

Individual Private Initiative in Primary Education in Colonial Delhi (1910-1947)



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ABSTRACT

The article examines the attempts made by non-government individuals in the sphere of primary education in colonial Delhi. The colonial state was talking vigorous measures to spread their version of education among the residents. The educational institutions were the spaces to translate the necessity of British rule in India. Acceptance of their superiority was one such aim. Although the colonial administration left no stone unturned to fulfil their aims, the Indians were not silent spectators. The Indians on the other hand participated actively in building and funding the schools. Both the colonial rule and Indian private investors had their reasons to pursue the task i.e., propagate their authority and reproduce their society and culture. The paper comprises of two parts. The first part discusses the individual private enterprise in primary education by Indian personalities. And secondly the paper discusses and analyses the aims of state and Indians in forming educational institutions. The motive was to propagate their interest and conserve and reproduce their respective cultures through these schools. The schools also became a means to translate the authority of individual charity makers in the times of transition.

Keywords : Colonial State, Private, Primary education, Culture, Charity.

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Introduction- Private enterprise in education in colonial period came as a reaction to the British government's attempts to secularise education. Perna Sengupta in her book argues that modern education effectively reinforced the place of religion in colonial India.ⁱ She says that the pursuit and adaptation of modern educational techniques and institutions, mainly exported to the colonies by Protestant missionaries, opened up new ways for the Hindu and Muslim leaders and the colonial state to reformulate ideas of community along religious lines.ⁱⁱ Due to the colonial encounter the indigenous schools underwent considerable changes. The schools and their curriculum became the defining element for what it is to be a Hindu, Muslim, Christian etc. In a similar manner the community schools also were trying to redefine their identities through the schools. Hence, all started schools to

suit their aims. Private enterprise was on the rise both at collective and individual level. Apart from the state sponsored history there were also communities involved in the process of unfolding of history. Every community had its own history and its own struggles and practices associated with the colonial history in one way or the other. Instead of focussing on some mega or macro history, it's necessary to analyse the micro or community level histories. The communities negotiated with the modern education in different capacities. After the coming of British in India, Indian elites and upper castes became familiar with the idea that the nation's wellbeing and developmental gains can be measured in terms of its educational attainments.ⁱⁱⁱ The upper castes of India were quick to realise the importance of the new form of education and its use to get into administrative structure. But economic benefit was not the sole interest of the communities. They were keen to preserve their community ethos in the colonial times. Private initiative in education was more of a cultural project than it was economic agenda. The British schools were not capable of providing community qualities for the diverse Indian population. The colonial schools emphasized on secular education which led to the erosion of the long prevailing cultural diversity of India. To avoid this weaning away, the Indian communities started schools exclusively for their respective communities.

In addition to protecting their ethos, the communities were also keenly interested in becoming eligible for harnessing and participating in the British administration in India. The establishment of British administration threw new career opportunities for Indians. In 1844, Lord Hardinge issued a regulation enjoining the selection for Government service of candidates who had received an English education; and secondly, "the adoption of English as the language of public business" rendered a still further impetus to the development of English education in India^{iv}. The British administrators introduced the rule to facilitate the functioning of their foreign bureaucracy in India.

Methodology

This paper has undertaken a historical research using qualitative techniques to critically the nature of educational developments in colonial Delhi with respect to colonial state and the changing conditions in Indian society. The paper is structured keeping in view the available theoretical and archival material. The paper is written within a historical framework and analyses the trends of both the colonial state and colonised citizens in terms of educational proceedings. The interest of colonial state in educational matters evolved primarily for administrative purpose. Although the deeper motive was to legitimise the authority and superiority of the colonial state. Perrie Bourdieu's work *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* have been used as a base to theorise and analyse the pedagogical trends and their motives.

