

## CHAPTER IV

## Language, Education and Employment

The question whether Urdu or Hindi has the better claim to be called the mother tongue of these Provinces . . . is not of much practical importance, as the duty of Government is simply to provide instruction in either language, or in both, where it is wanted . . .

*Introduction*

In nineteenth century north India government policies regarding language, education, and employment for the educated had close relationships. The chief value of schooling for most Indians lay in the supposed power of education to open the portals of government service or the legal profession. The educated composed only a tiny fraction of the population, and those educated in English made up only a small fraction of those schooled in the vernaculars. Among educated Indians certain religious and caste groups predominated, and most of these had strong ties with one or another language and script.

Therefore, government language policies giving certain languages and scripts official status had great influence on the aspirations of the educated, particularly those literate in the vernaculars. At the same time, government education policies which encouraged the development of more than one vernacular at the primary and secondary levels helped to create opposing classes with vested interests in the language and script of their choice. Government officials as well as Indians in general regarded the vernaculars as inferior to English as well as to the classical languages from which they derived their scripts and much of their vocabulary. As a result, the vernaculars did not become mediums of instruction in higher education until the 1920s in most institutions.

In much of north India, government policies towards the languages of education and the languages of administration displayed a fair degree of congruence by the 1870s and 1880s. In Bengal, at one end of the spectrum posited in the last chapter, Bengali and the Bengali script dominated the vernacular education system and held the status of official vernacular in the administrative system. In the Punjab, at the other end, Urdu had the same status. In both the Central Provinces and Bihar, Hindi in the Nagari or Kaithi script had achieved a commanding

position in both education and officialdom. Only in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh did the situation show a more ambivalent pattern throughout our period. Here, on the one hand British educational policies generated significant numbers of Indians educated in either Hindi or Urdu, while on the other hand administrative policies favoured Urdu in the Urdu (Persian) script<sup>2</sup> as the official vernacular. These conflicting policies provided one important reason for the greater intensity of the Hindi-Nagari movement in the NWP&O than anywhere else in north India. This chapter and the next, therefore, will focus chiefly on trends and events in this province, with occasional references to other areas.

A detailed study of the geographical and social patterns of language study in both indigenous and government schools reveals some significant facts about the social origins of the Hindi movement. The membership of the most important voluntary association devoted to the advancement of Hindi and Nagari in the nineteenth century NWP&O, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Promotion of Nagari) of Banaras, showed almost identical geographical and social origins (see Chapter V). Similarly, the geographical patterns of vernacular publishing surveyed earlier parallel those of the schools and of the Sabha (see Chapter II). Simply put, in the western NWP and in Oudh, areas more deeply influenced by Muslim rule, Urdu held the dominant position, while in the eastern NWP, an area profoundly affected by the great traditional centres of Hinduism, Allahabad and Banaras, Hindi had greater strength.

Not surprisingly, the heart of the Hindi-Nagari movement lay in the east. Here developed the premier Hindi organizations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively—the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras, founded in 1893, and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (Society for Hindi Literature), founded in 1910. This part of the province experienced the greatest disparity between the rates of social mobilization and assimilation, and consequently the largest differentiation between Hindus and Muslims. Here the equations of Hindi = Hindu and Urdu = Muslim received the greatest emphasis, and here Hindus made the greatest efforts on behalf of the Hindi language and the Nagari script.

*Attitudes Towards the Vernaculars*

The Hindi-Nagari movement did not become important in the NWP&O until the 1860s; the 1840s and 1850s saw no significant agitation even in the eastern heartland. While prose models of highly Sanskritized Khari Boli Hindi existed (see Chapter II), the British educational system in the

province, which had barely begun on the primary and secondary levels by 1850, had not yet widely disseminated this style of Khari Boli through government-patronized schoolbooks. No class of educated Hindi speakers, committed to a style of the Khari Boli continuum which differentiated them from Urdu speakers, had yet arisen. To find statements by Hindus educated in the Sanskrit tradition denying the existence of this new style of Khari Boli, then, should come as no surprise.

In 1847, Dr J. R. Ballantyne, Principal of the English department of Benares College,<sup>1</sup> decided to improve the style of what he termed 'Hindi' written by students of the Sanskrit College (which formed the older part of the institution). His efforts, stimulated by repeated complaints in the College records, took several forms. He ordered exercises to be written in Hindi by some of his students, then proposed that they should meet with the Hindi pandit for an hour a week, and finally losing his patience with the apathy and resistance he encountered, directed them to write an essay on the following question: 'Why do you despise the culture of the language which you speak every day of your lives, of the only language which your mothers and sisters understand?'<sup>2</sup> His students, taken by surprise, responded with an address, asking him why he assumed they had such contempt for their vernacular. A dialogue ensued which made clear that the young men had neither a clear conception of what Ballantyne meant by Hindi nor any sense of loyalty to it.

As the reply of their spokesman showed, the students had no awareness of Hindi in the sense of a standardized literary dialect:

We do not clearly understand what you Europeans mean by the term Hindi, for there are hundreds of dialects, all in our opinion equally entitled to the name, and there is here no standard as there is in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup>

Nor did they have a keen sense of the origins of the various words they used in their speech:

If the purity of Hindi is to consist in its exclusion of Mussulman [Muslim] words, we shall require to study Persian and Arabic in order to ascertain which of the words we are in the habit of issuing every day, is Arabic or Persian, and which is Hindi.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, they had no sense of attachment to Ballantyne's 'Hindi' or in other words, they accepted the equation Urdu = Hindu + Muslim:

... what you call the Hindi will eventually merge in some future modification of the Oordoo [Urdu], nor do we see any great cause of regret in this prospect.<sup>5</sup>

These attitudes have particular significance when we realize that less

than five decades later, Hindu students at the same college founded the Nagari Pracharini Sabha to promote Hindi and the Nagari script. Thus at the midpoint of the century, no Hindi movement existed in the very city which later became its most important centre. In terms of our theoretical framework, Hindi speakers at this time constituted an ethnic group whose members gave little or no subjective importance to their objective distinctness. By the time of the founding of the Sabha, however, Hindi speakers had begun to show some of the characteristics of a community—awareness of a common identity, and attempts to define boundaries.<sup>8</sup>

Dr Ballantyne's reaction to the views of his students demonstrated his ardent support of Hindi. He urged them to take up the task of forming the 'national language' and to create a standard literature using a uniform system of grammar and spelling. If the pandits of Banaras valued the reputation of their city, he added, they should exert themselves to make its dialect the standard for all India by writing books 'which should attract the attention and form the taste of all their fellow countrymen'.<sup>9</sup> He made a beginning himself, arranging for the translation of several works from Sanskrit into Hindi, but received little encouragement. In response to a request for aid, the Government of the NWP&O remarked that if Hindi meant a language which admitted only Sanskrit words, then its improvement would always deserve much less attention than that of Urdu.<sup>10</sup> Ballantyne's almost prophetic vision prevailed in the end, however, for Banaras eventually became the leading centre of Hindi publication, and in 1900 the provincial government began to aid the literary efforts of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha with an annual grant.<sup>11</sup>

Although Urdu's position as court language meant greater status than Hindi, neither vernacular compared favourably with the classical languages of Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit in the eyes of many Indians. Ballantyne noted in 1849 that his students grudged the time spent in learning Urdu because they could expect praise at home for learning classical languages or English, but not for Urdu.<sup>12</sup> In 1864 an educational official of the NWP cited the testimony of Syed Ahmed Khan, an eminent scholar and administrator, that many of his fellow Muslim scholars strongly disliked reading Urdu, while three years later an Indian educational official also from the NWP wrote that his educated countrymen did not like having Urdu taught to their sons.<sup>13</sup> Shiva Prasad, a Joint Inspector of the Department of Public Instruction of the NWP, summed up a view of the vernaculars that persists even today in India.<sup>14</sup>

Sanskrit and Arabic, he argued, had the same relationship to Hindi and Urdu that Greek and Latin had to English. When students learned Sanskrit and Arabic, their knowledge of the vernaculars became more 'sound and polished'.<sup>15</sup>

British government officials shared this low opinion of the vernaculars as mediums for higher education or literature. In 1867, for example, the British Indian Association of the North-Western Provinces<sup>16</sup> petitioned the Viceroy, pleading for the use of 'the Vernacular' (meaning Urdu) in higher education. The Association asked for the creation of either a Vernacular Department for the University of Calcutta or of an independent Vernacular University for the NWP.<sup>17</sup> The petitioners clearly indicated that they did not desire a return to the 'effete arts and sciences' of Oriental languages, but rather sought modern content through a vernacular medium.<sup>18</sup> The Government of India replied that while some progress had been made in enriching the vernaculars, chiefly through translations of European works, they still lacked sufficient materials to be suitable for higher education. Hence, for some time to come Indians could acquire a liberal education in European science and literature only through English. Despite this attitude, however, the Government of India did aid the enrichment of the vernaculars making yearly grants to the provincial governments for the encouragement of appropriate literature; the purchase of vernacular works by the provincial education departments served the same end.<sup>19</sup>

In the Punjab the vernaculars fared somewhat better in higher education, due largely to the determined efforts of Lieutenant-Governor (1865-1870) Donald McLeod.<sup>20</sup> He patronized the Anjuman-i-Panjab, an organization founded in 1865 to revive Oriental learning and to spread useful knowledge to all classes of Indians through the vernaculars. The founder of the Anjuman, Dr G. W. Leitner, hired by McLeod to be the Principal of Lahore Government College, soon announced the chief goal of the organization—the foundation of an Oriental university.<sup>21</sup> The Anjuman, supported by McLeod, proposed a curriculum which emphasized the classical languages of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, assumed instruction in the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab (Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi), and called for English language training only as a final addition. In 1870 Punjab University College came into being; its most important division, the Oriental College, embodied the aims of the Anjuman. The vernacular languages had become mediums of higher education in the Punjab.<sup>22</sup>

Within two decades, however, the temporary surge of 'Orientalism'

in the Punjab had come to an end. Despite the elevation of Punjab University College, an affiliate of the University of Calcutta, to Punjab University, an independent degree-granting institution, in 1882, the vernacular languages lost out to English even in the Oriental College. Both British and Indian attitudes played a role in this advancement of English. British educational officials had long opposed the use of vernaculars in higher education, and when Sir Charles Aitchison<sup>23</sup> became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1881, they acquired a powerful new ally. Aitchison emphasized the importance of primary education and did not consider the vernaculars fit mediums for higher education. Many English-educated Indians in the Punjab also opposed a vernacular-medium Oriental university which they believed would handicap them in the competition for the most prestigious (and English-requiring) government positions. In 1880 a student revolt took place at Punjab University College, centred around the same issue, and the vernacular press became a forum for the question of the proper nature of the provincial university. By the end of the decade, the vernaculars had lost their place, even in the Oriental College. An ironic twist was the public declaration in 1888 by Dr M. Aurel Stein, Leitner's successor as Registrar of Punjab University, that the study of India's sacred texts could best be accomplished through the medium of English!<sup>24</sup>

