 8.

Alfred Croft's Report further elaborates that the Training College was designed for teachers of senior class; both English and vernacular had two English classes, one for students who had passed or read up to the First Arts (F.A) or intermediate examination (the examination between the Matriculation and Bachelor of Arts, with different names at different universities), the other, for matriculates. The senior course was mainly limited to the principles and practice of teaching. The junior course included instruction in all subjects which the pupils later had to teach. The vernacular class consisted of men who had passed the vernacular entrance examination of the Punjab University and teachers sent in from schools. With required modifications, the syllabus was the same for the Senior English class. The examinations were open to all candidates, whether trained in the school or elsewhere.¹⁰

The Central Model School-Practising School of the College

All training colleges and schools had practising or Model schools attached to them, in which the students received practical instruction in the art of teaching. The practising instruction in the art of teaching was superior to that attained in any regular school. The Punjab Central Training College had a practising high school under the supervision of a trained officer of the Indian Educational Service (I.E.S.), who was subordinate to the Principal of the College. The Director reported that the quality of the teaching in the practising school as compared with that of other schools in the province was sound. He further added that it was rewarding to note that the teachers never restricted themselves entirely to the prescribed course. Playgroup (kindergarten) activities and drawing had been introduced into the primary department; the teachers made use of objective illustrations; in physical training-cricket and football-the school stood first in the Circle; and there was good quality in the school. The development of personality was regarded by the Headmaster as the most important part of the teacher's work.¹¹

We know that the Central Model School served as a practising school for the Normal school at Lahore and for the Training College as well. The Central Model School was established in 1883 as a middle school. The middle school was later promoted to high level in 1888 and shifted to a portion of Central Training College, Lahore. The space in

¹⁰Croft, *Review of Education in India*, p. 79.

¹¹Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 203.

the training college was insufficient; hence the school was moved to a building near district courts of Lahore in 1891.

The Central Model School taught till the standard of the entrance examination of the Punjab University and was managed by the Headmaster, who was subject to the immediate control of the Principal of the Central Training College, and was supported by a staff of three English masters; one maulvi, who also taught in the Central Training College; a Mathematical master for the Secondary Department, and six Oriental Teachers, including a Sanskrit teacher who was paid from subscriptions. The other teachers were on the approved establishment. The teacher of gymnastics in the Central Training College instructed the boys of the Model School also in gymnastics. The school's academic year started on the 1st November and was closed for vacation from 15th September to 15th October. It followed the same syllabus and set of rules as that of A.V. Board School. It was proposed, however, to introduce optional course in Science, in Commercial arithmetic, advanced English and Drawing in the English Department. The tuition fees were credited to government; and the Treasury Receipt for them was submitted monthly to the D.P.I.¹²

A brief and quick look at the performance of the Central Model School over the years brings forth information that supports the fact that it was a promising aid to the College and with due attention being given to it, it was expected in due course of time to become valuable not only as adjunct to the training schools and college but autonomously as first class elementary English schools. By 1903-04, the Central Model School, the Practising School for the Central Training College and the Lahore Normal School, continued to be most successful and popular. It was claimed that the marked and continued success of the students in the different public examinations had entirely removed whatever prejudice there may have been years ago against a school where so much teaching was done by students under training. The numbers on the rolls had risen from 713 to 766, an increase of 53 over last year. The income from fees also increased from Rs. 11,331 to Rs. 12,675. During the year no less than 1,560 lessons were given in the school by students in training, and each lesson was carefully criticised by the masters.¹³ Later during the years 1904-05, this school maintained its popularity and efficiency. The number on the rolls rose from 766 to 811, and the income from, fees

¹²The Central Model School, Section-C, Chapter on Training Institutions for Masters, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 11.

¹³*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1903-1904*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1904), p. 51.

from Rs. 12,675 to Rs. 13,348. The results of the public examinations were on the whole good, and especially so in the case of the Entrance, Arts and Science Faculties, in the Clerical and Commercial Examination, held for the first time in connection with the Central Model School, 7 out of 12 boys passed. The masters of the Central Model School gave 101 observation lessons, and also criticised over 2,000 lessons.¹⁴

We come across important information about the practising or the Model schools. The reports assert that attachment of practising or Model school was a common feature to all the training institutions. It was stated that there was an inclination during, 1907-1912, to replace practising schools, in which the students under training carried out a part of the teaching work, by Model schools in which they attended lessons delivered by regular staff, made notes and also took part occasionally.¹⁵ It is said that the Central Model School had served as a laboratory school for the Central Training College from 1891 onwards.

It is noted above that Punjab Central Training College's practising high school was placed under the supervision of a trained officer of the I.E.S. It will be helpful in our study further to get acquainted with as to what I.E.S. was in a quick brief up. The education departments, of the local governments under the control of the Directors, comprised the managing and teaching staff of the government institutions and the inspecting staff. By 1897 the Education Department was broadly divided into the Superior and Subordinate Service. The former being divided into the I.E.S., including all posts to be filled by persons appointed in England and the Indian Provincial Service or the Provincial Educational Service, including all posts to be filled by recruitment in India. The officers of the Indian Service were chiefly engaged as Inspectors and as Principals and Professors of colleges. The officers of the Provincial Services were employed in similar posts and also as assistant inspectors and professors and sometimes as headmasters of collegiate, high and training schools¹⁶, (After getting to know about the I.E.S., it would be further a matter of interest to know about the Graded Officers of Educational Services throughout India to get a picture of the various appointments. Refer Appendix XVIII, pp.374-78).

¹⁴*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1904-1905*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1905), p. 51.

¹⁵Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, p. 188.

¹⁶Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 16.

Moreover, as standards of an educational basis for the education of teachers were being laid down, the qualifications of the candidate, for admission, who was to be part of the training schools was being selectively taken care of.

The Departments-Classes and Qualifications for Admission to the College

As stated above, the Central College had both English and vernacular department. In the former, there was a Senior Class, training teachers for superior school work and a Junior Class, for all kind of purely vernacular work in secondary schools. For admission to the Senior English class, candidates were either Graduates or had read up to the B.A. (Bachelor of Arts) standard in a recognized College. For admission to the Junior English Class, candidates were required to have completed to the intermediate examination. For admission to the vernacular class, candidates were required to have passed either the entrance examination or the J.V.C.E., that is, the examination agreed for Normal schools and for primary school teacherships.¹⁷It is significant to mention here that the report of 1888 states that candidates for admission to the S.V. Class were required to pass either the entrance examination of the Punjab University, passing in Persian as one of the subjects or the J.V.C.E.¹⁸

Table 3.1 The higher-grade institutions, Central Training College, Lahore's general schedule as regards entrance qualifications, length of course, examinations and certificates.

Institution or Class	Department	Preliminary educational qualifications	Length of course	Examinations	Certificates
Training College, Lahore	Senior Anglo-vernacular class	University degree	One year	At the end of course	Provisional second grade senior Anglo-vernacular certificate.
	Junior Anglo-vernacular class	Study up to the intermediate standard	One year	At the end of course	Provisional second grade junior Anglo-vernacular certificate.
	Senior vernacular class	Entrance examination or junior vernacular teacher's certificate	One year	At the end of course	Provisional second grade senior vernacular certificate.

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 205.

¹⁷Special Reports called for by the Government of India, Resolution No. 495-506, 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education, 1892-93-1896-97, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, January 1900*, p. 149.

¹⁸The Central Training College, Section-B, Chapter on Training Institution for Masters, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 9.

Subjects of Study in the College

The course of study in the College was in compliance with the standards of examination. For senior certificates, students were given vernacular and A.V. certificates, and the Junior Anglo-Vernacular (J.A.V.) Certificates.¹⁹

A quick recapitulation of Central Training College Lahore- it comprised of three classes: a senior English class-training teacher for A.V. secondary schools, a Junior English Class-training teacher for A.V. primary schools and a vernacular class, preparing for vernacular teacherships in secondary schools. There were theoretical and practical courses being offered.

Table 3.2 Subjects of study in the training institutions and classes-higher grade (Central Training College).

Higher grade institutions and classes		
Institution	Department	Subjects of study
Central Training College, Lahore	Senior Anglo-vernacular class	1.English
		2.Mathematics
		3.Elementary science
		4.School management
		5.Practice of teaching
	Junior Anglo-vernacular class	1.English
		2. Arithmetic and mensuration
		3. Geography
		4.School management
		5.Practice of teaching
	Senior vernacular class	1.Vernacular language
		2.Persian
		3. Mathematics
		4. History and geography
		5. Elementary science
6. School management		
7. Practice of teaching		

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 208.

Instruction in subjects of general knowledge was given in each of the classes, with a view to develop that knowledge for teaching purposes, a large section of the time was dedicated to the theory and practice of teaching and school management. The facts of mental science were made easy and affected by familiar school experiences; school organization was taught by requiring every student to keep and enter up daily an admission and attendance register, to draw up regularly a time table for a particular

¹⁹Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 8. (See Article 151 of the Punjab Education Code, 2nd Edition)

class or division of a school, to classify pupils brought for admission, etc. and the art of teaching was illustrated by model lessons given by the Principal and other members of the staff, by criticism lessons given by the students, and by work in the Model School.²⁰

Practical Course of Training in the College

It comprised of teaching in the model or practising school, participation in criticism lessons and attendance at model lessons.

Table 3.3 The practical courses in the Central Training College.

Institution	General practice in the model school	Criticism lessons	Model lessons
Central Training College	During the course of the session every student devotes a certain time, fixed by the Principal, to actual teaching in the practising school. Students when teachings (or attending model lessons) are accompanied as often as possible by the Principal or Assistant Superintendent and on other occasions by master.	Every student gives not less than two model lessons before his class-fellows during the session, under the eyes of the Principal or Assistant Superintendent. The other students criticise freely at the close, and finally the officer in charge sums up the merits and defects,	Students are required to be present at lessons given by teachers of the practising school. On such occasions they observed and take notes with regard to manner and method of teaching.

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 213.

Punjab University's Degree Course for Teaching-Degree of Bachelor of Teaching-B. T. Class in the College

All universities except that of Bombay had instituted degrees or diplomas for those who planned to follow the profession of teaching. The universities at Madras, Lahore and Allahabad offered only a post graduate course. At Lahore Central Training College, too, both university and departmental courses were studied. In other words, the College sometimes followed the university course, sometimes only a departmental course and at times both. From time to time, it was found preferable to give an instruction in additional subjects other than those prescribed by the university in classes which were being prepared for the university examinations. The Degree of Bachelor of Teaching

²⁰Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 240.

(B.T.) by the Punjab University was offered to graduates in any capacity with the exception of the Orientals who had undergone a course of training for one year. The course included principles of education methods of teaching and a fuller study of the methods of instruction in selected subjects. Written papers were set upon these subjects and a practical skill in teaching.²¹

At places where, as in Bombay, the university offered no degree or diploma in teaching and where classes for students of lower qualifications were attached to colleges for teaching the university courses; the departments of public instruction approved their own programs and conducted their own examinations. The Lahore Central Training College, in addition to, the university course for graduates (and the vernacular course) offered two other courses for matriculates or for those who had passed the intermediate (provided that the latter had also studied for the B.A. for two years or had passed the junior certificates in the first division) leading up to examinations called respectively the Junior and Senior A.V. Certificates Examinations. The course was of two years in the case of matriculates, while in other cases it was of one year. The course included instruction in English, mathematics and (for the senior class) science, proposed to broaden the knowledge of the candidates; and also, in school management, criticism lessons and gymnastics.²²

Meanwhile discussing what was the B.T. course it is necessary to briefly discuss the role of Punjab University in the training of secondary teachers. The Punjab University had been asked to consider the question of making provision for the grant of a license in teaching to be awarded to candidates in possession of a degree not lower than B.A. The University considered the matter and were of opinion that, in order to raise the position of teachers and engage finer group of men, it was suggested that the University should make provision for the grant of a degree in teaching rather than a license to be awarded to candidates already in possession of a degree and framed their regulations accordingly. Some of the rules were: an examination for the Degree of B.T. to be held annually in Lahore; the same examination to be opened to graduates who had undergone a course of training for two years at a training college for teachers affiliated to the University. No students were to be allowed for examination unless his name was

²¹Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Volume I, p. 192.

²²Ibid, p.193.

submitted to the Registrar by the Head of the Training College he had attended. Every candidate produced a certificate of good character signed by the head of the training college. The application was forwarded to the Registrar eight weeks before the commencement of the examination, accompanied by a fee of thirty rupees and a statement showing the subjects in which to be examined. Every candidate was required to take up four subjects: I-Mental and Moral Science in their relation to the work of Teaching, II-Methods of Teaching and School Management, III-Lives and work of eminent teachers; and the Systems of Instruction, IV- Practical Skill in Teaching. The examination was conducted in written, practical, and in the practice of teaching. English was the medium of examination in all subjects which extended over three days. Written examinations included-1st Paper-Mental and Moral Science, 2nd Paper-Methods of Teaching and School Management, 3rd Paper-Particular Methods of Teaching, 4th Paper-Lives and Work of Eminent Teachers, System of Instruction in Foreign Countries. In the practical examinations, assessment in practical teaching skill and class management were conducted. The scale of marks allotted to each subject was- Mental and Moral Science in their relation to the work of Teaching-100 Marks, Methods of Teaching and School Management-100 Marks, Eminent Teachers and Foreign System of Instruction-100 Marks, Practical Skill in Teaching-200 Marks. The minimum number of marks required to pass this examination were 40 per cent in the practice of teaching, 33 per cent in the written papers, and 40 per cent in the aggregate. In cases where textbooks were prescribed, the candidates were required not only to show a thorough knowledge of the textbooks but answer questions of a similar standard set with a view of testing their knowledge of the subject. Textbooks could be changed and the changes would be duly notified. Four weeks after, the Registrar published the list of successful, candidates who passed, arranged in three divisions in order of merit. Each successful candidate received along the degree, a certificate stating the division in which he passed. Any candidate found giving or receiving assistance, bringing papers, books or notes into the examination-room, or the use, or attempt to use, any other unfair means of any kind at the examination of the university were subject to penalties.²³

²³Regulations for the Degree of Bachelor of Teaching, Pros. No.18, Lahore, 11th April, 1904, Proceedings for June 1904 in, *Government of the Punjab, Home Department Proceedings, January, 1904*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1904), pp. 166-68.

The B.T. students possessed an Arts degree of Punjab University. So massive had been the demand for admission into this class during the last few years, that the basis of the class was now formed of M.A. (Master of Arts) and of students who had taken a high place in the Degree examination, together with graduates who had already proved their worth as teachers. There were 194 applications for admission to the B.T. Class in 1916-17. The increased popularity of the class was due mainly to the increase in the annual output of graduates, but it was also due to the improved rate of salaries paid to B.T. teachers, and to the reduction of the duration of the course to one year. A B.T. in government service usually commenced on the grade of Rs.75-90 per mensem in the Subordinate Educational Service. In private employment, the bachelor obtained as much as Rs.100 to Rs.150 per mensem. In view, of the large number of candidates who sought admission to B.T. Class and the responsible positions which graduates in teaching often occupied, as Headmasters of schools and training institutions or in the inspecting line, the question of extending the course from one to two years deserved University's consideration. A doubt already expressed by Mr Knowlton, the Principal of the Central Training College. He regretted that during one year's course sufficient time could not be devoted to actual practice of teaching which included a great amount of theoretical study.²⁴ There was a noticeable growth in the number of students under training. The number of students in the B.T. classes in 1916-17 was 45, in 1921-22-43 and in 1922-23 it was 60.²⁵

The classes in Central Training College, Lahore, by end of quinquennium of 1916-17, comprised of four classes: High grade English-B.T. Class, the S.A.V. Class, (Senior Anglo-Vernacular), Lower grade English- the J.A.V. (Junior Anglo-Vernacular) Class & Local-trained, and High-grade vernacular- the S.V. Class, and Lower grade vernacular-Junior Vernacular, Local-trained.

Methods of Training in the College

The method of teaching in the college was by lectures, essays, and model and criticism lesson in the attached high school. The aim of the training course was to give the teacher an all-round training, both from the theoretical and practical points of view. On

²⁴*Report during the quinquennium ending 1916-1917*, p. 32.

²⁵*Report during the quinquennium ending, 1921-22*, p. 99.

the one hand, the knowledge of the subjects which student was required to teach, an acquaintance with the nature of pupil's mind and of the principles which highlighted the teaching art, and some knowledge of the history of education in the past. On the other hand, students learned by actual practice in the school room, to control and teach their class. The theoretical training was given by means of lectures on the theory and practice of teaching in relation to mental and moral science, on the methods of teaching school subjects and of maintaining discipline, and on the history of education. Weekly essays on suitable subjects written by the students and the library as an aid in preparation was at their disposal; also test papers were at regular intervals set by members of the staff. Also, the practical training, each student attended the demonstration lessons by the staff; each had to prepare and give under supervision lessons in the schools; and each had to observe and criticise lessons given by the other students of the college. At, the Lahore College, there were daily lessons in the science of education and the art of teaching, specimen lessons delivered weekly by the masters of the practising school, practice in teaching and managing classes for two or three weeks during the session, and daily criticism.²⁶

Number of Hours required for Instruction in the College

Likewise, in Normal schools there were a specified number of hours required for instruction in each branch of the Central Training College.

²⁶Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, p.193.

Table 3.4 The estimate of the number of hours required weekly for each branch of instruction in the Central Training College in 1888.

Senior Anglo-Vernacular Class	
Reading	2
Conversation	2
Translation, re-translation and letter-writing	3
Grammar and Analysis	2
Elementary Science	4
Mathematics	5
School Management and Criticism Lessons	12
Gymnastics	3
	33
Junior Anglo-Vernacular Class	
Reading	3
Conversation	3
Grammar	3
Writing	3
Translation and re-translation	6
School Management and Criticism Lessons (English)	12
Gymnastics	3
	33
Senior Vernacular Class	
Persian	3
Urdu	3
Mathematics	3
History and Geography	4
Elementary Science	5
School Management and Criticism Lessons	12
Gymnastics	3
	33

Source: The Central Training College, Section-B, Training Institutions for Masters, No.143, Notification, 20th July 1888, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, pp.8-9.

It can be seen that the number of hours for instruction was the maximum for School management and criticism lessons in all the three departmental courses that is S.A.V., J.A.V. and S.V. However, by 1902 we see a major shuffling in number of hours in the S.A.V. class of the Central Training College, when compared to the Table above providing similar information for the year 1888. A few subjects were reallocated more hours for instruction while other few witnessed reduction in hours. Reading and conversation were allowed 2 more hours, elementary science, too, was given an additional hour in the week whereas mathematics had a reduction of 3 hours. However, the total number of hours during the week remained the same.

Table 3.5 The division of the hours of class of study in one week in Punjab, by 1902.

Senior Anglo-vernacular class, Lahore	
	Hours
English reading and conversation	6
Translation, re-translation, and letter writing	3
Grammar and analysis	2
Elementary science	5
Mathematics	2
School management and criticism lessons	12
Gymnastics	3
	33

Source: R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), p. 210.

As regards the duration, in all the classes, the course extended over one year for graduates and for students who had passed the school final, University entrance, or F.A. examination. The course differed for each class of students; it was designed for English school teachers, and instruction was given through the medium of English and the only exception to this was the S.V. department of the Lahore College which trained vernacular secondary teachers through the medium of Urdu.²⁷

The session, in an educational institution, needs to cater to students' feasibility that is the best of the time during a year when it can draw and provide them with the best of the academic facilities without causing any hindrance. Same was taken into account when the session for the training institutions was planned.

Session and Staff of the College

The session in the Lahore College lasted from 16th of October to the 31st of July* every year. The Central Training College remained closed for the annual vacation from 1st of August to 15th October.²⁸ However, during the year 1933-34, it was felt that admissions in September caused delay in beginning instructional work and reduced the already short course of training to about seven months. Therefore, to remove this handicap, a preliminary selection was made in June and an admission test applied in English and other school subjects in September when the college re-opened after the summer vacation. During this interval, the students; even those with unsuitable combinations

²⁷Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 205.

²⁸The Central Training College, Section-B, Training Institutions for Masters, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 8. (*Students were required therefore to join punctually on the 16th October. Under special cases they could be admitted till the 16th of November, after which, no student was to be admitted without the sanction of the Director of Public Instruction)

but high intellectual ability and attainments were required to master the necessary portion of the textbooks for high classes so that the lecturers were enabled to concentrate intensively on the methods and practice of teaching. This plan was reportedly successful.²⁹

In any institution, especially in the educational ones; the teaching staffs is vital for its smooth running. As regards, the strength of the teaching staff the Central Training College, it was managed by the Principal (I.E.S.), subject to the general control of the Director. The Principal was assisted by the assistant superintendent, a staff of three assistant masters who were also required to translate, compile, and examine textbooks, and a maulvi, who also taught at the Central Model School. A gymnastic master, paid by the municipality, gave instruction at the Central Training College, the Central Model School and the Municipal Board School.³⁰ However, in 1896, a teacher of drawing was added to the staff, to ensure that no young teacher passed out of the College without some useful training in free-hand, geometrical, and model drawing, and in the hope that a certain number of students might qualify as teachers of drawing by obtaining the Junior Drawing Masters' Certificate.³¹

Stipends in the College

Scholarships and Stipends as defined in the Punjab Education Code have already been described in the previous chapter. Scholarship was a periodical payment guaranteed for a fixed time on certain conditions, and awarded subject to certain fixed limitations, absolutely in accordance with the results of a public examination. Stipend was a subsistence allowance made to a scholar on certain conditions to enable or induce him to pursue a certain specified course of study.

Government proceedings stated that Stipends could be given in institution for special education; and in the case of training institutions stipends were provided by government. A sum of Rs.270 per mensem throughout the session provided for stipends tenable in the S.V. Class of the Central Training College. Stipends were given, in

²⁹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 64-65.

³⁰The Central Training College, Section B, Training Institution for Masters, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 8.

³¹Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 240.

accordance with, the qualifications of the students. They were to be awarded a) To those who passed the J.V.C.E., Rs.9 per mensem*, b) To those who had passed the Entrance Examination, Rs.8 per mensem, c) To those who attended the Oriental College for two years after passing the Entrance Examination, but had not passed the Intermediate Examination, Rs.10 per mensem, d) To those who passed the Intermediate Examination (Oriental side) or any higher Oriental Examination, Rs.12 per mensem.(Preference was to be given to those who had passed with highest marks in the examinations; but the final selection was with the Principal of the Training College.)Fifteen stipends of Rs.10 per mensem were provided throughout the session for students attending the J.A.V. Class of the Central Training College, and a sum of Rs.250 per mensem throughout the session provided for stipends tenable in the S.A.V. Class of the Central Training College. Stipends given in accordance with the qualifications of the students were as noted- a) To those who attended an Arts College for two years after matriculation, but had not passed the Intermediate or F.A. Examination, Rs.12 per mensem, b) To those who had passed the Intermediate or F.A. Examination, Rs.15 per mensem, c) To those who attended the B.A.. Classes of an Arts College for two years after passing the Intermediate or F.A. Examination, but had not passed the B.A. Examination, Rs.25 per mensem. (Preference was to be given to those who had passed the best examination; but the final selection was with the Principal of the Training College.) Twenty per cent was deducted from the stipends held by the students of the Central Training College; and this amount was forfeited in the case of any student who did not complete the course, unless he left for some educational post with the consent of the Principal. At the end of the session the amount deducted was refunded to all students who completed the course. For this purpose, the Principal had to open a Savings Bank Account.³²

Furthermore, as regards the stipends given in training institutions in India, the educational report mentions that the teachers or students undergoing training ordinarily received either the pay of their post or a stipend. These were given either by the government or by the employer. The government stipends to some extent had been raised during the quinquennium as they were insufficient in some provinces to attract students. The variations in rates of stipends were considerable- higher stipends being

³²Stipends, Section-G, Chapter-VII, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings,1888*, pp. 15-16. (*Teachers to whom stipends were awarded were allowed to draw a portion of their pay in addition, see Article 10 of the Chapter on Training Institutions)

ordinarily given in places where it was difficult to find persons of proper qualifications. The highest stipend in institutions of the collegiate grade was given in the Central Provinces, where a graduate received Rs.45/- a month and an undergraduate Rs.30/-. In Punjab, the rate varied from Rs.12/- to Rs.15/- and Rs.18/- according to whether the student was in junior or senior A.V. Class or in the Bachelor of Training Class.³³ Provision was made for the payment from provincial revenues of stipends to teachers under training in government institutions. The number, value, and tenure of such stipends were to be determined by government from time to time. The monthly value of stipends as sanctioned was B.T. Class (ten months) Rs.18, S.A.V. Class (ten months) Rs.15, Oriental Language Teachers' Class Rs.15, J.A.V. Class (one year) Rs.12, J.A.V. Class (two years) Rs.10, S.V. (ten months) Rs.10, and J.V. (ten months) Rs.8. The stipends were supplemented by five scholarships in the B.T. and S.A.V. classes, of which, the value was awarded by the Principal of the Central Training College, Lahore, at the end of the first term on the merit and aptitude shown by students in their college work. In case of the award of a scholarship to stipendiary, he had to immediately, vacate his stipend, which was then available to a non-stipendiary who would be selected in accordance with the procedure followed for the selection of stipendiaries.³⁴

Furthermore, owing to the rate of expansion of vernacular middle schools and greater demand for senior vernacular teachers in the A.V. schools since the vernacular became the medium of instruction in middle classes, it became necessary to improvise means for increasing the supply of such teachers. Thus, S.V. classes were opened in the Normal schools at Jalandhar, Karnal, Sargodha and Multan in September last. The S.V. Training College at Lyallpur replaced the S.V. Class that previously existed in the Central Training College, Lahore.³⁵

Despite, the several training schools, there was still a shortage of trained secondary teachers that slowed the growth of education. The establishment of the Central College was considered a leap in the field of secondary education. The provision of qualified teachers, in secondary education, was a matter of importance. In Lahore, there was a

³³Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, p. 160.

³⁴*Punjab Education Code*, pp. 38-39.

³⁵*Report for the year, 1919-1920*, p.35.

Central Training College where the senior class consisted of training teachers for A.V. training schools.

Development of Central Training College (for selected years, 1881 onwards)

The Punjab Provincial Committee Report gives the following description of the Central College, Lahore, taken from the first annual report of the Principal. The vernacular class was in full working order from January 1881. The number of students varied from 31 to 34. Instruction was limited to the principles of teaching and elementary science, so that men of different skills were able to pursue the same course of lectures. The principles of teaching were studied from Currie's valuable Manuals added to by the Principal's lectures, and science was taught from the science primers with regular reference to more advanced textbooks. The experiments were first performed by the teacher and afterwards by the students. Every occasion was taken to influence upon the students the importance of the teacher's office, and to maintain a high moral tone. The chief defect in the first session of the training college was the need of a practising school. By and large, the principal was satisfied by the progress made in the face of difficulties associated with a new undertaking.³⁶

In 1881-1882, the reports strongly declared that the college was proposed not so much to communicate knowledge as to train men for the practical art of teaching and school management. Its scope supposedly was wider than that of an ordinary Normal school, which prepared young men for the charge of vernacular primary schools; while the Training College undertook to train students, both in English and the vernacular, for the middle and high schools of the province. The College contained English and a vernacular class. The English class consisted chiefly of students who had passed the B.A. or F.A. Examination, and of young teachers likely, to profit by the training afforded. There were on the whole 14 students, besides 14 teachers sent in for training, of whom had passed the F.A. Examination and 7 the Entrance Examination.³⁷ The vernacular class consisted of selected men who had passed through a Normal school and gained certificates, of students who had passed the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University College on the vernacular side, and of teachers sent in from schools

³⁶*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 49.

³⁷*Report on the Administration 1881-82*, pp. 191-92

for training. The great majority during the year under report were students from Normal schools; the number at the end of the year was 31.³⁸

Alfred Croft's Report, in 1886, further furnished the details that the Central Training College at Lahore comprised of three classes- two English and one vernacular. The two English classes trained teachers for secondary and primary English schools (or departments) respectively, the vernacular class for secondary vernacular schools. The teachers of primary vernacular schools were trained in the other Normal schools of the province. The number of pupils in the college increased from 52 to 72; 39 in the English classes and 33 in the vernacular class. It is pointed out that the duties to be executed by these two classes (English classes) of students were very different in nature. The Junior Class was to be employed exclusively in teaching the elements of English to the pupils of primary schools or departments. All that was required, in their course, was that they should be confident in English, and in the art of teaching English. On the other hand, the senior class was to be employed, if in high schools, in teaching not only English but other subjects through the medium of English, if in middle schools, in teaching English and supervising the teaching of other subjects through the vernacular. The vernacular students had not been so successful; but it was expected that the new rules about to be circulated for board schools, would open a guaranteed career for recognised teachers.³⁹

By 1887-88, the Central Training College, Lahore contained at the close of the year 69 students. The result of the three examinations, that is, the senior and junior A.V. and the S.V. examination is as follows. Out of the 24 candidates who appeared for S.A.V. Certificate Examination 17 passed and for J.A.V. Certificate Examination out of the 14 candidates 11 passed and for S.V. Certificate Examination 26 candidates appeared with 16 being successful. Regarding private candidates for Teachers' Certificates, six private candidates presented themselves for the S.A.V. Certificate Examination, and of these 5 were successful. For the S.V. Examination there were 7 candidates from the Mission Training College at Amritsar which had been lately closed, but all were unsuccessful. Out of 16 private candidates for this examination, 2 only were successful.⁴⁰

³⁸*Report on the Administration 1881-82*, p.192.

³⁹Croft, *Review of Education*, p. 246.

⁴⁰*Report on the Administration 1887-88*, p. 158.

The reports for 1888-1889, stated that the College contained at the close of the year 67 students, of whom 10 were teachers and 57 stipendiary students without appointments. It was reported that several men desired to join as non-stipendiary students, but were unable to present themselves sufficiently early in the session. However, this was considered to be a good sign, and was hoped that in the course of time many non-stipendiary students would attend the College.⁴¹

The Central Training College, in 1896-97, had 82 students, 44 in the English (16 in the senior English and 28 in the junior English) and 38 in the vernacular class, compared to 79, five years before, as per the third quinquennial review for 1892- 93-1896-97. The expenditure of Rs.26, 200/- in 1896-97, rose to Rs.30, 358/, was owing to increased salaries and equipment. Of the 82 students in 1896-97, 68 passed and gained certificates, 31 in the first division without failures in the practice of teaching. Drawing was taught with the view of adding to the skill of the teachers in illustrating their lessons on the black board and in the hope of being able to eventually give elementary drawing a place in the schools. Drills and gymnastics were taught to all the students and certificates qualifying to teach these branches were awarded to those who passed the prescribed examinations. The students were carefully selected-on certain bases- a high standard of discipline was maintained; and that the young men sent forth were not only fitted by their training to be efficient teachers, but to have an uplifting influence on the schools. The record of training college men was almost favourable. The Central Training College was under the charge of an Englishman, from the Indian Educational Service, who was a trained and recognised schoolmaster. His subordinates were mostly all trained. The Model School attached to the Training College was a high school with over 700 students. The buildings and equipment in both the Training College and Model School were of superior quality. There was a boarding house attached to the college in which all the students had to reside. As the institution was said to be carefully supervised, its influence on discipline and character was commendable. In every respect, it may be said that the Lahore Central Training College was in a comprehensively satisfactory condition. Since the opening of the College, the qualifications for admission to the English classes had been gradually raised, the last advance being made in 1896. It was possible to limit admission to the Senior Class to

⁴¹ *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1888-89*, (Lahore Punjab Government Press, 1889), p.168.

actual graduates, and to the Junior Class those who had actually passed the intermediate examination. The previous year's classes nearly fulfilled these conditions- two of the Senior Class being M.A., twelve B.A., and all but eight of the junior class had passed at least the intermediate examination. With this exception, it was believed that the training college required little improvement; and it could be confidently said for the province that the fullest attention was given to the important objects which both the training college and the Normal schools had in view.⁴² In 1896-97, the average of success was 83 per cent as compared to 76 five years ago.⁴³

A matter of great importance, in connection with secondary schools, was the provision of qualified teachers. There were 20 students in the Senior Class of teachers in training for A.V. training schools at the Central Training College at Lahore at the end of 1899-1900. The number of students seemingly was quite less; therefore, mechanisms were devised to increase it. The government of India considered it suitable that colleges for the training of teachers in secondary schools should, as was already the case in Madras, be affiliated to the University, and that the universities should make provision for the grant of a license in teaching to be awarded to candidates in possession of a degree not lower than B.A.⁴⁴

The year, 1901-02, saw that the number in attendance at the Central Training College at the close of the year was 76.⁴⁵

During 1905-06, the number of students at the Central Training College went up in the last four years from 76 to 188. The results in the various examinations compared most favourably with those of former years, and in professional subjects 97 per cent, of the candidates passed.⁴⁶

⁴²Special reports called for by the Government of India, on the Quinquennial Review on Education, 1892-1896-97, Proceedings for July 1900 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1900*, pp. 149-150.

⁴³Cotton, *Progress of Education in India, 1892-93 to 1896-97*, p. 241.

⁴⁴Secondary Education, ii-Teachers in Secondary Schools, Proceedings July 1902 in, *Proceedings Government of Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1902*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1902), pp. 3-4. (Pros. No. 15, No. 470, 6th November, 1901, From J. P. Hewett, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab. This correspondence was regarding the proceedings of the Educational Conference convened at Shimla)

⁴⁵*Report on the Administration for 1901-1902*, p. 177.

⁴⁶*Report on the Administration for 1905-1906*, p.54.

Moving on to the next years, 1909-10, for data about the Central Training College it was feared by the authorities that there was deterioration in the quality of the candidates coming forward for training in the Central Training College; the number of graduates for the year was only 17. The scanty emoluments of the profession were no doubt the major cause for this. All the successful students, however, obtained employment, the holders of the B.T. degree on salaries ranging as high as Rs. 150 and upwards.⁴⁷

Henry Sharp mentions that there were daily lessons in the science of education and the art of teaching, specimen lessons were delivered weekly by the masters of the practising school, practice in teaching and supervising classes for two or three weeks during the session, and criticism lessons were held every day at the Lahore College. It is also learned that the annual cost of education of a student in training college in Punjab was Rs.414. At Lahore each student specialized in science, history, geography, mathematics or English literature by writing out full teaching notes of twelve connected lessons in his special subject.⁴⁸

By 1912-1913, the number of the students on the rolls had increased from 229 to 276. It was satisfactorily noted that there was a strong competition to enter the training college. As a further extension of the College was not possible a plan for a separate Junior Training College at Jalandhar was put across. Mr Knowlton, Principal Central Training College, Lahore, had submitted an interesting report. He observed that for the previous twenty years the staff of the Training College had tried hard to exhibit three important truths on the students: first that in oral teaching student's attention has to be attained by the employment of objective and graphic illustrations; secondly, that home-made representations which the pupils could easily repeat were more useful for teaching purposes than those acquired from educational publishers; and thirdly, that the reconstruction of such illustration by the pupil should be asked for whenever possible. It was hoped that the appointment of Mr Buchanan, to direct and supervise manual training and the provision of a workshop for the purpose would be of great value for the college.⁴⁹

⁴⁷*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1909-1910*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1909), p.45.

⁴⁸Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, pp. 193,196.

⁴⁹*Report for the year 1912-13*, pp. 9-10.

The reports for 1913-14, unfold a promising development regarding the Central College. It was admitted with delight that the competition for entrance into the Central Training College was much intense than ever and the number of students admitted in the past year exceeded the record of all the previous years. The large number of graduates who sought admission to the College was another hopeful sign. The numbers were too large for efficient supervision and close personal interaction between the students and the staff, and there was a necessity for a separate Training College outside Lahore for junior teachers. It was proposed to establish a new Training College at Jalandhar.⁵⁰

Punjab reportedly had a planned system of the professional training of its teachers, as affirmed in the quinquennium report of the progress of education in Punjab for the year ending 1916-1917. The head and the centre of this system (excluding European institutions) was the Central Training College, Lahore. The Principal of the College was also the Inspector of Normal schools; and the instructors of the various Normal schools and training classes had received training at this College.⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1913-1914*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915), p. 64.

⁵¹ *Report during the quinquennium ending 1916-17*, p. 31.

Table 3.6 The number of students undergoing training at the close of the year 1916-1917, the figures compared with those for 1911-12.

		1911- 12	1916-17
MEN			
High Grade	English Bachelor of Teaching	34	45
	Senior Anglo-vernacular	27	43
		88	110
Low grade English	Junior Anglo-vernacular	...	20
	Local trained	81	82
High grade Vernacular	Junior Vernacular	415	776
	Local-trained	37	94
WOMEN			
High grade English	Bachelor of Teaching	...	...
	Senior Anglo-vernacular	...	1
Low grade English	Junior Anglo-vernacular	2	10
	Local-trained	...	...
Higher grade Vernacular	Senior Vernacular	6	22
	Local trained	16	2
Lower grade Vernacular	Junior Vernacular	15	58
	Local-trained	9	132
EUROPEAN			
Women		30	28
Men		15	13

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending, 1916-17*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1923), p. 32.

Furthermore, on the 30th of August 1916, the government of India had issued a circular letter to the local governments pointing out the inadequacy of the arrangements in many provinces for the training of teachers for secondary and primary schools. It suggested a minimum standard that the number of teachers to be trained in each year should not be less than the number of new teachers whom it is required to provide in order to take place of those who have died or resigned or in order to meet the demands created by the extension of education.⁵² During this period significant improvements had been achieved. New institutions had been opened, courses re-adjusted and stipends were raised. However, no improvement in the training institutions would be effective unless the prospects of the teachers' profession were sufficient to attract a satisfactory number of candidates. The improvement of the pay of staff particularly the trained staffs was to a certain amount responsible for a rapid flow of prospective teachers into the institution. In Punjab, there were 481 applications at the Central Training College, Lahore, of whom only 149 could be admitted. Except for in one division, there had not been any absence of candidates for vernacular training in the province. The Central Training College at Lahore was a large admired college with both English and vernacular classes and remained the only source of supply for English trained teachers

⁵²Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, p. 158.

for the senior classes of high schools, and for the higher grade of vernacular teachers. But it was unable to receive the large number of applicants for admission and a second training college was considered at Jalandhar. Its opening was deferred owing to the war. In the meantime, a J.A.V. Class was opened at the Islamia College, Lahore which offered a departmental course of two years for matriculates, and four classes for the training of matriculation attached to high schools.⁵³

J. A. Richey, mentions that, in the Central Training College, for the training of special teachers a latest experiment in Punjab was the opening of a class for classical teachers; the experiment proved popular with the pundits and maulvis, many of whom, however experienced, had no opportunity of learning class methods and educational practice.⁵⁴

The Lyallpur College was opened on September 1st, 1919 with Chiranji Lal as Principal. He was selected for his exceptional work at the Central College for last fourteen years. In 1919-20, the progress report mentioned that Lyallpur College was opened to reduce the pressure on the Central Training College and to meet the increased demand for S.V. teachers. There were 86 students on its rolls and with 111 in the four classes attached to it, the total under training were 197. Meanwhile, the strength of the Central Training College was 161.⁵⁵

In 1921, the Conference of Inspecting Officers held in Lahore, discussed if the provision for the training of teachers was adequate to meet the existing demands and also the demands that were likely to be made in the coming times. Some suggestions made for consideration if the need for expansion would be felt included-to find out what causes were this due to that some of the Normal schools seemingly were not always full. Was it because the stipends were inadequate? A suggestion was made that the course in Normal schools should be changed so as to allow junior vernacular teachers to take on work in lower middle schools and also that it might be possible to attach training classes for junior vernacular teachers to certain high schools. It was taken for consideration whether additional students could be accommodated at the two S.V. training colleges at Hoshiarpur and Lyallpur. Arrangements were also made for

⁵³Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, pp. 159-61.

⁵⁴Richey, *Progress of Education in India, 1917-1922*, p. 147.

⁵⁵*Report on the Progress of Education for the year 1919-20*, p. 35.

the continuation of the training classes at Multan, Sargodha, Karnal and Jalandhar. Some arrangements were made for J.A.V. class at the Central Training College, Lahore for their training at the Islamia College, Lahore, and at the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Proposals were made that J.A.V. classes should also constitute a part of the new intermediate colleges. With the removal of the J.A.V. classes at the Central Training College, there would be additional recommendation for B. T's and S. A. V's.⁵⁶

The progress report agreed that the training of teachers, while qualitatively sound, was quantitatively controlled by the lack of a satisfactory provision for training. The step needed was the change of policy regarding the scope and function of the Central Training College so as to provide for more senior students under training. The classes in the College, in 1917, included University degree (B.T.) Class; the Senior and Junior A.V. Classes; and the S.V. Class. These were contained in the main buildings of the college. In an accompanying building on the College grounds but under the control of the Principal, there was Normal school with eighty J.V. students. Thus, the total number of students under training and practising in a single Model School was over 300. As the institution was not only packed to accommodation but was also overloaded with work and responsibility. A policy of decentralisation and expansion became extremely essential as apart from this large and overburdened college, provision for training elsewhere was almost fewer. Hence, an institution by the name of an S.V. College was opened at Lyallpur and a second college of the same type was opened later at Hoshiarpur.⁵⁷

It was put forward, in 1927-28, that during the year under review no change of much importance had taken place. Mr Parkinson, Principal, Central Training College, believed that the output of the senior teachers was exceeding the demand. The numbers in each class of Central Training College (the only college in the province for training of S.A.V. teachers) is given below.

⁵⁶*Proceedings of the Conference of Inspecting Officers held in Lahore in April, 1921*, pp. iii-iv.

⁵⁷*Report during the quinquennium ending 1921-22*, p.100.

Table 3.7 Number of students in each class of the Central Training College, 1926-27-1927-28.

	1926-27	1927-28
B. T.	57	60
S. A. V.	113	102
	170	162
P. T.	23	28
Arabic	17	20
Persian	19	19
Sanskrit	20	19
	249	243

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1927-28*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1929), p. 68.

P.T. in the above table refers to physical training. A noteworthy characteristic was that for the first time ever there was no lady student in the Central Training College.⁵⁸ We will be looking into the education of women and training of women teachers in Chapters 5 & 6 respectively.

Slowly and steadily the extreme significance of a teacher was seriously being acknowledged by the authorities and this sentiment was echoed in the reports as well. The reports declared that the reasonable development of an educational system depended deeply on the personnel of the teachers and this particularly was true at a time when profound strain due to rapid expansion was imposed on the educational system during 1931-32. Consequently, substantial concentration was paid to the problems relating to the training of teachers and to the provision of suitable supply of teachers. The year witnessed a widespread change in the economic circumstances of training of students in the Central Training College. On the grounds of monetary strictness, all scholarships and stipends were suspended for students under training. From the beginning of the session of, 1931-32, all scholarships and stipends were suspended, resulting in a saving of Rs.750 per mensem to government. On the academic attainments of the scholars, the type of recruits considerably improved. This was particularly true in the case of Muslim students. Mr Parkinson, Principal of the Central Training College, spoke highly of it. He noted that no Muslim student had been refused admission to the college for the last two years. Among the Central Training College students during the year under report there were seven Master of Science (M.Sc.), twelve M.A., eight B.A. with Honours and five first divisions B.A. In October 1919, classes for the training of teachers of oriental languages were attached to the

⁵⁸*Report for the year 1927-28*, p. 68.

Central Training College. However, orders were passed in 1931 for the closure of these classes on the ground of economic stringency.⁵⁹

The qualifications of the candidates admitted to the Central Training College had improved, and more attention was dedicated to the methods of training the art of teaching and experimental work, and to carrying out a change in the attitude of the pupil teachers on life and their career during 1936-37. Special attention was paid to the admission, as far as possible, of candidates having high academic qualifications and this assisted in improving the quality of the trained teachers. Out of 726 graduates admitted to the B.T. and S.A.V. classes during the quinquennium 155 or 21 per cent possessed the Master's Degree, 76 had passed the B.A. or B.Sc. (Bachelor of Science) examination with honours or in 1st Division. In spite of the existing unemployment, there was an increasing demand for admission to the Central Training College. During the quinquennium, 726 candidates were selected for admission from among 2,131 applicants. The College provided two post graduate courses-the B.T. and S.A.V. The Central Training College's training facilities for women graduates are noteworthy here. Women graduates were also admitted to this college until September, 1933, when a separate B.T. Class was opened for them at the Lady Maclagan School, Lahore and was affiliated to the Punjab University, in 1935, under the name of the Lady Maclagan Training College for women. During, its short period of existence, the class managed to draw a large number of purdah Muslim graduates who never came forward to join the Central Training College. It was hoped that this institution would uphold a steady provision of trained women graduates to meet the growing needs of secondary schools for girls. Sir Ganga Ram School for girls was granted a special permission to add a B.T. Class and the first batch appeared for this examination in May, 1937.⁶⁰

Furthermore, there were times when the unemployment of the trained graduates was also witnessed which alarmed the authorities and raised apprehensions about the significance of the teacher training institutions. During this period, it was stressful to note unemployment among trained graduates. The supply of trained graduates during the quinquennium had surpassed the demand. Due to all round cost-cutting in schools due to financial constraints and also unusual fall in enrolment owing to economic

⁵⁹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, pp. 64-65.

⁶⁰*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 62-63.

misery, fresh employment of trained graduates or the substitution of superannuated teachers was limited during the period to the simplest minimum. This caused extensive unemployment among the newly trained graduates. The Principal of the Training College was of the view that the college should train only such a number as would be sufficient to meet the annual leakage among trained graduates. The Department maintained that it looked upon this issue with grave concern and hoped to work out measures for eradicating this redundancy. Another major change that took place during this period was that of the abolition of J.A.V. Class. Due to the general dissatisfaction, at the skill of J.A.V. teachers (matriculation or intermediate) to teach English to the junior classes of A.V. schools, and also due to the supply of sufficient number of trained graduates, better fitted to impart the important task of teaching from 1st April, 1932, and the examination, J.A.V. Class, was abolished with effect from 1933-34. The J.A.V. Class for women undergraduates existed at Lady Maclagan Training College for Women and Kinnaird College, Lahore.⁶¹

Table 3.8 A comparative statement of the number of students who sought admission to the Central Training College during the quinquennium ending 1936-37.

Year	Number of Applicants	Number admitted	On Rolls	M.A's	B.A(1 st Class or Honours)
1932-33	475	150	134	23	16
1933-34	324	159	147	43	13
1934-35	429	134	131	15	7
1935-36	405	144	139	15	39
1936-37	498	139	138	59	11
Total	2,131	726	689	155	76

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing 1937), p.64.

The table above shows the number of students admitted in the College was less than the number of applicants. Though the College had a highest capacity of 180 but the number actually admitted was deliberately kept below this figure. Relating to the College's session, in the year 1933-34, it was felt that admissions in September delayed in beginning the instructional work and reduced the already short course of training to about seven months. Hence, in order to eliminate this difficulty, an introductory selection was made in June and an admission test was applied in English and other school subjects in September when the College re-opened after the summer vacation. During this interval, the students were required to master the necessary portion of the textbooks for high classes so that the lecturers were enabled to concentrate intensively,

⁶¹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 63-64.

during the succeeding months, only on the methods and practice of teaching. This plan was reported to be functioning rewardingly.⁶²As regards, the Income and Expenditure of the Central Training College it has been appended in the following table.

Table 3.9 The information about the income and expenditure of the Central Training College during five years of the quinquennium ending 1936-37.

Year	Income			Expenditure		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1932-33	24,054	0	0	1,07,232	8	0
1933-34	21,198	5	0	1,15,515	1	0
1934-35	28,448	7	3	1,10,552	7	0
1935-36	29,738	15	0	1,23,507	6	11
1936-37	29983	13	0	98,237	12	9

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 65.

The above figures show that income had gone up by Rs.5,929/- and expenditure reduced by Rs.8,995/- in the final year. The cost per capita in 1931-32 was Rs.880/-; in 1936-37 it was Rs.491/-. This result was partially from the removal, due to financial stringency, of scholarships and stipends to students.⁶³

The examination results of B.T. and S.A.V. Classes given below demonstrate that a consistently high percentage of success had been maintained throughout the quinquennium.

Table 3.10 The examination results of the Bachelor of Teaching and Senior Anglo Vernacular classes for quinquennium ending 1936-37.

Year	Appeared		Passed		Pass percentage	
	B. T	S. A. V	B. T	S. A. V	B. T	S. A. V
1931-32	55	94	53	80	96	94
1932-33	53	70	50	72	94	91
1933-34	68	79	63	76	93	96
1934-35	67	66	61	63	91	95.5
1935-36	51	89	44	81	86	91

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 67.

The absolute restructuring of the vernacular teachers' training in the province was a significant progress made during the period. Equally interesting was the re-organisation of the Central Training College that was likely to bring about a corresponding improvement in teaching in the secondary schools. The modifications introduced in the

⁶²*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 64-65.

⁶³*Ibid*, p. 65.

training of teachers facilitated the progress of literacy and the expansion of higher education in the province. The percentage of recognised and trained teachers in all types of boys' schools was 90.7 percent.⁶⁴

For the training of A.V. teachers' men, the Central Training College, Lahore, provided two courses-B.T. and the S.A.V. During the quinquennium under review the Punjab University approved affiliation for the B.T. Degree to the Islamia College, Peshawar, and the Prince of Wales College, Jammu. This met the usual demand of N.W.F.P. and Jammu and Kashmir State for larger number of trained secondary school teachers. The opening of these classes did not influence in any way the admissions to the Central Training College, Lahore. In the first year of the quinquennium under report, 469 candidates applied for admission and 115 were enrolled: in 1941-42 the number of applicants decreased to 402 but the total strength of the college rose to 168. The admission to the College, though, had been unfavourably affected in quality due to the large number of new possibilities of employment thrown open by the war. In 1937-38 out of an enrolment of 115, 60 were M.A., or M.Sc., and 14 B.A. 1st class or Honours out of a total strength of 168. The total income and expenditure of the Training College went up by Rs.6, 248 to Rs.33, 296 and by Rs.6, 998 to Rs.1, 03,163 respectively.⁶⁵

The S.A.V. Class, in the Central Training College, was abolished, in 1944-45, and only the B.T. Class in the College remained (The Class of J.A.V. was abolished in 1932-33). The number in this class at the close of the year was 173 or 10 more than that in the B.T. and S.A.V. Classes of the previous year taken together. The overall number of candidates who applied for admission was 268 (261 from the British Punjab and 7 from the Indian States). One hundred and ninety-three were admitted in the beginning-71 Hindus, 76 Muslims, 33 Sikhs and 6 Christians and 7 from the States. Of these 86 were agriculturists.⁶⁶

⁶⁴*Report during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, p. 4.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁶*Report in the Punjab in 1944-45*, p. 11.

The state of Training Colleges in India during 1947-48 showed that 2 Training Colleges were opened one for men and one for women in East Punjab. The number of Training Colleges in different provinces was as follows.⁶⁷

Table 3.11 Number of Teachers in Training Colleges.

Province	For Men	For Women	Total
West Bengal	2	1	3
Bihar	1	...	1
Bombay	3	...	3
Central Provinces and Berar	2	1	3
Madras	3	4	7
Orissa	1	...	1
East Punjab	1	3	4
United Provinces	12	3	15
Ajmer- Merwara	1	...	1
India* (less States)	26	12	38

*Excludes Central Institute of Education, Delhi, established in that year.

Source: *Education in India, 1947-48*, Publication No. 96, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1951), p. 97.

The enrolment in the teachers' training colleges rose from 2,528 (1,814 men and 714 women) to 3,201 (2, 216 men and 985 women), thus showing an increase of 673 over the previous year. See the table below.

Table 3.12 Number of students on Rolls in the Teachers' Training Colleges/ Classes.

Province	1946-47			1947-48			Increase (+) Decrease (-)
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Assam	26	9	35	30	10	40	+5
West Bengal	154	67	221	108	87	195	-36
Bihar	82	8	90	79	15	94	+4
Bombay	61	94	255	186	109	295	+40
Central Provinces and Berar	288	97	331	305	217	522	+191
Madras	307	165	472	269	195	464	-8
Orissa	11	2	13	15	4	19	+6
East Punjab	...	51	51	87	109	196	+145
United Provinces	728	212	940	1,067	230	1,297	+357
Ajmer-Merwara	57	9	66	70	9	79	+13
India (less States)	1,814	714	2,528	2,216	985	3,201	+673

Source: *Education in India, 1947-48*, Publication No. 96, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1951), p. 97.

The increase in the number of scholars was significant in all the provinces. The greatest increase observed in East Punjab, was credited to the opening of two new colleges necessitated by the partition of the province.⁶⁸

⁶⁷*Education in India, 1947-48*, Publication No. 96, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1951), p. 96.

⁶⁸*Ibid, 1947-48*, p. 98.

The significance of the special schools for teacher training had its share of criticism too. The Central Training College made it imperative to obtain better trained teachers for the senior secondary schools but there are some evidences discouraging the need of Central College for the training of teachers for secondary schools. Khan Ahmad Shah stated in his evidence that the University Curriculum afforded sufficient training for teachers in secondary schools; hence it eliminates the need of having special Normal schools for the purpose.⁶⁹Baden Powell recorded his opinion that the Training College as constituted then was incompetent and waste of money. Moreover, he admitted that his knowledge of the Training College was obtained from what he saw in the departmental reports. Hence judging from them he had the opinion that a large amount of money seems to be uselessly spent on the Lahore Training College.⁷⁰

It can be seen that Punjab had a reasonably planned system for the professional training of its secondary school teachers. The head and centre of this system, apart from the European institutions, was the Central Training College. The Principal of the College was also the Inspector of Normal School; and the instructors of the various Normal schools and training classes had themselves received their professional training at this College.

In keeping pace, with our travel about the training schools and training colleges below we have an interesting exploration that was inevitable to the present discourse. The new set of rules for Normal schools framed in 1882 and brought in force at the end of 1883 included the provision that all candidates for admission to a Normal school proper must have passed the M.S.E.; but also provided that preparatory classes might be started when necessary, for the candidates who did not fulfilled that condition. Some doubts had been known to the purpose of these preparatory classes; whether they should at the same time impart some instruction in the art of teaching. Preparatory class at Rawalpindi discussed below was one such preparatory class.

⁶⁹Evidence of Khan Ahmad Shah, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Hoshiarpur, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 126.

⁷⁰Evidence of Baden Powell, Commissioner of the Lahore Division, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 156.

Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi

Preparatory Class maintained at Rawalpindi had some regulations for the students seeking admission to it. Students were in general to be admitted from the Peshawar and Derajat Divisions only. Admissions from other districts required the special sanction of the Director. Such students must have passed the upper primary examination, and the District Inspector must validate that no suitable candidates who had passed the M.S.E. were available. Such students would, during the first year of their course of training, dedicate their time exclusively to the preparation for the M.S.E. In the second year of their course, they would read with the Normal class proper, but must appear in the M.S.E. held in that year. If they failed in the M.S.E. on this occasion but passed the certificate examination held at the close of the school year, their certificates would be pending until the next M.S.E, successful candidates then got their certificates. If they failed a second time, their certificates would be cancelled.⁷¹ Regarding the conditions for stipend, it was noted that three hundred stipends, along with the students attending government Normal schools, were provided for students of Preparatory Class. Of these stipends 257 were at the disposal of D. Cs and 43 were awarded by Inspector of Schools. An extra allowance was given to Normal school students from backward districts like Shimla, Kangra, Multan. However, the students of the Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi would not be allowed the added allowance if not specifically recommended by the Inspector of the Circle to which they belonged. Students of the Preparatory Class, who were in attendance at the end of the first session, were allowed to draw their stipends for the vacation on the suggestion of the Headmaster of the Normal school, if their growth was reasonable. Those who did not return for second session lost that stipend for the vacation. In order to utilize the available stipends, the District Inspectors were to inform the D.Cs the names of the available candidates and D.C. in turn were required to inform the Inspector of the Circle, as to how many stipendiaries they could supply. Besides, it was noted again that in the list of names submitted the word Preparatory should be noted against the names of students proposed for the Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi.⁷²

⁷¹Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi, Training Institution for Masters, Proceedings for July 1888 in, *Government of the Punjab Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, p. 13.

⁷²Ibid, p. 16.

Nevertheless, the discussion about the Training Institutions, for primary and secondary school teachers, enclosed in the two chapters draws to an end and discloses the overall progress made over the years by the teacher education yet some major facts related to the training institution remained to be looked into. They form a significant part of this entire discussion. Therefore, mentioned below are some indispensable features of the training schools and colleges and methods adopted to improvise further the teacher education and teaching.

Methods to Improve the Efficiency of Training Institutions

The reports state that education department was working on a range of methods and plans to improve the competence of instruction in the Normal schools. The prominent among them was the Assignment system in teaching diverse subjects of study which had added to the development among pupil teachers a taste for extra reading, powers of self-reliance and self-effort independently of the aid of the masters. The introduction of the takhti (small wooden board) system for improving handwriting was also attended with substantial attainment. The Dalton plan and the project and story methods, as explained and demonstrated through lectures and model lessons, were practised by the students in the course of their lessons and practice. In Jalandhar Normal School, pleasure and observation trips were arranged to allow pupil-teachers to achieve first-hand information of geographical and historical interest based on lessons in the class rooms. Instructions were made pleasant and interesting by coordinating it with life.⁷³

Certain improvement and experiments done in this field disclose that the reduction in the number of units and of teachers under training afforded the existing schools an opportunity of improving their efficiency as training institutions. The Moga School, (is discussed next) under the proficient supervision of Dr A. E. Harper, M.A., D.Ed., concentrated on experimental work in rural education and in the teaching of children. A two-year experimental training course for J.V. was approved here by the department. The activity method and the Moga Method of teaching Urdu reading achieved prominence. The Moga School co-operated with the department in organizing refresher courses for vernacular teachers and inspecting officers, and became the centre of a movement for the removal of illiteracy, what came to be known as Dr Laubach's

⁷³Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32, pp. 69-70.

method of teaching adults. The Normal Schools at Gakhar, Lalamusa and Jalandhar also carried on experiments in the teaching.⁷⁴

It is, however, interesting to note that all through the quinquennium, the Normal schools were resolute on developing effortless and exciting play-way methods of teaching children the R's. The Moga method based on the insightful knowledge of child psychology was found very popular. Jalandhar was trying what may be called the Conglomerate method, a combination of the kindergarten, conversation and story methods. The Dalton and story methods were tried at Gakhar and Moga substantiated transforming rural education and developing creative art work with simple articles available in a common village. The pupil-teachers were taught how to make and repair simple tools used in the teaching of geography and nature study. Several handicrafts such as soap and ink-making, newar-weaving (hand spun fabric) and basket-making, were introduced to make the pupil-teachers skilled and self-sufficient and also to teach them the dignity of labour and proper use of free time. The Gakhar School took up the project and built the King George Memorial for the farm in 1936-37. Another feature of the period had been the attempt to harmonize instruction with the real conditions and environments in which the pupils under training likely continued on their work. The pupil-teachers were instructed to choose topics for discussion and composition from the village conditions. Sums in arithmetic were framed from village business transactions, land measurements, revenue papers, etc.⁷⁵

In the Central Training College, the Assignment system commenced some years ago was tried with huge passion. The lecturers arranged assignments in their subjects and gave them to the students once a week. Another important change, in the training, was the laying of more stress on the art of actual teaching by the pupil teachers. Discussion or criticism lessons were held in the college every morning. Thereafter, a batch of students were detailed to the Central Model school where each pupil was given a week's practice of actual teaching under the supervision of the school teachers and the direction of the college lecturers. Then again, after the theory portion of the B.T. and

⁷⁴*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 68.

⁷⁵*Ibid*, pp. 71-72.

S.A.V. Examinations was over all the pupil-teachers were attached in batches to the local high schools to carry on teaching work for four to five weeks.⁷⁶

The new methods and projects that were being undertaken for the training of teachers are as follows.

Moga School

Dr McKee, the Principal of the Village Teachers' Training School, Moga, 1920-24, made Moga a symbol of new things, an idea and a hope of the makeover of primary village education in India and in remote regions elsewhere. The worth and promise of the Moga experiment seemed to lay in its success at securing and coordinating a number of diverse basics. It was a common place of education that in order to meet its task the school must on the one hand, secure a high degree of pupil initiative and self-directed attempt and on the other, make for social service. The project idea secured both pupil interest and effort and related individual understanding, on one hand, and social significance and bearing in what is learned on the other.⁷⁷Moga was admitted to be an exceptional example of the project method. Moga was a co-educational institution and specialised in village economy training. Every student was taught simple and useful handicrafts such as shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, farming and gardening. The students lived in the hostel in family groups. The staff and the students planned Model houses which were simple and cheap and represented improvements that could be easily affected in village houses. Moga on wheels took the pupil-teachers for actual teaching work to distant schools.⁷⁸The Moga School was said to produce not only competent teachers but also the torch bearers of the progress of the village. The main object of the training class was to give to a small number of students who have passed through the middle course at Moga, training of such a nature as will prepare them not simply to be efficient teachers, but also (and far more important) to be the symbol of progress in the village in which they serve.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 66.

⁷⁷ McKee, *New Schools*, pp. vii-viii.

⁷⁸ *Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 74.

⁷⁹ R. Sanderson and J. E. Parkinson, *Rural Education in England and the Punjab*, Occasional Reports, No. 15, (Calcutta: Central Publication Branch, Government of India, 1928), p. 14.

After the famous Moga School we have in line School of Rural Economics serving to the growing demand of teachers for rural schools.

The School of Rural Economics, Gurgaon

A little later at a point of time, independently of Moga, a similar institution called the School of Rural Economy, was started under the sponsorship of the District Board, Gurgaon. The methods and results however, were very similar; though the training at Gurgaon was convincingly widespread in its purpose and was related more closely with the struggles challenging the several welfare departments of government. Besides the study of agriculture and the encouragement of village crafts, village sanitation, the theory and practice of co-operative societies, and the encouragement of village games, formed part of training.⁸⁰ Frank Lugard Brayne, D.C. of Gurgaon District, Punjab, 1920, mentions about the School of Rural Economy, Gurgaon, in his book *Village Uplift in India*. He said that the aim of the School of Rural Economy was to bring rural teaching and uplift work into line with village life. The supposedly purpose of the Gurgaon School of Rural Economy was accepted to be to teach the distinction of hard work, as until the villager for, it was argued, would put his hands to it, he would not improve his village; the next aim being the commencement of the idea of service, the need to help one's self and other people, and the last being to encourage the village people by definite instruction given, that there existed a complete solution of all the problems of village life.⁸¹ Patwaris (the village accountant or the administrative officer responsible for maintaining land records) and teachers were believed to be the best people for the training. The first set of candidates who underwent the training consisted mostly of teachers and a few patwaris. The latter, however, had slowly departed and the complete training and the scheme then focused around the teachers only. A farm of fifty-one acres was purchased for practical work and demonstration. Among, the subjects taught, scouting and co-operation were major; they were planned to motivate the student with the spirit of self-help and social service. Besides these, several other subjects were also taught, practical agriculture, domestic and village hygiene and sanitation, child welfare and public health were common. Those who passed out well were either taken as village guide or went back to their schools with better visions.

⁸⁰Sanderson and Parkinson, *Rural Education in England and the Punjab*, p. 14.

⁸¹F. L. Brayne, *Village Uplift in India*, (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1928), p. 35.

Brayne had all the reasons to believe that his school 'has caught the imagination of the people and they look to it to inaugurate a new era in village life.'⁸²

Furthermore, followed by the above two institutions below is another training school set up with the similar purpose of serving the village schools.

Gakhar Normal School

Following the institution of the movements at Moga and Gurgaon, the educational department was determined to take the advantage of the experience achieved in these two places. Experiments were made in the vernacular training institutions of the province and some of them assured to be good. The Normal school at Gakhar was selected for this purpose because it was within moderately easy reach of Lahore, and it possessed buildings and about twenty acres of land. Though, there were distinct similarities among the three institutions in method and objective, Gakhar made contributions toward the solution of the general problem. Seemingly, the main objective had been to train the teachers of the future and that; the village school should become a centre of village life and progress. Farm work and village crafts were therefore encouraged at Gakhar. But even more so was the principle of service to the village community. With this idea in view, the students under training faced the problems of rural reconstruction by actual and practical work in the neighbouring villages, in matters of better sanitation, the institution and maintenance of co-operative societies, holding of classes for adults, encouragement of village games and recreation, and so forth. Gakhar spread to the other vernacular training institutions in that, to a greater or lesser degree, adapting their methods and objectives to rural conditions.⁸³ Regarding the new methods, the project method adopted was being further tried in more institutions and the results were being observed. It was delightfully observed at Gakhar that in its acceptance of new methods of teaching it laid stress on the fact that education was not something unusual and unknown to the life of the people, but training in the better ways of the regular activities of life. All the measures taken from time to time confirmed that the efforts were in right direction. It was noticed

⁸²*Report for the year 1927-28*, p. 80.

⁸³Sanderson and Parkinson, *Rural Education in England and the Punjab*, pp. 14-15.

that some institutions notably Gakhar, Gurgaon, and others had focused on promotion and community work.⁸⁴

Moving further with the review it gets sufficiently noticeable that holding of refresher courses apparently appeared necessary in order to counter the inactiveness in teaching. They were held to be of crucial significance for a teacher so as to refresh them after a certain period since they completed the training course.

Also, it became evident that some earnest efforts through refresher courses were definitely required to bring out the teachers from prolonged period of little or at times no growth at all in which they were likely to drift after being employed for some time. The Divisional Inspectors considered these courses as very popular. However, the exact schedule on how these courses should be planned, how long, how many teachers should participate in them at a time, and how many years must pass by before each teacher may look forward to attend these courses were issues inviting the concern of the Department.⁸⁵

Refresher Courses for Teachers

In order to improve the efficiency of the teachers Refresher Courses were immensely being counted on. The Inspector of Training Institutions, Punjab, R Sanderson, held a special refresher course at Gakhar before the opening of the new Normal school year. The course was attended by the senior masters of all the Normal school staffs except those of the Ambala Division. Special selected officers of the Department of Education, Public Health, Agriculture and Co-operation were appointed to lecture and give demonstrations. Study groups were formed to read up diverse topics in extra hours, and to read papers or start discussions with members of the class. There was a physical drill every morning, and games were played every evening. At several performances, the spectators numbered some fifteen hundred, and villagers marched in twelve miles to watch this special treat.⁸⁶ 90% of the Indian population lived in the villages where more than 90% out of them were illiterate. The education given to them was modified to their

⁸⁴*Report for the year 1927-28*, p. 75.

⁸⁵*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 56.

⁸⁶Sanderson and Parkinson, *Rural Education in England and the Punjab*, p. 51.

circumstances producing an extensive improvement in their living and ideas.⁸⁷ Therefore, the need for refresher courses for the village teachers was particularly emphasised on.

It was observed that some of the academic limitations of the village teachers, apart from the lack of knowledge and of professional awareness, care and stubborn sense of duty, deficient preparation of lessons, failure to develop the power of observation and reasoning in the objective of the lesson and illustration were the most defective. Effectiveness of the teacher mainly depended upon the guidance he received from his supervisors. Guidance included the administration of his school for the education of the school children, to educate the adults of the village, making the teacher integrate ideas of social service, and be a village leader. A teacher was required to understand which villages were served educationally by his school and to rope in children of the school-going age of the area, prepare lists of such children, adopt means to draw the children to his school, arrange the syllabus of his work to suit the village life and the time-table on technical basis, implement means to produce habits of cleanliness among children, organize school games suited to the age of the school children. In order, to educate the adults, the school was made as a community centre where lecture on rural uplift topics were organized, and rural songs and games for the recreation of the village people were arranged. The teacher was to set a model in cleanliness, healthy habits and adoption of reformed social customs. To affect all the above-mentioned changes, short courses of training called as refresher courses, at convenient intervals and centres were necessary.⁸⁸ Much stress was laid on the refresher courses and their significance in the Proceedings of the Educational Conference.

Later in November 1932, a month's refresher course was held at the Central Training College for physical training supervisors. The course was admitted to be a success in imparting technical and modern knowledge in the methods of physical training. Thereafter, in April and May 1936, another refresher course in the methods of inspection, administration and control of rural schools of the province was held. Two groups of twenty assistant district inspectors of schools attended the course for a

⁸⁷Refresher Course for Village Teachers by L. Diwan Chand in, *Proceedings of the Educational Conference, Jullundur Division, held at Jullundur City, on 13th, 14th and 15th of October 1932*, p. 87.

⁸⁸*Proceedings of the Educational Conference, October 1932*, pp. 88-90.

fortnight.⁸⁹ Five refresher courses were held at Moga with the special instruction of giving the teachers a practical working knowledge of the Moga Method as used in the teaching of Urdu, and demonstration of the use of activity method in the primary classes.⁹⁰ The Punjab government sanctioned a recurring grant of Rs3, 670/- for a period of five years with effect from 1939-40 for the purpose of arranging a month's refresher course for vernacular teachers in each division. Before the beginning of these courses, the Divisional Inspectors drew up programme for the course. Efforts were said to be made to provide interest and activity for every phase of teachers. Physical exercise and enjoyable games; display of class teaching; lectures on methods of teaching and on subjects connected with the departments; extensive study of literature; news from the radio; dramatic performances; concerts; debates; handicrafts and hobbies; problems of rural education such as adult education; compulsion; flow of promotion; nursery classes; and play-way devices were integrated. An attempt was also made not only to guide the teachers, but to encourage and advise them to take part in the informal discussions leading to the preparation of larger principles and definite decisions. The inspectors reported that the teachers usually went back to their schools better equipped for their work and; their attitude on their profession and its problems broadened and clarified. Besides these divisional refresher courses, every district was conducting 10 to 15 days' refresher course in physical training and other special subjects.⁹¹ On the strength of the evidence provided by the Inspectors and Inspectresses regarding the usefulness of refresher courses in improving the efficiency of vernacular teachers, the government provided funds on a liberal scale for the continuance of the course for another five years, and sanctioned them for women teachers also. The course, it was reported, helped refresh teachers physically, socially, mentally, and professionally.⁹²

Practice of Teaching in the Training Institutions

Reports assert that intensive practice in the art of teaching was given in all training institutions. In addition to criticism lessons and practice in local schools, each student was required to take charge of his village school for about a period of two weeks during the normal school vacation under the supervision of the Headmaster and the district

⁸⁹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 66.

⁹⁰*Ibid*, p. 74.

⁹¹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, p. 5.

⁹²*Report on the Progress of Education in 1944-45*, p. 7.

inspecting staff. In the course of this work, he was also required to familiarize himself with the various problems related with school set-up, such as sites and buildings, timetables, syllabuses, diaries, stagnation, promotion, registration and courses of study. At the Jalandhar Normal school, students were required to individually run four village schools specifically for this purpose. Some schools started monthly or weekly papers to facilitate the teachers to enhance their minds with ideas, to develop their powers of expression. In Gurgaon, in 1930-31, the trials of sending out students in groups to the practising schools, while the class-work continued during their absence was tried. All students were kept under instruction for the first fifteen days of the month, followed by practice during the ten days of work on the assignment system. The last five days were set aside for the correction of the written work.⁹³ This practice of taking charge of village schools during vacation helped the teachers not only to gain practice under the actual conditions of a rural school but also to adjust themselves with some extra-curricular problems such as maintenance of the school buildings, the approach of the pupils and the parents towards the school. The teachers also had the chance of making themselves familiar with routine matters such as registration, syllabuses, schemes of studies, time-table and official correspondence. During vacations, every pupil carried out a geographical, economic, and social analysis of his village with a set questionnaire or oral directions provided by the school staff. Practice was also given in the school in the management of two or more classes at the same time with the provision of a minimum of apparatus available in the village.⁹⁴

Class Work and Extra-curricular Activities in Normal Schools

We have with us, a view of the class work being taken up in the Normal schools, so as to impart the best of knowledge to the teacher being trained. Regarding the class work followed in the Normal schools, it is declared, that instructional work in the Normal schools was not limited simply to class lectures. The Assignment system, which was considered to develop among pupils the faculties of self-reliance and self-help, had also been effectively introduced in the vernacular subjects in history, science school management, and mathematics. Additional reading was encouraged individually as well as in groups. Lectures were arranged for the pupils on interesting and instructive topics

⁹³*Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, p. 70.

⁹⁴*Ibid*, p. 71.

connected with agriculture, co-operation, sanitation, hygiene and health. Special stress was laid on calligraphy and the pupils were required to practice handwriting not only on black-boards, but on takhtis (wooden board for writing) as well. Every teacher was taught the art of making reed pens. The Normal schools had their own educational journals to which the pupils were required to contribute articles on education and rural uplift work. At Lalamusa and Gakhar, the teachers under training produced, valuable information sheet on rural topics and activities as a result of extra reading assignments.⁹⁵

It was claimed that there was not an activity in the rural uplift programme that was not included in the training scheme of the Normal schools. Major and minor games were compulsory for all pupils. Games were encouraged for their disciplinary and moral value, and emphasis was laid on proper organization. Every school had a Rover troop and the teachers were trained as scout-masters and cub-masters. All the institutions had adult schools (Dr Laubach's method of teaching adults, through association) where the slogan - Each One Teach One, was tried. Jalandhar had a successful Adult school throughout the quinquennium for the convicts of the district jail, and Lalamusa operating two classes of 40 each for railway employees. Gakhar admittedly concentrated on the classes for menials, coolies, and members of the depressed class.⁹⁶

Last but not the least it is essential to know the difficulties that Normal education had to struggle against. The experiments and improvements consequently taken up did produce results. W. R. M. Holroyd spoke of the problems against which Normal schools had to contend. The teachers who had been sent to study were necessarily lesser as a general rule to their professors, all the most intelligent men having been selected in the first instance. In many cases, teachers and candidates for employment had been sent by District Officers without sufficient discrimination. It was evident that if a man on entering the Normal school was unable to read and write with adequate correctness, he would not be able to learn much in six months. Normal school students had not entered on any fixed date, and their proper classification had consequently been a work of great difficulty.⁹⁷ The character of the students of Normal schools and of the

⁹⁵*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 71.

⁹⁶*Ibid*, p. 72.

⁹⁷Fuller, *Report on the Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1861-62*, pp. 31-32.

instruction given to them depicted an unsatisfactory state the training institutions were in. All Normal schools were attended by ordinary class of men, and the best of pupils of vernacular schools seldom showed any zeal to enter them. This great defect was admissibly due to the low salaries of teachers of vernacular schools and the absence of any prospect of advancement, and, the insufficiency of the stipend allowed to pupils at the Normal schools. Measures were taken for raising the salaries of teachers in primary schools, and secondary schools. It was, however, absolutely essential to increase the stipends of students at the Normal schools if a superior class of men were to be attracted.⁹⁸

An extract from principal Delhi College, Mr Dick's report specified the critical significance of having a truly competent Normal school for the training of future schoolmasters, not just in the theory but the practice of the best methods of teaching. It was insisted that the Normal school should maintain an intermediate position, both in distinction and emoluments between the upper schools and the college, and must have a European supervisor who is himself familiar with all the standard methods of teaching. He cited the example of the Rawalpindi Normal School, where Superintendent Mr Staines, was in many respects well qualified for the post he occupied, but lacked the all-important qualifications of having himself been trained at any English Normal school, and the practical training of the students in method was as a result almost zero. He further stressed that to every Normal school there should be attached a Model School for the practice of the students in teaching. Moreover, to put the Normal schools on the footing proposed for would involve a substantial addition to the expenditure, and this could well be a special case in which a fairly moderate cost would be abundantly acceptable by the impetus it would ultimately give to common school education throughout the whole province.⁹⁹

The discussion, in the last two chapters, brings out some crucial facts. The decennial review of the progress of education in India, 1937-1947, makes some serious revelations that the decennium provision for the training of teachers was quite inadequate. Such was the alarming state that the number of untrained teachers was the largest among the advanced countries of the world. There was lack of women teachers

⁹⁸Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education, 1868-69*, p. 41.

⁹⁹Holroyd, *Report on the Popular Education, 1873-74*, pp. 90-91.

for girls' schools. (The women education and women teachers have been taken up extensively in Chapters 5 & 6) The complete dearth of all grades of trained teachers had led to the setting up of various kinds of institutions such as temporary training centres, classes attached to ordinary school and colleges in addition to new training schools and colleges. Even these extra provisions had failed to bring down considerably, the high percentage of untrained teachers. Above anything, there was a critical need for more trained teachers, both men and women, in all grades and subsequent need for improved facilities of training at all levels.¹⁰⁰

The number of training schools and colleges in Punjab province during the decennium was-number of training schools in 1937-38-31, 1941-42-40, 1946-47-25, the number of training colleges- 4, 6, and 9 respectively.¹⁰¹ The numbers of trained teachers to the total number of teachers in primary and secondary schools for the closing years of the last two quinquennia was as against the total number of 4, 78, 193 teachers in primary and secondary schools in the year 1936-37, of whom 2, 06,695 were untrained making a percentage of 43.2 untrained, the period under review shows some increase both in the total of number of teachers and in the percentage of the trained ones. The figures for 1941-42 were 5, 21,255 of whom 2, 01, 981 were untrained, representing 38.7 per cent of the total number. The figures for 1946-47 were 5, 66,398 of whom 2, 17,898 were untrained or 38.5 per cent of the total.¹⁰²

A further look at the progress of education in India, in 1937-1947, and specifically Punjab, the ratio of trained teachers and graduate teachers in secondary schools of all types for 1937-38, percentage of trained teachers- men 90.2% and women 77.9% and percentage of trained teachers possessing degree- 13.2% men and 7.8% women. The figures declined for men trained teachers and satisfyingly increased for women in 1946-47. The percentage of trained teachers- men was 80.2% and women 82.5% and percentage of trained teachers possessing degree- 16.5% men and 14.1% women.¹⁰³

About the number and percentage of men and women trained teachers in primary schools, in 1937-38, the total number of men teachers was 11,874 and number of

¹⁰⁰*Progress of Education in India, 1937-1947: Decennial Review*, Vol. I, Publication No. 113, (Delhi: Central Bureau of Education, Ministry of Education, 1954), p. 127.

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, p. 128.

¹⁰²*Ibid*, p. 133.

¹⁰³*Progress of Education in India, 1937-1947, Decennial Review*, Vol. II, Statistical Tables, Publication No.113, (Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Education), pp. 201, 205

trained was 9,612, percentage being 80.9. The total number of women teachers was 3,557 and number of trained was 2,056, percentage being 57.8. Thus, the total number of teachers stood at 15,431 and trained teachers were 11,668 and the percentage of trained to total was 75.6. Where as in 1946-47 in Punjab the total number of men teachers was 13,670, and the number of trained being 10,057, and the percentage was 73.6. The total number of women teachers was 5,107 and the trained was 3,447, and the percentage was 68.1. The total number of men and women teachers was, thus, 18,777 and the number of trained being 13,534, and the percentage of trained to total was 72.1.¹⁰⁴

Therefore, it gets substantiated that though the growth of the training institutions was gradually happening yet the real picture was not very promising. With some clearly visible ups and downs, the training schools were trying to create a demand for them. Measures were being taken, like the initiation of refreshers courses, and special schools like Moga, Gurgaon and Gakhar to fill the gap between the rural and urban trained teachers. Not only did the Normal schools but also the Central Training College and other combined institutions seemed to be making efforts to meet the rising demand for trained teachers. By 1904, Central Training College, Lahore, was one of the five teacher training colleges in the country besides the other in the city of Madras, Kurseong, Allahabad, Jabalpur where intermediates or graduates could seek admission in these colleges. And these training institutions were to be developed on the principle of procuring more men of ability and experience in the field of higher training.

The last two chapters have provided us with an extensive, meticulous and clear picture of training institutions for the education of teacher, their development and related issues but in the succeeding chapter we are going to get a pulse about the various relevant issues related to teachers which will help us to know the teacher then in a better way. The chapter deals with the teachers and their employment

¹⁰⁴*Progress of Education in India, 1937-1947*, Volume II, pp. 235, 244.

Chapter 4

Teachers and their Employment

No educational system can succeed without good teachers.¹

The above remark forms the crux of the present work. As regards the first remark, in Chapter ‘What is and what might be’, of the Occasional Reports it is stated that the training of the teacher has to take its due place in the forefront of reforms. No educational system can do well in the absence of good teachers. A teacher happens to be the central force in any educational system hence the importance of Teacher Education or training becomes all the more vital and consequently the need of training institutions.

This has been substantiated by the extensive archival facts and figures in the last two Chapters. This specific Chapter makes an attempt to study the teacher and various significant issues related to their employment. Introduction has already set the stage for this topic to be dealt with elaborately.

It was widely acknowledged that to have trained teachers was the need of Indian education and was affirmed that as the teacher is, so will the school be, and the pupil in the schools. And also, that as the head of the Training school is, so will be the teaching staff, which he turns out. Furthermore, it was consolidated that no country will ever have good education until it has trained good teachers. It gets revealed that though there was no huge deficiency in their numbers, but there was enough room for much improvement in respect of quality and work; and that the policy has to be not to multiply but to raise the status. And of course, as everywhere else, raising the status meant raising the pay as the ultimate remedy.

Teacher-Teacher Education-Teaching

A teacher’s quality is as important as, or even more than, his intelligence; for its influence on children is almost unnoticeable, but full of meaning and permanent. Who actually is a teacher? The answer is very crisp and clear that there are two persons who build or spoil the

¹Sanderson and Parkinson, *Rural Education in England and the Punjab*, p. 47. (Sub section- (i) - The training of village teachers in the above-mentioned Chapter).

individuality of a particular age group. They are the parent and the teacher. Both of them must develop a special frame of mind and, must be refreshed before they take up the responsibilities of their individual jobs. The frame of mind that a teacher has to develop has been discussed in detail by R. R. Kumria, (Lecturer in Psychology in the Central Training College, Lahore). Apart from some natural limitations every teacher can reform themselves with modest efforts. He very aptly added that self-knowledge is the first move towards improvement. Hence the teacher has not only to be intellectually efficient but his efforts have also to be focussed to suitable ways by means of which he may grow into a free person. It is a difficult task, without any doubt. The Dalton Plan, the Montessori Method, the Project Method, the Basic Method and other similar educational methods aim to provide such an atmosphere. In such atmosphere, the teacher plays an important role, where he has to lead, direct and inspire.²

Therefore, the significance, accorded to a Teacher has been of extreme respect since long. The Teacher's profession had a very high code of honour in India since the ancient times.³ He was considered holy by kings, princes, warriors, statesman, politicians and business men equally. However, gradually the teachers became the most underrate class in the community.⁴ The significance acknowledged to the teacher and his training was such that Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, the Head of the government-financed teacher training institution of the Hooghly Normal School (in 1856 in his manual *Shikha Vidyak Prasatava*), concluded that rather than awaiting a change in the actions of local families, he and other upper caste educators needed to train native teachers to represent within the class room the kind of paternal affective behaviour considered necessary within the home.⁵ This proves that the teacher had to be trained to be an ideal for his students. A teacher needs to be someone who connects, identifies and relates himself to his students. Hence a teacher in all probabilities ought to be a person from a scholars' own area. Such credibility was attributed to a teacher and teaching that Arthur Mayhew, too, had lamented the fact that, the teacher was normally an unfamiliar person forced by the external authority, paid from inexplicable sources, teaching subjects not asked for, produced no interest and got no support from the

²Kumria, *The Teacher's Mental Equipment*, p. 8.

³A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, (Benares: Nand Kishore & Sons, Educational Publishers, 1944), p. 49.

⁴S. N. Mukerji, *Education in India: Today and Tomorrow*, (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1950), p. 146.

⁵Parna Sengupta, *Pedagogy for Religion: Missionary Education and the Fashioning of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal*, (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2012), p. 81.

community.⁶ It was further highlighted that revised schemes and syllabuses, new textbooks; a modified curriculum would have little effect unless and until the teacher clearly understood the changes and their purpose. The root of the matter was first the selection of men, and then the length and nature of their training. Teacher was considered someone who could play a fundamental role in influencing the life of a student. A. I. Mayhew, D.P.I., Central Provinces, gave a distinct lead in the direction of the proper selection of village teachers. He suggested that a teacher must be a local man, belonging to a caste or class with traditions and associations that prevail in the area, and should be selected by the community he has to serve.⁷

Teaching is what is being taught; any act of instructing students in an educational institution; in a broader sense, any act of providing learning situations, guidance, activities, material and other facilities conducive to learning formal or informal.⁸ Speaking on Teacher and Teaching, Nancy Catty also insisted on the utmost significance of teacher and mentioned that one of the most marked quality of the modern educator was the understanding that he was as necessary a social worker in a modern state as the doctor or health visitor and the teaching involves an active search after new experiences and better standards of work, a search in which both teacher and class take part.⁹ Moreover, Professor I. B. Verma also explained, that there are three central points in Teaching- the Teacher, the Pupil, and the Subject. Of these, the teacher and pupil are alive and active, the former in teaching and the latter in learning. Teaching must put forward knowledge in a systematised manner. Teaching is providing information, causing to learn, helping the child to adjust himself to his surroundings, to provide opportunities for activity, should secure motivation. Thus, teaching is a means of training emotions and preparations. Hence teaching is a triangular relationship between the child, the teacher and the subject-matter or knowledge which helps the physical mental, moral and spiritual development of child's natural powers.¹⁰ Thus an educated or trained teacher through his effective teaching makes the knowledge interesting so that the student understands it without difficulty. Teachers add to their teaching skills through special education in the training institutions.

⁶Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India*, (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1926), p. 249.

⁷Sanderson and Parkinson, *Rural Education in England and the Punjab*, p. 47.

⁸A. Biswas and J. C. Aggarwal, *Encyclopaedic dictionary and directory of education; with special reference to India*, Vol. I, (New Delhi: Academic Publishers, 1971), p. 165.

⁹Catty, *A First Book on Teaching*, pp. vii, 25.

¹⁰Verma, *Lecture Notes on Principles of Education and General Methods of Teaching*, pp. 133,135.

In the broadest sense, Teacher Education refers to the total education experience that contributes to the preparation of a person for teaching position in schools. But the term is more commonly employed to designate the programme of courses and other experiences, offered by an educational institution for the announced purpose of preparing persons for teaching and other educational services to their growth in competence for such service. Such Teacher Education programmes are offered in teachers' colleges and in Normal schools and universities.¹¹ Moreover, Teacher Education includes programme of activities and experiences required for the preparation for, and improvement of members of the teaching profession. It consists of pre-service and in-service education. Teacher training being an older term limited to the development of proficiency in the skills and methods of teaching, while Teacher Education being a broader concept of professional preparations.¹²

Thus, Teacher Education was education given in the training institutions with the exclusive aim of developing such teachers who had appropriate knowledge needed to shape the mental abilities and personalities of the students. And an educated or trained teacher imparts its education or knowledge gained in form of teaching. Hence, the trained teacher or an educated teacher was beginning to be seen as the most outstanding factor of an educational system and for a student. The beginning quote above aptly defines the dire need of the trained teachers.

The Christian missionaries had been trying to do their bit in the direction of teacher training since long but a sincere effort on the part of the British government was needed too. A great stress was laid for the first time in the Wood's Despatch on the training of teachers. For acquiring suitable qualified teachers, the Despatch of 1854, had observed that it was better to disseminate in India the plan which has been adopted in Britain for the training of teachers, and it appeared to be capable of easy adaptation to India. Its major part included the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers and their transfer to Normal schools if they proved good, the provision to them the certificates on the completion of their training in those Normal schools; and to provide them sufficient salary when they would be employed as schoolmasters. The system was recommended to be carried out in India, both in government colleges and

¹¹Lutfun Rasul Saikia, *Origin and Development of Teacher Education in India in the Nineteenth Century (1813-1904)*, M. Phil Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1988, p. 1. (H. G. Good- Encyclopaedia of Educational research, p.1374)

¹²Biswas and Aggarwal, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, p. 164.

schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which would be brought under government inspection.¹³

Furthermore, the report of the committee appointed to examine the text books in use in Indian schools stated, that it was strongly felt, that it would not be just enough to improve the quality of school books but it was of the extreme importance to improve the competence of the teacher and quality of teaching. The D.P.I., in Bengal, remarked that to improve the quality of teachers was undeniably of even greater importance than to improve the quality of the books they had to teach. It was further accentuated that the person who teaches the young idea to grow performs no ordinary function; hence it was of the supreme significance that he should be a well-qualified person. So as long as the position and prospects of the teachers were not raised, it would be hopeless to expect an improvement in the quality of teaching, and without such improvement, all efforts in the production of good schoolbooks would be almost be demoralizing.¹⁴The whole secret of practical education, such as wanted in India, consisted in the way of, teaching, and within certain limits in the teacher rather than in the thing taught.¹⁵It was also felt that for the improvement of the native teachers, it was most necessary to institute Normal schools and to improve the ones already existing. Hence the perfection of teachers and not any development of the course of study were required.¹⁶

Having unfolded Teacher, Teacher Education, and Teaching, we continue further with information about the Pupil-Teacher system here. Since the demand for trained teachers increased, there was shortage of the same, therefore the pupil-teachers acted as teacher of a younger or an average pupil. It was simply an arrangement of a teacher asking the pupil to help his fellow mates. It was an apprentice system for teachers. This system was not widely practised as it was unable to provide adequate professional preparation to the pupil-teachers. But it is essential to have a look at the same here in brief. Consequently, the need of professional instruction at training centres that is the training schools and colleges was considered to be inevitable. These were the training institutions providing training by the trained teachers.

¹³Bhatt & Aggarwal, *Educational Documents*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴*Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Text-books*, p. 66.

¹⁵*Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June 1861*, p. 39. (From M. Kempson, Principal, Bareilly College to H. Stewart Reid, Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces, No. 166, Bareilly, 10th September, 1860)

¹⁶*Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June 1861*, pp. 46-47. (From G. Couper, Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces to H.S. Reid, Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces, No.203, Allahabad, 6th March 1861)

Pupil-Teacher System

Before, we discuss about the Pupil-Teacher system, let us be familiar with the system of guru training schools. In many provinces, a lesser form of training was systematically adopted to meet the rising demand of trained teachers. These were small training classes, the apprenticeship or Pupil-Teacher system and opening of lower classes, at the higher-grade training institutions, for students with insufficient qualifications.

The training classes in Bengal were held at schools known as guru training schools. Started at the beginning of around 1902, attached to upper primary schools was a class of ten Gurus who attended the school for a course of two years and spent part in studying up to a higher standard of primary education than they had previously completed, part in achieving some knowledge of drawing, school gardening and other subjects, and part in teaching the children in the school under the supervision of the head teachers. This system was applied to training both new candidates and teachers already in employment.¹⁷

The Pupil-Teacher system did not completely differ from the guru training schools which had been described above, as in both the cases; the opinion was to attach students under training to existing schools. The term pupil-teacher, however, specifies that the system was primarily proposed for youths before they entered the teaching profession, and that if existing teachers were admitted to it, this was to some extent an adjustment to short-term need; the distinction of name also possibly implied that the pupil-teacher took a more regular part in the teaching of the school than the student of the guru training school; and there was also the difference, that the guru training schools were established in order to give training, whereas the pupil-teachers were an assistant to already existing schools.¹⁸

Pupil-Teacher system finds mentions time and again in the present work at places; (in the various primary texts) therefore, it becomes important to know more about it. Apparently, the escalating call for teachers was making it inevitable for the teachers already in school to take help from the pupils under instruction in their school or classes. The teacher generally took help of the senior or the fellow pupils to assist the below average pupils in the class. However, this system was not widely practised in Indian schools. In evidence, J. Sime, to the

¹⁷*Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907*, p. 228.

¹⁸*Ibid*, p. 230.

E.C. informs that there was a Monitorial system at work in parts of the Punjab, but was to be found in its crudest form.¹⁹ Thus proving, the system that existed was in a very basic form and not a sophisticated one. In the report, on the popular education in Punjab for 1859-60, Captain Fuller, D.P.I., Punjab, mentioned that the Lieutenant-Governor approved of the Pupil-Teacher system. And recommended that it might be introduced into Tehsili and Village schools under proficient masters where the attendance was so large requiring the services of such additional teachers or where such encouragement to one or two of the best scholars as would be given by the grant of a small stipend, seemed decidedly of benefit.²⁰

The system, though not widely widespread, in schools but could be seen to some extent in indigenous and mission schools. It was utilised, generally for want of a sufficient number of teachers or funds to employ teachers. The disadvantage however, was that pupil-teacher had to neglect his own studies for want of time if he did the work of teaching well, and vice versa. In those indigenous institutions, where this system was in full form, it was always seen that boys of low classes could not make much progress, and that their progress, whatever of it they make, was not sure and solid.²¹ This statement of the evidence solidifies the fact that this system or practice being followed had its share of disadvantages for the students in the long run.

Other evidences also reiterated their faith in the Normal schools and asserted that utilizing pupil-teacher's help in teaching classes would check the requirement of instruction in Normal schools.²² Even in the Madras Presidency, we come across that as per the revised grants-in-aid rules for the Madras Presidency, the rules for educational grants-in-aid did not provide for grants being issued to pupil-teachers. This was done because it was discovered that the part of the old plan relating to pupil-teacherships certainly had not worked well; even in cases where there was the superlative prospect of success, the Pupil-Teacher system had proved a failure. It was commented, too, that in exhausting climate like that of India it was a very severe strain upon both the instructors of pupil-teachers themselves, to proceed with the separate studies of

¹⁹Evidence of J. Sime, Principal, Government College, Lahore, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 440.

²⁰Circular No. 112, From Captain A. R. Fuller, D.P.I, Punjab, to the Commissioners & Superintendent of Ambala, *Pupil Teachers and Female Schools*, File No. I, General & Political Department, Ambala Division, p. 1.

²¹Answer of the Lahore Arya Samaj, to the questions suggested by the Educational Commission, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 482.

²²Evidence of Khan Ahmad Shah, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Hoshiarpur, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 126.

the latter after some five or six hours of ordinary school-work. Moreover, as a master of 5th or lowest grade would be a person of exceedingly small attainments, possessing in fact only the simplest elements of knowledge, hence was not advisable to encourage the employment, as Assistant Teachers, of youths falling even below that very lesser standard. The one ground on which it was urged that pupil-teacherships should be retained as a portion of the revised grant-in-aid scheme was, that the stipends would serve as scholarships to induce boys to remain under instruction with the object of entering Normal schools.²³

Thus, with time, the Pupil-Teacher or the Monitorial system was regarded as undependable because at the end of the day, it was a temporary apprenticeship which proved that the pupil was neither able to use his own time properly and nor was able to impart learning. The significance of the Normal schools is proved by the statement of Andrew Bell, the inventor of the Madras Plan. He, too, soon realized the extreme importance of the development of some kind of training of teachers. He wrote: “We shall never thrive as we ought, till we have one school in perfect order in the metropolis, where masters may be trained and to which they may be referred”.²⁴The Monitorial method was unsuccessful in England proving that the monitor might be an instructor, but never an educator. But it left its mark on the English system of teachers’ training in the Pupil-Teacher system. Moreover, it was also realised that the system that eliminates the schoolmaster from the post of teacher, and makes him simply a supervisor, can never be an instrument of true education. In the Monitorial system, it was the system that mattered, and not the teacher.²⁵

Despite the fact, that trained teachers were the need of the hour yet the supply was comparatively much less; therefore, it was considered that the pupil-teacher could be of some help. However, it was experienced that the prefect system or the Monitorial system was an idea native to England. It was unknown to the school of Germany and France; and it was very improperly understood by the Headmasters of Indian schools. Also, it was just senior students

²³*Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1864*, pp. 598-601. (From E. B. Powel, Director of Public Instruction, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, No.547, Madras, 22nd March 1864. Powell was directed to prepare a set of revised Rules for the issue of Educational Grants-in-aid, while submitting the same for the consideration of the Government mentions in point the above.)

²⁴Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales*, p. 7.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 2.

co-operating with the teacher in maintaining discipline and a high quality all over the classes.²⁶

However, we have in David Stow, a pioneer whose Glasgow Normal Seminary was a landmark in the development of teacher training. Its success resulted in attempts and proposals to establish similar Normal schools elsewhere.²⁷ The Monitorial method was based on the academic principle that a single teacher could run a whole school by using older monitors to teach younger children. This system, a fairly inexpensive way to educate poor children, was increasingly criticised by progressive educators in metropolitan Britain and colonial India for being clearly corrective and intimidating, eventually leading to mechanical teaching and learning. Hence, Stow very well argued that “A monitor is an imperfect substitute for the masters.”²⁸ Michel Foucault, too, acknowledged that the school had become a machine for learning in which each pupil, each level and each moment were permanently utilised in the general process of teaching. In the complex clockwork of the mutual improvement, school was built up by everyone that is the teachers and the students: first the oldest pupils were assigned with tasks involving simple supervision, and then of checking work, then of teaching, in the end, all the time of all the pupils was engaged either with teaching or with being taught.²⁹ Therefore, the system rendered the pupils busy all the time in schools with hardly any time for their own selves.

Moving over, in 1860, the modification of the Educational Department laid stress on the pupils with an excellence for teaching to be prepared for the office of teaching. This step taken for the pupil-teachers included the letter and spirit of the, Despatch of 1854, which stated that as regards pupil-teachers the pupils, who possessed an aptness for teaching, as well as the requisite standard of acquirements, were paid monthly allowances, to prepare themselves for the office of teaching. It was enquired as to what extent this was being done, and whether the promising pupils were encouraged by rewards.³⁰

²⁶A. M. Nash, *Progress of Education in India, 1887-88 to 1891-92*, Second Quinquennial Review, (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1893), p. 358.

²⁷Ivor Morrish, *Education since 1800*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970), p. 129.

²⁸Parna Sen Gupta, *Pedagogy for Religion*, p. 84.

²⁹Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1975), p. 165.

³⁰Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor Punjab, in the Education Department, under date the 13th June, No. 359, *Education Department in the Punjab*, File No. 7, General & Political Department, Ambala, 1864, p. 3.

Average Cost of Student Teacher in the Training Institutions

Moving over from the system of pupil-teacher we move a step further in teacher training. Teacher Education turned out to be a matter of extreme significance and given the dearth of availability of scholars for training, it was required that a strong measure of providing stipends would surely meet with success. Therefore, in the various training schools we would find more stipendiary students than non-stipendiary.

Furthermore, fees were not ordinarily charged in training institutions. On the contrary, stipends were generally given to the students either by government or by the local bodies or other authorities in whose service they were already employed or were likely to be employed—a fact which added greatly to the cost of this type of education.³¹ Given below is the complete detail about the cost supported by government in the training institutions in different provinces in India.

Table 4.1 The average cost per student in the training institutions in provinces of India in 1911-12-1916-17.

	AVERAGE COST PER STUDENT IN 1911-12 IN		AVERAGE COST PER STUDENT IN 1916-17 IN	
	Training College	Training or Normal School	Training College	Training or Normal School
	R	R	R	R
Madras	351	123	683	158
Bombay	1,065	166	1,273	188
Bengal	1,009	124	999	151
United Provinces	732	155	687	133
Punjab	422	168	429	155
Burma	...	394	...	284
Bihar and Orissa	2,428	105	1,585	128
Central Provinces and Berar	767	179	722	151
Assam	...	90	...	162
North-West Frontier Province	...	260	1,554	252
Minor administration	...	166	...	169
INDIA	564	144	685	157

Source: H. Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, Seventh quinquennial review, (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1918), p. 158.

As we proceed, we discover that across India, there were certain conditions upon which native teachers were allowed to attend the training institutions. More or less still the teaching profession was not considered as an option for profession and low pay was one of the reasons for the poor prospects of the teaching profession. This was done, in order to make, the teachers get the best so that they stayed on in their profession.

³¹H. Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, p. 158.

In 1904, the terms under which the native teachers were allowed to attend training institutions in the Madras and Bombay presidencies, Bengal and Berar as per the existing orders permitted of the grant of concessions to teachers in pensionable government service. The teachers were allowed leave, either on half pay or without pay during the period of their training, subject, in the case of Berar teachers, to a maximum period of one year. The time so spent was permitted to count as service towards pension. The Bengal government urged that, the teachers found it difficult to support themselves and their families on half pay, and recommended that full pay be granted. The government of Bombay recommended the grant of full pay to the junior masters of high schools who were called up yearly for training in the future. In Madras Presidency, teachers sent for training to the teachers' college and training schools under departmental management were allowed at the discretion of the concerned authorities to draw, in addition to their stipend, any part of their pay not exceeding one-half. They were further allowed to count the time spent under training towards pension, and they received travelling allowances according to the classes they belonged. Under the training system in United Provinces untrained teachers of less than 35 years of age serving in district board A.V. schools were granted leave without pay for a year to undergo a course at the training college at Allahabad. In the Central Provinces, the teachers, of the government and board schools under pensionable service, who attended the training institutions, received scholarships equal to their full salary but did not count towards pension, the time spent at the training institutions. In Berar, schoolmasters undergoing training in Akola training school received half pay only. It was suggested to the government of India that half pay was sufficient and that they should be allowed a stipend of Rs. 4 per mensem, in addition to half pay on the condition that the stipend together with the half pay should not, in any case exceed the pay of the teacher. However, regarding Punjab, it was stated in the report that the government of India had no information as to the arrangements in force in Punjab during that specific period.³²

Furthermore, we come across a notable development of grant of fees to officers of the Education Department for conducting Teachers' examinations in Punjab. As is evident such was the enormity of the teachers' examination conducted in the province that regarding the amount of labour entailed, by the educational officers, in the matter of examinations

³²Terms upon which native teachers should be allowed to attend Training Institutions, No. I, No.81-82, Proceedings for April 1904 in, *Government of the Punjab, Home Department Proceedings, Education, January, 1904*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1904), pp. 101-02.

conducted, the educational department had come to the conclusion that these can no longer be rightly regarded as coming within the ordinary duties of the officers. The examinations conducted by the Educational Department in the Punjab were twelve in number, five being for Male Teachers' Certificates, two for Female Teachers' Certificates, three the European Schools Examinations; one the Middle Examination for Native Girls; and one the M.S.E. for Industrial Schools. In all, about forty-eight examiners had to be employed, most took part in several of the examinations, and on some, and as much as four or five hours' extra work a day for several weeks was entailed. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it was decided in favour of the institution of Examiner's fees to be met from the admission fees of the candidates and a contribution from provincial revenues. Should examiners' fees be instituted, it would be possible to relieve the officers of the educational departments of these examinations to some extent by the employment of non-official educationists. The fees of a single Examiner was not likely to amount to as much as Rs.150 in any one year.³³

The following details about the various examinations being conducted by the Education Department provides us an overview of the complete system of the examinations. The examinations for Male Teachers' Certificates were 1) The S.A.V. Certificate Examination, the passing of which qualified for a teachership in an A.V. Secondary School. The candidates had to be educated up to the B.A. standard, and were mostly supplied by the Central Training College at Lahore. The examiners, in this case, were the inspectors of schools and the professors of the Lahore Government College. 2) The J.A.V. Certificate Examination. This certificate qualified for work in a primary A.V. School, and after approved service, in a middle school. The candidates had to be educated up to the Intermediate or F.A. standard and mostly came from the Junior English Class of the Central Training College. In this case, the examiners were the inspectors and assistant inspectors. 3) The S.V. Certificate examination qualifying for work in a vernacular secondary school. The candidates were required to have passed the Entrance examination or the J.V.C.E., and mostly belonged to the Vernacular Class of the Central Training College. The examiners were the Headmasters of the Normal school, helped by the assistant inspectors and assistant professors. 4) The J.V. Certificate Examination qualified for a teachership in a vernacular primary school. The candidates had to pass the M.S.E. and mostly came from the different Normal schools in the Province. The

³³Grant of Fees to Officers of the Education Department for Conducting Examinations', Pros. No.10, No. 59, Proceedings for February 1901 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1901*, p. 17.

examiners, in this case, were the teachers of government schools and assistant inspectors. 5) The Zamindari Certificate Examination involved acquaintance with the native method of accounts in the mahajani character, and qualified for teacherships in Elementary Zamindari schools, specially designed to meet the wants of an agricultural people. The qualifications and supply of the candidates and the examiners were the same as in the case of the J.V.C.E. The examinations for Female Teachers Certificates were the S.V. Certificate Examination and the J.V.C.E., qualifying respectively, as the examinations of the same name of the Male teachers. In both the cases, the examiners were the teachers of the government schools and the inspectress of schools. The European Schools Examinations was the primary school examinations, conducted by the inspectors, the inspectress, and an occasional teacher, and testing progress at the end of the primary course; the M.S.E., conducted by the inspectors, inspectress, assistant professors, a few teachers, and testing progress at the end of the middle school course; and the High School Examination, conducted by the inspectors, inspectress, professors, assistant professors, and one or more teachers, and testing progress at the end of the High school course. The M.S.E. for native girls was equivalent to the M.S.E. for boys, marked the progress of women education in the middle of the secondary stage, and was conducted by the teachers of the training institutions and the inspectress of schools. The European Schools examinations was the only case in which fees was levied from the examiners, except in the case of private candidates in the examinations for Male Teachers Certificates, who were required to pay admission fees, according to the examination, from Rs.4 to Rs.10.³⁴

The profession of teaching not only draws massive respect but there are certain yardsticks for the teachers too. They are present in form of some definite rules for the teachers while being in profession. We come across that there were some precise rules regarding the teachers or the teaching staff in the province that were- it was the duty of the Headmaster to exercise general control of the school and boarding houses in his charge; to maintain discipline among the staff and pupils; to organize and supervise the instruction; to take regular part in the teaching work, especially in classes and subjects in which his personal guidance was much needed. The attendance of teachers was to be recorded regularly and punctually in a book kept for the purpose. Teachers could not leave the school premises during school hours

³⁴ Correspondence regarding the Grant of fees to officers of the Education Department for conducting examinations, Pros. No. 12, No.10 S, 10th June 1899, Proceedings for February 1901 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1901*, pp. 18-19.

without the permission of the Headmaster. Teachers were not allowed to borrow money from their pupils, nor could have any financial transactions with them in a private capacity. It was the duty of all the members of the staff of a school to take a keen interest in all that favoured the physical, intellectual and moral developments of the pupils, in the school games, and in the general conduct of the pupils outside the classroom. Teachers in Government and Board schools were not allowed to assume private tuition except in harmony with the rules issued by the Department in this regard and in force for the time being. Teachers in Board Vernacular schools were permitted to undertake postal duties on the understanding that the extra work thus entailed would not materially interfere with their teaching.³⁵

Several measures were in progress for the benefit and progress of teachers in form of an increase in pay or salaries, stipends, pensions, allowances, annuities etc. and steps were being taken for the improvement in the qualification of the teacher candidates too. Although, the position, as regards, the number of trained teachers was still unsatisfactory in some provinces. A very satisfactory feature of the period was the improvement in the general qualifications of the candidates admitted to the institutions whether for English or for vernacular training. Some reports, notably those from the Punjab and Assam, stand witness to this. The institutions grew popular and the choice for admission was wider. Hence, more attention could be paid to specialization in the colleges and to merely professional studies in the training schools. For, the former attracted a larger proportion of graduates and even masters of Arts, while the latter could by and large count upon securing students who had passed the middle vernacular standard. The Report, further agreed, that the superiority in the quality of the teaching in those provinces where training had been developed quite early and been consistently pursued was obvious to anyone who visited schools in different parts of India. The provinces where the tradition of good teaching prevailed, reasonable pay was offered and endeavours made to create a permanent service, keen and satisfied teachers and good schools were to be found there.³⁶

As much stress was being laid on the Teachers' Education and Teaching, measures continued unstopped, the awareness initiated amongst people for trained teachers and in teachers themselves to come forward to meet the need of the hour showed some results. Teachers were called upon to come forward and set traditions by keeping themselves updated by making use

³⁵*Punjab Education Code*, pp. 43-44

³⁶Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, p. 167.

of books. In the Educational Conference held at Jalandhar, Rai Bahadur Mr Man Mohan, explained the agenda and condemned the attitude of those teachers who were leading a discontented and miserable life as they were always thinking of getting the next grade somehow or other. He appealed to the teachers to grow out of that mentality and recalled such traditions established by public schools in England. He laid a stress on the keeping up of the studies by teachers and inspecting officers and advised them not only to make use of books in the various libraries at their disposal but also to buy books of their own.³⁷

Meanwhile, progressing on the journey of the employment of a teacher, we come across certain crucial facts related with the unsatisfactory condition, the social position, competency, status and influence of teacher.

Teachers' Competency and Importance

During, the initial years of the endeavours, made in the direction of the teacher's training, real success dodged the efforts. At times, the teachers were found to be too ignorant and at times too casual. In the year 1870, while forwarding the report on the progress of education in the Gurgaon District, to Colonel R. Young, Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, Delhi, D.C., Gurgaon, I. H. Oliver, mentioned that there was an evident fall off in the attendance of pupils. Attributing to the real zeal and interest taken by Baldeo Sahai, Deputy Inspector of Schools, in the advancement of education, Mr Oliver literally lamented the untrustworthy attitude of teachers and commended highly of Baldeo Sahai's energy, and which in his opinion was the only means of keeping the half literate and prejudiced masters to their task. He further elaborated by saying that in villages, schools had to be abolished. The masters were untrustworthy; their returns were false and showed a large number of boys as attending whereas there were none.³⁸

The provision of teachers, the social status and the influence they exerted on the villagers and the measures, other than pay, by which their position could be improved, formed a crucial composition. In 1867, though no major change, in the field or progress of education took

³⁷*Proceedings of the Educational Conference, Jullundur Division, held at Jullundur City, on 13th, 14th and 15th of October 1932*, p. 5. (Rai Bahadur, Mr Man Mohan, Inspector of Schools, Jalandhar Division was in the Chair for the Conference.)

