

EDUCATION IN SIND BEFORE THE BRITISH
CONQUEST AND THE EDUCATIONAL
POLICIES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

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Based on Two Contemporary Reports,
Compiled & Edited

By

N. A. Baloch

Director, Institute of Education, University of Sind,
Hyderabad Sind.



UNIVERSITY OF SIND
HYDERABAD SIND
PAKISTAN
1971

**EDUCATION IN SIND BEFORE THE BRITISH
CONQUEST AND THE EDUCATIONAL
POLICIES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT**

**Based on
REPORT ON EDUCATION IN SIND**

**Drawn up by
B. H. ELLIS**

Assistant Commissioner in Sind

And Forwarded to the Government of Bombay in March 1856 By

**SIR HENRY BARTLE EDUARD FRERE
Commissioner in Sind**

**And on
an Account of the
MUSLIM EDUCATION IN SIND**

**By
RICHARD F. BURTON**

**Compiled & Edited by
N. A. Baloch
Director, Institute of Education, University of Sind**



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A Sind University Publication

**The Sind University
Institute of Education
Research & Publication Series**

No. 2.

M.H. Panhwar Trust Library

3070
28/9/2018

First Edition. 1971

Price: Rs. 10.00

**Published by the Institute of Education, University of Sind,
Printed by Aijaz Mohammed Siddiqui at the Sind University Press,
Hyderabad Sind, Pakistan.**

پاران ایم ایچ پنهور انسٹیٹیوٹ آف سنڈ اسٹڈیز، جامشورو۔

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

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INTRODUCTION

With the approval of an overall 'Research & Publication Programme' by the University of Sind, two works were initially selected, for editing, as part of the 'Educational Foundation Series' of the Institute of Education. The first one, *Hâsil al-Nahj*, a mid-sixteenth work on 'method of education' by Ja'far al-Bubakani,¹ which had remained in manuscript form, has already been printed.² This is the second publication which contains (i) an official 'Report on Education in Sind' drawn up by B. H. Ellis in 1852 and (ii) Richard F. Burton's account of the system of Muslim Education in Sind, which he wrote earlier. The former was published in 1856³ and the latter in 1851.⁴

There were good reasons to republish these documents, not because they were no more extant, but together the two shed some light, however dim, on the indigenous system of education in the Province of Sind before the British conquest (1843). Ellis's Report compares with Adam's Report⁵ and similar other accounts of the indigenous systems of education in the different parts of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

B.H. Ellis, an Assistant Commissioner, prepared his Report at the instance of Sir Henry Bartle E. Frere, an enlightened

1. A great scholar and a pioneer teacher educator who belonged to the village of Bubak in the present Dadu District of Sind, Pakistan.
2. The Sind University Press, University of Sind, Hyderabad Sind, 1969.
3. *Report on Education in Sind*, printed for Government at the Bombay Education Society's Press, 1856.
4. As 'Chapter VI' of his book entitled *Sindh And the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, Wm. H. Allen & Co., London, 1851.
5. Adam, W. *Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1941.

Welshman and able administrator, who had taken over as Commissioner of Sind in January 1851. The Report along with a Forwarding Letter by Sir Frere, clarify and put on record some of the basic educational policies followed in Sind prior to the Court of Directors' Education Despatch of 1854. These were (i) the adoption of Sindhi as an official provincial language, (ii) standardization of the Sindhi alphabet, (iii) use of Sindhi as the medium for vernacular education and preparation of Sindhi text books and reading materials and (iv) sanction of funds for the extension of the new Anglo-vernacular education in Sind.

Adoption of Sindhi as Official Language

Sindhi was adopted as the language of official business, administration and record in 1851 under a circular of the Bombay Government, No. 1825, of 6th September 1851. All officers, the British and the native, were directed "to undergo an examination to test their proficiency in a colloquial knowledge of Sindee".¹

Standardization of the Sindhi Alphabet

The controversy regarding the adoption of the Arabic script or the *Vanika*² letters for Sindhi was finally referred to the Court of Directors in London. The Government of Bombay, it would appear, did not categorically support the adoption of the Arabic script but the Court of Directors decided, in their Despatch No. 46 of 8th December 1852, "in favour of the Arabic character", "with very trifling changes or additions required for its perfect adaptation to Sindee". The Government of Bombay was authorized to appoint a Committee to finalize the letter forms accordingly, but the issue of appointing such a Committee was shelved by the Commissioner in Sind to whom it was referred.³

1. Report, para 35.

2. A sort of short-hand used by the *Hindu Banyan* community for commercial purposes and also known as *Hut-ja-akhar* (Letters of the shop).

3. Report, paras 37-42.

The key role in standardizing the Sindhi letter forms, was played by Ellis who, in the words of Sir Henry Bartle Frere, "had mastered Sindee" to a remarkable degree.¹ Being guided by the written record of the early Sindhi Muslim scholars, demonstrating the use of a variety of Sindhized letter forms invented by them or their predecessors who had adapted Arabic alphabet to Sindhi writing,² "he selected the best of the various letters so offered to his choice adding a few which were necessary to express some uncommon sounds, and to make the alphabet theoretically complete".³ Finally, "a sheet containing the alphabet revised was published in July 1853"⁴, and "by lithographing copies, and insisting upon its being learned by all the ... government servants, the introduction of the alphabet (was) fairly accomplished" by the year 1855.⁵

Preparation of Books & Reading Materials in Sindhi

The preparation and publication of Sindhi books, specifically for the instruction of the people of Sind through their own mother tongue/vernacular, commenced after the form of the Sindhi alphabet in Arabic script was finalized in July 1853.⁶

Sanction of Funds for the Extension of the new Anglo-vernacular Education.

For the first time, Rs. 10,000 were sanctioned on 'an annual outlay for educational purposes' in Sind, in accordance with the (East India Company's) Court of Directors Despatch No. 46 of 8th December 1852.⁷

1. Forwarding letter, para 3.
2. Cf. Forwarding letter, para 3.
3. Forwarding letter, para 9.
4. Report, para 3.
5. Forwarding letter, para 9. As a matter of administrative policy, the Commissioner in Sind accepted the principle of the co-existence of both the *Vanika* letters and the Arabic script, but, for practical reasons, commenced with the use of the Arabic alphabet (Forwarding Letter, paras 7 & 8).
6. Report, paras 33, 34 & 42
7. Report, para 37

The Sindhi Muslim System of Education

So far as its survey of the indigenous school system is concerned, Ellis's Report is couched in quantitative rather than in qualitative terms, the figures having been based on returns supplied by the Revenue Officers in 1852. The total number of the indigenous schools in Sind was put at 643 with 7,443 students, of whom one-ninth were females. According to the Report: "These returns do not exhibit the total number of persons receiving education, for many of the better class maintained instructors for their children in their own homes and these have probably found no place in the Collector's returns".¹

Apart from these private *Home* schools, the returns of the Collectors have not mentioned even some of the great educational institutions such as those of Chotiyari, Khohra, Trippat, which the contemporary writer, Richard Burton, mentions as *colleges* of the Talpur period.² These were still flourishing when the returns were being collected.

It is, however, important to note that like W. Adam, H.B. Ellis also was of the view that the indigenous school system should have formed "a basis for future extended operations."³ Noting the professional devotion of teachers, Ellis concluded that it proved "that education is not unappreciated in Sind, and that judicious efforts for its extension have every chance of being rewarded with success".⁴

FEMALE EDUCATION. Ellis went on to underline the fact, that female education was an integral part of the indigenous system.⁵ There was evidence of women teachers teaching at the secondary level⁴—"a boy and two girls are taught Arabic and Persian gratuitously by the wife of a Mochee (cobbler) at Soong, in Obowra (in the present Sukkur District); and (also)

1. Report, para 3

2. Vide, *infra* p. 49

3. Report para 2

4. Report, para 8

5. Report, para 3

two boys are instructed in the Koran by a blind woman at Tanga in Obowra".¹

A NETWORK OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. Elementary schools or *Maktabas*, with the teaching of Holy Quran (to the Muslim children) as their main feature, flourished as a free service almost everywhere. According to Ellis "teaching, in charity, a few pupils beneath a shady tree, in the courtyard of a mosque, cannot fail to inspire respect, though we may be unable to admire either the nature or the method of the instruction".²

SECONDARY-CUM-HIGHER EDUCATION. According to Ellis, a vast network of these elementary schools had been the backbone of the secondary-cum-higher educational institutions which were likewise "scattered over the country, not always in the most populous and best known towns, but often in remote villages, where some preceptor, having acquired a name by his skill in teaching, and a skill for superior learning, has drawn together pupils from distant districts".³

These were the common schools admitting both the Muslim and the Hindu students—a majority of the former specializing in religious studies through Arabic and the latter specializing in literature, secretarial work and accounts through Persian. These institutions were the hall-mark of the Muslim Educational System in Sind. As regards their condition, Ellis observed that "the state of the schools in which Persian and Arabic are taught is more promising".⁴

Some of these institutions in the cities had a long history and great reputation. "In Thatta, for instance, one school numbers about 100 scholars. The master adopts teaching as profession which has been handed down to him from his father and grandfather. & boasts of having educated many distinguished servants,

1. Report, para 3 & 19

2. Report, para 10

3. Report, para 11

4. Report, para 12

both Mussulman and Hindoo, of the late (Talpur) and the present (British) Government."¹

TEACHING PROFESSION. This shows that teaching as a profession was well established. It had a long tradition and good reputation to attract men and women to work as teachers. Most of the men and women who taught children at the elementary level did so as a matter of religious duty "*fee sabeel-Oolla*, in the way of God".²

Others, both at the elementary and secondary level accepted whatever meagre remunerations accrued to them, from pupils and parents, but were devoted to teaching. "We may wonder", observes Ellis, "not that the masters are so few and ill qualified, but rather that so many well-educated men are content to undertake the task".³ A school master in Upper Sind was not only teaching gratuitously, "but feeds and clothes at his own expenses the 14 pupils whom he instructs in Arabic and Persian."⁴

CURRICULUM AND METHOD OF INSTRUCTION. Richard Burton in his account of the Muslim education in Sind, has described in details the curriculum requirements from primary through higher stages. He has named the particular text-books and the sequence in which these were taught, and referred to the method of instruction followed.