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the founding of the University of Allahabad in 1887, the only university in the province until the creation of Banaras Hindu University in 1916, brought no change in the position of the vernaculars. University officials, both British and Indian, did not consider Urdu and Hindi worthy enough to merit inclusion in regular degree courses as subjects in their own right until 1923,<sup>25</sup> and never contemplated their use as mediums of instruction. A critic of this policy pointed out that even the University of Calcutta allowed candidates to choose Hindi as a second language in the Entrance Examination.<sup>26</sup>

Only two institutions of higher learning in the province used either of the vernaculars as a medium of instruction or subject of study before the twentieth century. The Oriental Department of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, founded in 1875 by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, used Urdu as the medium of instruction. (The enrolment of this division equalled only a small fraction of that in the English Department).<sup>27</sup> Central Hindu College, founded in Banaras in 1898, included Hindi (along with Sanskrit and English) in the curriculum.<sup>28</sup> The vernaculars did poorly in higher education not only because of British

opposition, but also because of widespread sentiment among educated Indians that, as Shiva Prasad declared, 'English being the language of our rulers, and having all its advantages attached to it, is . . . the means of all improvement and elevation'.<sup>29</sup> Clearly, those who wished to attach value to the symbols of either Hindi or Urdu had to contend with attitudes that denigrated the vernaculars, attitudes that persist even today.

#### *Indigenous Schools in the North-Western Provinces*

The vernaculars fared better in the indigenous schools of the province. In the mid-nineteenth century, when British educational efforts had barely begun, those who learned Arabic, Persian, Hindi or Sanskrit, and a variety of other subjects, studied for the most part in these institutions. One of the earliest pictures of their nature comes from a mid-1840s district by district survey of the provincial government carried out with an eye to establishing a large-scale primary education system. Although suffering from a number of faults,<sup>30</sup> the survey nonetheless showed a consistent picture of the linguistic and social elements of indigenous schools.

One of the most thoroughly researched districts, Agra, in the western NWP, presented features of considerable significance for understanding the origins of the Hindi movement and the opposing forces. The author of the report for this district, C. C. Fink, like his colleagues in other districts, divided indigenous schools into four categories: Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi. Hindi schools (128) outnumbered all the rest put together. Persian schools (85) came next, while Sanskrit (6) and Arabic (1) ran a distant third and fourth.<sup>31</sup> Each category of schools displayed distinct social configurations; both teachers and pupils came from certain definite religious or caste groups. Each category also exhibited striking differences in the aspirations of its students, and in their rural or urban origins.

The Hindi schools usually depended on whole communities or large sections of communities for their support, and their teachers received less remuneration than their counterparts in Persian schools. Those Hindi teachers who were Brahmans usually added to their income by also acting as priests. Fink believed that the lower income of teachers in Hindi schools made them more open to accepting the guidance and assistance of the government, noting that proportionately many more of these schools than Persian schools used government-supplied texts. While nearly a quarter (30) of the Hindi schools included Sanskrit<sup>32</sup> as

part of their curriculum, the great majority taught simple arithmetic, the keeping of agricultural or commercial accounts, and the reading and writing of the Devanagari script along with its cursive variants Kaithi and Mahajani. Only a small minority of the Hindi schools (18) were located in Agra city, and only a few of the 130 teachers (14 Kayasths and 1 Rajputs) were not Brahmans. (See Table 6). Brahmans (510), Baniyas (538), and Rajputs (151) composed the bulk of the 1406 students, while Kayasths (59), Muslims (20), and other Hindus of various castes (128) made up the rest. (See Table 7). Most of the students in these schools aspired only to humble occupations such as being a shopkeeper or a *patwāri* (keeper of village land records). In sum, in Hindi schools mostly Brahman teachers taught arithmetic and writing chiefly to Brahmans, Baniyas, and Rajputs who lived in villages and hoped for modest local positions.<sup>33</sup>

The Persian schools described in the report usually depended on individual heads of families for support, and their teachers generally received more compensation than their Hindi counterparts. The curriculum of these schools laid special emphasis on various forms of correspondence, which Fink considered a reflection of the days of Muslim rule when the courts used Persian for their business, and the higher classes of society used the same language for their private correspondence. The deficiencies of the teachers led them to translate the daily lessons to their pupils verbatim without any regard for the idiom of Urdu, observed Fink, which accounted for 'the barbarous application of Persian idiom to the Urdu language' found in court papers.<sup>34</sup> The study of Persian, continued his report, derived its importance to the clientele of these schools from the use of Urdu as the court language, since people wrongly believed that no one could learn Urdu without knowing Persian.<sup>35</sup>

The majority of the Persian schools (53) were located in Agra city, and the great majority of their teachers were Muslims (75) while the rest were Kayasths (10). Of the 740 students, a little more than half were Muslims (393), a little over a quarter Kayasths (195), while the remainder consisted of Brahmans (46), Baniyas (39), Rajputs (37), and other Hindus (30). Students in Persian schools usually looked to government service to earn their living and took longer to complete their studies than students in Hindi schools. In short, in Persian schools mainly Muslim teachers taught Persian chiefly to Muslims and Kayasths who usually lived in cities and contemplated government service careers.<sup>36</sup>

TABLE 6  
Teachers in Persian and Hindi Schools of Agra District c. 1845

	Persian Schools	Hindi Schools	Total
Muslims	75 (100%) [88%]	—	75 (100%) [35%]
Kayasths	10 (41.5%) [12%]	14 (58.5%) [11%]	24 (100%) [11%]
Brahmans	—	115 (100%) [88.5%]	115 (100%) [53.5%]
Baniyas	—	—	—
Rajputs	—	1 (100%) [1%]	1 (100%) [0.5%]
Others	—	—	—
Total	85 (40%) [100%]	130 (60%) [100.5%]	215 (100%) [100%]

Note: All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.5%. All figures have been compiled from the *NWP&O Education Report 1844-45*, Appendix I.

TABLE 7  
Students in Persian and Hindi Schools of Agra District c. 1845

	Persian Schools	Hindi Schools	Total
Muslims	393 (95%) [53%]	20 (5%) [1.5%]	413 (100%) [19%]
Kayasths	195 (77%) [26.5%]	59 (23%) [4%]	254 (100%) [12%]
Brahmans	46 (8.5%) [6%]	510 (91.5%) [36.5%]	556 (100%) [26%]
Baniyas	39 (7%) [5.5%]	538 (93%) [38.5%]	577 (100%) [27%]
Rajputs	37 (19.5%) [5%]	151 (80.5%) [11%]	188 (100%) [9%]
Others	30 (19%) [4%]	128 (81%) [9%]	158 (100%) [7.5%]
Total	740 (34.5%) [100%]	1406 (65.5%) [100.5%]	2146 (100%) [100.5%]

Note: All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.5%. All figures have been compiled from the *NWP&O Education Report 1844-45*, Appendix I.

If one compares the statistics for Hindi and Persian schools (see Tables 6 and 7) several interesting patterns emerge. No Muslim teachers taught in Hindi schools and only a tiny fraction of all Muslim students (5 per cent) studied in Hindi schools. No non-Kayasth Hindus taught in Persian schools, and only a small portion of non-Kayasth Hindu students (10 per cent) studied in Persian schools. Although the proportion of Kayasth teachers in Hindi schools (59 per cent) vis-a-vis Persian schools (41 per cent) almost exactly equalled the ratio of Hindi (60 per cent) to Persian (40 per cent) schools, the large majority of Kayasth students (77 per cent) studied in Persian schools.

In district after district the pattern repeated itself: Muslims and Kayasths dominated the Persian schools, while non-Kayasth Hindus, especially Brahmans, Baniyas and Rajputs dominated the Hindi schools. The social composition of the indigenous schools clearly showed that the equation Urdu (or Persian) = Hindu + Muslim held good, but only for certain Hindus, while the equation Hindi = Hindu + Muslim had less validity, true for many Hindus but only for a insignificant minority of Muslims. This general picture remained valid for the rest of the century among educated Hindus and Muslims in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.<sup>37</sup>

Sanskrit and Arabic schools reflected the same features which appeared in their more popular counterparts and in the province as a whole the former outnumbered the latter. Fink reported six purely Sanskrit schools in Agra district, three in the city and three in villages. All of the teachers were Brahmans, of whom only one was paid. The others supported themselves by copying almanacs, reciting scriptures, and performing other priestly duties. Of the 71 students who attended these schools, all but 2 were Brahmans who intended to become village priests. Sanskrit schools in other districts showed similar characteristics: teachers and students were almost always Brahmans.<sup>38</sup> Though Fink wrote nothing about the solitary Arabic school in his district, the comments of investigators in other districts clearly indicated that teachers and students in Arabic schools were almost always Muslims.<sup>39</sup>

#### *Government Schools in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*

In the NWP the creation of the government educational system began at the top. First came Benares Sanskrit College in 1772, followed by Agra College in 1823, Bareilly College in 1837, and Roorkee College in 1847.<sup>40</sup> Delhi College, founded in 1792, remained part of the system of higher education in the province until 1857, and several private colleges

had come into existence before 1857 as well.<sup>41</sup> Government-initiated primary and secondary education did not begin until the 1840s under the vigorous leadership of Lieutenant-Governor James Thomason who envisioned creating a system based on the already existing indigenous schools.<sup>42</sup> By 1860 a network of *halkabandī* schools (village institutions supported by an educational cess on the land revenue) and *tabṣīlī* schools (similar institutions located at the headquarters of *tabṣīls*, revenue divisions) had spread across every district of the NWP and tens of thousands of students were attending classes.<sup>43</sup> In Oudh, which first came under direct British rule in 1856, the rebellion of 1857 and its aftermath prevented settled administration until 1859, and the government educational system did not develop until 1863, when a system including 10 *zilā* (district) schools, 34 *tabṣīlī* schools, and Canning College in Lucknow was sanctioned. Within five years, more than 30,000 students were studying in schools managed or inspected by the government.<sup>44</sup>

