Urdu as the Language of Education in British India

Tariq Rahman*

Abstract

This article describes how Urdu became a language of schooling and, to a lesser extent, vocational training during British rule in India. The areas focused upon are the present-day Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab. The teaching of Urdu as well as Hindi facilitated the mobilization of the antagonistic Muslim and Hindu communal identities which led eventually to the partition of India. One part of education was the creation of pedagogical literature in Urdu which attempted to supplant the existing textual material which came to be regarded as decadent, erotic or frivolous. The new reformist canonical Urdu prose was reformist and its aim was to create a sober, puritanical, responsible and religious Muslim character imbued with Victorian values.

Introduction

Almost all scholars writing on the Hindi-Urdu controversy have indirectly touched upon the teaching of Urdu. Lelyveld[1] mentions the experiment of establishing rural schools at the

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* HEC Distinguished National Professor and Professor Emeritus, former Director, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Presently Dean, School of Education, Beacon House National University, Lahore, Pakistan.

1 David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1978 Ed. used Lahore: Book Traders, 1991), p.70.

primary level by James Thomason (1804-1853), Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, during the 1850s. Till then, it would appear, Hindustani was 'chiefly a colloquial language' and was 'seldom written even in transaction of business'.[2] But once this policy was enforced, which will be discussed in some detail subsequently, the teaching of Urdu and Hindi fed into the mobilization of the competing Muslim and Hindu communal identities as described by many scholars notably Christopher King[3]; Francesca Orsini[4]; Krishna Kumar[5] who have focused more on the Hindu identity and Hindi educational institutions, processes and materials. The present author also describes the teaching of Urdu to the British as well as the Indians synoptically in his earlier book *Language, Ideology and Power*[6] with reference to the same factors for the Muslims of north India. The following article expands upon these earlier works in order to explore more fully the social and political repercussions of the use of Urdu as an educational language.

The focus of this article is the spread of Urdu in the domain of education in the areas which now constitute Uttar Pradesh (North Western Provinces and Oudh) and the Punjab. The first is the area where the identity politics of Hindus and Muslims played a major role in creating communal antagonism between these two communities leading to Muslim separatism. The second is the backbone of present-day Pakistan; the guardian of what is known in

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2 William Adam, "First Report on the State of Education in Bengal 1835" in Long, J. (Comp & ed.). *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, Submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838* (Calcutta: Printed at the Home Secretariat Press, 1864), p. 79.

3 Christopher R. King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994).

4 Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 89-124.

5 Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991).

6 Tariq Rahman, "The Language of the Salariat" in SM Naseem, and Khalid Nadvi, (eds). *The Post-Colonial State and Social Transformation in India and Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 212-217.

Pakistan as the 'two-nation theory' and the major supporter of Urdu against the other languages of Pakistan. Other areas, such as the Bengal, will be mentioned in passing but these two parts of India will be used as case studies for the spread of Urdu as well as Hindi through education. The focus of this study will, of course, be on Urdu though Hindi will be mentioned in order to understand the role of Urdu in education.

The North Western Provinces

There were a number of indigenous schools in these areas when Lord Lake conquered them in 1803. In the Muslim schools only the Quran was taught without understanding the language (Arabic) in which it was written. In the Hindi schools mental arithmetic (tables) and a little writing in the *kaesthi* or *sarrafi* script were taught. The Sanskrit schools, or *Patshalas*, taught the Hindu religious texts in Sanskrit while the Arabic schools, or madrassas, taught Muslim religious texts in Arabic and Persian. The Persian schools, however, taught Persian texts and, therefore, prepared their pupils for the public service as Persian was the language of official business. But in the early 1840s, when the British first introduced Urdu and Hindi in government schools, both of these were not considered worthy of being learned formally in schools despite a considerable body of literature in them.

The education reports of the 1830s of the Bengal Presidency were mostly about the Bengal but they did allude briefly to Agra and other districts. The local committee at Agra says, for instance, that a Munshi should be hired for 'teaching the Musalman's colloquial dialect, entirely excluding Persian'.[7] The report mentions both 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' and associates the first with the Hindus and the second with the Muslims.[8] However, although Persian was being removed from the domains of power, the report of

7 Edn. Reid, *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal for the Year 1836* (Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, 1837), p.13.

8 *Ibid.*, p.15.

1839-40 says that Persian civilizes Kaesths and removing it will annoy Muslims.[9] So, though Urdu was being taught at places, the Indians (Kaesths and Muslims) of north India still thought of Persian as the desirable medium of instruction while the British, following Lord Auckland's Minute, gave that role to English though it was more expensive to find teachers for it.

The Thomason Experiment

James Thomason (1804-1853), was the son of Thomas Thomason who was an East India Company's chaplain. The senior Thomason learned Arabic, Persian and Urdu in India and is said to have urged the Earl of Moira, the then Governor General, to organize a system of national education in the vernaculars in India.[10] His son, born in India but educated at Cambridge and Haileybury, actually made that dream come true. His intention, as he declared in his writings, was for peasants to be able to read in the vernaculars. Other company officers wanted Christianity to be taught but he refused to agree to this policy. Among other things, he is known for having initiated the experiment of creating village schools shared by several villages teaching both Urdu and Hindi.[11]

The original scheme envisaged giving land to village school masters (15 to 10 acres) in all villages (79,033 of them). It was also proposed that 'no person shall be appointed school-master unless he fully understands, and is able to explain and give instruction in, Ram Surren Doss's four elementary books both Oordoo and Hindee'.[12] A second letter pursued the above ideas and suggested that the system will be introduced in eight districts to begin with at a cost of

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9 Edn. Reid, *Report of the General committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal for the Year 1839-40* (Calcutta: G. H. Huttmann, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1841), pp. 103-5.

10 Richard Temple, *James Thamason* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. 27-29.

11 *Ibid*., pp.170-80.

12 J. Thornton, 'Letter from J. Thornton, Secretary to the NWP Government, to F. Currie, Secretary Govt. of India' 18 November 1846, Agra. In *Selections NWP* 1856), p. 332.

Rs. 36,000 and a Visitor General from the Indian Civil Service will be appointed to oversee its performance.[13] In a minute entitled 'Scheme for Promoting Vernacular Education',[14] it is proposed that the District Visitor should know both Urdu and Hindi as should the 'pergunnah visitors' and the masters. The books, in both Hindi and Urdu, would also be sold through the District Visitor.[15]

The first Visitor General was Henry Stewart Reid. He wrote four reports on indigenous education in vernacular schools in the districts of Agra, Aligarh, Bareli, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Manipur, Mathura and Shahjahanpur. These were cities with a substantial Muslim as well as Hindu Kaesth presence. Both these elitist groups worked in Persian and considered it a class-marker. However, they were the ones chosen by the British authorities for transition to Urdu. By this time, 1853 onwards, the NWP Government had made the knowledge of Urdu necessary for employment. Among the conditions laid down were that (1) the candidate should be able to read the *Shakistā* handwriting as petitioners wrote in it (2) to translate from English to Urdu and (3) to 'write a clear, good quick *shikasta* hand'.[16]

The first report of 1850-51 tells us that there were about 3,000 schools offering instruction to 25,000 children to begin with. These formed the basis of the British vernacular schools. By May 1, 1850 village teachers had been appointed and the schools had begun to function. They were classified according to location and, more to the point, according to the medium of instruction as follows:

Table-1

LANGUAGE WISE SCHOOLS IN 1850

Language	Schools	Scholars
Arabic	11	87

13 *Ibid*., pp.400-1.

14 *Ibid*., pp.403-5.

15 *Ibid*., p.404.

16 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1853-54* (Agra: Printed at the Secundra Orphan Press, 1854), Appendix-J, pp. LXV.

Arabic and Persian	157	1284
Kuran [sic]	109	821
Persian	1257	8503
Urdu	5	49
Urdu and Hindi	55	1781
Hindi	1259	10090
Hindi and Sanskrit	233	2845
Sanskrit	205	1561
English and vernacular	20	956

Source: Edn. Reid 1852: 12. The term 'Scholars' is used for pupils in the original.

A school was not necessarily a building for formal instruction specifically built for this purpose. It was any place where the teacher and the taught came together. Thus, if a pious old man started teaching his own sons and those of his neighbours, it was a 'school'. Likewise, there were 'schools' in the houses of the affluent, offices of government officials and under banyan trees. The most prestigious of these schools were Persian schools. They were supported by Muslims and Kaesths. On the whole, the Persian teachers were considered as 'more intelligent, better paid, and more competent than the Hindi school master'.[17] The latter, it was reported, was often unable to read and was supported by the poorer agriculturists and lower businessmen (*baniyās*). The average pay of school teachers was Rs. 4 per month which confined them to a working-class lifestyle.[18]

For some time the term 'Persian teacher' covered teachers of Urdu also. In any case, Persian texts were taught through Urdu and the pupils knew the language as a medium of conversation. The challenge for the British was, however, to get Urdu accepted as a language of formal schooling. In some places, like Shahjahanpur and Bareli

17 Edn. Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Aligarh, Bareli, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Manipur, Mathura and Shahjahanpur 1850/51* by Henry Stewart Reid, Visitor General of Schools N.W.P. (Agra; Printed at the Secundra Orphan Press, 1852), p.17.