³⁸From Deputy Commissioner to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, No. 115 of 1869, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Gurgaon District for 1869-70*, File No. 2, General Department, Delhi, pp.1-2.

place, but Captain Holroyd, D.P.I., announced various projects of reform, such as the improvement of the pay of teachers in Village schools, as the state of Village school education continued to be very unsatisfactory, and was attributed, among other reasons, to the low salary of the teachers. In a step, to check effectively, the standard of education and the low status of the teachers in the province, the Village schools were finally organized in 1859. The pay of Village school teachers was fixed in the grade of Rs.5, Rs.7, and Rs.10; and, although these grades had not been strictly observed, they represented the standard scale of pay which was in fact drawn up to 1868. Hitherto, the unsatisfactory condition of the Village schools had been constantly noticed in the reports, and a preference began to prevail among district officers, as well as in the Education Department, that schools would never be good for anything as long as a teacher was paid the wages of a cooly (a low wage labourer). A scheme for improving the position of teachers of all grades was taken up, the most notable provision of which was that no Village school teacher, excepting assistance, should draw less than Rs.10 per mensem. This proposal was positively adopted.³⁹

The social position of the teachers was not that high and they were at times, accorded poor treatment. The conventional teachers of indigenous schools were, gradually supplanted by young men of the Munshi class; however, these new men failed to command the influence exercised by their predecessors.⁴⁰ Some of the Evidences to the E.C. held that the system of providing teachers was reasonable one. The Inspector of Schools, Amritsar was of the opinion that measures taken to improve the position of Village schoolmasters by giving them regular and liberal grades of pay brought about sound results. Many of them were therefore considered as fairly respectable men. In order, to further improve the position of a teacher, it was extremely essential that care should be employed in his selection and when selected, he should be taken care of with selflessness by the officers of the department.⁴¹

The Teacher Education continued making infant strides and the trained teacher became the key player in the education of a student. Equally significant, was a trained women teacher for the education of women. In awareness to the status of women education, the availability of women teacher was crucial. This issue has been dealt with, in detail, in the later Chapters, 4 & 5.

³⁹*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁰*Ibid*, p. 83.

⁴¹Babu Jai Gopal Singh, Inspector of Schools, Amritsar, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 290-91.

Women Teachers-Rewards and Remunerations for Promoting Education

The story of women's education in India was a sad tale of neglect. Even most of the reports were silent about women's education. There was however, an eager ambition for the education of girls which augmented every year. Besides many other problems like finance, provision of schools and colleges and co-education, one of the major problems was the supply of teachers. Moreover, the supply of adequate number of women teachers was a huge problem. It may be also noted that the bulk of teachers in girls' schools were males. Naturally, the education of girls was disabled for want of enough number of women teachers. In fact, a sufficient number of educated girls had not up till now taken to the teaching profession. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, the teaching profession was not attractive. Secondly, lady teachers were not easily available and demanded higher salaries than male teachers. Moreover, the majority of women teachers did not want to go far away from their homes. Facilities for training them were also insufficient. Sincere attempts were thus needed to encourage girls of good education to take to teaching. Educated wives of school-masters were encouraged to work as teachers. The provisions of joint homes for young women teachers where they may reside together, part-time services of young married ladies with sufficient education was considered a solution for this problem. Therefore, better facilities needed to be provided for inviting adequate number of educated girls to the teaching profession.⁴² In this direction, the efforts of the schoolmasters were laudable. In the province, we come across the wives of schoolmasters as teachers. It was found that in considerable number of cases in Punjab, the wives of teachers had opened private school for girls. Charles Rivaz, Lieutenant Governor, Punjab (1902-07), was aware of the advantage of popularising this. On the opening of the proposed Training School, the District Inspectors would be required to bring the regulations to the notice of the teachers in their individual districts. Training of widows as teachers was also being attempted at. In Amritsar, women under training were mostly Hindu widows, and it was felt that what had been successful there may succeed in other parts of the province. This matter received serious attention.⁴³ And elsewhere in the United Provinces, the services of superannuated male teachers were being taken to meet the dearth of women teachers for the girls' schools. This could be seen from the fact,

⁴²Mukerji, *Education in India*, pp. 117-18.

⁴³Views of Punjab Government on the question of Female Education-Training Schools, Pros. No.27, No. 70 S, Proceedings for July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January 1902*, p. 2.

that the D.P.I. requested that the government of India may be moved to sanction the retention of superannuated teachers in girls' schools for a further period of five years. While sanctioning the employment of these teachers for five years, they hoped for an adequate supply of competent and suitable teachers for girls' schools would be forthcoming. They further added that, if this were not the case, they would be prepared to consider the question of extending their sanction for a further period. The chief inspectress of girls' schools whom D.P.I. consulted in the matter was also of the opinion that though the number of women teachers was increasing there were certain places in which progress would be seriously retarded if male teachers could not be employed. Consequently, improvement of girls' education recommended that men advanced in years might be engaged in the absence of qualified women, to teach girls.⁴⁴ These few concrete steps by the government to promote women education reveal that the people by now were inclined towards educating their women and government, too, no longer could keep away from its responsibility for the same and had to come up with certain productive plans.

Moreover, in order to encourage the pupil-teachers, various rewards and remunerations were bestowed on them to recognize their potential. On 4th April 1870, an educational meeting was held at the headquarters of the district. All the teachers and boys of several schools assembled in the presence of the Tehsildars, the members of the various municipal committees and the Headmen of the principal villages throughout the district, and all the gentry, both European and Native. Prizes and rewards were then publicly distributed to the successful scholars and their masters, as also a few gifts given to the Lumberdars and others who had endeavoured to promote the cause of education.⁴⁵ The Normal school rewards were an encouragement for the students. On the third anniversary of the public distribution of prizes to meritorious scholars belonging to government educational institutions, during the Educational Durbar held at Lahore; in 1863 following persons of the Normal schools were commended with rewards: Jwala Sahai, Gujranwala, 2nd class, Tehsil Certificate, Rs.22, in cash, Kesho Ram, Lahore 2nd class, Tehsil Certificate, Rs.19, in cash, Ghulam Ahmed, Gujranwala, 1st class, Village Certificate, Rs.19, in cash, Noor Ahmed, Gujranwala, 2nd class, Village Certificate, Rs.7, in cash, Kurm Bukhsh, Lahore 2nd class, Village Certificate, (Stipendiary), Shahab-uldin, Lahore, 3rd class, Village Certificate, Rs.4, in cash, Umr-uldin, Lahore, 2nd class, Village

⁴⁴Employment in Girls Schools of superannuated male teachers', File No. 69/1908, Educational Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow, pp. 6, 8.

⁴⁵*Report on Progress of Education in the Gurgaon District for 1869-70*, File No. 2, General Department, Delhi Division, p. 8.

Certificate, Rs.6, in cash, Khan Muhammad, Rs.8, Amritsar, Passed 3rd class, Tehsil examination, Kadir Bukhsh, Rs.4, Sialkot, Passed 2nd class, Village examination, Abdool Rasheed, Rs.3 Sialkot, Passed 3rd class, Village examination.⁴⁶Moreover, rewards to women and other teachers for promoting women education too were forthcoming. There were sporadic instances of recognition being given to the teachers who spearheaded efforts in promoting women education. An interesting instance needs special mention here. In, the month of March 1863, a woman visitor, Wuzeer-ul-Nissan, a woman of very respectable connections, was appointed to supervise the instruction of the Persian, Urdu department. Being respectable, and a purdanashin, she went in a palanquin to inspect the women schools established among the Mohammedan population in the city, who were perfectly satisfied with her appointment, as has been manifested by the fact of their admitting her in their women apartments with pleasure. She performed her duties with great credit to herself and to the entire satisfaction of the committee. Her services were brought to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor at Durbar held on the 18th April 1863, who, being pleased with her efforts, directed a *khillut* to be presented to her with acknowledging the services rendered by her in the cause of women education. The *purwannah* and the *khillut* were presented to her through Fukeer Shumsud-din, her patron and a member of the Female Education Committee. It may also be mentioned that, besides the paid teachers, there were many other pundits who imparted instruction free of charge, in the spread of women education, but there being absolutely no funds forthcoming to remunerate them by bringing them on the permanent establishments, it was resolved by the committee to motivate them by assistance, which amounted to Rs.10 per head, being equivalent to one month's pay of a teacher belonging to the regular establishments.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, talking about the teachers and several major issues related to them, it is compulsory to take up some other relevant matters related to teachers' employment like that of appointments, dismissals. Without this, the discussion would be incomplete. Below we have details of the general features of Board schools and the teachers employed in them which help us have a broader look at the teachers then.

⁴⁶The Educational Durbar, Lahore, February 14,1863, *Educational Durbar held at Lahore*, File No. 5, General & Political, Ambala, p. 21.

⁴⁷Minute by Lieutenant Governor, R. Montgomery, of the Punjab, in the Educational Department, 15thJune, 1864, *Female Education in Lahore*, File No.8, Political &General Department, Ambala Division, pp. 5-6. (Purwannah is a sort of royal grant, and Khillut a dress of honour, in most cases a turban or shawl form part of the gift)

Teachers of District and Municipal Board Schools

The local self-government institutions played an important part in the system of public instruction. The institutions may be divided into two classes: the Municipal Boards, committees, or councils that controlled the affairs of the towns, and the Local Boards or councils whose authority extended over rural areas. These bodies had been created for the local administration and control of certain public services, education being one of them. The two primary features of the relationship of Municipal and Local Boards towards education were the control and finance. The functions of local self-government institutions towards education- stating in general the primary responsibility of the Local and Municipal Boards was towards primary education, but was not completely limited only to primary education. But, in complete harmony, with the local self-government policy, the maintenance and conduct of secondary schools was transferred on Municipal and Local Boards.⁴⁸

District and Municipal Boards took part in the system of primary instruction both by maintaining schools and by granting aid to schools. Regarding the method of management by Local and Municipal Boards, they managed their educational dealings both directly and through the agency of the lower local boards (in rural areas) and of special educational committees. In Punjab, by 1901-02, Board schools were either Municipal Board schools or District Board schools, for boys or girls. Municipal Board schools were supported from municipal funds consolidated in some cases by contribution from-provincial revenues, district funds, private subscription, and in the case of boys' schools for general education by school fees. Fees were not charged in girls' schools or in schools for special education. With reference to District Board schools, they were supported from district funds, supplemented in some cases by contribution from-provincial revenues, municipal funds, subscriptions, and in the case of boys' schools for general education by school fees. Likewise, as in Municipal Board schools, in District Board schools too, fees were not collected in girls' schools or in schools for special education. The staff of teachers employed in the A.V. Schools, formerly known as District schools, consisted of teachers whose names were placed in the Graded Provincial list (this corresponds with the approved institutions previously maintained in District schools) and teachers not included in that list (Graded Provincial list).⁴⁹ Nevertheless,

⁴⁸Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 32.

⁴⁹Board Schools, Chapter-IX, Section- A, Schools, School Funds, and School establishments, Pros. No. 3, 248, Proceedings for July, 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education*,

it is essential to know in brief about the Graded provincial list. In Chapter 2, details about the I.E.S. have been put forward. Educational services had been divided into Superior and Subordinate Service. And the former was subdivided into I.E.S. and the Provincial Educational Service. Whereas the Subordinate Educational Service was-below the Provincial Service existed in almost all the provinces a significant number of appointments of different nature. The list included appointments of the lower grade of the inspecting staff, Headmasters and mistresses, and teachers in secondary and primary schools for boys and girls, and in Normal and various Classes of technical and special schools. Several provinces had similar lists, however, the length and variety depended on the inspecting agency and the amount to which the government took direct part in the system of educational management. These various posts were treated differently in all provinces. In Punjab all government posts below the Provincial Service were included in the Subordinate Service. The Service was divided into six classes and each contained several grades carrying different rates of pay. The appointment in each grade was specified. The arrangements included District inspectorships and teacherships and subordinate instructorship in various classes of schools. Appointments to this service were normally made by the Director at times on the suggestion of the inspector of the circle. ⁵⁰The list below is one such example.

Table 4.2 The Graded Provincial List of teachers was divided into classes as noted each class containing two or more grades.

ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENTS
1 st Class
Head Masters at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
1 on Rs.400, 1 on Rs.350, and 1 on Rs.300
2 nd Class
Second Masters at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Head Masters at 5 other High Schools
2 on Rs.250, 2 on Rs.225, 2 on Rs.200, and 2 on Rs.180
3 rd Class
Third Masters at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Head Masters at 5 other High Schools
2 on Rs.160, 2 on Rs.140, 2 on Rs.120, 2 on Rs.100
4 th Class
Fourth Masters at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Second Masters at 10 other High Schools
Head Masters at 15 other High Schools
4 on Rs.100, 6 on Rs.90, 8 on Rs.80, and 10 on Rs.70
5 th Class
Fifth Masters at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Third Masters at 9 other High Schools

1887, pp. 156,158. (Graded Provincial List corresponds with the sanctioned establishment formerly maintained in District Schools)

⁵⁰Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

Second Masters at 15 Middle Schools
7 on Rs.60, 9 on Rs.50, and 11 on Rs.40
6 th Class
Junior English Masters
9 on Rs.35, and 12 on Rs.30
ORIENTAL ESTABLISHMENTS
1 st Class
Arabic Teachers at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
1 on Rs.80, 1 on Rs.70, and 1 on Rs.60
2 nd Class
First Sanskrit Teachers at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
First Persian Teachers at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Mathematical Teachers at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
First Oriental Teachers at 10 other High Schools
5 on Rs.60, 6 on Rs.50, and 8 on Rs.45
3 rd Class
Second Sanskrit Teachers at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Second Persian Teachers at Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar
Second Oriental Teachers at 8 other High Schools
First Oriental Teachers at 15 Middle Schools
Mathematical Teachers at 21 schools
12 on Rs.40, 17 on Rs.35, and 21 on Rs.30
4 th Class
Junior Vernacular Teachers
9 on Rs.25, and 15 on Rs.20
MISCELLANEOUS
Teachers of Science and Mathematics in High Department
4 on Rs.100 rising to Rs.150
1 on Rs.100, and 2 on Rs.50

Source: Board Schools, Chapter-IX, Section-A, Schools, School Funds and School establishments, Pros.No.3, 248, Proceedings of July, 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, 1887*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1887), pp.158-159.

The appointments on the Graded provincial list were distributed and no change could be made in the number, the distribution, the designation, or the classes of appointments attached to each school without the sanction of government. No fixed scale of salaries had been laid down for teachers employed in A.V. schools who were not approved on the Graded Provincial List, or for teachers employed in branches of such schools, or in high departments of vernacular schools or in schools for special education. The following was the prescribed scale of salaries for teachers, men or women, working in vernacular middle schools and primary schools (not the branches of A.V. schools); but the number of appointments in each grade was not fixed. i) Headmasters or mistresses of middle schools, Rs. 40, Rs. 35, Rs. 30, Rs. 20. ii) Second masters or mistresses of middle schools and Headmasters and mistresses of primary schools, Rs. 20, Rs. 18, Rs. 16, Rs. 14, Rs. 12, Rs. 10.*iii) Junior teachers, Rs. 10, Rs. 9, Rs. 7, Rs. 6. And, in the case of, all appointments where grades of salary had been definitely fixed, it was not within the capability of any local body to create a new grade, or to raise or reduce the pay of any such appointment except by promotion or reduction from one

recognized grade to another. And no special grant in addition of salary of any grade could be given without the sanction of Education Department.⁵¹

Local bodies were permitted to appoint school teachers, subject to the fulfilment of the rules relating to their qualifications and rates of salary. They could also punish and dismiss teachers, provided a mention was made to the D.C. in certain cases. As, some of the members, of the establishment of local schools were in direct government employ before the localization of schools, separate rules were prescribed for this staff. Rules were also laid down regarding the internal economy and various other matters.⁵² Explained below are certain rules regarding the appointments, dismissals, leave, and leave allowances of teachers.

Rules regarding Appointments, Dismissals, Leave, and Leave Allowance of Teachers

Appointment and Promotion

There are details provided about the rules regarding the appointments of teachers and other issues. All appointments to teacherships were to be made by the local bodies under whose authority the schools were placed, subject to the following conditions: -i) No permanent teacherships was to be conferred on any person in a Board School who did not possess the prescribed certificate of health and ability.*This rule did not apply in the case of women teachers, so far as regards the health certificate of ability will not be insisted on if the Inspector certifies that such teachers are capable of giving efficient instruction in the subjects they are required to teach. ii) An officiating appointment in boys' schools could be conferred on a person who did not possess the prescribed certificate of ability, provided the Inspector, or, in the case of schools, inspected by the district inspector, the latter officer, is satisfied- that no candidate possessing the prescribed certificate was available; and that the qualifications of the persons selected were not inferior to those of any available candidate. iii) A male teacher selected to officiate in an appointment, whether in a boys' school or girls' school, had to furnish a health certificate if the appointment was to last for more than six months. iv) A person nominated to an officiating appointment, whether in a boys' school or girls' school

⁵¹Board Schools, Chapter-IX, Section-A, Schools, School Funds and School establishments, Pros.No.3, 248, Proceedings of July, 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, 1887*, p. 160. (*In the case of Head Masters of primary schools for boys in the lowest grade it had been ruled that Rs.10 was to be the average salary. The actual salary paid to teacher was to be determined by the results of the Upper and Lower Primary Examinations.)

⁵²Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 34.

could draw the full salary of the appointment if there was no permanent incumbent; but a teacher employed under must vacate the appointment when a duly qualified candidate was forthcoming. v) No teacher, man or woman, could receive promotion if the report of the Inspecting Officer was unfavourable.⁵³

Punishment

As regards, the teachers being reprimanded, a teacher could be fined, suspended, reduced from one recognized grade to another, or dismissed by public Bodies for misconduct, or due to an unfavourable report by the Inspecting Officer in which he recommended such punishment. In schools, under District Boards of the 1st class, no teacher who was drawing a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem or upwards, and in schools under District Boards of the 2nd Class and District Committees, no teacher drawing Rs.20 per mensem or upwards, could be fined, degraded or dismissed except with the previous sanction of the D. C. In the A.V. schools, formerly called District schools, no teacher in office whose name was borne on the Graded Provincial List on the 1st of April 1886 was to be fined, degraded or dismissed except-if his pay was Rs.50 per mensem or upwards, with the sanction of the Commissioner; or with the sanction of the D.C. in any other case. Every such teacher in office had the right of appeal in such matters from the Commissioner to the government, or from the D.C. to the Commissioner and the government, as the case may be. If a provisional certificate granted to a teacher should be cancelled or should lapse the holder would be responsible to give up his appointment, and could not be retained without the special sanction of the Department. It was the responsibility of the local body concerned to dismiss any teacher, if called upon to do so by government. If a teacher was fined, suspended, reduced, or dismissed by a public body, the reasons for such action had to be recorded.⁵⁴

⁵³Board Schools, Chapter-IX, Section-C, Rules regarding appointments, dismissals, leave allowance, Pros. No. 3, 263, Appointment of Teachers, Proceedings for July 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, 1887*, p. 161. (*Teachers engaged to teach Mathematics in boys' schools were required to have a special certificate for that subject. And teachers employed to teach Arabic or Sanskrit in boys' schools needed to have special certificates, provided that persons having the diplomas could be recruited on probation for 3 months or pending the next visit of the Inspector.)

⁵⁴Board Schools, Chapter-IX, Section-C, Rules regarding appointments, dismissals, leave allowance, Pros. No. 3, 268, Punishment of Teachers, Proceedings for July 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, 1887*, p. 163.

Leave; Leave Allowances, Pension, and Annuities

The grant of leave allowances and pensions to teachers and other establishments of District schools at the time of their conversion into Municipal schools were entitled to count their subsequent service on the school establishment for pension from government. The service books of the officers were properly kept up to date. All entries were to be attested by the President or Vice-President of the Municipal Committee concerned. In urgent cases, the President of the local body could grant casual leave not exceeding four days at one time, or if the nature of the case really required it, ten days; provided that the total amount of casual leave granted to any one teacher did not exceed twenty days during the year.⁵⁵

Generally, the secondary school teachers were the employees of the government, of Municipal and Local Boards, or of private societies or individuals. Their pensionary status depended on the class of service to which they belonged. Broadly speaking teachers of Government schools were eligible for pension, teachers of Board schools subscribed in some provinces to provident funds, and teachers of private schools received no pensions and belonged to general fund. In Punjab, all teachers belonging to the Provincial and Subordinate service (explained above), and those on the graded provincial list who were in service before the transfer (1886) of the district schools to local bodies, were rendering pensionable service. There was no provident fund for teachers in Punjab.⁵⁶ The last line admitting that there was no provident fund for teachers in the Province puts a crucial fact across so as to what could be the reasons which made the authorities deny this to their employees.

Teacher's Expulsion

Not only were rewards, remunerations and other facilities being extended to the teachers who were forthcoming to promote learning, as there was a dearth of trained teachers, there were also instances of teachers' expulsion from the schools that brings forth the seriousness related to this profession. Index No. 6-7 of proceedings mentions that Diyal Singh and Jamiyat Rai were expelled from the Central Training College. The Principal, Central Training College, Lahore, returned the petition of Diyal Singh and Jamiyat Rai, and stated that it was for

⁵⁵Board Schools, Chapter-IX, Section-C, Rules regarding appointments, dismissals, leave allowance, Pros. No. 3,275, Leave, Leave Allowances, Pensions, Annuities, & etc., Proceedings for July 1887 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education 1887*, p. 164.

⁵⁶Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 127.

several reasons undesirable to readmit them into the College. (No.97 dated 11th February 1890). Furthermore, it informs them that there were several reasons given by the Principal, Central Training College, which rendered it unworthy to readmit them to the College, but the refusal was not intended to debar them from entering into government service by any other way than through the Training College.⁵⁷

Teachers-Trained and Untrained (for selected years)

The number of students qualifying themselves for the various Certificates in Teacher Training at the various training institutions can be seen from the following detailed description of them in the various districts of circles. The number kept fluctuating and at times was simply satisfactory. With special state of the trained teachers including untrained teachers (at irregular intervals) in various schools were as follows. This would further assist us in drawing a broader picture of the teachers in the province and also can be of definite crucial significance for any study on the topic later.

A total of 3,953 teachers in boys' schools in Punjab, out of total 6, 250, were trained or held certificates as compared to 2,100 in the previous year as per the returns for 1896-97. In such, a state of affairs, the trained men on gaining certificates had no difficulty in receiving appointments. No sooner had the result of examination been known then they found employment. Their prospects ranged from Rs.8 to Rs.20.⁵⁸

R, Nathan, C. I. E., Deputy Secretary to the government of India, Home Department, in his report mentions that the number of teachers in the public primary schools for boys in Punjab was of the average of three teachers to schools. The percentage of trained teachers in 1897-98, 1901-1902 was the highest in Punjab that is 48.3 and the lowest in Bengal 4.1. Most teachers, in state schools of Punjab and many teachers in private managed schools were trained in the Normal schools of the Province.⁵⁹

Though, not related to any specific training institution, yet some significant figures are revealed, with regard to the figures of training institutions and pupils (under training) in

⁵⁷Pros. No. 6-7, 15th March, No. 96, Proceedings for March 1890 in, *Proceedings of the Government of Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January 1890*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1890), (Contents of Part B Matters of Routine, Papers not Printed).

⁵⁸Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 242.

⁵⁹Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 169.

India. The total number of institutions for men and women, had risen from 587 to 816; that of students from 13,425 to 19,396. Institutions for men increased from 500 to 702 and male students from 11,812 to 16,583. Institutions for women increased from 87 to 114 and women students from 1,613 to 2,813. Attendance was 90.4 per cent as against 87.2 per cent in 1911-12. While considering institutions, the United Provinces headed the list with 299. Bengal and Bihar and Orissa came next with 139 and 133, largely made up of guru-training schools. Bombay and Punjab had 43 and 32. On the point of students, Madras stood first with 5,784 and an increase since 1912 to 2,412. Next were Bengal and United Provinces, with 2,689 and 2,643. Bihar and Orissa and Bombay showed 2,382 and 2,178 students. In Punjab, there were 1,446, an increase of 671 since 1912. The concluding comparison shows that, among the larger provinces, Punjab, the United Provinces and Madras made the greatest numerical progress, while the N.W.F.P. and the minor administrations also had reasonable percentages of trained teachers.⁶⁰

A likely addition to the expansion of school education was the parallel growth in the demand for trained teachers. This demand was recognized and supplied by the Education Department. In no branch of its activities had the progress been more remarkable. Such was the state in public schools, at the end of the quinquennium; the proportion of trained teachers was about three-fifths of the total. A marked increase had been noticed in the number of students under training taking the total to 1,076 in 1916-17, 1,863 in 1921-22.⁶¹

A demand created for the supply of trained teachers was a strong sign of the development being made in the field of teacher training. The five years' programme of expansion in vernacular education during the quinquennium ending 31st March 1927, was responsible for an urgent demand for large numbers of vernacular trained teachers and the existing Normal schools could not meet the demand; therefore, a number of J.V. and S.V. units were attached to high schools, as suitably as possible with respect to rural areas. Consequently, creating a supply to demand of trained teachers, within a short period of time, trained teachers were being turned out in sufficiently large numbers to cope with the demand and to replace many untrained hands. A steady rise in the percentage of trained teachers and the slowing down of expansion, however, made the Department reduce the number of training units in 1930-31.⁶²

⁶⁰Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, pp. 156-157.

⁶¹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1921-22*, p. 99.

⁶²*Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, p. 67.

There were 23,805 or about 83 per cent trained and recognised vernacular teachers out of 28,750. The 711 S.V. and 716 J.V. men trained in 1931-32 would still further reduce the number of untrained teachers who ranged between 5 and 21 per cent of the staff in the various divisions of the province in the last year of the quinquennium.⁶³

Out of 33,983 teachers employed in schools of all types, for Indian boys, 28,967 or 85.2 per cent were trained in 1932-33.⁶⁴

Table 4.3 The percentage of the trained teachers division wise in 1932-33.

Division	Total	Trained teachers	Percentage of trained teachers
Ambala	4,734	4,037	85.3
Jullundur	6,647	5,843	87.9
Lahore	8,119	7,122	87.7
Rawalpindi	6,800	5,669	83.4
Multan	7,683	6,296	81.9

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1932-33*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1934), pp. 14-15.

Of 33,896 teachers employed in schools of all types for Indian boys, 29,270 or 86.3 per cent were trained in 1934-35.⁶⁵

Table 4.4 Number and percentage of teachers in the various divisions in 1934-35.

Division	Total	Trained	Percentage of trained teachers
Ambala	4,893	4,171	85.2
Jullundur	6,640	5,772	86.9
Lahore	8,269	7,292	88.1
Multan	7,097	6,190	87.2
Rawalpindi	6,997	5,845	83.5

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1934-35*, (Punjab: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1936), pp. 18-19.

Table 4.5 The percentage of trained teachers in schools under the various managements in 1934-35.

Management	High	Middle	Primary
Government	97.4	90.5	85.7
Local Body	90.5	92.3	88.5
Aided	81.6	75.4	33.5
Unaided	51.8	73.2	27.5

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1934-35*, (Punjab: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1936), pp. 18-19.

⁶³ *Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, p. 69.

⁶⁴ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1932-33*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1934), pp. 14-15.

⁶⁵ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1934-35*, (Punjab: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1936), pp. 18-19.

The number of trained teachers engaged in the secondary schools had reduced by 123 to 20,052 and that of untrained teachers declined by 238 to 2,265. The percentage of trained teachers had risen from eighty-nine in the previous year to 89.9. Of the untrained teachers, many possessed special certificates, so the number of unqualified teachers was not large. The percentage of trained teachers varies in the divisions from 87.7 in Ambala to 91.7 in Multan.⁶⁶ The number of teachers employed in primary schools rose from 11,530 to 11,545, or by 15. Of this 9,183 or 79.5 per cent were trained. The proportion of trained teachers, was thus, quite adequate. In the local body schools, the proportion was even higher; in some districts almost all the teachers had been trained.⁶⁷

Furthermore, the number of trained teachers as per reports showed that, of 33,912 teachers employed, by 1935-36 in schools of all types for Indian boys 29,535 or 87.09 per cent were trained.⁶⁸

Table 4.6 The position of teachers in the various divisions, in 1935-36.

Division	Total	Trained	Percentage
Ambala	4,918	4,181	85.0
Jullundur	6,499	5,760	88.6
Lahore	8,367	7,431	88.8
Rawalpindi	7,022	5,916	84.1
Multan	7,055	6,240	88.4

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), pp. 16-17.

Table 4.7 The percentage of trained teachers in schools under various managements in, 1935-36.

Management	High	Middle	Primary
Government	96.03	94.18	100.00
Local Body	90.47	92.87	89.70
Aided	81.40	74.96	43.13
Unaided	69.60	70.00	45.68

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), pp. 16-17.

It can be seen that the government and local body schools, A.V. and vernacular, were equipped with trained teachers. However, the aided and unaided schools, primary and middle, in some districts still had substantial scope to make up.

⁶⁶*Report for the year 1934-35*, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁷*Ibid*, p.48.

⁶⁸*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), pp. 16-17.

The number of training institution, in 1936-37, was adequate for filling up vacancies in the primary and vernacular middle schools due to death, retirement and other causes. The number of untrained and untrained teachers in the district board schools was almost negligible; in the Lahore Division it was only 2.2 per cent; in the Rawalpindi Division, this percentage was 12 for district board schools, but for other primary schools it increased to 34. The provincial figures indicate that the number of trained and untrained teachers employed in primary schools was only 14.6 per cent against 21.5 per cent in 1931-32. Though, this figure was not very high, it was considered that the dissemination point should be maintained at this figure in order to absorb teachers who were going through a period of apprenticeship.⁶⁹

As per John Sargent's report of progress of education in India, 1932-37, the total number of teachers in Punjab in 1932 was 22, 847, in 1937 was 21,080, and the number of trained teachers was 20,018 in 1932 and 10, 718 in 1937 in secondary schools (men). The percentage of trained teachers had risen from 56.4 in 1932 to 57.3 in 1937 in India. However, teaching had shown improvement; there were complaints still being found in many provincial reports.⁷⁰ And as regards the (men) teachers in primary schools the figures in 1937 were 11, 780. The figures for trained men in 1937 include- passed primary stage- 472, possessing higher qualifications-9,036, and total no-9,604. Also, the percentage of the total trained to total number of teachers in 1932- 73.3, in 1937-81.5. The percentage of trained teachers possessing higher qualifications to total number of men teachers in 1932 was 67.7, in 1937-76.7.⁷¹

Out of 33,650 men teachers employed in schools of all types, 29, 258 or 87 per cent were trained in 1937-38. Among the untrained teachers were also included 1,194 teachers who in recognition of their consistently meritorious services had from time to time been awarded special departmental certificates. With the increase of this number among the qualified teachers the percentage would rise to 90. In the case of the primary, middle and high schools this percentage stands at 81, 93 and 84 respectively.⁷²

⁶⁹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 68.

⁷⁰John Sargent, *Progress of Education in India, 1932-1937*, Eleventh Quinquennial Review, Vol. I, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1940), p. 101.

⁷¹Sargent, *Progress of Education in India, 1932-1937*, Vol. I, p. 136.

⁷²*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1937-38*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1939), p. 15.

Table 4.8 The information about teachers divisionally in 1937-38.

	Total		Trained		Percentage of trained Teachers	
	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary
Ambala	3,230	1,666	2,894	1,361	89.6	80.7
Jullundur	4,045	2,462	3,648	2,093	90.2	85.0
Lahore	5,188	3,206	4,678	2,656	90.0	82.8
Multan	4,724	2,457	4,328	1,957	91.6	79.6
Rawalpindi	4,992	2,082	4,399	1,545	88.1	74.2

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1937-38*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1939), p. 15.

Table 4.9 The provincial percentage of training of teachers during five years, 1937-38.

1933-34	85.3
1934-35	86.3
1935-36	87.0
1936-37	86.8
1937-38	87.0

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1937-38*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1939), p. 16.

Except for a slight fall of .2 the previous year the percentage was gradually reported to be on the increase for the past five years.⁷³

Table 4.10 The percentage of trained teachers in schools under the various managements in, 1937-38.

	High	Middle	Primary
Government	96.6	93.3	100
Local Body	89.6	93.3	89.2
Aided	79.9	78.1	42.0
Unaided	67.1	75.4	24.3

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1937-38*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1939), p. 16.

The percentage, in 1937-38, of trained teachers in District boards school in the Lahore Division was as high as 97.8. In the Rawalpindi Division, this percentage ranged between 78 (Mianwali) and 96 (Jhelum), and stood at 88 for the whole division. If the figures for primary schools alone are taken into account the percentage varied between 59 (Gujarat) and 86 (Rawalpindi), and an aggregate of 74 for the Division.⁷⁴

⁷³Report for the year 1937-38, p. 16.

⁷⁴Ibid, p. 78.

Table 4.11 The position of teachers in aided and unaided schools divisionally, 1937-38.

Division	Aided Schools			Unaided Schools		
	Trained	Untrained	Total	Trained	Untrained	Total
Ambala	132	147	279	10	34	44
Jullundur	186	247	433	2	21	23
Lahore	367	292	659	15	21	36
Rawalpindi	55	230	285	6	14	20
Multan	53	178	231	1	15	16
Total	793	1,094	1,887	34	105	139

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1937-38*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1939), p. 78.

From the above table, it is obvious that the number of untrained teachers in both aided and unaided institutions in almost all the divisions particularly Rawalpindi, Multan and Ambala Divisions, was highly unsatisfactory. It was roughly estimated that if 25 per cent of the total admissions were reserved annually for these schools for the training of 75 per cent or the total number of untrained teachers employed, it would take no less than twenty years to train them all.⁷⁵

There had been an overall enhancement in the number of teachers, in 1938-39, by 235 to 12,109. Of whom, 202 were trained and 33 untrained. Of the 12,109 teachers employed, 81 per cent were trained. Government made efforts to keep teachers up-to-date by holding refresher courses in each district during the year under review. And it was hoped that this work would be carried on with the sincerity which would further aid in bringing schools in proximity with the local needs and the ideals of latest education.⁷⁶

As regards trained teachers, out of 34,255 men teachers working in schools of all kinds 29,703 or 86.7 per cent were trained. This marks a decrease of 3 per cent on previous year's figures which could perhaps be related to the rise in unrecognised institutions during the year under review.⁷⁷

⁷⁵*Report for the year 1937-38*, pp.78-79.

⁷⁶*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1938-39*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1940), p. 3.

⁷⁷*Report for the year 1938-39*, p. 12.

Table 4.12 The information about teachers divisionally, in 1938-39.

Division	Total		Trained		Percentage of Trained Teachers	
	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary
Jullundur	4,061	2,457	3,623	2,099	89.2	85.2
Lahore	5,179	3,245	4,717	2,754	91.1	84.9
Ambala	3,151	1,752	2,812	1,403	89.2	80.1
Rawalpindi	5,007	2,131	4,392	1,549	98.7	72.7
Multan	4,704	2,515	4,313	2,002	91.7	79.6

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1938-39*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1940), p. 12.

Table 4.13 The provincial percentage of training of teachers, in 1938-39.

1934-35	86.3
1935-36	87.0
1936-37	86.8
1937-38	87.0
1938-39	86.7

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1938-39*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1940), p. 13.

Table 4.14 The percentage of trained teachers in schools under the various managements in, 1938-39.

	High	Middle	Primary
Government	96.4	93.4	100
Local Body	87.5	93.3	88.8
Aided	80.7	74.3	41.3
Unaided	68.6	73.8	33.6

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1938-39*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1940), p. 13.

Government and local body schools exhibited a high percentage of qualified teachers but the conditions in aided and unaided primary schools were not quite satisfactory. Inefficient teaching particularly in primary schools was a serious threat and various proposals had been advanced to eliminate the untrained teacher and improve the staff in all types of schools. To maintain district-wise lists of trained candidates for educational posts, to increase training institutes for the untrained teachers in aided and unaided schools, to increase the pressure on aided institutions for the employment of trained teachers, were some of the suggestions under observation then.⁷⁸

Out of the 235 new teachers recruited in, all types of recognised primary schools only 33 were untrained in 1938-39. The percentage of untrained teachers in aided and unaided schools had fallen by 2 per cent. The percentage of untrained teachers was reported to be particularly high in the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions. It was hardly possible to train all

⁷⁸*Report for the year 1938-39*, p. 13.

the employees then within a short period but recruitment figures made one hope that in future the untrained teacher would be progressively replaced by the trained one. The percentage of trained teachers in the local bodies' schools worked out at 80.

Table 4.15 The number of trained and untrained teachers in aided and unaided primary schools, (excluding European schools), for boys' division-wise in 1938-39.

Division	Aided Schools			Unaided Schools			Total		
	Trained	Untrained	Total	Trained	Untrained	Total	Trained	Untrained	Total
Ambala	118	165	283	9	27	36	127	192	319
Jullundur	156	250	406	7	6	13	163	256	419
Lahore	362	264	626	25	26	51	387	290	677
Rawalpindi	60	218	278	4	22	26	64	240	304
Multan	55	170	225	2	11	13	57	181	238
Total	751	1,067	1,818	47	92	139	798	1,159	1,957

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1938-39*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1940), p. 62.

All the Normal schools reportedly were efficiently and adequately staffed. The teachers were aware of the problems and difficulties of the Vernacular teacher and took good care that their pupils were able to adjust themselves successfully to their rural environment. Extracurricular activities which had significance in the future career of the rural teacher were especially encouraged. Actual teaching was not separated from the reality of rural conditions and practical manual training.⁷⁹

The total number of teachers employed in all grades of boys' schools went up by 224 to 34,901; an increase of 113 and 210 in the primary and high schools and a decrease of 99 in the middle schools in 1940-41. Out of the total number, 30,135 or 86.3 per cent were trained. Of the remainder, 1,468 possessed special departmental certificates. With the addition of the latter, the percentage of qualified teachers mounted up to 90. The percentage of trained teachers in secondary schools in the various divisions ranged from 87.3 (Rawalpindi) to 90.2 (Lahore) and in primary schools from 80 per cent (Multan) to 84.3 (Jalandhar). The position of trained teachers in aided and unaided primary schools went down from 56.8 to 39. In the Multan Division, there was not a single trained teacher working in such schools; last year their strength was 10 per cent of the total number.⁸⁰

⁷⁹*Report for the year 1938-39*, p. 63.

⁸⁰*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for year 1940-41*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1942), pp. 4-5.

When complete reorganization of the vernacular teachers' training in the province was done in 1941-42, it was reassuring therefore, to know that the new training produced a better capable teacher, who, it was hoped, would be better fitted to offer helpful assistance, guidance and leadership to the village masses in their social, agricultural and industrial problems.⁸¹

There were 12,603 (+184) teachers in boys' primary schools. Of these 9,861(-132) were trained (78.2 per cent) and 2,742 (+316) untrained in 1943-44. Together with 645 teachers who possessed special departmental certificates among the qualified teachers, the percentage of recognised teachers rose to 83.4. In the unaided boys' schools only 118 out of 222 or 53 per cent teachers were trained and recognised. Aided schools had 988 out of 1,702 and the local body 9,309 qualified teachers out of 10,583. The total number of teachers employed in girls' primary schools was 4,406(+55), 3,127 trained and 1,279 untrained, while 177 out of the latter possessed special departmental certificates. In the local body schools, teachers 3,039 were trained and recognised; in aided schools 769 out of 1,182 and in unaided 86 out of 143.⁸²

Out of 35,980 (+392) teachers employed in all types of boys' schools, 29,030 (-518) or 81 per cent are trained and 6,950 (+ 910) untrained, of whom 1,697 possessed special departmental certificates. In girls' schools, out of 7,794 (+300), 5,817 (+63) were trained and 1,977 (+237) untrained, including 263 who possessed special certificates. The gradual shortage reported in the number of teachers during the past five years was due primarily to the fact that a large number of teachers joined the military departments- some in the fighting forces and some in as army instructors and civilian schoolmasters.⁸³

The above details have brought to the forefront the figures of the trained and untrained teachers' status throughout the province and not of any particular school. The present study is dealing entirely with the teachers' education and the earlier chapters have already provided us information about the schools and institutions established for their education. Below is

⁸¹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, p. 4.

⁸²*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1943-44*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1945), pp. 8-9.

⁸³*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1944-45*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1946), p. 11.

described the community, class, and caste of the teachers' students in the various training schools in the Province.

Teachers-Community, Class and Caste-Wise in Normal Schools and Central Training College (for selected years)

The Punjabees are not so ticklish & bigoted about caste & religion as Hindostanees.⁸⁴

As we proceed further on this journey, we come across interesting particulars about teachers' caste, creed and communities. Hence it becomes important here to know about the broader picture of Punjab that is Punjab's diverse geographic and social structure.

Punjab, annexed in 1849, was the last state to be conquered by the British. The province of Punjab in the British India comprised of two territories-the British territory, forming part of the British Indian empire and administered by the Viceroy of India through a Lieutenant-Governor; and the remaining territory known by the common name of princely states which were ruled by native rulers on the basis of treaties reached by the Imperial government of British India individually with each of them. The territory of Punjab under British Indian empire consisted of about thirty districts grouped into five divisions. After the partition of the country in 1947, most parts of British territory had gone over to the present-day Pakistan.⁸⁵

Besides its great diversity in geography, soil, climate, and rainfall, the Punjab is characterized by a striking diversity in race, with regard to origins, languages, beliefs, customs, and social structure. People of different communities, caste and class shaped the population of Punjab. This brief introduction to the social set up in Punjab that was fragmented at the time of colonial rule attempts to provide us with the overview of the same.

Punjab was used as a channel by the nomadic peoples of Central Asia to reach the Indian hinterland, and its fluctuating political geography made it a region of social and cultural uncertainty. In the mid eighteenth century, Ahmad Shah Abdali succeeded in detaching the province of Punjab from the rest of India and in the middle of the nineteenth century the British annexed it to make it the barracks of the raj. In between these two conquests, the

⁸⁴Brian P. Caton, "Social categories and colonisation in Panjab, 1849-1920," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* Vol. XLI, No. 1 January to March (2004): p. 34

⁸⁵Emmet Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab 1836-1947*, (Delhi: Academic Publications, 1983), p. 1.

Sikhs transformed their territories into a Sikh kingdom that succeeded in engulfing neighbouring states. The five-feeder Rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej collectively pour into the Indus, and give the country its name, Punjab, meaning the land of five waters. It was a “land of remarkable extremities.”⁸⁶Frequently a corridor of invasion, a way to the rich plains and imperial cities of the Gangetic Plain, Punjab experienced repeated waves of conquerors, would-be conquerors, and migrants.⁸⁷

Regarding the social group or class and the colonization in Punjab, Brian P. Caton had said that in Punjab, British administrators developed categories in order to exercise greater control over Punjab. Even though, the Orientalists and British administrators by 1858 had thought of Indian society as basically religious, members of the Punjab Commission believed that Panjabis were evidently different from the rest of India on religious issues. And the quote mentioned at the beginning of this section by Richard Temple provides us with a fairly clearer picture about the social structure existing in Punjab. Temple had claimed that the Punjabis were not as problematic & prejudiced about caste and religion as Hindustanis. Moreover, by the end of the nineteenth century many British officials had concluded that caste, as marked in documents or by Brahmans from Gangetic India, did not exist in Punjab. However, some officials continued to use the term caste in government and ethnographic texts, most notably Denzil Ibbetson in his 1881 report on the Punjab Census. It was admitted that the differences among the bureaucrats appeared as the social and political conditions in which caste emerged was different across regions and within regions.⁸⁸Consequently, the picture regarding the social categories in the province is brought about. It gets revealed that various class, caste, community people constituted the population of Punjab. Our further discussion would deliver a more comprehensible representation of the vital data about the same. The subsequent discovery of facts and statistics of scholars as per community and profession wise provides a broader view of the teachers and their social status.

The religious division of the people of the Punjab had been elaborately made in the Census of 1881. The above table clearly brings out the picture of the various such categories in the province of Punjab.

⁸⁶Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh tradition*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 39-40.

⁸⁷Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab*, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1976), p. 1.

⁸⁸Brian P. Caton, *Social categories*, p. 34.

Table 4.16 According to the census of 1881 the population in British territory, classified according to religion.

Muhammadans	10,525, 150
Hindus	7,130,528
Sikhs	1,121,004
Buddhists and Jains	38, 690
Christians	33,420
Others	1,645

Source: Report the Panjab Provincial Committee; with Evidences taken before the Committee, and Memorials addressed to the Education Commission, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government of Printing, 1884), p. 31.

The number of the Mohammedan population was the highest followed by the Hindus. The Sikhs' population comprised a low ratio in the entire population. As we move forward and find out the percentage of each caste and creed in the training schools, we will get to know that all the communities registered a rise in their number of scholars. It is surprisingly the Sikh community that made headway in the number of scholars in the different training schools.

The Province was witnessing a gradual rise in the participation of educational efforts, to be taught and to teach as well. Almost all the communities were forthcoming and participating in the genuine cause of learning and teaching. We have with us some statistics, for selected years, providing us with significant information on the caste, creed, and religion of the teachers. In the preceding Chapters 2 and 3 we had comprehensive discussion about the training schools for the education of student-teacher, given below is a compact picture of the social division of them in the various training schools, Normal schools and the Central Training College, across Punjab.

Table 4.17 Numbers of the senior teachers under training at the Central Training College, community-wise in 1932-33.

Class	Hindus		Muslims		Sikhs		Christians		Others		Total	
	1932	1933	1932	1933	1932	1933	1932	1933	1932	1933	1932	1933
B. T	24	18*	19	17	8	10	4	7	...	1	55	53
SAV	42	32	35	31	15	14	2	4	...	...	94	81
Total	66	50	54	48	23	24	6	11	...	1	149	134
Lady students	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	10
*including two Jains												

Source: Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1932-33, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1934), pp. 42-43.

The numbers show a small decrease for 1932-33 as compared with the previous years. An attempt had been made in the past to admit students of all communities and to keep the proportion as near as possible, i.e., 40 per cent Muslims, 40 per cent Hindus and 20 per cent

Sikhs and others (excluding lady students). The proportion was sufficient to enable reasonably good choice to be made from all communities.⁸⁹ Also a notable figure in the above table is that of rise in the number of women students from 7 to 10. This proves that women too were forthcoming for teacher training.

Table 4.18 Distribution of the teacher students according to communities & professions.

DIVISION	UNIT	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs	Christians	Others	Agriculturists	Non-Agriculturists
Lahore Division	Senior Vernacular	41	26	15	3	...	41	44
	Junior Vernacular	33	5	8	...	2	41	7
Jullundur Division	Junior Vernacular	93	56	18	29	5	135	66
	Senior Vernacular	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rawalpindi Division	Senior Vernacular	36	6	3	...	...	33	12
	Junior Vernacular	43	4	3	...	...	42	8
Total	Senior Vernacular	77	32	18	3	...	74	56
	Junior Vernacular	169	65	29	29	7	218	81
Grand total		246	97	47	32	7	292	137

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1932-33*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1934), p. 48.

Number of Muslim students in the higher education appears to be a cordial feature followed by Hindus and Sikhs that speaks volumes about the intent of the people of various communities to get trained. Another notable feature was that of the participation of Agriculturists class in the training.

Table 4.19 Number of the senior students under training at the Central Training College, community-wise, in 1933-34.

Class	Hindus		Muslims		Sikhs		Christians		Others		Total	
	1933	1934	1933	1934	1933	1934	1933	1934	1933	1934	1933	1934
B. T.	*18	29	17	28	10	10	7	1	1	..	53	68
S. A. V.	32	*32	31	29	14	16	4	2	...	...	81	79
Total	50	61	48	57	24	26	11	3	1	...	134	147

*Includes one Jain

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1933-34*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1935), p. 63.

⁸⁹*Report for the year 1932-33*, pp. 42-43.

The number shows a slight increase over the previous year and the demand for admission was as strong in former years. A remarkable feature among the applicants was the high standard of academic qualification and this, noticeably improved in later years especially among the Muslim candidates. There was no difficulty in choosing a well-qualified Muslim quota of 40 per cent. Competition among the Hindus was keener than ever. The communal proportion was strictly adhered to in making admissions. No less than 15 students were sent for training by foreign administrations and Punjab States.⁹⁰

Table 4.20 The Statement of distribution of number of students community-wise, 1933-34.

Serial no.	Name of Institutions	Number of students under training					
		Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs	Christians	Others	Total
1.	Government Normal School, Gakhar						
	Senior Vernacular	54	18	14	...	...	86
	Junior Vernacular	30	11	5	3	1	50
2.	Government Normal School, Jullundur						
	Senior Vernacular	28	45	13	2	4	92
	Junior Vernacular	22	22	11	...	4	59
3.	Government Normal School, Lalamusa						
	Senior Vernacular	71	11	6	...	...	88
	Junior Vernacular	54	6	1	...	...	61
4.	Mission Training School, Moga.	5	3	3	21	...	32
5.	Teachers training class attached to Khalsa College, Amritsar.	...	...	50	...	...	50
	Total	264	116	103	26	9	518*

*Includes 372 Agriculturists

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1933-34*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1935), p. 71.

Table 4.21 The number of students under training community-wise for the year 1934-35, in the Central Training College.

	Hindus		Muslims		Sikhs		Christians		Total	
	1934	1935	1934	1935	1934	1935	1934	1935	1934	1935
B. T.	29	25*	28	26	10	10	1	2	68	63
S.A.V	32*	29*	29	26	16	13	2	...	79	68
Total	61	54	57	52	26	23	3	2	147	131

*includes one Jain

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1934-35*, (Punjab: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1936), p. 54.

The Principal in his report commented on the high academic qualifications of many who applied for admissions. In this connection, he remarked that perhaps it was for the first time

⁹⁰ *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1933-34*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1935), p. 63.

since the introduction by government of admission on a communal basis that the percentage of the Muslim candidates could have been attained by academic qualifications only.⁹¹

Subsequently we come across the race and creed of scholars under training in the various training institutions.

Table 4.22 Race and creed of the scholars under training in Normal schools in 1934-35.

Year	Hindus	Muhammadans	Sikhs	Christians	Others	Total
1933-34	116	264	103	26	9	518
1934-35	130	283	101	33	8	555
Increase or Decrease	+14	+19	-2	+7	-1	+37

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1934-35*, (Punjab: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1936), p. 60.

J.A.V. teachers' training for male teachers was discontinued three years ago, though such training was still being provided for women graduates at the Lady Maclagan School and the Kinnaird College in 1935-36. Even this was to end soon, as an increasing number of women graduates applied every year for admission to the B.T. Class at the Lady Maclagan Training College affiliated to the Punjab University. This college offered opportunities to purdah graduates who never sought admission to the Central Training College. Thus, the institution was serving a real need.⁹²

Table 4.23 Number of the students under training community-wise, at the Lady Maclagan Training College, 1935-36.

Class	Hindus		Muslims		Sikhs		Christians		Others		Total	
	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936
B. T	8	16	9	11	5	5	10	6	....	....	32	38
J.A. V	20	20	21	17	6	7	3	3	...	...	50	47

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 47.

The number of students of different race and creed under training in the Central Training College is as follows.

⁹¹ *Report for the year 1934-35*, p. 54.

⁹² *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 47.

Table 4.24 Number of the students under training in the Central Training College in 1935-36.

Class	Hindus		Muslims		Sikhs		Christians		Others		Total	
	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936	1935	1936
B. T	24	21	26	18	10	8	2	3	*1	...	63	50
S. A. V	28	34	26	36	13	16	...	1	*1	*2	68	89
*Jains												

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), pp. 47-48.

The number of admissions was slightly larger than that of previous year. In making admissions due regard was paid to the interests of the various communities and the agricultural classes. The Principal reports, that there was no difficulty in making a suitable selection from each community. It was noted with gratification that highly qualified candidates, who in former years would have joined other professions and services, applied for admissions.⁹³

Table 4.25 Race and creed of the scholars under training in the Normal schools, 1935-36.

	Hindus		Muhammadans	Sikhs	Christians	Others	Total
	Higher caste	Depressed class					
1934-35	123	7	283	101	33	8	555
1935-36	103	3	276	66	34	4	486
Increase or Decrease	-20	-4	-7	-35	+1	-4	-69

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1935-36*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), pp. 53-54.

Table 4.26 Race and creed of the scholars under training in the Normal schools during the quinquennium ending 1936-37.

Year	Hindus		Muslims	Sikhs	Christians	Others	Total
	High Caste	Depressed classes					
1931-32	513	49	872	262	44	2	1,742
1935-36	103	3	276	66	34	4	486
1936-37	106	5	245	70	24	6	456
Increase or Decrease in 1936-37 as compared with 1935-36	+3	+2	-31	+4	-10	+2	-30

Source: *Report on the Progress of education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1937), p. 69.

⁹³Report for the year 1935-36, pp. 47-48.

Table 4.27 The classification of the students by race and creed in 1937-38.

Class	Hindus		Muslims		Sikhs		Others	
	1937	1938	1937	1938	1937	1938	1937	1938
B. T	23	19	24	18	9	7	1	4
S.V	33	*29	32	26	15	10	1	2
Total	56	48	56	44	24	17	2	6

*includes two students of depressed classes.

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1937-38*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Press, 1939), pp.71-72.

Services for the training of vernacular teachers, in 1941-42, were divided between the government Normal schools (4) and the training units attached to privately managed secondary schools (4). The total number of pupil-teachers under training in the 8 schools (including 2 women teachers in the Moga Mission School) was 823-an increase of 8 over previous year's figures and of 350 over the figures of 1936-37-512 in government Normal schools and 311 in privately managed ones.⁹⁴

Table 4.28 Community-wise enrolment of the students, in the training schools in 1941-42.

Hindus	279
Muslims	375
Sikhs	83
Christians	64
Special Classes	22

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1943), p. 29.

Table 4.29 Number of the teachers under training, in 1943-44 community-wise in the Normal schools.

Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Christians	Others	Total
253	379	27	23	10	692

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1943-44*, Punjab, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1945), pp. 12-13.

Table 4.30 Community-wise number of the teachers under training, in the various Normal schools in 1944-45.

Hindus	305
Muslims	483
Sikhs	48
Christians	18
Others	10
Total	864

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab in 1944-45*, Punjab, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1946), pp.11-12.

⁹⁴*Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1943), p. 29.

It is worth mentioning here noteworthy information that post subjugation, since 1849 and till 1919; Sikhs had travelled a long road. And surprisingly by 1919 their literacy per capita and their rate of population growth were the highest in Punjab.⁹⁵ Also the various above statistics present to us a wider picture of their admission into the training institutions which confirm the above statement.

The necessity of education of a teacher in the introduction of the chapter clearly brought about as to why the education or training of a teacher is imperative for an educational system? Or rather how does an educated-trained teacher influence the education process of a student? It became evident that schools would be unable to produce effective results unless they have properly trained teachers. The situation of Teacher Education was not satisfactory in the province. One of the main worries was the indifference of qualified persons to the profession of teaching as the prospects were not bright and the teacher had lost the respect in society which they enjoyed in the past. People joined the profession not because they liked teaching but because as a last resort after they had failed to secure any other employment. It was not uncommon to discover men leaving the training institutions without second thoughts as soon as they found other positions. Therefore, many measures were undertaken for the promotion of Teacher Education resulting in training institutions for the training of primary and secondary teachers. With regard, to the character of supposed training schools not only in Punjab but all over India there were different systems prevailing. Most of them symbolized the Normal school established by government for the better education and training of vernacular schoolmasters.