In the North-Western Provinces as well as Oudh, the curriculum in primary and secondary schools included from the beginning either or both of Hindi and Urdu, along with other languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. Government education statistics from the 1860s reveal several significant aspects of the varying popularity of these languages in different regions of the province and the social origins of those who studied them. In the NWP (see Table 8) the majority of students studied Hindu-heritage languages, a large minority Islamic-heritage languages,<sup>45</sup> and a very small minority English. In Oudh the proportions differed: the majority of students studied Islamic-heritage languages, a large minority Hindu-heritage languages, and a small minority English. The greater popularity of Islamic-heritage languages in Oudh—especially Persian—undoubtedly stemmed from the recently-ended period of Muslim rule. The prestige of Persian remained high to the 1890s. In 1881 the Educational Department had to admit this language into the curriculum of middle class schools to avoid a disastrous drop in attendance, and in 1887 an official reported that 'the irrepressible mania for the study of Persian' had only recently begun to abate.<sup>46</sup>

Other educational statistics from the NWP showed a definite correlation between urban residence and the study of Islamic-heritage languages on the one hand, and rural residence and the study of Hindu-heritage languages on the other. (See Table 9.) In *halkabandī* schools, usually located in villages, the overwhelming majority of students took

TABLE 8  
Numbers of Students in Language Classes in Different Regions of  
the NWP in Schools of All Levels in 1860

Region	English	Islamic- Heritage	Hindu- Heritage	Other	Total
West NWP	997 [1.7 %]	32,043 [53.9 %]	26,417 [44.4 %]	—	59,457 [100.0 %]
Central NWP	1,395 [2.8 %]	9,544 [19.1 %]	39,052 [78.1 %]	—	49,991 [100.0 %]
East NWP	1,279 [3.1 %]	10,887 [26.6 %]	28,700 [70.2 %]	34 [0.1 %]	40,900 [100.0 %]
Other	379 [2.8 %]	5,222 [37.9 %]	7,665 [55.7 %]	496 [3.6 %]	13,762 [100.0 %]
TOTAL	4,050 [2.5 %]	57,696 [35.2 %]	101,834 [62.1 %]	530 [0.3 %]	164,110 [100.1 %]

*Note:* All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1%. *West NWP* = the 1st Educational Circle, i.e., the districts of Aligarh, Bijnor, Budaun, Bulandshahr, Dehra Dun, Meerut, Moradabad, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Kumaun and Garhwal. *Central NWP* = the 2nd Educational Circle, i.e., the districts of Agra, Etah, Etawah, Farrukabad, Hamirpur, Jalaun, Jhansi, Kanpur, Mainpuri and Mathura. *East NWP* = the 3rd Educational Circle, i.e., the districts of Allahabad, Azamgarh, Banda, Banaras, Fatehpur, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur and Mirzapur. *Other* = the 4th Educational Circle, i.e., various districts in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories and in Ajmer-Merwara, all later detached from the NWP. *Other* for languages includes Bengali, Marathi and Latin. All figures have been compiled from the *NWP Education Report 1859-60*, Appendix A, 2-62. Islamic-heritage languages include Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and Koran schools. Hindu-heritage languages include Hindi, Sanskrit and Hindi taught in Kaithi and other cursive forms of the Nagari. The figures in this table include both schools directly managed by the government and those only inspected by the government.

Hindi or Sanskrit. In *tabṣīlī* schools, usually located in small towns, students of Hindu-heritage languages became a smaller majority while those studying Islamic-heritage languages became a larger minority. In the four government colleges, all located in medium-sized or large cities, almost half the pupils studied English, a language of little importance in the lower-level institutions. A large minority studied Islamic-heritage languages, and a small minority Hindu-heritage languages.<sup>47</sup>

TABLE 9

Numbers of Students in Language Classes in Different Levels of Schools  
in the North-Western Provinces in 1860

Level of School	English	Islamic-Heritage	Hindu-Heritage	Total
Halkabandī	4 [0.1%]	9,296 [14.1%]	56,791 [85.9%]	66,091 [100.1%]
Tahsīlī	53 [0.3%]	6,167 [35.7%]	11,074 [64.0%]	17,294 [100.0%]
Colleges	1,011 [49.4%]	702 [34.3%]	334 [16.3%]	2,047 [100.0%]
TOTAL	1,068 [1.3%]	16,165 [18.9%]	68,199 [79.8%]	85,432 [100.0%]

Note: All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1%. Note that unlike the preceding table, this table includes only institutions under the direct management of the government. The four government colleges were located at Agra, Banaras, Bareilly and Roorkee. All figures were compiled from the *NWP Education Report, 1859-60, Appendix A, 2-62*.

Writing in 1874, Sir John Strachey, the Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP, testified to this state of affairs when he remarked that the higher one went in the educational system, the greater the number of boys learning English and Urdu, and the smaller the number learning English and Hindi. From this he inferred that the lower classes, especially in the villages, spoke mostly Hindi while Urdu held sway in the towns, and had 'greater vogue' among the more cultivated classes.<sup>48</sup> Although Strachey oversimplified matters, since the rural masses usually spoke one of the regional standards of Hindi and not Sanskritized Khari Boli Hindi (see Chapter I), he accurately recognized the superiority of Urdu over Hindi in the educational system.

Parallel educational statistics from Oudh also showed the same correlation between the level of education and the study of different languages. (See Table 10.) Progression up the educational ladder from lower to middle to higher class schools and to Canning College, as in the NWP, meant not only residing in an increasingly urbanized environment, but also taking a greater proportion of English and Islamic-heritage languages. In short, in both provinces the study of Hindu-heritage languages diminished as years of schooling increased. In other words, these statistics suggest that in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, assimilation into Islamic-heritage languages had kept pace with social mobilization.

TABLE 10

Numbers of Students in Language Classes in Different Levels of Schools  
in the Province of Oudh in 1869

Level of School	English	Islamic-Heritage	Hindu-Heritage	Total
Lower Class	—	10,639 [53.0%]	9,434 [47.0%]	20,073 [100.0%]
Middle Class	2,093 [17.8%]	6,642 [56.6%]	3,001 [25.6%]	17,736 [100.0%]
Higher Class	1,011 [26.3%]	702 [51.8%]	334 [21.9%]	2,047 [100.0%]
Canning College	492 [41.0%]	393 [49.4%]	116 [9.7%]	1,201 [100.1%]
TOTAL	1,068 [8.6%]	16,165 [54.0%]	68,199 [37.4%]	85,432 [100.0%]

Note: All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1%. Note that like the preceding table, this table includes only institutions under the direct management of the government, except for Canning College, which was a private institution aided by government. The figures for Canning College include both Canning College and the private school of higher class of the same name which formed an integral part of the college. All figures were compiled from the *Oudh Educ Rpt 1868-9, Appendix A*. This report was the first one available in the India Office Library and Records; earlier reports could not be found.

Perhaps the most important fact emerging from these educational statistics is the uneven regional distribution of language study patterns. In both Oudh (Table 10) and the western NWP (Table 8) a majority of students took Islamic-heritage languages and a large minority Hindu-heritage languages. In both these areas Muslim influence had been deeper, and in Oudh British rule had begun later than anywhere else in the two provinces. In the central and eastern parts of the NWP, on the other hand, very large majorities studied Hindu-heritage languages and modest minorities Islamic-heritage languages. In the easternmost part of the NWP—Banaras and several districts to the north—British rule had commenced a quarter-century earlier (1775) than elsewhere. Moreover, Banaras had long been one of the major centres of Hinduism. These historical and religious considerations go far to explain the patterns of language study above, and the parallel patterns of vernacular publishing (see Chapter II). In view of all this, the concentration of the

Hindi movement in the eastern part of the province with first Banaras and later Allahabad as the two major centres seems almost inevitable.

### *The Language of School Textbooks*

When Fink wrote his report on indigenous schools in 1845, he included an analysis of the relationship of Urdu and Hindi which echoed the observations of Gilchrist half a century earlier (see Chapter I) and foreshadowed a difficulty which plagued education officials for decades to come. Fink argued that:

... the Urdu and Hindee are distinct languages, because although they agree in grammatical construction, they differ in almost every other respect; the Urdu deriving all its vocables, figures of speech, and rules of versification, and some of its rules of syntax, from the Persian, and the Hindee its, from the Sanscrit.<sup>49</sup>

He predicted that either the two would blend into one, or that one of them would fall into disuse—better Urdu than Hindi, since fewer people used the former. With commendable concern but with considerable naivety, he recommended that the government should attempt to destroy the distinction between Hindi and Urdu and strive to create a 'universal language' spoken and understood equally well by the ignorant and the learned. Such a language, he opined, would facilitate the transmission of education from the higher to the lower classes. The sooner this occurred the better, since at present the government had to provide two books on every subject for the people, one in Hindi and one in Urdu.<sup>50</sup>

Fink's remarks pointed directly to a basic contradiction in British language policy in education. On the one hand, the curriculum for government primary and secondary schools included both Urdu and Hindi from the very beginning in the NWP&O.<sup>51</sup> (In the Punjab, by way of contrast, the primary curriculum did not include Hindi until 1917.)<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, as we have seen, the great majority of British officials regarded Hindi as an artificially created language and the increasing divergence of Hindi and Urdu as pernicious. By recognizing Hindi as a medium of instruction on the primary and secondary levels, the government gave an enormous impetus to a process of differentiation between Urdu and Hindi that might otherwise have taken many decades longer.

Since the schools needed textbooks in both Hindi and Urdu, the government naturally turned to educated Hindus and Muslims to write them. These groups, usually designated as pandits and *maulvis* in contemporary references, by all accounts laboured mightily to Sanskritize Hindi and Persianize Urdu. In some cases we would be more

accurate in saying that the pandits Sanskritized Khari Boli Urdu, for Hindu scholars 'translated' more than one textbook from the Urdu.<sup>53</sup> In any case they already had models of Sanskritized Hindi (see Chapter II) whether translating or writing *de novo*. Once the process of creating textbooks had begun in earnest, the government proved unable to reverse the trend. In short, the very government whose officials decried the existence of Hindi had done a great deal to nourish this medium.

J. C. Nesfield, Director of Public Instruction in Oudh, made one of the most eloquent statements of the British dilemma in an 1876 report. He asserted that while Oudh had two different scripts, the Persian (Urdu) and the Nagari, the people spoke only one language, Urdu. While Urdu schoolbooks contained an accurate version of the vernacular, the Hindi texts contained something quite different.