It may be noted that because of an early development of professional thinking on the part of teachers in Sind⁵, they departed from the strictly traditional system of instructing the child directly through Persian and Arabic, which was in vogue in almost all parts of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. They recognized the importance of instructing the child through his

1. Report, para 12

2. Report, para 10

3. Report, para 17

4. Report, para 18

5. As confirmed by Ja'far al-Bubakani's mid-sixteenth century work on 'Method of Education' (vide supra p. i).

Mother Tongue, and took practical steps to impart elementary education through Sindhi. Abul Hasan b. Abdul Aziz, a renowned scholar of Thatta, wrote the first text-book in Sindhi sometime in the last quarter of the 17th century. Being an innovation in *Sindhi*, the book came to be called as "Abul Hasan-ji-Sindhi" (*The Sindhi of Abul Hasan*). Other Sindhi books were produced soon after and the elementary curriculum was enriched. The elementary Sindhi curriculum followed during the 2nd quarter of the 19th century is described in details by Richard Burton who records that after reading Holy Quran and making exercises in writing and spelling, the child, about nine years old "proceeds to the next step, *the systematic study of his mother tongue the Sindhi*".¹

ADMINISTRATION & FINANCIAL SUPPORT. Burton, in his account, has thrown some light on the internal administration of the institutions of higher education—the Time Table, holidays, the salient features of student life and the way it was regulated. He has noted the strength of the staff and their salaries. He has confirmed the policy of State support to education during the Talpur period in terms of "a monthly sum proportioned to the expenses of the several establishments".² As to the main source of income, he has mentioned, in particular, the institution of Waqf bequests and charitable endowments in Sind - "the meritorious institutions of Islam, which encouraged its followers to support seminaries and schools, instead of monasteries and convents".³

In a passing reference to the educational conditions during the rules of the previous governments, the Talpurs and the Kalhoras, Ellis remarks that some learned men "were in the enjoyment of liberal allowances from the State" which encouraged them to promote the cause of education.⁴ But he says:

-
1. p. 47 (*italics supplied*)
 2. p. 49
 3. Loc. cit.
 4. Report, para 22

"When the British Government succeeded the Talpurs, such occasional presents of cash or of loongees as were not uncommonly bestowed we learned men on special occasions by even the least refined of the Meers entirely ceased, and at the same time the large allowances of the Tatta Syuds were confiscated, notwithstanding the enjoyment for centuries under successive dynasties."¹

By cutting off these "sources of emolument" and effecting their "sudden withdrawal",² the colonial government dealt a death-blow to the national system of education which had been in vogue in Sind for centuries.

It was not on mere 'religious grounds', as is often argued, that the Muslim parents hesitated to send their children to the new schools. The Muslims, from whom the country had been conquered, were deliberately alienated by acts of commission which prompted the Muslim community to suspect the very motives of the colonial power in spreading their new western education, which, besides, remained aligned with the missionary work during the initial decades.

1. Report, para 23

2. Report, para 24

REPORT
ON
EDUCATION IN SIND,

FORWARDED

MARCH 1856.

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Bombay :
PRINTED FOR GOVERNMENT
AT THE
BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY PRESS.
1856.

EDUCATION IN SIND

No. 3969 OF 1855.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

From H. B. E. FRERE, Esq.,

Commissioner in Sind,

To, C. J. ERSKINE, Esq.,

Director of Public Instruction.

Dated 24th December 1855.

SIR,—I have deeply to regret and apologise for the length of time during which your letters,

Nos. 343 and 706, of the 21st May, and 6th November last, regarding the organisation of an Educational Agency in Sind.

noted in the margin, have remained unanswered, and the Report now enclosed, from Mr. B.H.

Ellis, C. S., has lain by me. My

only excuse is that it was my wish, in handing up the Report, to state more fully and perfectly than the time at my command has permitted, the details which you ought to possess regarding the present state of education, and the suggestions which occur to me for its extension and improvement.

2. Mr. Ellis's very interesting Report is so full that it might have justified my doing at first from choice what I am compelled now to do from want of time, namely submitting it as it stands, as a very full exposition of what has been done in the way of inquiry and preparation, as well as of what it is proposed to do.

3. I may here remark that the labour of correspondence on this subject, and of arranging all details, fell almost exclusively upon Mr. Ellis, in whose general views I entirely concur. He had mastered Sindee to an extent little if at all inferior to Captains Stack or Burton, whom the Sindees used to consider the only two Europeans really qualified as critical Sindee scholars; and he

devoted a great portion of his time to collecting, composing, or revising the Sindec works, the publication of which was a necessary preliminary to anything more than rudimentary education.

4. In his Report now forwarded he has but briefly adverted to a branch of the subject which cost him great labour, and which was of the utmost importance, as a preliminary step to any attempt at education in Sindec,—I mean the selection of the character in which it should be written.

5. You will find on record two memoranda addressed to my predecessor, Mr. Pringle, on this subject—one by the late Captain Stack, advocating the adoption of a Hindooised alphabet, selected from one or other of the many alphabets, or rather systems of short-hand writing, current among the Hindoo inhabitants of Sind; the other by Captain Burton, advocating the adoption of the Arabic character. Each is unanswerable, according as the reader looks at the question from a Hindoo or Mahomedan point of view. And the most difficult part of the dilemma, in deciding between them, arises from the fact that while the language itself has a Hindoo origin and genius, belonging undoubtedly to that great family of languages which acknowledges Sanscrit as its most perfect type, and while a large proportion of the Government servants are Hindoos, between two-thirds and three-fourths of the people are Mahomedans, and look to Arabic and Persian as their classic languages. It would be difficult to say which of these two sections of the population is the more bigoted, or the less inclined to adopt anything however remotely connected with the rival faith.

6. In fact both Captain Stack and Captain Burton are right as far as the section of the community they respectively represent is concerned; and after the most careful and dispassionate consideration, Mr. Ellis, who judged the question with as much scholarly acumen and knowledge as practical sagacity, agreed with the impressions which I had formed on looser data—that it was as hopeless to teach the Hindoos generally to read their own language in an Arabic character, as it would be to induce the Mahomedans to adopt generally a system of writing which they would consider as more than savouring of rank idolatry.

7. To attain that general enlightenment which can alone put an end to such prejudices, it appeared to us absolutely necessary to teach both parties to read their own language in their own way. As Mr. Ellis points out, the example of the North-West Provinces—and he might have added of Germany—proves that the co-existence of two distinct alphabets is less practically inconvenient than would be at first supposed. But whether inconvenient or not, there is no escape from the difficulty; and if Government were exclusively to adopt either the Hindoo or Arabic character as the sole medium of Sindee education, the result must be to condemn either the Mahomedan, and more formidably prejudiced majority, or the Hindoo, the trading and money-making minority, to many generations of ignorance.

8. The reasons which induced us to commence with the Arabic alphabet are glanced at by Mr. Ellis. The Persian language, written in a character essentially identical, has been the official language of record and account; and no Sindee official, Hindoo or Mahomedan, need be many days or even hours in learning to read Sindee in any character derived from the Arabic. Moreover, there are a few, though very few, books extant in Sindee, written in the Arabic character, with the addition of a few dots, to distinguish letters which have no Arabic representative. The system on which these additional letters were invented was not uniform; but the fact was sufficient to show how little practical difficulty existed in adapting the Arabic alphabet to the expression of Sindee sounds.

9. With great pains Mr. Ellis selected the best of the various letters so offered to his choice, adding a few which were necessary to express some uncommon sounds, and to make the alphabet theoretically complete; and by lithographing copies, and insisting upon its being learned by all the inferior Government servants, the introduction of the alphabet has been fairly accomplished. A copy of the alphabet is enclosed.

10. It was not to be expected that such a work would escape criticism. Mr. Ellis's most formidable assailant was the Rev. Doctor Trumpp, a scholar whose attainments would entitle his

opinions to respect even in Germany, and whose scholarship is of a depth and extent rarely met with in India. He held that he had demonstrated that the dots whereby Mr. Ellis converted an Arabic *d* or *t* into the guttural, or cerebral, or pectoral *dli* or *th*, known only in the Sindee language, had not been fixed on the same principles which guided the original inventors of the Arabic character in dotting the letters, the use of which has become so universal.

11. I am free to confess that it did not appear very clear to me that the original inventors had any very fixed principles in distributing these dots; or that, if they had, those principles were now very clear. But, as a practical question, it seemed certain that no good could come from disturbing an alphabet just when it had been introduced, until Doctor Trumpp had determined how those principles were to be applied in dotting the new letters, which, by some device or another, *must* be distinguished from the orthodox Arabic letters, which slightly differ from them in sound. For most of what Doctor Trumpp considered Mr. Ellis's solecisms, Mr. Ellis could quote the authority of Sindee scholars, who had invented and used the objectionable dots for several generations past, and from whose works Mr. Ellis had borrowed them. After much controversy, it appeared that Doctor Trumpp's objections were insuperable only as regarded three or four letters, which very rarely occur. It seemed, therefore, to me practically useless to make any alteration in Mr. Ellis's alphabet, at least until Doctor Trumpp should have matured a better, and till he shall have actually employed it, as he contemplates doing, in a copious dictionary and grammar, and selection of reading lessons, on the preparation of which he was engaged when forced by ill health temporarily to leave the country.

12. I may observe that the points at issue will hardly more affect the mode of writing than the different ways in which different English writing-masters teach their pupils to write F, and T, M, N, and S.

13. The selection of a Hindoo alphabet for adoption in all Government business and publications, and it may be hoped for

ultimate general adoption by the community, has not yet been effected. It is a matter of rather more difficulty than the adaptation of the Arabic character to Sindee, inasmuch as the variety of the alphabets in use is greater, and whichever may be selected, it must be supplied with a complete set of vowel marks, which are almost universally omitted in the Hindoo alphabets now used. I had hoped this most desirable object might have been soon effected, had Mr. Wishwanath Narayen remained in Sind; but his removal has deferred the attainment of this object, though I hope to no very distant period.

14. Annexed is a copy of a circular I have laterly issued regarding annual examinations, and a system of rewarding the best pupils, either by scholarships, or a footing in the Government service, which I propose to recruit exclusively from this source. To carry out the system, however, the assistance of a thoroughly qualified Inspector, under your orders, seems to me essential.

15. Mr. Ellis's 105th paragraph gives a summary of the plan which we had intended to pursue. I think that an annual grant of at least Rs. 25,000 will be required to carry it out.

16. Perhaps at present the most pressing want is that of some qualified Inspector, under your general superintendence, to devote his whole attention to the subject. He should have under him at least two subordinates, one a Mahomedan and the other a Hindoo, not less highly qualified than the provincial Superintendents of Schools in India. If these latter are drawn from the ranks of educated Natives in Bombay, I think you will find it necessary to give higher pay than would content them in our older provinces.