The colonial state was not a welfare agency. It existed to facilitate and expand its exploitative trade. Initiating and funding a program of mass education was beyond the purview of the colonial state. On the one hand it needed people within the colonised society whom it could depend on. But it was important that these people withhold an influential status among the native population. The colonial state was too small an agency to ensure order without the collaboration and support of this elite native population.^v The British realized that it was not possible for them to rule India without the collaboration of the native elites. Hence, they collaborated with them for their interests. It was a symbiotic process where both sides gained something. For the British it meant the stabilization of their rule in India and for the native elites it extended privileges by getting a share in the British administration. By collaborating with the new ruling regime they translated their superiority in the colonial times.

The colonial education was a new cultural property. The major social function of education was to differentiate its beneficiaries from the large population.^{vi} The different communities were able to restore their identity through the ages by educating their people of the specific values of their community. Under colonial rule, the secularisation of education instigated the diverse groups of India to preserve and restore their values. The formation of schools was the most viable option as these schools were the amalgamation of tradition values and modern knowledge. Hence, the coming of the British rule intensified the process of formation of educational institutions on caste, community and religious lines. Education was also valued for its moralising effects it gave to the educated. Most often the colonial education was used to differentiate between the ones who received it from the ones who had not received it. The educated were considered to be morally superior to the one who has not received education. Colonial education was considered by many (both Indian and British) as an agent of change. Since the different agents of change have different expectations from same common programme of action, it was obvious that they were unable to provide a single or agreed statement of the objective of change. The social reformers, teachers, Christian Missionaries, the colonial state all had different expectations from education. There were divisions among the social reformers as well as the Christian Missionaries. For instance, the Arya Samaj aimed at revoking the vedic form of society or moving on the lines of the Vedas whereas the reformers like Ram Mohan Roy advocated the use of western science and English as essential for the upliftment of Indians. In the same way some Christian missionaries like the CMS worked among the elites to fulfil their aims whereas the American missionaries worked among the lower castes in Delhi for the purpose.

Both rich communities and rich individuals became active participants in promoting education. The monetary assistance was most of the times oriented towards educating their own community. In the colonial period every community wanted to synchronise with the developmental activities but were also ambiguous about the nature of education imparted by the colonial state. It was believed that the colonial education was not sufficiently providing the cultural values to the children. The secular education provided was thought to put the community values at risk.

Throughout Delhi, the concern with preserving and enhancing wealth and family status, extending and sustaining religious and community values propelled commercial magnets and indigenous elites to seek relationship with powerful extra local authorities who enforced law and order and were responsible for running the state. These people by engaging in such attempts were able to build relationships with the state of relatively enduring nature and acquired leverage. The individuals or community's financial contribution thus contributed to the formation of social bonds deemed culturally appropriate to members of both groups and consequently to a certain stabilization in the local political order.^{vii} As the political scenario of the country changed, the sphere of education emerged as focal point for tribute from native elites anxious to acquire and translate prestige under the English rule. Education was emphasized more than any other welfare activity due to its capacity to endure long run results. Because of its perpetually weak financial state, the colonial rule itself relied and readily accepted the private initiatives in education occurred by the natives.^{viii} Those who became increasingly involved in private efforts were generally persons whose business depended on successful dealings with colonial institutions or who derived benefit from or were employed by it. For instance, Lala Duni Chand was the Municipal Commissioner in Delhi province for 35 years and he was also actively involved in promoting and financing educational institutions in his place.

Individual private enterprise in education

Apart from the community action many individuals took keen interest in education. These individuals dedicated both manual and monetary assistance for the cause of education. Some of the efforts were made towards the educational development of their own community.^{ix} Individual philanthropists like Lala Duni Chand, Pandit Mul Raj, Seth Girdari Lal, the Municipal Commissioner, Nawab Itmaduddulah were some of the active people who took up the cause of education. These personalities belonged to the prominent families of traditional elites. For some of them charity in education was carried out through the lineage.