These books, instead of using Hindustani [Urdu] words to express common objects and ideas, confine themselves to words of Sanskrit origin, which may have been common once, but are now obsolete and have been so for several centuries. The Hindustani language can borrow from two different sources, Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit. *But instead of encouraging and attempting to widen the common element, we have been doing our utmost to widen the differences, and to create, under the name of Hindi, a language which no one speaks, and which no one, unless he has been specially educated, can interpret. . . . This is the weakest point in our educational policy. How we have been drawn into it, it is hard to say. Possibly our action may to some extent be ascribed to the example set in the North-Western Provinces and elsewhere; possibly we have been too ready to fall into the groove prepared for us by pandits and pedants.* The antagonism of *maulvis* and pandits, each endeavouring to supersede the vernacular currency with words coined from their respective mints, has, no doubt, done much to widen the breach between Urdu and Hindi, and to give rise to the false impression that they are two different languages.<sup>54</sup>

Though Nesfield seemed unaware of the regional standard Avadhi, undoubtedly far more widely spoken by the rural masses of Oudh than Urdu, he had accurately diagnosed the increasing differentiation between the two forms of Khari Boli.

Highly Sanskritized Hindi schoolbooks had already existed for several decades when Nesfield wrote. One of the most popular of these, *Bāl-Bodh* [*Lessons for Children*] first appeared in 1852 and went through twelve editions in the next thirty years.<sup>55</sup> The report of the Hunter (Indian Education) Commission, issued in 1883, criticized the Hindi readers then in use. As a result, Rama Shankar Misra, a Hindi scholar, was commissioned to draw up a new series which remained in use until 1895 when yet another series created by the Allahabad Literary



Institute replaced Misra's. This series too soon required revision on the basis of widespread complaints against its Sanskritized Hindi and resulting unintelligibility to students. In the meantime Misra's books regained their old position only to be once again supplanted in 1901 by the Institute's revised series. Misra protested and learned that the Hindi Sub-Committee of the Provincial Text-Book Committee considered his style objectionable. The Committee noted that he used Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit words where simpler everyday expressions would have sufficed, and that he often employed a grotesque mixture of Persian and Sanskrit words in the same phrase.<sup>56</sup>

The mélange of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit which filled Misra's schoolbooks suggests that he may have been trying to comply with the government's policy of a 'common language' for elementary texts. This policy, enunciated by the government of the NWP in 1876, rested on the assumption that the educated classes spoke the same language, whether written in the Persian (Urdu) or in the Nagari script. The test of a proper elementary schoolbook, therefore, was that the contents could be printed 'without violence' in either script.<sup>57</sup> The provincial government reaffirmed the policy of preceding administrations in 1903, stating that only 'the language of every-day life . . . free alike from the peculiarities of dialects and the elaborations of the literary style', and written in either script, should be used for elementary texts.<sup>58</sup> By 'the language of every-day life' the government clearly did not mean to advocate the regional standards of language spoken by the overwhelming mass of the people, but rather a style of Khari Boli which did not employ excessive numbers of either Persian and Arabic or Sanskrit words. Something like the style of Devki Nandan Khatri (see Chapter II) was wanted, a style not at either extreme of the Khari Boli spectrum.

Within a decade, however, increasingly irreconcilable differences between Urdu and Hindi supporters forced the government to retreat from this principle. In 1907 the Provincial Text-Book Committee issued a fresh set of readers, calculated to better meet the official mandate for 'the common language'. A storm of criticism ensued, for the new style satisfied neither side; both condemned it as too poor and too bald to meet the needs of those students planning to continue their studies beyond the primary level. Critics derided the simplicity of the new subject matter as 'silly or offensive or useless'.<sup>59</sup>

A year later a joint committee of the Hindi and Urdu Sub-Committees met to review the many criticisms and to once again revise the readers. At this point the provincial government decided to review

the whole question of the suitability of the primary education programme for the rural population, and the matter of the textbooks passed into the hands of a special Rural Education Committee in 1910. The proceedings of the new committee revealed a fundamental division of opinion. The majority passed a resolution to introduce simple passages in 'distinctive Urdu and Hindi' in the higher level of primary readers while retaining the lessons in 'the common language' on in the lower level. The minority, all Muslims, strongly dissented and refused to admit any need to differentiate the language to be used by Urdu and Hindi students even on the graduate level. After reviewing the proceedings, the government directed the committee not to compromise the principle of a common language and to rescind the resolution. Such discords made further progress impossible, and the committee never met again.<sup>60</sup>

In 1913 the whole matter came up once more. The government of the United Provinces<sup>61</sup> appointed an advisory Committee on Primary Education to consider a wide range of questions, among them the proper language of primary readers. The committee, twelve members in all, considered three points of view, one from the two Muslim members, and two from two of the four Hindu members. Asghar Ali Khan and Saiyid Abu Jafar, the Muslim members, strongly objected to even raising the issue, and contended that the government had already made its policy clear in previous statements: the language of all primary readers, whether in the Nagari or Persian (Urdu) scripts, had to be absolutely identical. In their opinion the Committee had no authority to consider the matter. Khan denied the existence of 'any such thing as [the] Hindi language in the sense . . . of any living language which has a fixed literary standard, is spoken and written, and is used in correspondence and in law courts'.<sup>62</sup> The proponents of Hindi, he said, were reviving a long-dead language, understandable only to those knowing Sanskrit, to the harm of the true lingua franca of the country, Urdu or Hindustani. Urdu represented a compromise between Arabic and Persian on the one side and Sanskrit on the other; moreover Urdu had received official recognition.<sup>63</sup>

The chairman, T. C. Piggott, overruled these objections and the Committee proceeded to discuss resolutions put forward by Ganga Prasad Varma, a prominent Khatri newspaper publisher of Lucknow, and Dr. Sundar Lal, both important members of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras.<sup>64</sup> Varma proposed that two different sets of readers, each written by well-known Hindi and Urdu scholars, be prepared for

upper primary classes, one in the Nagari and one in the Persian (Urdu) script. He spoke of Urdu and Hindi as different forms of the vernacular or even different languages. He argued against a 'common language' which would mean keeping the vernacular at a much lower level by depriving both Hindi and Urdu of much of their higher vocabulary. Moreover, he declared, when Muslims referred to the 'common language' they really meant Urdu and intended to abolish Hindi.<sup>65</sup> The Committee, however, felt that Varma's proposals meant too sharp a change in the declared policy of the government, and voted them down.

Dr Lal's scheme, more modest in scope, carried the day, though both the Muslim members and two of the six British members voted against it. Lal urged that the language and subject matter of upper primary readers should be generally the same, though in some cases alternative words for readers in either script should be indicated in brackets. In addition, the Hindi readers should include passages from recognized Hindi books or newspapers and the Urdu readers similar passages from Urdu sources.<sup>66</sup> In other words, the Committee accepted the principle that even on the primary level there should be some distinctive teaching in Urdu and Hindi, though avoiding too radical an application of this new approach.

The government proved more realistic than its committee this time, and eventually ordered the preparation of supplementary readers for upper primary classes, one set in Hindi and the other in Urdu, which came into use in 1916. Students who mastered the lower primary reader in the 'common language' qualified for promotion to the supplementary readers. The government, in effect, accepted Varma's proposal and the earlier resolution of the Rural Education Committee to introduce two distinctive sets of teaching materials at the primary level. As a justification for this decision, the government noted 'a growing tendency to diverge from simple Hindustani in which it has hitherto been sought to write all the primary readers', even in newspapers and in books for the ordinary reader, not to mention works of a more elevated or literary nature.<sup>67</sup>

The government's decision amounted to an admission that the policy of a 'common language' had failed. Seventy years had passed since Fink's pious hope for a 'universal language' but the breach between Hindi and Urdu in the educational system had only widened. Pandits and *maulvis* had certainly played an important part in this process of differentiation; their hold on the schools reminds one of the hold of Indian officials on the vernacular courts and offices. From a broader perspective, the increasing differentiation between the two forms of

Khari Boli in the schools reflected a much wider linguistic rivalry which in turn reflected a still wider communal rivalry between Hindus and Muslims.

The existence of two separate and completely unblendable scripts exacerbated this rivalry and provided unambiguous symbols for Urdu and Hindi supporters. Unlike the situation with vocabulary, no continuum of scripts existed along which one could choose something more towards the Urdu end or more towards the Nagari end: one chose either the Urdu or the Nagari script. One contemporary British observer wrote:

The very sight of the Nagri Character tends to perpetuate the antagonism between Urdu and Hindi, and to give an undue prominence to words of Sanskrit origin, on account of the long standing and almost resistless association existing between the Nagri character and the Sanskrit vocabulary.<sup>68</sup>

The great numbers of schoolbooks (see Chapter II, page 41) which used this script and its associated Sanskrit vocabulary did much to lend weight to the claim that Hindi (in the sense of highly Sanskritized Khari Boli) actually existed. The irony lay in the fact that the British government, many of whose officials deplored the development of this form of Khari Boli, had created the educational system which did much to give Hindi life.

Although the Nagari script did do much to intensify the rivalry between Hindi and Urdu, the same process of Sanskritization would very likely have occurred even without the existence of Urdu. One of the most highly Sanskritized Indian languages of the nineteenth century was Bengali, whose literature had great influence on Hindi authors. Yet Bengali writers had no need to distinguish their language from a closely related but highly Persianized Bengali written in the Persian script because such a rival did not exist. Moreover, as we have seen (Chapter II) the earliest writers of Khari Boli Hindi saw no contradiction in also creating works in Islamic languages or scripts. In short, the Sanskritization of Khari Boli—or any other regional standard of the Hindi area which through historical accident might have provided the grammatical basis of a lingua franca—would have taken place in any case. The existence of Urdu simply intensified this process by presenting a rival from which to distinguish Hindi. The fact that Khari Boli became 'Hindi' stemmed from the historical and geographical situation in which Urdu—the lingua franca of north India when the Hindi movement began—arose. Had Braj Bhasha, for example, furnished the

grammatical basis for an Islamic-Hindu lingua franca, then undoubtedly Braj Bhasha-Hindi, suitably Sanskritized, would have served the interests of Hindu nationalism just as well.<sup>69</sup> And as events in other areas such as Bengal and the Marathi-speaking part of Bombay Presidency made clear, Hindu nationalism did not need linguistic symbols to flourish, though it would certainly use them if they were at hand, as in the United Provinces.