18 *Ibid*., pp.16-28.

> ... The study of Persian is popular, and Urdu is proportionately looked down upon. Were Persian taught, numbers would attend. In the 14 Tahsili Schools in the Rohilkhand districts, very few boys are reading Hindi, whereas in all the remaining districts, Hindi scholars preponderate over Urdu.[19]

However, such was the prestige of Persian that Urdu was not initially successful. The Report says:

> In the Tahsili Schools, the attempt has been made and till now has been persisted in, to introduce Urdu to the entire exclusion of Persian. A year's experience, however, forces the conviction that the experiment should be, for the present, abandoned. Many will not come near our Schools, who would gladly attend, were Persian also taught.[20]

Even at Deoband, an Islamic madrassa which gave pride of place to Arabic, the 1284 Hijra/1867-68 CE report conceded that if Persian were taught people would send their young children to the madrassa and that might eventually create an interest in Arabic.[21] The British persisted, however, and offered incentives to Persian teachers who would teach Urdu.[22] The students too were rewarded. Indeed, to wean them away from Persian and Sanskrit, rewards were offered only if they studied Urdu and Hindi.[23] The district and sub-district (*parganāh*) visitors of schools, working under the Visitor General but also reporting to the local district officer, were instructed to distribute funds at their command to increase the study of Urdu and Hindi rather than Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. They were specifically instructed to 'Persuade the school-masters in Persian Schools to teach Urdu, and in Hindi schools, to adopt the Nāgri in lieu of the Kāyasthī character, when the latter is prevalent'.[24]

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19 *Ibid*., p.95.

20 *Ibid*., p.113.

21 Syed Ishtiaq Azhar, *Fakhr-ul 'Ulamā Maulānā Fakhrul Hasan Gangōhī kī Suānēh aor Khidmāt* [The pride of the learned: Maulana Gangohi's biography and services] (Karachi: Meezan-e-Adab, 1985), p.93.

22 *Ibid*., p.119.

23 *Ibid*., p.120.

24 Edn. Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra*, Appendix-1; pp.138-49.

These steps led to the introduction of Urdu in Persian schools in 1851-52.[25] Moreover, the Christian missionaries also taught Urdu in 'the Roman Character'. These schools — only two in number — also had girl students (33 of them) so that, for the first time, so many girls were getting formally educated in Urdu.[26] By this time there seems to be some acceptance of Urdu as the *Report* says that people send their sons to the Persian schools so that they 'may acquire a thorough knowledge of Urdu'.[27] Thus, in the 60 schools of the 8 districts mentioned above, Urdu and Persian were read together.[28] In other schools, such as the English-vernacular ones, Urdu and Hindi were taught along with English.

In the report of 1853-54 Reid wrote that: 'we look to Urdū and to Hindi (Symbolled out in Nāgri Character), as the sources where to obtain supplies of healthy mental food'.[29] The distaste for Urdu had not quite ended because, as this report of the eight 'experimental districts' put it:

> As yet Urdu composition is in the hands of men who have been taught Persian only. A long time will elapse before purely Urdū schools are set on foot.[30]

However, in the Tehsili schools which were directly under the government, 'Hindi Scholars enter at once on the study of Urdū without going through a preliminary course of Persian reading'.[31] In the indigenous schools, however, the British indulged local prejudices by allowing Persian to be taught. By this time (1853-54) the number of schools and students were as follows:

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25 Edn. Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Aligarh, Bareli, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Manipur, Mathura and Shahjahanpur 1851/52* by Henry Stewart Reid, Visitor General of Schools N.W.P. (Agra; Printed at the Secundra Orphan Press, 1853), p. 59.

26 *Ibid*., p. 59.

27 *Ibid*., p. 88.

28 *Ibid*., p. 89.

29 Edn. Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Aligarh, Bareli, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Manipur, Mathura and Shahjahanpur 1853/54* by Henry Stewart Reid, Visitor General of Schools N.W.P. (Agra; Printed at the Secundra Orphan Press, 1854), p. 6.

30 *Ibid*., p. 6.

31 *Ibid*., p. 6.

Table-2		
LANGUAGE –WISE SCHOOLS IN 1854		
Language	**Schools**	**Scholars**
Persian	876	5,709
Persian-Urdu	155	1,789
Urdu	2	24
Urdu with other languages	244	3,532
Nagari	729	9,323
Kayasthi	385	2,497

Source: Edn. Reid 1854: 6.

In short, because of British efforts, Urdu had begun to be established as a language of formal schooling in the middle of the nineteenth century in north India.

Urdu was also the vehicle of modernization. Modern subjects—such as mathematics, accounting, and history—were neglected in the traditional Persian schools but emphasized in the Urdu ones. According to the Report of 1854:

> Arithmetic and Accounts are neglected in Persian schools; while in Urdu schools we find 795 boys reading the same, in polyglot 102, in Sanskrit 365, and in Hindi 4,172.[32]

Another indicator of modernity was the gender balance in education. Though males preponderated, adult females getting instruction were '2, 670 of whom 1027 appear in the Shahjahanpur returns'. The estimate according to the type of education was as follows:

Table-3	
TYPE OF EDUCATION FOR FEMALES IN PERCENTAGES	
Quran	66%
Hindi	25%
Arabic	05%
Persian	43%
Urdu	14%
Accounts	1%

Source: Edn. Reid 1854: 45

32 *Ibid*., p. 18.

Urdu versus Hindi

The British did not promote Urdu alone. They also promoted Hindi—which is to say Sanskritized Khari Boli—in education mostly because of the sheer number of the Hindus. Later on, numbers began to translate into pressure when the Hindus (as well as Muslims) began to mobilize as an identity-conscious group. The education system provided them an opportunity to do so, especially because the education policy was contradictory and unjust. As King brings out:

> By sponsoring Hindi in Nagari at the elementary and secondary school levels, the government helped create the very differences between Hindi and Urdu that many British officers decried. The government created, or at least fed, the genie in the bottle and then found itself surprised when the genie tried to get out.[33]

The contradiction was not only that many British officers condemned the Sanskritization of Khari Boli—like excessive Persianization if it—as being absurd because of its lack of intelligibility. It was also because bureaucratic jobs were mostly in Urdu. Thus, while the educational system seemed to give a free choice between all the languages the criteria for employment favoured English at the highest level, Urdu (in most of present-day U. P and the Punjab) at the lower one while Hindi was allowed only in parts of the Hindi belt or in a smaller proportion of jobs—and that too mostly in the education department—in most of north India.

That is why, in the 1850s when the Hindi movement had not fully mobilized its supporters, those seeking government employment chose Urdu over Hindi. Even the lowest level of state employees found Urdu more useful than Hindi for employment. The report of 1853-54 tells us:

> Of the 156 Patwaris, who have received certificates, 46 have been examined in Hindi, 86 in Urdu, and 24 in both Hindi and Urdu.[34]

The other government employees also required a certificate about which the *Report* says:

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33 Christopher R. King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 186.

34 Edn. Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools,* 1854, p. 48.

> Of the 1,559 individuals examined, with reference to their fitness to hold a certificate of form A, requiring the ability to read and write Hindi, or Urdu, and a knowledge of the elements of arithmetic, 782 have succeeded in gaining a *sanad-i-liyākat* while 777 have failed....while in Urdu the unsuccessful are 142 in 397, and Urdu-Hindi examinees pass in proportion of 168 to 56.[35]

In short, while the British state promoted Urdu and Hindi both in the domain of education, its employment policies in much of north India tilted the balance in favour of Urdu—a fact which gave rise to much resentment among the Hindu nationalists whose identity was being mobilized exactly on these very grievances during the nineteenth century.

The Rise of Urdu

By the middle of the nineteenth century Urdu—but Persianised and gentrified Urdu—was supplanting Persian as the language of prestige and the identity symbol of the Muslim *ashrāf*. But as competition with Persian decreased, that of with English and Hindi increased. English, being used in the highest domains of power was beyond competition, so it was only Hindi which was left to compete with. But initially the dice was loaded in favour of Urdu not only because it was then the language of employment but also because Persian—and by extension Arabic—were also the languages of sophistication, urbanization and gentrification for centuries. Thus, the residual prestige of the Islamic-heritage languages was high even when Urdu itself was less in demand and remained high till the beginning of the twentieth century.

Taking the data of schooling from the 1860s, King has already related the general patterns for learning Urdu or Hindi with the rural-urban divide and area. In general the rural areas learned Hindi while the urban ones preferred Urdu[36]. In Oudh and the western districts of the NWP (1st educational circle) the Islamic heritage languages (mostly Persian but also Urdu and some Arabic) were more in

35 *Ibid*., p. 49.