The individuals involved were very often the influential people with repute among the people and funded schools as per their ideological inclination and orientation. The schools were the experimental spaces to form a society of their vision. There were scholarships sponsored by the community elites for their community children. For instance the zamindari scholarship was granted only to Rajputs or Jat zamindars.^x

The new private entrepreneurs in education evinced an interest in the public good and the progress of the community or the people of their city, they simultaneously sought to solidify protective ties with the largely foreign rule and to enhance their local prestige through association with the rulers, purposes that were certainly in line with the longstanding practice.^{xi} For instance, Nawab Itmaduddulah was the patron of education Delhi and he was also the Municipal Commissioner of Delhi. He gave a substantial fund to the Muslim education in the city.^{xii}

The heavy emphasis on educational patronage during the period, no doubt, was in part response to the emergence of a general demand for schooling among the high status residents.^{xiii} Engagements in the new forms of charitable giving communicated to the rulers a concern with the well being of the city's citizenry and an acceptance to the value of the government committed to stimulating "moral and material progress." But the realignment of indigenous values to the changing context of power that this process involved could be partial and selective.^{xiv}

The people who participated actively in funding education came from a certain section of society. The people who took initiatives for education were mostly the ones who were also part of colonial administration and bureaucracy. These were the people who on the one hand were employers of the British administration and on the other hand acted as beneficiaries of the masses by funding different welfare schemes like education, health etc. The latter practice legitimised their status in native society whereas the former helped them to keep pace with the changing ambience of the colonial rule. These men were the influential lot who through their private initiatives tried to translate their pre-colonial status in colonial times. The schools established by them were the manifestation of their ideology and thought process. They had an influential voice in the proceedings of the schools and controlled the curriculum etc. of the institution.

Girdhari Lal Salwan was the son of Pandit Mool Raj Salwan. Mool Raj was the grandson of a prominent and well respected commander in the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Hence, Girdhari Lala belonged to the family of prominent and traditional elites and enjoyed cultural and social capital culminated through decades. He also served as the Municipal Commissioner of Delhi. Girdhari Lal inherited the business initiated by his father. The furniture business was started by his father Pandit Mool Raj. Son spread and prospered this business. Girdhari Lal was committed to the cause of education and funded education throughout his lifetime. He was compelled to leave

education at a tender age due to financial constraints and took up the responsibility of supporting his family. He spend a substantial number of money on social welfare activities.^{xvi} He donated money to the social and educational institutions formed on the line of Arya Samaj. When the Arya Samaj launched a mass direct action against the Nizam of Hyderabad, he vigorously helped the movement and in addition sent his two youthful sons to Hyderabad, the British tyranny, he was the first to volunteer his services.^{xvii} An ardent Arya Samaji and having ideological inclination towards the Hindu reformist ideologies, Girdhari Lal was disliked by the major Muslim populations and the Muslim League. The schools or the educational institutions established and funded by him were also the ones influenced by the ideology of the Arya Samaj. The educational institutions were the means to propagate and reproduce the society desired by Arya Samaj and Girdhari Lal. The school thus became a means of reproducing the same culture and values instead of being the means of emancipation as said by Bourdieu. He did charity work in many educational institutions in Delhi, Gaziabad and Gourgaon. The Salwan was the name of the furniture business. It catered mainly to the Indian and English elites settled in India at that time. The credibility and craftsmanship of his furniture could be measured from the fact that he all the furniture in NWFP's governor house was supplied by him.^{xviii}

The private entrepreneurs came to be regarded as agents of progress whose efforts might help to transform what was viewed as backward society by the Britishers. The involvement in private enterprise was consistent with the cautious, risk-averse character of the merchant mentality. Their activities were part of a large “portfolio” of symbolic investment that elites developed in building stable social relationships with members of their community and with their rulers or the ruling regimes, and which they adjusted as the socio-political world around them changed. Private enterprise became a means to maintain their reputation by contributing to the educational institutions. By directing portions of their profits or wealth into the channels highly valued by their community, the entrepreneurs attained a place of special social prominence. It was used to establish ones identity as a person committed to the community values, and a trustworthy individual.^{xix}

Private enterprise in education was motivated by specific aims. The people involved in it were either the traditional elites or the ones who had close ties with the government. The private entrepreneurs by their charity or initiative in education were also able to fashion stable moral bonds with their overlords. These entrepreneurs were very often also the employees of the colonial government hence, it became necessary to maintain cordial relations with the employers. In this way they ensured continuity of their profession and their individual prestige and also maintained their community's social and religious life. The prominent donors also shared in the mystique of the imperial power thus ensuring their local prestige.^{xx} It was largely by spending in welfare activities like education health etc., that the entrepreneurs reached a place of special local esteem.