17. The salaries and establishments of these officers will amount to much more than Rs. 4,800 per annum, which is the sum estimated by Mr. Ellis (*vide* the two first items of Statement G). For some time to come, the other items of charge in that statement will be within the sums estimated by Mr. Ellis; but, upon the whole, I am convinced that Rs. 25,000 per annum is a moderate estimate of the charge of doing anything very effectual in the way

of education in Sind.

18. I think it would be advisable to print Mr. Ellis's Report, with any instructions you may issue, and forward copies for the information and guidance of Officers in charge of districts in Sind. It is necessary to bear in mind that they have few means of learning what is doing in other parts of the Presidency, and that they are unavoidably ignorant of many matters which are well known to all officers in similar positions in India; but I feel assured you will find them at least as zealous in carrying out your views, when they clearly understand them.

I have the honour to be, & c.

H. B. E. FRERE,
Commissioner in Sind.

*Commissioner's Office, Camp Larkana,
Shikarpoor Districts, 24th December 1855.*

To, H. B. E. FRERE, Esq.,
Commissioner in Sind.

SIR,—In accordance with your instructions to place on record, for submission to Government, an account of the measures recently adopted for the promotion of education in Sind, I have the honour to lay before you a Report on the present State of Education in this Province, and the measures proposed for its extension.

2. In commencing an inquiry into this subject, the indigenous schools naturally demand the most prominent attention, as furnishing a basis for future extended operations. A summary Abstract of Returns furnished by the Collectors in 1852 is annexed, marked A; its perusal gives rise to many suggestions of interest.

3. The total number of such schools is shown to have been 643, attended by 7,443 scholars, and it is a noticeable fact that of these nearly one-ninth (693) were females. These returns do not exhibit the total number of persons receiving education, for many of the better class maintain instructors for their children in their own homes, and these have probably found no place in the Collectors' returns.

4. On the other hand, many of these indigenous schools are hardly worthy of the name. Two or three little boys, or in some cases a single pupil, spelling the letters of the Koran under the instruction of the village Moolla, who neither reads any other language, nor understands the meaning of the Arabic he teaches, would constitute a "school," if the building be a public one. The open platform in front of a mosque is the usual school-house in such cases; and many of this description of school have been entered in the returns in company with the places of instruction where the pupils are more numerous, and the education imparted is more complete.

5. The schools in which the teaching is confined to the Koran or Arabic number 278, and the pupils 1,906. The better class of schools, in which both Arabic and Persian are taught, are 275, but the number of pupils is much greater in proportion, being 4,252. There are also 56 schools, with 321 scholars, where Persian

exclusively is taught. Out of the total number of schools there are thus 609, with 6,479 scholars, in which the pupils are either Mussulmans, or such Hindoos as may be desirous of qualifying for Government employ, and who study the Persian language in schools, the teachers of which are for the most part Mahomedans.

6. The schools in which the Hindoo-Sindee, written in the Khudawadee and other varieties of the Sindee character, is studied, number 23, with 803 pupils. The course of instruction in these schools is invariably confined to such reading and writing as may be necessary to qualify the pupil to carry on business as a shop-keeper or merchant. It is not unusual for this knowledge to be acquired by a lad at the shop of some neighbour, who has leisure to give instruction; and it is probable that the number of persons learning appears from the Collectors' returns to be far below the actual number, from the necessary exclusion of these private instructors from the lists of public school-masters.

7. There are also a few schools in Kurrachee and Shikarpoor, where Sanscrit and Goormookhee are taught, but the number of pupils is small (85). It is rare to find in any town in Sind many Hindoos acquainted with either of these languages, the acquirement of which is usually confined to Brahmins, and priests of the Nanukshahee sect.

8. The instruction imparted in the Hindoo-Sindee schools is, as I have before mentioned, purely mercantile. The total absence of all books written in any Hindoo-Sindee character would itself confine the subjects taught within very narrow bounds. The Hindoo religious books being chiefly in Goormookhee, and the Hindoos who were in public employ under the Meers having confined their attention to the Court language (Persian), the two chief incentives to the study of the Vernacular were entirely wanting; and it is not to be wondered at that the schools in which Sindee in this form is taught are of a very inferior description.

9. The mode, too, in which the pupils are instructed, is certainly not according to any orthodox system of tuition, as may be inferred from the fact that the chief school of this description in Kurrachee is taught by a master "*who understands no written*

language”— he merely punishes, while the boys teach one another! and the Collector reports that the school notwithstanding flourishes, as may be inferred from the fact that there are 70 scholars,—a greater number than attend any other school in Kurrachee.

10. The state of the schools in which Persian and Arabic are taught is more promising. I do not include the schools in which the teaching is confined to the Koran; for, as above remarked, the instructors themselves are usually too ignorant to be qualified to impart knowledge to others; still, their efforts, which are usually gratuitous, or rewarded by a scanty occasional pittance of grain or money, are not to be despised, and the sight of a venerable Moolla, teaching in charity (*fee subeel-oolla*, in the way of God) few pupils beneath a shady tree, in the courtyard of a mosque, cannot fail to inspire respect, though we may be unable to admire either the nature or the method of the instruction.

11. And these have no doubt been the germs of the more prosperous schools which are found scattered over the country, not always in the most populous and best known towns, but often in remote villages, where some preceptor, having acquired a name by his skill in teaching, or a reputation for superior learning, has drawn together pupils from distant districts. Thus at Adilpoor, not far from Ghotkee, in Upper Sind, an old man was found teaching 50 pupils, many of whom had come from a great distance; and, with the most wretched means and appliances, this school had been flourishing for upwards of fifty years.

12. In some of the large towns, too, well known schools have been established for years. In Tatta, for instance, one school numbers about 100 scholars. The master adopts teaching as a profession, which has been handed down to him from his father and grandfather, and boasts of having educated many distinguished servants, both Mussulman and Hindoo, of the late and present Government.

13. Roree and Ghotkee in Upper Sind, Halla and Nusarpoor in Central Sind, were likewise distinguished for their learning in former times; and although their schools have fallen of, both in

the number of students and the subjects studied, yet these towns are still noted for the superior intelligence and learning of their residents.

14. In the Abstract Summary, an attempt has been made to classify the schools according to the mode of remuneration to the master; but the results cannot be relied on as very accurate. The fact is, that the modes of payment are so varied that classification is impossible.

15. The schools supported by fixed payments from the scholars are entered as 304 in number; but it is not to be inferred that all the scholars in these schools pay a fixed fee. In many, some of the pupils are excused all payment, while others pay a reduced sum, and probably none give their quota regularly. In many schools set down as free, the richer Zemindars subscribe for the maintenance of the teacher. or some one wealthy person supports a Moolla or Akhoond for the instruction of his own sons, and permits the children of his fellow-villagers to receive the same benefit gratuitously.

16. It is not uncommon to find the schoolmaster, especially if he be the village Moolla, allowed a present of grain each season at harvest, or at other times the parents of the children receiving instruction bestow some reward (usually from two to five rupees) on the occasion of a particular book or branch of study being successfully completed, or on the pupil having finished the curriculum of study which the limited knowledge of the master permits of his going through.

17. The fees, where taken, are not of one fixed amount,—they vary in most cases from one to four annas per mensem; but instances are given of the fees being as low as eight pies, and as high as twelve annas or a rupee per mensem. The latter is rare; and it is more common to read that the master's remuneration is "a pittance of grain each harvest." "no fixed salary, the scholars giving the master enough to support life", "bread and clothes", "daily food, and a small present of grain at harvest", and so on; showing how wretched is the remuneration which usually falls to the teacher's lot; and we may wonder, not that the

masters are so few and ill qualified, but rather that so many well educated men are content to undertake the task.

18. Among the curiosities of educational experience to be gathered from these returns must be noticed the schoolmaster at Syed Mujoom Ali Shah (in Upper Sind), who not only teaches gratuitously, but feeds and clothes at his own expense the 14 pupils whom he instructs in Arabic and Persian. Other instances of similar devotion may be found; and, though rare and exceptional cases, they are sufficiently numerous to prove that education is not unappreciated in Sind. and that judicious efforts for its extension have every chance of being rewarded with success.

19. Two other schools are noticeable,—one where a boy and two girls are taught Arabic and Persian gratuitously by the wife of a Mochee, at Soong, in Obowra; and the other in which two boys are instructed in the Koran by a blind woman at Tanga in Obowra. Further inquiry regarding these schools would no doubt be repaid by the acquisition of interesting information regarding the teachers.

20. The above details will suffice to show the present state of the indigenous schools in the Province. It might be interesting to go further back, and trace the condition of learning under the Kulhoras and Talpoors; but such researches would be of antiquarian or historical interest rather than of practical utility in discussing the means to be adopted in the present day for the promotion of education.

21. For the latter purpose, it is enough to record that, under the rule of the Talpoors, there was no direct and regular encouragement to education, most of the Meers being given to patronise field-sports in preference to learned avocations. There were, however, exceptions; and some of the Meers are said to have been poets themselves, and to have patronised men of learning.

22. The Syuds of Tatta and Roree were in the enjoyment of liberal allowances from the State, which, though not given expressly for the encouragement of learning, no doubt tended to promote it, by affording men naturally inclined to the study of Arabic and Persian literature the means of subsistence, and

leisure to pursue their studies; and to this circumstance may be traced the fact of the most learned men having belonged to one or other of those communities.

23. When the British Government succeeded the Talpoors, such occasional presents of cash or of loongees as were not uncommonly bestowed on learned men on special occasions by even the least refined of the Meers entirely ceased, and at the same time the large allowances of the Tatta Syuds were confiscated, notwithstanding the enjoyment for centuries under successive dynasties.

24. These sources of emolument, though they may have been irregular in the one case, and indirect in the other, still tended to promote learning; and their sudden withdrawal rendered it incumbent on the British Government to substitute an equivalent, if not a more regular and direct means of promoting education.

25. Such steps were taken, but in the Hyderabad Collectorate alone. A school was established in Kurrachee, by subscription, among the European community; but its object being professedly missionary, it does not come within the scope of a review of the connection of Government with the progress of education.

26. Captain Rathborne, the Collector of Hyderabad, however, evinced a very laudable zeal in endeavouring to establish, on a liberal scale, a college for instruction in English. As early as August 1845 he brought the subject to the notice of the Governor, and the sanction of the Supreme Government was applied for to an annual disbursement of Rs. 3,000.

27. Unfortunately the wars on our Frontier prevented the project from being then carried out; but as soon as warlike operations were at an end, the Supreme Government of India sanctioned the amount, and there was every prospect of an efficient school being established.