The training institution that is Normal school and Training College for teachers of primary and secondary schools respectively has been discussed about in detail in the first two chapters. For the training in the science and practice of teaching of English teachers for all classes of A.V. schools and of Vernacular teachers for Secondary school there existed a training institution for masters, Central Training College at Lahore; and a Normal school at the headquarter of each Circle, for the training of Vernacular teachers for primary schools. Various integral characteristics of the training institutes have been brought out in detail, such as the classes, subjects, duration of the courses, the stipends provided and much more.

⁹⁵N. Gerald Barrier, *The Sikhs and their Literature: A guide to tracts, books and Periodicals, 1849-1919*, (New Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1970), p. xlv.

The entire discourse finally leads us to the fact that teachers were gradually being highly spoken of. Sadly, though the number of untrained teachers was large, however, the high number of trained teachers was the silver lining. The chapter has taken into account the teachers and teaching, pupil-teacher education, the women teachers. The unsatisfactory condition of teachers has been talked about. Such strong was the need, of hour, for teachers that they were asked to grow and move beyond their grades of salary and focus on teaching. Rewards were also forthcoming to the teachers for their exceptional work and especially to the women teachers. Not only were they being decorated with rewards for their outstanding work, they were being provided with their due in form of promotions, allowances and pensions. The brief summary on the race, creed and community that teachers belonged to tells us that teachers from different community were recording their presence and details of trained and untrained teachers provides us with a picture that the rise in trained teachers was a clear sign of Teacher Education making its presence felt, slowly yet steadily. This has been substantiated by the extensive archival facts and figures in the last two Chapters. This specific Chapter makes an attempt to study the teacher and various significant issues related to their employment. Introduction has already set the stage for this topic to be dealt with elaborately.

Chapter 5

Educating Women in Punjab

The Government ought to give to native female education in India its frank and cordial support.¹

I grieve that women are not now educated in Hindustan. In former times women of rank were educated.²

The above first quote is from the Wood's Despatch of 1854. The Despatch mentioned for the first time ever, the plan of the British government, that the women education in India cannot be overrated and the government should give its free and cordial support to the native women education. Wood had expressed strong consideration with the efforts which were being made in the direction of women education.

At the Education Durbar held at Lahore, in 1863, (the third anniversary of the public distribution of prizes to meritorious scholars belonging to government educational institutions, which was held at Lahore) the Lieutenant-Governor Robert Montgomery while calling on the native chiefs said that he wished them to aid him in the matter of great interest for all, i.e., the introduction and expansion of the women education. In his address, he stated that man and women were equal in understanding and in Europe both men and women were educated. He grieved over the fact that women were not being educated in India as they were in former times and stressed that what day it would be when the natives of the Province would begin to educate their daughters. The above second remark holds immense significance, in the context of education of women, in India and especially in Punjab, as it establishes that women were being educated much before the arrival of the British in India and annexation of Punjab in 1849 by the British. However, the conquest of Punjab changed the entire scenario. Several reasons that can be held responsible for the decline of women education will get revealed in this chapter.

Women Education in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India and Punjab

Women education was a challenging issue that had to overcome many blocks before it could be brought on a sound level. Not only were there imminent complications from all sections of society but women themselves were too ignorant and against education.

¹*The Despatch of 1854, on "General Education in India"*, reprinted by the General Council on Education in India, (London: Adam Street Strand, n. d), p. 35.

²The Educational Durbar held at Lahore, *The Educational Durbar, Lahore*, File No. 5, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 7. (Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, Robert Montgomery at the Educational Darbar held in 1863)

William Adam in his report on vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar had strongly pointed out that a feeling apparently existed in the Hindu women and supported by the men that a girl taught to read and write would become a widow sooner after marriage. This discrimination existed in almost all parts of India.

Furthermore, girls were allowed to read only the scriptures and hence such only a meagre education was imparted to them. As children, girls might study the Quran along with their brothers from an elderly male tutor, but when the girls grew older, ustandis (instructresses) had to come to the house to teach them, and these women had a limited repertory of literary skills. Many girls received no education beyond remembrance of a few passages from Quran. The girls stayed at home and learned cooking, sewing and looked after the younger children. In this way, daughters learned what they most needed to know for their future roles as wives and mothers. The common understanding regarded literary education as superfluous for girls. For a woman to know how to write could be dangerous. It was believed that if the women had power over the written word, their capacity to disrupt men's lives would be increased. The *Qabus Nama*, a classic of Persian teaching prose from the eleventh century, advocated not teaching women to read and write, as it was associated to misfortune.³

Moreover, there were certain inherent problems unique to women's education such as poverty, early marriage of girls and purdah. Given the level of poverty, people were keen only on educating boys. People preferred to spend whatever little they had on sons. Consequently, the ratio was not satisfactory. Early marriage of girls either ruined the health of girls or they became child widows. Religion and superstition prevented them from studying, and purdah, which was observed more rigorously in India than in Muslim countries.⁴The consequences of girls being brought up in purdah was an issue that was voiced against by one and all. Lala Lajpat Rai too, in his work, had agreed that boys brought up in isolation, and girls brought up in purdah, made poor men and women.⁵Mary Billington commenting on the state of Indian women had said that in their inner life and thought, only

³Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reforms in Colonial India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 23-24. (Purdah is a religious and social practice of women's seclusion which is prevalent among some Muslim and Hindu communities which requires women to cover their body. It restricted women's mobility and acted as deterrent in her progress or accession to education and also social life. The women practicing purdah is referred to as pardahnashin.)

⁴Aparna Basu and Bharati Ray, *Women's Struggle: A History of the All India Women's Conference, 1927-2002*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2003), pp. 32-33.

⁵Lajpat Rai, *The Problem of National Education in India*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1920), p. 51.

the most superficial knowledge existed. Very few of English women who went to the East had cared or tried to break through the uncertainties that lay beyond the purdah.⁶ There were many preconceived notions that existed against women's education. The women were not allowed to be educated as many Indians held the belief that education made woman unfit for family life.⁷

Indian women had her life dominated by several opinions which had a strong influence in almost all the actions she planned, since this was the way, she had been brought up and a certain place and part in life had been assigned to them, and she had been raised and disciplined with that in mind. Before deciding on any course of action she had to check with the wishes and prejudices of family, and her own needs were time and again hindered by their disagreement. In India, the education which was deemed proper for girls was exceedingly limited in scope and object.⁸

To such and many other objections to women's learning, another stronger element of difficulty to be overcome before learning was practically sought for girls was the fact that Indian women possessed no practical encouragement then to pursue book learning. The Indian woman was taught that marriage was her mission in life and the woman who failed to marry was considered an unworthy example to her sex. She hardly ventured out into the professions better filled by men. It was not advisable of the true Hindu and Mohammedan woman to want to be independent of man, and education, therefore, was reduced to the level of least importance.⁹ This idea held back the growth of women education. If by any chance the girls got the chance to go to school, for the great majority of women, education, in the sense of schooling, ended at the time of marriage—that was about eleven or twelve years—so that even when women were expressed in a census as literate, it hardly ever meant more than an ability to read and write a simple letter. Nevertheless, in a twist of irony, gradually the pressure of the necessity of early marriage acted as an encouragement to girls' education, since educated families demanded some degree of literacy in the future wives of their sons.

⁶Mary F. Billington, *Woman in India*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1895), p. xvi. (Mary Billington was the member of the staff of the Newspaper *Daily Graphic*)

⁷Margaret M. Urquhart, *Women of Bengal: A Study of the Hindu Pardanasins of Calcutta*, (Calcutta: Association Press, Y.M.C.A, 1925), p. 48.

⁸Ibid, p. 63.

⁹Billington, *Woman in India*, p. 22.

Almost every mother who could find the means sent her daughter, during her childhood, to school.¹⁰

In spite of the huge obstacles which it had to confront; the educational movement was undoubtedly making way among the women. The chief factor which was likely to break down the wall of distrust and objection was without a second thought the much higher standard of education, which has been slowly raised among men during the past quarter of a century or so.¹¹

As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, it is amply clear that in the early nineteenth century, women occupied somewhat a low status in the Indian society due to customs such as sati, child marriage and polygamy. Denied education, career, and social, economic and political rights, she was completely limited to the four walls of the house. It is seen that generally it was the high caste and class people who were against their women going out for education. Anshu Malhotra has contended that, it was the high castes and classes who committed female infanticide, and who kept their women secluded in zenana.¹² Women in the lower step of society enjoyed greater freedom, not because their people were more liberal or permissive, but because economic conditions did not allow them to remain indoors. Women from the middle and upper classes faced greater social constraints upon the personal freedom. The process of their learning to act in the way that was acceptable to society was so strong that they seemed resigned to this state of affairs and accepted their destiny. Their generally inferior status, enforced seclusion, early marriage and lack of education were facts well-documented by reformers throughout the country and they started resorting to legislation to tackle them. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's mobilization of Hindu reformist opinion against sati made it possible for Lord William Bentinck to pass a law banning it in 1829. Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar took up the cause of widows which led to the passing of the Widow Remarriage Act 1856. The issue of child marriage was taken up by a number of reformers. The Age of Consent of Marriage Act was passed in 1891.¹³

Hence, education was considered the most important means of improving the status of women. Christian missionaries were pioneers in this field and they set-up several schools.

¹⁰Urquhart, *Women of Bengal*, pp. 72-74.

¹¹Billington, *Woman in India*, p. 23.

¹²Anshu Malhotra, *Gender Caste, and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab*, (New Delhi: Oxford press, New Delhi, 2002), p. 201.

¹³Basu and Ray, *Women's Struggle*, pp. 17-18.

Robert May opened the first girls' school in Chinsura in Bengal in 1817. Vidyasagar set up schools for girls in Bengal; Jyotiba Phule in Poona, the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in Bombay and the Arya Samaj in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. The first secular school was started by John Drinkwater Bethune, the law member of the Governor-General's Council, in Calcutta in 1848. Later, similar schools were established in Bombay and Madras and other cities.¹⁴

In 1851, for instance, a prize essay on Hindu female education collected evidence that women's education was encouraged in ancient India and it was positively beneficial for women to be educated. Women from respectable families could learn to read and write without any harm to their caste or their honour. In 1870, however, a tract on the duties of wives was declaring that the old prejudices about women's education had almost disappeared and the time were such when people believed that by educating women the condition of the country would improve.¹⁵

Official support for women education in India was unheard of before Dalhousie though Elphinstone shared Dalhousie's belief that the transmission of knowledge among men and women would bring to an end, many of the social evils which degraded the condition of women in India. The Mohammedans shared all the prejudices of the Hindus against education of their women. Hence, it was believed that any plan for women education might not be acceptable to the people, whether Hindus or Mohammedans. This was most likely due to the infamous belief of strict purity, seclusion and domestic duty for women. The government therefore deliberately refrained from acting towards women subjects as it acted towards men in the field of education. This is apparently the fact that none of the general despatches relating to educational matters during the first half of the century mentioned any suggestions to the education of Indian women.

Under this state of affairs regarding the women education, where it was believed that the natives would rise against any attempt to bring their women folk to the influence of public instruction, the few institutions for women education that existed in the first three decades of

¹⁴Basu and Ray, *Women's Struggle*, p. 18.

¹⁵Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 124. (Prize Essay on Native Female Education- in January 1849, a prize of Rs.100/- was proposed by John Anderson for the best English essay on the importance of native female education, the best practical means of removing them and of elevating the native female by her rightful position as a social and immortal being both in regard to time and eternity.)

the nineteenth century were established with the hard work of a few missionaries and benevolent private individuals. In 1821, Miss Cooke (later Mrs Wilson) was deputed by the British and the Foreign School Society to open a school for girl children at Calcutta. In 1826, she had 30 schools and 600 pupils under her charge, and these were combined in 1828 into a central school under a committee called the Ladies Society for Native Female Education. It was Dalhousie, who by supporting J.E.D. Bethune's woman school in Calcutta, closed the era of official non-interference, and marked the commencement of that of open support in "the annals of female education in India."¹⁶ Officially, however, it was the Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 that first talked about the women education.

Moving over to the women education scenario in Punjab, in nineteenth century, two distinct historical periods may be distinguished, namely the medieval rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the beginning of colonialism under the British. Punjab was mainly an agricultural state, with 91 per cent of its population living in rural areas. The people in the region were classified as Hindus and Muslims, while the Sikhs were included, in the category of Hindus, in the census of 1855. Hindus constituted 54 per cent and the Muslims 46 per cent of the total population of the state. Amritsar, Lahore and Multan were the main trade centres. The literacy rate was low and women education was almost unknown. The control of Punjab by British resulted in the decline of overall education and significant changes took place in Punjabi society. The Census of 1901 showed that the ratio of literate women and men was 3 per cent and 6.4 respectively.¹⁷

Following the sovereignty over Punjab, the indigenous education system suffered wide spread neglect. There are evidences that colonial rule resulted in a deterioration of women's situation, of which, one symptom was the decline of education for women, as part of the general decline of indigenous education. G. W. Leitner observed that a large number of women in princely states were found to be literate at the time of domination.¹⁸ As stated above, only a few institutions for women education existed owing to the efforts of missionaries and private individuals. Other similar schools had been established by the London and the Church Missionary Society but the state of women education was not very encouraging except in Punjab. Time and again several evidences have proved that women

¹⁶Ghosh, *The History of Education*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷Gurpreet Bal, "A 19th-century Woman Poet of Punjab: Peero," *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 10:2 (2003): pp. 183-184.

¹⁸Madhu Kishwar, "Arya Samaj and Women's Education, Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar," *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 21 No.17, (Apr. 26, 1986): p. WS 9.

education which was almost unknown in other parts of India was to be found in all parts of Punjab. There were also women teachers and women scholars (pupils) who were drawn from all the communities-Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. Various reports prove that Punjab formed no exception to the respect India held for learning. Even though pulled apart by invasion and civil war, it preserved and added to educational donations. Punjab was a place where women education was generally heard of and education among Punjabi women of the higher castes of Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs was not so unusual. Leitner had held the women education, in the province, in high esteem and said that "Indigenous female education in the Panjab requires less development than revival."¹⁹The E.C. Report 1882, also stated that in Punjab girls may be seen seated in groups around some esteemed Sikh priest, learning to read and recite the general scriptures or Granth. Also, the Brahmin teacher of Hindu families did not restrict his teaching to the sons alone.²⁰

It was also noted that prior to the colonial supremacy of the province, it was the American Presbyterian Mission that set up at Ludhiana its first elementary school for women in 1836. It was noted that the Punjab administration supported these efforts to the extent that they closed one of their own schools and donated the building at Rawalpindi to the missionary effort.²¹

However, after the control of the province and the organisation of the education department, there appeared some practical difficulties in the way of extending the opportunities of education to girls. Social handicaps such as sati, child marriage, ban on widow remarriage and purdah prevented women from being educated.²² These popular biases of social conservatism were dominant and influenced the efforts of the government. The authorities could not, therefore, direct their attention to the subject until many years after they had adopted a definite measure for the education of boys. When the Department of Public Instruction was first organized, it was proposed to let the question of women schools stand over till the ordinary establishments were well set on foot but the accounts which reached from the N.W.P. of the sudden disappearance of the great difficulties in the way of such schools and the establishment of a large number of women schools struck all. The first

¹⁹Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, p. 97.

²⁰*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 522.

²¹Doris Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity*, (New Delhi: Oxford University, 2003), p. 129.

²²Ratna Ghosh and Mathew Zacahriah, eds, *Education and the Process of Change*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1987), p. 12. (Sati-the ritual suicide performed by a widow on her husband's funeral pyre, Purdah-literally: veil; refers to a group of traditions that keep women segregated from certain social interactions)

women school in Punjab was opened at Rawalpindi under the auspices of Mr Browne, Inspector of Schools in December, 1856. By the close of the year 17 (women schools) had been established, and the total number of girls attending them was 306, or 18 per school. Of the whole number 296 were Mohammedans and only 10 Hindus.²³

The conquest of Punjab province and the substitution of Persian for Urdu was also looked upon as limitation of education and led to its disuse as the spoken and written language of gentlemen. It was observed that the introduction of Urdu as the medium of instruction led to the decline of overall education and women education especially.

In addition, the key deterrent for women's education was the unavailability of women teachers. The chances to acquire something like an adequate supply of trained teachers were dismal. Several efforts tried in different provinces had relatively ended in failure. A feeling existed in many parts of India against the employment of men as teachers and inspectors in girls' schools. The majority of girls' schools were conducted by male teachers. Only elderly men were considered suitable for the work, and any endeavour at extension of women education by means of young male teachers, would be opposed to the sentiments of the people. Therefore, the staff of the girls' schools had to be mainly engaged from superannuated schoolmasters, many of whom had lost their powers of work. Hence only native women, who could be induced to regard teaching as a profession in life, seemed to be native Christians; the wives of schoolmasters in certain provinces; and under certain conditions widows were acceptable as teachers.²⁴

Furthermore, one of the difficulties in the spread of woman education was the absence of the encouragement of rewards. If the advantages of the intellectual training women had been set before the parents exactly in the same material form as in the case of education of boys the biases against women instruction would most likely become extinct. The system of child-marriage removed a huge number of girls from school at an early age, and prevented them from completing their education. Moreover, it cut the supply of women teachers, because teachers belonging to the classes in which the system, of withdrawing the girl child early from school, did not prevail were time and again disapproved on the basis of both caste and religion. As a result, men were working as teachers in most of the schools and this prompted

²³Richey, *Selections from Educational Records, Part II*, p. 299.

²⁴*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 538.

parents to remove their girl child earlier than they might do if women teachers only were employed. Another obstacle in getting parents to educate their girls was they thought that the girls were too useful in the house, and would forget and hate ordinary household duties if they would learn how to read and write. Nevertheless, there were indications that the prejudices against women education were gradually disappearing; in Punjab cases were mentioned of bodies of young men determining to marry none but educated girls, and in one or two cases grown-up girls of good caste had been found out at school without any appearance of the purdah system.²⁵

Gradually, the need of women education was supported by the intellectuals and reformers. In the nineteenth century, male reformers sought to improve the position of women. Reformers had supported women education, but only if women teachers could gain access to the zenana. Evidently, it was strongly admitted that women would have to be involved in changing women's approach.²⁶ Furthermore, speaking about the reformers and reform movements, it is noteworthy that the modernizing reform movements in colonial Punjab, mainly, the Arya Samaj among the Hindus and the Singh Sabhas among the Sikhs, were the first to take up the challenge of education of their women. This period also saw other movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Dev Samaj, and the Sanatan Dharm emerging and contributing towards the reform efforts. Apparently, the amount of interest shown by the missionaries in this field called for people's awakening which ultimately resulted in the rise of reform movements among the Punjabis most notably, the Arya Samaj among the Hindus and the Singh Sabhas among the Sikhs and the Anjumans and, to a limited extent, Ahmadiyahs among the Punjabi Muslims. Education was seen as an important means by which the agenda of reform was to be initiated. The educational initiatives of the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabha movements contributed in the successful establishment of two prominent institutions for girls' education- Kanya Maha Vidyalaya (K.M.V.) at Jalandhar and Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya (S.K.M.) at Ferozpur. Besides founding schools and colleges for boys as well as girls, the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabha set up their own printing presses to produce educational textbooks as well as literature like books, newspapers, magazines and tracts. The two such prominent journals being the *Panchal Pandita* and the *Panjabi Bhain* published by the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya at Jalandhar and the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Ferozpur respectively. *Panchal*

²⁵Nash, *Progress of Education in India*, p.277.

²⁶Geraldine Forbes, "From Purdah to Politics: the Social Feminism of All-India Organizations," in *Separate Worlds-Studies of Purdah in South Asia*, ed. H. Papanek and G. Minault, (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1982), p. 221.

Pandita was launched in November 1897 by Lala Devraj's (Founder of K.M.V.) efforts. Each issue of the journal contained moral notes, wise sayings, editor's message, and news from different parts of India and abroad, in addition to stories, poems, character sketches, articles and essays. Devraj highlighted the difficulties in the way of women's education, namely lack of general support, shortage of finances, books, infrastructure, and good teachers; unwillingness of parents; and the ignorance and indifference of the women themselves. At the same time, the *Punjabi Bhain* was a monthly periodical published by the S.K.M. from 1907 onwards. Although owned and published by Ferozpur Singh Sabha, Bhai Takht Singh (Founder of S.K.M.) took its overall responsibility and schoolmaster Vir Singh was its editor in the initial years. Many regular appeals were made by the writers through the columns of *Punjabi Bhain* to promote the cause of women's education.²⁷ It was noted that several government schools included *Panchal Pandita* in their curriculum in addition to the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya texts. Both these institutions came to be regarded as pioneers in education for women in Punjab, and the literature published by them helped in circulate their message into Indian households and generated an awakening in young minds.

Consequently, the magnitude of the significance of the availability of women teachers for women education was being expressed by all. This call of the hour for women teachers was expressed by Mary Carpenter who had embarked on a six-month high-profile tour of India in 1866. She drew attention to the importance of women teacher training for women education.

Significance of Women Teachers-Mary Carpenter on Women Education in India

Before she left England, Mary Carpenter was fully aware of the little progress which had been made in the education of the women of the country, and the difficulties which stood in its way. Miss Carpenter assigned to the universal want of women teachers as to be the grand obstacle to the improvement of women schools and to the extension of them. She admitted that the condition of women education in India could be improved only by the introduction of women teachers, and these could be supplied only by the establishment of women Normal training schools. She admitted that the difficulties to be encountered in establishing a training school for women teachers were much greater than those attending male normal training schools. One impediment being the ignorance of the Hindu women of a suitable age and the

²⁷Mini Sandhu, "Comparative Analysis of the *Panchal Pandita* and the *Punjabi Bhain* from a Gender Perspective," *Journal of Punjab Studies* Vol. 20, No. 1&2, (2013): pp. 79-87.

difficulty of finding women, except widows, who would be able and willing to train as teachers. Miss Carpenter had found both in Gujarat and in the presidency towns' women schools already established and working fairly. However, she perceived that the major defect in these schools was the entire absence of women teachers.²⁸

Punjab formed no exception to the vital importance attached to the women teachers. As Jakobsh puts forward the status of the women education in Punjab she, too, mentioned that the dearth of teachers continued to be one of the pressing issues facing the girls' schools. By 1908, the call for teachers filled almost every edition of the *Khalsa Advocate*. The lack of women teachers threatened the successful continuation of girls' education. Ultimately, however, despite these varied attempts at rectifying the desperate need for women teachers, obstacles remained firmly in place. Malcolm Darling addressing the lack of teachers, as late as, in 1934 had written that most of the available teachers were from towns and in most cases, it was of no use to send an urban teacher to live and work in the village because her spirit would not be in her work, her teaching would have an urban prejudice and she would be treated as an unknown. Still, if an adequate number of qualified village teachers could be found, there remained the huge difficulty of their accommodation and protection under conditions which no way allowed for women living alone.²⁹

Besides the social prejudices and several other great obstacles, the most important hurdle faced by the women education was the want of women teachers in Punjab. In the absence, of the women teachers, the women education of the province was not witnessing promising progress. Therefore, one of the major answers for overcoming these shortcomings in women education was having the schoolmasters' wives as teachers in the women schools.

Procurement of Schoolmasters' Wives and Employment of Widows as Teachers

One of the great obstacles in women education was the availability of women teachers. As a response to this shortage, it was felt that schoolmasters' wives can be procured as teachers. Hence, steps were taken to encourage the schoolmasters to educate their wives. It was also found that many of the young schoolmasters of parts of India did not object to their wives

²⁸ Miss Mary Carpenter on Female Education, No.9, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June 1867*, p. 609. (From Miss Mary Carpenter, to the Governor General of India in Council, 12th December 1866)

²⁹ Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender*, pp. 156-157.

engaging in school work. To great relief, it was found on enquiry that in considerable number of cases in Punjab the wives of teachers had opened private school for girls. Therefore, it was preferred to promote this practice.³⁰ The scenario in the United Provinces just a few years later also speaks regarding the teaching of the wives of the schoolmasters. Regarding the scheme of encouraging village school teachers to teach their wives, it was the general opinion that the vast majority of them would not, in spite of the inducements proposed to be offered to them, allow their wives to serve as mistresses. In order to increase the chances of success it was suggested that close women relations, especially widows, under the care of teachers not be excluded from the scheme; and that inspections and examinations be conducted exclusively by ladies; and that successful candidates be appointed at places where their husbands or close relations are employed. These suggestions appeared to be sound. Seeing that the chances of either wives or widows being ultimately allowed by the male members of the family to take up teaching as a profession was small; the award of scholarship examination and for passing the matriculation examination was proposed. The object of the scholarships and rewards was to obtain recruits for the teaching profession from among purdanashin women, i.e., among Mohammedans and Hindus for employment in non-Christian schools. There was no obstacle in the way of Christian girls receiving education at school.³¹ The experiment of having schoolmaster's wives as teachers succeeded and they were considered to be a hopeful source of supply for women teachers.

Another way, out of this trouble, was to procure widows as teachers for the women schools. The E.C. stated that the suggestions had been made with regard to the more extended employment of native widows as teachers. It also reiterates the fact that if lot of Hindu widows could be induced to take up teaching profession, one of the major difficulties of women education would be solved. This would in turn open an independent and interesting career to a large class of women. Of the total number of 21 million widows in India 1½ million were below 24 years of age, and were therefore within the period of life when they might be successfully trained as teachers, if they could be persuaded to adopt that profession.³²

³⁰School Masters' Wives as teachers, Pros. No. 27, No. 70 S, Views of the Punjab Government on the question of Female Education, 31st July 1902, Proceedings for July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1902*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1902), p. 2.

³¹Scheme for encouraging school masters to encourage their wives for teacherships, *Notes and Orders*, File No.332A/22, Serial No.1, Education Department, pp.1-2.

³²*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, pp. 539-540.

Indu Banga, too, puts it strongly that all efforts to open girls' schools collided with an almost total lack of teachers. Since women were uneducated, they could not teach, and given the social taboos of Hindu society, men could not teach young girls. The Kanya Mahavidyalaya became a source for new teachers who graduated and then began their own schools. Thus, a respectable profession for women, perhaps the only such profession in Punjab during the nineteenth century, grew out of the movement for women's education. A majority of those studying to be teachers were widows, women who remained longer in school and who were free to accept a career. By the end of the nineteenth century, the education of young women was beginning to move to the educated classes of Punjabi Hindus; it had also established a new women role that of a teacher and this career provided a few widows with dignified positions in Hindu society.³³

Nevertheless, a vital piece of information regarding women teachers elsewhere in India needs to be disclosed here. It is related to the establishment of Normal school for women in Dacca. The want of women teachers was preventing the spread of education amongst the women of the Dacca district. It is stated, that though, there was the profitability of training of respectable women teachers as women mistresses for girls' schools, and private teachers in the zenanas of native gentlemen, yet there also existed a belief that there was hardly any possibility of inducing native girls of good character and respectable percentage to embrace this kind of life. As to the possibility, of finding women for entering a Normal school, if established, it was proclaimed that *Byragynees* had expressed their willingness to enter such school. *Byragees* and *Byragynees* formed an isolated portion of native society. At their initiation, they took a vow renouncing the world and its pleasures. As, however, the *Byragynees* mixed in the world more than the majority of native women did, this vow was looked upon as formal. There were two distinct classes amongst them; one class composed of those who descended from *Byragees*. The other class composed of those, who did not descend from *Byragees*, but who voluntarily proceeded for the vow. Members of former class were not suited for the post of teachers. *Byragynees* were engaged in the education of ladies and children in the town of Dacca. The education, which they imparted, was inferior in nature but for the want of better instructors, they were sought after anxiously. The zamindars, resident of Dacca employed *Byragynees* for the purpose of educating their wives and had no

³³Indu Banga ed., *Five Punjabi Centuries: Polity, Economy, Society, and Culture, c. 1500-1990: Essays for J. S Grewal*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1997), p. 512.

objection to the admission of educated *Byragynees* into the zenanas of respectable families in towns.³⁴

Co-education or Mixed Schools for Girls' Education

In the absence, of the necessary number of women teachers, the opening of large numbers of separate primary and lower primary schools for girls in many provinces did not help in advancing girls' education. But, in spite of the difficulties associated with co-education, it helped much to promote the growth of girls' education in the provinces where it was. The views for the usefulness and possibility for the system of co-education sharply differed.

In India, co-education generally meant the education of small boys and girls together in village schools where there happened to be no regular girls' schools. The need of admitting girls to boys' schools usually arose where a separate girls' school was not available. The people especially in rural areas did not like the idea of girls above the age of 10 or so studying in the same school with boys. Therefore, whenever, there was an attendance of about 15 girls on an average in a boys' school separate provision for girls was required. The E.C., 1882, had suggested the opening of schools for children of both sexes under seven. The number of girls studying in boys' schools and colleges, tentatively, was 4,634, (the figure was not clear) and the percentage of girls studying in boys' schools and colleges to total of girls under instruction was 6.7, and the percentage of increase or decrease in five years was +4.59, in Punjab.³⁵

The dearth of girls' schools was a surprise, but it is necessary to remember that nearly half the girls under instruction were reading in boys' schools. In Punjab, the practice of co-education emerged to be unpopular; only 5.9 of the girls under instruction were found to be in boys' schools.³⁶

As regards, the mixed schools in Punjab young boys could occasionally be seen in girls' schools and girls in schools for boys in indigenous schools; but the practice was unpopular in

³⁴From R.L. Martin, Inspector of Schools, South-East Division, to the Director of Public Instruction, No.201, dated, 28th May 1862, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, January to June, 1863*, pp. 108-110. (The discussion exchanged was regarding the possibility of encouraging local girls to enter a normal school for women and embrace the life of a teacher)

³⁵Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1912-1917*, p. 177.

³⁶Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, p. 219.

Punjab. It was said that co-education in Punjab could be hardly said to have found a foothold. The first step to overcome opposition to girls' education in mixed schools or co-education was to increase the number of girls' schools and do away with the need for co-education.³⁷

Co-education was widespread only in Burma, Madras and Assam. In Bengal, which had the largest provisions of girls' schools and in the United Provinces and Bihar, where co-education was confined to below 40 per cent. Of the girls under instruction, the girls' schools were not only poorly staffed but almost completely unsuccessful in their result. In Punjab, co-education was experimented with on a small scale and the progress was slow. In the provinces in which efforts had been made to promote co-education the main difficulties were—there was tendency in boys' schools for the girls, to be neglected in the absence of women teachers and even when girls attended boys' schools, they left in the primary stage, much earlier than the girls who attended girls' schools; and in large villages the accommodation in boys' schools was not large enough to accommodate the girls as well as the boys³⁸, (Refer Appendix XIX, p.378).

Surprisingly though, by 1932-37, in Punjab, the figures for co-education showed that there was an increase both in the number of boys reading in girls' schools and in the number of girls reading in boys' schools. The increase in the number of girls reading in primary school for boys was an indication of some respite in the rigidity of the social system, which made co-education difficult even at the primary stage in Punjab province. The number of girls reading in boys' institution was 26,432. As, co-education was a cost-effective way of making education possible, for a large number of girls in areas, where they had no schools of their own, it was stressed that if the educational advantages were to be attained it was essential that the staffs in all co-educational institutions should comprise a reasonable proportion of women. In Punjab, it had been done to some degree by engaging married couples in the same schools. The Punjab reports favoured the encouragement of co-education at the primary stage because the province could not support separate school for boys and girls in majority of villages. Hence, in several cases in Punjab, the alternative was not between co-education and a separate girls' school but between co-education and no education at all for girls. It was

³⁷Richey, *Progress of Education in India, 1917-1922*, pp. 127-128.

³⁸*Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission*, (Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1929), pp. 168-169.

considered ideal that, at the lower primary stage, a mixed school in charge of women teachers, well qualified and trained, were certainly better teachers of boys than men usually were. With this aim in view, Punjab was training the wives of teachers at Lyallpur and Jalandhar in two batches of 20 as a first step towards creating a supply of women teachers for co-educational schools.³⁹

However, with time, the state of women's education improved not only in Punjab province but in the entire nation due to the unrelenting efforts of the reformers, government, and missionary societies.

Zenana Instruction-Missionary Efforts and Mission Teaching

The women of the upper class were not allowed to go out; hence imparting education to them was also of serious concern. As a response to this problem, the missionaries came up with the zenana instruction. The most successful efforts made to educate the Indian women had been conducted by missionaries. Zenana instruction was carried on almost entirely by the missionary societies. Secular as well as religious instruction was given by the ladies and their associates in hundreds of houses to native gentlemen's wives and daughters, who being *pardanishin* could not attend schools.

Regarding the zenana instruction, Gail Minault mentions that Nazir Ahmad, deputy inspector of schools, and Sayyid Ahmed Khan had a thought that the world can be brought into zenana through education.⁴⁰ In almost every province of India, lady missionaries dedicated themselves to the work of teaching in the homes of such native families who were ready to allow them into their homes. Their teaching was limited to the women members of the house, and though essentially based on Christian teachings, was extended to secular subjects.

As regards Punjab, it is imperative to mention here the famous missionary, Rose Greenfield, who came in 1874 to undertake work among the women and children. This was the beginning of the Ludhiana Zenana Mission which was operated by the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. Although her work at first was focussed mainly in the direction of

³⁹John Sargent, *Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, Eleventh Quinquennial Review, Vol. I, (Delhi: Manger of Publications, 1939), pp. 157-158.

⁴⁰Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 36. (As stated in the book, both viewed zenana as a place of isolation, backwardness, corrupt customs, and superstitions.)

teaching the women and arranging schools for the children, she could not escape for long the despair and suffering which existed among those with whom she was working. She began a movement of prescribing cleanliness and simple remedies. Soon women were looking to her for medical aid and assistance, so she became firm to do all in her power to help ease some of this suffering.⁴¹

Doris Jakobsh mentioned that zenana instruction within the homes of prominent Indians was carried out almost exclusively by missionary women, both European and Indian. Less than fifty years after its (Punjab's) subjugation there were more than thirty European women educating the people in Punjab (Punjab Education Report, 1861-2).⁴² Zenana instruction was carried on almost exclusively by the missionary societies. More than 80 European ladies were engaged in carrying out women education in Punjab, either by superintending boarding and day schools, or by zenana teaching. The S.P.G. Mission received grant in aid from government for zenana teaching in Delhi and some nearby towns. Amritsar and Ludhiana were also centres for zenana instruction. In Ludhiana, there were 8 ladies belonging to American and English missions engaged in the work of women education, assisted by 17 women Christian teachers and 8 Mohammedans and Sikhs, also women, with one exception. Zenana instruction was expensive, like all private tuition. The zenana ladies were gladly welcomed in most of the houses which they visited.⁴³ And this voice was echoed by many to the E.C. In one of the evidences, it was admitted that the best means for spreading women education was to establish Normal schools for the training of widows from middle class families so that they might go out as teachers and teach in the zenanas. Furthermore, the amount of interest taken and share put in by the missionary ladies in the promotion of women education still required more impetus as it seemed that very little has been done by European ladies for women education. If they took a larger interest, the cause would no doubt advance greatly.⁴⁴ Much assistance was given to the cause of women education by mission schools, and by classes for mission teaching at home. The amount of teaching that was undertaken in zenana increased considerably, but knowledge of its extent and value was limited owing to the need of an inspecting agency to test it.⁴⁵ With regard to the encouragement of classes for

⁴¹Charles Reynolds, *Punjab Pioneer*, (Mumbai: Gospel Literature Service, 1977), pp. 46-47.

⁴²Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender*, pp.129-130.

⁴³*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁴Evidence of Sirdar Kunwar Bikrama Singh, Bahadur, Ahluwalia, C.S.I., Punjab, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 167.

⁴⁵Female Education, Pros. No.15, No. 470, 6th November 1901, Proceedings for July in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1902*, pp. 11-12. (From J.P. Hewett,

Mission teaching at home, the Punjab Education Code mentions that as regards zenana classes it was decided not to lay down any general rules on the subject or to bring zenana mission teaching within the rules of Aided schools. Existing grants were to be allowed to continue subject to the condition that the teaching must be satisfactory; and each grant was to be treated as a special case.⁴⁶ Moreover, it was noticed with much pleasure in the *Lawrence Gazette* that a zenana school has been opened at Azeemabad, and also, because of the hard work of Mr Broadway, a Mission School was about to be established.⁴⁷

As per the E.C., in spite of the most successful efforts made to educate women were by the missionaries, there existed two weaknesses to the extensions of the zenana missions- first, the natural unwillingness of many natives to admit into their families an authority distant to their own religious beliefs and second, the hesitant approach of the education department towards such missions. The Commission took into account the second weakness and made specific recommendation, that grants for zenana teaching be accepted as an appropriate charge on public funds, and be given under rules which would allow those engaged in it to obtain significant aid for such secular teaching as may be tested by an inspectress, or other women agency. It also reported about a distinctive class of zenana agencies on a secular basis coming up, conducted by committees of natives and Europeans, with the object, in some cases, of imparting education in zenanas without any element of religious teaching.⁴⁸

Native Co-operation and Contribution in Women Education

As the measures to advance women education were being taken on a serious level, the native co-operation and native contribution seemed inevitable. The policy of the government of India with regard to women education was correctly described in the 8th paragraph of Lord Napier's Minute that the government, in dealing with the question of women education required not only native co-operation, but native initiation. They were prepared to grant a generous measure of assistance, but the intervention of the government must, be followed by an earnest and genuine effort on the part of the local community. It was far from satisfaction

Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Home Educational Department, regarding the proceedings of the Educational Conference held at Shimla.)

⁴⁶Mission Teaching, Pros. No.27, No.70 S, Views of the Punjab Government on the question of Female Education, 31st July 1902, Proceedings for July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, January 1902*, p. 1.

⁴⁷'Lawrence Gazette', 6th December, in *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces*, from the 1st to the 8th of January, 1868, p.1.

⁴⁸*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 535.

that the native community had, thus far, actually shown any natural wish for the extension of women education; indeed, there was argument to fear that the actions already taken by the government had in some places been regarded with mistrust. The Governor General in Council considered it a political necessity that as a condition of financial aid from government, it should be always required that the initiative in every case be taken, *bonafide*, by the native community and natives should also contribute a sound share as a promise of their seriousness and honesty.⁴⁹The *Lawrence Gazette*, on 24th August, published an article upon the advantages of educating native women, and pointed out the benefits that would result from the wealthy natives giving their daughters a good education, instead of valuable dowries; as well as from marrying their daughters to educated men, who would not then be superior to them, at least in knowledge.⁵⁰

The first impulse to women education in Punjab had been given by Captain Elphinstone, D.C. of Jalandhar, and this effort had been furthered by Mr F. Cooper, C.B., and D.C. of Delhi. Both these officers established numerous schools, and to some amount conquered the discrimination which had previously prevented the education of girls. It was, however, vital to secure the native support in the promotion of women education as without it nothing much could be done. Hence, a much influential measure was securing the co-operation of the principal chiefs and native gentry of Lahore and Amritsar. This, too, was affected at the Educational Durbar held at Lahore on the 14th of February 1863, when many prominent sirdars (often a leader) then present considered the subject, and offered to aid in carrying out any plans which might be suggested. Efforts resulted in an unprecedented co-operation of the leading gentry for the required objective.⁵¹

Much remained to be done to systematize the arrangements; but the need of the hour was to have schools established, in acknowledgment of the principle that education was not improper for girls. The government seemed eager, too, to move ahead with plans of promotion of women education but seemed to be too cautious about the magnitude of the responsibility involved without active native contribution and assistance.

⁴⁹Circular No.15 of 1869, Lahore, 18thFebruary 1869, *Female Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department, Ambala Division, (Lahore: Christian Orphan Press, n. d.), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰'Lawrence Gazette', 24th August, in *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, from the 16th to the 24th September, 1865*, p. 414.

⁵¹Minute by Lieutenant-Governor, Robert Montgomery, of the Punjab, in the Educational Department, *Female Education in the Punjab*, File No. 5, Political & General Department, Ambala, p. 1.

The reports on women education in Punjab were valuable showing how successfully a body of intelligent native gentlemen managed to promote a great measure like women education, and conceded the mass of people with them. It also brought to notice that there were more women than men under instruction in the large cities of Amritsar and Lahore. It was hoped that the success that resulted owing to the efforts of the influential native gentry of Lahore and Amritsar would encourage the communities of other cities and towns to take up the subject of women education, and that the officers of government will nurture such measure with promises of future good to the people of Punjab province.⁵²

Still, the lack of native assistance had caused many a times difficult situations such as when the establishment of women Normal schools at Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur were postponed. With regard, to the proposed establishment of Normal schools at Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur, there had been no initiation on the part of the natives, nor was it likely that any considerable sum could be raised by subscription.⁵³

Scheme, Course of Study, Curriculum and Textbooks for Girls

It is very apt to mention here that I.E.C. 1882 admitted that the scheme of study in girls' schools has been formed too much on the model of that for boys. And commission further stated that it has been devised and set on foot by men as an addition to the system established for boys. However, it also praised the fact that many women had without a doubt dedicated themselves to this work and had also been the true influence in bringing in and promoting women education.⁵⁴

The scheme of studies for girls, approved by government, was the same as that for boys; but only easier portions of the subjects were attempted. Schools for girls were usually attended exclusively either by Mohammedans or Hindus, and the Hindus learned Nagri or Gurmukhi. Needlework was generally taught in mission schools and in others, the work which was commonly done in native families.⁵⁵ However, by 1902, with regards to the course of study, it

⁵²Minute by the Lieutenant Governor, Robert Montgomery, of the Punjab, in the Educational Department, dated 15th June, 1864, *Female Education in Lahore*, File No. 8, Political & General Department, Ambala, p. 1.

⁵³Circular No. 15 of 1869, Lahore, 18th February 1869, *Female Education*, File No. 2, General Department, Delhi, p. 16.

⁵⁴*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p.534.

⁵⁵*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 62.

was found that it was too elaborate, and it was directed that a simplified scheme of studies be prepared in consultation with the managers of existing girls' schools.⁵⁶

While speaking on the importance of the curriculum to be the same for both the boys and girls, the Women's Education Committee, strongly emphasized that the general curriculum for primary schools for boys' need be no different from girls' schools nor need the methods of teaching this curriculum be different as the life of all the young children be it boys or girls happens to be the same. In this connection, the committee urged that every effort should be made to increase the supply of suitable women teachers and heartily endorsed the opinion of Mr Wood in his report that until a system of infant classes staffed by trained women is established in India, education will remain unsound at its very foundation.⁵⁷

When it comes to textbooks for women, little seems to have been done in the way of preparing special textbooks for use in girls' schools. It was stated, indeed that a work had been introduced in Punjab, intended, as signified by its name *Stri Shiksha* for the teaching of women. However, severe objection was taken to the contents of this book, and the government suspended the sale. Further, the use of Persian works was objected on moral grounds. The life of women was apart from that of men, and it was unlikely that books prepared for boys would be either interesting or suitable to girls. Morality was the same for men, women and for all classes; still the particular lessons in morality to be taught to boys were mostly not required for girls. For example, if it was expected of boys to cultivate many virtues; the native community did not wish to see its girls advancing in boldness and independence of spirit. Therefore, no good general reading books for girls were seen coming until competent native ladies devoted themselves to the preparation of them. Bengal published a vernacular magazine written and edited by, and for, native ladies⁵⁸, (Refer Appendix XX. pp.379-81).

⁵⁶Course of Study, Pros. No.27, No.70 S, Views of the Punjab Government on the question of Female Education, 31st July 1902, Proceedings for July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January, 1902*, p. 2.

⁵⁷*Report of the Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education to consider the curriculum of Girls' Primary Schools in India, 1937*, (Simla: Manager, Government of India Press, 1937), p. 4.

⁵⁸*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 534.

Sources of Funds for Women Education

Though, women education was not at par with that of men yet measures were being attempted at to bring it on a sound basis. The provision of funds and their sources formed a crucial aspect. The Educational budget estimates submitted directed that the needs of women education would be borne in mind and that, where local effort did not provide adequately for the maintenance of girls' schools, the inspector and inspectress would bring the fact to the notice of the D.P.I., who would submit proposals to the local government for supplying the want. In this way, schools maintained by government, would gradually be established in those centres where local agency had proved itself inefficient or inoperative.⁵⁹The fees levied in girls' school made very small proportion to the total expenditure. The generous and humanitarian part played strongly in the support of girls' schools in India. The sums derived from missionary bodies, native societies, donations, and charitable agencies or individuals interested in women education, exceeded one-half of the whole expenditure on the work. The portion from the provincial revenues supplied more than a quarter, and the assignments from municipal or local funds, together with the fees. The day when women education could be safely left to fees, or to entirely local support, was apparently still remote in India⁶⁰, the direct expenditure on Girls' Institutions in India as a whole is shown in a Table in the Appendix, (Refer Appendix XXI, p. 382).

In Punjab, conditions regarding education of girls and women were more or less similar to those in the United Provinces. While in the towns, there were positive signs of progress, even in higher education, in rural areas; girls' education was exceptionally backward. The main difficulties were the conservatism of the people; the almost complete want of co-education even at the lower primary stage; the dearth of women teachers; the scarcity of village schools, which is largely due to the lack of sympathy on the part of the local bodies; and the difficulty in providing separate schools for the girls of different communities in which instruction through the medium of the home language and religious instruction was to be given.⁶¹

⁵⁹Provision of funds for Girls' Schools, Pros. No.27, No.70 S, Views of the Punjab Government on the question of Female Education, 31st July 1902, Proceedings for July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1902*, p. 2.

⁶⁰*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 542.

⁶¹*Review of the Growth of Education in British India*, p. 156.

Women Education and Introduction of Urdu as the Medium of Instruction

The medium of instruction was a crucial aspect that hindered the progress of not only women's education but the entire system of education in Punjab. Prior to the capture, the medium of instruction was Gurmukhi, Hindi, but after the control, Urdu became the official language and the medium of instruction.

The change of language caused deeper concerns as the language chosen as the medium of instruction was not the spoken language of the natives and it severely hampered the cause of education and especially affected the women education in the province. The language policy in Punjab differed from other provinces as Urdu was not an extensive local vernacular.

The Punjab Board of Administration instituted a two-language policy for the province in September 1849. Urdu was instituted as the official language of courts in eastern Punjab, and Persian in the west and frontier areas. The Board's decision was endorsed even though Persian was not a spoken vernacular in any part of Punjab, and the same was largely true of Urdu.⁶² The bottom line is that, the Company officials who instituted Punjab's language policy were clearly aware that neither of the languages they chose for state purposes was the spoken language of the area.⁶³

Urdu, a vernacular spoken in North India and used as a lingua franca by Mughal officials began to be used as a language of poetic expression in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but was not considered a suitable means for literary or religious teaching well into the nineteenth. The emergence of Urdu as a respectable language of free communication and literary expression was very much part of the nineteenth century colonial encounter. When Persian was disestablished as the language of the government in the 1830s, Urdu became the official language of local courts across much of northern India. In the process, vernacular schools were promoted at the lower levels of the colonial education system, and the spoken vernacular began to be written to communicate ideas across boundaries of region, class, and gender.⁶⁴

⁶²Farina Mir, "Imperial Policy, provincial practices: Colonial language policy in nineteenth-century India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 43, 4 (2006): p. 407.

⁶³Ibid, p.409.

⁶⁴Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 21.

The introduction of language policy by British has been put forth appropriately by two eminent authors. Whereas C. A. Bayly describes as to what went behind the formation of this policy in the country, Farina Mir brings out the same in Punjab. Commenting on the language policy of the British, Farina Mir mentions that C. A. Bayly had argued that a colonial state's ability to access indigenous networks of information and adjust then to its own ends was central to the success or failure of colonial mission. Therefore, in order for successful authority and consolidation of power in India and given the apparent returns of linguistic skill, the E.I.C. officials took pains to learn, codify and ultimately teach Indian classical and vernacular languages in colonial institutions, in both England and India. Bernard Cohn convincingly argued that such institutions helped colonial officials gain the command of language, crucial to the fortification of power in India. Cohn also documents how colonial insight of Indian languages such as Hindustani helped early colonial political consolidation reflecting indigenous linguistic customs or traditions.⁶⁵

Furthermore, Mir aptly brings forth what went into building a language policy by the British particularly in Punjab. She mentions that Language was definitely a critical field for the functioning of colonial power. The history of language policy in colonial Punjab, where the language of administration was carefully considered for its ability to integrate the province into broader structures of colonial authority, substantiates this important association between language and empire. Most remarkably, language policy had an important influence on literary production in Punjab on its print sphere, and its print culture largely. Urdu, by contrast, had no significant spoken or literary history in Punjab prior to the establishment of the colonial state. In colonial Punjab the almost complete dominance of Urdu in certain genre of literary production and in the print public sphere, and its predominance in print culture more generally was an outcome of the state's language policy.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the vernacular language policy introduced in 1854 aimed at two specific areas of government judicial proceedings and revenue collection. However, once the language policy had been established for these fields, its force was felt well beyond them. As the colonial government extended, so did the impact of its language policy. Education was one significant site where this influence was felt. Although never implemented, Punjab government's education proposals of 1854 seem to have established that the language of administration would be the language of

⁶⁵Mir, *Imperial Policy*, p. 396.

⁶⁶Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*, (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010), pp. 30-31.

government supported education in the province which by the end of 1854 was without doubt Urdu.⁶⁷

Consequently, the change of the medium of instruction to Urdu by the colonials retarded women education extensively in Punjab. Leitner had also admitted that the girl, who was always taught to read in her home or in a friend's house, now had a brother at a government school reading Urdu and becoming everyday more dissociated from her in language and feeling. Besides, the apparent prejudices the Punjabi woman had, however, not only been always more or less educated herself, but had also been an educator of others. In Delhi, before the British rule in Punjab, six public schools for girls were kept by Punjabi women. In other places, Punjabi women were to be found as teachers, and though Delhi, like the rest of the N.W.P., was far behind Punjab in women education, it had, in 1845, numerous schools for girls established in private houses.

It is also mentioned that one of the initial references to girls' schools in North India is noted in a government report of 1845, is of six schools in Delhi, with a total of forty-six students. The schools were all located in one quarter of the city, conducted by Punjabi women, and attended by their daughters and by girls of the enterprising and wealthy merchant families of the city. All the students were Muslims, as were the teachers, and the education consisted of memorizing the Quran.⁶⁸

There was a decline in women teaching too since colonisation and one of the apparent reasons being- Urdu. Formerly, the mother could teach the child Punjabi, but when the child learned Urdu the teaching power of the mother was lost. Furthermore, the establishment of women schools in public places, and the attempts to inspect these schools prevented the very patrons of the schools from sending their own daughters to them. Thus, women education was brought into discredit with the respectable classes by official interference. Ms W. N. Greenfield, a missionary from Ludhiana district, also believed that one reason, why the women schools established were not popular was owed to the fact that neither of the languages taught in the government girls' schools was the dialect of the people. She further elaborated that it must not be imagined that Punjabi was spoken only in the village and Urdu spoken and understood generally in the towns. Far from this being the case, all the lower

⁶⁷ Mir, *The Social Space of Language*, pp. 53-54.

⁶⁸ Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 23.

classes, and the women of the higher, used Punjabi as the medium for interchange of thought. Even the government servants who talked in high flow Urdu in court often left it at the door of their own homes and resumed the familiar colloquial.⁶⁹

Such was the state of educational affairs, in the province, that in a Memorial to the E.C., the residents of Ropar raised their deep concern over this. They said, that the, position of education in Punjab was insufficient. The youth was cast in a mould that was not suited to the needs of a large and prominent section of the community. Persian, an entirely alien language and Urdu confined to a reasonably small section of the people, were being forced by the government upon the people in courts and schools and at the same time Sanskrit and Hindi were being thoroughly neglected.⁷⁰ It was hugely felt that the medium of instruction had an important influence on the question of women education as it could not be carried on through the Persian character and the Urdu language. Women education was only accepted to be imparted through Hindi.

Moreover, it was asserted that for centuries the Muslims had used Persian which the Sikhs continued as their court language. The Sikhs had developed the Gurmukhi script for writing Punjabi by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet, but this they did to evade the violation of recording their holy book, the Granth Sahib, in Persian script, the script of the Muslims against whom they had revolted. Persian however continued to thrive as the language of culture and communication. Educated Punjabis were therefore bilingual, speaking Punjabi and reading and writing Persian. The British brought Urdu with them from the United Provinces and Delhi, and supplanted Persian. At the same time, they brought English, and from then on education was imparted both in Urdu and in English. It is interesting to note that in the early years the Englishmen were also trilingual. They spoke in English to the westernized Punjabis, in Urdu to the Punjabi with regular education, and in Punjabi to the *rayat*. In fact, the English officials then had a somewhat better knowledge of Urdu, and usually also of Punjabi, than the average educated Punjabi had of English.⁷¹

In spite of, endless and continuous efforts being made, to educate the natives the existing standard of education in the province was a cause of deep concern for everyone. And to the medium of instruction was attributed the spread of education among the masses being unaccomplished.

⁶⁹Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, pp. 108-110.

⁷⁰Memorial from Residents of Ropar to W. W. Hunter, President of the Education Commission, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 540.

⁷¹Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, 1961), pp. 66-67.

The graduates and under-graduates of the government college, the Central Training College and the Oriental College, as well as the students of the Medical College, the Law School and the High Government and Mission Schools of Lahore, could not abstain from expressing that the only way of achieving the object of spreading education among the masses was to make the real vernacular of the people the medium of instruction, which regrettably had been grossly ignored in this province in support of an unknown and insignificant language, the Urdu.⁷²

The discussion about the women education in Punjab would practically be incomplete without the mention of Baba Khem Singh Bedi. His contribution in the promotion of women education in Punjab is indeed praiseworthy.

Girl Schools of Baba Khem Singh Bedi

I do not despair to witness the gradual progress of great social reformation, and the growth of female hand in hand with male education. (Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab)⁷³

Robert Montgomery was satisfied with the magnitude of the change that had been made in women's education. Though, his efforts were limited to simple persuasion but they resulted in an over whelming co-operation of the leading gentry of the province. He strongly acknowledged the efforts unexpectedly made by the people under their chief representatives, and said that he wanted to witness the gradual progress of great social reformation, that is the growth of women education at par with male education.

The people, in spite of the arduous efforts of the government, did not feel the need of education for their daughters to any substantial degree. The history of girls' education would remain incomplete, if the efforts of Baba Khem Singh Bedi (a lineal descendant of Guru Nanak Dev) are not mentioned. He rendered meritorious services to the country by stirring up people to educate their daughters.⁷⁴

Guru Nanak Dev, the founder of Sikh religion, believed men and women are equal and therefore women cannot be considered inferior. Guru in his teachings asks, *so kyon manda*

⁷²Memorial from the Graduates, under-graduates, and Students of Government Colleges and Government Mission High Schools, to Charles Pearson, Esq., M. A., Member of the Education Commission for the Punjab, Evidences taken before the Punjab Provincial Committee, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 558.