One of such persons was Lala Duni Chand. As the name is not a misnomer, he belonged to the moneyed family. His father was a clerk in Lahore and had big dreams for his son. His father was a prominent landowner of Sharakpur in the District of Sheikhpura (now in Pakistan). He was a clerk in the court of Lahore. He went to the Government College Lahore. His father was both rich and courageous enough to send his son abroad for future studies. But Lala Duni Chand decided to stay back in Lahore. He was elected to the Municipal Committee of Lahore where he served uninterruptedly for 35 years. He was active in the non-cooperation movement but his political activism did not affect his role as a Municipal Commissioner. He also started a political movement in Punjab called ‘the Indian Association.’ It was not a great success. He was imprisoned after the implementation of Rowlatt Act in

Punjab by General Dwyer. His case was fought by his elder brother Lala Ganpat Rai. Lala Duni Chand was an active participant in the Gandhian movement, the non-cooperation movement. He also presided over the Indian National Congress annual session at Amritsar in 1919.^{xxi} Lala Duni Chand played a key role in uniting the Hindus and Muslims of the area and hence, he was called the “uncrowned prince of Punjab” by Mr. Fyson, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore. He united them against the Rowlatt Act.

The Indians were not the simple sponges, passive recipients of the values and skills that British education required them to internalise. Instead they negotiated with the British education and values. There was an amalgamation of the two i.e., the Western and Indian culture and values through education. The fact that the representatives of the two cultural traditions met, under the dominance-dependence relationship of colonialism, did not mean that the one system of stratification ‘replaced’ or was absorbed by the ‘other’. It was rather that, in certain places and situations, either systems or combination of both could operate simultaneously. A person’s perception of his own status and the social structure of which he was a part depended not merely on the cultural section to which he belonged but also on his own place within it.^{xxii}

Rai Bahadur Dr. Mathra Das Pahwa was the eye surgeon (1880-1972). He was a renowned person in his profession and was also awarded Padam Shree for his contribution in medical field. He has been honoured with many awards viz. the Padam Shri (1954), title of Rai Bahadur (1921), Kesari Hind- Gold Medal (1924), Kesari Hind-Silver Medal (1912) etc. for his services to the society.^{xxiii} He was also a member of the Provincial Medical Service. He was a specialist in his field and conducted over half a million operations in his medical career. He helped innumerable people gain eyesight through the charity camps held at different parts of India mainly in Moga, Punjab, Beawar, Rajasthan, Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir, Darbhanga, Bihar, Delhi and numerous other places.

Apart from being a surgeon he also volunteered the formation of certain education institutions. The Mathra Das High School in the same town has been built at a cost of Rs. 75,000 by the generosity of Rai Bahadur Dr. Mathra Das.^{xxiv} In addition to hospitals, he also laid the foundation of many education institutions which are running in his name today; viz Arya Putri Pathshala, MDAS – High School 1919 (Sr. Sec. School), DM College of Education (1926), Moga & many other similar reputed institutions.^{xxv} Mathra Das was a well known Arya Samaji.

Conserving culture or reproducing culture

The establishment of British rule rested on the acceptance of Britishers and their culture. The cynical attack of the British scholars on the Indian values and culture made the latter conscious of their qualities. The response was the initiation of reforms in India. Indians tried to modify or reincarnate their practices with such ease that the reform is attained without discrediting their values. The English culture and values were increasingly attracting the English educated Indians. The newly educated generation developed was being influenced by the new way of life. The communities carved out means to preserve their identity. The women were the major protagonists in this process of conservation. The women’s education was promoted keeping in mind the changing contours but it was strictly followed that curriculum should not make women rebel against the system.^{xxvi} The reformers advocated education that would help women perform their destined duties with more ease and perfection. The reformers blamed the English education for demoralising the Indian women.^{xxvii} The agency of women was being used to