28. But difficulties were thrown in the way; the Board of Education could give no competent master; the Government of Bombay would not sanction the outlay until made acquainted with the details of the proposed arrangements; and, after many references from Government, and from the then Commissioner,

the scheme was finally abandoned in September 1848.

29. This failure was much to be regretted, for Captain Rathborne had in the first instance induced the chief Beloochees and others to engage to defray half the current expenses; and, had a commencement been then made, they would probably have continued to take an interest in education which no exertions could now arouse. The delay in carrying out the original scheme was fatal to this portion of the plan; and the zeal of the Belooch Chieftains not unnaturally had evaporated when, after a lapse of three years, they were again consulted on the subject.

30. A further effort was made by Captain Rathborne on the occasion of the conviction of two men, of high ranks, for forgery (Meers Ghoolam Shah and Fuzlah Talpoor). The large fine which was then imposed the Magistrate suggested should be devoted to educational purposes. This also was sanctioned; but in this case, too, no further results followed.

31. Owing to these failures, no progress whatever was made in English education during the first ten years of British rule in Sind; and for other reasons, which may be briefly alluded to, Vernacular education was equally at a standstill during the same period.

32. This is chiefly attributable to the doubts as to the written character to be adopted for official records in the Sindec language. On this question a warm controversy arose: no two of the Officers who were consulted were of the same opinion; and those best qualified to judge (Captains Stack and Burton) took diametrically opposite views.

33. The consequence of this variety of opinions and the hesitation of the authorities as to the character to be officially adopted, was, that up to 1853 not a single book or paper of any kind was published in the vernacular; nor were any books (even the most elementary) translated into Sindec; in fine, all progress towards the very desirable substitution of the language of the country for Persian in official documents was entirely checked.

34. Captain Stack meanwhile, by the publication of an English and Sindec Dictionary and Grammar, had very much

facilitated the acquisition of the language by future students; but I do not consider that these works can be viewed in the light of Sindce books for Sindians, the character adopted (Devanagri) being unknown to all but a very small section of the people of the country.

35. The publication of these books, however, was of great practical utility, as paving the way for the next step which was taken, to promote the adoption of the Vernacular language in official business. This was the issue of your circular (No. 1825, of 6th September 1851) directing all Officers to undergo an examination to test their proficiency in a colloquial knowledge of Sindce. So long as the European Officers made no efforts to acquire that language, it was not to be expected that the Native subordinates would aid them in substituting, for the mongrel Persian to which they had so long been habituated, and which few but themselves knew, a language which all concerned might comprehend. The compulsory acquirement of a colloquial knowledge of Sindce, by all Officers employed in the Province, ought shortly to lead to its general adoption in all public business, and the opposition of the Native officials must gradually give way.

36. The means of acquiring a knowledge of Sindce were about the same time increased by Lieutenant Arthur's publication of a Sindce work, the "Hikayut-oos-salaheen," for the use of students; and subsequently by his publishing a version of Dossabhoy's "Idiomatic Sentences" in Sindce,—a work which is of great utility to those who wish to acquire a colloquial knowledge of the language.

37. The receipt of a despatch from the Court of Directors (No. 46, of 8th December 1852, forwarded by Government of Bombay, No. 816, of 11th March 1853), sanctioning an annual outlay of Rs. 10,000 for educational purposes, followed the inquiries you had instituted in 1852 into the state of the indigenous schools, and gave an additional impetus to the movement in favour of the more general adoption of Sindce.

38. This despatch discussed two subjects. The first was the controversy regarding the character to be used in writing

Sindee, which, as has been above observed, retarded for so many years all educational improvement; and the second subject of the letter was the establishment of English and Vernacular schools.

39. The Honorable Court decided the first point in favour of the Arabic character; but in deference, it would seem, to the previously expressed opinions of the Bombay Government, suggested the appointment of a Committee to settle the question finally.

40. The appointment of such a Committee was at the time practically impossible, as the officers best acquainted with Sindee were either absent from Sind, or in different parts of the Province, and not easily brought together; the suggestion was therefore of necessity laid aside.

41. I confess that this result is not much to be regretted, as such a Committee could only have ended in disappointment; the members would not have agreed. They would have written long minutes, and argued with one another; the controversy would have been renewed, and with but a poor chance of any new light being thrown upon a subject already ably and exhaustively discussed by Captains Stack and Burton, whose knowledge of the language probably exceeded that of any one who could have been on the Committee.

42. The despatch of the Court was favourable to the adoption of the Arabic character, and you directed that "the very trifling changes or additions required for its perfect adaptation to Sindee" (paragraph 4 of Court's despatch) should be forthwith made, and no further time lost in debating and collecting opinions. This was done, and a sheet containing the alphabet revised was published in July 1853. From that time to the present a series of books on arithmetic, geography, history, and other subjects has been issued; and it is to be hoped the question is for ever set at rest, so far as concerns the character to be used in the publication of books, and instruction generally.

43. At the same time, there can be no doubt but that this, or any other character in ordinary use by Mussulmans, will not be adopted by the Hindoo community. While the great majority of

the population of Sind consists of Mahomedans, it is imperative on us that we should not deter them (the Hindoos) from entering the public service, and debar them from the means of instruction in their own language, by the universal adoption of a Hindoo-Sindee character, which Mussulmans would never adopt; yet the Hindoos are a sufficiently numerous and influential community to demand that their interests should not be overlooked.

44. For this purpose, it will be necessary to print books, and teach Sindee, in a character to which they will not object; and I have little doubt but that the Khudawadee character (advocated in the former discussion by Captain Stack) is, with some necessary changes, the one which it will be found advisable to adopt.

45. The use of two characters, one for the Hindoo and one for the Mahomedan population, has its parallel in the North-West Provinces. To adopt a similar course in Sind would be the simplest solution of the difficulty; and we might then reconcile the chief advocates in the controversy, by deciding that both Captain Stack and Captain Burton were right,—the one arguing on behalf of the Hindoos, the other as the organ of the Mahomedans of Sind.

46. The same progress, however, has not been made in the publication of works in the Khudawadee character; nor, indeed, has any attempt been made to fix the alphabet in a form adapted for ordinary use. The alterations required are more extensive than were needed in the Arabic character, and the varieties of forms for the letters are much more numerous, as the Hindoos of many of the principal cities, and even some of their castes residing in the same city, have peculiar modes of writing, which they are not likely to abandon readily for any universal system, although the change involved be slight.

47. And in connection with the backward state of the Hindoo-Sindee schools, and the very indifferent quality of the instruction imparted by their teachers, we find this class of the community much less inclined than their Mahomedan fellow-countrymen to study for the sake of learning. For these reasons and especially

as the Mussulmans are in Sind as four to one Hindoo, the Arabic character first demanded and received attention.

48. In proceeding to carry out the instructions of the Honorable Court on the second point adverted to in their despatch, the first difficulty was to find an Officer to fill the post of Superintendent. In consequence of your inability to find any one whom you could recommend for a post which requires many qualifications not often combined in the same person, the progress attained towards a complete system of education in the Province has necessarily been less than it otherwise would have been.

49. To have delayed all improvement pending the appointment of this Officer would have retarded matters, and every effort has therefore been made to carry out the spirit of the directions of the Court and of Government, though circumstances rendered compliance with the letter of their instructions impracticable.

50. The original idea of one central English school for the Province was abandoned. The great distance would have precluded the attendance of many scholars otherwise anxious to obtain an English education; and there were no valid reasons for refusing to the people of Sind facilities which are enjoyed elsewhere in India. The establishment of one English school in each Collectorate appeared to be the least that could be sanctioned, to meet the wants of the people of the Province.

51. The Kurrachee Municipality having expressed their readiness to share the expense of building and maintaining a school, the erection of a school-house from a design by the late Lieutenant Chapman was sanctioned, and a master, who had been educated at the Poona College, was placed in charge of the school.

52. When the new building was opened on the 5th October last, there were 68 boys in the school, and there were prospects of a considerable increase, the Natives of the town having by that time begun to acquire confidence in the principles upon which instruction is conducted.

53. Owing to the mixed population settled at Kurrachee from all parts of India, the majority of the pupils at the school there is

composed of the sons of residents in the older Provinces of India; and the establishment of schools at Hyderabad and Shikarpoor is likely to be attended with more beneficial results in extending English education to the people of Sind.

54. It is therefore with satisfaction that I record, in addition to the gratifying fact of the Kurrachee school being in full operation, that the building of a school-house at Hyderabad, and of another at Shikarpoor, has been sanctioned; and both works will shortly be in progress, if they have not already been commenced.

55. In the former town, as at Kurrachee, the Municipality (will) bear a portion of the expense. At Shikarpoor the only English school hitherto in existence has been kept up by the liberality of a private individual (Captain Goldsmid), and the charge of erecting the school building there will be defrayed out of the sum of Rs. 11,000 authorised to be expended on educational objects in Upper Sind. (Government Letter No. 1291, of 23rd March, 1853).

56. This grant has its origin in the circumstance of His Highness Ali Moorad having offered a bribe to Lieutenant Younghusband, during the time of the inquiry which preceded the resumption of certain districts from His Highness in 1852. The amount of this bribe, which Lieutenant Younghusband had deposited in the Government Treasury, was at your suggestion placed by Government at your disposal for the furtherance of education in Upper Sind.

57. From this source, not only will the cost of the Shikarpoor English and Vernacular school-house be defrayed, but buildings for instruction in the Vernacular and other oriental languages have been sanctioned at the places noted below; some of these have already been erected, others are now in course of erection:-

1. Jacobabad.
2. Roree.
3. Ghotkee.
4. Khyrpoor Dahirkee.
5. Obowra.
6. Meerpoor Mathela.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 7. Larkhana. | |
| 8. Mehur. | |
| 9. Nowshera. | } In these three assisted by money
from local funds. |
| 10. Kundiara. | |
| 11. Tarooshah. | |
| 12. Sehwan. | |

58. By these means, both ample provision has been made for the erection of buildings for instruction in English, and nearly all the large towns in Upper Sind have been provided with suitable school-houses for Vernacular education.

59. Besides the above, grants-in-aid of contributions from local funds have been sanctioned for a similar purpose in the places noted below,—these towns are, with two exceptions, in the districts under charge of Lieutenant Jameson, in the Hyderabad Collectorate.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Mitaree. | |
| 2. Berea. | |
| 3. Tuttabad. | |
| 4. Mohubut Dhera Juttoee. | |
| 5. Hillanee Belanee. | |
| 6. Kotree. | } Kurrachee Collectorate. |
| 7. Tatta. | |

60. In one village (Laka Bazeedpoor) a school-house is being erected from local funds; and, in the following places, where no such funds were forthcoming, the amount has been wholly defrayed by Government:—

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Jerruck, | Kurrachee Collectorate. |
| 2. Kumbhur. | } Shikarpoor Collectorate. |
| 3. Thurery. | |
| 4. Khokur. | Hyderabad Collectorate. |

61. There remain a few important towns (chiefly in the Hyderabad districts) where buildings have yet to be provided. It will be seen, however, from the enumeration above given, that a good deal has been done to provide the requisite accommodation.