36 Christopher R. King, *One Language, Two Scripts,* pp. 98-99.

demand than the Hindu-heritage ones (Sanskrit and Hindi) (53.9 per cent versus 44.4 per cent); in Central NWP (2nd educational circle) the proportion is 19.1 per cent to 78.1 per cent while in the Eastern districts (3rd educational circle) it is 37.9 per cent to 55.7 per cent.[37] The fourth educational circle districts in the Saugar and Nerbudda territories and Ajmer-Marwara which were all detached from U. P later are not included here.[38]

Taking the same data we can relate language choice to employment, vertical social mobility, modernization and class. During the nineteenth century Urdu was very much in demand in the urban, higher educational institutions of North India frequented by the gentry. The first of these institutions were:

The Delhi College (1825); the Benares College (1792),
The Agra College (1823); the Bareilly College (1837),
The Ajmer School (1851).

In the Delhi College, it is told, all 'the students read Urdu. The Arabic and Persian Scholars learnt enough of Hindee, to qualify them to hold the appointment of Regimental Moonshee'.[39] Indeed, this college was the pioneering institution for disseminating Western knowledge to Indians through the medium of Urdu. Its second

37 *Ibid*., p. 99.

38 The educational circles of the North Western Provinces comprised the following districts:

1st educational circle: Aligarh, Bulandshaher, Merut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Badaun, Muradabad, Shahjahanpur.

2nd educational circle: Agra, Kanpur, Etah, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Muthra, Mynpuri.

3rd educational circle: Allahabad, Azimgarh, Barda, Benares, Fatehpur, Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Mirzapur.

4th educational circle: Baitul, Chanderi, Dumoh, Hoshungabad, Jabbalpur, Mundlah, Nursingpur, Seonee, Saugor.

Kumaun, Garhwal and Ajmer have been excluded in the figures presented in this chapter. Districts in the 4th circle were excluded from the NWP later.

39 Edn. Reid. *Report on the State of Popular Education in the North Western Provinces for 1856-57, and 1857-58* by Henry Stewart Reid, Director of Public Instruction, NWP (Benares: Published Under Authority of the Govt of the NWP. 1859a), p. 3.

principal, Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893), took advantage of the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society and the learned staff of the College to get several books translated into Urdu.[40] Moreover, both 'the Oriental and the English departments of the Delhi College adopted Urdu as the medium of instruction for all the scientific subjects.[41] The Benares College emphasized upon Sanskrit and Hindi but even there students studied Urdu in fairly large numbers. In the other colleges Urdu was studied sometimes alone and sometimes in combination with English—as in Bareilly for many years—so that exact numbers studying Urdu are not easy to tabulate. However, looking at data from the NWP, Oudh and the Punjab, one can venture to state that Urdu was popular at the elite level.[42] At the lower levels, however, it was Hindi which was more in demand. For instance, in the Halkabandi Schools and the indigenous village schools it was Hindi which most students studied.[43] At the Tahsil level—in small towns—there was slightly more demand for Urdu.[44] This increased even further at the middle level[45] and was much higher at the high school level.[46] This was not only true for government schools but was also true for private schools of the higher classes of which data from NWP is given in Annexure-A-2/11. It was, therefore, a class phenomenon in addition to being a rural/urban and geographical variable. The students at the lowest level having little ambition or chance to rise much in terms of socio-economic class, did not aspire for markers of the higher classes and urban areas (i.e. Urdu and English). In towns and cities, where the higher schools were situated, there was always the possibility of transcending one's social class through employment which depended on one's knowledge of Urdu and English. That is

40 M. Ikram Chaghtai, 'Dr Aloys Sprenger and the Delhi College'. In *Pernau,* 2006), p. 115.

41 *Ibid*., p. 115.

42 See details in Annexure A-1/11 & A-2/11.

43 See details in Annexure B-1/11; B-2/11; B-3/11.

44 See details in Annexure C/11.

45 See details in Annexure-D-1/11; D-2/11; D-3/11 & D-4/11.

46 See details in Annexure E-1/11 & E-2/11.

why this equation did not change as much in favour of Hindi as the statistics on printing and publication in that language did till Urdu remained the language of employment in parts of north India.

This association of Urdu with urbanization, sophistication and elite status worked eventually against Urdu and the Muslim community. Not only did it provoke the Hindu nationalists to take umbrage at this assumption of superiority on the part of the partisans of Urdu, but also it made them (these partisans) assume superiority even when the cultural capital of Urdu was exhausted in the face of the rising power of Hindi.

The British officers who administered India were neither all against Urdu nor against Hindi. Their objective was to consolidate the empire in India but points of view, strategies and biases differed. One officer in 1854-55 recommended the abolition of Hindi. However, the Lt. Governor insisted upon a 'familiar acquaintance with the Hindee character'.[47] In a report of 1871, the Director of Public Instruction, M. Kempson, agreed that Urdu and Persian supplies 'the ambitious pupil with the best hope of advancement in life' but went on to say that 'Hindi is the mother tongue of the district; and, if our operations are general in character, that is, if their object is the diffusion of knowledge, and the dissipation by its means of superstition and its connected evils, the proper vehicle of school teaching is Hindi'.[48] The Secretary to the Government, however, responded by saying that 'the point to be considered is whether the people themselves desire it [Urdu] or not'.[49]

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47 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1854-55 with Appendices* by Henry Stewart Reid, Director General of Schools, N.W.P. (Agra: Printed at the Secundra Orphan Press, 1856), p. 21.

48 Edn. Reid, *Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1872-73 Part-I* (Allahabad: Printed at the North-Western Provinces Govt. Press, 1873), p. 21.

49 C. A. Elliott's letter to Kempson, 14 November 1873. In Edn. Reid, *Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1872-73 Part-I*, 1873, p. 7 of 'Orders of Government'.

But the people's 'desire' was dependent mostly upon the cultural capital of Urdu—the fact that skills in its use could be exchanged for jobs, access to officials, upward social mobility and acceptance among middle-class, urban society. Thus the demand for Urdu kept rising as people aspired for social mobility. A report of 1877-78 says:

> The demand for Urdu teaching has greatly increased, and somewhat exceeds the supply. This difficulty will soon disappear, as all new teachers appointed are acquainted with Urdu.[50]

Another indicator of Urdu's rising popularity was the number of people who attempted to qualify in the vernacular examination which was the entry requirement of government service. By 1888-89 'the number of candidates who used the Nagri character was less than one-third of those who wrote their answers in the Persian character.[51] Indeed, the number of examinees who took up Urdu and Persian rose every year since 1888 till, in 1891 it was reported that the 'vast majority of candidates appear in Urdu, that being the official form of the vernacular'.[52] And this was even when, as the report indicates, 'the number of failures in Urdu is always greater than that in Nagri because Urdu is more difficult to Nagri students than Nagri is to Urdu ones'.[53] For instance, the pass percentage in the two languages for the following years was:

Year	Pass percentage	
	Urdu	Hindi
1891-92	41	56
1892-93	47	59
1893-94	48	51

50 Edn. Reid, *Report on Progress of Education in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the Year 1877-78* by K. T. H Griffith (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1878), p. 13.

51 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the Year 1888-89* (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1889), p. 22.

52 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the Year 1890-91* (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1891), p. 29.

53 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the Year 1888-89* (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1889), p. 66.

1894-95	41	47

Source: Education Reports of NWP & O of the above years.

And such was the social acceptance of Urdu that even girls, who did not normally seek government service, preferred that language to Hindi.

Year	Urdu	Hindi
1891-92	488	380
1892-93	504	396

Source: (Edn. N.W.P. & O 1893: 57)

If we remember that at the turn of the century 1898-99 Hindus were 75.43 and Muslims 21.52 per cent of the population of the NWP & Oudh, it is a testimony to the British policy of making Urdu the language of the lower domains of power that 78 per cent students took up Urdu as against only 22 per cent who took Hindi in the vernacular examination.[54]

When the Hindi movement gained momentum after 1900, the number of Hindi publications, as we shall see in the chapter on print, increased and outstripped publications in Urdu. However, vernacular examinations remained more conservative because the language of employment remained Urdu. Overall, during the British period, there was so much official patronage for Urdu that, despite the large numbers of Hindi speakers and the efforts of the Hindi movement, it was Urdu which predominated. The *Educational Gazette*, for instance, was written in Urdu and distributed to schools. The *Oudh Akhbār*, although a private Urdu publication, was also distributed free to schools.[55] Thus, even up to 1924 when the Hindi movement had gained much ground, the figures for

54 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the Year 1894-95* (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1895), p. 46.