sustain the moral values of India which were under threat due to English education. Education was being used as a means to reproduce the same values in the modern colonial context.^{xxviii} The reformers attempted to invoke nationalism among Indian women.^{xxix} The schools established for the education of Indian women were categorized into three types. The first one consisted of the schools attended by the daughters of well of parents. The girls were trained to become eligible wives of the prominent officers and leaders of society. The others aimed exclusively to settle down in the humble walks of life with some professional training as that of nursing, health visiting or teachers as sources of economic help to supplement the house income.^{xxx} New education policy was used in defining meanings and coding and decoding values. The education was used by different people in different capacities. As Bourdieu defines education system as a model of social mediations and processes which tend behind the backs of the agents engaged in the school system- teachers, students and their parents, to ensure the transmission of cultural capital across generations and to stamp pre-existing differences in inherited cultural capital.^{xxxi} The reformers and the educated lot of the time were apprehensive of the new educational policy introduced by the colonial rule. The newspapers and magazines of the time were full of articles advocating special attention to education of Indian women as they are the first step in the development of society. In a article published in Chand the author Babuu Vishambhar Singh B.A. advocated religious and moral education, chastity and self-sacrifice a must for Indian women's educational curriculum. The author exemplifies by valorising Rani Padmavati, the wife of Maharaja Bhim Singh and Rani Padmavati. Padmavati was valorised. The author also talks about returning to ancient Indian past. Education was not just seen as a means of achieving economic security.^{xxxii} Instead it was used as a cultural projects by Indians to acculturatised the masses of their ancient culture. The new order was seen as a threat to the old prevailing values. In another article published the editor writes, "Education is an attempt on the part of adult members of human society to shape the development of coming generation in accordance with their own ideals of life." In the mentioned quote the author talks about the regenerating and recreating the values of Indian society by means of education. Education is intended to be used in accordance with the norms and ideals of the respective society.

School spaces proved to be quite helpful in propagating the values of the community responsible for establishing the school. The appointment of staff and teachers was carried out carefully keeping in view the aims of the community. The communities were keen to preserve themselves and used the schools as a powerful tool for the purpose. What needs to be emphasised here is that the communities which enjoyed certain amount of social prestige were the ones keen to preserve their values. Their culture became a means of assert their exclusive identity. The Madrasi Association in New Delhi maintained a school for the education of people from South India. The whole staff except for the Hindi teacher consisted of Madrasis. They had also instituted a few scholarships for the encouragement of Madrasi boys.^{xxxiii} Some communities were active and smart enough to understand the immediate and long term benefits extended by the English education. They used the modern education to retranslate their relevance in the rapidly changing scenario. These communities were quick to realise benefits extended by the modern education. The communities who were already enjoying some social, economic and cultural capital were keen to preserve it and sustain it through changing times. Education was seen as the most appropriate tool to retranslate these privileges in colonial times. The communities used education not to purge of the traditions and customs of their communities, instead education was being used to preserve the customs. The exclusive customs which were very often discriminatory by nature were valorised and identified as synonym of the community pride. The communities with middle class status were more eager to establish schools for their children. As Nita Kumar in her work says that the National history is false and the community history is the reality. The national history

taught in schools is in a way not addressing the complexity and diversity of the divergent communities and their histories. It brings everything under the single frame. But National history is something which empowers and benefits the person whereas the community history does not.