62. This has been effected partly from the sources I have indicated, and partly from the annual grant of Rs. 10,000 authorised in the despatch of the Court before quoted. This despatch arrived too late in 1852-53 to be available in that year; the mode in which you have authorised, subject to the confirmation of Government, the expenditure for the past official year, is exhibited in the annexed Statement, marked B.

63. As it was impossible to organise in so short a time a regular system of education for the Province, the object has been to take such steps as might conduce gradually to this organization, and to foster the wish for education, wherever displayed, by the expenditure of sums from the Government grant, in aid of the efforts of the inhabitants.

64. Thus in Thureri, Kumbhur, and Mehur, towns in Upper Sind, in which no local funds were forthcoming for the erection of a school-house, the principal inhabitants promised ample monthly contributions for the maintenance of the school when established. Their request for the erection of school-houses at the expense of Government was therefore readily complied with. In many other places the funds for the support of the schools are derivable from local sources, and the cost to Government will be but small. All such grants are part of the general system which it is intended by degrees to carry out, and the sanctions already accorded will, without difficulty, be blended therewith, either without alteration, or with modifications which the extension of the system will in some cases render necessary.

65. It would obviously have been useless to build school-houses, unless some measures were at the same time taken to provide books for elementary instruction in the schools. The English department at Kurrachee has been supplied from the Elphinstone Institution, and a separate Book Depository has now been established in connection with the Kurrachee school.

66. In Sindree, the books already extant were chiefly of a religious character. One of the best—"The Lives of the Saints"—has already been alluded to as having been published by Lieutenant Arthur. Even this would hardly be the work to choose as a text-book for the rising generation; and in the utter

want of all elementary works, it was necessary to translate, from the English and other languages, a series adapted for school instruction.

67. For this purpose a collection of Oordoo and Persian books was sent for from Agra, and some Murathee or Guzerathee school books were likewise taken as the basis for translation.

68. The works which have up to this time been prepared are—Lekhey-jee-Peer.—The Rudiments of Arithmetic, containing the first four rules (from the Hindustani chiefly).

Babnamo.—Sindee Primer.

Map of the World.—From the English.

Dhirtee Nirwar.—Geography, chiefly from the Murathee.

Chitr-jee-Par.—Elements of Drawing (from the Hindustani).

Bhunnoo Zemindar.—A moral story (from ditto).

Sudhaturu and Kudhaturu.¹—A moral story (from ditto).

History of India.—Chiefly from ditto.

Æsop's Fables.—From the English.

Lekhey-jo-Kitab.—A complete course of Arithmetic, partly from the Murathee, partly from Hutton's Mathematics.

69. Besides these, I may mention "Zubtee Kitab" (Tables for measuring the contents of Fields), a translation of Regulation XIV of 1827, and a Hindustani treatise on vaccination (the last not yet published). These, though not strictly educational works, may still be noted as contributions to the infant Sindee literature.

70. The chief want at present experienced is an elementary Sindee Grammar for Sindees. This Captain Stack had promised, and but for his untimely end the want would no doubt have been supplied.

71. With this exception, the books now ready are sufficiently numerous for a commencement. Some of them may perhaps show signs of haste in the preparation, but they will, I believe, answer the purpose for which they were intended, and will serve for elementary instruction until books with more pretensions are published.

1. Misprinted in the original as 'Ludhotero and Khudhotero'

72. A prize having been offered for the best specimen of translation from Persian into Sindee, a version of the Persian History of Sind, called "*Tarikh Masumee*,"¹ is also under preparation by Moonshee Nundiram, who gained the prize.

73. All the above mentioned works have been lithographed since the publication, in July 1853, of the revised alphabet, and I trust that the instructions of the Honorable Court of Directors, to commence the preparation of elementary works in Sindee, will not be thought to have been neglected, considering the short period that has elapsed, and the want of a Superintendent to devote his time wholly to the work.

74. The erection of commodious buildings, and the publication of elementary works, would be of little benefit without competent teachers; and it was evident that although the schoolmasters now teaching might impart a very tolerable knowledge of the rudiments of Arabic and Persian, they were quite incompetent to give instruction in geography, history, arithmetic, and the other ordinary branches of study, in which they were themselves wholly uninstructed.

75. It became, therefore, a matter of some importance to form without delay a normal class, for the tuition of schoolmasters. It was not without difficulty that a number of teachers, or persons of the class usually occupied in teaching, could be got together. The greatest difficulty, however, was the want of a teacher, and, when an application which was made to Bombay failed, the project must have fallen to the ground but for the voluntary services of very competent instructors (Wishwanath Narayen, Mahadeo Shastree, and latterly Kahandas Muncharam, formerly students of the Elphinstone and Poona Colleges), who happened to be employed in the Government service at Kurrachee.

76. This normal class, to the number of 30, has been for some months past receiving instruction in geography, arithmetic, and latterly history; and their progress has far exceeded the expectations entertained at starting. Those who may have attained a certain standard of qualification will shortly be

1. Misprinted in the original as '*Tarikh Moonsurnee*'.

appointed to schools; and, although it is not supposed that they will be thoroughly efficient, or as competent as the masters whom we may hope to see in a few years, yet there can be no doubt but that they will be far better qualified as teachers than they were before, and they will, moreover, be able to give *some* instruction in useful elementary subjects.

77. The course of study this class will have gone through is, however, very limited; and the number who are likely to prove efficient teachers too small to allow of the class being entirely broken up. I would suggest that such a class be maintained for five years, and that the students attend for a period of one, or, if possible, two years. At the end of five years, it may be expected that the district schools will furnish pupils competent to succeed to vacancies in masterships; and the normal class, as a separate and distinct institution, may be abolished; or at any rate the question whether it should be retained, in a modified form, might at the end of that time be reconsidered.

78. For this purpose, a sum of Rs. 260 per mensem would be required for five years, independently of the funds set apart for education in this Province, the amount of which is shown in a statement annexed to this Report, marked C. I have not included this expense in the estimate of annual expenditure, as it is proposed to make the charge temporary. If, at the end of five years, it be deemed advisable to provide permanently for the special training of masters, no doubt the means of meeting the charge will be available.

Payment to 35 scholars, at Rs. 6	210
Master	50
	<hr/> Rs. 260

Contingent expenses will be defrayed out of the savings from absent pupils, &c.

79. The class should, in my opinion, be taught in future at Hyderabad, as more central for the pupils, though it was necessary in the first instance to establish it at Kurrachee. I do not think it likely that any competent teacher will be found at Hyderabad, except the future master of the English school; and the sum I

have proposed for remuneration is intended to be applied as an addition to his salary for the extra labour thus imposed, or in providing him an assistant to the English school, to compensate for a portion of his time being occupied with the normal class.

80. The details of the proposed educational scheme for this Province will be found annexed, and marked C. The figures must be considered as those of an estimate, which may possibly be altered when the design is executed; and the places for schools are not in all cases actually determined, but are merely indicative of suitable localities. As a want now unknown may spring up in one town, so in another a proposed school may prove to be superfluous; and thus, on the average, it will be found that the estimated number of district schools (48, including the three principal schools) will be found ample for the present.

81. Your views for the educational regulation of the Province had been developed long before the promulgation of the despatch from the Honorable Court of Directors dated the 19th July last, and I have much satisfaction in drawing attention to the fact that the arrangements so proposed are for the most part in perfect harmony with the wishes of the Court, as made known in their despatch.

82. The appointment of a Superintendent was a portion of the scheme which had before been authorised. This will provide for the due inspection of schools. When the educational institutions in the Province become more numerous, further inspection will probably be requisite; but for the present a Superintendent, who will travel throughout the cold weather, visiting Shikarpoor and all the large schools, and who will pass the hot season at Hyderabad and Kurrachee, will be sufficient for the organisation of the schools, and for the other primary arrangements which must be effected before periodical inspection becomes of much utility.

83. The proposed plan, it will be observed, tallies precisely with the opinions advocated in the Court's despatch, in the degree to which an English education is to be provided: while, on the one hand, the funds are not to be wholly absorbed in bestowing

a superior education upon a few, yet, on the other, the benefits of English literature and science will be made available to all, by the establishment of a school at each of the three chief Collectorate towns. (The expense will be restricted to Rs. 300 per mensem,—see C).

84. It would have been desirable, had there been funds available, to carry out another portion of the Court's despatch, by the establishment of scholarships in English schools, to maintain, while studying, those pupils who had much distinguished themselves at Vernacular schools.

85. Though the funds did not admit of these views being carried out to a great extent, yet the arrangements made harmonised with them as far as they went. Proficiency in the village schools has been held to entitle the pupil to free admission into the district schools, and success in the latter entitles one pupil annually to free admission into the English schools.

86. And, that the principle has been fully recognised in Sind may be inferred from the fact of the subscribers to the testimonial proposed in memory of the late Mr. Macleod having resolved that a scholarship should be established in the Kurrachee English school; and the Municipality at the same place recently voted the appointment of two monitorships in their school, to be held by the most advanced and diligent of the pupils. This system of pupil-monitors it is proposed to carry out in every case when the size of the school renders assistance to the master expedient.

87. The want of Officers acquainted with surveying and civil engineering is peculiarly felt in Sind, and measures have already been taken for the formation of an engineering class in connection with the Kurrachee school, which, when completed, will be an useful adjunct to the more scientific but less practical professorship which it is proposed to establish at the Presidency. (Para 31 of Court's Despatch).

88. It will be seen from the appended statement that it is proposed to establish a number of district schools, usually, but not necessarily, at the head quarters of a Kardar; the subjects to be taught are Sindee, Persian, and, if required, Arabic.

89. The Persian has so long been cultivated in Sind, for its literature, as well as on account of its being the language of official records and accounts, that any present attempt to establish schools where the Vernacular only is taught would probably fail; while the combination of the two is likely to lead to the study of Sindee, now not learnt at all, but which will become popular by degrees, as the language is more and more used in the transaction of official business.