⁷³*The Educational Durbar Lahore*, File No. 5, General & Political Department, Ambala Division, 1864, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁴Khan, *A History of Education*, Vol. I p.121.

aakhiye jit jamme rajan, (why call her bad? From her Kings are born). To woman we married, of woman are we born, of woman conceived, and by woman are the civilization continued. It is by woman that the entire social order is maintained. Baba brought forth, the importance of Guru Nanak's teachings that it was binding on all parents to love their daughters as dearly as their sons, and therefore it follows that they must also teach them. Moreover, he called upon the people and reminded them to consider that in former days this custom, teaching daughters prevailed in their families.

Baba Khem Singh Bedi's influence was great in the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Gujarat, where he established no less than seventy-five schools, attended by 1,172 girls. His schools were supported by weekly fees paid by the pupils, and by offerings at festivals, which doubled.⁷⁵

Baba Bedi had women schools in the Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts. Singh, himself contributed, nothing towards the maintenance of these schools. The parents and guardians of the girls paid grain contribution at harvest time equivalent to Rs.5 a month towards the maintenance of each school. As for the attendance, it was small and irregular, while the education given was anything but satisfactory; but it appeared to be all that the parents wanted. Indeed, the people sent their daughters to school more in order to please Baba Bedi than to attain some education. In order to place, these schools on a sound basis, some proposals were made, some of which were the appointment of two superintendents and two girdawars, to introduce a standard of education such as suggested by the D.C. of Rawalpindi, placing of the schools entirely in the hands of the educational department, and Bedi be empowered to make his own choice in selecting competent teachers, not to demand cash either from Bedi or guardians towards the maintenance of these schools. It was also recommended to continue with the grants made.⁷⁶

⁷⁵Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Educational Department, *Female Education in the Punjab*, File No.5, Political & General Department, Ambala, 1864, p. 2.

⁷⁶'Bedi Khem Singh's Female Schools in the Rawalpindi and Jhelum Districts', Pros.No.9, Proceedings for May, 1890 in, *Proceedings of the Government of Punjab, Home Department, Education, January, 1889*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1890), p. i-ii.

State of Women Education and Schools in Punjab-Progress in the Circles (selected years 1856 onwards)

The fashion of educating daughters in private houses has set in.⁷⁷

The object of female education in this country, at least in the majority of instances, is not to make sound scholars, but to make better mothers, sisters, and wives.⁷⁸

The above remarks are significant regarding the state of women education in Punjab. As revealed in the first remark, the natives had come forward to get their women educated. The report, from the Office of D.C. of Delhi, to the D.P.I., 1863, states about the steady advancement of women education. It also mentions that, by the close of the year, the popularity of women schools seemed to be spreading and all the misunderstandings seemed dispelled. And the fashion of educating daughters had set in.

The second remark states the main object of education then being imparted to women was not to make them sound scholars but to make better mothers, sisters and wives. This remark is underpinned by the fact that instruction imparted in the girls' schools was not all that might be needed. No attention was given to the inclination of girl students but they were almost forced to undergo the same course as the boy. Also, the courses prescribed in women government schools were unlikeable. The girls being taught all such subjects as might facilitate the attainment of this object. This has been brought out in detail in the beginning of the Chapter.

Below, we have a detailed description of the state of women education in Punjab that gives us a wider view of the difficulties faced and conquered and the aims accomplished in the field.

Seventeen women schools were said to have been opened during 1856-57, the first year of the existence of the department. Most of these had to be closed for the want of scholars. A large number of schools had been opened in Jalandhar district under the care of, D.C. Captain Elphinstone.⁷⁹

⁷⁷From Deputy Commissioner's Office to the Director of Public Instruction, Delhi, 11th May, 1863, No. 104/312, *Progress of Female Education in Delhi District*, File No. 11, Political & General Department, Ambala, p. 2. (Report regarding the educational progress for the previous year)

⁷⁸Evidence of Sardar Dayal Singh, President, Indian Association, Lahore, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 201.

⁷⁹Mehta, *A History of Growth of Western Education*, p. 73.

It was, however, for quite some time that the question of women education had been in temporary suspension. Nevertheless, the encouraging reports from North-Western Provinces had convinced the officers of the education department that women education required immediate attention. A number of schools had been opened, by the close of the year 1856-57, containing about 300 scholars, nearly all of whom were Mohammedans. The selection of the teachers was generally left to the people themselves, and no rules were laid down, such as the employment of women rather than men, or of old men rather than young men.⁸⁰

There were only 12 government women schools, up until 1858, which were distributed evenly across the province. The teachers were all male, their average age was 42 and their pay was a meagre Rs.5 to Rs.7 per month. The average age of the scholars was seven years and six months. The low age group was probably accounted for because girls up to the age of eight or ten were not secluded and could even be taught with boys. William Arnold, D.P.I., Punjab, doubted whether government women education would succeed in Punjab, as it had in other parts of India, because the barrier of purdah seemed particularly strong in the north-west.⁸¹

The distribution of districts into divisions of educational circles has been described in Chapter-2. Given below is the development of the women education in the various Circles in Punjab province (1860-1866)

Ambala Circle

The women schools of Ambala Circle were commented on unfavourably in the report.⁸² Whereas by January next year, establishment of a women school at Thanesar and the addition to the number of women pupils at Delhi, were gratifying indications of a progressive urge for knowledge.⁸³ By July, in the same year, the number of women schools rose from 35 to 41 which was accompanied by a consistent increase of scholars. Among, the new schools, one

⁸⁰*Report of the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 4.

⁸¹Allender, *Ruling through Education*, pp. 68-69.

⁸²Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1860, Circular No.28, No.2494, *Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860*, File No. 8, General Department, Delhi, p. 5.

⁸³From R. H. Davies, Secretary to Government Punjab, to the Director of Public Instruction, Educational Department, April, 1861, No. 126, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861*, File No. 1, Educational Department, Delhi, (Lahore: Printed at the Government Press, n. d), p. 2.

for Hindu girls, established at Jalandhar, hopefully appeared promising.⁸⁴Next year, of the 6 women schools in the Ambala circle, two at Thanesar and Delhi, were closed because of the lack of pupils but the D.C. of Delhi district was organising a number of more girls' schools in Delhi itself, and several of the prominent citizens had promised support, hence more successful results were anticipated soon.⁸⁵F. Cooper, D.C., had exerted all his influence in the extension of schools for girls, so instead of one, there were six schools at the close of the quarter attended by 106 girls. The rate of salaries for the teachers of these schools was rather high, and several were receiving Rs.15 a month for imparting the merest rudiments to a very small collection of girls.⁸⁶Women education was being pushed on by Mr Cooper at Delhi, and the number of the girls' schools increased from 6 to 11, and the average attendance from 73 to 139.⁸⁷And by June, the number increased from 37 to 52 by the establishment of new schools. The number of girls, on the rolls, had advanced too from 401 to 686. In Ambala, 5 new women schools were opened. There were now 90 girls under instruction in the district. Three new women schools were opened in Ferozpur district taking their number to 4 with 80 girls. Delhi possessed 13 women schools with 245 girls. In the Gurgaon district, 21 women schools with an average daily attendance of 118 girls were started by the close of June. In the Hisar district, arrangements were in place for starting an elementary English school on the grant-in-aid principle.⁸⁸

The D.C., Delhi, in 1863, stated the sound advancement of women education. He admitted that in the previous year there were only two schools educating 29 girls whereas now, there were 13 schools educating 231 girls. He was heartened to anticipate further results as the popularity of these schools spread and all misunderstandings had been set aside. The Mohammedans, the Hindus, the Brahmins and the Banias were the ones who appreciated women education. He commended five gentlemen-Rajah Dabi Singh, Hamid Ullie Khan,

⁸⁴Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st July, 1861, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861*, File No. 1, General & Political, Ambala, (Lahore: Government Press, n. d), p. 7.

⁸⁵Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the 1st quarter 1862-63 ending 31st July, 1862, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1862*, Education Department, Delhi, p. 2.

⁸⁶Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st October, 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No.2, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

⁸⁷Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st January, 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No.9, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

⁸⁸Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June, 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No.14, General & Political, Ambala, pp. 1-3.

Lalla Sahib Singh, Reyat Ullie and Moonshie Iemun Lall, and the Tehsildar of Ballabgarh Badroodeen, for exceptional notice for their efforts in women education.⁸⁹

Women schools were greatly extended during the quarter under review. The number of schools increased from fifty-two to eighty, and pupils from 686 to 1,157. Shimla and Sirsa were the only districts of the Ambala circle where no commencements were made. The new schools were opened in the Ambala and Gurgaon districts. One unsatisfactory aspect of the schools at Delhi was the occasional distribution of pies, sometimes amounting to several annas, during the month, among the poorer girls. It was felt that if money rewards were to be given at all, they should be for progress and proficiency in study. Hence, occasional benefit of pice for mere attendance was not only an utter waste of money but an absolute disadvantage to the healthy progress of education.⁹⁰ The schools increased in number from seventy-six to ninety by December, and their pupils from 1039 to 1300. Seven of these new girls' schools were opened in Ludhiana district. Although, two more girls' schools were opened in Gurgaon district, making twenty-two in all, the average attendance had fallen lamentably from 287 to 190.⁹¹ The year 1864, witnessed an increase in schools' number from 99 to 106, the number of girls from 1,435 to 1,465. As the children had been taken away to work, one school was closed in Ludhiana, while four new were opened in Karnal, three in Gurgaon and one in Delhi. In Gurgaon, there were as many as 38 schools for women, it was noteworthy, that many were maintained at a very small expense, the same Pundits and monitors were giving instruction in both the boys' and girls' schools.⁹² The number of schools had risen from 112 to 123 by September 1865. The new schools were established in the Ludhiana, Delhi, and Sirsa districts, and those in Gurgaon saw both Hindus and Mohammedans in the circle constantly coming forward and inviting government inspection and support for their girls' schools.⁹³ Thus, the progress of women schools in Ambala Circle during selected years may be summed up to be on a reasonable level.

⁸⁹*Progress of Female Education in Delhi District*; File No. 11, Political & General Department, Ambala, pp. 2-3. (No.104/312, To the Director Public Instructions, Lahore, from the Deputy Commissioner)

⁹⁰Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30thSeptember1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 2, Political& General, Ambala, p. 2.

⁹¹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 31stDecember1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

⁹²Quarterly Report on the Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30thJune 1864, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 15, General & Political, Delhi, 1864, p. 2.

⁹³Half-Yearly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the period ending 30th September 1865, Copy of No. 43, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 4, General & Political, Ambala, p. 2.

Lahore Circle

The schools for women in Lahore Circle, in the following discussion, show the growth made in selected years. It was recommended by Mr Alexander, the Inspector of Schools, Lahore, in July 1860, that the seven schools were not being productive, hence the worst ones be abolished.⁹⁴ But by January 1861, there was a visible increase in the number of schools in the Jalandhar district, from 2 to 22 and in the number of girl pupils' daily attending from 42 to 413, which was expressive of the personal influence of Elphinstone.⁹⁵ A fall in the number in women schools from 47 to 46 mainly in the Jalandhar district was witnessed in July 1862. The number of names on the records also declined from 1242 to 1096, and the average daily attendance from 1181 to 1031. Whereas, two of these schools, recently opened in Lahore appeared to be promising.⁹⁶ These schools slightly increased in number, in October, with new ones opened in the Jalandhar, Kangra, and Gujranwala districts; but the attendance considerably fell off. The falling off took place entirely in the Jalandhar district and was owing to the absence of Captain Elphinstone, the D.C., on privilege leave for a couple of months, and the removal of the chief mohurrir in whose time the movement was initiated in favour of women education. The influence of the former officer was absolutely necessary to make the people put up with these schools for their daughters, and the latter in his anxiety to please his superiors.⁹⁷

The details of women education in the Lahore Circle are worthy of attention. Captain Elphinstone, Inspector, Lahore Circle, took genuine interest in women education and had markedly above all that in him needed to promote the spread of girls' schools over his district. Such schools had increased greatly in number and attendance during 1861-62. There were at its close 47 schools, containing 1,212 girls, and having an average daily attendance of 1,125 or 24 per school. At the close of the previous year, there were 35 schools, containing 768 girls, with an average attendance of 638 or 18 per school. Last year, all the girls were Mohammedans, in the year under report, 40 were Hindus.⁹⁸

⁹⁴*Quarterly report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860*, File No. 8, General Department, Delhi, p. 9.

⁹⁵*Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861*, File No.1, General, Delhi, p. 4.

⁹⁶*Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1862*, Education, Delhi, p. 4.

⁹⁷*Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st October 1862*, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General & Political, Ambala, p. 4.

⁹⁸Fuller, *Report on the Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies in the Year 1861-62*, pp. 55-56.

Twenty new schools were opened in the Jalandhar district, by January 1863, and considerable improvement was marked in attendance at those of Hoshiarpur. On the whole, there was a progress in the number of registered scholars from 945 to 1,637.⁹⁹ These schools increased in number from 92 to 101 and the number of girls from 2,041 to 2,188 in June 1863. Two schools were opened in the Gurdaspur district on the written understanding that they would be open to the visits of the Inspector of schools, the D.C., or any ladies who may wish to see them. This was no doubt possible in the case of all women schools for the lower classes, which allowed government to make sure of obtaining true reports as to the actual condition of the schools, and preventing the State funds being spent on worthless institutions.¹⁰⁰ There were three more women schools, and the names on the records also advanced from 2,188 to 2,375 in September 1863. Mr Perkins, the officiating D. C.'s visit to the girls' school at Gurdaspur for inspection without any opposition was also an indication that people were coming to terms with their girls being educated. Mr Alexander, inspector of schools, found the schools, he visited, attended by girls varying in age from 5 to 11, some of whom were able to read easy Urdu and write figures and letters; but the majority was only learning their alphabet and had begun to learn plain and ornamental needlework.¹⁰¹ The number of schools increased from ninety-four to ninety-nine, but the daily attendance fell from 2065 to 1986 by December. The decline occurred mainly in the Jalandhar district.¹⁰²

By the end of May 1864, there were throughout Punjab, sixty girls' schools, with an attendance of 1,500.¹⁰³ There were more women than males under instruction in the large cities of Amritsar and Lahore in 1863-64. It was hoped that the great success attended by the efforts of the influential native gentry of Lahore and Amritsar would encourage the communities of other cities and towns to take up the subject of women education, and that the officers of government would foster a measure with promises of future good to the inhabitants of this province. The Report on Female Education in the city of Lahore for 1863-64, mentioned that a deputation of the native chiefs who had formed themselves into a

⁹⁹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 9, General & Political, Ambala, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 14, General & Political, Ambala, p. 4.

¹⁰¹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th September 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 2, Political & General, Ambala, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰²Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 31st December 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political, Ambala, p. 3.

¹⁰³Minute by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, Robert Montgomery, of the Punjab, in the Educational Department, *Female Education in the Punjab*, File No. 5, Political & General, Ambala, p. 1.

committee, Lahore Committee of Female Education, met Lieutenant-Governor, Robert Montgomery, in order to express their seriousness to adopt any plans that might be suited to accomplish the anticipated object of women education. The Lieutenant-Governor was highly satisfied to discover that the deputation was so sincere in the cause of women education. The Committee took certain judicious measures which successfully removed prejudices without causing any offence to the popular feeling of not getting their girls educated. The measures by the Committee consequently formed gave great stimulus to the people. A practice of distributing weekly rewards to the efficient teachers was introduced. This gave immense impetus to the efforts both of teachers and pupils.¹⁰⁴ Reports on the progress of studies and the attendance of students began to be regularly provided by the committee. The rapid progress made in the women schools can be clearly seen from the annexed returns of the 1st quarter by comparing it with that of the last quarter, that is, the return for the ending 30th April 1864.

Table 5.1 The progress of women schools in Returns for the period ending 30th April 1864.

Period	Hindoos						Mohomedans						Grand total of teachers	Grand total of scholars
	No. Of paid teachers	No. Of scholars to paid teachers	No. Of unpaid teachers	No. Of scholars to unpaid teachers	Total no. Of teachers	Total no of scholars	No. Of paid teachers	No. Of scholars to paid teachers	No. Of unpaid teachers	No. Of scholars to unpaid teachers	Total no. Of teachers	Total no. Of scholars		
Quarter ending 31 st May 1863	18	62	14	52	32	114	12	64	14	26	78	78	68	192
Do 31 st March 1864	34	563	24	181	58	744	35	462	491	71	953	129	129	1697

Source: Report on Female Education in the city of Lahore for 1863-64, *Female Education in Lahore*, File Number. 8, Political & General Department, Ambala, p.7.

The women schools increased in number from 97 to 104, their scholars from 2258 to 2429, and the average daily attendance from 2,167 to 2,277, while the average per school fell from 22 to 21 as reported in June 1864.¹⁰⁵ An increase of one more girls' school than before was witnessed in September 1865, making their total number 130. While the number of girls, slightly declined, the registered attendance being 2,984, and the daily average 2,820, giving

¹⁰⁴Minute by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Educational Department, 15th June 1864, Report on Female Education in the City of Lahore for 1863-64, *Female Education in Lahore*, File No. 8, Political & General, Ambala, p.1-4.

¹⁰⁵Quarterly Report on the Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June 1864, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 15, General & Political, Delhi, p. 3.

an average per school of 22. A committee of native gentlemen was appointed to supervise these institutions. Most of these schools had been in existence since July 1864. The committee succeeded in raising subscriptions and donations to the amount of Rs.125 per mensem from the native gentlemen and respectable men of the district. From Multan, comes the following brief account: thirteen Mohammedan and one Hindu woman schools had been established (on the grant-in-aid principle) and Rs.601-8-0 was raised by private contribution for their support. 189 girls were under instruction.¹⁰⁶

Rawalpindi Circle

In the Rawalpindi Circle, the reports prepared, present an overview of the women schools and their progress made during the selected years. The returns, in June 1863, furnished little change in any class of schools. A large educational meeting was held which was hoped would lead to good results, and especially to the question of women education being taken up by the people more generally and more zealously.¹⁰⁷ It was reported in September 1863, that the Inspector gave no return of women schools, as he should have done, but it was noticed that two schools had been started in the Shahpore district.¹⁰⁸ There were, three more schools, by December 1863, than before in the Rawalpindi district, which raised the daily attendance of girls from 227 to 257, but lowered the average per school from twenty to eighteen.¹⁰⁹ Women schools, by December same year, reported an increase in number from 14 to 19, scholars from 298 to 419, and average daily attendance from 257 to 333. New schools were opened in the Sialkot, Jhang, and Gujarat districts.¹¹⁰ The women schools were paid from the Educational Cess Fund, in September 1865, were 27 in number. The numerous schools for girls opened by Khem Singh Bedi in the Rawalpindi and Jhelum Districts were not shown in the return, as they were on the partly grant-in-aid principle, and were paid from imperial revenue.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶Half-Yearly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the period ending 30th September 1865, Copy of No. 43, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 4, General & Political, Ambala, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁷Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June, 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 14, General & Political, Ambala, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th September 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 2, Political & General, Ambala, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 31st December 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political, Ambala, 1864, p. 4.

¹¹⁰Quarterly Report on the Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June 1864, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 15, General & Political, Delhi, p. 5.

¹¹¹Half-Yearly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the period ending 30th September 1865, Copy of No. 43, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 4, General & Political, Ambala, p. 5.

Frontier Circle

Regarding the girls' schools there were six in the Bunnoo District, the only ones on the Frontier, which comprised 76 pupils.¹¹²

Women schools, in the province, have been described, in the best possible way, revealing details about the women students and the schools established for them. Similarly, the subsequent particulars would further unfold the details of women education for almost the entire province, irrespective of the existing Circles and the slow and steady elimination of the prevalent prejudices against women education. The progress in the women schools from 1866 onwards is described below.

The most interesting fact in the history of education in Punjab, during 1861-1866, was the multiplication of women schools. In his comments, upon the report for 1863-64, the Lieutenant-Governor, Robert Montgomery, declared that women schools which continued to increase were primarily remarkable as a proof of the zeal and readiness, with which the people responded to the need involving major changes in their habits, provided they were certain of its favourable development.¹¹³

The prejudices, against the women education, overcome and the steps taken for the promotion of the women education by the government need a special mention. The *Nujm-ool-Ukbar* on June 7th, on noticing the progress of women education, in Punjab, mentioned that "all the praise is due to Robert Montgomery, and it is to be hoped that this tree will still continue to be watered by a generous government."¹¹⁴

As per the facts, disclosed in the measures proposed and steps taken for further promotion of women education, we have complete information in the statistics, in 1861-62 and 1866-67, showing further in detail the progressive increase of women education between 1861-62 and 1866-67; and sums used from imperial revenues and other sources. It was, at the close, of the year 1866-67, that the number of schools was 945; the number of women under instruction 17,174; while the amount annually expended from the imperial revenues on women education, during 1861-62 and 1866-67 rose from nil to 38, 833 rupees, (Refer Appendix

¹¹²Ibid, p. 6.

¹¹³Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee, p. 10.

¹¹⁴'Nujm-ool-Ukbar', 7th June, in *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces*, from the 24th June to the 30th June, 1865, p. 319.

XXII, p.382). If the practical results of the numerical extension of women education, the large expenditure of public funds, and the character of education imparted have to be evaluated, then, it must be admitted, that the character of the education imparted was of an elementary quality such as the basics of reading and writing. Moreover, it was hesitantly admitted that some schools were in the name only. Also, the teachers for the most part were very inefficient, being generally elderly Brahmins in the case of Hindu schools, and in the case of Mohammedan schools, superannuated mullas. But, even under, the unfavourable circumstances, it was believed that much good was done to a large extent in the way of actual instruction. In 1865-66, the inspector of the Ambala Circle made special mention of the satisfactory progress of girls' schools in Delhi. An example of the Lahore committee (set up by the nobles after the call of Robert Montgomery) was followed by that of the Committee at Amritsar, and would probably be followed elsewhere. Thus, a new and important era, in the history of women education in the province, may be said to have commenced.¹¹⁵

Thus far, the most important result achieved was that the minds of the people had been gradually adapted to the idea of girl education.

It was felt that for the further augmentation of women education in the province, various steps needed to be taken. They included the provision of better teachers, and a better system of supervision. Accordingly, it was proposed to increase the supply of well-trained mistresses and to reduce the number, and thus improve the stipends of women school teachers, by gradually amalgamating the existing women schools; which had already been initiated in Lahore and in Amritsar, and would gradually be started elsewhere. Lastly, it was planned to appoint a competent lady inspectress for the general supervision of Normal schools and schools of primary education. As, it would be difficult for a lady to undertake the task alone, it was suggested, that, if possible, the services of a married couple be secured of whom the wife could act as lady inspectress of women schools, and the husband as an Assistant Inspector of boys' schools-whose services will be very valuable.¹¹⁶

Although, there can be no doubt that, as stated by the D.P.I., W. R. M. Holroyd, in 1868-69, the state of women schools was far from reasonable, nonetheless the scenario for the future was more encouraging than it had been. It was sufficiently clear, that the discrimination against women education has been, in great measure, removed. Girls were now approved to

¹¹⁵Circular No.15 dated Lahore, 18th February 1869, *Female Education*, General & Political, File No.2, Ambala, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁶*Female Education*, File No.2, Ambala, p. 13.

continue their studies after marriage, while the people of two of the most leading cities, Amritsar and Lahore, of the province permitted to place their girls' schools, under the superintendence of English ladies, and being examined from time to time by government inspectors. Five years ago, this result could hardly have been hoped for.¹¹⁷ This point is recorded in the Index to the proceedings of the government, Punjab in the educational department for the year 1869.¹¹⁸

The number of government schools, for girls reduced during the year, from 272 to 206, the number of girls, on the rolls from 5,653 to 4,448, and the average attendance, from 5,120 to 4,031. The condition of these schools was unsatisfactory and many were quite inadequate. It was a welcoming fact that all that had been accomplished was the removal of the prejudices that earlier existed against girls' schools. Though, there was little interest in the girl education, however the benefits of it were being admitted. Few years ago, a strong feeling of dislike was shown even at the mention of this subject.¹¹⁹ It is also mentioned in the report, that there were 516 Aided schools for girls, with 13,010 pupils. The figure for the same stood at 507 schools with 9,838 pupils at the beginning of the year. These figures were exclusive of the girls 2,222 in number attending Khem Singh Bedi's schools.¹²⁰

In the year 1873-74, the position of the women in India, with regard to education, was relatively lower than before. It further mentioned that to raise the women education to a standard close to that of boys was a matter of pressing importance and organization of a complete system of women education in districts where there was an immediate prospect of success should be the first effort.¹²¹ The total number of government women schools had risen from 91 to 101, and the number of girls from 2,303 to 2,599. A great drawback to the spread of women education was the want of an easy and interesting literature which might appeal to the girls to read and keep up their studies after they leave school, which they generally do at a very early age.¹²² Furthermore, the number of Aided institutions had risen from 488 to 499 and the number on rolls from 25,363 to 28,256.¹²³

¹¹⁷Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in 1868-69*, p. iv.

¹¹⁸Educational Report, Punjab, for 1868-69, Pros. No.2, No.304, 11th October, 1869, Proceedings for October, 1869 in, *Index to the Proceedings of the Government Punjab in the Educational Department for the Year 1869*, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company's Press, 1870), p. 7.

¹¹⁹Government Female Schools in, Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab 1868-69*, pp. 27-28.

¹²⁰Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in 1868-69*, p. 39. (Private Female Schools)

¹²¹Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in 1873-74*, p. 16.

¹²²Government Female Schools in, Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab 1873-74*, p. 64.

¹²³Aided Institutions in, Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab 1873-74*, p. 67.

Below is a statement, showing the number of schools of each circle in 1875, according to the then proposed arrangements by Major W. R. M. Holroyd, D.P.I., Punjab, dated 10th July, 1875.

Table 5.2 The Statement showing the number of schools of each class in each Circle in 1875.

Circles	Government Schools								Aided Schools						Total
	Normal Schools	Upper Schools	Middle District Schools	Lower Department District Schools	Middle Vernacular Schools	Primary Schools	Female Schools	Jail Schools	Schools for Europeans, & c	Upper Schools	Middle Schools	Lower Schools	Female Schools	Normal Schools	
PRESENT															
1.Lahore	1	3	8	1	43	585	92	10	6	4	17	76	143	5	994
2.Umballa	1	3*	10	2	39	291	19	8	5	2	14	82	16	1	493
3.Rawal Pindi	1	1	5	1	11	208	...	5	1	2	4	11	54	...	304
4.Mooltan	...	1	3	...	9	134	17	4	...	...	13	40	5	...	226
PROPOSED															
1.Lahore	1	2	5	1	28	393	43	8	6	3	14	53	106	4	667
2.Delhi	1	2	7	1	19	186	12	5	5	1	8	65	16	1	329
3.Jullundur	...	2	6	1	35	297	56	5	...	2	9	40	37	1	491
4.Rawal Pindiee	1	1	5	1	11	208	...	5	1	2	4	11	54	...	304
5.Mooltan	...	1	3	...	9	134	17	4	...	...	13	40	5	...	226

*including Ludhiana and Gurgaon High Vernacular Schools.

Source: No. 26, Statement showing the number of schools of each class in each circle according to the present and proposed arrangement in, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to December 1875*, (Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1875), p. 274.

During the years of 1878-79, regarding women education, the number of Aided schools increased from 464 to 469; but the scholars declined from 26,697 to 25,304, in them as well as in the government women schools, which numbered only 105 as against 122 and the number of girls on the rolls decreased from 3, 147 to 2,681.¹²⁴ This decline was said to be due to the sickness that prevailed during the greater part of the year.

According, to the census returns of 1881, for Punjab which was British territory, the number of girls under instruction was 6,101, and those who could read and write 8,407 only. Those who could not read and write were 8,625,827. In other words, about one woman in a

¹²⁴Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in 1878-79*, pp. 54-56. (Government Female Schools & Aided Institutions)

thousand was educated and it was believed that this was under stated here, owing to a prejudice, natural in simple-minded people, that to admit that their women relatives could read and write was something derogatory. The returns of the Education Department presented 9,925 girls in government and Aided schools.¹²⁵

The position of the women with regards to education is well known. Among the families of the progressive and affluent natives, it was common for the women to be learned, though the numbers of such people were very few. There existed a Mohammedan prejudice against teaching girls to write which was not there in Hindus and Sikhs.

Some good schools were established under the management of ladies known with the European idea of education. The native gentlemen did not usually care for, or understood, the women education; however, they could possibly be encouraged, by a praiseworthy hope, to aid in measures for the public good to give such support as they may be able. And only when a much bigger section of native society adapted the western ideas, as in the neighbourhood of the presidency-towns, women education would flourish unexpectedly. In the absence of this condition, there was much waste of money especially on training schools for mistresses which failed to fulfil their object.¹²⁶ Unfortunately though, the women education, in Punjab, was in an underdeveloped state than in many other provinces. In the end of the official year, 1880-81, there were altogether 322 primary schools attended by 9,686 girls. There were 9 government schools for European and Eurasian girls, and one mission aided school for native girls, where English was taught. The government vernacular schools were 150, and the aided ones were 162, in number. The former taught 3,930 girls, and the latter 5,212. Among private schools for girls, the most important were those of the zenana mission; those under the management of committees consisting of native gentlemen and under the superintendence of English ladies. It was realized that women education would not do well until it was entirely left under the management of native gentlemen and until religious education is conveyed in them. It was also suggested that women teachers should be selected for these schools, and male teachers should be avoided. Government should promote persons who take interest in women education, by giving them voluntary titles. It was also felt that the rules of grants-in-aid should not be at all strict, and grants must

¹²⁵*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 60.

¹²⁶*Ibid*, p. 84.

be generously given. These were the ways recommended by which women education could be established on a strong and safe basis.¹²⁷

On the state of women education in the province, Leitner, too, mourned that the so-called instruction given and the number of pupils attending the school for girls was far below in reality than given in the educational reports. He had resigned in protest as the first European president of the Female Education Society, at Lahore, when he discovered that only 11 girls could really read and write out of over 1,100 that were returned as capable in that accomplishment.¹²⁸

Alfred Croft, as well, mentioned that women education was said to be in a very backward condition in Punjab province. In his report, Croft had drawn attention to the fact that in 1884 while in India in general there had been an increase in the number of girls at school, in Punjab the number had steadily and rapidly declined; so much so that from 1,029 schools and 19,561 scholars in 1865-66, the number fell to 465 schools and 11,819 scholars in 1871-72, and to 311 schools and 9,353 scholars in 1882. Two schools, the Arya Samaj School at Ferozpur, and the A.V. school at Lahore were singled out for special mention, as they owed their beginning exclusively to the native attempts. The former sustained mainly the orphans; the latter attended by the children of government officials. Report stated that Holroyd remarked that good instance set by the missionaries and the native community would prove to be successful, and the establishment of the A.V. girls' school at Lahore, was a proof that the zeal to provide a good education for their daughters was making itself felt amongst the educated natives. However, with regard to the ordinary girls' schools in the districts, while there was no difficulty in obtaining scholars, chiefly from the poorer classes, the girls who attended school carried little away with them. It was commented that the schools were packed to the capacity and under taught. There was no regular inspectress; but in many of the large towns the services of ladies were being used in the inspection of girls' schools.¹²⁹

The government of India referred to the defective condition of women education in a resolution of 28th October 1899. There had been a gradual increase in the number of girls attending school, but the numbers, which in 1890-91 were 314,344, had only reached 424,600

¹²⁷*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 115.

¹²⁸Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, p. 104.

¹²⁹Croft, *Review of Education in India*, p. 288.

in 1899-1900 out of nearly 17 million girls of a school-going age. Not only, did the social customs in India, oppose the rapid development of women education in public schools, but also the insufficient results earlier attained were, in a great measure, attributed to the absence of adequate encouragement from the state. It was also preferred that a serious effort should be made to mark a real advance in the matter of women education. In Punjab, the number of girls at public and private institutions in 1899-1900 was 22,695 out of a million and quarter of school-going age, or only 1.57 per cent. There was almost unlimited scope for improvement in the matter of women education in Punjab. Experience showed that it was impossible to rely on the efforts of local boards and municipalities to popularise women education, and in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, it was only by means of energetic action on the part of the Department of Education that an effective stimulus could be given to it. The figures exhibited a relatively backward state of affairs. In the last, Quinquennial Review, women education was described as the most evident scar on the Educational System of India. Women education suffered from many drawbacks as it was considered contrary to the traditions and prejudices of the people. The local customs particularly that of early marriage and the idea that women ought not to be trained up to remunerative employment were unfavourable to it. In so far as it was practiced, it was almost entirely confined to girls of the lower classes, who went to the primary schools to pick up the three R's of reading, writing and arithmetic. Parents in the higher classes refused to send their girls to school. They preferred to have them educated in the zenana at home. It was considered too much, with all these obstacles in the way, to expect that women education in India would make any sudden or rapid strides. Hence, more was required to be done to foster its growth by providing suitable teachers, and, perhaps, by encouraging the formation of a few model schools.¹³⁰

By the close of the quinquennium, we get to know that in the previous five years the number of girls' schools (public and private, for Europeans and Indians) had made an increase. The increase in Punjab was equivalent to 44.6 per cent. In Punjab, in 1907-the number of girls at school-37,283, percentage of girls at school to girls' population of school-going age-2.65, in

¹³⁰Female Education, Pros. No. 15, No.470, dated 6th November, 1901, in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January, 1902*, pp. 11-12. (This correspondence was with ref. to Government of India letter No.470, 6th November 190. Pros. No. 27, No.70S, From W. Bell, Under Secretary to Government, Punjab, Home Education Department to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department. Views of the Punjab government on the question of Female Education & etc., Proceedings for July, 1902, in *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January, 1902*, pp. 1-2.)

1912- number of girls at school- 63,909, percentage of girls to girl population of school-going age- 4.0, percentage of increase in numbers at schools- 44.6.¹³¹

Towards the close of the years, 1916-17, a fair amount of attention was devoted to the women education in India. In Punjab, the number of institutions for girls had increased from 669 to 990 by almost 50 per cent and scholars from 33,820 to 51,496. The total number of girls who continued their studies beyond the lower primary stage was quite low. It was noted that the Indian public opinion slowly transformed from its positive dislike to the education of women and was much more favourable as regards every community. The Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam, and Khalsa societies were making great efforts to bring education within the reach of people and also the Anjuman-i-Islamia was gradually establishing its own schools. Professional men wished to marry their sons to educated girls. Therefore, education was beginning to be valued by parents as improving marriage prospects of their daughters. Miss Douglas, Inspectress of Schools, Rawalpindi Division, in her in-depth and interesting enquiry on the subject of women education found a considerable body of educated, public opinion in favour of a determined effort for the expansion of women education.¹³²The figures given in the table below definitely call for attention.

Table 5.3 Number of Normal schools and scholars for 1916-17, by divisions.

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Ambala	135	4,516
Jullundur	199	8,725
Lahore	295	19,070
Rawalpindi	210	10,175
Multan	151	9,010
Total	990	51,496

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1916-17*, (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1918), p.42.

The data of the education of girls in the following figures would show the measure of progress during the last twenty years as per the quinquennium ending 1921-22. In 1902 (including the N.W.F.P.) 342 schools, in 1907- 575, in 1912- 694, in 1917- 1,008 and in 1922- 1,142 schools. The gradual progress, as far as, the number of schools concerned was not marked, as was in the previous quinquennium. And this slow growth was attributed to many causes as the rises in prices, the consequent reduction in subscriptions and the indirect influences of the non-co-operation movement. The progress throughout the province was not

¹³¹Sharp, *Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912*, Vol. I, p. 213.

¹³²*Report during the quinquennium ending 1916-17*, pp. 41-42.

uniform. The Lahore division was ahead with 21,114 pupils; Jalandhar came next with 11,633; Rawalpindi and Multan with rather smaller numbers; and Ambala last with the poor total of 5,689. The indifference of Ambala division, in regard to the education, both of boys and girls was exceptionally disappointing. It also reflects the inability of the Department to employ an inspectress as an added cause for this poor result. The statistics caused a feeling of disappointment but the period was a period of great interest and significant activity. The overall education system was strengthened and enhanced; public interest for girl education was growing; indifference and resentment showed signs of fading; and what was of even better significance, was the girls were more anxious both to go to school and also to enter the teaching profession.¹³³

The number of educational institutions for girls in 1927-28, was 3,998 against 3,573, in the previous year. Of these unrecognised schools were 2,509. The number of recognised schools increased from 1,367, previous year to 1,489 in the current year. The total number of girls' scholars was 137,086, against 120,637 in the previous year, marking an increase of 13.6 per cent. The number of girls in colleges had increased by 20.8 per cent during the year. In high schools, there were 5,074 pupils, the increase in the high department being 19.6 per cent. In the A.V. middle schools there were 1,029 pupils and in vernacular institutions for girls 15,790. The most advanced district was Lahore, with 8,484 girls in schools, Amritsar with 7,218 and Sialkot with 6,387; Ferozpur, Gujranwala, Ludhiana had each over 4,000 girl pupils. The number of girls learning English had increased by 1,000. The number of girls studying in boys' schools was 10,333, and the number of small boys in girls' schools was 4,970. The direct expenditure in 1926-27 was Rs.16,67,927, and in the year under report it was Rs.18,33,426, or roughly eighteen and half lakhs, distributed thus: - Government Funds-Rs. (In lakhs) $8\frac{3}{4}$, District Funds $1\frac{1}{2}$, Municipal Funds $3\frac{3}{4}$, other sources $3\frac{3}{4}$, Fees $\frac{3}{4}$.¹³⁴

The total number of girls' schools in Punjab had risen by 63 per cent to 196,693 signifying an increase during 1931-32. Lahore stood first, as regards, the number of schools, and had 61,806 scholars, of whom 15,336 were in unrecognized schools. The equivalent figures for Multan were 49,716 and 22,049, for Rawalpindi 40,269 and 15,794 and for Jalandhar 31,174 and 7,088, Ambala had 11,037 girl pupils but only 437 of these were in unrecognized schools, which was a worthy record. The figures for unrecognized schools were always uncertain for usually no regular records were available for verification. The number of girls

¹³³*Report during the quinquennium ending 1921-22*, pp. 128-129.

¹³⁴*Report on the Progress of Education for the year 1927-28*, p. 103.

attending boys' schools had gone up by 11,383 to 21,608. There were 7,952 boys attending girls' schools, an increase of 4,468 on the figures for 1927. Co-education had proved useful for smaller children, where there were women teachers and suitable arrangements existed for care and supervision, but where the needs and the sensibilities of girls were neglected, the results were not very encouraging. The total expenditure on recognized schools for girls was Rs.25, 76, 995 indicating an increase of Rs.9, 09,068 as compared with 1926-27.¹³⁵

The number of institutions for girls in 1917 and 1927, for Punjab, in 1917- Primary Schools-935, Secondary Schools-75, College-2, Special Institutions-18, total-1,030, and in 1927, Primary Schools-1,232, Secondary Schools-114, Colleges-3, Special Institutions-39, and total institutions were 1,388.¹³⁶

Table 5.4 The total number of girls under instruction in 1917 and 1927.

Province (and female population in millions) 1921	Recognised Institutions			Percentage of female population of school going age under instruction in 1927	Percentage of female population under instruction in 1927	Percentage of total male population under instruction in 1927
	1917	1922	1927			
Madras (21)	307,125	367,359	525,697	17.9	2.5	9.2
Bombay (9)	134,684	175, 079	215,859	16.8	2.3	8.8
Bengal	289,800	338, 578	416,415	13.1	1.8	7.7
United Provinces (21)	63,286	93,309	119,215	3.9	0.5	4.8
Punjab (9)	54,901	62,867	89,517	5.7	0.8	8.8
Burma (6)	120,207	116,714	166,193	18.4	2.6	4.1
Bihar and Orissa (17)	109, 291	105,771	115,785	4.8	0.7	5.6
Central Provinces (7)	36,739	38,390	42,359	4.4	0.6	5.0
Assam (3)	27,723	26,808	34,691	6.8	0.9	5.9
British India (120)	1, 156,747	1,340,842	1,751,607	10.4	1.5	6.9

Source: *Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Statutory Commission*, (Delhi: Manager of Government India Press, 1929), p.147.

It seems that at last significance of girls' education had been realized. In Punjab, the importance of girls' education had been recognised in a resolution issued by the Punjab government in February 1928. The resolution dealt with all the characteristics of girls' education and stated that the true development of girls' education was of extreme importance to the welfare of the province, and was urged to be more important even than the progress of

¹³⁵Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32, pp. 92-93.

¹³⁶Review of the Growth of Education in British India, p. 146.

boys' education. If, illiteracy was to be displaced from Punjab, and if the education of boys and girls in schools was to be brought into harmonization with the state of affairs and situation prevailing at home, it was crucial that the system of girls' education be both expanded and enhanced.¹³⁷

With regards, to the progress of women education for the period in 1881-1931, we have with us a table in Appendix showing the details about the percentage of literacy in Punjab. This table summarises development during a long period of fifty years. (Refer Appendix XXIII, p.383)

By 1936-37, information is exhibited that one of the most inspirational and a remarkable feature of the present quinquennium was the notable advance in girls' education. In contrast to, an all-round decline in boys' schools and pupils it was promising to note that, with an addition of 279 to their number, recognized girls' schools had registered a comfortable increase in enrolment of 30,440. This advance was still more gratifying, in view of, the acute financial stringency and the levy of tuition fees in A.V. schools for girls' during the period. This was a clear indication of the growing popularity of girls' education. Another remarkable feature, of this advance, was that large numbers had begun to be attracted to the higher stages. The increase in the number of girls appearing in the M.S.E. during the quinquennium from 1,952 to 3,721 approves this.¹³⁸

The state of girls' education in India by 1936 is clearly seen from the table where the position is shown by provinces including the province of Punjab. The table, however, shows that in comparison to other provinces like that of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and United Provinces, the girls' education in Punjab was on quite a lower level, (Refer Appendix XXIV, p. 383).

The period, 1937-1942, was on a whole an encouraging one. Increased interest in the subject by the public was a marked feature of the period. It had been mentioned, in the last report too, that during the period there was a marked evidence, not only of a decrease in the apathy of parents with regard to the education of their daughters, but of a definite and widespread wish to get them educated. However, it was regretted that owing to the financial stringency funds were unavailable for expanding as rapidly as was effective and possible. During the past five

¹³⁷*Review of the Growth of Education in British India*, p. 152.

¹³⁸*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, p. 6.

years, there has been substantial data of improved interests in girls' education and regardless of some lean years, there have been some good ones and more had been achieved in this quinquennium than the previous one.¹³⁹

Table 5.5 The increase or decrease in the number of schools and colleges of all types together with the number of scholars for the quinquennium 1941-42

	INSTITUTIONS			SCHOLARS		
	1936-37	1941-42	Variation since 1936-37	1936-37	1941-42	Variation since 1936-37
Arts College	4	5	+1	648	906	+258
Professional College	1	4	+3	84	520	+436
High Schools	34	48	+14	10,728	16,327	+5,599
Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools	28	19	-9	6,926	6,205	-721
Vernacular Middle Schools	162	214	+52	36,648	48,736	+12,088
Primary Schools	1,830	2,209	+379	108,337	137,911	+29,574
Special Schools	66	60	-6	2,955	2,495	-460
Total recognised institutions	2,125	2,559	+434	166,326	213,100	+46,774
Unrecognised Schools	3,118	3,023	-95	61,410	66,780	+5,370
Grand Total	5,243		+339	227,736		+52,144

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1943), p. 36.

The salient features of the girls' education during this period, 1944-45, indicate that the educational institutions of all grades declined by 483 to 5,043. The downward trend in the number of unrecognized schools, which became visible in 1940-42 and had continued since then, was accelerated in the year under report, as no less than 517 such schools or 17.8 per cent closed down, chiefly on account of dearth of funds due to unusual conditions prevailing then. In view of the ever-growing public demand for girls' education, a great responsibility was thus suddenly on government and it was preferable that this gap should be filled quickly. It was possible to add only 34 new recognized schools for want of trained teachers. It was gratifying to note that the numerical position of recognized and unrecognized institutions had been reversed. The number of unrecognized institutions came down from 2,904 to 2,387, the number of recognized institutions rose from 2,622 to 2,656.¹⁴⁰

In the absence of report for the progress of education in Punjab for the year of 1946-47, we have with us the decennial review of progress of education in India, for 1937-1947, which

¹³⁹*Report during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, p.36.

¹⁴⁰*Report on the Progress of Education in 1944-45*, pp. 12-13.

provides us with the statistics showing the distribution of girls under instruction in all institutions.

Table 5.6 Figures for girls under instruction in all institutions in Punjab during 1937-1947.

1937-38	2,56,867
1938-39	2,74,687
1939-40	2,93,892
1940-41	2,99,854
1941-42	3,04,320
1942-43	3,03,198
1943-44	3,10,092
1944-45	3,14,378
1945-46	3,42,378
1946-47	3,69,768

Source: *Progress of Education in India, 1937-47*, Decennial Review, Vol. II, Publication No.113, (Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1954), p. 356.

The statistics above reveal that the number of girls under instruction in the province did increase over the years proving the prevalence amongst the natives of the awareness to get their girls educated. With the discourse reaching to an end, it is acknowledged that it was only when an educational department was organized for the province, did the subject of women education began to receive attention; but progress was slow, and the people, if did not exhibit opposition, took little or no interest in the movement. Thus, matters stood still until the year 1862, at which period the number of girls' schools in the province was 52, and the number of scholars 1168. Robert Montgomery had called upon the people of Amritsar and Lahore on the subject of education, and drew their earnest attention to the necessity for providing education for their daughters in 1863. By the middle of 1863, there were 103 schools, and 2,224 women scholars in Punjab; and at the close of R. Montgomery's administration (i.e., the beginning of 1865), the number of girls under instruction exceeded 20,000. The journey of women education in Punjab for the subsequent years has been elaborately discussed in the chapter.

As regards, the education of women in Punjab, it was felt that it had taken long for the people of Punjab to reach where they were, but were still at a very evolving stage of awakening parents to the needs of educating their girls. And it was strongly stressed that an effective programme of spreading education needed to be started if the extension of women education was required. Despite various measures taken to work out the crisis of women's education in Punjab, and, for the matter of that, in the country, it would not be solved by without difficulty

as the problem was too deep-rooted and called on Punjab to wake up to the seriousness of the situation.¹⁴¹

It is evident, as Nita Kumar says; the reasons for the resistance to British education were somewhat the same for boys as for girls: it was unfamiliar and not much helpful system; the doubts about the schooling of women displayed a similarity to those for men. So long as those who gave education were trusted and refined women, the public would find it appropriate.¹⁴² Our next chapter takes on, from the last line, that people would only find the education of their women as right, if the ones who imparted education were a trusted and experienced woman that is women teachers.

¹⁴¹Gholam Yaseen, *Education of Indian Women in the Punjab*, (Amritsar: N.P, 1917), p. V.

¹⁴²Nita Kumar, *Lessons from the Schools: the History of Education in Benares*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), p. 154.

Chapter 6

Training Institutions for Women Teachers in Punjab

The slow rate of progress in female education is officially ascribed 'to the paucity of qualified teachers'.¹

The above remark was made by Malcolm Lyall Darling (He held various posts like that of Assistant Commissioner, Punjab in 1904, Financial Commissioner, Punjab, in 1936.) Darling grieved that despite the various attempts of rectifying the desperate need for women teachers, obstacles remained firmly in place. The lack of women teachers nearly threatened the successful continuation of girls' education.

The grand obstacle to the improvement of female schools, and to the grand extension of them, is the universal want of *female teachers*.²[Mary Carpenter, *Suggestions on Prison Discipline and Female education in India*, (London, Longman's and Co., 1866, pp.12-13). This important statement by Mary Carpenter, the British social reformer, about the status of women education in India, is notable, as the necessity of women teachers for women education was uniform throughout India. Women education had not been on a sound basis for long. Not only were women discouraged from being educated, their taking up the cause of teaching was all the more unwelcomed. The employment of women teachers was a prerequisite, if women education needed to be encouraged. The inhibitions of the natives regarding missionaries imparting education to their women was known by one and all. Miss Carpenter stressed on the dire need of them and called upon to redress this grievance if women education was to make strides at all.

In the mid-nineteenth-century, Mary Carpenter, suggested remedies to improve and extend women education in India. Carpenter's emphasis on training women teachers, was in accordance with, what had become the common plan in Britain. Despite Carpenter's suggestions and the increasing popularity of women education, the effort to train larger numbers of women teachers, were quite elusive.

¹Malcolm Lyall Darling, *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 299.

²Sengupta, *Pedagogy for Religion*, p. 102.

Consequently, by the mid of nineteenth century, the real efforts for women education were still evasive. Though started late, yet the measures and the real endeavours partially on the part of government, partly on the part of natives and missionaries for this cause did yield some positive results. The previous chapter has meticulously brought about this.

Furthermore, by the beginning of twentieth century, the movements for women education and the need for women teachers were in full swing in the entire nation. Women were concentrating more, at that time, for their own education. They understood that when enlightened they would be able to raise their consent of marriage and this in turn would reduce the number of child widows and would act as a blow to purdah as more women would come out to study.

In the 1920s, a small group of educated women who regarded education as the key to their salvation launched a vigorous campaign for women's education, and organized public meetings, rallies and conferences. They came forward from all walks of life. When All India Women's Conference, established in 1927, came to Poona for the first conference, the women were brimming with purpose and enthusiasm for the propagation of education among women. Several Muslim women attended and joined the others in calling for greater efforts for women's education. The type of education introduced by the British catered to only a small section of urban society. The need for the trained teachers was felt most in the rural areas. The importance of having women teachers, at the primary school level, was stressed.³She further mentions that there was ample evidence to show that there was a keen demand, for the education of girls which was evident from the overcrowded schools and the refusal of admissions to new students. The scarcity of women teachers, in backward areas, had been traced to the absence of training schools and colleges, according to the Hartog Committee, which consisted of eminent educationists and was presided over by Philip Hartog. Madras and Punjab were the only provinces, with women Deputy Directors, who were in charge of starting new schools where there was a need, to modify syllabus in girls' schools and to advise the director on matters pertaining to girls' education. One of the reasons, for the slow growth and development of women's education, even in the provinces where conditions were favourable, was lack of funds and the absence of women teachers and the general inefficiency of the schools. It was in 1928, that under the presidentship of Lady

³Basu and Ray, *Women's Struggle*, pp. 30-31.

Irwin, the All-India Fund for Women's Education was started and a Home Science College scheme was launched in November 1932. The Lady Irwin College for Home Science, Educational and Psychological research and Training Teachers offered two courses: a one-year course in Home Science and a three-year diploma course for those who wished to take up Home Science proficiently as teachers.⁴

The above brief introduction gives us a look into the positive steps being taken by the women themselves to register the importance of their education in the twentieth century. Our journey of women education, in the previous chapter, has already introduced and brought us closer to some facts about women education like women education in the pre-colonial and colonial India, women teachers, procurement of schoolmasters' wives and widows as teachers, zenana instruction, check on women education by introduction of Urdu as the medium of instruction and some other significant factors. However, this travel would remain incomplete, unless we delve deeper and bring out the details of the women teachers needed for the same.

Necessity of Trained Women Teachers for Women Education

As discussed, in the previous chapter, and above there were some inevitable major issues to be dealt with to bring women education on an even level with that of men's education. Various movements by women and measures by government were being undertaken to address this vital issue. And for this, to happen, it was needed that more women come up as teachers.

In the previous chapter, we have read that some of the imminent measures for the spread of women education included the procurement of schoolmasters' wives as teachers, and employment of widows as having male teachers was discouraged and women teachers were preferred.

With respect to the women education, the government had purposely abstained from acting towards its women subjects, as it acted towards men, in the field of education which was evident from the fact that in none of the general despatches relating to the educational matters submitted to or received from the Court of Directors during the first half of the century, was

⁴Basu and Ray, *Women's Struggle*, pp. 34-37.

there any reference to the education of Indian girls and women. The first official support to the women education in British India was extended by Dalhousie.

The above fact, that the British state, abstained from acting towards women education, till the Wood's Despatch of 1854, was further solidified by J. A. Richey. He mentioned in his pioneer work that prior to the receipt of the Despatch of 1854 from the Court of Directors, 'female education was not recognised as a branch of the State system of education in India.'⁵ The education of girls was left completely to the support and care of individuals and private societies. The general view of the Indian people for women education was not welcoming. There was no demand by the people for women education therefore the authorities, both in England and India believed that any attempts to introduce it, might be regarded by the people as an interference with their social customs.

After this, not only the authorities in India, but the educated and the influential members of the Indian society began to show an active interest in the cause. The Minute of Lord Dalhousie is the first official announcement, indicating the future policy of the government regarding women education. It marked the close of the era of no-interference, and the beginning of that of open encouragement. It was emphasized time and again that even in the early days of its prosperity; women education unquestionably was known not to be opposed to any of the religious principles of the Hindus. India could boast of her well-read and worthy ladies who were equally famous like any well-known European lady of ancient or modern times. Keeping, this in mind, the cordial support of all moderate and progressive natives of India was counted on, for an endeavour from which they possibly will in a short time; harvest the greatest and most long-term rewards.⁶

Hereafter, the early efforts towards women education were enunciated and along with that the procurement of women teachers. Teacher's place, in our society, has been of reverence since olden times. During the colonial time too, it was stressed that teachers were vital, but there was a dearth of trained teachers who could teach pupils and it was completely a disappointment regarding the women teachers.

⁵Richey, *Selections from Educational Records, Part II*, p. 32.

⁶Ibid, p. 61.

Taking notice of the prevailing state of affairs of women education, it was deemed essential to have women teachers in the schools for women education. The state of the teachers available was such that they were competent to teach only reading and writing and the peculiar Indian conditions made the availability of women teachers almost impossible. The women, especially the unmarried, were not forthcoming to adopt this profession of teaching hence the saving grace of the hour was the procurement of schoolmaster's wives and widows as teachers, which, too, at times seemed to be an uphill task because of the various issues. The shortage of suitable trained teachers to meet the sudden expansion in girls' education in India, in the second half of the 19th century, was a problem confronting all educational undertakings, secular or religious. Before the 1880s, when unmarried women missionaries from Britain began to arrive in numbers, missionary societies engaged in zenana education, found it difficult to obtain the services of suitably trained lady governesses, for ladies were distinctly preferred, to enter private houses of upper-class Indians and instruct girls and women in the zenanas.⁷

Such was the picture of the educational system that the need of additional trained women teachers turned out to be one of the supreme needs. The trained women teachers were needed not only for the teaching of girls but for that of boys, since by general consent they were the best teachers for the primary classes in all schools. Madras had more women teachers than Bombay and Bengal together; and Burma and Madras alone, of all the provinces, had a high proportion of trained teachers. The low percentage in Bengal and the United Provinces were distressing⁸, (Refer Appendix XXV, p.384).