The communities were keen to preserve their history and culture and coding their values. The school spaces played a major role in reformulating traditions. Apart from the formal school spaces, the agency of the mother, wife, sister and daughter also played a major role in it. As females they had an important role to play in the formulation of their values. More than anything else the loss of identity bothered the reformers the most. Hence, it was decided to mould the females in a way that reforms and restoration of values were carried out hand in hand. The reformed women became more aware about the attacks on their antique identity, hence derived all means possible to restore it. The educated women advocating reforms helped moving the popular consciousness in their favour.^{xxxiv} In the times of reform we see many educated women coming in the scene and advocating reforms. But we also witness these women contempting the English and Westernisation of Indian culture and its sideeffects on India. In a newspaper article published in Chand Sushila Devi Nigam, a women who did her B.A., talks about the glorious ancient Indian past saying that the contemporary professors or the intelligentsia class was nowhere in comparison to the traditional sages and gurus. She also talks about the immediate need to form new educational institutions for the interest of Indian women and advocated the inclusion of Buddha, Rahim, Veads and Upanishads in the curriculum taught to women. Moreover, she favoured the inclusion of needle work in women's curriculum. The English culture is taking away the chastity of Indian women by teaching them Shakespeare, Darwin, Gladstone's diplomacy, William Pitt's life history, Lord Lawrence, Raymond's and Victoria Cross's erotic poetry. The writer goes on to say that the system of education followed in India would be appropriate for the British society as their moral values are different than that of Indian society.^{xxxv}

The schools established by the private initiative offered a specific cultural grounding to the aim of 'character building'. The kind of academic exposure that would lead to character building along community and nationalist lines was provided by these schools. Their vision of education was grounded in a revivalist perception of culture. As might be expected, the reading and discussion of ancient Indian texts of religion and literature acquired a considerable place in the curriculum of these schools. For ethos building, too, the private institutions depended on religious symbols and rituals.^{xxxvi} These schools considered the religious faith to be an important ingredient of identity contrary to the government belief which emphasised and imparted purely secular education. Religious identity was not considered a problem for the national identity. The communities do not wanted their coming generation to cut off from the cultural currents of their own religion.^{xxxvii} The private schools were the community project and not the gift of the administration to its people. These schools became the mint where the modern cultural coinage of the place was stamped and approved for circulation. The schools were open to cultural intervention and in terms of socialization of the young. They provided both English education along with religious and community values. School education became the means whereby the cultural agenda of the respective religious literati could advance without facing much. Education in Delhi remained a largely reproductive agency, transmitting the cultural heritage and vision of the literate upper castes to their own children.^{xxxviii}

The Indians should not be seen as victims of the new government. They were able to found new schools and institutions, and were not necessarily victims of polemics and intrusive colonial infrastructures. Indians were alert to the utility of western English education, and for the purpose pioneered their own schools. Education was

being continuously moulded by them via schools to suit the needs of both the market requirement and restoring the cultural ethos.^{xxxix} Indians for their part were intensely alert to the advantages of English education. They patronized and undertook educational initiatives, rather needing to be convinced that education invariably led to 'progress'. One significant by-product of this Indian engagement was that schools and hostels tended to reproduce the social ethos and norms of their students.^{xl}

Private enterprise in Indian education system was done with the aim of controlling the curriculum and the activities of the school. In addition to this the private enterprise acted under the wider framework of supervising or exercising control over the students and their minds. The aided schools provided a unique curriculum to suit the needs of the time. Although the reformist agenda was adopted by the donators, they made sure that the student's minds were moulded to follow the norms of the society. In all the philanthropic schools the need to maintain social order and control was emphasized and the importance of duties and obligations was underscored.^{xli}

In The prevalence of colonialism and the absence of a sympathetic state in India, voluntary organisations and associations gained even more importance than they hold in Western countries. This gave a greater scope for Indian voluntary private efforts in India in colonial times. Economic vibrancy and the generation of wealth were important because they provided the material and social conditions which can support the establishment of new associations and institutions involved in private enterprise and social service work. The people involved in private efforts in education were very often the people who themselves had benefitted from it. They were very often the products of the educational opportunities catered by the colonial state or the colonial education system.

The purely secular policy followed by the British government in Indian schools was compensated or dealt with by Indian communities by forming their own schools. The remedy was that religious instruction was a prominent feature of all schools, including government schools. The establishment of Hindu and Muslim denominational schools of modern type, and the drive to establish colleges and universities that would combine Western learning with Hindu and Muslim religious instruction, made such argument have great effect. The schools wanted to perpetuate obedience among the youth and the children through these schools. The association of religion and culture with western science and knowledge in these schools led to the development and redefining of their respective identities.