90. For tuition in Arabic and Persian, a fee will be exacted, except when exemption is allowed in recognition of proved proficiency in Sindee. Eventually, the study of Persian will be confined to those who acquire it as an accomplishment, or for its literature; and a considerable number of persons who now learn Persian purely with a view to official employ will divert their attention to Sindee; but until the latter becomes the sole language of public business, a school where Sindee exclusively is taught has small chance of being attractive.

91. The Arabic is usually learnt (though to a very limited extent) as the foundation of Persian; and to declare it banished from the schools would certainly keep away many who would otherwise attend. It has therefore been thought expedient not to prohibit Arabic instruction in the district schools; but by the imposition of a higher fee (four annas) the tuition in such elements as are thought a necessary preliminary to Persian will for the most part continue to be carried on in the smaller village schools, while the study of Arabic as a language will in all probability be confined to the three chief district schools (Tatta, Halla, and Roree), where the abolition of this branch of study would much retard the popularity and progress of a school under Government supervision.

92. In one respect, the scheme proposed differs from the views advocated in the Honorable Court's despatch. Although tuition in English, Arabic, or Persian, is to be paid for by fees, instruction in Sindee is to be gratuitous; and I would with all deference submit that, although not in accordance with the rule laid down by the Court, this arrangement be allowed to hold good.

93. I quite concur in the opinion that the acquisition of other than the Vernacular languages, or such extra tuition as is looked on in the light of accomplishment, may fairly be charged for; but the great importance of diffusing a rudimentary knowledge as widely as possible would of itself be a sufficient plea for the admission of all scholars free to such extent that they may at least be put on the road to acquire the further learning usually attainable only at the expense of more time than the masses of people are able to spare.

94. And when the inhabitants have themselves contributed (whether from municipal and other local funds, or by individual subscription) to the support of a school, they have a right to expect that their children should receive education, in the lowest grade at least, without further cost to themselves.

95. I would indeed go further, and advocate the adoption of the system pursued in some Continental States, by which the community are one and all taxed for educational purposes, and the teaching is at once compulsory, and without further fee from the scholars or their parents. The right of the State to punish criminals is undoubted; and, if the liberty of conscience be left unfettered, the right to enforce education, as the great antidote to crime, can hardly be reasonably questioned.

96. If, however, the compulsory part of this system be considered impracticable, yet at least the imposition of a tax for educational purposes, and gratuitous rudimentary education as its *sequitur*, are surely worthy of attention; and I would remind you of the efforts you have yourself made in support of the views ably propounded by Captain Wingate, late Commissioner of Surveys, with reference to such a cess for the promotion of education.

97. I believe that in England there is a growing tendency to consider that, when a rate is imposed in furtherance of education, a right to gratuitous tuition is created. In this country it would be a great encouragement to voluntary taxation, in support of education, were this principle more generally adopted.

98. Besides the acquirements applicable to India generally,

there exists the necessity for encouraging the study of Sindee, a language which has never yet formed part of the regular education of Sindees,—an additional incentive to the adoption of gratuitous tuition in the Vernacular in this country.

99. For these reasons I would respectfully submit that education in Sindee should be gratuitous, and necessarily so when the inhabitants themselves aid to support the school. There has been no disinclination shown in Sind to afford such aid, either by indirect taxation, through grants from municipal funds, or, as in Upper Sind, directly, by monthly contributions from wealthy individuals.

100. It is hoped that the aid from such sources will be gradually extended, and thus free a portion of the Government funds, so as to allow of their application in aid of smaller schools, where the community is not wealthy enough to defray the whole charge.

101. Such grants-in-aid occupy a prominent position in the scheme proposed for Sind, as they do in the Court's despatch before adverted to. For the present, Rs. 1,000 are set apart for this object, to be expended by the Superintendent, during his annual tour, in donations of from ten to twenty-five rupees, as an addition to the allowances of the masters whose schools are found in a promising condition. The gradual adoption of the regulations of Government, and of an improved system of tuition, would lead to these grants becoming permanent to particular schools; and the number of such schools receiving aid would be increased, as the cost to Government of the district schools diminishes.

102. The female indigenous schools mentioned above should be included in the grants-in-aid; and at first the interference should be very slight: indeed it would be well if it were confined to noting the progress made, and to giving small rewards, both to the scholars reported on most favourably by the teachers, and to the teachers themselves. Further interference will of course be practicable when the people come forward to request it. Without such advances on their part, very minute interference would be more likely to do harm than good.

103. For the Hindoo-Sindee schools, Rs. 2,400 per mensem have been set down. This sum will not be required at present; for until an alphabet for universal adoption by the Hindoos of Sind has been definitely fixed, the establishment of schools would only tend to perpetuate the barbarous varieties which now exist in the different towns, and would prevent the improvement of the present *quasi* short-hand by the addition of distinguishing vowel marks.

104. It will not, I hope, be long before such an alphabet is framed; but it is likely that some time will elapse before it will be universally adopted. The improvement in the Guzerathee (a language formerly as barbarous as the present Hindoo-Sindee) has not yet been adopted by the whole of the Banian population of Guzerat; and it will not be surprising if some time should pass before a revised and complete alphabet is adopted by the corresponding class in Sind.

105. To sum up briefly, the heads of the plan which is submitted for approval, and which, it will be seen, requires twice the amount now placed at the disposal of Government for the purpose; the propositions are:—

1st.—The appointment of a Superintendent, who will inspect the chief schools in the Province annually, and who will communicate with the Commissioner in Sind, and eventually with the Minister of Education.

2nd.—The entertainment of a small establishment, to assist him in superintending the issue of elementary works from the press, and in corresponding with the masters, &c.

3rd.—The establishment of an English school at the head quarters of each Collectorate.

4th.—Three Vernacular schools for instruction in Sindee, in the revised Arabic character. Persian and Arabic will also be taught for a fee; and a higher standard of knowledge will be attained than in the other Vernacular schools.

5th.—District schools, where Sindee will be the chief study; but where Persian will also be taught for a fee; and, if required, Arabic.

6th.—Part of the expense, in all the above mentioned schools, to be defrayed by the community. The English schools to be supervised by a Committee, and the Vernacular schools to be governed by the Rules recently promulgated, of which a copy is annexed (marked D).

7th.—Grants-in-aid to indigenous schools, the system adopted in such schools being gradually improved.

8th.—Hindoo-Sindee schools, for instruction in an improved uniform character, founded on the Khudawadee.

9th.—Prizes at annual examinations by the Superintendent (eventually to be assisted by subordinate Inspectors).

106. I do not think these objects can be attained at a less cost than Rs. 20,000 per annum,* and I am quite certain that the sum already granted will be found inadequate. It is hoped, therefore, that the increased amount will be sanctioned; and in the meanwhile the sum already authorised can be expended in promoting portions of the general scheme, which, however, cannot be expected to work well unless the whole is carried out.

107. As the object of this Report was to exhibit the state of education as existing in Sind, and to elucidate the details of the proposed distribution of the funds, I have necessarily been compelled to confine myself to facts and dry details. These are of course less interesting than a more general exposition of the theory and principles of education, which I could have indulged in only at the risk of lengthening a report which must, as it is, appear tedious from its length.

(Signed) B. H. ELLIS,
Assistant Commissioner.

December 29th, 1854.

* Normal class temporary charge not included; but, if required permanently, it may hereafter be found possible to reduce some of the charges, when the contributions from the people increase.

A

Statement, compiled from Returns furnished by the Collectors, showing the Number of Schools in Sind in 1852.

Collectorate.	Number of Schools.				Number of Scholars.		Instruction given in												Mode of Payment.				
	Males.		Females.				English only.		English, Mahratta, and Sindie		Koran, or Arabic only		Persian only.		Sindie only		Arabic and Persian.		Sanskrit and Goozumukhee.		Fee.	By fixed Payments only.	By occasional Payments or Presents only.	By Payment, but mode unsettled.	Supported by Private Individuals, or by subscriptions.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Kurrachee..	103	955	175	...	...	1	76	50	353	2	16	4	70	41	594	5	21	29	48	26	:	:	:
Hydrabad ..	267	2,890	302	...	...	..	..	122	909	16	59	7	12	122	2,212	..	..	93	151	9	..	..	14
Shikarpoor..	273	2,905	216	...	...	..	..	106	644	38	246	12	721	112	1,446	5	64	121	105	11	16	20	34
Total..	643	6,750	693	...	...	1	76	278	1,906	56	321	23	803	275	4,252	10	85	243	304	46	16	16	34

Statement of Expenditure authorised by the Commissioner in Sind for Edu

Date	Number.	Names of Places.	Amount of Donation from Education Fund.	Monthly Sum ditto.	Amount per Annum of Monthly Grants from ditto.	Total of Donations and Monthly Grants from ditto up to 30th April 1854.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1853 Dec. 15	3661	GENERAL.	531 4 0	.....	.....	531 4 0
" "	..	....	53 0 0	.....	.....	53 0 0
" "	..	....	.....	30 0 0	360 0 0	106 7 2
Apr. 11	970	....	375 0 0	.....	.....	375 0 0
" "	..	....	3 8 0	.....	.....	3 8 0
Apr. 18	1043	....	15 0 0	.....	.....	15 0 0
Dec. 24	3740	....	78 8 0	.....	.....	78 8 6
Apr. 24	1103	....	346 4 6	.....	.....	346 4 0
		KURRACHEE COL- LECTORATE.				
Dec. 15	3661	Town of Kurrachee	2,000 0 0	.....	.....	2,000 0 0
" "	..	Ditto	402 9 3	120 0 0	1,440 0 0	402 9 3
" "	..	Ditto	27 1 6	7 8 0	90 0 0	27 1 6
" "	..	Ditto	0 7 0	.....	.....	0 7 0
			Carried over		Rs. ..	3,939 1 5

cational Purposes, under Government Letter No. 816, of 11th March 1853.

Amount from other Sources.				For what purpose granted.	Remarks.
Donation under Government Letter No. 1291.	Donations from other Sources.	Monthly Sum.	Amount per Annum of Monthly Grants.		
8	9	10	11	12	13
<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>		
.....	For printing 1,000 copies of Lekhe-jee-Peer (Rudiments of Arithmetic).	Of this sum Rs. 500 will be recovered be the sale of the work at 8 annas per copy.
.....	For translating & compiling the above work.	
.....	Moonshee for assisting in miscellaneous translations, and superintending the works of others while being lithographed.	From 15th December to 31st March.
.....	For printing 1,500 copies of the Babnamoo.	Of this sum Rs. 107-8-0 will be recovered by the sale of the work at 2 annas a copy.
.....	Miscellaneous expenditure.	
.....	Lithographing 300 copies of Vernacular school register.	
.....	Books purchased from Elphinstone Institution for sale in the Province.	This item is part of Rs. 130-12-0, the balance of which appears under Kurrachee. The whole of these two items will be recovered as the books are sold.
.....	1,000 0 0	.....	.....	Erection of English school.	Amount in col. 9 from Municipality.
.....	15 0 0	.....	Master English school.	After 1st May only Rs. 100 will be allowed by Government. Paid from 21st December, 1853 to 31st March.
.....	12 8 0	.....	Do. Vernacular do.	Paid from 13th December, 1853 to 31st March.
.....	14 copies of Sindee alphabet distributed on opening Vernacular school.	This sum debited to Sind Education Funds, credited to proper head.