Arthur Mayhew pointed out very aptly that the prevailing Indian conditions had almost made the employment of unmarried women impossible and of widows uncalled for. In view of, the difficulty of securing women teachers for girls' schools, their employment in boys' schools seemed to be a strange suggestion. In Christian mission schools, much was being done, to educate and train the teachers' wives for services in these schools.⁹ Hence, the need of training the wives of the teachers and determined and successful attempts to educate and train the Hindu widows, in special institutions had been made in Madras and Lahore. Many widows trained in general institutions were being widely employed. However, few serious

⁷Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia*, (Oxford, England: Praeger, 2013), p. 125.

⁸*Review of the growth of Education in British India*, pp. 175-176.

⁹Mayhew, *The Education of India*, p. 252.

objections associated with the widows who took up work outside the family were that of widows' connection with bad luck and the difficulty of providing appropriate lodging and friends in order to protect them against the evils. Efforts were being made to train husband and wife simultaneously in order that both may work in the girls' school, or support respectively the local boys' and girls' schools.¹⁰

Many efforts were in progress to see that women education and also the women teacher training flourished. Some major endeavours included the-appointment of married-couple, the husband to act as an assistant inspector, and the wife to be inspectress of women schools. As it was almost impossible for a lady to go about on her own, examining village and town women schools, and it was for this reason most advisable to increase the services of a married couple. The work of inspection was increasing so fast and had already increased in the Lahore Circle that the appointment of an Assistant Inspector was very much required which would in turn solidify the introduction of required satisfactory system of women education.¹¹The employment of women teachers was necessary for women education as there was a prejudice against male teachers. We come across, several evidences, proving that a feeling existed in many parts of India not in favour of the services of men as teachers and inspectors in girls' schools. The majority of girls' schools were conducted by male teachers. Only elderly men were thought to be apt for the work, and any attempt at wide extension of women education by means of young women or men teachers, would be contradictory to the reaction of the people. The teaching staffs of the girls' schools have to be mostly engaged from superannuated schoolmasters, many of whom have lost their powers of work.

On the necessity and availability of women teachers, the E.C. of 1882 mentioned, rules to be framed to promote the gradual restraint of male by women teachers in all girls' schools. It further mentioned that in schools under women teachers, stipendiary pupil-teacherships be encouraged. It also suggested that the teachers in schools for general education be encouraged by special rewards to prepare pupils for examinations for teachers' certificates, and that, girls be encouraged by the offer of prizes to qualify for such certificates. Moderate encouragement should be offered to the wives of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers and widows, in suitable

¹⁰Mayhew, *The Education of India*. pp. 268-269.

¹¹Circular No.15 dated Lahore 18th February 1869, *Female Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 2.

cases, to be trained as school-mistresses and proper care to be taken to provide them with satisfactory safety in the places where they were to be engaged as teachers.¹²

The contribution of zenana teachers to women education was highlighted. It was anticipated by W. W. Hunter that in the existing circumstances the mere establishment of school would be insufficient to bring about the general spread of education among women. Community reaction kept many women isolated in zenanas. It was thus, observed, that the education of girls of the prominent classes could not be carried on in schools to somewhat like completion and in many cases, it could not even be started. Some plan was required for spreading instruction to those who could not go away from homes for education, and for undertaking further, teaching which may have begun in schools. Agencies for zenana teaching were conducting this work with great success. Motivated in many cases by religious reasons, zenana teachers had brought some measure of secular teaching into the homes of those who would otherwise have been completely excluded from it.¹³

The E.C. had stated that there was a dearth of women teachers in the provinces and this was acting as a major setback to the women education. Deficiency of teachers for girls' schools was clearly brought out in the figures that convey to us the root of the difficulty regarding the extension of girls' education in India. They showed that the supply of trained women teaching was completely inadequate to the demand. There were only 515 girls at Normal schools throughout India in 1881-82 and of these, 138 were in Punjab. It was admitted that the supply of schoolmasters' wives would produce far reaching results, if it could turn out, the required number of teachers, as it had not been possible to obtain an adequate supply of teachers. On a particular proposal, made with regard, to the more extensive employment of native widows as teachers, it stated that native public opinion in many provinces prevented it. It was likely that the highly regarded Hindu families would not allow their widowed members to take on a public service, as that of a schoolmistress. Only if, Hindu widows could be persuaded to take up the profession of teaching, one of the major difficulties would be conquered. Apart from the exposed position, of a young Hindu widow who moves out of the firmly protected family circle, women teachers in India had great and special difficulties to contend against. While at a number of occasions such instances had proved to be successful. In the first place, the position that they assumed exposed them to impolite remarks and in the

¹²Paranjpe, *A Source book of Modern Indian Education*, p. 197.

¹³*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 547.

second place, the Indian school mistress frequently found two opponents in the village to which she was sent, the old male teacher whom she superseded, and the youth who assisted her, whose masculine dignity would not allow him to serve under a woman. Lady Superintendents of women training colleges, who identified with the complications of the circumstances, could do much to make it possible for the decisive success of the young women whom they posted. For example, the Lady Superintendent of the Ahmedabad Female Training College never gave her approval to a widow teacher being posted in a locality, until she secured for her the consent and support of the leading native families. But, in spite of all such measures, the position of a women teacher, especially if she was a widow, was a complicated one in an Indian village. Many of these difficulties would, however, disappear if arrangements could be made for employing trained women teachers in their own villages.¹⁴

An amazing reality that set Punjab apart was the state of women education that was not very encouraging in other parts of India except in Punjab. The first report of the Board of Administration in Punjab pointed out that women education which was almost unknown in other parts of the India was to be found in all parts of Punjab. There were also women teachers and pupils who were procured from all the communities-Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. Dalhousie greatly regarded the subject of the women education. He approved of D.W. Bethune's efforts and said that, "I truly believe that you have planted the grain of mustard seed; and that it will one day be a great tree which you and those whom we serve may be proud to look upon."¹⁵

Furthermore, on the subject of the teachers for women schools, one of the major crusaders of women education in Punjab, Baba Khem Singh Bedi, had also raised his apprehensions on the appointment of teachers for women schools in Punjab province. He said that the appointment of teachers should rest with the people, because unless the teacher possesses the confidence of the people, they will not send their girls to schools. They may be of both sexes, and the chief requisite required was good conduct.¹⁶ Moreover, another major difficulty experienced, was that of getting the women, who were trained to accept employment, as they stayed on from year to year as pensioners, or, if appointed as teachers, exempted themselves on some pretence. They sometimes took to teaching in their neighbourhood but it was

¹⁴*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, pp. 539-540.

¹⁵Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁶Statement by Khem Singh Bedi, C.I.E, Rawalpindi, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 312.

difficult for them to live alone in a strange place. The plan of employing a man and his wife to teach boys and girls separately sometimes answered, but it was not easy to make arrangement of it.¹⁷ Surprisingly, it was found that training of widows as teachers in Amritsar had mostly Hindu widows and it was an assurance that what has been successful there may succeed in other parts of the province.¹⁸

The urgent need and apprehensions regarding women teachers could be seen during the Educational Conference held at Jalandhar, in 1932. The field of women education remained relatively unexplored. Moreover, the opinion already was strongly divided on the suitability, for the girls, the curriculum meant for boys. Hence, it was stressed that a mother who shoulders the responsibility of developing the mental abilities of a child could effectively do this if the teacher in-charge of the primary education was a woman. Another difficult problem was how young trained girls were to be entrusted with these duties. There were numerous male candidates for normal classes but women candidates were shy to enter into this profession. Unless, most of the primary schools, both for boys and girls get trained women-teachers, the proper development of children would not be possible.¹⁹

Recommendations for the Training of Women Teachers

Regarding the women teachers, it was observed that there were certain limitations and conditions which applied to the various classes from which women teachers could be derived. Also, if a genuine and lasting expansion was to be made in the women education, the growth and change of native public opinion was a must.

The E.C. held that, government could draw all the capabilities of the existing sources of supply by providing reasonable support to training colleges, by an extended system of stipends to the students in training institutions and by a generous amount of grants for schools which employed recognised women teachers. However, it made no suggestions regarding the course of instruction being followed in few of the women training colleges visited by them. It

¹⁷*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 62.

¹⁸Training of widows as teachers, Pros. No. 27, No.70 S, 31st July 1902, Proceedings for July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January 1902*, p.2.

¹⁹Normal School Ideals by Lala Hardayal Chopra, Head Master Govt. Normal School Jullundur, *Proceedings of the Educational Conference, Jullundur Division, held at Jullundur City, on 13th, 14th and 15th of October 1932*, p. 28.

advised the liberal encouragement to be offered alike to natives, European and Eurasian young women, to qualify themselves as teachers for girls' schools.²⁰ Furthermore, it recommended that, in order to encourage girls to look forward to teaching as a profession, it was proper to encourage pupil-teachers wherever possible. The pupil-teachers would provide material for Normal schools and for Normal classes in connection with ordinary schools where there was enough teaching power. The number of young women qualified to teach was so small that it was necessary to recruit by special incentives offered both to the pupils and to those who may instruct them. In some places, the wives of schoolmasters were almost, the only group available as schoolmistresses, so it was realistic to draw as many of them possible to the work. The Commission stressed that what no comprehensive measures could attain at once, may perhaps be attained by a multiplicity of minor plans, each contributing modestly.²¹

Besides, the above recommendations, the other suggestions made were that of the employment of married couples in village schools-the difficulties of getting women teachers to go and teach in village schools was discussed. In the Madras Presidency, married couples were recruited to teach in mixed schools. This policy was also being followed in Punjab to some extent. Efforts also were being made in Punjab to train the wives of schoolmasters or pupil teachers under training. The advantage of having women teachers for the infant classes of mixed schools and even boys' schools was also emphasized. Reference was made to the large number of men teachers in purely girls' primary schools in all provinces. The difficulty in replacing men with women teachers was not so much that women teachers were not available but that they would not go to villages alone. There was often no place where they could live and they could not go unprotected. The difficulty about a married couple in a village where there were two schools was that the man might be transferred and the woman left. It appeared, therefore, that the employment of married couples could only be a solution in mixed schools and would not help the girls' school at all.²² It was felt proper that inducements should be offered to the teachers of boys' schools to teach or have their wives trained as girls' school teachers and also special efforts should be made to train the girls who would return to their own native places to teach after training.

²⁰*Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 540.

²¹*Ibid*, p. 547.

²²*Report of the Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education's on Primary Education of Girls in India, 1936*, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), p. 7.

Establishment of Normal Schools for Women Teachers by Missionaries in Punjab

Given the situation, the few institutions for women education, in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, owed their existence particularly to the efforts of missionaries and philanthropic private individuals. The efforts made by the missionaries in the education of women were there for everyone to be seen. Not only did they try and educate the girls but also trained them for teaching. We come across women Normal schools maintained by the missionaries.

For the women teachers across India, the system for the certificating and training of women teachers was based on that for male teachers; but a large number of women were instructed in mission institutions. In some provinces, the arrangements in these privately managed institutions were less specific and definite than in the government colleges and schools for male teachers. In many cases, instruction was given in small classes attached to schools for general education.

Many of the solutions undertaken to overcome the scarcity of the trained women teachers still seemed quite less in comparison to the mammoth task of women education. Owing to the existing social conditions of the country and the backwardness of women education, there were no institutions for training mistresses in Punjab. Hence in their place, there were Normal classes attached to 5 of the ordinary girls' schools in the province. It was admitted by the government that though this system was not satisfactory yet it was almost impossible to improvise upon until the social conditions in the province allowed for proper Normal schools to be established for women teachers.²³

In Punjab classes, the course extended over two years during which regular instruction was given in the subjects laid down for the certificate examination, with daily practice in teaching under supervision. For A.V. students, the course was the same as in the male Normal schools; for vernacular students there was a separate course with separate senior and junior certificates. The course for the senior certificate included: vernacular language, arithmetic, history and geography, physiology and domestic economy, Euclid and algebra, or elementary physical science, or a classical language, needlework, school management, and practice of

²³Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, p.220

teaching.²⁴ Furthermore, regarding the stipends in the training classes under private management as in Punjab, the practice varied between the payment of stipends or scholarships to the students under training, and the payment of grants to the schools, in order to provide for their maintenance. In Punjab, upper primary scholarships of the value of Rs. 2 a month, and middle vernacular scholarships of the value of Rs.3 a month, were granted to girls who intended to undergo a course of training in a recognised Normal class.²⁵

It was commendable for the missions, to have come up with training of women teachers. The first Normal school for native mistresses was opened at Delhi by the S.P.G. Mission in 1863-64. It was due to their efforts, that there were three private Normal schools for training women teachers, by 1865-66, existing in Delhi, under the S.P.G. Mission, and the other two at Lahore and Amritsar, under the native committees. However, there was still a school to be established by government for women teachers. At Delhi, there was a women Normal school maintained by the Mission (the first training schools for women by missionaries as stated above). In the course of a year or two, it was able to provide a sufficient number of women teachers acceptable to the people of Delhi and the surrounding districts. William Holroyd, D.P.I., Punjab, in a letter to the secretary, to government of Punjab, stated that the support and co-operation of the missionaries in the establishment of a Normal school in Ludhiana was forthcoming, and the missionaries at Ludhiana, were interested in the proposed measure, and ready to afford any facilities that would be within their power.²⁶ The need of a European mistress to train mistresses for women Normal schools was being felt since long. Therefore, in order to have a trained mistress, for every woman Normal school, it was considered important to obtain European mistresses from England. It was suggested that, it would be a great advantage, if women suitable for the job of a teacher could be found in India but despite of the delay that this course might cause it would be preferable to obtain teachers from England than to employ women whose qualifications were not of high order.²⁷

Besides, the missionary efforts for the training of women teachers, there was no effort by the government as of yet, and the need of trained women teachers became very high. Consequently, the plan was adopted of attaching normal classes to some of the existing girls' schools and offering of stipends to girls who had passed the classes and preparing for one of

²⁴ Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 221.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 222.

²⁶ Circular No.15, Lahore 18th February 1869, *Female Education*, File No.2, General & Political, Ambala, p. 4.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 5.

the certificate examinations. These classes were instituted in 1891. But considering that not many of the teachers had been trained, this small supply was hardly noticeable. Much awaited effort from government's side came in 1905, with the first Normal School for women being established in Lahore.

Development of Training Schools for Women (For Selected Years 1864 Onwards)

As discussed, the real efforts by the government for women education and women teacher training came quite late. This has been aptly described, in the beginning of the chapter. In the direction of women teacher training in Punjab, it was exclusively the private endeavour that needs to be applauded, till the training school came up in 1905. The training of women teachers in the beginning was left completely to private enterprise.

Since the question of women education had been left suspended by the colonials for quite some time in Punjab but positive reports from other parts of the country forced the officers to devote their due attention to this topic. So, by 1856-57 a number of women schools were opened and it was rightly contended that in order for the women education to register actual progress women teachers were the call of the hour and they in turn could be provided only by the establishment of Normal schools.

The Female Education report, mentions that, as far as 1864, a Normal school for women was established at Delhi, through the efforts of Mr Winter of the S.P.G Mission. Several well qualified women teachers had been supplied by the institution, and had been employed in government women schools. In the same year, two other women Normal schools were founded, one at Lahore and the other one at Amritsar managed by committees of native gentlemen, at the suggestion of the Raja of Kapurthala, who contributed Rs.50 per mensem to the support of each of these institutions.²⁸

It is noted that training schools for women, by 1866, were well in operation for the education of women who could replace the gurus and mullas, but social difficulties prevented their employment even after they had become qualified to teach. There were three training schools (out of the 18 private schools) for native mistresses receiving a grant-in-aid of Rs.1, 200 per

²⁸Circular No.15, Lahore 18th February 1869, *Female Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department Ambala, pp. 12-13.

annum; but they were counted in the schools for girls, as they did not appear to have supplied teachers, except to a very limited extent.²⁹Hence, in the beginning, before the government schools, there were three private Normal schools for training women vernacular teachers. One was under the S.P.G. Mission at Delhi, and the other two at Lahore and Amritsar under the native committees.

During 1867-68, the Normal school of S.P.G. Mission at Delhi was progressing fairly and was attended by Hindu as well as Mohammedan women. The Lahore Normal school, placed under the care of European lady, proving to be superlative; however, as the teachers of the Hindi department were still men, which acted as a great disadvantage. The Normal school at Amritsar was being attended by men but the new scheme submitted for sanction of the government laid down for the teachers and students to be women under the superintendence of an English lady. The Normal school established by the Anjuman at Kangra was expected to prove highly successful. The headmistress of the school was a native Christian and the stipendiary students were required to enter into an agreement to serve as teachers in future after they left the Normal school. Anjuman's enlightened effort was highly applauded.³⁰ However a surprising disclosure is made in the report regarding the government's intent for the establishment of Normal schools for women teachers in the province. It is stated that even though the government recently made its plan to establish Normal schools at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, but declined to assist any movements in the N.W.P. or Punjab, or to contribute to the support of any schools unless one half of the expenditure be raised by native subscription. And also, it was declared that very few women schools could be maintained if natives must voluntarily subscribe half the expenditure.³¹

Hence, for the purpose of extension of the efforts being made for women education, it was anticipated to take some steps and the most indispensable was the provision of better teachers and a better system of supervision. Another measure was the appointment of English Headmistresses or Lady Superintendents in order to bring the Lahore and Amritsar Normal schools on a better footing, thereby increasing the supply of well-trained mistresses, and

²⁹*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 11-12.

³⁰W.R.M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1867-68*, (Lahore: Indian Public Opinion Press, 1868), pp. 38-39.

³¹*Ibid*, pp. 39-40.

establishment of three new women Normal schools with English head mistresses at Hoshiarpur, Sialkot and Ludhiana.³²

In, 1868-69, out of the 5 existing, private or Aided Normal schools, four were for women. The state of the various private Normal schools was like, the Normal school at Lahore and Amritsar, supported mainly by the government, received an additional funding from the municipalities of Lahore and Amritsar towns. Lahore School was under the charge of Miss Fuller. Babu Nobin Chandra Roy and Lala Behari Lal devoted considerable time to the tuition of women, in the Hindi department, of the Normal school at Lahore. The women Normal School at Amritsar was reorganized under Mrs Rodgers, the Lady Superintendent, and the former students, who were all men, were dismissed. It was attended by 40 women scholars. A new Normal School opened at Sialkot by the close of the year did not find any mention in the returns. The endeavours of the Social Society or Anjuman at Kangra were brought to the notice of the government, who started a women Normal school at Kangra station. Meanwhile, it was noted that the women Normal School at Delhi under the S.P. G. Mission continued to make satisfactory progress.³³ The Normal school for women was established at Kangra, mentioned above, at a cost of Rs.110 per mensem of which 55 per mensem was asked as a grant-in-aid from the government. Here, there was both native initiation and native co-operation. The school promised to be successful and all the pupils were required to enter into a commitment to serve in future as teachers.³⁴ The state of the various women Normal schools in the different Circles for the year was as- E. Wilmot, Inspector of Schools, Ambala Circle, said in his report that the number of women schools in the Ambala Circle and the average attendance of the girls, had reduced. He admitted, without any regret, that every school, he visited had strengthened his confidence that, except in certain limited districts of Punjab, women education was premature.³⁵ C.W.W. Alexander, Inspector of Schools, Lahore Circle, reported that there were the same 3 private Normal schools as mentioned in the previous year's reports. Lahore Normal School for women was divided into three branches, Persian, Hindi, and Gurmukhi, of which the Hindi branch emerged to be absolutely the best. The Amritsar Normal school for women remained in an active state; the arrangements for restructuring it did not come into operation. The course of study at the C.V. E's training School, at Amritsar, matched up in practically all the respects

³²*Female Education*, File No. 2, General & Political, Ambala, p. 12.

³³Holroyd, *Report for the year 1868-69*, p. 42. (Private Normal Schools)

³⁴*Female Education*, File No. 2, General & Political, Ambala, p. 16.

³⁵Holroyd, *Report for the year 1868-69*, p. 96.

with that of the government Normal schools. The education imparted was exceptionally good and the students received special training in the art of education which particularly familiarized them with their future profession. The inspector lamented the fact that this success was something that government Normal schools were unable to attain, owing to the want of trained masters.³⁶Inspector C. Pearson, Rawalpindi circle, in his report mentioned, that in accordance with the advice of Miss Carpenter, a women Normal school was established at Sialkot with a suitable Lady Superintendent, Mrs Rule, being engaged on a salary of Rs.150 per month. There were ten pupils of whom two received Rs.10 per mensem and would act as assistant teachers until some other arrangement was made. This amount included their stipend, so that they would receive Rs.8 in cash per month. It is worth noting here that of the ten pupils, 3 were of the Khatri class, 3 of the Kashmiri class, 2 of the Sayads, and 2 of the Sunyars class. Their average age was 25 years. Two were widows, and the rest married. No girls from the orphanage had been admitted. None of those, admitted knew the English language. Their training would, it was projected, extend over a period of three years.³⁷

By 1873-74, there were five Aided women Normal schools. Out of the five Normal schools, for women, four were in the Lahore Circle and one at Delhi as mentioned in the report, for the year 1873-74. The schools, at Lahore and Amritsar, were under the committees of natives. The only school that was considered thoroughly successful was the one at Amritsar, which had contributed significant number of teachers to the primary schools of the city since its re-organization, in the year 1868. Of the 36 existing schools, 23 had been provided with trained women teachers. The state of the Lahore School had never been actually reasonable. The Normal schools rarely solved the purpose for which they were established. They had stipendiary students, the majority of whom never went ahead to serve as teachers, and they could not train women whom villagers would have accepted in their schools. They did, of course, supply some teachers. The report on the Normal School for women at Lahore stated that the school had definitely not preformed its appropriate part in sending out trained teachers for primary schools. It had 59 students; most of them had been for a long time in the school. The Normal School for women at Amritsar was a much more successful institution. While the number of schools to which it had to supply the teachers was much larger than in Lahore, however the number of students was significantly lesser, amounting only to 38. The

³⁶Holroyd, *Report for the year 1868-69*, p. 124.

³⁷Ibid, p. 137.

Sialkot Normal School for women was unable to send out trained teachers. The women Normal School at Jalandhar had 44 students including the children belonging to the Model school. Some 4 or 5 Mohammedan women had qualified themselves in this school for the post of teacher but no employment could be found for them, as they were unwilling to leave the town. It was almost not worthwhile to maintain this school as a Normal School, if the students who were trained in it, were not able to get employment.³⁸

The progress of education in the year 1878-79, had been checked by the prevalence of great sickness and scarcity throughout the province, combined in some districts with other disturbing causes. In some places, the epidemic fear was so severe, that schools were closed for weeks together. In the review of the report, by the government, it was mentioned that the women Normal schools continued to be indifferently spoken of. The prevailing sickness and scarcity of the year seriously affected the number of scholars which fell and the number of the schools also fell off. There were 6 Aided Normal schools, 1 for men and 5 for women including the European training school at Delhi (maintained by the S.P.G. Mission). The Aided Normal school, for the native women, at Delhi was maintained by the S.P.G. The Inspector, at the time of his visit, found that the school had 21 Mohammedan pupils and 13 Hindu. The three remaining schools were in the Lahore Circle-at Jalandhar, Amritsar and Lahore. The Jalandhar School was maintained by the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society. It had 83 pupils, of whom 70 were Mohammedans and 13 Hindus. The Amritsar Female Normal School had 36 women of whom 11 were Hindus, 15 Mohammedans and 10 Sikhs. The arrangements for the management of the Lahore Normal School were deemed unsatisfactory, so it was decided to call a Lady from England to take charge of it. The Mohammedan section of this school was by far, the most promising, and contained some girls of good family. The Hindu women, though of good caste, appear to be in lesser situation than the Mohammedans.³⁹

Up until the year 1882, there were three Normal Schools for training teachers for girls' schools, two managed by the committees of native gentlemen at Lahore and Amritsar, and a third under the S. P. G. Mission at Delhi. The most shocking fact was that none of the schools answered the purpose for which they were proposed. At Delhi, the women were either too old or too young, and in both the cases, hardly had any plan of taking up the work of teaching in

³⁸Holroyd, *Report for the year 1873-74*, pp. 91-93. (Aided Normal Schools)

³⁹Holroyd, *Report for the year 1878-79*, pp. 72-73. (Aided Female Normal schools)

seriousness. Hence, it was proposed by the mission to convert the Normal school, which consisted of two branches (one for Mohammedans and the other for Hindus), into a single Normal school for Christian women. At Lahore and Amritsar, the same difficulty was experienced in getting the women who had been trained to accept employment. The number of women under training was 138, of whom four were native Christians, 42 Hindus, 59 Mohammedans, and 33 Sikhs. The supply of women teachers would, therefore, had been sufficient if the Normal schools were doing their proper work. Seen simply as schools of a superior kind, they were said to be satisfactory with respect to the progress and attainments of the scholars.⁴⁰

Alfred Croft's report in 1886, mentions that, the four training schools for mistresses in Punjab were all under private management and all aided. They contained about 150 pupils but only a small proportion of these were under training as teachers and still fewer had passed even the lower primary examinations. Mr Denzil Ibbetson as officiating Director for 1883-84, said that, it was literally a waste to call such schools normal and a waste of money to pay for them as such. The system of separate Normal schools for native girls had been tried and had failed. These were more or less primary schools, in all probability of a superior class, some of the most promising pupils of whom hardly ever agreed to serve as teachers in the immediate neighbourhood of their homes.⁴¹

The want of trained teachers had seriously troubled the progress of girls' education. The two major hurdles responsible for this, were the common indifferences of natives and the want of qualified teachers. In spite, of the few, existing Aided Normal schools for women, the object of having trained women teachers remained unfulfilled. Young women were unwilling to attend a Normal school or to serve as teachers at a distance from their homes. This adverse attitude of people had led to the slow and almost negligible growth of Normal schools for women.

⁴⁰*Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 62.

⁴¹Croft, *Review of Education*, pp. 79-80.

The report of 1887-88, states that there were two Normal Schools: one at Delhi under the S.P.G. Mission, the other at Amritsar under a committee of native gentlemen. There was also an institution at Delhi which was intended to train European girls for zenana work.⁴²

As, is known, the reports mention that there were no government institutions for training mistresses in Punjab but the private and aided institutions. At the same time, the want of trained women teachers was very high. Accordingly, the plan had been adopted of attaching Normal Classes to some of the upper primary or middle examination, on condition of their joining these classes and preparing for one of the certificate examinations. Since these classes were instituted in 1891, 29 girls had gained senior and 5 junior certificates. Few girls also passed the J.A.V. Certificate Examination for male teachers.⁴³

The reports for the year 1894-95, stated that the provision of women teachers was a matter of difficulty because wherever there were qualified girls for the training, they were not prepared to leave their homes to join a training school. Therefore, there were plans of having only Normal Classes in connection with the ordinary schools for the purposes. The girls received instruction daily in the subjects prescribed for the certificate examinations, took part in the ordinary class teaching, and were basically Pupil Teachers.⁴⁴

Furthermore, it is reaffirmed in the report of 1895-96, that the Normal classes continued to impart training to the women teachers in the absence of any government Normal schools. The training consisted of regular instruction for a period of one year initially; but was extended to 2 years on the recommendations of the Educational Conference. The Normal Classes were being maintained at Alexandra School, the Christian Girls' School, and the Municipal Board Girls' School at Amritsar, the Victoria School at Lahore, and the Mission Girls' School at Gujranwala.⁴⁵

Continuing with the information about the women teacher training schools, it is disclosed that due partly to the backwardness of women education, but predominantly to the purdah system, there were no training schools for women teachers in Punjab. Instead of these, Normal classes

⁴²*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1887-88*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1889), p. 159.

⁴³Cotton, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 242.

⁴⁴*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1894-95*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1896), p.212.

⁴⁵*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1895-96*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1897), p. 232.

were attached to 5 of the ordinary girls' schools, in which girls were prepared for the certificate examinations prescribed for women teachers. The inspectress of schools regularly visited these classes to see that they were being well conducted. In a letter dated 1900, Punjab government said the plan was not completely satisfactory one, and yielded only a very small number yearly to the number of trained teachers; but, as long as the social system of the provinces rendered it impossible to have an organized women Normal school, it would be difficult to improve upon it.⁴⁶ Stipends were awarded to girls of certain age and attainments, and were tenable in schools recognized as having suitable arrangements for their training. The course covered two years, during which regular instruction had to be given in the subjects laid down for the certificate examinations, with daily practice in teaching under competent supervision. During the past year, Normal classes were maintained in four of the best girls' schools; twenty-one stipends were current; and eight senior vernacular certificates were awarded. It was regretted that Punjab had little to show in this most important regard of women teacher training. The circumstances were such that progress of women education was slow and not appreciable.⁴⁷ The course of study and the stipends given to students in Normal classes for women have already been explained above.

The situation, by 1902, was the same and the training of women teachers was inadequate and required immediate improvement. The question of providing more efficient teachers in girls' schools was the most important one and the arrangements for the training of women teachers were in the opinion of the government of India, inadequate in most provinces and required to be improved without delay. In Punjab, there were no training schools for girls, but Normal classes attached to five schools. In 1899-1900, of the 527 women teachers, employed in public schools, only 91 held certificates. It was mentioned, in the last report, that 420 of the teachers were unqualified and many of them rather incompetent. The government of India recommended that no delay should be allowed in establishing at least one government training school in Punjab. In some provinces, notably the Central Provinces, the suggestion of the E.C. that liberal inducements should be offered to the wives of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers had been acted on with success. The further suggestion that widows might be trained as schoolmistresses does not seem to have been tried to any extent. The government

⁴⁶Nathan, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

⁴⁷Special reports called for by the Government of India in Resolution No. 495-506, 28th October 1899, on the Quinquennial Review on Education, 1892-93 to 1896-97, Pros No. 25, No. 59 S, Proceedings for July 1900 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department, Education, January 1900*, p. 150.

of India regarded this experiment as promising, trusted that Punjab would encourage the training of the wives of schoolmasters, and also that of widows.⁴⁸

The quinquennial review of 1902-1907, for the progress of education in India, also echoes the same facts for Punjab. The major difficulty, with which, woman education had to cope with, was the unavailability of qualified teachers. In spite of the training institutions for women doing more than they had earlier done to supply this scarcity, the outturn was still quite inadequate. There was no lack of demand for their services when they had been trained, but the profession did not attract them, and there was complaint from all sides of the hopelessness of getting them to take up the work in sufficient numbers. Inspectress of Schools, Bengal, Miss Brock's point said it all that the great obstacle to the furtherance of women education remained to be the want of women teachers. The girl pupils in training schools for mistresses for Punjab were 72.⁴⁹

However, a remarkable development that took place during the above-mentioned period was the establishment of the first government Normal School for women in Punjab. Lucknow in United Provinces also saw the opening of a normal school for women, 1902. At the beginning of the quinquennium, the government Normal classes stood at as: - Punjab, Lahore Normal school- number of pupils-72, with the annual expenditure being Rs.11, 912. About the Normal school, in Lahore, the Director wrote that this much needed school was established in Lahore on January 4th, 1905, thus proving that the first government women Normal school was opened in 1905. The school showed a noticeable advance and was running effectively. Due to the appointment of a Pundit, the teaching work was carried on in all the three vernaculars- Urdu, Gurmukhi and Hindi. The full staff had been allowed both for the Normal school and its practising school. It was challenging to teach full grown women who for some time had been out of school as they tend to forget quickly. This called for a good deal of initial teaching before they could begin the normal course. There had been an improvement in class teaching. Of the school students, 2 were Indian Christians, 10 Brahmins, 25 non-Brahmin Hindus, 4 Sikhs, and 31 Mohammedans. Of the boarders, 7 were Hindus, 6 Mohammedans, and 1 was a Christian. In Punjab, besides the government Normal School at Lahore, there were some training classes. The Director mentioned seven such classes attached to schools at

⁴⁸Female Education, Proceedings of July 1902 in, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the Month of January 1902*, p. 11.(Pros. No. 15, with reference to government of India letter No.470, dated 6th November, 1901, paragraph 22, question of female education).

⁴⁹*Progress in India, 1902-1907*, Volume I, pp. 238-39.

Lahore, Delhi, Amritsar, Sialkot, and Gujranwala, and they appeared to turn about ten trained teachers annually. Furthermore, the report provides us significant information regarding the course of study being followed in the government training schools/classes for women in Punjab. The course of study being followed in the private training schools has been discussed earlier. The course of training in Lahore Normal school, Punjab, lasted for one year only. The junior classes consisted of girls who had passed the Upper Primary Examination, and the senior classes of those who had passed through a Middle Vernacular School. The teaching included both general studies and training. The students in the two classes were eligible for junior and senior certificates respectively, and both these certificates were divided into two grades, the first-grade certificate was awarded to those who failed in some part of the examination but who passed in School management and the practice of teaching.⁵⁰ Also the first batch of fully-qualified teachers from the Women Normal School added to the factors of the best promise for the growth of women education in future and it was also noted that six women teachers that received the senior certificate all received appointments with salaries ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a month.⁵¹

The report for 1909-10 stated that a new and useful feature of simple physiology and hygiene in the form of a lecture was brought in the Normal school for women.⁵²

In 1912-13, in the Lahore Normal School, there were 35 students on the rolls. The school was rapidly growing in terms of numbers and was already full. And, it was reported, by the Chief Inspectress that the training given had improved greatly during the last three years. The girls who had passed out from the senior vernacular class were well trained and worked well as Headmistresses of middle schools. There were training classes at Amritsar, Sialkot, and Gujranwala which supplied number of teachers. A.V. teachers were trained at the Kinnaird High School, Lahore.⁵³

During the quinquennium, 1916-17, women teachers for girls' secondary schools were trained in the Kinnaird High School for girls, though a few also attended the men's classes at

⁵⁰*Progress in India, 1902-1907*, pp. 241-245.

⁵¹*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1905-1906*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1907), p. 56.

⁵²*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1909-1910*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1911), p. 45.

⁵³*Report for the year, 1912-13*, p. 11.

the Central Training College. Teachers for primary girls' schools were trained at the Normal school for women at Lahore. Lahore Schools' work had been increased by the opening of a certain number of local training classes in 1916. For European schools, women teachers were trained at St Bede's College Shimla, while men were trained at the government Training Class, Sanawar. The facilities for the training of women teachers in girls' schools were much limited. This was due, not so much to the reasonably small demand for women teachers, as to the limited number who was prepared to come for training. Apart from the few students, who had attended the S.A.V. Class of the Central Training College, there were ten students in 1916-17. The course was of two years' length and was very similar to that for the J.A.V. certificate.⁵⁴ The only government institution for training teachers for vernacular girls' schools was the Lahore Normal School for women. This institution had two courses, one of two years' duration for girls who had passed the upper primary standard and who on successful completion of the course obtained a J.V. Teacher's Certificate and the other for students who had passed the middle standard examination of two years' duration resulting in the senior vernacular certificate. Girls who joined the J.V. class usually studied privately, passed the middle examination, and returned for a third years' training for the S.V. Certificate. It is worth noting here that the Victoria Girls' School, Lahore, was used as a practising school for the Normal School. Besides, the government Normal school, training classes were being maintained by several Aided institutions as well. The U.P. American Mission, Sialkot had senior and junior vernacular classes and for many years provided mistresses for all schools maintained by the Mission at other places. Training classes were also maintained by the Amritsar Church Missionary Society by the American Presbyterian Mission and the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozpur. Despite many training classes being opened by municipal and district board government Normal schools for women were needed outside Lahore also.⁵⁵

The progress of the training, during 1921-22, was noticeable, in the case of Indian girls than it was in that of men. At the end of the last quinquennium, there was only one government training institution, all other training being given in twelve classes, mostly attached to secondary schools under the control either of local bodies or of missions. However, there were few drawbacks of the employment of trained teachers through the private society. There were financial difficulties. Municipal funds were not enough for the purchase of suitable

⁵⁴*Report during the quinquennium ending, 1916-17*, pp. 31-35.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, pp. 44-45.

school buildings, hostels and equipment or the procurement of teachers with superior quality. Also, it was advantageous to provide the girls from mission institutions a wider outlook than what most of the teacher students had been brought up in. Therefore, the policy of provincialising the schools founded by local bodies was followed steadily with the result that there were seven government Normal schools and three maintained by missions. The total number under training was 224 in 1916-17, an enrolment which had risen by 70 per cent to 382 in 1921-22, of whom 326 were in government institutions. The Lahore Normal School was the largest and, in every respect, the best. It had 106 students on roll. No important change had been made in the syllabuses of instruction. Thirteen girls were under instruction last year in the J.A.V. class of the Kinnaird School. There was a probability of this number to increase in the future with the association of training classes with the newly established Intermediate College for women at Lahore.⁵⁶

By 1927-28, the training of teachers was one of the most hopeful aspects. In the previous year, almost forty students were added to the Normal school for women, and in the year under review again, there were twice the number of applications, for the available vacancies. The senior training was really good and the teachers turned out were efficient. The number of teachers under training had risen to five hundred and sixty-five from four hundred and thirty-eight previous year. It was expected that the increase would be larger in the coming years. The earlier difficulty of getting girls to come in for training from villages was being overcome by opening of government middle schools in rural areas with a small training class for junior teachers attached to them. The need of a training college for A.V. women teachers was being gradually felt. The J.A.V. class attached to the Kinnaird High School had supplied good teachers, but the number trained was small and the best were engaged by the mission schools. Hence, it was proposed to open a J.A.V. class at the Lady MacLagan, Lahore later in October.⁵⁷

It is reported, that in 1926-27, the total number of women teachers in British India was 34, 811, of whom 17, 230 were declared as trained, and of whom only 923 possessed a degree. These figures include teachers in European girls' schools; the total number of women teachers in schools for Indian girls was approximately 32,000. The output of women teachers however had increased. The number of women under instruction in training colleges

⁵⁶*Report on during the quinquennium ending, 1921-22*, pp. 107-08.

⁵⁷*Report for the year 1927-28*, pp. 107-08.

increased from 67 to 132 and the number of women in Normal and training schools increased from 4,391 to 4,922. These figures were definitely small in number in comparison to the total demand for trained women teachers as compared with the figures 25 years ago, which showed that there were only 11 women under instruction in training colleges and 1,412 in normal and training schools. It was admitted that the shortage of women teachers was due to a huge amount to the social systems prevailing in India, and the difficulties in the way of procuring an adequate supply of women teachers were likely to stay.⁵⁸

We have a table of the number of training schools for women and their enrolment in 1917 and 1927, in India, which includes figures for Punjab, as per the Review of the growth of Education in British India, (Refer Appendix XXVI, p. 384).

In a short sum up, the women teachers training appears to have made a gradual head way in India in 1927. Madras was the only province which produced a fair number of trained women teachers of all grades. Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar did not produce more than a small division of the trained teachers required for their schools and population.⁵⁹The tables given in the Appendices provide us with significant information which helps us to compare the progress made in Punjab as well, (Refer Appendix XXVII shows the figures of successful women candidates at the training examinations in 1927, p.384, the training colleges that trained teachers for secondary school are shown in the Appendix XXVIII, p.385, number of women teachers and of trained teachers in primary schools by provinces is shown in Appendix XXIX, p.385, and the percentage of trained women teachers in primary schools and the facilities for training are shown in Appendix XXX, p.386).

The year 1931-32, showed that with the advance in women's education, women graduates had been deputed for training in the B. T. Class. Though the course, in the Central Training College was primarily prepared for men but the reports displayed that the women were benefited greatly by their training. The Principal of the Central Training College stated that there were no disciplinary difficulties and the lady students participated in the college activities. For the last two years, a lady student of the college won the gold medal at the inter-university debate at Aligarh and each year a lady student was amongst the prize-winners in

⁵⁸R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27, Ninth Quinquennial Review, Volume I*, (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929), p.58.

⁵⁹*Review of the growth of Education in British India*, pp. 176-177.

the college badminton tournament.⁶⁰The training of teachers for the courses of study for the S. V. and J. V. teaching certificates was revised from time to time. In 1927, there was only one small Christians' training class but during the quinquennium, another class opened at the Lady Maclagan High School, Lahore, with 50 pupils who were mostly non-Christian. This development was made possible by sanctioning ten pre-matriculation scholarships for those who wished to qualify as teachers. Good quality of teachers for the J.A.V. training units was available and the deputations of five graduate mistresses each year for B.T. training, was providing efficient Headmistresses for the girls' high schools opened by government in all parts of the province.⁶¹

It was further reported in all the provincial reports that future progress of women education depended considerably upon the employment of a larger number of well-trained and duly qualified school mistresses. Commendable efforts were made during the last quinquennium to improvise the amount and quality of vernacular training institutions for girls. It was considered that it was not an easy task to make suitable arrangements for the housing of women teachers. Consequently, several girls who successfully completed their training were unwilling, not unusually, to accept service in far-off villages, away from their families and by no means protected from possible threats and hazards. Therefore, the most effective solution of this difficulty lied in connecting small training classes to some of the better and stronger schools situated in rural areas. This way the promising girl scholars from the locality could be trained; and less difficulty would be felt in providing for their lodgings in the villages in which they had to teach than would be the case of those coming from a distance.⁶²

Punjab made a praiseworthy progress resulting in the increase of enrolment from 224 in 1917 to 445 in 1927, and again to 853 in 1932. The numbers of women scholars in the two women's college had augmented significantly. The enrolment at the Lahore College for Women had advanced from 60 to 135, and that of Kinnaird College, Lahore, a mission institution, from 26 to 105, of whom 75 were resident. Both colleges were compelled to deny large numbers of applicants through lack of accommodation.⁶³

⁶⁰*Report during the quinquennium ending 1931-32*, p. 64.

⁶¹*Ibid*, pp. 100-01.

⁶²George Anderson, *Progress of Education in India, 1927-32, Tenth Quinquennial Review, Volume I*, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, n. d) p.178.

⁶³*Ibid*, pp. 181-190.

The report of the quinquennium admitted that the critical problem of a sufficient supply of properly trained mistresses for primary as well as secondary schools was being taken care of by the Education department. The training of wives of male teachers at Lyallpur and Jalandhar in two batches of 20 was an experiment hopeful at the supply of teachers in co-educational schools. The Lady Maclagan Training College for Women and the Kinnaird Training Centre, Lahore, continued to supply trained graduates and under-graduates for A.V. schools. Similarly, it was gratifying to note that the qualifications for admission to women's Normal schools were gradually being raised and that more intensive and accommodating inspection of vernacular schools, with an increase in the number of Assistant Inspectresses and the organisation of refresher courses for teachers, contributed to the efficiency of schools. With a better type of teacher, schools were bound to become better. Other noteworthy advance was the opening of co-educational institutions staffed by women teachers in the Amritsar and Sheikhpura districts, and the opening of a large number of middle schools with Normal Classes attached to them in backward rural areas. It was satisfactorily noted that the percentage of trained teachers during the previous five years had increased by 1.4 to 86.8.⁶⁴

One important concern that needs to be mentioned here is that regardless of the various attempts being made to meet the shortage of trained women teachers, the scene yet was not so promising. Therefore, several solutions to overcome the scarcity of trained women teachers were suggested. These were in form of change of conditions for admission to the S.V. training.

Meanwhile, the Vernacular training for women teachers until October 1933, the S.V. Training Class was attached to Lady Maclagan School, Lahore. In September, 1933, a class for B.T. students was underway there and in order to make space for it, it was decided to have the S.V. training at Government High School, Hoshiarpur. In October, 1936, the conditions for admission to S.V. training were changed. The compulsory conditions then were a pass in the middle standard examination, a pass in the J.V. examination after a course of training, a permanent J.V. Certificate and the recommendations of a Circle Inspector. This meant that S. V. training could only be taken by the preference of the Vernacular teachers, and so a really valuable product should be turned out. Until the end of the year 1933-34, the condition necessary for admission to a J.V. training class was a pass in the primary examination. The Inspectresses and heads of Normal schools had been complaining that, under this condition, the students admitted provided poor material for training and not efficient teachers, when they passed out after a two years' course. In May, 1934, therefore, the trial of admitting

⁶⁴*Report during the quinquennium ending 1936-37*, pp. 5-6.

middle passed students for one year's training was tried at Rohtak, Sialkot and Rawalpindi, and it proved a complete success. The students performed much better in the examination than primary passed students who had had a two years' course of training. Before the end of the year 1936-37, the experiment had been extended to the government Normal Schools at Karnal, Moga, Multan and Dharamsala. It was planned to continue to expand it, until the condition for admission was everywhere a pass in the middle standard examination. In backward districts, though, the change could not be made until there were adequate middle schools to supply the students from those districts. A noteworthy development, during this period, was that in the A.V. training for women teachers, in 1932-33; four students were sent on deputation for B.T. training to the Central Training College, Lahore. Nevertheless, the department had felt that the arrangements were not entirely satisfactory for two reasons. The first was that no purdah teacher was able to undertake this training. The second was that, as there was no woman on the staff of the training College, the teachers did not get all the aid they needed with problems connected with organisation and class management in girls' schools. From September, 1933, a class for B. T. training was attached to the Lady Maclagan High School, Lahore. The class was opened with 17 students. By 1934-35, the number of students had increased to 32. The B.T. class was affiliated to the Punjab University in 1935 and the combined B.T and J.A.V. classes were designated as the Lady Maclagan Training College for Women, Lahore. J.A.V. training classes had sustained first at the Lady Maclagan School and afterwards at the training college of the same name and also at the Kinnaird Training Centre. Large numbers of the students, taking the training were still matriculates; but each year, the number who had passed the intermediate examination improved. It was advantageous to encourage more of the latter to take this training, especially such as who had taken Geography, Biology or Mathematics in that examination.⁶⁵

The number of institutions for girls, particulars of the women inspecting staff, 1935 in all the provinces including Punjab and also the number of teachers required for half the girls of school-going age are shown in the Tables in Appendix, (Institution for Girls in Appendix XXXI, pp.386-87, Statement showing the particulars of women inspecting staff, Appendix XXXII, pp.387-88, and number of teachers required for half the girls of school-going age, Appendix XXXIII, p.388).

Moving over, to further progress made by the training schools for women, the report of 1941-42 mentions that in the Vernacular training, the S.V. training continued only in the Normal

⁶⁵*Report in the Punjab in 1936-37*, pp. 102-103.

School attached to Government High School for girls, Hoshiarpur. The aspirants for admission to this training had to be middle passed J.V. teachers, with 3 years' approved teaching experience and also had to be selected by the circle Inspectresses. A better type of student was admitted. The Normal School was well staffed and some capable S.V. teachers passed out. During the period, primary passed candidates had still been admitted for a two years' course in certain Normal schools. By the end of the quinquennium, however, out of 26 Normal classes, middle passed students had been admitted for a one-year course of training in 17 schools. It had, also, become apparent that one year was an insufficient period, even for middle passed students. In 1939, a government Normal school capable of accepting 50 J.V. students was opened at Sharaqpur. This Normal School trained girls from rural areas from all districts of the province. The building was planned on the Cottage system with five separate hostel blocks. The intention was that students should, as far as possible, live like a normal family. During the period J.V. classes attached to St. Joseph's Convent School, Lahore, and to the Mahavidyalaya, Lahore had been recognised. The training classes attached to the Mission schools at Ambala, Clarkabad and Sialkot had continued. However, it was disappointing to note that it continued to be true that too few women from rural areas were willing to take the J.V. course of training. Furthermore, town girls too were often reluctant to teach in rural areas, and were not quite acceptable in villages even if they were willing to go there. Even though it seemed difficult to staff them but the remedy was to have more schools in rural areas.⁶⁶

Gradually progressing ahead, we get to know that the A.V. Training, the course of training for the B.T. examinations continued to be taken at the Lady Maclagan College. The numbers of students remained the same, as space did not permit any increase. Students had been sent up for the B.T examination from the Sir Ganga Ram Training College, the Mahavidyalaya College, the Rai Bahadur Sohan Lal College, and the Islamia College for Women and the Khalsa College for Women, Lahore. In 1942, 226 applicants appeared for the B.T. examination. With a sound growth rate, the supply was in excess of the demand, and the result was that a number of trained graduates were either unemployed, or working in provisional vacancies. J.A.V. training continued to be given at Lady Maclagan College and at the Kinnaird Training Centre. A J.A.V. Class at the Sohan Lal Training College had also been recognised. The opening of classes at the Islamia High School, Lahore, and the Khalsa

⁶⁶*Report during the quinquennium ending 1941-42*, pp. 41-42.

College, Lahore, had been permitted temporarily. The supply of J.A.V. teachers was somewhat in excess of the demand. However, with the opening each year of new middle schools, most of them found employment. During the period, the curriculum was modified, and a wider choice of optional subjects provided. J.A.V. trained teachers if active and adaptable, were very valuable members of the staffs of middle schools, and the middle departments of high school.⁶⁷

In 1944-45, for the training of women teachers, a Normal school for J.V. teachers was started at Chunian (District Lahore) with 40 students to be admitted every year. S.V. training continued to be given at the Government High and Normal School, Hoshiarpur. It was noted that the retirement of Miss L.E. Thomas, after 12 years of distinguished service as Deputy Directress of Public Instruction, Punjab was loss to the education department. It was through her ability, initiative and untiring efforts that girls' education in Punjab made such rapid strides during the last few years.⁶⁸

In the absence of report on the progress of education made in Punjab for the last two years, which is 1946-1947, we have to depend on the report of progress of education in India. In the report on Education in India, 1947-48, the number of students (women) receiving instruction at normal and training schools in East Punjab was- 1946-47- 264, 1947-48- 229. The number of students on roll in the teachers' training colleges and classes in East Punjab was, 1946-47- 51 women, and in 1947-48-109.⁶⁹

Table 6.1 The decennial review of progress of education in India, for 1937-1947, shows the number of training institutions for women in the Punjab province.

	Schools	Enrolments	Colleges	Enrolments
1937-38	26	581	2	117
1938-39	28	617	2	120
1939-40	31	726	2	130
1940-41	31	768	2	147
1941-42	31	776	4	269
1942-43	32	771	8	369
1943-44	18	511	8	376
1944-45	16	594	8	372
1945-46	15	580	8	348
1946-47	16	626	8	376

Source: *Progress of Education in India, 1937-1947: Decennial Review*, Vol. II, Statistical Tables, (Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1954), pp. 281-285.

⁶⁷Report during the quinquennium ending 1941-42, p. 42.

⁶⁸Report in the Punjab in 1944-45, p. 14.

⁶⁹Education in India, 1947-48, pp. 96-97.

The above progress shows that the women teacher training in the province was on an acceptable level but the scene was still not very encouraging. The growth was slow. The institutes for the training teachers of women started their working quite late as compared to that of men's and it required some more solid measures to come at equality with the male training schools. Also there had to be more measures to invite women teachers from rural areas for training.

Women Teachers' Salaries

The pay of the teachers was a cause of concern, as the state of school education continued to be unsatisfactory and was attributed, among other reasons, to the low salary of the teachers. The unsatisfactory condition had been noticed in the various reports and it was considered that the schools would never be good for anything as long as the teacher was paid the wages of a coolie. The salaries of vernacular women teachers were, in former years, unequal to those of men of the same qualifications, but as more mistresses had become available this adjusted itself. In 1927, the starting pay of an S. V. Woman teacher was Rs.35-3-50 less 15 per cent. Regarding the facilities required and its availability for the women teachers, it was observed that the great difficulty to be faced was the question of protection and accommodation for women teachers. Girls passing out of the Normal schools were glad to go to any part of the province, if there was no work nearer home, provided they could live in the school hostel. In schools maintained by local bodies, a room in the school house was provided. In some Aided schools, such as mission schools, all teachers were allotted free quarters and lived-in security, but in many aided schools there were no such provisions. Until these conditions of service were improved, it was impossible to raise the requisite number of trained mistresses, only a few could find work in their home town, and the rest were unable to take up posts, for lack of protection and facilities.⁷⁰

After observing the progress of training institutions for women, the facilities, salaries, and distribution, it's now time to go through some related vital facts and substantiate our information. Selected measures were forthcoming to promote the acquired knowledge of women teachers through training in Normal schools and this included the introduction of

⁷⁰*Report in the Punjab in 1931-32*, p. 95.

conducting refresher courses for women teachers. Refresher courses for men were already being conducted as discussed earlier.

Refresher Courses for Women Teachers

Much care was being taken of women teachers and it was felt that they also needed to be refreshed after they had finished their course in training schools and had taught for some time in a school. Towards, the end of the period under review, the quinquennium of 1936-37, it was observed that the increase in inspectorate made it possible for Assistant Inspectresses to have some refresher courses for vernacular teachers. These were conducted in government girls' schools and lasted for about a week or ten days. Many more such courses were needed because teachers in the average vernacular school, especially in rural areas had little to encourage and motivate them to maintain trying to put into practice what they learned at the Normal school. More frequent and longer courses would only be possible when the inspectorate had been increased to at least one inspectress for each district. The courses had, though, been almost exciting and in all cases encouraging. Refresher courses for A.V. teachers and for Assistant Inspectresses were an urgent need. But owing to the present accommodation and staff of the Lady Maclagan College, this was not however possible.⁷¹

Women Teachers' Availability in Punjab

The training of teachers made a few promising advances in the province, but the women teacher training was still in a nascent stage and much more still remained to be done. The unavailability of women teachers acted as a major deterrent to the girls' education.

Miss Mary Boyd deeply moaned the fact, that the best method of providing teachers for girls was difficult. She held the charge of the Mohammedan Normal School since 1869 and always had a great difficulty in keeping up the numbers. She planned to draw in the best girls from the branch schools who left to get married and usually their husbands objected to their attending school or taking employment out of Delhi. Young married women would not offer themselves for training and the few who did were irregular in their attendance. The most stable and unrelenting were the elderly women, but they were too old to make much progress and were only useful as assistant teachers. The only plan for getting an efficient staff of

⁷¹*Report in the Punjab in 1936-37*, p. 100.

native teachers was the training of native Christian girls because they did not observe purdah and could effortlessly follow the European method of teaching and also, they did not object to accept situations after marriages or to go out-stations.⁷²

W. R. M. Holroyd, D.P.I., Punjab also admitted, in his evidence, that three things necessary for the success of women schools were- efficient teachers, good supervision, and regular inspection. He further agreed that there were very few competent women teachers in the province. Wherever the women Normal schools existed, the women who joined them as pupils had received very little previous education. He lamented the fact that after passing through the Normal school they were not available for employment at a distance. In most cases, they could not leave their homes, and generally the pupils were not willing to receive stranger as a teacher of a girls' school. Often an incompetent old man was employed when no women teacher was available. In a number of cases, the people had no objection to the employment of a young man belonging to the priestly classes and to a family that was well recognized and respected. Holroyd ascribed the non-availability of the trained women teachers to the insufficient salaries. The greatest obstacle, yet, to obtaining efficient teachers, whether male or female was attributed to the insufficiency of the salaries offered. If these were on the same scale as those provided for boys' schools, all other difficulties might perhaps be overcome.⁷³ Therefore, it was evident that women teachers were decisively necessary for the success of the cause of instruction for girls in Punjab to any considerable extent; and well-managed girls school scheme was the major hope.

Nevertheless, it was experienced that the best method of providing teachers for girls' schools was without doubt, a very important point to be decided in connection with the education of girls.