#### *Hindus and Muslims in Government Employment*

Competition for government employment did much to generate communal feelings between educated Hindus and Muslims in the nineteenth century NWP&O. This economic rivalry underlay much of the linguistic antagonism between Urdu and Hindi supporters, since government service usually required certain language qualifications. While a tiny minority of educated Indians won prestigious positions through their knowledge of English, the bulk of aspirants to public service had to rely on their knowledge of one of the vernaculars. Hence the two closely related issues of the proper proportions of Muslims and Hindus in government service, and of the proper language and script for the official vernacular, affected many thousands of educated Indians throughout the province. From their ranks came the most active protagonists of Urdu and Hindi.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the question of the appropriate ratio of Muslims and Hindus in government service assumed considerable importance in several provinces. In 1882 the National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta sent a memorial complaining of a great decline in the proportion of Muslims in government service, which stimulated the Government of India to order an inquiry into the position of Muslims in the public service throughout India. The results for the NWP&O made plain the fact that Muslims held appointments far out of proportion to their actual numbers in the population. Of the total of 54,130 Indian officials holding appointments under the provincial government, 35,302 (65.2 per cent) were Hindus and 18,828 (34.8 per cent) Muslims. The 1881 census showed 86.8 per cent of the provincial population were Hindus, and 13.3 per cent Muslims, with the percentage of literates for each community relatively close, 5.1 per cent and 4.4 per cent respectively. Thus based on their share of the literate population, about 11.8 per cent, Muslims held nearly three times their proportionate share of government positions.

Despite this advantageous position, educated Muslims felt that

equity demanded a still greater share of government service. The National Muhammadan Association had expressed dissatisfaction in its memorial that 'the Hindus outnumber the Muhammadans in the Government offices'.<sup>71</sup> A writer in an 1885 issue of the *Khair Khwab-i-Islam* (an Urdu weekly of Allahabad) observed that the number of Hindu officers in Budaun district (western NWP&O) had exceeded the number of Muslim officers. As a result, the Hindu community had become more arrogant; to remedy the situation at least five of the ten highest judicial and executive posts should be held by Muslims.<sup>72</sup> The Government of the NWP&O offered an explanation of these attitudes: under Muslim rule, Muslims had enjoyed a near monopoly of the highest and most lucrative offices, whereas the establishment of British rule inevitably diminished their share of the public service.<sup>73</sup>

Educated Hindus, on the contrary, argued that their far greater numbers justified a much greater proportion of public service positions. Thus a writer in an 1882 issue of the *Hindi Pradip* (Allahabad) noted that while only a small number of Muslims held high appointments in Bengal, a much larger number held similar posts in the NWP&O. He claimed that Muslim subordinate judges, *munsifs* (minor judicial officials), Assistant Commissioners, and *tabsildars* (minor revenue officials) outnumbered their Hindu counterparts, and that Muslims dominated the Police Department. On the basis of population, he asserted, Hindus should outnumber Muslims seven to one.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, a writer in an 1887 issue of *Bharat Jivan* (a Hindi weekly of Banaras) pointed out that the civil list of the NWP&O showed 269 Hindus and 267 Muslims in the native civil service and in the subordinate judicial and executive services. According to the proportion of Muslims in the population, however, there should have been 480 Hindus and only 73 Muslims.<sup>75</sup>

The results of the inquiry showed something else, suggested by Hindu complaints in the vernacular press, namely that Muslims held a much greater share of appointments in some departments of government than in others. They held more than half of the highest posts in the Judicial, Revenue and Police Departments, the most sought-after government positions. More Muslims than Hindus held some of the very highest posts: in Oudh only one Indian, a Muslim, had reached the rank of judge, and in the NWP two Muslims but no Hindus had attained the rank of Assistant District Superintendent of Police. In other departments, however, the proportion of Muslims fell sharply. In the Post Office, for example, their numbers did not even reach their proportional share.<sup>76</sup> In the Department of Public Instruction they filled only about a

quarter of the appointments, almost certainly a result of the greater importance of Hindi vis-a-vis Urdu in the primary and secondary schools of the province. No striking regional disparities appeared, with the exception of the hill districts. Here the population consisted almost entirely of Hindus and almost no one knew Urdu. Thus not a single Muslim appeared on the roster of government employees in the office of the Commissioner of Kumaun.<sup>77</sup>

In other provinces of north India Muslims faced somewhat different situations. In the Punjab, for example, Muslims had nearly half of the highest administrative and judicial appointments, quite close to their proportion in the provincial population.<sup>78</sup> In the Central Provinces Muslims filled a little over a quarter of the nearly 20,000 government positions though they comprised only about 3.5 per cent of the population.<sup>79</sup> In Bengal, however, quite a different situation prevailed: here Muslims held a significantly lower proportion of positions than their proportion in the population.<sup>80</sup> The dominance of Muslims in the Punjab paralleled the dominance of Urdu in vernacular courts and offices. The less dominant but still important position of Muslims in the Central Provinces both reflected and influenced the slowness of the change to the Nagari script (see Chapter III). The position of Muslims in the NWP&O, less powerful than that of their coreligionists in the Punjab, more powerful than that of their fellow Muslims in the Central Provinces, and perceived as unjust by Hindu rivals for government service, ensured a lengthy struggle between Urdu and Hindi supporters.

#### *The Relationship of Education and Employment*

As we have seen, the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh generally favoured Urdu throughout the nineteenth century, and the domain of education proved no exception. Though both Hindi and Urdu received government support at the primary and secondary levels of vernacular education, when the question of government service arose, Urdu had more practical value since only Urdu was recognized as the official vernacular language. In 1877 the provincial government first prescribed the Middle Class Vernacular and the Middle Class Anglo-Vernacular Examinations<sup>81</sup> as qualifications for government service, and explicitly recognized Urdu as the superior vernacular language.

The official order declared that from 1 January 1879, all appointments to public service with a monthly salary over Rs 10 would (with a few exceptions) require certain linguistic qualifications in addition to passing the prescribed examination. In offices using English, candidates needed

a Middle Class Anglo-Vernacular Examination certificate, with Urdu or Persian as the second language. In offices using the vernaculars candidates needed a Middle Class Vernacular Examination certificate, with either Urdu or Hindi credentials. In any office those having University Entrance Examination certificates with Urdu or Persian as a second language would have superior qualifications.<sup>82</sup>

By the mid-1880s the sizeable increase in the numbers of candidates for these examinations showed that the order had begun to take effect. Each Collector or Deputy Commissioner (the chief officer of a district) received lists of successful candidates, and was supposed to fill vacancies from them. By the late 1880s the two Middle Class Examinations had come to be the educational events of greatest interest to the educated public. Towards the end of the century, however, their popularity began to wane in the face of increasing competition from the expanding numbers of School Final Examination and Entrance Examination pass candidates.<sup>83</sup>

Success in either of the two Middle Class Examinations did not guarantee government service, however, as Babu Bharatendu Harishchandra of Banaras noted in his testimony to the Hunter Commission in 1882. After repeated complaints by educated Indians, Bharatendu said, the government had made these examinations necessary qualifications for public service. Unfortunately the new rule had become a dead letter for two chief reasons: first, the majority of British officials had strong prejudices against graduates and undergraduates; second, Indian court officials spared no efforts to prevent these new candidates from intruding into their offices, and their superiors generally accepted their recommendations for new positions. Only the Educational Department held out hope of employment to the educated.<sup>84</sup> These remarks found partial corroboration from John Nesfield of the Oudh Division of the Educational Department. He pointed out that although district officers usually encouraged those educated in government schools, Indian officials worked to prevent these graduates, whom they regarded as invaders, from securing appointments. According to Nesfield the majority of students reported to have secured government employment had done so in the Educational Department.<sup>85</sup>

For a few years beginning in the mid-1880s the provincial government published statistics on the social and religious backgrounds of successful candidates for the two Middle Class Examinations which revealed patterns exactly parallel to those appearing previously in indigenous and government schools.<sup>86</sup> Tables 11 and 12 show that in the typical year

of 1887, Kayasths not only composed the largest single block of candidates, but also exceeded their proportionate share many times over. This caste group, generally recognized as the best Hindu scholars of Persian and Urdu, looked upon government service as a birthright.<sup>87</sup> Towards the end of the century, however, increasing numbers of complaints in the vernacular press from Kayasths suggested their growing concern that other castes were beginning to threaten this supposed birthright.<sup>88</sup> The Kayastha Conference, which held its first meeting in Lucknow in 1887, included the promotion of employment for Kayasths in commercial and industrial occupations (where opportunities were deemed superior to those in government and private service) as a major purpose of the new organization.<sup>89</sup> A typical lament appeared in an Urdu-language Kayasth newspaper of Agra. The writer deplored the unhappy situation of many of his caste-mates in the Central Provinces, unable to secure government employment despite university degrees. Kayasths had followed the profession of literary service for untold ages, he proclaimed, and had no aptitude for other kinds of employment. If the government would only make other classes

TABLE 11  
Castes of Successful Candidates in the Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular Middle Examinations for 1887

Caste or Religion	Anglo-Vernacular		Caste or Religion	Vernacular	
	Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage
Kayasth	376	32.7	Kayasth	417	25.2
Brahman	237	20.6	Brahman	373	22.5
Baniya	140	12.2	Baniya	176	10.6
Khatri	81	7.1	Khatri	10	0.6
Rajput	43	3.7	Rajput	147	8.9
Other	70	6.1	Other	122	7.4
Muslim	202	17.6	Muslim	413	24.9
TOTAL	1149	100.0	TOTAL	1658	100.1

Note: All figures have been compiled from the *NWP&O Education Report 1886-87*, 16-17, 19. All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1 per cent. For *Anglo-Vernacular* 'Other' included: 15 Christians, 32 unspecified, and 23 divided among 10 Hindu castes, mostly lower, including Ahir, Kalwar, Sonar, etc. For *Vernacular* 'Other' included: 10 unspecified, and 112 divided among 25 Hindu castes, mainly lower, including Ahir, Lohar, Mali, Sonar, etc.