Statement of Expenditure authorised by the Commissioner in Sind for Edu-

Date	Number.	Name of Places.	Amount of Donation from Education Fund.	Monthly Sum ditto.	Amount per annum of Monthly Grants from ditto.	Total of Donations and Monthly Grants from ditto up to 30th April 1854
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1853 Dec. 24	3740	KURRACHEE COL- LECTORATE (<i>contd.</i>) Town of Kurrachee	52 4 0	Brought over	Rs.	3,939 1 5 52 4 0
1854 Jan. 10	53	Ditto ..	20 11 4	.....	.....	20 11 4
1853 Dec. 2	3783	Jerruck	600 0 0	.....	.....	600 0 0
1854 Jan. 25	223	Shwan	.....	.....	.....	.....
" "		Ditto	.....	.....	.....	.....
Feb. 3	579	Kotree	600 0 0	5 0 0	60 0 0	600 0 0
Mar. 28	849	Kurrachee Town ..	500 0 0	.....	.....	500 0 0
Apr. 1	905	Ditto ..	21 0 0	.....	.....	21 0 0
Apr. 18	1045	Ditto ..	12 0 0	.....	.....	12 0 0
		HYDRABAD COL- LECTORATE,				
1854 Jan. 5	14	Kokur	100 0 0	.....	.....	100 0 0
" 19	152	Hydrabad Town	1,000 0 0	.....	.....	2,000 0 0
Apr. 25	122					
Jan. 24	198	Nowshera	.....	.....	.....	.....
" 25	217	Kundiara	.....	.....	.....	.....
Feb. 1	275	Tarooshah	.....	.....	.....	.....
" "	..	Ditto	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carried over						7,845 0 9

cational Purposes, under Government Letter No. 816, of 11th March 1853.

Amount from other Sources.				For what purpose granted.	Remarks.
Donation under Government Letter No. 1291.	Donations from other Sources.	Monthly Sum.	Amount per Annum of Monthly Grants.		
8	9	10	11	12	13
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
.....	.....	.....	.....	For English books and maps from the Board of Education, for use of English school.	In part of a consignment of Rs. 130-12-0, the rest being for general purposes.
.....	.....	.....	.....	Passage money for Mahratta school-master, and pay to date of taking charge.	Pay from 10th to 27th December 1853, at Rs. 15, and Rs. 12 passage money.
.....	.....	.....	.....	Erection of a Vernacular school-house.	
1,000 0 0	.....	.....	.....	Ditto ditto.	
50 0 0	.....	.....	.....	Furniture for above	
.....	206 7 7	7 0 0	84 0 0	For Vernacular school-house, and school-master.	Will commence from 1st May. Amount of column 9 from Jagheerders.
.....	500 0 0	.....	.....	For enlarging English school.	The number of scholars being greater than had been calculated upon, the building had to be erected on a larger scale. Amount in column 9 from Municipality.
.....	.....	.....	.....	Miscellaneous expenditure on account of English school.	
.....	.....	.....	.....	Return passage money to Mahratta School-master.	
.....	.....	.....	.....	Erection of a Vernacular school-house.	
.....	1,000 0 0	.....	.....	Erection of English school-house.	Amount in col. 9 from Municipality
300 0 0	400 0 0	8 0 0	96 0 0	Vernacular school-house, and school-master.	
400 0 0	400 0 0	8 0 0	96 0 0	Ditto ditto.	
300 0 0	300 0 0	8 0 0	96 0 0	Ditto ditto.	
80 0 9	.....	.....	.....	Providing furniture for schools at Nowshera, Kundiara, and Taroshah.	

Statement of Expenditure authorised by the Commissioner in Sind for Edu

Date	Number.	Names of Places.	Amount of Donation from Education Fund.	Monthly Sum ditto.	Amount per Annum of Monthly Grants from ditto.	Total of Donations and Monthly Grants from ditto up to 30th April 1854.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
		HYDRABAD COLLECTORATE (contd.)				
		Mittance ..	200 0 0	Brought over	Rs.	7,845 0 9
Jan. 24	198	Berea ..	300 0 0	....	....	300 0 9
		Tutt and Abad	150 0 0	....	....	150 0 0
		Mohdut Dhera	150 0 0	....	....	150 0 0
		Jortore }				
Feb. 1	275	Hullance	300 0 0	....	....	300 0 0
		Bellance				
		Lacka				
Apr. 25	1072	Bazeerpoor	7 0 6	....	....	7 0 6
		Kundiara				
		Mana Sumalee }				
		SHIKARPOOR COLLECTORATE.				
1835						
Dec. 30	3798	Town of Shikarpoor	....	15 0 0	180 0 0	55 0 0
1854						
Jan. 25	225	Ditto ..	....	....	....	....
		Roree ..	....	....	....	....
		Larkhana ..	....	....	....	....
		Mehur ..	....	....	....	....
		Golekee ..	....	....	....	....
		Khyrpoor Dahirkee	....	....	....	....
		Meerpoor Mathela	....	....	....	....
		Obowra ..	....	....	....	....
	
" "	224	Jacobabad ..	....	....	....	....
		Ditto ..	....	....	....	....
Mar. 1	545	Kumbhur ..	400 0 0	....	....	400 0 0
" 7	613	Thurery ..	400 0 0	....	....	400 0 0
Feb. 15	457	Shikarpoor Town ..	20 8 6	....	....	20 8 6
Apr. 17	1022	Larkhana ..	40 8 0	....	....	40 8 0
		Ditto ..	....	10 0 0	120 0 0	30 0 0
Grand Total						9,898 1 9

ational Purposes, under Government Letter No. 816, of 11th March 1853.

Amount from other Sources.				For what purpose granted.	Remarks.
Donation under Government Letter No. 1291.	Donations from other Sources.	Monthly Sum.	Amount per Annum of Monthly Grants.		
8	9	10	11	12	13
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
.....	200 0 0	8 0 0	96 0 0	For the erection of a school-house, and master's pay.	Of the sums in column 9 Rs. 500 are from Jagheerdars, and Rs. 1,000 from other local funds. Do. the item in column 10.
.....	200 0 0	.....	.....	For the erection of school-house.
.....	200 0 0	.....	.....	Ditto ditto.
.....	200 0 0	.....	.....	Ditto ditto.
.....	200 0 0	.....	.....	Ditto ditto.
.....	500 0 0	Ditto ditto.	Being the value of books given. The amount will be adjusted in the Kurrachee accounts.
.....	.....	.....	.....	For prizes at schools.
.....	.....	.....	.....	Schoolmaster for Vernacular school.
3,000 0 0	.....	.....	.....	Erection of school houses.
2,000 0 0	.....	.....	.....
500 0 0	.....	.....	.....
500 0 0	.....	.....	.....
500 0 0	.....	.....	.....
500 0 0	Furniture for above schools.	Of this Rs. 8-8-6, being value of books given as prizes, will be shown in Kurrachee accounts.
500 0 0	.....	.....	.....
676 12 9	.....	.....	.....	Erection of Vernacular school-house.
1,000 0 0	.....	.....	.....	Furniture for school
50 0 0	.....	.....	.....	Erection of Vernacular school-house.
.....	Ditto ditto.	Of this Rs. 12-8-0, being value of books given as prizes, will be shown in Kurrachee accounts.
.....	.....	.....	.....	For prizes.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	For do. and reward to master, and for salary.
.....		

SKETCH ESTIMATE OF AMOUNT REQUIRED ANNUALLY FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES IN SIND.

SUPERINTENDENT

If a Military Officer, in addition to military pay and allowances Rs. 200

Permanent travelling allowance, to be continued throughout the year, including three months' residence at Kurrachee.

100

$$300 \times 12 = 3,600$$

ESTABLISHMENT and contingent office expenses of Superintendent

$$100 \times 12 = 1,200$$

ENGLISH SCHOOLS (*part Expense to be defrayed by the People*).

Kurrachee	{	At Rs. 100 per mensem each	= 300 X	12 =	3,600
Hydrabad					
Shikarpoor					

CHIEF SCHOOLS *for Instruction in the Vernacular, Persian, & c. (part Expense defrayed by the People).*

Tatta	{	At Rs. 50 per mensem each	150 X	12 =	1,800
Halla					
Roree					

OTHER DISTRICT SCHOOLS, *for instruction in Sindee, Persian, &c (part Expense defrayed by the People).*
Kurrachee Collectorate.

Kurrachee	1
Jerruck	1
Kotree	1

Carried over per annum	Rs.	<hr/> 10,200
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	Brought over per annum	Rs.	10,200
Sehwan	1		
Boobuk	1		
Dadoo	1		
Johee* Talooka	1		
Mahajunda Talooka—			
Mahajunda or Sun and Lukhee	2		
Sakra Talooka	1		
Shahbunder Talooka	1		
Meerpoor do.	1		
Jatee do.	1		
	<hr/>	13	

Hydrabad Collectorate.

Hydrabad	1		
Mahomed Khan's Tanda	1		
Budcena	1		
Bhyaka Tanda	1		
Meerpoor	1		
Alyar	1		
Nusrapoor	1		
Omerkote	1		
Adam Khan-ka-Tanda	1		
Shahdadpoor	1		
Mettaree	1		
Sukhrund**	1		
Mora	1		
Nowshera	1		
Kundiara	1		
Tarooshah	1		
Jooda Talooka	1		
Mohbut Dhera Talooka	1		
	<hr/>	18	

Shikarpur Collectorate.

Mehur	1		
Thurery	1		

Carried over per annum Rs.

10,200

* In original 'Sohee'
In original 'Sukhmund'.