55 Edn. Reid, *Report on Progress of Education in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the Year ending 31 March 1884* by K. T. H Griffith Inspector General of Schools, NWP & Oudh (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1884), p. 132.

the choice of language in the advanced examinations for vernacular teachers remained as follows:

Year	**Language chosen**		
	Hindi	Urdu	Source
1919	92	133	Edn. UP 1919: 9
1920	139	156	Edn. UP 1920: 17
1921	123	132	Edn. UP 1921: 22
1923	104	235	Edn. UP 1923: 29
1924	130	294	Edn. UP 1924: 26

Urdu was not only used in education, administration and the courts of law — albeit at the lower level — but was also used for technical education. The Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorke, for instance, announced that the prospective candidates for admission 'must have a good knowledge of the Oordoo language, and be able to read and write it in the Persian character with ease and accuracy'.[56]

Urdu in Oudh

Oudh, ruled by an Iranian Shia dynasty, was a major centre of the Persianate Urdu culture in the nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth centuries. Here the number of students who opted for Urdu rather than Hindi was higher than most districts of the NWP. While figures for male students have been mentioned in the annexures on schools earlier, it may be noted that even female students preferred Urdu over Hindi for the region as a whole.[57] Students also chose to study Persian. Indeed, Persian kept lingering on here longer than elsewhere so that a Deputy Commissioner wrote in 1869: 'They [Muslims] are not satisfied with Hindi

56 Edn. Reid, *Report on the Progress of Education in the North-Western Provinces for the Year 1865-66* by M. Kempson, DPI, NWP (Allahabad: Printed at the Government Press, North-Western Provinces, 1866), p. 63.

57 For details see Annexure-F/11.

and Urdu but want Persian and Arabic'.[58] The following year's report noted that 'the Persian element in the ordinary language spoken in Oudh is very strong'.[59] Indeed, being a part of *sharīf* culture in Lucknow, the Urdu language — and especially a formal, Persianized variety of it — carried so much cultural capital that the Hindus of Oudh, whether Kaesths or others, wanted to study Urdu and Persian.[60] For these reasons, even in the indigenous schools where normally peasant children learned Hindi in the Mahajani script, the children of Bara Banki opted for Persian (387 out of a total of 622).[61]

The report of 1872 gave the following comparative statement about the languages learned by boys in schools:

Year	English	Urdu	Persian	Hindi	Sanskrit	Arabic
1871-72	2,471	25,586	6,118	18,997	233	171
1872-73	2,488	28,353	6,527	22,353	455	209

Source: Edn. O 1873: 119

And the writer of the 1872 report concluded by saying: 'Urdu is thus by far the favourite study'.[62] The report of 1876 repeated the same story.

Year	English	Urdu	Persian	Hindi	Sanskrit	Arabic
1874-75	4,826	33,388	8,517	26,428	834	220
1875-76	4,958	33,388	9,580	30,115	1,012	317

Source: Edn. O 1876: 4

58 Edn. Reid, *Report upon the Progress of Education in the Province of Oudh 1869* (Lucknow: Printed at the Oudh Govt. Press, 1871a), p. 108.

59 Edn. Reid, *Report upon the Progress of Education in the Province of Oudh 1870* (Lucknow: Printed at the Oudh Govt. Press, 1871b), p. 23.

60 *Ibid*., p. 24.

61 Edn. Reid, *Report upon the Progress of Education in the Province of Oudh 1871* (Lucknow: Printed at the Oudh Govt. Press, 1872), p. 3.

62 *Ibid*., p. 119.

Urdu in the Punjab

Urdu was accepted as the vernacular language of the Punjab by the British rulers of India after consulting the officers posted in the districts of the new provinces which they had conquered in 1849.[63] The Department of Public Instruction was established in January 1851 but its first report came to light in 1858. However, since Persian had been used by the Sikh rulers as an official language the education report of 1860-61 points out that 'the desire for learning Persian is so strong in most parts of the Punjab, that it seemed desirable to meet the wishes of the people in this matter...'.[64] That is perhaps why the Lieutenant Governor asked the DPI whether the courses of study borrowed from the North Western Provinces 'may not give an artificial prominence to Urdu, which does not naturally belong to it in these provinces'.[65]

Initially, as in other areas, the British encountered resistance to the teaching of Urdu. There were the ordinary Quran, Hindi as well as Gurmukhi schools. Persian was the desiderated subject of study both for Hindus and Muslims as it led to employment in the bureaucracy. Thus the *Administration Report* tells us:

> Both teachers and scholars especially objected to the study of Urdu. To educate a boy by teaching him his own language seemed to them to be almost a contradiction in terms. It was of course necessary to conciliate the people, and the plan adopted was to give the teachers two lists of books, one of Urdu books which *must* be read, and another of Persian books which *might* be read.[66]

However, the British also kept political considerations in mind when implementing the policy so the following lines were added:

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63 Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press), pp. 192-97, Ed used. (Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2007).

64 Edn. Reid, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1860-61* (Capt. A. R. Fuller, DPI, Punjab. Lahore: Published by Authority, MDCCC LXIV, 1864a), p. 8.

65 *Ibid*., p. v.

66 Edn. Reid, *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1872-73* (Lahore: Printed at the Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1873), p. 151.

> At the same time Hindi schools were to be encouraged wherever the people desired them, in view of the danger of throwing education entirely into the hands of the Muhammadans.[67]

Gurmukhi schools were also allowed but remained less in number than Urdu ones. Indeed, perhaps because of the widespread use of Urdu in education, works of 'general interest' in the Punjabi language were more likely to be published in the Shahmukhi script[68].

In the Punjab, as in the NWP, there were village and town schools. And, again as in the NWP, there were indigenous schools about which G. W. Leitner prepared a comprehensive report.[69] The lower schools did teach the Quran by rote as well as Hindi (both in the Nagari and the Mahajani scripts) but Hindi did 'not lead to employment' and, as the DPI pointed out, 'no one cares to go beyond the elements of reading and writing'.[70] Anyone who aspired for higher education — even for learning English which was not taught 'below the middle' level — were supposed to 'be able to read and write Urdu and to work sums'.[71]

But Urdu did not remain unopposed in the Punjab. It was opposed by the claims of Punjabi which has been written about elsewhere[72], English and Hindi. The opposition by people who wanted more English than Urdu to be taught argued that English was preferable because it facilitated employment and had more prestige. The Anjuman-i-Punjab,

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67 William Adam, *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1872-73* (Lahore: Printed at the Government Civil Secretariat Press), p. 151.

68 William Adam, *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1902-03* (Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Press, 1904a), p. 106.

69 G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882* (Repr. Lahore: Republican Books, 1991).

70 Edn. Reid, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1872-73* (C. Pearson Lahore: Published by Authority, Central Jail Press, 1873), p. 24.

71 Edn. Reid, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1873-74* (W.R.M. Hdroyd. Lahore: Published by Authority, Printed by W.E. Ball, Successor to the Punjab Printing Company, 1874), p. 51.

72 Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, pp. 191-209.

the originator of the 'Oriental movement', declared that 'the Urdu language was quite unfit for education at the higher level and, therefore, English should be the exclusive medium of instruction in high schools'.[73]

Urdu was also opposed by the proponents of Hindi in the 1880s. W. M. Holroyd, the DPI, pointed out that unless the government changed its policy, Hindi and Sanskrit could neither be used for teaching science, geography and mathematics nor could terms borrowed from these languages be employed. Instead, it was Urdu which should also be taught in the villages. He reiterated the language policy in the Punjab forcefully again.

> The Urdu language was made the principal medium of instruction in Government schools in accordance with the strongly expressed opinion of Lord Lawrence, Sir Donald McLeod, and other experienced officers, and with full approval of the Court of Directors. The general principle on which this decision was founded was re-affirmed by the secretary of state.[74]

It was in line with this policy that Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script was discouraged in the beginning. Thus 'permission to establish a Gurmukhi class was refused.[75] However, by 1888-89 some candidates presented themselves for Gurmukhi examinations in the Oriental college of Lahore. And even at the lower level many Gurmukhi schools were reported to be 'in receipt of grants'.[76]

Traditionally, the indigenous village schools did not teach Urdu. They were reorganized in 1889 as Zamindari schools as they catered to rural society. Students could

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73 Edn. Reid, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1880-81* (Lahore: Publish by W. R. M. Holroyd by W. E Bell, Successor to the Punjab Printed Company, 1881), p. 8m.

74 Edn. Reid, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1881-82* (Lahore: Publish by Authority, Printed at the Central Jail Press, 1882), p. 66.

75 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1883-84* (Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1884), p. 5.

76 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1888-89* (W.R. M. Holroyd Lahore: Published by Authority Printed the "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1889), p. 86.

attend in the mornings or evenings and were let off to gather the harvest during the harvesting season. And it was in these schools that Urdu, as well as Hindi and Gurmukhi, were taught. The report of 1889-90 tells us:

> Urdu is the principal subject of instruction in 167 of the Indigenous schools examined for grants, Panjabi in the Gurmukhi character in 26, and Hindi in the Nagari character in 9. All the other private schools examined for grants were Urdu schools...'.[77]

The Zamindari schools did not prove to be popular and it was felt that the Gurmukhi schools or classes started in 1889-90 would also be unpopular.[78] In 1897-98 there were 202 of these Zamindari schools out of which 191 were Urdu and the other Nagri ones.[79]

Even in 1911-12 the Punjabi language, which was an optional vernacular in rural schools, had shown 'little sign as yet of replacing Urdu' though their number had risen from 32 to 102 and students from 917 to 4,067.[80]

Urdu was also used for medical studies. The Education Report of the Bengal Presidency (1839-40) mentions the idea of training 'Native Doctors' for both civil and military service who should 'be able to read and write the Hindoostanee language, in the Devanagari or Persian character'.[81] A similar course in Urdu was instituted in the Lahore Medical College in 1860 which changed its name to the Lahore Medical School later. It was a three-year course after which one could enter the medical profession as a 'Native Doctor'. The

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77 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1889-90* (W.R. M. Holroyd Lahore: Published by Authority Printed the "Civil and Military Gazette: Press, 1890), p. 133.