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^{vi} *Ibid.*

^{vii} Haynes, D. (1987). From Tribute to Philanthropy: The Politics of Gift Giving in a Western Indian City. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 46(2), 339-360. doi:10.2307/2056018, pp. 345-346.

- viii Report on the progress of education in Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1921-22, R- 588/A, 1912, Delhi State Archives (DSA), p. 91.
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- xxv http://www.mathradaspahwa.com/?page_id=21, 6 July 2018, 12:05 noon.
- xxvi The most essential part of women's education is physical education as it makes women aware of her body. Healthy women would become a healthy mother which will result in the formation of a healthy society. It is not necessary for a woman to have the knowledge of science or worldly facts. Instead, a women ought to be a virtuous and of good moral character. The writing also says that women are intellectually equal or more capable than men. But due to the difficult times and continuous suppression they became backward. The article was an excerpt from another article named 'Welfare' by Nandlal Maniklal published in an English magazine, *Stri Siksha ka Vastawik Swaroop*, *Chand*, Nov. 1927, Index no. R-3244, NMML, pp. 157-158.
- xxvii The article 'Vartman Stri Siksha ki Apurnta' written by Ganga Prasad Upadhayaye M.A., advocated that women's education would not arouse hatred for their natural duties. Women's education should synthesis household education. The British women settled in India are not portraying good influence on Indian educated women. These women's husbands get heavily paid in India, resulting in the hatred for manual labour. The British

women in their mother country were well versed in household duties. The Indian women should not get influenced by the British women in India, *Chand*, Aug. 1925, Index no. R- 4433, NMML, p. 240.

^{xxviii} The writer valorises the ancient Indian sages and glories and advocates the inclusion of Buddha, Tulsidas, Rahim, Vedas and Upanishads in the curriculum taught to women. The present curriculum which included Shakespeare, Darwin, Gladstone, William Pitt, Lord Lawrence and Victoria Cross spoiled the Indian women's chastity and purity. Instead of blaming the English education the writer feels that the system of education was at flaw. The English values were unfit for Indian society. The curriculum for Indian women should include needle work, cooking etc., which were more practical, Sushila Devi Nigam B.A., *Striyon ke liye navin sansthaon ki avashyakta aur Bhartiya Mahilaon ka Kartavya*, *Chand*, Dec. 1922, Index no. R-4433, NMML, p. 327.

^{xxix} The editorial talks about the need to reform women's education. The article appreciated the present progress in education but claims the excessive emphasis on English to be the faulty. As English education was waking women immoral, hence, parents were reluctant to send their daughters to schools. Women's curriculum should include heroes who sacrificed their lives for the country, which will instigate nationalistic feelings among the women. The article valorises Shivaji as a patriotic figure. *Stri Siksha Ke Karyakram me Parivartan ki Avashyakta*, *Ibid.*, p. 134.

^{xxx} *Quinquennium Report on Education in the Delhi Province 1932-37*, R-335, DSA, p. 105

^{xxxi} Bourdieu, P. P., Passeron, J., Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. India: SAGE Publications, p. 9.

^{xxxi} *Vartaman Siksha Padhati me Parivartan ki Avashyakta*, *Chand*, Dec. 1922, NMML, p. 244.

^{xxxiii} *Quinquennium Report on Education in the Delhi Province 1932-37*, R-335, DSA, p. 129

^{xxxiv} Kumar, K. (2005). *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. India: SAGE Publications, pp. 111-120.

^{xxxv} *Striyon ke liye navin sansthanon ki avashyakta aur Bhartiya mahilaon ka kartavya*, *Chand*, Dec 1922, part 1, series 2, p. 327.

^{xxxvi} Kumar, K. (2005). *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. India: SAGE Publications, pp. 111-120.

^{xxxvii} *Ibid.*, p. 141.

^{xxxviii} *Ibid.*, p. 153.

^{xxxix} Bellenoit, H. J. A. (2015). *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, pp. 118-120.

^{xl} *Ibid.*, p. 120.

^{xli} Watt, C. A. (2005). *Serving the Nation: Cultures of Service, Association, and Citizenship*. India: Oxford University Press, p. 131.