The Lahore Arya Samaj too laid stress, on the provision of women teachers and necessity of Normal schools in Punjab. The Society stated that the four Normal schools for native mistresses at Lahore, Amritsar, Jalandhar, and Delhi were to provide teachers for the different schools in the province but as a matter-of-fact people living at a distance did not support of the pupils of these Normal schools as teachers. They had no confidence in their proper

⁷²Evidence of Miss, Mary R. Boyd, Zenana Missionary, S. P. G. Mission Delhi, *Report of the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 184.

⁷³Evidence of W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, p. 254.

behaviour, as they did not know them; and to send women from such distances to those schools to receive instruction was likewise very difficult. People usually favoured their own candidates in these schools. Hence, when the question of deciding on teachers came up, their preference always fell upon an old pandit or mulla living in their town. They knew all about the pandit or the mulla, and, so willingly reposed their confidence in them. The best way of providing teachers under these conditions, therefore, was to open Normal schools at central stations, and encourage able women of good quality from families in the locality by means of scholarships and prizes to obtain training in these schools.⁷⁴ The Report of Sectional Committee mentioned too, that one of the principal obstacles, to the extension of women education was the difficulty of acquiring suitable teachers. No doubt, women were preferable for this purpose but male teachers could not altogether be excluded from girls' schools. It was believed that women teachers were to be slowly and carefully substituted for male teachers. In order that, the results of these and other measures for promoting women education may be fairly expected, the services of sympathetic and well-qualified Inspectresses were crucially required. Given, the circumstances of women education, in India, the visits of inspectors were at times not only futile but a positive obstacle to progress. People who showed their sympathy by sending their daughters to school were likely to assist in directing the movement and making it popular amongst their neighbours.⁷⁵ The best method of providing teachers for girls was the establishment of Normal schools of widows in every district, on stipends ranging from Rs.5 to Rs.10 per mensem. Hindu widows would seldom be able to go to distant places on service as teachers; hence the necessity of having a women Normal school, or a normal class, in every district.⁷⁶

Regarding, the provision and the kind of teachers available, there were different systems in the provinces i.e., the departments of education were organized on different systems. It is important to know about the same.

⁷⁴Answer of the Lahore Arya Samaj, to the questions suggested by the Educational Commission, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 480-481.

⁷⁵B-Female Schools, *Education Commission: Reports of Sectional Committee on the recommendations adopted by the Commission together with the Introductory Statements*, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1883), pp. 38-39. (Report of Committee No. V)

⁷⁶Answers of the Punjab Brahma Samaj to the questions suggested by the Educational Commission, *Report by the Panjab Provincial Committee*, pp. 494-95.

Qualifications of Women Teachers

There were different systems being organized for provision of women teachers in India. Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa were organized on a vernacular secondary education basis. Bombay and Madras called their vernacular education either primary or elementary and reserved the term secondary for A.V. education. Bengal hardly accepted any education which did not include English. Hence, as regards, the varieties of teachers employed there were fundamental differences in the provision of teachers and the kind of teachers available in different parts of India but as a general rule, the primary teacher was a product of a vernacular school either primary or secondary. There were also, in general, two grades of training, lower vernacular and higher vernacular. In the first, the teacher has had a primary education while in the latter she was read up to the end of vernacular middle stage or its equivalent. In other provinces, a large number of untrained women were taken because they were available. In the United Provinces, recruitment was from widows rather than the girls from schools. It was observed that just Refresher courses and the training of widows would not solve it. It was necessary to get girls fresh from schools and to do this the number of middle schools and training schools would have to be increased. As to the minimum standard required for entrance to a training class, there was a need to put it up as high as possible and definitely to refuse to accept the primary passed girls. It was felt that the acceptance of low standards only led to waste and though the number of girls on roll may increase, the number of literates would not increase, and there would be a continuation of waste. Further, there was the question of the length of training. The following resolution was passed: - The Women's Education Committee, considered that with a view to raising the standard of women primary school teachers, a minimum preliminary period of at least eight years' school education followed by a two years' training course was necessary. The Committee also discussed the kind of training school that was necessary. It was decided that a general educational school entirely devoted to training with provision for practising schools attached and hostels situated in rural areas so as to draw the village girls was the need of the hour. The Committee further considered that it was essential, that only women teachers be engaged in primary schools for girls and teaching in infant classes in boys' schools should, wherever possible, be assigned to women teachers and for this purpose the employment of trained married couples be encouraged. In mixed schools or boys' schools, where women teachers were appointed at least two be posted to the same school, large central primary schools with hostel accommodation for several teachers should be established in rural areas

and transport facilities be provided to enable girls to be brought in from neighbouring villages, special efforts should be made to train village girls who would return to their own village to teach after training.⁷⁷

The efforts made for the spread of women education and women teachers were resulting in the constructive outcome and many more were still underway for much needed improvisation in provinces besides Punjab. Meanwhile, some major measures, in the direction of promotion of women education were embarked on in other provinces as well that are praise worthy and worth mentioning. They provide us an overview of the various steps being undertaken to by the government to bring the women scholars to the training schools.

It was, way back in the year 1868, when in Punjab it was still some time for the government to establish a training school for the training of women teachers. But we have a welcoming development taking place in Madras. In the Madras Presidency, the government had recommended the establishment of Model Female Normal school, as they too were confident that any noticeable advance will not take place in the progress of women education until effective measures be taken for supplying the great want which was experienced of competent women teachers.

During the year 1868-69, the government of Madras had recommended the establishment at Madras of a Model Female Normal School, as an experiment. Unless such a school was supported by the funds and the reputation of government, the experiment would almost certainly result in failure as in this Presidency government was the only proper agency for the foundation and direction of a training school for women teachers. It was agreed that unless a Female Training School was established at Madras by the State, there was no chance of its being established at all. It was further admitted that there was very little probability of a Normal School for training Female Teachers being established at Madras, or, if established, of its being efficiently conducted, unless its establishment and management was undertaken by the State. The government of Bombay too had requested the establishment of a Female Normal School in the city of Bombay.⁷⁸

⁷⁷*Report on Primary Education of Girls in India, 1936*, pp. 5-8.

⁷⁸Resolution, from E. C. Bayley, the Secretary to the Government of India, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1868*, (Calcutta, Home Secretariat), pp. 775-77. (This Resolution was regarding the Government of Madras' strong recommendation of establishment at Madras of a Model Female Normal School)

Elsewhere, in the United Provinces also, the government was trying to pursue the women education with some serious efforts. The various steps being taken included incentives such as award of scholarships. It was proposed that a scholarship should be provided to an Indian girl graduate, to be sent to England, for the completion of her educational training in England, would stimulate the interest of other women and their parents to follow the same. The secretary of the state, Mr Montagu, sanctioned it as an experimental measure and set out a grant of \$100 a year to the Indian Women's Education Association for the years 1918-19-1919-20 towards a scholarship to be awarded in the immediate future to an Indian girl graduate for the completion of her educational training in England.⁷⁹

Furthermore, in the United Provinces attempts were also being made to convince and invite women to participate in teaching. Certain rules were drafted in order to attract the wives and women relatives living under the care of Hindu and Mohammedan school teachers to qualify themselves for employment as teachers in schools.

The purpose of the rules was to encourage the wives or female relatives living under the care of Hindu and Mohammedan school teachers to qualify themselves for employment as teachers in schools or as governesses by the offer of scholarships and rewards. A scholarship of Rs.3 per mensem was to be allowed to the wife or women relative who, having passed an examination by the lower primary standard, undertakes to study privately for the Vernacular Upper Primary Examination. Similarly, a scholarship of Rs.4 per mensem to one who having passed the vernacular upper primary examination continues her studies privately with a view to passing the vernacular final examination. The provision was made that no scholarship or reward was to be allowed unless the recipient signified in writing her willingness to serve as a teacher and the department being satisfied that there were prospects of her being able to engage in teaching either in a school or as a governess. Arrangements were to be made for the strict observance of the purdah during examination.⁸⁰

⁷⁹From Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, to Governor General of India in Council, No. 5 India Office, London, 9th August, 1918, No. 961, *Government of India, Department of Education*, File No. 82/1914, Educational Department, p. 14.

⁸⁰'Draft rules for the encouragement of female relatives living under the care of Hindu and Muhammadan school teachers to qualify themselves for employment as teachers in schools or as governesses', *Proceedings of the Government of the United Provinces in the Educational Department April, 1908*, File No. 332A/22, Educational Department, pp. 3-4.

Stricter rules seemed to have been made by the government in the United Provinces for training classes for lower primary school teachers attached to government Model School for girls. Training classes were acting as good source for the supply of the demand for teachers. The environment was a decisive factor for women teachers to join in such classes. Each class was to be under the supervision of an instructress trained at a Normal school. The total number of admissions to a class was not to exceed six and preference was to be given to young widows and to such teachers as wish to be benefited by training and member of the training class was to receive a stipend of Rs.6 a month. Every pupil-teacher who migrated from her home to attend the training class was to be attended by a suitable women guardian who was to remain with her during the entire period of her training and was to receive an allowance of Rs.4 a month. The session was to begin on 1st July and end on 31st May and be allowed the same holidays as girls' Model schools, with the course of training extending over a period of two years. The course of study and textbooks were to be annually prescribed by the department in the syllabus for the training classes for girls. The training class was to be examined quarterly by the instructress and the results to be sent to the circle inspectress for information. At the end of the course of teaching, an examination for the award of a certificate was to be held under the superintendence of the circle Inspectress.⁸¹

The chapter dealt entirely with the development of women training institutions in detail during the selected years. Until, the end of the study period, on an average the state of women teacher training was not very promising but sound. The women education in itself was such a thoughtful issue that it was left untouched by the government for long in case it might disrupt the native sentiments. This was owing to several crucial factors. The chief among them was the purdah system. For an extensive period, it was entirely left to the private efforts to deal with the women education. Women education needed to harvest the native support and contribution without which nothing much could be done. Though gradually yet various measures resulted in the mobilization of the required native efforts. With women education spreading slowly and steadily in the province an encouraging background was set up for the women teacher training. The above discussion reveals that women teachers' training was something that recorded a late start. It took some time for the natives to realise the importance of trained women teachers for the education of girls. Keeping in mind, the supposed efforts of government in Punjab to elevate the women education, the measures,

⁸¹Rules for training classes for lower primary school teachers attached to Government model schools for girls United Provinces', *Notes and Orders*, File No. 241/1910, Serial No. 1, pp. 13-14.

however, taken by government in Madras and United Provinces for promoting women education need to be taken a cautious note of.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

After British conquest of Punjab in 1849, British discovered that a system of indigenous schools had existed, as elsewhere, from early times. In Punjab, all classes, agricultural and non-agricultural, manifested a wish for education. However, this existing promising scene was completely changed by annexation. Not only did the annexation added to the decline of indigenous education but also the change of medium of instruction to Urdu retarded the growth of education and gave a serious blow especially to the women education.

During, the first few years after colonisation, the government was busy settling the official machinery so it did not take up any educational experiment. Till February 1853, Punjab was placed under a Board of Administration; in 1854 the control of education was transferred to the Financial Commissioner.

The Teacher's Education in India and specifically Punjab was something not spoken about by the British and it was only after much deliberation that colonial government felt it absolutely indispensable to have such training schools as to effectively impart education to the teachers of primary and secondary schools. The Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 mentioned for the first time ever not only of women's education but Normal schools as well. In 1855, the Department of Public Instruction was constituted and William Delafield Arnold was appointed the first Director of Public Instruction. Besides, the Director of Public Instruction, there were two inspectors of schools, ten deputy inspectors and sixty sub-inspectors. The existing and future institutions that were proposed to be placed under the control of the Department were a Central College, at Lahore, four training schools, twenty-seven district schools and one hundred superior vernacular schools.

A detailed study of the primary data, in the study, has brought to light; the various factors that assist us to trace the origin and development of training institutions for teachers of primary schools and secondary schools. It provides us with significant facts and elaborates on the certificate system prevalent in Punjab. It was mentioned that to examine the certificate system prevalent in the different provinces, the guidelines recommended for the training courses and teachers' examinations to the various classes of certificates. The records reveal about

educational circles which the districts of Punjab province were divided into. Each circle consisted of few districts. In 1901, there were five educational circles that of Delhi, Jalandhar, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan. Each Normal school was situated at headquarter of each educational circle.

It is noted with dismay, that for several years, the Normal schools continued imparting the elementary knowledge and no training was provided in the art of teaching. Although, the Normal schools were not without good scholars, yet the quality was almost abysmal and the best pupils rarely turned up to join them. The low salaries of the teachers and the insufficiency of the stipends given to pupils added to the miseries of the prevailing conditions of Normal schools. It was agreed to that no educational system would be successful until its teachers continued to be paid the meagre salary of a coolie. Hence, much later in order to invite a better class of men, in 1873-74, the salaries of the village teachers and the stipends paid in Normal schools were increased.

Regarding, the cost of Normal school education in Punjab, it was admittedly higher in Punjab, as compared to other provinces. It was said that while everywhere else the total annual cost of educating each Normal student fell almost entirely upon government, whereas in Punjab Rs. 39.6, out of the aggregate Rs.97.9 were charged to the state, the balance Rs 58.3 was taken care by the one per cent Educational Cess. It was professed that this high cost was due to the higher rate of stipends paid to students in Punjab than in any other province and not due to the expensive quality of educational staff provided for their instruction. Whereas somewhat later surprisingly almost all the reports, that is after 1864, claimed the stipends to be too low to influence competent students to get admitted in Normal schools. Hence repeated calls for raising the stipends allowed to students and salaries to teachers so as to invite a better class of men as students and teachers to Normal schools were being made. However, we do not come across traces regarding the decline over the period in the stipends and salaries and also the factors that caused this decline which ultimately influenced the attendance in Normal schools hence forcing the authorities to assert about the quality in training institutions. So, to no apparent reasons could be this assigned to. Amazingly though, the records asserted that the Normal schools were not entirely without good scholars yet the quality was for the most part appalling. Another noteworthy piece of information is regarding the benefits being allowed to the teachers. Teachers in Punjab were seemingly being given the benefits of pension; leave allowance etc. Meanwhile, it is disclosed that there was no

provident fund for teachers in Punjab. This crucial detail leaves one with the thought to know as to what could supposedly be the reason to deny this benefit to teachers if the authorities claimed that every necessary step being taken in order to invite and admit better scholars and teachers in training institutions. It may be noted that teachers of private schools were not receiving pension.

Training classes were opened in 1912-13, at a number of centres to deal with the local and immediate needs. They were opened, in order to supplement, the work of Normal school. However, in 1916-17, the number of Normal schools was inadequate for the needs. Some of the existing Normal schools were certainly capable of expansion to admit and accommodate more students. Fortunately, there was no dearth of candidates for training but all that was required was the further provision of better facilities along with the liberal availability of funds by the government. In 1919-20, a training class for ex-soldiers was opened at GujarKhan in the Rawalpindi District. In 1921, fourteen Normal schools existed. Six of these were combined to local government high schools in 1920. Hence, by 1927-28, the arrangement for the training of vernacular teachers was divided between the Normal schools and the combined institutions. This was done in order to meet the demand for rapid expansion in vernacular education. The great depression starting in 1929 is considered to be the longest, deepest and most widespread depression of the 20th century. It led to the policy of retrenchment being followed by the government ultimately leading to reduction in revenue for education.

Another, worth mentioning episode in the course of establishment of training institutes is the establishment of training college for the training of secondary school teachers. The three most important instructions of the Education Despatch of 1854-vernaculars, vocational education and trained teachers- did not characterize the developments of secondary education during 1855-1882. It was as late as January 1881 that the Central Training College at Lahore came into existence. The Central Training College provided training for Anglo-Vernacular teachers and for vernacular secondary teachers. In 1919, a training college at Lyallpur and a little later at Hoshiarpur was opened as the Central Training College at Lahore was overburdened.

The data reveals a number of interesting information regarding training schools. The Preparatory Class at Rawalpindi was opened for the candidates who did not fulfil the condition of having passed the middle school examination. Also pioneer in the methods and

projects undertaken for the training of teachers like the Moga School, Gakhar Normal School, and the School of Rural Economics Gurgaon are discovered. This practice of taking charge of village schools by the students under the supervision of the Headmaster helped them gain practice in actual conditions of a rural school. The refresher courses were some of the efforts made to improve the efficiency of the training of the teachers. Concentrated practice of teaching in the training institutions was an integral part of the training. There were hard class works and extra-curricular activities taken up in the Normal schools.

The trained teacher continues to be the axis of an educational system. Hence, measures undertaken to promote the same included the provision of stipends and funds. But we see that the average cost of a pupil teacher which was Rs. 422 in a training college, in 1911-12, and Rs.168 in a Normal school, in 1916-17, Rs.429 in Training College and Rs.155 in Normal schools. To what factors, was the fall, in the average cost for Normal schools ascribed to be is not clear. Fees in terms of grants were given to officers of the education department for conducting teachers' examination (altogether twelve examinations) as it involved massive employment of services. This is claimed to have achieved the improvement in the qualifications of candidates for teacher training.

The study brings out crucial information regarding women education in Punjab. William Adam, about the state of women education in Punjab, has stated that Punjab had gone much ahead of Bengal in the branch of women education. This proves that women education in Punjab existed much before the arrival of British on Punjab's horizon. However, it was just a matter of revival. But the progress was slow and people took little interest in the movement. Natives were called upon to provide education to their women. Hence the education of women in the province and above all the absence of women teachers was a definite cause of concern for all. Owing to the lack of availability of teachers, it was considered to have mixed schools. But, due to the unavailability of women teachers, in the mixed schools, it was not acceptable to the people to send their girl child to school beyond a specific age. Another feature that proved detrimental to the women education was the change of medium of instruction to Urdu, which was made the official language. It proved to be a massive setback for the overall education as well. John Lawrence, had in 1849, too acknowledged that Urdu is not the language of these districts and neither is Persian. Despite the native aversion, Urdu remained the official administrative language of Punjab until 1947.

Gradually, coming to the women teachers and their training in the Province, the sources convey the fact that initially the women education and training of women teachers was left entirely to the private enterprise and government acted quite late on this front. However, crucial archival data discloses some contemporary measures being undertaken by the government regarding training of women teachers elsewhere in India. In the United Provinces, we come across government extending incentives such as award of scholarships to an Indian girl graduate to be sent to England for the completion of her educational training. Also, we come across an encouraging step for the promotion of women education, in the form of scholarship being provided to the wives or women relatives living under the care of Hindu and Mohammedan school teachers to qualify themselves for employment as teachers in schools. However, the government admitted that the grant of \$ 100 a year was an experimental measure. We come across a Model Female Normal school in Madras being established by the State and supported by government funds in 1868-69. Whereas, data reveals that the first Normal School for girls in Punjab was opened at Delhi by the S. P. G. Mission in 1863-64 and the year 1905 saw the establishment of the first Government women Normal school at Lahore.

Meanwhile, as discussed above, about the contemporary measures being taken elsewhere in British India by the government for women education, it will be of great interest to know some vital facts about the princely states of Punjab where teacher training and education of women was receiving an equal and important treatment. An interesting assistive step, to bring girl pupil to schools was in the guise of callers attached to girls' schools. Attached to every girl's school, there was generally a woman who called the pupils in the morning, supplied the girls with water during school hours, and took them to their homes when the work of the day was over. The girls' school at Patiala had two callers, each of whom received Rs.4 a month. Parents felt more confident in sending their children to school when they knew that they will be under the care of an elderly woman while coming and going. It was recommended that callers be attached to every school.¹

That the training of teachers was considered very essential and importance is borne out from the fact that the possession of a certificate of training was a condition precedent to the confirmation of every member of the teaching staff. Facilities were afforded for the training of such teachers. There was no difficulty in the admission of women teachers who were admitted both in the junior and senior training classes in Ludhiana and Lahore. The question

¹H. T. Knowlton, *Report on the Condition of Education in the Patiala State*, (Lahore: Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, 1904), p. 52.

of re-introduction of Night Classes for the training by the transfer of a group of teachers by rotation every year was also being seriously considered. It had been abandoned due to some practical difficulties. The education department was optimistic about the improvement of trained teachers though the percentage of trained teachers was small but found no reason to be pessimistic in view of the renewed interest in the matter of teacher training.² Girls' education was equally progressive. There was an up-to-date high school for girls under an able and experienced lady superintendent with English qualifications. There was an Inspectress for girls' schools. There were a number of primary schools in the city of Patiala situated in different localities, so as, to be within easy reach of girl pupils. The number of girl students rose from 3,848 to 4,263. The percentage of trained teachers increased every year.³ Furthermore, about the status of education of various communities, John J. R. Gordon had observed in 1904, that the Sikhs were no longer illiterate as they were in older days when they despised the pen and looked on the sword as the one power in the land. However, with time they felt that the pen was sometimes more powerful of the two and that education would not cause any harm to the hand that wields the sword. Hence, proving that the community mostly associated with soldierly skills was also gradually recognising the importance of education. He mentioned the literary census of 1881 community-wise, in which, Sikhs stood at the lowest with 1.36 per cent whereas in the census of 1941, it was the highest amongst Sikhs with 17.03 per cent.⁴ This brief, but sound situation, in princely states speaks a lot about the education system prevailing there as compared to the British Punjab. The findings of the study prove that the foundation of Indian education in India was laid in the first half of the nineteenth century by Macaulay's Minute of 1835, and Wood's Education despatch of 1854. The Indian Mutiny followed soon after and Wood's education policy was reaffirmed by Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859 after the control of India passed from the East India Company to the Crown. Thereafter, education policy was the primary concern of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy in Calcutta.⁵

²Training of Teachers, *Annual Administration for the year, 1929-30*, (Patiala: Bhupinder State Press, n.d), pp. 112-114. (Report by His Highness's Government, Patiala)

³Girls' Education, *Administration Report for 1939-40*, (Lahore: the Civil and Military Gazetteer, Ltd., 1942), pp. 138-139. (His Highness's Government, Patiala)

⁴Harnam Singh, *Punjab the Homeland of the Sikhs: together with the Sikh Memorandum to the Sapru Conciliation Committee*, (Lahore: n. p, 1945), pp. 22-23. (Chapter VI- The Punjab, Education, Industry and Commerce)

⁵Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: the British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858-1983*, (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2013), p. 5.

Several significant factors influenced the frequent increase and decrease of the teacher education institutes during the study period. Sometimes, it was the rapid expansion of vernacular education that made the department to have training classes and combined institutions, while at other times; it was the major outturn of supply of trained teachers that far exceeded the demand that made the department to reduce the number. The two world wars led to the retrenchment and several other major causes, the political turmoil in the nation and in the province were also major issues of the period. One such major event was the Government of India Act, 1919. The education was transferred to the Indian ministers and the set up then was working under several limitations. Government of India stopped taking interest and stopped helping provincial governments with a part of its revenues in education. Also, it refused to perform even those of its functions where an element of control was not involved though it continued to publish quinquennial reviews of education concerning different parts of British India. All these conditions had an adverse effect on the education scenario in the nation. The British supremacy of the province and the change of medium of instruction had not only adversely affected education scenario, but it specifically ruined the women education. And to sum up, it would be apt to mention here, Hayden Bellenoit's work. It states, a remark, by William Lee-Warner, the influential historical systematiser of the Indian princely states, that if education truly cemented Indians to the Raj, then the British would have lavished unlimited amounts of money on schools and colleges across India (and the Empire). This was something which the British never came close to achieving, as education never constituted more than 4% of the Raj's annual budget.⁶ The colonial administration took measures for furthering the cause of education, teacher's training included yet the actual picture was not highly satisfactory. Therefore, though much had been done and much more still remained to be done.

Limitations of the Study

In the absence of secondary sources, the study undertaken was almost difficult to draw an inclusive picture of Teachers' Education in Punjab. The presence of sufficient secondary sources would have surely aided the study in having a broader picture of teacher training institutions in Punjab during the colonial rule. Due to constraints like the vastness of the period, the present study was unable to take up the progress of teacher education in the

⁶Hayden Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), p. 41.

princely states of Punjab, in order to have a complete view of teacher education. This could have provided with vital relative information about the efforts of the British state and the princely states towards the education in their respective territory. Regarding, the teacher education, in the princely states further investigation is required, particularly with reference to the education of women teachers. The priceless primary sources at various regional archives in Punjab need to be explored in depth and information contained in them to be collected and shared. Nevertheless, the fragments provided may well set for a new beginning for further investigation. Furthermore, the study was unable to utilise various vernacular sources in Gurmukhi and Urdu to have an extensive understanding of the natives' views associated with the teacher education, particularly the women education. Consequently, it acted as a restraint to analyse the initiatives and contribution made by various societies like Singh Sabha, Arya Samaj and Anjumans for the enhancement and popularization of the education and women education in Punjab. As discussed above, the rise of these reform movements had fairly helped ushering in anticipated change in the young minds regarding women and women education. The vast primary sources, containing decisive information, at various repositories and libraries in Punjab, pertaining to religious, educational and cultural issues of Singh Sabhas (across India) and other societies can surely provide a lead to a broader picture. Also, a study of colleges or schools established in the state during the colonial rule which still exist, with their valuable details related to trained teachers would definitely prove to be a stepping stone for future research. An analytical study of the work can be undertaken in future to investigate further on the topic. Also, the thorough details about the growth of contemporary teacher education in other provinces of India and also in England, in comparison with Punjab, in the nineteenth century, would have proved to be of quite scholarly interest. These essential sections need further exploration.

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NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

Khalsa Advocate

Panchal Pandita

Panjabi Bhain

APPENDICES
SIGNIFICANT DETAILS RELATED TO THE TEACHER
TRAINING INSTITUTIONS, PUNJAB

No. I Directors of Public Instruction, Education Department, Punjab from 1856-1945.

William Arnold (1856- 1859)

William Delafield Arnold was son of a Headmaster of Rugby. He was the author of *Oakfield* and was appointed as the first Director of Public Instruction in Punjab in January 1856. After assuming office, his first priority was to devise educational machinery suitable for the Province. Regarding the works accomplished by the Education Department under his supervision, concluding his last report for 1857-1858, Arnold stated that the fact that during this historic year educational work was carried forward steadily and amidst the storms which ranged around, peace and order were maintained in Punjab. Arnold left India (W. D. Arnold, the first Director, resigned in late 1859) due to ill health, and shortly after died in Europe.

E. H. Paske

Officiating Director of Public Instruction, (1859-1860)

W. D. Arnold was succeeded by Lieutenant E.H. Paske in temporary charge of the office of Director. An officer of the Punjab Commission, Paske received temporary charge of the office of Director, and continued the work of organization on the same lines of Arnold. Lieutenant Paske reverted to his appointment in January 1860, and was succeeded by Captain A.R. Fuller, who was the second permanent Director of Public Instruction in Punjab.

Captain Abraham Richard Fuller (1860-1867)

Fuller was born on 12 November 1828 in Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh. He served during the Mutiny of 1857 for which he got medal. Major Abraham Fuller was appointed in the Royal Artillery Bengal in 1845 and made Captain in 1858, and Major in 1865. He drowned on 20th August 1867 in Rawalpindi district of Pakistan. He had an interest in

Arabic and Persian literature, and had translated medieval Persian chronicles into English. Captain Fuller assumed office of Director of Public Instruction in 1860. It was said that his sudden death removed a scholar administrator of promise from the ranks of the neo-orientalist Persian enthusiast of Punjab service. C.W.W. Alexander, his immediate superior referred to him as an officer who had grown old in the service of the Department, and contributed greatly to its progress.

William Rice Morland Holroyd (1867-69, 1873-74, 1878-79, 1881-91)

In August 1867, Major Fuller, who had supervised the Education Department since 1859 as Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, lost his life by drowning in a flooded mountain torrent, and was succeeded by the senior Inspector of Schools, Captain W.R. M. Holroyd, as the Director of Public Instruction. He arrived in India in 1854. Prior to being appointed the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab he had served in various capacities. Holroyd had provided his services in the Central India Field Force under Sir Hugh Rose with H.M.'s 86th Regiment during 1857--58. He was present at the siege and capture of Chanderi, and Jhansi, the battle of the Betwa, the action at Koonch, the operations before Calpee and capture of that town. Holroyd was wounded dangerously at storming of Jhansi. He was awarded Mutiny medal and class for Central India and received complimentary letter, written by order of Sir Hugh Rose, from Adjutant General, for gallantry at the siege of Calpee. He was appointed as Inspector of Schools, Ambala Circle in August 1858 and officiated as Director from January 1867 to April 1867. Post Major Fuller' sudden demise in 1867 while crossing a stream near Rawalpindi, on his way down to Murree. Captain Holroyd was thereupon ordered to take charge of the vacant office, in addition to his other duties until further instructions. By a government order, dated 18 February 1868, Captain Holroyd was appointed permanent Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

J. G. Cordery

Officiating Director of Public Instruction during 1871-72

The Education Department was temporarily in charge of J. G. Cordery, C.S., 1871-72, whose description of the various institutions which he found at work at that time had a special interest as passing on the opinions of an intelligent outsider who had liberty and

opportunity to get acquainted with the facts. In his concluding report, Cordery though satisfied with the progress which had been made in various directions, remarked that the difficulty of reaching the masses could be viewed from the fact that only 3½ per cent of the children of school going age under the government of Punjab were to be found in the departmental schools.

Denzil Ibbetson

Officiating Director of Public Instruction during 1884-85

Denzil Ibbetson was an administrator in British India and an author. He served as governor of the Central Provinces and Berar from 1900 to 1902 and Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, 1907. Ibbetson had arrived in the Punjab Province of India on 8th December 1870. He was the Deputy Superintendent for the 1881 census operation in Punjab. About Ibbetson serving as the acting Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, Alfred Croft's Quinquennial Report for 1883-84, mentioned that the fact noticed by the Education Commission that Punjab was the only province where high vernacular schools were recognised and it was long maintained that these schools were dear to the people and looked with dislike the advance of English education. However, Mr Denzil Ibbetson, acting Director of Public Instruction, in his report for 1883-84, discussed this question with reference to the fact that the last vernacular high school in the province had disappeared during the year under report. Furthermore, he concluded that these feelings were restricted to a generation which was passing away and was shared by none other than of the then generation. Ibbetson was also of the opinion that the administration lost little or nothing instead gained much by the substitution of English for the vernacular in high schools. This reaffirmed his conclusion that what was all along being insisted on in Bengal, that the spread of English education had supplied the means of establishing and multiplying vernacular schools. There was no great increase in the number of secondary schools, though in his report for 1884-85, Ibbetson remarked that he had been much impressed when on a tour with the widespread and genuine desire on the part of the people of the towns and large villages to secure the advantages of secondary education for their children. (p. 59)

J. P. Hewitt, C. S.

Officiating Director of Public Instruction from May-June, 1887, 1895

Hewitt served twice as Officiating Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

J. Sime-LL.D., C. I. E., (1891-1901)

J. Sime succeeded W.R.M. Holroyd as the next Director in 1897 and served for long years in the Education Department. He took charge of the Office in 1891 and continued to be in office up till 1901.

William Bell

Officiating Director of Public Instruction during 1898, 1900, as Director in 1902-1907

William Bell was Professor of Philosophy and Logic, Government College Lahore, 1891. He is also noted as the Secretary, Punjab Textbook Committee in 1891. Bell is stated to be the officiating Director of Public Instruction, Punjab as per the Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab, Home Department Education in September 1898, in February 1900, and assumed the charge of the office of the Director in 1902. Bell too served for a long time in the Department till 1907. However, in July 1904, J. C. Godley officiated as the Director and also in 1907. Bell was succeeded by J.C. Godley in 1908.

J. C. Godley- M. A., (1908-12, 1912-13 to 1916-17)

J. C. Godley was a Professor of History in the Government College, Lahore, and during 1887-1901 Principal Aitchinson College, Lahore. He officiated from June- December 1907 for W. Bell. He received the charge of the office of Director in 1908. Godley was Director throughout the quinquennium of 1912-13-1916-17. His efforts were highly appreciated by the government and the officers of his department working under him on the solid progress attained. Godley relinquished the charge of the Department in 1917 after being in the office for nearly ten years.

M. Crosse

Officiating Director of Public Instruction in 1912

M. Crosse, Inspector of Schools, Lahore, acted as Officiating Director when J. C. Godley, Director of Public Instruction, went on a privilege leave for six weeks' duration in 1912. Regarding Mr Crosse's spell of career in the province, he had served in the province for about 19 years, during 18 of years of which he had been in charge (Inspector of Schools) of the Lahore division. His work as an Inspector was marked by a thorough knowledge of the conditions of the secondary schools under his charge. M. Crosse proceeded on six months' leave in October, 1918, preparatory to retirement. He was succeeded by W. T. Wright of the Jullundur division. Wright later served as the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

J. H. Towle

Officiating Director of Public Instruction during November 1919

J. H. Towle was Principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, during the period 1909-1919. J H Towle is considered to be a big name in the history of College because during his tenure several eminent personalities like Dr Zakir Husain, President of India, Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor General of Pakistan, Zahid Husain, the Finance Minister of Pakistan and General Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, passed out. J H. Towle reportedly was the Assistant Director of Public Instruction (post created in 1914) Punjab and held the charge of the Director after J.A. Richey's departure at the beginning of November 1919 till November 29th when Wright came and took over the charge.

J. A. Richey- M. A., C. I. E., (1915, 1917-18-1919)

Richey had officiated as Director of the Education Department in 1915 for six and a half months from June 15th in 1915 when the then Director J. C. Godley proceeded on a leave. Godley was succeeded by Richey on 1st April 1917. Richey held charge of the office of the Director from the beginning of that is 1917 until November 1919. Richey went on leave and was succeeded by Colonel W. T. Wright. And before Wright could

take charge Mr J. H. Towle, the Assistant Director, held the charge of the office between Richey's departure and Wright's arrival. This happening was due to Richey being recalled from leave to take up the appointment of Educational Commissioner with the government of India.

W. T. Wright-M.A., (1919-20)

Wright had been the Inspector of European Schools during 1913-1914. Wright held the post of Director for one year that is till November 1920 when he retired from the services of government. He was succeeded by George Anderson.

George Anderson-M. A., C. I. E., Kt., I. E. S., (1920-23, 1925-27, 1928 to 1931)

George Anderson was a British schoolteacher and administrator who spent most of his career in India. Anderson was educated at Winchester College and University College, Oxford, graduating in 1899 with honours in Modern History. He became an assistant master at a school in Eastbourne, but in 1903 joined the Transvaal Education Department. Transferred to India, he was successively Professor of History at Elphinstone College, Bombay, and Assistant Secretary of the Indian Education Department, Secretary to the Calcutta University Commission, Director of Public Instruction of Punjab from 1920, and Educational Commissioner of the Government of India. He retired in 1936. He was appointed Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, C.I.E. in the 1920 and appointed Companion of the Order of the Star of India C.S.I. in 1932. Anderson wrote several books, including *Expansion of India*, *British Administration in India* and *Christian Education in India*. George Anderson succeeded Colonel W. T. Wright as Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, in 1920.

E. Tydeman

Officiating Director of Public Instruction during 1923-24, 1924-25

During the year 1923-24, the office of Director of Public Instruction was held by George Anderson, however, he proceeded on leave at the close of the year after nearly three and a half year's strenuous work as head of the department, a period stated to be marked by rapid development and progressed in all branches of activity under

Education Department. E. Tydeman officiated as the Director during his leave. Mr Tydeman had been the Assistant Director of Public Instruction until 22nd March 1922. For the year 1924-25, E. Tydeman continued to be the officiating Director. Towards the end of the same year that is 1925 Tydeman was appointed to officiate in the same capacity in the North-Western Frontier Provinces, after which he was to go on leave preparatory to retirement.

R. Sanderson- M. A., I. E. S.

Officiating Director of Public Instruction during 1927, 28, 29, and as Director of Public Instruction from 1932-33 till 1935

It is noted that George Anderson continued in office as Director of Public Instruction up to 6th October, 1927. He then went on to serve in the Aligarh University Enquiry Committee prior to proceeding for leave. Hence R Sanderson was appointed to officiate for him. On after his return from his deputation with the government of India as a member of the Education Committee associated with the Indian Statutory Commission, George Anderson resumed his charge as Director of Public Instruction on the 19th May, 1929, and continued in office until 1st March 1930, when he proceeded on leave. It was Sanderson who officiated during his absence for very short periods both in the beginning and at the end of the year. During the quinquennium of 1931-32 the direction of the Department was under the charge of George Anderson for four years and one month and under R. Sanderson for almost eleven months after former's retirement. Anderson retired in April 1931 after eleven years of strenuous service. In Anderson's absence during his tenure as Director Sanderson officiated for him for almost two years and three months. During 1933-34, Sanderson held the post of Director for eight months and a half and for three months and half by J. E. Parkinson during former's absence on leave. R Sanderson, M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S., up to 31st October 1935 continued to be the Director of the Department when he proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement and was succeeded by J. E. Parkinson.

J. E. Parkinson

Officiating Director of Public Instruction, from 1st November 1935 to 6th November 1936

Parkinson was Principal, Central Training College Lahore. He held the charge of post of the Director of Public Instruction for three months and half from 10th July to 24th October, 1933 during R Sanderson's absence on leave. After Sanderson proceeded for his leave preparatory to retirement Parkinson assumed charge of the office. However on 6th November, 1936, Parkinson services were placed at the disposal of government of India for employment as Educational Commissioner and W.H.F. Armstrong, Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, was appointed in his place.

W. H. F Armstrong-M. A., I. E. S., (1937-38 to 1941-42, 1944-45)

With J. E. Parkinson being employed as Educational Commissioner with the government of India, W. H. F. Armstrong was appointed in a substantive provisional capacity as Director of Public Instruction and Under-Secretary to government, Punjab, with effect from 7th November 1936. Parkinson's services were at the disposal of the government of India for a further period up to and including 12th April, 1938. W. H. F. Armstrong continued to the post of Director since 1937-38 to 1941-42. His status as Under-Secretary to government was raised to Secretary in 1941.

Khan Bahadur S.M. Shariff

Officiating Director of Public Instruction from 25th January 1945-31st March 1945

W. H. F. Armstrong continued to hold charge of the post of Director of Public Instruction, except for the period from 25th January 1944 to the end of the year that is 1945 when Khan Bahadur S. M. Shariff, Deputy Director of Public Instruction officiated for him.

Source: Progress of Education in India or Quinquennial Review, (selected years), and Report on Progress of Education in the Punjab, (selected years), Proceedings of the Government of Punjab in the Home Department, Education, (selected years).

*Note: A special mention needs to be made here about G. W. Leitner, Principal Lahore Government College. There is much ambiguity regarding this British naturalised Hungarian Jew who was appointed to the Punjab at the age of twenty-four with an M.A and later a Ph.D. Some authors like Doris Jakobsh and Dharampal, state Leitner as the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. However, no such information is come across in several reports of education and government proceedings. Moreover, Leitner's own work *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882* does mention him as the Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi Division, in temporary charge, in 1872-1873 but nowhere do we find any information regarding him serving as the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.

Furthermore, Tim Allender, in *Bad Language in the Raj: The 'Frightful Encumbrance' of Gottlieb Leitner, 1865-188*, provides detailed information about Leitner and his career in India. He puts across that by 1865 the Punjab Education Department had been in existence for ten years and after the resignation of its first Director, W.D. Arnold in late 1859, it had been under the direction of mostly seconded military men. The Department had grown and the first college of its creation, Lahore Government College had been founded in 1864. The college was also to contain an Oriental College designed to preside over much needed Persian Urdu translations of Europeans works for teaching in the province's schools. The task was difficult as the language hierarchies were the most complex in British India. Hence these reasons made a convincing case for an able linguist to become Lahore College's first full-time principal. As a result, Calcutta departed from its usual practice of appointing on the advice of senior bureaucrats in England and an open advertisement was taken out in London newspapers instead. Leitner was to be the successful applicant as his language skills acquired in Europe were to best fit the province's needs. Given Leitner's illustrious career and his tenure in Punjab Province, India, we have information meticulously put forward by Allender. And he does not mention Leitner as the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab anytime during his term in India. Also, Margrit Pernau, ed., *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857*, a remarkable work on the Delhi College, mentions Leitner as being indirectly involved with the Delhi College who had an eventful career in India. Among other things he founded the Panjab University and Oriental College in Lahore and was the first Principal of the Government College, Lahore.

No. II List of Stipends tenable at Government Normal schools.

Delhi Normal School	
Delhi	8
Gurgaon	9
Karnal	6
Hissar	5
Rohtak	6
Umballa	13
Ludhiana	8
Simla	1
Ferozepore	9 = 65
Jullundur Normal School	
Jullundur	15
Hoshiarpur	13
Kangra	7
Amritsar	16
Gurdaspur	14 =65
Lahore Normal School	
Lahore	12
Mooltan	9
Jhang	5
Montgomery	4
Gujranwala	12
Sialkot	12
Muzaffargarh	4
Dera Ghazi Khan	7 =65
Rawalpindi Normal School	
Gujrat	12
Rawalpindi	14
Jhelum	11
Shahpur	7
Peshawar	5
Hazara	4
Kohat	1
Dera Ismail Khan	4
Bannu	4 =62
Inspector, Delhi	10
Inspector Jullundur	10
Inspector, Lahore	10
Inspector, Rawalpindi	8
Inspector, Derajat	5 =43
Total	300

Source: Stipends, Section-G, Chapter VIII, Training Institutions for Masters, No. 4, 20th July 1888 in *Government of the Punjab, Home Department Proceedings, 1888*, pp. 15-17.

No. III Institutions for Special Education, Normal schools.

	BENGAL		N. W. Provs.		Punjab		Madras		Bombay		Oude		Central Provinces		Mysore		British Burmah and the Berar		
	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	
<i>Number of institutions</i>																			
Normal	24	3	8	3	7	3	4	6	....	2	....	2	6	....	1	....	1	....
Others	13	1	2	....	....	....	7	5	3	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....
Total	37	4	10	3	7	3	14	11	3	2	6	6	6	....	2	....	....	....
<i>Number of pupils attending them</i>																			
Normal	1,280	71	455	62	294	80	1,011	258	....	392	....	392	153	....	27	....	....	....
Others	920	246	254	....	....	....	473	280	180	....	....	....	....	....	32	....	....	....
Total	2,200	317	709	62	294	80	1,484	538	180	392	....	392	153	....	59	....	....	....
<i>Expenditure</i>	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.

Owing to the appointment of Director of Public Instruction, and the organization of separate Departments of Education in Burmah and the Berars having only recently been carried out, there re no sufficient statistics available. But a general reference to the Institutions in British Burmah coming under this head will be made in the body of this Note.

No. IV Quarterly Report on Popular Education in Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860 Ambala Circle.

Normal schools	NAME OF DISTRICTS	Authorised No. Of students	Arrived from districts	Non-stipendiary
DELHI	Delhi	6	10	3
	Goorgaon	10	1	...
	Kurnaul	18	32	...
	Jhujjur	6	...	...
	Hissar	2	3	...
	Rohtuck	12	2	...
	Sirsa	2	...	...
	Ferozepore	0	2	...
	Total	56	50	3
UMBALLA	Loodiana	16	15	...
	Thaney-sur	10	4	...
	Umballa	18	19	...
	Ferozepore	8	7	...
	Total	52	45	...
	Grand Total	108	95	3

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860, *Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1860*, File No. 8, General Department, Delhi Division, p.6.

No. VA Comparative Statement of statistics for the Quarter January, 1861, Normal schools

NORMAL SCHOOLS	NAME OF DISTRICT	Authorized number of Students	Arrived from Districts	No. Of Stipendiary
DELHI	Delhi	7	7	...
	Goorgaon	10	11	...
	Kurnaul	18	33	...
	Hissar	2	3	...
	Rohtuck	18	18	...
	Sirsa	2	3	...
	Ferozepoor	0	8	...
	TOTAL	57	83	...
UMBALLAH	Loodianah	16	20	...
	Thaney-sur	10	10	...
	Umballah	18	23	3
	Ferozepoor	8	0	3
	TOTAL	52	53	...
LAHORE	Goordaspoor	0	1	...
	Sealkote	16	16	4
	Umritsur	24	37	...
	Goojranwalla	10	17	...
	Lahore	10	17	11
	Googairah	4	5	...
	TOTAL	64	93	15
JULLUNDHUR	Goordaspoor	26	29	2
	Jullundhur	10	14	1
	Hoshiarpoor	20	41	...
	Kangra	10	11	...
	TOTAL	66	95	3
MOOLTAN	Jhung	2	1	...
	Mooltan	10	11	1
	Moozuffurgurh	8	7	...
	TOTAL	20	19	1
RAWULPINDEE	Goojrat	10	13	...
	Jhelum	10	15	...
	RawulPindee	14	20	23
	Shahpoor	8	10	...
	DerahGhazee Khan	0	1	...
	TOTAL	42	59	23
DEHRAJAT	DerahGhazee Khan	4	3	...
	Derah Ismael Khan	6	3	3
	Leia(Bunoo)	4	9	...
	TOTAL	14	15	3
PESHAWUR	Huzara	0	0	...
	Kohat	2	2	1
	Peshawur	12	6	9
	Total	14	8	10
	Grand Total	329	425	58

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January 1861 in, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st January, 1861*, File No.1, Education Department, Delhi, p.12.

No.VI The Statement showing the number of students attending Normal Schools for the quarter ending 31st July 1862.

Circle of Inspection	Name of School	District	No. Of students sanctioned				No. Of students sanctioned			
			No. Of students sanctioned	No. Arrived from Districts	Non-stipendiary	Total	No. Of students sanctioned	No. arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total
AMBALLAH CIRCLE	AMBALLAH	Amballah	...	...	...	...	24	15	9	24
		Loodianah	...	...	...	...	12	6	...	6
		Ferozepore	...	...	...	...	8	7	...	7
		Total	...	...	...	...	44	28	9	37
	DELHI	Delhi	...	...	...	...	14	7	...	7
		Kurnal	...	...	...	...	17	2	...	2
		Goorgaon	...	...	...	...	25	23	...	23
		Rohtuk	...	...	...	...	15	13	...	13
		Sirsa	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	3
		Hissar	...	...	...	...	5	4	...	4
Total		...	...	...	...	78	52	...	52	
		Total of Amballah Circle	...	...	...	...	122	80	9	89
LAHORE	LAHORE	Lahore	10	9	8	17	10	2	9	18
		Goojranwalla	10	9	...	9	10	10	...	10
		Amritsar	24	24	...	24	24	23	...	23
		Sealkote	16	18	...	18	16	16	...	16
		Googairah	4	4	...	4	4	4	...	4
		Goordaspore	...	2	..	2	..	...	...	...
	Total	64	63	8	71	64	62	9	71	
LAHORE CIRCLE	JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	10	12	1	13	10	10	1	11
		Hoshiarpore	24	29	1	30	24	19	2	21
		Kangra	10	12	...	12	10	15	...	15
		Goordaspore	26	24	...	24	26	27	...	27
		Total	70	77	2	79	70	71	3	74
	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	10	12	...	12	15	15	...	15
		Jhung	2	11	...	11	5	9	...	9
		Moozuffergurh	8	12	...	12	12	6	...	6
		Total	20	35	...	35	32	30	...	30
			Total of Lahore Circle	154	175	10	185	166	163	12	175
RAWULPINDEE CIRCLE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	...	...	...	...	14	24	6	30
		Jhelum	...	...	...	...	10	12	...	12
		Goojrat	...	...	...	...	10	11	...	11
		Shahpore	...	...	...	...	8	10	1	11
		Dera Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2
		Total	...	...	...	...	42	59	7	66
	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	...	...	...	...	12	17	...	17
		Kohat	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	2
		Total	...	...	...	...	14	19	...	19

	Dera Ismail Khan	Dera Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...	6	4	...	4
		Dera Ghazee Khan	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	4
		Bunnoe	...	...	...	...	5	5	...	5
		Total	...	...	...	...	15	13	..	13
		Total RawulPindee Circle	...	...	...	...	71	91	7	98
		Grand Total	154	175	10	185	359	334	28	362

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the 1st quarter 1862-63 ending 31st July, 1862 in, *Report on Popular Education in Punjab*, File No.10, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 9.

No. VII The Statement showing the number of students attending Normal Schools for the quarter ending 31ST October 1862.

Circle of Inspection	Normal School	District	Quarter ending 31 ST July 1862				Quarter ending 31 ST October 1862.			
			No. Of students sanctioned	No. Arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total	No. Of students sanctioned	No arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total
AMBALLAH	AMBALLAH	Amballah	24	15	9	24	24	23	6	29
		Loodiana	12	6	...	6	12	8	...	8
		Ferozepoor	8	7	...	7	8	8	...	8
		Total	44	28	9	37	44	39	6	45
AMBALLAH	DELHI	Delhi	14	7	...	7	14	12	...	12
		Kurnal	17	2	...	2	17	14	...	14
		Goorgaon	25	23	...	23	25	26	...	26
		Rohtuk	15	13	...	13	15	12	...	12
		Sirsa	2	3	...	3	2	3	...	3
		Hissar	5	4	...	4	5	4	...	4
		Total	78	52	...	52	78	71	...	71
		Total of Amballah Circle	122	80	9	89	122	110	6	116
LAHORE	Lahore	Lahore	10	9	9	18	10	8	5	13
		Goojranwala	10	10	...	10	10	10	...	10
		Amritsar	24	23	...	23	24	24	...	24
		Sealkote	16	16	...	16	16	16	...	16
		Googaira	4	4	...	4	4	3	...	3
		Moozuffurgurh	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
		Total	64	62	9	71	64	62	5	67
LAHORE	JULLUNDHUR	Jullundhur	10	10	1	11	10	10	...	10
		Hoshiarpoor	24	19	2	21	24	15	2	17
		Kangra	10	15	...	15	10	11	...	11
		Goordaspoor	26	27	...	27	26	26	...	26
		Total	70	71	3	74	70	62	2	64
LAHORE	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	15	...	15	15	13	...	13
		Jhung	5	9	...	9	5	7	...	7
		Moozuffurgurh	12	6	...	6	12	5	...	5
		Total	32	30	...	30	32	25	...	25
		Total of Lahore Circle	166	163	12	175	166	149	7	156
RAWULPINDEE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	14	24	6	30	14	21	3	24
		Jhelum	10	12	...	12	10	9	...	9
		Goojrat	10	11	...	11	10	9	...	9
		Shahpoor	8	10	1	11	8	8	...	8
		Dera Ismail Khan	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...

RAWULPINDEE		Total	42	59	7	66	42	47	3	50
	DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	4	...	4	6	4	...	4
		DeraGhazee Khan	4	4	...	4	4	4	...	4
		Bunnoe	5	6	...	5	5	5	...	5
		Total	15	13*	...	13	15	13	...	13
RAWULPINDEE	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	12	17	...	17	16		...	11
		Kohat	2	2	...	2	2		...	1
		Total	14	19	...	19	18	12	...	12
		Total of RawulPindee Circle	71	91	7	98	75	72	3	75
		Grand Total	359	334	28	362	363	331	16	347
*Figure is not clear										

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st October, 1862, *Report on Popular Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department, Ambala, p.12. (*Note to para 4-since received has been given in the table, given on page 8 of the Report.)

No. VIII The Statement showing the number of students attending Normal Schools for the quarter ending 31st January 1863.

CIRCLE OF INSPECTORS	NORMAL SCHOOL	DISTRICTS	No. Of students sanctioned	Number arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total	
AMBALLAH CIRCLE	AMBALLAH	Amballah	24	23	6	29	
		Loodianah	9	8	...	8	
		Ferozepoor	8	8	...	8	
			Total	41	39	6	45
	DELHI	Delhi	14	12	...	12	
		Kurnal	17	14	...	14	
		Goorgaon	25	26	...	26	
		Rohtuk	12	12	...	12	
		Sirsa	4	3	...	3	
			Hissar	5	4	...	4
		Total	77	71	...	17	
		Total Amballah Circle	118	110	6	116	
LAHORE CIRCLE	LAHORE	Lahore	10	10	1	11	
		Goojranwalla	10	10	...	10	
		Amritsur	24	23	...	23	
		Sealkote	16	16	...	16	
		Googaira	4	3	...	3	
		Moozuffurgurh	...	1	...	1	
		Goordaspoor	...	2	...	2	
		Jhung	5	2	...	2	
			Total	69	67	1	69
	JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	10	10	1	11	
		Hooshyarpoor	24	16	1	17	
		Kangra	10	15	1	16	
		Goordaspoor	26	26	...	26	
			Total	70	67	3	70
	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	15	...	15	
Jhung		...	...	...	...
Moozuffurgurh		12	8	...	8		
		Total	27	23	...	23	
		Total Lahore Circle	166	157	4	161	
RAWUL PINDEE CIRCLE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	14	21	3	24	
		Jhelum	10	9	...	9	
		Goojrat	10	9	...	9	
		Shahpoor	8	8	...	8	
		Dera Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...
			Total	42	47	3	50
	DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	4	...	4	
		DeraGhazee Khan	4	4	...	4	
		Bunnoo	5	5	...	5	
		Total	15	13	...	13	

	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	16	11	...	11	
		Kohat	2	1	...	1	
		Total	18	12	...	12	
		Total R. Pindee Circle	75	72	3	75	
		GRAND TOTAL	359	339	13	352	
CIRCLE OF INSPECTORS	NORMAL SCHOOL	DISTRICTS	No. Of students sanctioned	Number arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total	
AMBALLAH CIRCLE	AMBALLAH	Amballah	24	21	9	30	
		Loodianah	9	9	...	9	
		Ferozepoor	8	4	...	4	
			Total	41	34	9	43
	DELHI	Delhi	14	14	...	14	
		Kurnal	17	13	...	13	
		Goorgaon	25	22	...	22	
		Rohtuk	12	11	...	11	
		Sirsa	4	3	...	3	
		Hissar	5	5	...	5	
		Total	77	68	...	68	
		Total Amballah Circle	118	102	9	111	
LAHORE CIRCLE	LAHORE	Lahore	10	8	5	13	
		Goojranwalla	10	10	...	10	
		Amritsur	24	24	...	24	
		Sealkote	16	16	...	16	
		Googaira	4	3	...	3	
		Moozuffurgurh	...	1	...	1	
		Goordaspoor	...	...	...	...
		Jhung	5	...	...	...
			Total	69	62	5	67
	JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	10	10	...	10	
		Hooshyarpoor	24	15	2	17	
		Kangra	10	11	...	11	
		Goordaspoor	26	26	...	26	
			Total	70	62	2	64
	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	13	...	13	
		Jhung	...	7	...	7	
Moozuffurgurh		12	5	...	5		
		Total	27	25	...	25	
		Total Lahore Circle	166	149	7	156	
RAWUL PINDEE CIRCLE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	14	14	8	22	
		Jhelum	10	10	2	12	
		Goojrat	10	10	1	11	
		Shahpoor	8	8	2	10	
		Dera Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...
			Total	42	42	13	55

	DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	5	5	...	6
		Dera Ghazee Khan	4	3	...	3
		Bunnoo	5	5	1	7
		Total	15	15	1	16
	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	16	16	...	16
		Kohat	2	1	...	1
		Total	18	17	...	17
		Total R. Pindee Circle	75	74	14	88
		GRAND TOTAL	359	325	30	355

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the quarter ending 31st January 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab, 1863*, File No. 9, General & Political Department, Ambala, p. 9. (From the Secretary to Government Punjab, to Financial and Judicial Commissioners, Commissioners of Divisions and District Officers, dated 23rd April 1863.)