78 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1894-95* (Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1895), p. 55.

79 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1897-98* (j. Sine Lahore: Published by Authority Printed the "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1898), p. 43.

80 William Adam, *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1911-12* (Lahore: Printed at the Punjab Government Press, 1913), p. 187.

81 Edn. Reid, *Report of the General committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal for the Year 1839-40* (Calcutta: G. H. Huttmann, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1841), p. clvi.

Administration Reports of the Punjab give a yearly report on the number of students in the 'Hindustani class' observing that the competition for entry into the Hindustani class continues'[82] which indicates that the successful candidates found jobs easily. By 1869 the school had passed out 91 doctors and was a well-established institution.[83] The record available in these reports spans thirty one years out of which the figures for the 'Urdu class' are not mentioned for the last year i.e. 1903-04. Even so, 3,786 studied medicine in Urdu while 2,631 studied it in English according to the reports from 1860-61 till 1903-04. The reports keep mentioning the native doctors till the end of the century when information about them disappears altogether.

Urdu Reading Material and Modern Citizenship

Education was also part of the colonial project of creating useful citizens with the virtues of the Victorians: obedience, non-political and non-militant piety, bourgeois morality and industriousness. James Thomason, whom we have encountered earlier, wrote that 'A popular and useful Oordoo literature is now forming... and it is becoming the vehicle for conveying practical and useful knowledge to all classes of the people' and this, he felt, would make the new moral citizen he so desired[84]. The Muslim reformers fully agreed with these ideals and they produced literature in Urdu which promoted it. This reformist literature for educational purposes has been described by Moinuddin Aqil.[85] Similarly the literature on Hindi has been described in even more detail and with great scholarly thoroughness by Francesca

82 William Adam, *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories for the Year 1866-67* (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company's Press, 1867), p. 66.

83 William Adam, *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1868-69* (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1869), p. 124.

84 James Thomason, 'Letter to Wilson', 16 November, Mss. Eur. E 301/10, OIOC. 1847.

85 Moinuddin Aqil, *Taehrīk-ē- Āzādī Mẽ Urdū kā Hissā* [Urdu's rule in the movement for freedom] (Lahore: Majlis-e-Taraqqi-e-Adab, 2008), pp. 403-18.

Orsini who looks at textbooks[86], informal reading material created by public institutions such as the Arya Samaj[87]; the role of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in examining candidates;[88] literature, journals, magazines etc.

Here we will confine ourselves to only some of the most influential texts in Urdu for their overall influence on the production of the modern, colonial subject on the lines described by Gauri Viswanathan in her excellent study of the way English literature created the colonial subject in India.[89] The idea of the moral influence of texts is a perennial theme in colonial education. For instance, among others, Dr. Ballantyne taught Shakespeare to his students in the Benares College in order 'to give the mind of a Hindoo reader some tincture of the higher tone of morality, which belongs to the European civilization'.[90] This was part of the project of shaping the modern consciousness among Indians. And it was carried out by teaching modern Western knowledge through English and the vernaculars.

One way of doing this was through translation of the Western canonical texts into Urdu. The Society for the promotion of knowledge of India through the Medium of Vernacular Languages, also called the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society, translated books from 1830 till 1857. Later Sir Saiyid founded his Scientific Society in Ghazipur and the work was carried on by the Darul Tarjuma at Osmania University and still goes on in Pakistan through the National Language Authority, Urdu Science Board (Lahore), Majlis-e-Zuban-e-Daftari (Lahore), Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Talif-o-Tarjuma (Karachi) and in India mainly through the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu and some universities.[91] The

86 Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940*, pp. 92-111.

87 *Ibid*., pp. 111-16.

88 *Ibid*., pp. 116-24.

89 Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest* (New York: Columbia. This ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1990).

90 Edn. Reid, *General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1846-47* (Agra: Printed by W. M. Haycock at the Secundra Orphan Press, 1848), p. 24.

91 Chaghtai, 'Dr Aloys Sprenger and the Delhi College', pp. 116-17.

translations, were representations and, says Margrit Pernau, 'it become clear that the colonial power aimed at controlling both ways: the representation of the Indian tradition for a British Public (and by implication for the Indians themselves), but also the images Indians received about the West...'.[92]

The modern Indian Muslim had to be acquainted with subjects introduced by the modernizing British. Munshi Mohammad Zakaullah (1832-1910), for instance, was one of those who tried to bring modern scientific knowledge through the medium of Urdu to Indians. He is said to have started writing at the age of 19 and published 147 books ranging from subjects as diverse as mathematics to history. He also translated scientific books from English to Urdu. In a sense, then, he was a living Urdu encyclopedia of nineteenth century Delhi.[93]

Zakaullah taught in the Delhi College (or Dilli Kalij as it was called in Urdu) where scientific and mathematical subjects were taught in Urdu. Besides Munshi Zakaullah, the college had others on the faculty who translated much Western learning in Urdu. According to Mushirul Hasan, 'it produced a substantial number of enlightened writers who, in turn, contributed to the development of Urdu prose as a vehicle for transmitting knowledge, and encouraged a simple style of writing as against the high-flown, bombastic, and ornate style'.[94] In 1847 there was an outburst of Urdu translations — 128 from Arabic, Persian and English books — of both the classical and the modern type.[95]

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92 Margarit Pernau, (ed). *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 19.

93 Mushirul Hasan, "Maulavi Zaka Ullah: Sharif Culture and Colonial Rule", in Margarit Pernau, (ed). *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 290-97.

94 *Ibid*., p. 121.

95 H. Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1980), p. 55.

Above all, essentially modern attitudes were introduced by creating a new vernacular literature in both Urdu and Hindi. We have mentioned how the urge for reform of the printed word came, inter alia, out of the Victorian squeamishness about the frank and uninhibited allusion to sex in the medieval Persian classics used in the curricula which the British shared with Indian modernist reformers.[96] Thus the medieval texts were discarded and new ones in Urdu as well as Hindi were substituted in their place. These texts endorsed new, modern, values instead of the older, medieval ones. At the ontological level the world was seen as an ordered, rule-governed, causally functioning cosmos. The medieval world, on the other hand, was magical. That is, it had no order as rules were superceded by miracles and cause and effect were held in abeyance by enchantment. The epistemological corollary of the medieval world-view was that one endured the world as a mystery without, however, intervening in it (unless one was a magician). However, modern ways of understanding reality meant that one could understand and, hence, control the world. Thus, while the medieval texts were theological, linguistic or literary; the modern ones were scientific and analytical. At the normative level, while the medieval texts did endorse universal humanitarian values at the highest level, they did so through anecdotes, including sexual ones, which most people now found embarrassing. Moreover, they were frankly mistrustful of women and advocated control over them. The modern texts, on the other hand, endorsed middle class virtues: order, good management, frugality, sobriety, hard work and sexual modesty — just the very things Muslim reformers wanted to reform in their decadent society. The new texts also taught respect and admiration for the British government, regard for the rule of law and other modern, civic virtues. Hence, modernity was very much a part of being a colonial subject of the British Empire in India. Urdu, along with Hindi and English, were important vehicles of

96 Tariq Rahman, “The Language of the Salariat”, pp. 490-509.

this attempt at creating the modern, colonial Indian subject of the empire.