TABLE 12  
Proportions of Students of Various Castes Passing the Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular Middle Examinations for 1887 Compared to their Proportions in the Population in 1881

Caste or Religion	Population Proportion	Number Passed	Ideal Pass Numbers	Ratio of Representation
Khatri	(0.1)	91	(3.8)	(24.1)
Kayasth	1.0	793	37.8	21.0
Baniya	2.4	316	88.8	3.6
Rajput	5.9	190	222.0	0.9
Brahman	9.1	610	343.0	1.8
Muslim	11.5	615	434.0	1.4
Other	44.4	192	1677.0	0.1

Note: All figures have been compiled from the *NWP&O Education Report 1886-87*, 16-17, 19, and *Report on the Census of the N.-W. P. and Oudh; and of the Native States of Rampur and Native Garhwal, taken on the 17th February, 1881* (Allahabad: 1882), pp. 60, 136. The figures for the Khatri population did not appear in the 1881 census and were based on the *Census of the N.-W. Provinces, 1872*, Vol. I (Allahabad: 1873), pp. 77, 79. All figures have been rounded off to the first figure after the decimal point. *Population Proportion* was calculated by using the number of Kayasths as an arbitrary base equal to 1.00. Using percentages of the total population would have brought the same results, but the arbitrary base method was easier to calculate. *Ideal Pass Proportion* represents the numbers of students of each caste had their numbers been distributed according to their proportions in the population. *Ratio of Representation* indicates the degree to which each caste exceeded or fell short of its ideal pass proportion. Thus Kayasths appeared among successful candidates 21 times more often than their numbers in the population would theoretically justify, while Muslims appeared only 1.4 times more often than their numbers in the population.

return to their hereditary professions, leaving the public service free for Kayasths, they would not find themselves in their present miserable condition.<sup>90</sup>

Kayasth complaints undoubtedly concerned not Muslims, who made up the second largest group of candidates, but other Hindus—chiefly Brahmans, Baniyas, Rajputs, and Khatri—who comprised about half the total, nearly outnumbering Kayasths and Muslims combined. Khatri, like Kayasths, exceeded their proportionate share many times over. Brahmans and Baniyas were only slightly over-represented, while Rajputs were slightly under-represented. Not surprisingly, other castes with no tradition of education, were grossly under-represented. The chief

competitors of Kayasths and Muslims, then, came from the ranks of high-caste or middle-caste Hindus, the same groups who dominated the indigenous Hindi schools four decades earlier, and the same groups who were to control the leading Hindi organization of the nineteenth century, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Promotion of Nagari) of Banaras.<sup>91</sup>

Table 13 shows the effect of government language policy on the language choices of candidates for the Vernacular Middle Examination. Between 1874-75 and 1895-96 the proportions of candidates taking Hindi vis-a-vis Urdu reversed themselves. During the first few years Hindi candidates accounted for more than three-quarters of the total. Soon after the 1877 order, however, the balance began to shift and by 1886-87 Urdu candidates made up more than three-quarters of the whole, and this remained the case for the rest of the century.<sup>92</sup> 'The reason, of course,' noted an education official in 1896, 'is that Urdu is the vernacular language of the law courts and Government offices, and that the examination is chiefly valued as a means of obtaining employment in connection with them.'<sup>93</sup>

A comparison of the figures for 1886-87 in Table 11 with those for the Vernacular Middle Examination in Table 13 produces some interesting results.<sup>94</sup> Let us assume that all Muslims (413) and Kayasths (417) chose Urdu instead of Hindi. A few calculations will show that slightly over a quarter of the non-Kayasth Hindus (209 of 828) must have opted for Urdu too. If we assume that a very few Muslims and a few Kayasths chose Hindi, the fraction of non-Kayasth Hindus choosing Urdu might rise to a third.<sup>95</sup> We can make the comparison in a different way. Let us again assume that all Muslims decided in favour of Urdu. This means that Hindus split almost exactly down the middle, a little over one-half (626) for Urdu, a little under one-half (619) for Hindi. However one manipulates the figures, the results show that a significant number of educated Hindus, Kayasths and non-Kayasths alike, chose Urdu. While the equation Hindi = Hindu may have held true in this case, the equation Urdu = Muslim did not. This basic fact shows clearly that no matter how vociferous the champions of Hindi might wax, they could not claim that all Hindus shared their views. Hence the process of multi-symbol congruence of which the Hindi movement formed a major part did *not* include the majority even of educated Hindus in the nineteenth century NWP&O.

One might ask why any candidates at all chose Hindi for their Vernacular Middle Examination. To answer, let us imagine a fanciful

TABLE 13  
Candidates Taking Hindi or Urdu in the Vernacular Middle Examinations  
from 1874-75 to 1895-96

Year	Urdu		Hindi	
	Candidates	Percentage	Candidates	Percentage
1874-75	434	24.8	1315	75.2
1875-76	231	24.2	723	75.8
1876-77	199	24.5	614	75.5
1877-78	196	22.3	683	77.7
1878-79	154	87.0	23	13.0
1879-80	382	46.3	443	53.7
1880-81	596	49.2	615	50.8
1881-82	627	47.9	681	52.1
1882-83	715	49.9	717	50.1
1883-84	908	52.5	822	47.5
1884-85	1761 (535)	65.4 (57.5)	931 (396)	34.6 (42.5)
1885-86	2298 (732)	69.2 (58.7)	1025 (512)	30.8 (41.3)
1886-87	3382 (1039)	74.2 (62.7)	1175 (619)	25.8 (37.3)
1887-88	3179 (1234)	73.8 (69.7)	1127 (536)	26.2 (30.3)
1888-89	3435 (1616)	77.4 (71.4)	1005 (648)	22.6 (28.6)
1889-90	3625	79.8	920	20.2
1890-91	3290	79.1	869	20.9
1891-92	2727 (1121)	81.2 (76.1)	628 (351)	18.8 (23.9)
1892-93	2689 (1254)	78.8 (74.6)	724 (426)	21.2 (25.4)
1893-94	2967 (1428)	78.9 (77.9)	792 (406)	21.1 (22.1)
1894-95	2931 (1205)	78.3 (75.7)	814 (386)	21.7 (24.3)
1895-96	2814 (1247)	78.2 (72.5)	785 (474)	21.8 (27.5)

Note: All figures except the percentages have been taken from Malaviya, *Court Character*, p. 31. The figures in parentheses indicate successful candidates; no figures for these were given before 1884-85, or during the years 1889-90 and 1890-91. The three years underlined indicate: (1) the year in which the 1877 orders favouring Urdu first came into effect; (2) the year analysed in Tables 11 and 12 above; (3) the year in which the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras was founded. All percentages have been calculated to the nearest 0.1%.

picture based on the preceding data. A large pair of gates labelled Vernacular Middle and Anglo-Vernacular Examinations stands before us. Through them pours a crowd of hundreds, moving in the direction of more distant gates. Many more hundreds fail to pass through even these first two gates. A small portion of the successful gate-passers

manages to enter two of the more distant gates, more splendid than the rest, designated as Subordinate Judicial and Executive Services, but many others are turned aside. Some of these, mainly Brahmans, Rajputs, Baniyas and Khatri, along with some Muslims, succeed in crossing the portals of a large plain gate entitled 'Educational Department'. Others, among them many Muslims, pass through an austere gate labelled 'Police Department'. While some of the crowd manage to enter still other smaller gates, many fail to enter through any gate at all, and straggle off into the surrounding countryside. This imaginary picture suggests that many non-Kayasth Hindus found their best hope for government service lay in the newer Educational Department rather than the older, more prestigious, and better-paid Revenue or Judicial Departments. From their ranks came many of the leaders of the Hindi movement. The three founders of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras included a Brahman, a Rajput and a Khatri; all three made their careers in education, two in government service, the third in both government and private service.<sup>96</sup>

#### *The Basic Contradictions in British Language Policy*

In the nineteenth century NWP&O, more than elsewhere in north India, the pace of social mobilization outstripped that of assimilation and Hindus and Muslims became more and more subjectively conscious communities.<sup>97</sup> The government did much to shape relations between the two groups through fundamental contradictions in educational and administrative policies. Few set this forth more clearly than a writer in an 1883 issue of the *Bharat Bandhu* (a Hindi-English weekly of Aligarh). He noted with surprise and regret that on the one hand the government had made the use of Hindi common among the people by establishing Hindi schools in every village, while on the other, it had completely prohibited the use of Hindi in the courts.<sup>98</sup> He had hit the proverbial nail on the head. While the provincial government recognized Hindi and Urdu as separate subjects in the educational system, used textbooks printed in different scripts, and even required prospective teachers to become qualified in both language styles and scripts, the same government refused to grant Hindi and the Nagari script equal status with Urdu and the Persian (Urdu) script in courts and offices.

Government officials could always find reasons to justify the subordinate position of Hindi and Nagari. The language, they asserted, could match neither the literary development nor the technical and legal terminology of Urdu, while the script could equal neither the speed nor

the elegance of the Persian (Urdu) script. Their reasons, however, smacked of rationalization, for the same arguments apparently failed to apply to the Central Provinces or Bihar, where the government enforced policies favouring Hindi and Nagari or Kaithi. The same arguments also failed to apply to the hill districts of the NWP&O where Hindi and Nagari had long enjoyed official status. The government chose to favour Urdu and the Urdu script for political, not administrative or technical reasons, but preferred to explain this policy in non-political terms.

Government officials also conveniently ignored what might be called the 'self-fulfilling prophecy effect', namely, by favouring Urdu and the Urdu script, the government perpetuated some of the very shortcomings of Hindi and Nagari which purportedly rendered them unfit for official use. A flagrant example of this second contradiction in British language policy appears in a statement of Sir John Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP&O, part of an official commentary on the Educational Department report for 1874:

While, therefore, Hindi may justly be called the mother tongue in the sense of the familiar language of the bulk of the common people, there can be no question that a speaker who would command the largest possible audience of intelligent natives of these Provinces would address himself to them in Urdu—the language chiefly used in literature, *in the business of Government*, and for the diffusion of public news. In these circumstances, it is a question of very little importance which of the two shall be called the mother tongue. *Government must take facts as it finds them*, and it is needless to say that *it will not attempt to alter the relative position of Urdu and Hindi, because those who speak Hindi are numerically the stronger body.*<sup>99</sup>

If Government had to take facts as it found them, then one of those facts was that Government itself had given the official status to Urdu which Strachey cited as a reason in favour of Urdu and against Hindi. Moreover, the superior value of Urdu for government service directed the efforts of many educated Hindus, especially Kayasths, away from the enrichment of Hindi literature and the development of the Hindi vernacular press; and thus further strengthened the case against Hindi.

Strachey rejected the argument that the government should favour Hindi because of the greater numbers of Hindi speakers. A quarter century later another Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell, put forth exactly the same argument to justify government recognition of Hindi and the Nagari script. Though the masses used local dialects or regional standards and only some among educated Hindus used Sanskritized Khari-Boli Hindi, the increasing success of the Hindi movement



had much to do with the apparent volte-face of the government. The Hindi movement, or better, the Hindi-Nagari movement, represented increasing numbers of educated Hindus, many of whom looked to Hindi not only as a potential means to government service, but also as a vehicle of cultural and religious values.