No. IX The Statement showing the number of students attending at Normal Schools,
for the quarter ending 30th June, 1863.

CIRCLE OF INSPECTORS	NORMAL SCHOOL	DISTRICTS	No. Of students sanctioned	Number arrived from		Total	
				Districts	Non stipendiary		
UMBALLAH CIRCLE	UMBALLAH	Umballah	24	23	7	30	
		Loodianah	9	9	...	9	
		Ferozepoor	8	7	...	7	
			Total	41	39	7	46
	DELHI	Delhi	14	16	...	16	
		Kurnal	17	21	...	21	
		Goorgaon	25	32	...	32	
		Rohtuck	12	21	...	21	
		Sirsah	4	3	...	3	
			Hissar	5	5	...	5
		Total	77	98	...	98	
		Total Umballah Circle	118	137	7	144	
LAHORE CIRCLE	LAHORE	Jullundur	10	10	1	11	
		Hooshyarpoor	24	16	...	16	
		Kangra	10	11	...	11	
		Goordaspoor	26	23	...	23	
		Total	70	60	1	61	
		Lahore	10	10	6	16	
		Goojranwalla	10	12	...	12	
	Umritsar	24	23	...	23		
	Sealkote	16	16	...	16		
	JULLUNDUR	Goorgaira	4	4	...	4	
		Goordaspoor	...	3	...	3	
		Jhung	5	3	...	3	
		Total	69	71	6	77	
	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	15	...	15	
Moozuffurgurh		12	8	...	8		
		Total	27	23	...	23	
		Total Lahore Circle	166	154	4	161	
RAWUL PINDEE CIRCLE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	14	14	5	18	
		Jhelum	10	11	2	13	
		Goojrat	10	11	1	12	
		Shahpoor	8	8	1	9	
		Dera Ismail Khan	...	1	1	2	
			Total	42	45	10	55
	DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	6	...	6	
		DeraGhazee Khan	4	4	...	4	
		Bunnoo	5	5	1	6	
			Total	15	15	1	16

	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	16	16	...	16
		Kohat	2	1	...	1
		Total	18	17	...	17
		Total R. Pindee Circle	75	77	11	88
		GRAND TOTAL	359	368	22	393
CIRCLE OF INSPECTORS	NORMAL SCHOOL	DISTRICTS	No. Of students sanctioned	Number arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total
UMBALLAH CIRCLE	UMBALLAH	Umballah	15	14	2	16
		Loodianah	9	8	...	8
		Ferozepoor	8	5	...	5
		Total	32	27	2	29
	DELHI	Delhi	10	9	...	9
		Kurnal	17	16	...	16
		Goorgaon	20	20	...	20
		Rohtuk	10	16	...	16
		Sirsa	4	4	...	4
		Hissar	5	5	...	5
Total		66	70	...	70	
	Total Umballah Circle	98	97	2	99	
		Jullundur	12	12	...	12
LAHORE CIRCLE	LAHORE	Hooshyarpoor	18	16	...	16
		Kangra	10	12	...	12
		Goordaspoor	26	21	...	21
		Total	60	61	...	61
		Lahore	10	10	11	21
		Goojranwalla	10	12	...	12
	JULLUNDUR	Umritsur	24	21	...	21
		Sealkote	16	18	...	18
		Googaira	4	4	...	4
		Goordaspoor	...	4	...	4
	MOOLTAN	Jhung	5	2	...	2
		Total	69	71	11	82
		Mooltan	15	11	...	11
		Moozuffurgurh	12	8	...	8
	Total	27	19	...	19	
		Total Lahore Circle	162	151	11	162
RAWUL PINDEE CIRCLE	RAWUL PINDEE	RawulPindee	14	19	6	25
		Jhelum	10	12	1	13
		Goojrat	10	12	2	14
		Shahpoor	6	6	...	6
		Dera Ismail Khan	...	2	...	2
	Total	40	51	9	60	

	DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	6	...	6
		Dera Ghazee Khan	4	2	...	2
		Bunnoo	5	2	...	2
		Total	15	10	...	10
	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	12	15	9	24
		Kohat	2	1	...	1
		Total	14	16	9	25
		Total R. Pindee Circle	69	77	18	95
		GRAND TOTAL	329	325	31	356

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab, for the period ending 30th June, 1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, File No. 14, General & Political Department of Ambala Division, File No. 14, Haryana, p. 9. (From the Secretary to Government Punjab, Report on Popular Education in the Punjab)

No. X The Statement of attendance at Normal Schools for the quarter ending 30th
September 1863.

CIRCLE OF INSPECTORS	NORMAL SCHOOL	DISTRICTS	No. Of students sanctioned	Number arrived from Districts	Non stipendiary	Total	
AMBALLA	DELHI	Amballa	15	14	2	16	
		Loodianah	9	8	...	8	
		Ferozepoor	8	5	...	5	
		Delhi	10	9	...	9	
		Kurnal	17	16	...	16	
		Goorgaon	20	20	...	20	
		Rohtuck	10	16	...	16	
		Sirsah	4	4	...	4	
		Hissar	5	5	...	5	
		Total	98	97	2	99	
LAHORE CIRCLE	JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	12	12	...	12	
		Hooshyarpoor	18	16	...	16	
		Kangra	10	12	...	12	
		Goordaspoor	26	21	...	21	
			Total	66	61	...	61
	LAHORE	Lahore	10	10	11	21	
		Goojranwalla	10	12	...	12	
		Amritsar	24	21	...	21	
		Sealkote	16	18	...	18	
		Goordaspoore	...	4	...	4	
		Goorgaira	4	4	...	4	
		Jhung		2	...	2	
		Ferozepoor *	*	*	*	*	
			Total	64	71	11	82
	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	11	...	11	
		Jhung	5	...	...	...
Moozuffurgurh		12	8	...	8		
Total		32	19	...	19		
		Total Lahore Circle	162	151	11	162	
RAWUL PINDEE CIRCLE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	14	19	6	25	
		Jhelum	10	12	1	13	
		Goojrat	10	12	2	14	
		Shahpoor	6	6	...	6	
		Bunnoo	...	2	...	2	
			Total	40	51	9	60
	DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	6	...	6	
		DeraGhazee Khan	4	2	...	2	
		Bunnoo	5	2	...	2	
			Total	15	10	...	10
	PESHAWUR	Peshawur	12	15	9	24	
		Kohat	2	1	...	1	
		Total	14	16	9	25	
		Total R. Pindee Circle	69	77	18	95	
		GRAND TOTAL	329	325	31	356	

CIRCLE OF INSPECTORS	NORMAL SCHOOL	DISTRICTS	No. Of students sanctioned	Number arrived from Districts	Non sanctioned	Total	
AMBALLA	DELHI	Amballa	15	12	1	13	
		Loodianah	9	9	...	9	
		Ferozepoor	8	6	...	6	
		Delhi	10	11	4	15	
		Kurnal	17	19	...	19	
		Goorgaon	20	20	...	20	
		Rohtuck	10	13	...	13	
		Sirsah	4	5	...	5	
		Hissar	5	5	...	5	
		Total	98	100	5	105	
LAHORE	JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	12	11	...	11	
		Hooshyarpoor	18	16	...	16	
		Kangra	10	10	...	10	
		Goordaspoor	26	25	...	25	
		Total	66	62	...	62	
		Lahore	10	10	13	23	
		Goojranwalla	10	10	...	10	
		Amritsar	24	19	...	19	
		Sealkote	16	11	...	11	
		Goordaspoore	...	2	...	2	
		Goorgaira	4	3	...	3	
	Jhung	...	...	...	...
	Ferozepoor	...	3	...	3		
			Total	64	58	13	71
		MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	13	...	13
			Jhung	5	2	...	2
			Moozuffurgurh	12	11	...	11
	Total		64	26	...	26	
		Total Lahore Circle	162	146	13	159	
RAWULPINDEE	RAWULPINDEE	RawulPindee	14	22	...	22	
		Jhelum	10	9	...	9	
		Goojrat	10	11	...	11	
		Shahpoor	6	6	...	6	
		Bunnoo	...	...	...	...
			Total	40	48	...	48
		DERA ISMAIL KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	5	...	5
			DeraGhazee Khan	4	2	...	2
			Bunnoo	5	3	...	3
			Total	15	10	...	10
		PESHAWUR	Peshawur	12	10	3	13
			Kohat	2	...	1	1
			Total	14	10	4	14
		Total R. Pindee Circle	69	68	4	72	
		GRAND TOTAL	329	314	22	336	

* In the Table mean that the figure and the spelling is not clear

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30thSeptember1863, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political Department of Ambala Division, Haryana, File No. 2, p.12. (From the Secretary to Government Punjab, to Commissioners and Superintendent, Ambala, dated 27th January, 1864)

No. XI The Statement of attendance at Normal Schools, for the quarter ending 30th June 1864.

Circle	School	District	Quarter ending 31 st March 1864				Quarter ending 30 the June 1864				
			Authorised No. Of	Arrived from districts	Non-Resident	Total	Authorised No. Of	Arrived from districts	Non-Resident	Total	
AMBALLA	DELHI	Amballa	15	19	...	19	15	16	...	16	
		Loodhiana	9	9	....	9	9	8	....	8	
		Delhi	10	10	4	14	10	10	3	13	
		Kurnal	17	20	....	20	17	11	....	11	
		Goorgaon	20	21	....	21	20	27	...	27	
		Rohtuck	10	16	....	16	10	17	...	17	
		Sirsah	4	5	....	5	4	3	...	3	
		Hissar	5	5	....	5	5	4	...	4	
				Simlah	1	...	1	Is a teacher of the Zillah school
		Total	90	105	4	109	90	97	3	100	
	JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	12	11	...	11	12	11	...	11	
		Hooshiarpore	18	17	....	17	18	15	...	15	
		Kangra	10	10	...	10	10	10	...	10	
		Goordaspore	26	15	...	15	26	15	...	15	
		Total	66	53	...	53	66	51	...	51	
LAHORE	Lahore	Lahore	10	9	14	23	10	*	13	23	
		Goojranwalla	10	8	...	8	10	*	...	14	
		Ferozepore	8	4	...	4	8	*	...	6	
		Amritsar	24	24	...	24	24	*	....	23	
		Sealkote	16	16	...	16	16	*	....	10	
		Goordaspore	...	6	...	6	....	6	...	6	
		Googaira	4	4	...	4	4	4	...	4	
		Jhung	...	...	...	...	....	1	...	1	
		Total	72	71	14	85	72	74	13	87	
LAHORE	MOOLTAN	Mooltan	15	15	1	16	15	11	1	12	
		Jhung	5	2	...	2	5	4	...	4	
		Mozufurgurh	12	11	...	11	12	8	...	8	
		Total	32	28	1	29	32	23	1	24	
		Grand Total	170	152	15	167	170	148	14	162	
RAWAL PINDEE	RAWULPINDEE	RawaulPindee	14	17	3	20	14	18	8	26	
		Jhelum	10	12	1	13	10	9	1	10	
		Goojrat	10	7	1	10	10	10	...	10	
		Shahpore	6	6	1	7	6	6	...	6	
		Total	40	44	6	50	40	43	9	52	
FRONTIER	DERA I. KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan	6	6	...	6	6	5	...	5	
		DeraGazee Khan	4	4	1	5	4	5	...	5	
		Bunno	5	5	...	5	5	5	...	5	
		Total	15	15	1	16	15	15	...	15	

	PESHAWUR	Kohat	2	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	
		Peshawur	12	2	3	5	12	6	3	9	
		Total	14	2	3	5	14	7	3	10	
		Grand total	29	17	4	21	29	22	3	25	
		Grand Total of all Circles	329	318	29	347	329	310	29	339	

The *s in the table say that figures are not clear

Source: Quarterly Report on the Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th June 1864, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General Department of Delhi Division, Haryana, File No. 15, p.15. (From the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to the Commissioners & Superintendent, Ambala Division, dated 8th December, 1864)

No. XII The Statement showing the number of students attending at Normal Schools for the Half-year ending 30th September, 1865.

Circle of Inspection	Name of Normal School	District	No. Of students sanctioned	No. Arrived from Districts	Non-stipendiary	Total
AMBALLA	Delhi Normal School	Amballa	15	13	...	13
		Simla	...	...	...	...
		Loodiana	9	10	...	10
		Delhi	10	13	4	17
		Kurnal	10	8	...	8
		Goorgaon	20	26	...	26
		Rohtuk	10	18	...	18
		Hissar	6	5	...	5
		Sirsah	6	6	...	6
	Total		86	99	...	103
LAHORE	Lahore Normal School	Amritsar	18	16	...	16
		Goordaspore	18	12	...	12
		Sealkote	10	10	...	10
		Lahore	8	9	6	15
		Goojranwallah	8	5	...	5
		Ferozepore	8	5	...	5
		Montgomery	4	4	...	4
		Jhung	5	2	...	2
		Hooshiarpore	6	2	...	2
		Kangra	10	4	...	4
		Mooltan	10	1	...	1
		Moozuffurgurh	10	5	...	5
	Appointed by Inspector	Lahore Circle	...	15	...	15
	Appointed by Inspector	Rawul P. Circle	...	1	...	1
		Total	131	91	6	97
	Hooshiarpore Normal School	Goordaspore	...	...	...	...
		Jullundur	...	5	...	5
		Hooshiapore	...	6	...	6
		Kangra	...	3	...	3
		Total	...	14	...	14
	Mooltan Normal School	Mooltan	...	9	...	9
		Moozuffurgurh	...	3	...	3
		Total	...	12	...	12
		Grand Total Lahore Circle	131	117	6	123
RAWULPINDEE	R. Pindee N. School	RawulPindee	12	21	12	33
		Jhelum	8	13	1	14
		Goojrat	10	11	...	11
		Shahpore	6	5	...	5
		Selakote	...	3	...	3
		Jhung	...	1	...	1

		Total	36	54	13	67
FRONTIER	D. I Khan N. School	Dera Ghazee Khan	4	5	...	5
		Dera Ismail Khan	6	6	...	6
		Bunnoo	5	5	...	5
		Total	15	16	...	16
		Peshawur	12	12	3	15
		Kohat	2	2	...	2
		Total	14	14	2	17
		Total Circle	29	30	3	33
		Grand Total	282	300	26	326

Source: Half-Yearly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the period ending 30th September, 1865, Copy of No. 43, dated 5th February 1866, *Popular Education in the Punjab*, General & Political Department of Ambala Division, Haryana, File No. 4, p.18.(To all Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Inspectors of Schools, Principals of Colleges, and Head Masters of Zillah Schools, dated 10th April, 1866)

No. XIII Quarterly Report on Popular Education in Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860, Lahore Circle.

Normal Schools	NAMES OF DISTRICTS	Authorised number of students	Arrived from districts	Non-stipendiary
JULLUNDHUR	Hoshiapore	10	21	
	Jullundhur	16	20	
	Kangra	10	1	
	Goordaspore	...	6	
	Total	36	48	
LAHORE	Goordaspore	26	1	
	Sealkote	16	5	
	Umritsur	24	21	
	Goojranwalla	10	16	
	Lahore	10	13	
	Googaira	...	2	
Total	86	58		
MOOLTAN	Googaira	*	*	
	Jhung	2	*	
	Mooltan	10	*	
	Moozuffurgurh	*	*	
Total	*	*		
Grand Total		140	124	

The * stands for some figures missing or unreadable.

Source: Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860, *Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1860*, File No. 8, General Department, Delhi, p.10.

No. XIV The Quarterly Report on Popular Education in Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July, 1860, Rawalpindi Circle.

NAMES OF DISTRICTS	Authorised number of students	Arrived from districts	Non-stipendiary
At the close of July 1860			
Goojerat	10	No details given	
Jhelum	10		
RawulPindee	14		
Shahpore	8		
Total	42		
DeraGhazee Khan	4	5	No details given
Dera Ismail Khan	4	15	
Leia	6	8	
Total	14	28	
Hazara	1	0	
Kohat	2	0	
Peshawur	12	0	
Total	15	0	
Grand Total	71	73	

Source: Quarterly report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31stJuly, 1860, Circular No. 28, No. 2494, *Quarterly Report on Popular Education in the Punjab for the quarter ending 31st July 1860*, File No. 8, General Department of Delhi Division, Haryana, p.13 (To the Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, dated 27th September, 1860, by Captain A. R. Fuller, Director of Public Instruction)

No. XV The Statement showing the distribution of training units, combined institutions.

Division	Institutions	KIND AND NO. OF UNITS		No. of Junior Vernaculars	No. Senior Vernaculars
		Junior Vernacular	Senior Vernacular		
Multan	1.Muzzafargarh	1	...	43	...
	2.Kot Adu	2	...	86	..
	3.Multan	...	3	...	126
	4.Montgomery	2	...	84	...
	5.Kamalia	2	...	75	...
	6.Dera Ghazi Khan	2	...	87	...
	7, Taunsa	1	...	48	...
	8.Jhang	2	...	82	...
	Total	12	3	505	126
Rawalpindi	1.Mianwali	1	1	34	34
	2.Bhagatanwala	1	...	40	...
	3.Campbellpur	2	1	63	36
	4.Shahpur	...	2	...	78
	Total	4	4	137	148
Ambala	1.Jagadhari	1	3	43	120
	2.Gurgaon	3	...	117	...
	3.Karnal	5	3	202	126
	4.Hissar	2	...	84	...
	5.Rohtak	4	...	173	...
	Total		6	619	246
Jullundhur	1.Phillaur	2	...	83	...
	2.Dharamsala	1	...	41	....
	3.Ferozepur	2	...	88	...
	4.Hoshiarpur	3	...	131	...
	Total	8	...	343	...
Lahore	1.Kasur	2	...	78	...
	2.Pasrur	2	...	79	...
	3.Gurdaspur	2	...	80	41
	4.Gujranwala	...	1	...	...
	5.Sheikhupura	1	...	43	...
	6.Sharaqpur	...	2	...	82
	7.Srigobindpur	2	...	80	123..
	Total	9	3	360	
	Grand Total	48	16	1,964	643

NOTE- The above statement excludes two district board, three aided, one unaided training classes and the Gyani training class at Khalsa College, Amritsar.

Source: *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1927-28*, (Lahore: the Superintendent, Government Printing, 1929), pp.82-83.

No. XVI Number of Normal and Training Schools, 1947-48.

Province	1946-47			1947-48			Increase (+) Decrease (-)
	For Men	For Women	Total	For Men	For Women	Total	
Assam	8*	5*	13*	7	3	10	-3
West Bengal	45	9	54	45	9	54	+0
Bihar	66	10	76	69	10	79	+3
Bombay	41	32	73	59	33	92	+19
Central Provinces and Berar	15	9	24	15	8	23	+1
Madras	78	85	163	76	88	164	+1
Orissa	14	3	17	24	3	27	+10
East Punjab	3	6	9	3	7	10	+1
United Provinces	65	25	90	41	23	64	-26
Ajmer-Merwara	2	2	4	2	2	4	...
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coorg	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	1	1	2	1	1	2	...
PanthPiploda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
India (less States)	338+	187+	525+	342	187	529	+4
*Figures relate to pre-partitioned Assam.							
+Exclude figures for More Administrations.							

Source: *Education in India, 1947-48*, (Calcutta: Manager of the Publications Delhi, Government of India Press, 1951), p. 95.

No. XVII Number of students receiving instruction at Normal and Training Schools/Classes, 1947-48.

Province	1946-47			1947-48			Increase (+) Decrease (-)
	For Men	For Women	Total	For Men	For Women	Total	
Assam	392*	101*	493*	308	80	388	-105
West Bengal	1,094	216	1,310	1,131	233	1,364	+54
Bihar	1,460	297	1,757	1,744	317	2,061	+304
Bombay	3,998	1,968	5,966	5,642	2,155	7,797	+1,831
Central Provinces and Berar	1,540	555	2,095	2,019	678	2,697	+602
Madras	11,159	6,247	17,406	11,739	6,254	17,993	+587
Orissa	734	55	789	1,002	78	1,080	+291
East Punjab	399	264	663	369	229	598	-65
United Provinces	2,523	608	3,131	3,818	797	4,615	+1,484
Ajmer-Merwara	103	59	162	106	51	157	-5
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coorg	27	14	41	23	10	33	-8
Delhi	44	41	85	28	84	112	+27
Panth-Piploda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
India (less States)	23,473+	10,425+	33,898+	27,929	10,966	38,895	+4,997
*Figures relate to pre-partitioned Assam.							
+Exclude figures for More Administrations.							

Source: *Education in India, 1947-48*, (Calcutta: Manager of the Publications Delhi, the Government of India Press, 1951), p.96.

No. XVIII List of Graded Officers of Educational Services throughout India, showing their names, salaries, and the dates on which they entered the Service, 1879.

No.	Names	Designation	Date of first appointment to the Department	Present salary	Remarks
BOMBAY					
1.	K. M. Chatfield, M.A.	Director of Public Instruction	29 th March 1866	Rs.2,200	
	1 ST Class				
1.	Colonel T. Waddington	Inspector, Central Division	25 th February 1863	1,500	
2.	W. Wordsworth, B.A.	Principal and Professor of History and Political Economy, Elphinstone College.	9 th July 1861	1,500	
	2 nd Class				
1.	J. G. Buhler, PH. D	Inspector, Northern Division	10 th February 1863	1,250	
2.	T. Cooke. M.A., M.I., LL. D	Principal, Poona Civil Engineering College	5 th June 1865	1,250	
3.	R.G. Oxenham, M.A.	Principal and Professor of English Literature, Deccan College	9 th September 1863	1,250	
4.	Chester MacNaghten, M. A	Principal, Rajkumar College	19 th March 1870	1,200	
	3 rd Class				
1.	W. A. Russell, M. A.	Inspector, Sothern Division	19 th November 1860	1,100	
2.	Rao Bahadur Keru Lakshman Chhatre	Professor of Mathematics, Deccan College	14 th November 1851	1,000	
3.	F. Kielhorn, PH. D	Professor of Oriental Languages, Deccan College	7 th February 1866	1,000	
4.	Samuel Cooke, M.A., L.C.E.,	Professor of Chemistry and Geology, Poona Civil Engineering College	27 th December 1868	925	
5.	J. T. Hathornthwaite, M.A.	Professor of Mathematics, Elphinstone College	4 th October 1872	750	
	4 th Class				
1.	P. Peterson, B.A.	Professor of Oriental Languages, Elphinstone College	2 nd January 1873	750	
2.	Edward Giles, B. A	Inspector, North-East Division	14 th May 1873	750	
3.	T. B. Kikham	Professor of English Literature, Elphinstone College	21 st June 1862	750	
4.	J. Scorgie, F.C. E	Professor of Mechanism and Applied Sciences, Poona Civil Engineering College	6 th February 1875	650	
5.	F. G. Selby, B. A.	Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Deccan College	11 th February 1877	550	

6.	M. MacMillan, B. A.	Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Elphinstone College	12 th June 1878	500	
BENGAL					
1.	A.W. Croft, M.A.	Director of Public Instruction	25 th June 1866	2,000	
	1 st Class				
1.	C. B. Clarke, M. A.	Inspector of Schools, Rajshahye Circle	8 th December 1865	1,500	
2.	C. H. Tawney, M. A.	Principal Presidency College	23 rd November 1864	1,400	Is also Registrar of the Calcutta University
	2 nd Class				
1.	J. W. McCrindle, M. A.	Principal, Patna College	15 th October 1866	1,250	
2.	G. Bellet, M. A.	Principal, Behrampore College	9 th October 1860	1,150	
3.	Bhudeb Mookerjee, C. I. E.	Inspector of Schools, Western Circle	6 th August 1849	1,000	
4.	Alfred Ewbank, M. A.	Principal, Dacca College	16 th January 1868	1,000	
5.	A. W. Garrett, B. A.	Inspector of Schools, Presidency Circle	24 th June 1868	1,000	
	3 rd Class				
1.	Robert Hand	Professor, Presidency College	14 th October 1840	1,000	
2.	John Eliot, M. A.	Do. Do.	27 th December 1869	850	
3.	W. Griffiths, M. A. (Barrister-at-Law)	Do. Do	20 th January 1870	800	
4.	S. F. Downing, B. A., Assoc., L. C. E.	Do. Do., Civil Engineering Department	15 th July 1869	850	
5.	Alexander Pedler	Do. Do	22 nd January 1873	1,000	
6.	R. Parry	Do. Do	14 th January 1865	1,000	
7.	F. J. Rowe, M. A.	Do. Do	15 th June 1870	850	
8.	A. E. Gough, B. A.	Do. Do	6 th July 1868	1,000	Is also Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa
	Special allowance }300				
9.	George Watt, M. D.	Do. Hooghly College	11 th July 1873	1,000	
10.	J. Wilson, M. A.	Do. Patna College	15 th march 1873	750	
11.	Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikari	Principal, Sanskrit College	March 1852	750	
12.	A. M. Nash, B. A.,	Professor, Presidency College	11 th January 1875	750	
	4 th Class				
1.	E. D. Archibald, B. A.,	Professor, Patna College	11 th January 1875	500	
2.	W. T. Webb, M. A.,	Do. Presidency College	6 th April 1875	650	
3.	John S. Slater	Do. Do Civil Engineering Department	22 nd November 1875	600	
4.	Umesh ChanderDutt	Do. Do. Kishnagar College	22 nd March 1851	600	
5.	J. S. Pope, M. A.	Do. Presidency College	17 th June 1876	600	

6.	Martin Mowat, M. A.	Do. Dacca College	19 th June 1876	600	
7.	Pandit Mahesh Chunder Dutt	Do. Sanskrit College	6 th January 1864	600	
8.	Rev. Lal Behari De	Do. Hooghly College	30 th August 1857	600	
9.	G. A. Stack	Do. Dacca College	December 1867	750	
10.	W. Booth, B. A.	Do. Presidency College	24 th August 1876	550	
11.	W. H. Paulson, B. A.	Do. Do	30 th December 1876	550	
12.	J. H. Gilliland, B. A.	Do. Do Civil Engoneering College Dept.	15 th June 1877	500	
13.	F. T. Dowding, B. A.	Do. Hooghly College	17 th June 1878	500	
14.	A. C. Edwards, M. A.	Do. Presidency College	28 th September 1878	500	
15.	Prasanna Coomar Ray, D. S. C	Do. Dacca College	11 th December 1876	500	
16.	John Mann, M. A.	Do. Presidency College	21 st October 1878	500	
17.	Vacant				
18.	Vacant				
NORTH- WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH					
1.	R. T. H. Griffith, M. A.	Director of Public Instruction	1853	2,000	
	1 st Class				
	Vacant	...	...	1,500	
	2 nd class				
1.	E. T. Constable, M.A.	Inspector, Meerut Division	25 th February 1862	1,250	
2.	R. A. Lloyd, B. A.	Do. Oudh Division	1 st April 1864	1,250	
3.	A. S. Harrison, B. A.	Principal, Muir Central College, Allahabad	20 th April 1867	1,250	
4.	J. C. Nesfield, M. A	Professor, Mathematics, Muir Central College, Allahabad	12 th January 1874	1,250	
	3 rd Class				
1.	K. Deighton, B. A	Principal, Agra College	15 th February 1862	1,000	
2.	W. H. Wright, B. A	Professor, History and Philosophy, Muir Central College, Allahabad	1867	1,000	
3.	W. N. Boutflower, B. A	Professor, mathematics, Muir Central College, Allahabad	15 th April 1869	850	
	4 th Class				
1.	A. Thomson	Professor of English Literature, Agra College	13 th July 1866	750	
2.	J. Kibble	Inspector, Allahabad Division	21 st April 1874	750	
3.	C. Dodd	Professor, English Literature, Benares College	1 st February 1869	650	
4.	G. Thibaut, PH. D	Inspector, Benares Division	15 th March 1875	600	
5.	M. Durga Prasad	Assistant inspector, Oudh Division	1 st February 1866	750	
6.	S. A. Hill, B. Sc	Professor, Physical	20 th May 1875	600	

		Sciences, Muir Central College, Allahabad			
MADRAS					
1.	Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Macdonald	Director of Public Instruction	Dates of entering the Department not given for the Madras Presidency.	2,150	
	1st Class				
1.	J. T. Flower	Inspector of Schools, 3 rd Circle		1,250	
	2 nd Class				
1.	E. Thomson	Principal, Presidency College		1,250	
2.	H. Fortey, M. A	Inspector of Schools, 2 nd Circle		1,100	
	3 rd Class				
1.	L. Garthwaite	Inspector of Schools, 6 th Circle	Dates of entering the Department not given for the Madras Presidency.	800	
2.	John Bradshaw, LL. D	Do. 4 th Circle		750	
3.	George Bickle	Do. 5 th Circle		750	
4.	W. A. Porter, M. A	Principal Combaconum, College		800	
5.	E. P. Metcalfe, M. A	Principal, Rajamundry College		700	
6.	F. S. Evans	Professor of Mathematics, Presidency College		750	
	4 th Class				
1.	D. Duncan	Professor of Logic &c., Presidency College		700	
2.	G. Oppert	Professor of Sanskrit, Do		700	
3.	James Bradshaw, LL. D	Inspector of Schools, 1 st Circle		500	
4.	W. H. Wilson	Professor of Physical Science, Presidency College		500	
5.	_____	Professor of Vernacular Literature, presidency College		500	
PUNJAB. (a)					
1	Major W. M. Holroyd	Director of Public Instruction	1st April 1870	2,000	
	2 nd Class				
1.	C. W. W. Alexander, B. A	Inspector of Schools, Lahore Circle	1 st April 1870	1,250	
2.	C. Pearson	Do. Rawal Pindi Circle	1 st April 1870	1,250	
	3 rd Class				
1.	Dr. G. W. Leitner, M. A., PH. D	Principal, Lahore College	1 st April 1870	1,000	
2.	C. R. Cooke, B. A	Inspector of Schools, Umballa Circle	1 st April 1870	1,000	
3.	J. Sime, B. A	Professor, Lahore College	12 th September 1870	1,000	
	4 th Class				
1.	D. W. Thompson	Inspector of Schools. Mooltan Circle	1 st April 1870	750	
2.	R. Dick, M. A	Professor, Lahore College	31 st July 1870	800	
3.	Dr. C. R. Stulpnagel, M. A., PH. D	Do. Do	1 st January 1870	650	
CENTRAL PROVINCES. (a)					

	1 st Class				
1.	C. A. R. Browning, M. A	Inspector General of Education	June 1862	1,500	
	3 rd Class				
1.	Major H. B. Jacob	Inspector of Schools, Southern Circle	26 th June 1862	1,000	
2.	D. Carnduff	Do. Northern Circle	October 1872	1,000	
	4 th Class				
1.	G. Thompson, B. A.	Do. Eastern Circle	October 1875	600	
BRITISH BURMA					
	2 nd Class				
1.	Peter Hordern, B. A	Director of Public Instruction	1 st March 1862	1,250	
	3 rd Class				
1.	M.H. Ferrars, B. A	Inspector of Schools	14 th March 1877	1,000	
ASSAM					
	2 nd Class				
1.	C. A. Martin, LL. D	Inspector of Schools	22 nd November 1864	1,050	
HYDERABAD					
1.	Rao Bahadur Narain Bhai Dandekar	Director of public Instruction	25 th July 1856	1,000	This officer entered the Bombay Educational Service on 25 ^h July 1856. He was appointed Director of Public instruction in Berar on the 13 th November 1875.
(a)The Government of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner, Central Province, give the date of appointment to the Graded Service.					

Source: List of Graded Officers of Educational Services throughout India, June 1879, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Education, January to June, 1879*, (Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1879), pp. 211-17.

No. XIX Percentage of girls under instruction reading in boys' schools by provinces, 1927-28.

Madras	55.5
Bombay	34.8
Bengal	14.4
United Provinces	33.3
Punjab	8.1
Burma	78.5
Bihar and Orissa	29.6
Central Provinces	35.7
Assam	52.4

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission*, (Delhi: The Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p.168.

No. XX List of Textbooks for Girls' Schools.

NO.	Name of Books	By whom prepared
1.	*Hisab ka Risala, Part I	Dr. Sime, late Director of Public instruction, Punjab, and translated into Urdu under the auspices of the Department.
2.	*Hisab ka Risala, Part II	Dr. Sime, late Director of Public instruction, Punjab, and translated into Urdu under the auspices of the Department.
3.	*Hisab ka Risala, Part III	Dr. Sime, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, and translated into Urdu under the auspices of the Department.
4.	*Urdu ka Qaida	Colonel W.R.M Holroyd, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, with the help of native scholars.
5.	*Urdu ki Pahli Kitab	Colonel W.R.M Holroyd, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, with the help of native scholars
6.	*Urdu ki Dusri Kitab	Colonel W.R.M Holroyd, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, with the help of native scholars
7.	*Urdu ki Tisri Kitab	Colonel W.R.M Holroyd, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, with the help of native scholars
8.	*Urdu ki Chwothi Kitab	Colonel W.R.M Holroyd, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, with the help of native scholars
9.	*Urdu ki Panchwin Kitab	Colonel W.R.M Holroyd, late Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, with the help of native scholars
10.	*Urdu ki Chhati Kitab	Lala Suraj Narain, Officiating Assistant Superintendent, Central Training College, Lahore
11.	*Urdu ki Satwin Kitab	Lala Jiya ram, M.A., Assistant Professor, Government College, Lahore.
12.	*Urdu ki Athwin Kitab	Lala Sundar Das, Suri, M.A., Head Master, Municipal Board High School, Amritsar.
13 to 16.	*Urdu Copy-Slip, Nos. I-IV	Translation Staff of the Central Training College
17.	*Geographical Readers of Districts	Translators of the Central Training College and revised by the Text-Book Committee
18.	*Jughrafia-i-Punjab	Revised by Pandit Ralla Ram under the orders of the Text-Book Committee.
19.	*Sarf-o-Nahv-i-Urdu	Lala Hira Lal, and revised by Pandit Ram Kishen under the orders of the Text-Book Committee
20.	*First Persian Reader	Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Azad, late Assistant Professor, Government College, Lahore, under the orders of the Department
21.	*Second Persian Reader	Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Azad, late Assistant Professor, Government College, Lahore, under the orders of the Department
22.	*Miftah-us-Sarf	M, Muhammad Din, M.O.I., Professor Oriental College, Lahore, and Umr-ud-din, M.A., Assistant Inspectors of Schools, under the orders of the Text-Book Committee.
23.	*Geography of India	Prepared and revised under the orders of the Text-Book Committee
24.	*Geography of Asia	Prepared and revised under the orders of the Text-Book Committee
25.	*Geography of the World	Prepared and revised under the orders of the Text-Book Committee
26.	*Tariq-us-Sehat	The Government of India's "Way to Health" translated into Urdu in the Central Training College under the orders of the Department.
27.	*Gulistan kePahle do bab Intikhab	Prepared under the auspices of the Department
28.	Mirat-ul-Urus	S. U. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad
29.	Binat-un-Nash	S. U. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad
30.	Guldasta-i-Tahzib	Lala Shankar Das, Varma
31.	* Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Hind	Translation Staff of the Central Training College under the orders of the Department.
32.	*Sughar Bibi, Part I	Mrs. Steel, and translated into Urdu under the auspices of the Text-Book Committee

33.	*Sughar Bibi, Part II	Mrs. Steel, and translated into Urdu under the auspices of the Text-Book Committee
34.	Taubt-un-Nasuh	S.U. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad
35 to 38.	*Urdu Euclid, Books I-IV	Rai Bahadur Sasi Bhushan Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., late Professor, Government College, Lahore, and translated into Urdu by Pandit Telu Ram, District Inspector of Schools, under the orders of the Text-Book Committee.
39.	*Urdu Algebra, Part I	Mr. G. N. Chatterjee, B. A., and translated into Urdu by Pandit Ralla ram under the orders of the Text-Book Committee.
40.	*Risala-i-ilm-i-Tibyat	Professor Stewart's Physics Primer, and translated into Urdu by the Translation Staff, under the orders of the Department.
41.	*Varna Dipaka	Translation Staff of the Central Training College under the auspices of the Department.
42 to 43	Varna Prakashika, Parts 1 and 2	Department of Public Instruction, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
44.	*Geographical Reader	Lala Madho Narain, under the orders of the Text-Book Committee
45.	Hind ka Sugam Itihas	Translated by Bhai Hazara Singh, and published by the Ludhiana Mission Press.
46.	*Tandrustike Asan Qaide	Mr. W. Hawkins, and translated by Lala Shiv Dyal, M. A., Assistant Inspector of Schools, under the orders of the Text-Book Committee.
47.	*Hind ki Pahli Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body.
48.	*Hind ki Dusri Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body
49.	*Hind ki Tisri Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body
50.	*Hind ki Chowthi Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body
51.	*Hind ki Panchwin Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body
52.	*Hind ki Chhati Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body
53.	*Hind ki Satwin Kitab	Translations of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; prepared under the auspices of that body
54.	Giyan Chalisi	Pandit Shri Lal
55.	Vidyan Kur	Raja Siva Prasad, C. S. I
56.	*Hindi Tariq-i-Sihat	Translated for the Education Department
57.	Fourth Hindi Reader (Central Provinces Series)	Department of Public Instruction (Central Provinces)
58 to 59.	*Sughar Bibi, Parts 1 and 2	Mrs. Steel's "Good House Mother," and translated into Hindi under the orders of the Text-Book Committee
60.	Bhasha Bhaskar	Revd. Mr. Ethberington
61.	*Sanskrit Primer, Part I	Pandit Bhana Dutt, Sanskrit Teacher, Central Model School, Lahore.
62.	An Introduction to Sanskrit Grammar	R. K. Bannerjee
63. to 65	Charu Path, Parts I, II and III	Pandit BhanaDutt, Sanskrit Teacher, Central Model School, Lahore.
66.	Tulsikrit Ramayana Ayudya Kand	Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
67 to 71.	*Hindi Copy-Slips, Nos. I to V	Prepared under the auspices of the Text-Book Committee.
72.	Bhagyawati	Pandit Sardha Ram, Phillouri.
73.	Bhasha Bhanu	Pandit Bhanu Dutt, Sanskrit Teacher, Central m Model School, Lahore.
74.	Bodhodaya	Pandit Bhanu Dutt, Sanskrit Teacher, Central m Model School, Lahore.

75.	*Punajbi Bal Bodh	Bhai Mohan Singh, under the orders of the Education Department.
76.	Binai Patrika	Lala Behari Lal
77.	Tariq-us-Sihat (Punjabi Edition)	Translated under the orders of the Education Department.
78.	*First Punjabi Reader	Translation of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; published under the auspices of that body.
79.	*Second Punjabi Reader	Translation of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; published under the auspices of that body.
80.	*Third Punjabi Reader	Translation of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; published under the auspices of that body.
81.	*Fourth Punjabi Reader	Translation of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; published under the auspices of that body.
82.	*Fifth Punjabi Reader	Translation of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; published under the auspices of that body.
83.	*Sixth Punjabi Reader	Translation of the Urdu Readers of the Text-Book Committee; published under the auspices of that body.
84.	*Arogya Nimavali	Translated under the orders of the Text-Book Committee.
85.	Vyakara Sar Punjabi	Lala Behari Lal.
86.	Guru Singh Itihas	Pandit Bhanu Dutt, Sanskrit Teacher, Central m Model School, Lahore
87.	Sukhmani	Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh & Sons, Printers and Publishers, Lahore.
88.	Japji	Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh & Sons, Printers and Publishers, Lahore.
89.	Dulhan Patrika	Bhai Hazara Singh
90 to 91.	*Sughar Bibi, Parts I-II (Gurmukhi Edition)	Mrs. Steel's "Good Home Mother," translated into Punjabi.
92.	Hanuman Natak	Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh & Sons, Printers and Publishers, Lahore.
93.	Vidya Ratna Kar	Lala Behari Lal
94.	Punjabi Akhawatan	Pandit Bhanu Dutt, Sanskrit Teacher, Central Model School, Lahore
95 to 97.	*HisabkeRisale, Parts 1, 2 and 3	Dr. J. Sime, late Director of Public instruction, Punjab, and translated into Hindi for the Education Department.
98 to 100.	*HisabkeRisale, Parts 1, 2, and 3	Dr. J. Sime, late Director of Public instruction, Punjab, and translated into Punjabi for the Education Department
101.	Riju Path, Part I	Sanskrit Press, Calcutta.
102.	*Guldasta-i-Danish	Compiled for the Education Department
103.	*Sarf-o-Nahvi-i-Farsi	M. Umr-ud-din, M.A., Assistant Inspector of Schools, and M. Muhammad Din, M. O. L., of the Oriental College. Lahore.
104.	*Tadrib-ul-Tullab	Maulvi Ubaid-Ullah
105.	*Miftah-ul-Adab, Part I	Maulvi Ubaid-Ullah
106.	*Darayat-ul-Adab	Maulvi Ubaid-Ullah
107.	*Pairaya-i-Khirad	Compiled for the Education Department
108.	*Muntkhabat-ul-Arabia	Compiled for the Education Department
109.	*Asin KikarNiroyeRahye	Compiled for the Education Department
110.	*Geography of the Punjab (Hindi)	Compiled for the Education Department
111.	*Geography of the Punjab (Punjabi)	Compiled for the Education Department
NOTE-Books marked* have been specially prepared under the orders of the Education Department.		

Source: List of Text-Books for Girls' Schools, *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Home Department, Education, for the month of January 1902*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1902), pp.61-64.

No. XXI Direct Expenditure on Girls' Institutions, 1927-28.

-	1917	1922	1927	Expenditure on women's institutions expressed as a percentage of the expenditure on the men's institutions
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Madras	20.00	34.64	49.85	17.2
Bombay	18.37	39.39	53.25	19.5
Bengal	16.51	23.36	28.09	10.9
United Provinces	10.19	17.94	23.14	12.1
Punjab	9.03	16.34	19.76	10.4
Burma	6.74	10.77	17.02	18.1
Bihar and Orissa	4.80	6.36	8.34	7.3
Central Provinces	2.98	5.80	6.44	9.7
Assam	1.24	2.18	2.75	10.1
British India	92.87	163.09	219.92	14.4

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, (Delhi: The Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p. 148.

No. XXII The progressive increase of women education between 1861-62 and 1866-67; and sums expended from Imperial Revenues and other sources.

YEAR	Number of schools supported entirely by Government	Number of private schools aided by Government	Total number of schools	Total number of scholars attending	Total expenditure from all sources on Female Education	Amount contributed from Imperial Revenues	Ditto from Educational Cess Fund	Ditto voluntary contributions
1861-62	52	0	52	1,168	3,170	0	3,170	0
1862-63	103	0	103	1,539	5,875	8	5,867	0
1863-64	204	230	434	6,928	38,192	15,042	14,229	8,921
1864-65	272	410	682	12,239	53,768	20,636	18,761	14,376
1865-66	333	695	1,028	16,395	64,034	31,858	16,508	15,668
1866-67	296	649	945	17,174	71,127	38,833	13,035	12,816

Source: Circular No. 15 of 1869, Lahore, 18th February 1869, *Female Education*, File No. 2, General & Political Department of Ambala Division, Haryana, pp. 10-12. (This is a single Table and the separated Table is an extension of the above Table.)

No. XXIII Percentage of literacy in Punjab during 1881-1931, (the table shows the literacy rate of women in Punjab.)

Year	Punjab (Whole)	North-West Dry Area	Lahore District	Amritsar District	Sialkot City	Rawalpindi City	Simla City
1881							
Male	6.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	5.0	8.0	20.0
Female	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	5.8
1891							
Male	7.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	7.0	10.0	22.0
Female	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.6	7.5
1901							
Male	6.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	5.0	9.0	22.0
Female	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.9	8.5
1911							
Male	6.0	6.0	10.0	7.0	5.0	10.0	24.0
Female	0.6	0.5	2.6	0.8	0.5	2.0	13.1
1921							
Male	6.0	5.0	10.0	7.0	6.0	12.0	21.0
Female	0.8	0.6	2.3	0.8	0.8	1.9	15.6
1931							
Male	8.0	7.0	14.0	10.0	6.0	15.0	27.0
Female	1.3	1.0	3.9	2.2	1.1	3.1	9.2

Source: Emmet Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab 1836-1947*, (Delhi: Academic Publications, 1983), p. 4. (N. B. The North-West Dry Area is a region defined by the census-takers in terms of physical geography, not by administrative or political characteristics. Most of the Western Punjab is contained within this North West Dry Area and in fact demographically dominates this area. (Source: "Literacy" *Census of India 1931*, (Delhi Government of India, 1932), Vol. 17, Part I, p. 267)

No. XXIV The state of girls' education in India, the position shown by provinces.

Provinces	Female population	No. of schools of all kinds	No. of primary classes	No. of girls of school-going age 6-11
Madras	23,657,108	851,458	803,472	2,838,852
Bombay	10,330,504	331,501	284,554	1,239,660
Bengal	24,072,304	694,489	659,174	2,888,676
United Provinces	22,963,757	204,922	189,191	2,755,676
Punjab	10,700,342	233,903	160,164	1,284,041
Burma	7,176,545	218,530	197,687	861,185
Bihar and Orissa	18,883,438	150,649	135,592	2,266,012
Central Provinces	7,745,905	78,833	70,857	929,508
Assam	4,085,045	74,458	65,190	490,205
North-Western Frontier Province	1,109,258	16,242	14,272	133,110
Coorg	72,752	3,451	3,020	8,730
Delhi	266,749	11,763	9,464	32,009
Ajmer-Merwara	264,211	4,439	3,436	31,705
Baluchistan	193,504	2,612	1,868	23,220
Bangalore	64,704	6,905	5,629	7,764
Other Administered Areas	83,135	6,091	4,983	9,976
British India	131,669,261	2,890,543	2,608,543	15,800,311

Source: *Report of the Women's education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on primary education of girls in India, 1936*, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), p. 15.

No. XXV Number of women teachers and percentage of trained teachers in all schools by provinces.

Province	Total	Trained	Percentage of trained teachers
Madras	10, 472	7,297	69.7
Bombay	4,495	2,353	52.3
Bengal	5,263	1,019	19.4
United Provinces	3,621	939	25.9
Punjab	3,124	1,293	41.4
Bihar and Orissa	1,487	486	32.7
Burma	3,388	2,482	73.3
Central Provinces	1,198	606	50.6
Assam	624	205	32.9
British India	34,811	17,230	49.5

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, (Delhi: the Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p. 176.

No. XXVI Number of training schools for women and enrolment in 1917 and 1927.

Province	Training Schools		Pupils	
	1917	1927	1917	1927
Madras	25	37	832	1,831
Bombay	17	18	713	666
Bengal	10	10	141	201
United Provinces	24	24	208	316
Punjab	13	12	224	445
Burma	4	29	176	599
Bihar and Orissa	8	11	137	180
Central Provinces	3	6	107	228
Assam	2	2	27	36
British India	111	166	2,651	4,664

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, (Delhi: the Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p.178.

No. XXVII Number of successful women candidates at training examinations in 1927.

Province	Degree	Secondary Training	Vernacular Certificate
Madras	36	142	787
Bombay	7	...	277
Bengal	15	5	84
United Provinces	...	27	81
Punjab	4	11	153
Burma	....	2	48
Bihar and Orissa	....	....	73
Central Provinces	1	....	65
Assam	...	....	23

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, (Delhi: Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p. 176.

No. XVIII The number of training colleges for women in the provinces in 1927 and their enrolment.

Province	Colleges	Students
Madras	2	41
Bengal	3	41
United Provinces	1	6
Punjab	1	27
British India	7	115

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, (Delhi: Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p.177.

No. XXIX Number of women teachers and of trained teachers in primary schools by provinces, 1927-28.

Provinces	Number of primary schools for girls	Number of women teachers	Percentage of trained women teachers	Average number of women teachers per primary school for girls
Madras	3,399	9,149	67	2.6
Bombay	1,535	4,174	54	2.7
Bengal	14,612	4,291	11	0.2
United Provinces	1,580	2,097	13	1.3
Punjab	1,232	1,987	31	1.6
Burma	606	1,336	65	2.2
Bihar and Orissa	2,790	1,241	24	0.4
Central Provinces	334	880	47	2.6
Assam	409	422	23	1.0
British India	26,682	26,156	45	0.9

Source: *Review of the growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, (Delhi: Manager, Government of India Press, 1929), p.178.

No. XXX Statement showing the percentage of trained women teachers in primary schools and the facilities for training, 1935.

Province	Percentage of trained women teachers in primary schools	Training schools for girls		Vernacular higher teachers' certificates		Vernacular lower teachers' certificates	
		No.	Enrolment	Candidates	No. Of passes	Candidates	No. Of passes
Madras	84.1	67	3,323	2,219	888	488	180
Bombay	50.5	21	825	482	346	...	63
Bengal	10.6	10	271	31	22	114	91
United Provinces	15.2	54	553	109	79	147	265
Punjab	50.3	18	713	163	126	455	...
Burma	90.3	14	296	48	27	...	76
Bihar and Orissa	28.8	11	250	...	...	77	55
Central Provinces	56.7	8	370	67	47	91	19
Assam	15.7	2	34	7	7	23	17
N. W. F. Provinces	33.0	1	55	11	5	33	...
Coorg	90.3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	79.1	1	73	22	18	14	9
Ajmer-Merwara	47.4	1	14	11	10	...	...
Baluchistan	58.3	..	...	...	...	...	...
Bangalore	83.2	2	63	29	18	8	7
Other Administered Areas	60.4	2	89	80	76	...	...
British India	55.3	212	6,934	3,279	1,669	1,450	782

Source: Report of the Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Primary Education of Girls in India, 1936, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), p.27.

No. XXXI Institutions for Girls, 1935.

Provinces	Arts and Science Colleges	Professional Colleges	High schools	Anglo-Vernacular middle schools	Vernacular middle schools	Primary schools	Special schools	Unrecognised schools
Madras	6	2	67	43	...	5,344	110	35
Bombay	...	...	65	44	...	1,797	55	106
Bengal	7	3	78	77	6	18,711	55	315
United Provinces	8	...	31	66	227	1,739	62	126
Punjab	4	2	40	31	132	1,679	62	3,009
Burma	...	...	33	28	60	631	15	65
Bihar and Orissa	1	...	10	24	11	2,420	24	256
Central Provinces	...	1	12	24	35	462	14	55
Assam	...	...	13	29	24	703	3	66
N.W.F. Provinces	...	...	3	8	20	123	1	22
Coorg	...	...	1	...	...	9	...	...
Delhi	1	1	5	4	8	59	4	8
Ajmer-Merwara	...	...	4	2	4	44	1	3
Baluchistan	...	...	2	3	2	3	...	1
Bangalore	...	...	7	2	3	29	2	...
Other	...	...	5	7	...	33	2	2

Administered Areas								
British India	27	9	376	392	532	33,786	410	4,069

Source: *Report of the Women's education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on primary education of girls in India, 1936*, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), p.23.

No. XXXII Statement showing the particulars of Women Inspecting Staff, 1935.

Province	Designation	No. of Posts	Duties of the Officer
Madras	I. Inspectress	6	Inspects secondary schools, secondary departments of colleges and training schools.
	II. Assistant Inspectress	1	Ditto.
	III. Sub-assistant Inspectress	51	Inspects elementary schools.
Bombay	Inspectress	4	Inspects secondary, primary and special schools. One of the two inspstresses inspects Urdu girls' schools in two divisions of the Presidency
Bengal	I. Inspectress	2	Controls all girls' schools, other than European schools, in her area.
	II. Assistant Inspectress	12	Inspects mainly middle and primary schools.
United Provinces	I. Chief Inspectress	1	Inspects all Normal and training schools in preparation for the English and Vernacular Certificate examinations for women teachers.. also inspects other important schools in large towns
	II. Inspectress	10	Inspects all schools for Indian girls, both English and Vernacular. Make recommendations for opening new schools. Is responsible for the efficiency of the Government vernacular girls' schools under her. Is assisted in the inspection of primary schools by D. I. S and S. D. I. S.
	III. Assistant Inspectress of girls' schools, Lucknow	1	Inspects all girls' schools in Lucknow Circle maintained or aided by Municipal Board.
Punjab	I. Deputy Directress of Public Instruction	1	Advise the D.P.I on women' education in the province.
	II. Circle Inspectress	2	Is generally responsible for the development of women's education in a circle.
	III. Assistant Inspectress	12	Subject to the supervision of the Deputy Director and The Circle Inspectress, is responsible for the development of women's education in one or more districts.
	IV. Inspectress and Supervisor of Domestic Science	1	Inspects the teaching of Domestic Science, and assists the department in developing teaching in the subject.
	V. Physical Training Supervisor for girls	1	Advises on and supervises the physical education of girls in the province.
Burma	I. Inspectress	1	Has in her charge 28 Anglo-vernacular and normal schools which she inspects. She is also responsible for special subjects (e.g., Needle-work, domestic Economy, etc.) taught to girls in all schools.
	II. Deputy	6	Is responsible for the inspection of special subjects

	Inspectress		taught to girls
Bihar and Orissa	I. Inspectress	1	Inspects high and training schools and supervises the work of district inspectresses and office work at headquarters.
	II. District Inspectress	9	Inspects middle schools, special classes for the teaching of needle work and lace schools.
	III. Lady Superintendent of Muhammadan <i>atus</i> IV. Lady Superintendent of Hindu <i>atus</i>		Supervises the work of the <i>atus</i> and visits <i>pardaneshin</i> ladies in their home and explains to them the aims and objects of female education.
Central Provinces	I. Inspectress	2	Controls directly all Government girls' schools and acts as adviser to Executive officers or Local Authorities in educational matters. Inspects Anglo-Vernacular and normal schools.
	II. Assistant Inspectress	4	Inspects all vernacular schools and assists the inspectress in administrative works.
Assam	Assistant Inspectress	1	Inspects all girl's schools and training classes for school mistresses.
North-Western Provinces	I. Inspectress	1	Is responsible for the efficiency of female education and acts as adviser to executive officers and local bodies in educational matters. Inspects more than half the schools in the province.
	II. Assistant Inspectress	1	Inspects district board primary schools and primary departments of secondary schools.

Source: Report of the Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on primary education of girls in India, 1936, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), pp.20-21.

No. XXXIII Number of teachers required for half the girls of school-going age, 1936.

Province	Total number of teachers required for half of the girls of school-going age (6-11) at one for 35 girls	Extra number of teachers required
Madras	40,555	17,599
Bombay	17,709	9,579
Bengal	41,267	22,435
United Provinces	39,366	33,961
Punjab	18,343	13,767
Burma	12,303	6,654
Bihar and Orissa	32,372	28,497
Central Provinces	13,279	11,254
Assam	7,003	5,140
N. W. F. Provinces	1,902	1,493
Coorg	125	38
Delhi	457	187
Ajmere-Merwara	453	355
Baluchistan	331	278
Bangalore	112	-49
Other Administered Areas	142	...
British India	225,719	151,188

Source: Report of the Women's education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education on primary education of girls in India, 1936, (New Delhi: Manager Government of India Press, 1936), p.25.