Contrary to medieval assumptions, modernity included women into the project of citizenship. Thus the education of girls became a much debated issue among Muslim reformers and educationists. Girls were mostly taught in home-based schools by female teachers (*ustānīs*). Some of the *ustānīs* visited the homes of their affluent pupils and received payment. Others, like Asghari in Deputy Nazir Ahmed's (1833-1912) *Binā*t*–un-Nāsh* (The daughters of the Bier) (n d), kept school in their house where girls learned the Urdu script, read books on religion and morality through Urdu stories (mostly in verse) and learned to sew and cook. The books mentioned by Nazir Ahmed are as follows: A translation of the Quran, *kanz-ul-Maslā, Qiāmat Nāmā, Rāh-ē-Nijāt, Wafāt Nāmā, Qissā Shāh-ē-Rōme, Qissā Sipāhī Zādā, Mu'ajzā Shāh Yemen, Risālā Maulūd Sharīf, Shahīd Mashāriq ul Anwar.* These are all religious books, some being based on the folk Islam of the period which was intermixed with popular belief in miracles and mysticism. The modern subjects were also taught through the medium of Urdu. These included the history of India, *chand pand* (moral aphorisms), *Muntakhab-ul-Hikāyāt* (moral stories) and *Mirāt ul Urūs* (1869) (The mirror the bride) — Nazir Ahmed's own contribution to scholarship for women.[97]

It is notable that by the late nineteenth century literacy in Urdu was seen necessary not only for men but also for women. Thus a Minute by R. Montgomery, Lt. Governor of the Punjab, of May 3, 1864 describing schools in the Punjab for girls in 1864, says that the curriculum included basic reading and writing in Urdu and Punjabi, arithmetic and needlework.[98] Badruddin Tyabji also testified before the Hunter Commission that:

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97 Nazir Ahmed, *Majmua' Deputy Nazīr Ahmed: Ibn ul Waqt, Taubat un Nusūh, Binā*t *un Nāsh, Fasānā-ē-Muttilā, Mirā*t *ul Urūs, Roeā Sādiqā* [The collection of the novels of Nazir Ahmed] (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), pp. 789-949. English translations given in the text.

98 Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 164.

> There are some Karis or Mullas in the chief centers of the Muhammadan Population who teach the Koran and perhaps a little Hindustani and Persian to the girls.[99]

Tyabji's own wife, Bibi Rahat, could read Gujrati and Urdu and he himself translated English novels into Urdu for her edification.[100] Bibi Rahat was a Gujrati Muslim, but even though her mother-tongue was not Urdu, she had started learning the language. In Bengal too, where Bengali was the mother-tongue, Rokeya Sakhavat Husain's Sakhavat Memorial Girls' School in Calcutta taught 'Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Bengali, and English'.[101]

While sending girls to schools was not favoured among the *ashrāf* (elites), girls were often educated at home. Ashrafunnissa Begum (1840-1903), or Bibi Ashraf as she was called, learned Urdu by reading the Urdu *marsiyās* and then came to write letters for the family in Urdu[102]. Syed Mumtaz Ali's (1860-1935) weekly newspaper *Tahzīb un-Niswã*, edited by his wife Muhammadi Begam, came to be published from Lahore in 1898 and its avowed aim was to reform women through informal education in Urdu.[103] Among the ideas disseminated by this publication was that extreme segregation of women (*purdāh*) was harmful and that the veil was enough protection for them if they went out.[104]

Besides the magazines, informal education was also spread to women — along with men — through didactic books masquerading as fiction or religious books like Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's *Bahishtī Zēvar*. In 1863 Maulvi Karim Uddin, educated in the Delhi College from 1840 to 1844, published *Khat-ē-Taqdīr* (the line of fate) which is a didactic story about a young man who abandons the path of poetry and ostentation to follow a puritanical lifestyle

99 *Ibid*., p. 184.

100 *Ibid*., p. 186.

101 *Ibid*., p. 259.

102 C. M. Naim, 1987. 'How Bibi Ashraf Learned to Read and Write', AUS 6: pp. 99-115.

103 *Ibid*., pp. 73-95.

104 *Ibid*., p. 87.

dedicated to learning.[105] It was a precursor of other such works — especially those of Nazir Ahmed — which followed. And, again like these more famous successors, Karim Uddin's books were also used in the schools of the Punjab.[106] At about the same time Maulvi Wazir Ali, a religious reformer, wrote a book entitled *Mirāt-un-Nisā* (The mirror of women). But nobody got the success which fell to the lot of Nazir Ahmed's works. In *Taubat un Nusūh* (The repentance of Nusuh) (1874), probably based on Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731), *The Family Instructor* the protagonist Nusuh condemns the sloth and hedonism of the Indian way of life and destroys the 'obscene' literature associated with that lifestyle.[107] In *Mirāt ul Urūs* (1869) Asghari represents the modern, reformed woman who runs her household with intelligence, foresight and ability. Her elder sister, Akbari, on the other hand, represents old-fashioned wasteful extravagance. In *Fasanā-i-Mubttilā* (The tale of the Afflicted one) (1885), the protagonist, *Mubttila*, is ruined by the amorousness of Persian literature. These themes, critical as they were of pre-modern values and attitudes, were popular both with the British as well as the Indian reformers. Thus Nazir Ahmed's work, especially *Mirāt ul Urūs,* were published repeatedly and in large numbers as Urdu came to be established as the main language of literacy in much of north India.

Nazir Ahmed's books, though full of Islamic references including Arabic verses, were praised by the British.[108] *Mirāt ul Urūs* was considered very useful for women. In a report on reading of the 1st Circle of Education it is stated that 'all the

105 Avril A. Powell, 'Scholar Manque or Mere Munshi', In Margerit Pernau (ed.), *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State and Education before 1857,* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 222-25.

106 Avril A. Powell, 'Scholar Manque or Mere Munshi', In Margerit Pernau, p. 223.

107 Frances W Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdū Poetry and Its Critics* (Edition used Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 186.

108 C. M. Naim 'Prize-Winning Adab: A Study of Five Books Written in Response to the Allahabad Gazette Notification'. In Metcalf 1984.

girls of the upper classes read from the *Mirat-ul-Arus* well and intelligently'.[109] M. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction, recommended it to the Government of the NWP. The Secretary of the Government replied that 'the Lieutenant Governor has perused the *Mirat-ul-Urūs*, or 'The Bride's Mirror', with the highest satisfaction'.[110] The Secretary observed that the 'work possesses merit hitherto (so far as His Honor is aware) unknown in Oordoo literature'.[111] The author was rewarded Rs. 1000—a princely sum at that time—and 2000 copies of the book were obtained for the Government.[112] It was also recommended to the Board of Examiners as a suitable textbook for examinations. *Taubat un Nusūh* was also given an award of Rs. 1000.[113] Nazir Ahmed's *Bināt un Nāsh*, an extension of *Mirāt ul Urūs*, concerns the education of girls in a home-based school run by a female teacher. The girls are taught home management, good manners and basic scientific facts in Urdu. By 1874, 125 out of 1,164 works won the prizes sponsored by the NWP Government and four-fifth of them, including Nazir Ahmed's novels, were in Urdu.[114] Yet, although, according to Christina Oesterheld 'nineteenth-century's Urdu was at its best in his writings' he apparently valued 'English and Arabic' more on pragmatic and religious and cultural grounds taking Urdu 'for granted' as the most congenial languages for disseminating his ideas in north India.[115] However, Nazir

109 Edn. Reid, *Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1872-73,* Part-I (M. Kempson. Allahabad: Printed at the North-Western Provinces Govt. Press, 1873), p. 83.

110 Mushirul Hasan, *A Moral Reckoning: Muslim Intellectuals in Nineteenth-century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 263-64.

111 *Ibid*., p. 264.

112 Edn. Reid, *Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1873-74 Part-I 1873-74* (M. Kempson: Allahabad: Printed at the North-Western Provinces Govt. Press, 1874), pp. 8-9.

113 *Ibid*., pp. 8-9.

114 *Ibid*., pp. 8-9.

115 Christina Oesterheld, "Deputy Nazir Ahmad and the Delhi College". in Margarit Pernau (ed). *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 316.

Ahmed's works actually went beyond the Urdu-using readers of north India. By 1885 Nazir Ahmed's novels had been translated into Bangla, Braj, Kashmiri, Punjabi and Gujrati. The total circulation was 40,000 copies. Within twenty years of its publications *Mirāt ul Urūs* appeared in editions totaling 100,000 copies.[116]

There were many imitators of Nazir Ahmad such as Syed Ahmad Dehlavi (1846-1918), Bashiruddin Ahmed (1868-1927) and Rashidul Khairi. The latter two were related to him being his son and nephew respectively. Syed Ahmad Dehlavi wrote the *Insha-i-Hādī un-Nisā* which is a manual to teach women how to write letters in Urdu. He also wrote two didactic novels *Rāhat Zamānī kī Mazēdār kahānī* (The enjoyable story of Rahat Zamani) and *Qissā-ē-Mehr Afrōz* (The story of Mehr Afroz). The first is against wasting time and the second about womens' lives in an upper-class Muslim family. Rashidul Khairi's six novels — *Subāh-ē-Zindagī, Sham-ē-Zindagī, Shab-i-Zindagī, Noha-ē-Zindagī, Fasānā-ē-Zindagī* and *Nālā Zār* — are obviously and crudely didactic. They are not only full of sermonizing but even have ingredients of medicines, recipes for delicacies and patterns for embroidery. The aim is to train a girl to be a paragon of virtue like the main character Naseema.[117]

Bashiruddin's novel *Iqbal Dulhan* — like Khairi's *Nohā-ē-Zindigī* — is about the problem of marrying a second wife, despite an excellent relationship with the first one, in order to have children. This is a theme also touched upon in *Shab-ē-Zindagī* and the message is that the first wife must not be lazy, wasteful, extravagant or improvident because such defects in her are legitimate grounds for a second marriage.[118] Perhaps the most notable imitator of Nazir Ahmed was Rasheed un Nisa (1855-1926), a lady from a respectable Muslim family of Bihar, whose novel *Islāh un Nisā*, written in 1881, is a pioneering work as the author is

116 Mushirul Hasan, *A Moral Reckoning,* p. 160.

117 Rashidul Khairi, *Majmū'ā Rāshidul Khairī* [The collected works of Khairi] Comp. Raziqul Khairi (New Delhi: Farid Book Depot, 2005).