The Hindi-Nagari movement of the nineteenth century NWP&O bore all the earmarks of the first stage of the process of transformation posited by Brass<sup>100</sup> in which ethnic groups become subjectively conscious communities. This stage requires four essential components: an elite, a socially mobilizing population, a symbol pool, and another group from whom the first can be differentiated. All of these appeared in the last third of the century, strengthened by the contradictions of British language policy. The British educational system fostered a Hindi-speaking elite, served as an agent of social mobilization, and provided a stimulus to the growth of Hindi literature and the use of the Nagari script. The British administrative system, by recognizing only Urdu and the Persian (Urdu) script for official purposes, supported a group—perceived chiefly as Muslims though including many Hindus—opposed to the interests of Hindi advocates. Though British policy aimed at linguistic assimilation, a common language, the fundamental contradictions in this policy worked to increase linguistic differentiation.

## NOTES

1. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1873–74, Orders of Government, p. 15.
2. As previously mentioned, the Urdu script is a modified version of the Persian script, which in turn is a modified version of the Arabic script. The Persian script added several letters to the Arabic script, and the Urdu script added several to the Persian (the retroflex or cerebral sounds), though at the same time blurring some of the original distinctions of pronunciation represented by certain Arabic and Persian letters.
3. Benares (Banaras) Sanskrit College, the oldest institution of higher learning in the NWP&O, came into existence in 1792, less than 20 years after the British had annexed the easternmost part of the province.
4. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1846–47, p. 32.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. See Chapter I for a more detailed explanation of these terms.
9. *Ibid.* Curiously, Ballantyne has received little or no attention from Indian historians of Hindi. Even Ramchandra Shukla, author of a standard history of

- Hindi literature and an important member of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, mentions him only once and very briefly.
10. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1846–47, pp. 33, 38; *Ibid.*, 1852–53, pp. 68–9; *Ibid.*, 1853–54, pp. 61–2.
  11. *NPS 7th Ann Rpt*, p. 61.
  12. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1848–49, p. 15.
  13. *Ibid.*, 1863–64, p. 6; *Ibid.*, 1866–67, p. 17.
  14. According to one Banaras scholar, Hindi cannot be written well without a through knowledge of Sanskrit. Pandit Baldev Upadhyaya, Interview, 18 April 1972. See also: Christopher R. King, *The Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Promotion of the Nagari Script and Language) of Benares 1893–1914: A Study in the Social and Political History of the Hindi Language*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974, pp. 194–7.
  15. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1867–68, Appendix B, p. 33.
  16. This organization, established on 10 May 1866, included Sir Syed Ahmed Khan among its leaders. Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: A Political Biography* (Meerut: 1969), pp. 208–9.
  17. The signers included six Muslims and four Hindus. One of the Hindus was a Bengali, the other three probably Kayasths. 'Rajah Kykishen Doss Buhadur' signed as Secretary, and 'Issen Chunder Mookerjee' as Vice-President. Among the other signatures was that of 'Syud Ahmud'. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1867–68, Appendix B, pp. 22–4.
  18. *Ibid.*
  19. *Ibid.*, 1867–68, Appendix B, pp. 25, 26.
  20. While a young officer in Central India and later in Banaras, McLeod found inspiration in the educational efforts of Lancelot Wilkinson and James Ballantyne to combine what they considered the best in traditional learning with Western knowledge. He also admired the successful efforts of James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP, to establish a widespread system of vernacular primary education beginning in the late 1840s. See Jeffrey Price Perrill, *Punjab Orientalism: The Anjuman-i-Punjab and Punjab University, 1865–1888*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, 1976, pp. 36–47.
  21. Leitner, born in Hungary of Jewish ancestry, studied Arabic as a child in Turkey, earned higher degrees in Germany, became a naturalized British citizen, and eventually taught Arabic and Muslim law at London University. His scholarly and linguistic abilities, coupled with a singular capacity to work with Indian colleagues, made him the driving force of the Anjuman and of the Oriental College. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–107.
  22. *Ibid.*, Chapters I, II and III *passim*.
  23. Ironically, Aitchison had been an early member of the Anjuman. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–80, 128, 363–4.
  24. *Ibid.*, pp. 368–81, 442–7, 463–7, 536–70, 572–8, 593–4, 605–10.
  25. *UP Educ Rpt*, 1923–24, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 1926–27, p. 14.
  26. *NWPE&O SVN*, 1888, pp. 480–1.
  27. S. K. Bhatnagar, *History of the M.A.O. College Aligarh* (Bombay, 1969), p. 60; Muhammad, *Sir Syed*, p. 66.



28. Shri Prakash; *Bharat-Ratna Dr. Bhagavan Das* (Meerut, 1970), p. 32; *NPS 6th Ann Rpt*, p. 21.
29. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1870-71, Appendix A, p. 46A.
30. A *tahsildār* (chief administrative officer of a subdivision of a district) of Farrukabad noted in his report on indigenous schools that a very large number of them had been established within six months of his investigation. He surmised that 'some misconception prevailed among the people with respect to the views of Government in enquiring into the state of education'. Another investigator, J. C. Wilson, Collector of Moradabad district, noted that many schoolmasters thought enquiries into their schools might injure their interests. The comments of other investigators showed that their statistics were often gathered through intermediaries of unknown reliability. Many investigators seem to have taken only a cursory interest in the subject, while a few—most notably Fink—compiled very thorough and detailed records. The ephemeral nature of many schools (many Hindi schools appeared and disappeared in accordance with the demands of the agricultural cycle) compounded the investigators' difficulties. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1845-46, Appendix I, pp. xliii-xliv, xlvi; *Ibid.*, 1846-47, xl.
31. *Ibid.*, 1844-45, pp. 9-10, Appendix I, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.
32. Fink reported that the level of achievement in these schools was low. Most of the students in those schools teaching Sanskrit along with Hindi could not tell whether sentences in a standard reader were Hindi or Sanskrit. *Ibid.*, 1844-45, pp. 9-10, Appendix I, pp. liii-liv, lxxv-lxxviii, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxiv; *Ibid.*, 1845-46, Appendix I, p. 1. This suggests that Fink's students may have faced the same puzzling situation as that of Dr. Ballantyne's students, i.e., the virtual non-existence of a standardized and highly-Sanskritized Khari Boli Hindi.
33. Baniya refers to Hindu trading and merchant castes. Rajput refers to castes in the second great class of Hindu society, Kshatriyas or warriors; especially those tracing their ancestry to Rajasthan. Note that the number of teachers does not necessarily equal the number of schools. One-teacher schools, however, seem to have been by far the most common, judging from the usual close correspondence between the number of teachers and the number of schools in any particular district. *Ibid.*, 1844-45, pp. 9-10, Appendix I, pp. liii-liv, lxxv-lxxvii, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxiv; *Ibid.*, 1845-46, Appendix I, p. 1. See also Note 64, Chapter III.
34. *Ibid.*, 1844-45, Appendix I, lxiii.
35. Contemporary sources make clear how close the relationship between Persian and Urdu seemed to many. A writer in the 1 October 1870 issue of the Urdu newspaper *Najm-ul-Akbbār* (Meerut) saw no need to translate Persian books into Urdu since the two languages were so close to each other that a student of Urdu had little trouble understanding a Persian passage. *NWP SVN*, 1870, p. 385. J. C. Nesfield, an educational official in Oudh, in a report on indigenous schools wrote of similar attitudes: 'The character of Urdu and Persian being the same, it is considered a waste of time to teach a child the Vernacular, which he will learn in any case, with or without the help of a teacher.' (*Oudh Educ Rpt*, 1874-75, Appendix I, p. iv). 'It is believed, too, (not without reason), that a knowledge of Persian is indispensable to any one who wishes to understand the language used in the courts, or to take up any kind of literary employment, of which Urdu forms the basis. However circuitous, slow and indirect the process may be, it is invariably found that a student, who has completed the Persian course and has been under an energetic teacher can read and understand at sight any ordinary Urdu book, and write an Urdu letter with a fair degree of facility, correctness, and perspicuity, . . . ' (*Ibid.*)
36. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1844-45, pp. 9, 10, Appendix I, pp. lv, lix, lxii, lxiii, lxxiii.
37. See Chapter V for a description of the survey of Hindu and Muslim government servants' knowledge of Hindi and Urdu carried out by Lieutenant-Governor MacDonnell in 1900 which parallels this description of the indigenous schools.
38. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1844-45, p. 9, Appendix I, pp. lviii, lxxv; *Ibid.*, 1846-47, lv.
39. *Ibid.*, 1845-46, Appendix I, p. xliii; *Ibid.*, 1847-48, pp. lxxviii, c. An intriguing oddity appeared in the district report for Meerut: a Rajput reportedly teaching Arabic.
40. *Ibid.*, 1850-51, pp. 6, 39, 59, 72; A. M. Monteath, 'Note on the State of Education in India during 1865-66', *SRGI, Home Dept*, No. LIV, p. 26.
41. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1850-51, p. 24; Monteath, 'Note on the State of Education', p. 25.
42. *Oudh Educ Rpt*, 1870-71, p. 95; *Ibid.*, 1871-72, pp. 128-9; *Ibid.*, 1872-73, p. 92; Perrill, *Punjab Orientalism*, pp. 44-7; Kerrin Dittmer, *Die Indischen Muslims und die Hindi-Urdu Kontroverse in den United Provinces* (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 70. See also Note 64, Chapter III, on the contrast between the indigenous schools of Bihar and those of the NWP&O. Note that Thomason conceived of Hindi or Urdu as the languages of instruction.
43. These schools included: government colleges; government schools of higher class (secondary schools); government schools of lower class (primary schools) including Anglo-Vernacular, female schools, *tahsili* schools, and *balkabandi* schools; private colleges open to government inspection; private schools of higher class open to government inspection; private schools of lower class open to government inspection; missionary schools; government normal schools; and the government engineering college at Roorkee. Since students often studied more than one language, and since the nature of the tabulation made it impossible to determine how many students were studying which additional languages, percentages have been calculated from the total number of students studying each language, making a total larger than the total number of students. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1859-60, Appendix A, pp. 1-62.
44. These schools included: government schools of higher class (superior *zila* schools); government schools of middle class (inferior *zila* schools); government schools of middle class (Anglo-Vernacular town schools and Vernacular town schools); government schools of lower class (village schools, government female schools, and government jail schools); private colleges, private schools of higher class, private schools of middle class, private schools of lower class, and private female schools, all open to government inspection; and government normal schools. *Oudh Educ Rpt*, 1868-69, Appendix A; Monteath, 'Note on the State of Education', p. 7.
45. By Hindu-heritage languages here I mean Sanskrit, Hindi, and Hindi taught in

Kaithi and other cursive forms of the Nagari script. By Islamic-heritage languages here I mean Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. These terms have been coined as useful expressions for referring to those languages of the NWP&O and elsewhere in north India written in the various versions of the Nagari script and associated with Hindus, and those written in the various versions of the Arabic script and associated with Muslims.