118 *Ibid*., pp. 242-45.

the first woman novelist whose purpose was to reform and educate women. She was probably only sixteen years of age when she read *Mirāt ul Urūs*[119] and she explicitly mentions it as a text which reformed many uneducated, spendthrift, disorganized and superstitions women. Nazar Sajjad Haider's novel *Akhtar un Nissā Bēgum* serialized in the journal *Taēhzīb-ē-Niswã* before being published in 1911 as a novel, is also against second marriage and supportive of women's education[120]. There are many other works of this nature — such as Shah Jahan Begam's *Tahzīb un-Niswã wa Tarbiyat al-Īmān* — (The refinement of women and the training for creating faith) which women could read in school or home.

In the Punjab, too, textbooks in Urdu were prepared and distributed by the 'Urdu sub-committee' of the Education Department.[121] For instance, the report of 1892-93 tells us that, 'the Sughar Bivi, or Good House Mother, is taught in the Middle schools, and seems to be a subject in which the girls take much interest'.[122] Books for women were encouraged and the Urdu sub-committee gave annual reports of these additions.

The project of educating women in Urdu was informed with the language ideology of the time. This privileged the standardized, male sociolect over the regional verities, rural sub-varieties and women's language (WL). Nazir Ahmed's ideal Asghari spoke standard Urdu rather than the *Bēgmātī Zubān* (the ladies' language). And Hali has a section on WL

119 Rasheed Un Nisa, *Islāh un Nisā* [The reform of women] (Patna: Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, 2007), p. 222.

120 Nazar Sajjad Haider, *Akhtar un Nisā Bēgum* (ed) Qurratul Ain Hyder (Delhi: Educational Publishing House, 2004).

121 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1891-92* (j. Sine Lahore: Published by Authority Printed the "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1892), p. 100.

122 Edn. Reid, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1892-93* (J. Sine Lahore: Published by Authority Printed the "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1893), p. 72.

in his *Majālis un-Nisā* (the assemblies of women) in which a boy is advised not to use WL.[123]

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi of the *Bihishtī Zēvar* fame also makes WL appear sinful.[124] He narrates with great disapproval how, upon entering an assembly, women either raise their hand to the forehead in salutation or just say '*salām*' (peace). Other respond in the same manner or with traditional blessings: 'may you stay cool' (*thandī rahō*); 'may you live long' (*jītī rahō*); may you live in marital bliss' (*suhāgan rahō*) etc. He condemns these indigenous forms of salutation in favour of the strictly Islamic '*As salām-ō-alaikum* (peace be upon you) and '*wālaikum as-salām'* (peace be upon you too) in response.[125] He also gives a list of words which women pronounce incorrectly and recommends their correct pronunciation in standard Urdu.[126]

Thus, as women learned the formal register of Urdu, they distanced themselves from their Hindu counterparts, country cousins and the kind of women one encounters in the *Rēkhtī*. In a sense, then, the formal *Bēgmātī Zubān* was a product of assumptions and values which marked the boundaries of a modern, Muslimized, female 'self' which excluded more than it included. Thus the process of alienation from Hindus, which was part of the *sharīf* Muslim male consciousness in much of north India, also affected Muslim women.

But, despite the efforts of the social reformers whose works have been given attention earlier and the puritanical ulema who had an even more stringent ideal for a Muslim woman in mind, the ability to read did introduce women to non-religious ideas. After all, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi's two lists of 'useful' and 'harmful' books in his *Bahishtī Zēvar* includes 26 books which he condemns and these are not only novels — among which the only one he approves of is *Taubat*

123 Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars,* p. 43.

124 *Ibid*., p. 69.

125 Ashraf Ali Thanvi, *Bahishtī Zēvar,* Part 6 [The Ornaments of Paradise] (Karachi: Kutub Khana Ashrafia, n.d.), p. 18.

126 *Ibid*., pp. 51-52.

un Nusūh — but also newspapers and, of course, all poetry and drama. There are also religious works which he disapproves because they belong to the tradition of folk Islam or contain weak traditions. But, the press was churning out so much literature that it was always possible for women to read these works. Hence, for people like Thanvi, as Barbara Metcalf remarks, 'Urdu, as a source of knowledge, was clearly to his mind a mixed blessing'.[127] Thus, the oppositional trends of puritanism and religiosity went hand in hand with romanticism and the desire for more liberal values. The personality produced by these contrary streams of ideas was divided, even schizoid in a cultural sense, and often confused. These trends now express themselves in the polarization found in the Muslims of Pakistan and India; in Talibanization on the one hand and the 'burger' or 'yuppie' culture on the other.

In short, both the present-day UP and Punjab were flooded with Urdu books through the education system. Even in the army, a powerful educational institution in its own right, there were instructional manuals in Urdu in the Roman as well as the Perso-Arabic script. For instance, the following pamphlets, all about military training, were written in Urdu: *Qawāid-ē-Chānd Mārī* (500 copies) (rules of target practice); target practice; *Musketry Regulations in Urdū* (500 copies) and *Rifle Exercises in* Urdu (500 copies).[128]

Overall, then, the British spread Urdu in the areas now comprising the areas of U. P and the Punjab through a number of institutions among which the domain of education played a very important role.

127 Barbara D. Metcalf, "Maulānā Ashraf Alī Thānavī and Urdu Literature", In Christopher Shackle (ed.), *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in the Honour of Ralph Russell*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 96.

128 Edn. Reid, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1874-75* (W. R. M. Hdroyd, DPI. Lahore: Printed by W. E Ball, Successor to the Punjab Printing Company, 1876), p. 76.

NOTES

1. After the submission of this article the author's book *From Hindi to Urdu: A Social and Political History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011) was published in which there is also a chapter based on the material presented in this article. (Editor)

2. The list of 'harmful books' is as follows:

All collections of poetic works and books of ghazals; Indar Sabhā, Qissā badr-ē-Munīr; Qissā Shāh Yemen; Dāstān Amīr Hamzā; Gul Bakaolī; Alf Lailā; Naqsh Sulaimānī; Fālnāmā, Qissā Māh Ramzān; Mu'ajzā Āl-ē-Nabī, Chahl Risālā; Vafāt Nāmā Ārāesh-ē-Mehfil; Jang Nāmā Hazrat 'Alī; Jang Nāmā Mohammad Hanif; Tafsīr Surāh Yusuf; Hazār Mas'alā; Hairat ul Fiqā; Guldastā Mē'rāj' Nā't hī Nā't; Dīvān-ē-Lutf; Mirāt ul 'Urus; Bināt un Nā'sh; Mohsināt Ayāmī; all novels and newspapers (Thanvi n.d. part-10: 60-61).

> [The Assembly of Indar; the story of Badr-e-Munir; The Story of the King of Yemen; The Tale of Amir Hamza; The Fragrant Flower (a female name); One Thousand and One Nights; The Mark of Solomon; Writing on Foretelling the future; The Story of the month of Ramazan; The Account of the War of the Revered Ali; The Account of the War of Mohammad Hanif; The Exegesis of the Verse of Joseph; The One Thousand Religious Solutions to Issues; The Perplexity; The Bouquet of the Ascension [of the Prophet of Islam]; Poems and more Poems in Praise of the Prophet of Islam; The Poetic collection of Lutf; The Mirror of the Bride; Daughters of the Bier; The Conferrers of Daily Favours].

Annexure-A-1/11

NB: The sources for these annexures are the education reports of the relevant years of the areas given in the headings.

NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES
Private Schools of the Higher Classes open to Govt. Inspection

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% Urdu	% Hindi	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
863-64 (34 schools)	1392	1228	2620	53.13	46.9	1:0.88
1865-66	6626	4718	11344	58.41	41.6	1:071
1866-67	8515	6558	15073	56.49	43.5	1:0.77
1869-70 (8 schools)	968	723	1691	57.24	42.8	1:0.75
1870-71(10 schools)	1240	1250	2490	49.80	50.2	1:1.01
1871-72 (12 schools)	1415	938	2353	60.14	39.9	1:0.66
Totals:	**20156**	**15415**	**35571**	**56.66**	**43.3**	

Annexure-A-2/11

OUDH
Private Elitist Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% Urdu	% Hindi	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1873-74 (total 05)	1110	352	1462	75.92	24.1	1:0.32
1874-75 (total 05)	1110	352	1462	75.92	24.1	1:032
1875-76 (total 05)	946	265	1211	78.12	21.88	1:0.28
Totals:	**3166**	**969**	**4135**	**76.57**	**23.4**	

Annexure-B-1/11

NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES
Halkabandi Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% (Urdu)	%(Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1856-57	1163	15456	16619	7.00	93.0	1:13.29
1857-58						
1858-59	4878	38001	50626	24.94	75.1	1:7.79
1859-60	12625	51693	62905	17.82	82.2	1:4.09
1860-61	11212	62014	77117	19.58	80.4	1:5.53
1861-62	15103	71628	90963	21.26	78.7	1:4.74
1862-63	19335	72725	92411	21.30	78.7	1:3.76
1863-64	19686	69567	89061	21.89	78.1	1:3.53
1864-65	19494	70582	87819	19.63	80.4	1:3.62
1865-66	17237	73936	95795	22.82	77.2	1:4.29
1866-67	21859	80968	109078	25.77	74.2	1:3.70
1869-70	28110	76427	104537	26.89	73.1	1:2.72

1870-71	29199	80951	110150	26.51	73.5	1:2.77
Totals:	**199901**	**763948**	**963849**	**20.74**	**79.3**	

Annexure-B-2/11

OUDH
Govt. Village Schools (Primary)

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per% (Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1868-69	8767	9102	17869	49.06	50.9	1:1.04
1869-70	10519	10923	21442	49.06	50.9	1:1.04
1870-71	9779	13247	23026	42.47	57.5	1:1.35
1871-72	16459	15049	31508	52.24	47.8	1:0.91
1872-73	17346	17428	34774	49.88	50.1	1:1.00
1873-74	18708	18284	36992	50.57	49.4	1:0.98
1874-75	19678	20823	40501	48.59	51.4	1:1.06
1875-76	20482	24361	44843	45.67	54.3	1:1.19
Totals:	**121738**	**129217**	**250955**	**48.51**	**51.5**	

Annexure-B-3/11

PUNJAB
Govt. Village Schools/Govt. Lower Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per% (Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1860-61 (V)	27442	258	27700	99.07	0.9	1:0.01
1861-62 (V)	33414	5874	39288	85.05	15.0	1:0.18
1872-73 (L)	44659	4103 (N) 1522 (M	50284	88.81	11.2	1:0.13
1873-74 (L)	48350	5231	53581	90.24	9.8	1:0.11
1874-75 (L)	59427	3633 (N) 1847 (M)	64907	91.56	8.4	1:0.09
1877-78 (L)	57168	2860	60028	95.24	9.1	1:0.05
1878-79 (L)	51113	3406	54519	93.75	10.1	1:0.07
1879-80 (P)	77833	8201	86034	90.47	6.4	1:0.11
1881-82 (P)	86072	9039	95111	90.50	5.8	1:0.11
1882-83 (P)	90043	9850	99893	90.14	5.5	1:0.11
1883-84 (P)	97446	10684	108130	90.12	5.1	1:0.11
Totals:	**672967**	**55403**	**739475**	**91.01**	**7.5**	

Annexure-C/11

NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES
Tahsili Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% (Urdu)	%(Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1856-57	2593	5152	7745	33.48	66.5	1:1.9
1857-58						
1858-59	4766	7951	12717	37.48	62.5	1:1.67
1859-60	8596	13296	21892	39.27	60.7	1:1.55

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% (Urdu)	%(Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1860-61	5835	12176	18011	32.40	67.6	1:2.09
1861-62	5263	9167	14430	36.47	63.5	1:174
1862-63	5542	9153	14695	37.71	62.3	1:165
1863-64	5895	9036	14931	39.48	60.5	1:1.53
1864-65	7105	9987	17092	41.57	58.4	1:1.41
1865-66	7803	10901	18704	41.72	58.3	1:1.40
1866-67	8008	11995	20003	40.03	60.0	1:1.50
1869-70	5547	11881	17428	31.83	68.2	1:2.14
1870-71	3790	9678	13468	28.14	71.9	1:2.55
1871-72	4015	8360	12375	32.44	67.6	1:2.08
Totals:	**74758**	**128733**	**203491**	**36.74**	**63.3**	

Annexure-D-1/11

NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES
Govt. Middle Schools (which teach in English)

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% Urdu	% Hindi	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1863-64	1013	377	1390	72.88	27.1	1:0.4
1864-65	1496	832	2328	64.26	35.7	1:0.6
1866-67	348	0	348	100.00	0.0	1:0.0
1869-70	767	231	998	76.85	23.1	1:0.3
1870-71	716	190	906	79.03	21.0	1:0.3
1871-72	748	170	918	81.48	18.5	1:0.2
Totals:	**5088**	**1800**	**6888**	**73.87**	**26.1**	

Annexure-D-2/11

OUDH
Govt. Middle Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per% (Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1868-69 (48 schools)	4961	2973	7934	62.53	37.5	1:0.60
1869-70	1611	686	2297	70.13	29.9	1:0.43
1870-71	4495	2049	6544	68.69	31.3	1:0.46
1871-72	5684	2074	7758	73.27	26.7	1:0.36
1872-73	7132	3129	10261	69.51	30.5	1:0.44
1873-74	7096	3029	10125	70.08	29.9	1:0.43
1874-75 (20 schools)	1998	268	2266	88.17	11.8	1:0.13
1875-75 (Venoe Town schools)	3193	1778	4971	64.23	35.8	1:0.56
1875-76 (Anglo Vernoe)	1780	330	2110	84.36	15.6	1:0.19
1875-76 (Verroc)	3424	1853	5277	64.89	35.1	1:0.54
Totals:	**41374**	**18169**	**59543**	**69.49**	**30.5**	

Annexure-D-3/11

OUDH
Govt. Middle School (Superior Zillah Schools)

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per% (Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1868-69	554	183	737	75.17	24.8	1:0.33
1869-70	643	247	890	72.25	27.8	1:0.38
1870-71 (48 schools)	1749	755	2504	69.85	30.2	1:0.43
1871-72 (8 schools & 22 branches)	2130	828	2958	72.01	28.0	1:0.39
1872-73	2313	779	3092	74.81	25.2	1:0.34
1873-74	2331	709	3040	76.68	23.3	1:0.30
1874-75	1495	202	1697	88.10	11.9	1:0.14
1875-76	1517	176	1693	89.60	10.4	1:0.12
Totals:	**12732**	**3879**	**16611**	**76.65**	**23.4**	

Annexure-D-4/11

PUNJAB
Middle Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per%(Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1872-73	10233	958	11191	91.44	8.6	1:0.09
1873-74	12269	2235	14504	84.59	15.4	1:0.18
1874-75	10347	2150	12497	82.80	17.2	1:0.21
1877-78	21893	2480	24373	89.82	10.2	1:0.11
1878-79	20428	2183	22611	90.35	9.7	1:0.11
1879-80	5263	23	5286	99.56	0.4	1:0.00
1880-81	5979	69	6048	98.86	1.1	1:0.01
1881-82	5668	28	5696	99.51	0.5	1:0.00
1882-83	6540	48	6588	99.27	0.7	1:0.01
1883-84	7221	5	7226	99.93	0.1	1:0.00
Totals:	**105841**	**10179**	**116020**	**91.23**	**8.8**	

Annexure-E-1/11

North Western Provinces

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	% Urdu	% Hindi	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1866-67	261	215	476	54.83	45.2	1:0.82
1869-70	943	438	1381	68.28	31.7	1:0.46

1870-71	900	462	1362	66.08	33.9	1:0.51
1871-72	881	472	1353	65.11	34.9	1:0.54
Total	**2985**	**1587**	**4572**	**65.29**	**34.7**	

Annexure-E-2/11

PUNJAB
Govt. High Schools (Superior)

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per%(Hindi)	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1860-61	1847	258	2105	87.74	12.3	1:0.14
1861-62	2028	5874	7902	25.66	74.3	1:2.90
1872-73 (06 schools)	4	0	4	100.00	0.0	1:0.00
1873-74	12	0	12	100.00	0.0	1:0.00
1874-75 (08 schools)	71	0	71	100.00	0.0	1:0.00
1877-78	70	0	70	100.00	0.0	1:0.00
1878-79	46	0	46	100.00	0.0	1:0.00
Totals:	**4078**	**6132**	**10210**	**39.94**	**60.1**	

Annexure-F/11

OUDH
Govt. Female Schools

Year	Urdu	Hindi	Total	Per% (Urdu)	Per% Hindi	Ratio of Urdu to Hindi
1868-69	395	258	653	60.49	39.5	1:0.65
1869-70	1163	5874	7037	16.53	83.5	1:5.05
1870-71	792	587	1379	57.43	42.6	1:0.74
1871-72	1119	815	1934	57.86	42.1	1:0.73
1872-73	1237	802	2039	60.67	39.3	1:5.65
1873-74	1222	847	2069	59.06	40.9	1:0.69
1874-75	1301	658	1959	66.41	33.6	1:0.51
1875-76	1056	843	1899	55.61	44.4	1:0.80
Totals:	**8285**	**10684**	**18969**	**43.68**	**56.3**	