46. *NWP&O Educ Rpt*, 1880–81, p. 53; *Ibid.*, 1886–87, p. 41.
47. The figures for Tables 8 and 9 do not tally because Table 8 includes both schools directly managed by the government and schools inspected by the government, while Table 9 includes only the former. See Note 43 above.
48. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1873–74, Orders of Government, p. 16. It is important to note that in the NWP&O the Muslim population was proportionately more concentrated in the cities than the Hindu. Dittmer, *Die Indischen Muslims*, pp. 34–7.
49. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1844–45, Appendix I, lxii.
50. *Ibid.*, 1844–45, Appendix I, pp. lxxiii, lxxix.
51. Perrill, *Punjab Orientalism*, pp. 44–7; Dittmer, *Die Indischen Muslims*, p. 70; *Oudh Educ Rpt*, 1870–71, p. 95; *Ibid.*, 1871–72, pp. 128–9; *Ibid.*, 1872–73, p. 92.
52. Raghunandan Shastri, *Panjāb mē Hindī kī Pragati* (Vārāṇasī, 1943), pp. 52–3.
53. Shardadevi Vedalankar, *The Development of Hindi Prose Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century (1800–1856 A.D.)* (Allahabad, 1969), pp. 236–44.
54. *Oudh Educ Rpt*, 1875–76, p. 5. Emphasis mine.
55. Vedalankar, *Development of Hindi*, pp. 153–62, 236; *Educ Comm Report NWP&O*, p. 437.
56. *UP Educ Progs*, May 1903, p. 39; *UP SVN*, 1903, pp. 259–61.
57. *UP Educ Progs*, May 1903, p. 41, Letter dated 16 May 1903, from Government of the United Provinces to the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces.
58. *Ibid.* In the same year, the provincial government instituted a scheme making it compulsory for all students in certain middle-level classes in its schools to study both Hindi and Urdu. Officials reasoned that students should learn to read both scripts in their own interest, though they did not have to study more than one branch of the vernacular. *NPS 10th Ann Rpt*, p. 24; *NPS 11th Ann Rpt*, p. 28; *NPS 11th Ann Rpt* (English), p. 11. This policy, strongly opposed by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, was continued for many years: a Hindu official of the Sabha, Shri Shambhunath Bajpeyi, mentioned that in his youth (he was born in 1916) students were required to study both Hindi and Urdu in the sixth, seventh and eighth standards, while in earlier and later standards either Hindi or Urdu could be studied. Interview, Banaras, 3 April 1972.
59. *UP Educ Rpt*, 1911–12, pp. 106–7.
60. *Ibid.*, 1915–16, pp. 2, 102, 106–7; *Report of the Committee on Primary Education, United Provinces, 1913* (Allahabad, 1913), p. 65.
61. In 1902 the Northern Provinces and Oudh became the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
62. *Report of the Committee on Primary Education, United Provinces, 1913*, p. 67. Khan's assertion flew in the face of the facts. Post Office statistics for the mid-1870s (later discontinued) showed that even four decades previously Hindi letters received for delivery numbered more than 80 per cent of Urdu letters. *NWP Gen Dept Progs*, August 1876, pp. 27–35. See Table 5, Chapter II for more details.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
64. Varma joined the NPS as an honorary member in 1894, and Lal, a wealthy life member of the NPS, had donated the first large sum (Rs 1000) for the creation of a Hindi dictionary. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2, 19–20; Shyam Sundar Das, *Merī Ātmakahānī* [*The Story of My Life*] (Prayāg, 1957), p. 148; *Kāśī-Nāgarīprachārīnī Sabhā kā Vinīt Nivedan* [*A Modest Submission of the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha*] (Kāśī, 1923), p. 19; *NPS 11th Ann Rpt*, Membership List, No. 484; *NPS 21st Ann Rpt*, Membership List, No. 156.
65. *Report of the Committee on Primary Education, United Provinces, 1913*, pp. 20–3, 63.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 60–1; *UP SVN*, 1914, p. 1386.
68. J. C. Nesfield, Director of Public Instruction in Oudh in the mid-1870s, quoted in Nandalal Chatterji, 'The Government's Attitude to Hindi-Urdu Hindusthani in the Post-Mutiny Period', *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, New Series, III (1955), p. 30.
69. See Christopher R. King, 'Forging a New Linguistic Identity: The Hindi Movement in Banaras, 1868–1914', in Sandria B. Freitag, editor, *Culture and Power in Banaras: Community, Performance, and Environment, 1800–1980* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 189–92.
70. 'Correspondence on the Subject of the Education of the Muhammadan Community in British India and Their Employment in the Public Service Generally', *SRGI, Home Department*, No. CCV, Home Department Serial No. 2 (Calcutta, 1886), pp. 240, 286.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
72. *NWP&O SVN*, 1885, pp. 77–8.
73. 'Correspondence on the Subject of the Education', pp. 240, 285. Sir Antony MacDonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of the NWP&O around the turn of the century, wrote concerning his policy of achieving a balance between Hindus and Muslims in government service: 'I have in ordinary circumstances endeavoured to adjust my appointments with reference to the relative numbers and influence of the two great religions. Other things being equal, I have endeavoured to appoint three Muhammadans for every five Hindus. These proportions are, of course, far more favourable to the Muhammadans than would emerge from a mere consideration of the census proportions of the two classes; but having regard to the traditional position which Muhammadans have held in the Government of the country, and to their better education than Hindus (except the Kayasth class, of whom one can easily have too much), the proportions seem to me to be fair.' A. P. MacDonnell, 'Note on U.P. 1901', MacDonnell Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. Eng. Hist. (355), p. 37.
74. *NWP&O SVN*, 1882, p. 673.
75. *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 267. The writer's arithmetic was either faulty, or incorrectly recorded, for the first pair of numbers adds up to 536, the second to 553.

76. The relatively low proportion of Muslims in the Post Office may be partly explained by the substantial number of Hindi letters sent through the mail, and the very small number of educated Muslims familiar with Hindi and Nagari. See Table 5, Chapter II.
77. 'Correspondence on the Subject of the Education', pp. 287-9, 290.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-3.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
80. The Hindu-Muslim disparity in government employment in Bengal was of long standing; in 1868 Hindus held 345 of the highest posts, Muslims 93, a ratio of almost four to one, although the population ratio was only two to one. *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 1 June 1868, pp. 2-3, citing *Englishman* (Calcutta).
81. The government educational system at this time included two great divisions: the Anglo-Vernacular, in which the medium of instruction was the vernacular (Hindi or Urdu) and English was taught as a separate subject; and the Vernacular, in which the medium of instruction was the vernacular and English was not taught. These divisions remained in place up to Independence, though language policy occasionally shifted. In 1891, for example, English for a while became the medium of instruction for all subjects in the Anglo-Vernacular curriculum. The middle class examination in each case came about halfway through the secondary level. *NWP&O Educ Rpt*, 1890-91, p. 163; *Ibid.*, 1891-92, p. 20, Orders of Government, p. 7.
82. 'Correspondence on the Subject of Education', pp. 290-1.
83. *NWP&O Educ Rpt*, 1880-81, p. 62; *Ibid.*, 1885-86, Orders of Government, p. 6; *Ibid.*, 1886-87, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 1887-88, Orders of Government, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 1899-1900, p. 31. The School Final Examination marked the end of secondary education for those not planning to continue further. The Entrance Examination, on the other hand, marked both the end of secondary education and the beginning of higher education for those planning to continue further; admission into higher education required it. *Ibid.*, 1902-1903, pp. 6-7.
84. *Educ Comm Rpt NWP&O*, p. 205.
85. *NWP&O Educ Rpt*, 1880-81, p. 62.
86. Statistics on the social and occupational backgrounds of candidates in the Anglo-Vernacular Examination first appeared in the annual education reports of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh in 1884-85 and continued until 1892-93. Those for the Vernacular Examination candidates appeared between 1886-87 and 1891-92. It would be interesting to know the social and religious backgrounds of the unsuccessful candidates, usually two or three times the numbers of successful candidates, but this information does not appear in the reports.
87. *Educ Comm Rpt NWP&O*, pp. 229-30.
88. *NWP&O SVN*, 1896, p. 435; *Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 63-64, 406, 415; *Ibid.*, 1900, p. 313.
89. Charles H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton, 1964), p. 282.
90. *NWP&O SVN*, 1899, pp. 8-9.
91. *NWP&O Educ Rpt*, 1892-93, pp. 50-1. The English Middle Examination—the

- direct continuation of the Anglo-Vernacular Middle Examination—of 1895, showed similar caste proportions among its successful candidates: Kayasths numbered 403 or 31.0%, Brahmans 300 or 23.1%, Muslims 251 or 19.3%, Baniyas 134 or 10.3%, Kshatriyas (Rajputs) 61 or 4.7%, Khatriis 47 or 3.7%, Christians 21 or 1.6%, and Others 81 or 6.3%. *Ibid.*, 1894-95, p. 38. See also King, *The Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Chapter IX.
92. *NWP&O Educ Rpt*, 1895-96, p. 37; *Ibid.*, 1896-97, p. 53; *Ibid.*, 1897-98, p. 40; *Ibid.*, 1898-99, p. 36.
93. *Ibid.*, 1895-96, p. 37.
94. Unfortunately, the government's statistics do not show the numbers of those from each caste or religious group choosing Urdu or Hindi.
95. This speculation is suggested by the figures for Muslim and Kayasth students in indigenous Hindi schools. See the section of this chapter entitled 'Indigenous Schools in the North-Western Provinces'.
96. See King, *The Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, pp. 247-51.
97. See the section of Chapter I entitled 'Theoretical Background' for the meaning of these terms.
98. *NWP&O SVN*, 1883, p. 764.
99. *NWP Educ Rpt*, 1873-74, p. 16, Orders of Government, No. 667A of 1874, Naini Tal, 4 November 1874. Emphasis mine.
100. See the section of Chapter I entitled 'Theoretical Background' for a summary of Brass's theory.