	Brought over per annum Rs.	10,200
Kumbhur	1	
Larkhana	1	
Drukhun	1	
Shikarpoor	1	
Sukkur	1	
Jacobabad	1	
Ghotkee	1	
Khyrpoor	1	
Meerpoor Mathela	1	
Obowra	1	
Nusirabad* Talooka	1	
Baghban Talooka	1	
	<hr/> 14	
	<hr/>	
Total	45	

Average assistance from Government,

at Rs. 10 per each school	X 10	
	<hr/>	
	450 X 12 =	5,400

Prizes, &c. per annum, at English and Vernacular schools. 1,200

Grants-in-aid to smaller village schools, say 1,000

Pay of Masters in Hindoo-Sindee Schools,

at Rs. 200 X 12 = 2,400

It is estimated that these schools would be requisite in about twenty of the chief places of trade, and the assistance would average Rs. 10 per mensem

Total per annum	Rs.	<hr/> 20,200
-----------------	-----	--------------

NOTE:—The salaries of schoolmasters to be fixed annually,

* In original 'Nusurabad'.

according to the number of scholars; for instance:—

100 Scholars and upwards,		Rs. 25, with a Monitor or Assistant at Rs. 8
80	do. do.	Rs. 20, with do. do. Rs. 6
60	do. do.	Rs. 15, with do. do. Rs. 5
40	do. do.	Rs. 15.
25	do. do.	Rs. 12.

Below that number Rs. 8 to 10.

After four years' good service in the same school, Rs. 10 additional payable to the master. (*Vide* the Rules for Vernacular schools, attached and marked D).

The fees are payable to the head master, and will be made over to him as part of his allowances.

The assistance from the people or Municipalities is not likely to exceed, on an average, Rs. 6 per mensem, and few of the schools are likely to have more than 40 scholars for some time to come.

(Signed) B. H. ELLIS,
Assistant Commissioner.

D

RULES REGARDING EXAMINATIONS OF VERNACULAR AND OTHER SCHOOLS IN SIND.

1. The following rules are to apply to all schools, whether wholly or in part supported by Government funds, or entirely independent of such aid; their application is in no case to be compulsory.

But no place of instruction, public or private, the managers of which are willing to submit to inspection and examination by Government Officers, is to be excluded from any of the advantages which may result from compliance with these rules.

I.—VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

2. An examination of all schools in each Talooka is to be held annually. When an Inspector of Education is appointed, under the orders of the Director of Public Instruction, he will arrange the mode in which these examinations are to be conducted. In the mean time, each Deputy Collector will do his best to form a qualified Board of Examiners for each district.

3. It will depend on local circumstances whether one or more schools shall be examined at the same time and place, or separately. It will be easy to ensure an uniformity of standard, by assigning the same value in marks to full proficiency in each ordinary branch of study.

4. Proficiency in Sindee, to the extent of reading, writing, and the first four rules in arithmetic, to be a *sine qua non* for any advantage beyond the holding of a simple prize.

5. Extra proficiency in Sindee, in such branches as arithmetic, surveying, history, geography, penmanship, &c. &c. to entitle the proficient to extra marks.

6. Additional marks to be also allowed for proficiency in Persian, Arabic, Sanscrit, English, or any other voluntary acquirement.

7. The three best boys in each Talooka to be selected, and allowed to choose, in the order of their proficiency, one of the three following rewards:—

1st.—A place in the District Cutcherry, as a paid candidate for Government employment, on Rs. 5 per mensem.

2nd.—An appointment as paid Assistant Teacher in the Government district school, at Rs. 6, or as a pupil in the normal school at Rs. 7 per mensem.

3rd.—A scholarship of Rs. 6 per mensem, tenable for two years, as a scholar in the Government English school of the Collectorate.

8. In the event of either of the above rewards being successively declined by the three best candidates, it may be offered in succession to the next best, provided he comes up to what the Examiner considers a fair minimum standard of qualifications.

9. The paid candidates for Government employment will receive pay at the rate of Rs. 5 per mensem for two years, or till such time within that period as the candidate may be provided with a Government situation of equal or greater emolument. The salary as a paid candidate will cease from the date of the offer of such an appointment in the Government service, whether the offer be accepted or not. But if the cause of the non-acceptance be satisfactory, in the opinion of the Collector, he is invested with discretionary power to re-appoint any such paid candidate till the period of the next annual examination.

10. All vacancies in the subordinate ranks of the Government service, under Rs. 20 per mensem, to be filled up exclusively from among the paid candidates.

11. No exceptions to be allowed from this rule, except in favour of pupils who have chosen either of the other alternatives offered in Rule 7. or except under special circumstances, which must be immediately reported for the information of the Commissioner, and for his sanction.

12. In the event of any paid candidate remaining unprovided with a permanent berth in the Government service at the end of the second year, he shall be examined by the Deputy Collector, aided, if possible, by the Inspector in the Educational Department; and if it should be found that he is in all respects qualified

for employment, but that his not having received an appointment arises from the non-occurrence of a vacancy, or other similar cause, over which he has no control, his claim to employment, in preference to other candidates, will continue; but his pay will cease from the end of the term of two years. If, on the contrary, his non-employment should be in any degree owing to his own default, his claim to employment will cease with his pay.

13. Appointments as paid Assistant Teachers, normal school pupils, or scholarships in the English school, will be subject to the rules which may be laid down for those institutions respectively.

14. But in the event of any pupil, who has chosen such appointment or scholarship, subsequently wishing to enter the Government service, he shall possess in all respects the same advantages, and claims to employment, as a paid candidate. In such cases, the respective rank of the parties will be regulated by the date of their passing their examination.

II.—ENGLISH SCHOOLS.

15. The same principles to be adopted in the English schools. Annual examinations to be held of all English schools, private as well as Government, at each Station, and the best candidates who can pass a minimum standard of qualification, to be fixed by the Examiners, to be rewarded with either—

1st.—A place in the Collector's English office, as a paid candidate, of Rs. 10 per mensem.

2nd.—An appointment as Assistant Teacher in the school, at Rs. 15 per mensem.

3rd.—A scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem, in the engineering class at Kurrachee.

16. Each tenable for two years, on terms similar to those laid down regarding Vernacular schools.

17. Rules 10 and 11, regarding Vernacular schools, to be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the English offices of all civil establishments.

H. B. E. FRERE,
Commissioner in Sind.

MUSLIM EDUCATION IN SIND

Being 'Chapter VI' Entitled

"Moslem Education at School and Colleges, under the Native Rulers and our Government. The study of Medicine, Surgery, &c.—Hindoo Education.—How to Instruct the People.—The Naskhi Alphabet advocated."

From the Book

SINDH AND THE RACES THAT INHABIT
THE VALLEY OF THE INDUS

By

Richard F. Burton

**RICHARD BURTON'S OBSERVATIONS (1851)
ON
"MOSLEM EDUCATION AT SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES
UNDER THE NATIVE RULERS AND OUR
GOVERNMENT" IN SIND.**

The course of education among the Moslems is as follows:- The boy¹ is sent to a day-school,² from the hours of six A.M. to six P.M. to learn reading and writing.³ The Akhund, or pedagogue, begins by teaching him to pick out the letters of *Alhamd" lillahi rabbi 'l Alamin*. This is a custom religiously observed. The pupil then proceeds slowly through the last *Siparo* or section of his Holy Writ, and generally masters this preliminary to his studies in about six months. A little present of money and articles of dress⁴ is then claimed by the preceptor as one of his pre-requisites.⁵ The boy next begins to commit select passages of the Koran to memory,⁶ and at the same time commences writing. The Akhund, with a large reed, traces thick letters on an undried Takhti,⁷ and the pupil exercises his hand in tracing over the marks left on the surface of the board. At the same time, *Tahajji*, or spelling, is taught; and six months are considered sufficient for the task.

After the first year at school, when the boy begins to read and write by himself, he is made to peruse the Koran, without understanding it. The rate of his progress is slow, and he probably is nine years old before he proceeds to the next step - the systematic study of his mother tongue, the Sindhi. The course is as follows:-

Ist. The *Nur-namo*, a short and easy religious treatise upon the history of things in general, before the creation of man. The work was composed by one Abdel Rehman, and appears to be

borrowed from the different Ahadis, or traditional sayings of the Prophet...⁸

2nd. The works of Makhdum Hashem,⁹ beginning with the *Tafsir*.

3rd. Tales in verse and prose, such as the adventures of Saiful, Laili-Majano, &c. The most popular works are the *Hikayat-el-Salihin*,¹⁰ a translation from the Arabic by a Sindhi Mulla, Abd el Hakim; the subjects are the lives, adventures, and remarkable sayings of the most celebrated saints, male and female, of golden age of Islam. The *Ladano* is an account of the Prophet's death, borrowed from the *Habib-el-Siyar*, by Miyan Abdullah. The *Miraj-Namo* is an account of Mohammed's night excursion to heaven...The *Sau-Masala*, or Hundred Problems, is a short work by one Ismail, showing how Abd-el-Halim, a Fakir, married the daughter of the Sultan of Rum, after answering the hundred queries with which this accomplished lady used to perplex her numerous lovers.¹¹

The youth finds an immense number of such works as these to supply him with ideas, and to strengthen his imagination; he usually studies their profitable pages for two or three years.

About the age of twelve or thirteen, the scholar is introduced to the regular study of Persian, beginning with:

1st. Vocabularies, as the Duwayo, Triwayo, and Chashm-Chiragh. The first is a string of Sindhi words translated into Persian, whence its name. The second adds the Arabic vocable. The third is intended to teach the tenses of the Persian verb.

2nd. Easy and popular pieces of poetry; such as the verses attributed to Saadi, and called *Karima* and *Nagahan*, from their first words. These occupy in Sindh the literary position of the "Deserted Village" and Gray's "Elegy" in England.

3rd. History, epistolary correspondence, and the works of the chief poets, as the Gulistan, Bustan. Hafiz, Jami, Nizami, &c. The three latter are never properly understood without commentaries and note books;¹² and these aids are not always procurable. The really difficult works, such as the Masnavi of Jelalodin, the poems of Khakani, and others of same class, are far beyond the powers of either pupil or instructor. Firdausi is seldom read.*

If the scholar was determined to become one of the *Olema*, he proceeded to one of the Madrassa, or colleges, at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Sindh, in the time of the Talpurs, contained, it is said,¹³ six of these establishments.

1. At Sehwan; 2. Trippat, near Sehwan; 3. Khohra, north of Sehwan; 4. Matalawi, generally called Matari; 5. Mohar, or Walhari, near Omerkot; 6. Chotiyari, on the Narrah River.

The college was supported by Wakf, or presents and bequests made by the wealthy and religious. The system is one of the redeeming points and meritorious institutions of Islam, which encouraged its followers to support seminaries and schools, instead of monasteries and convents. In purely Moselm countries, Afghanistan for instance, many men pass their lives as *Tulaba*. or students, supported by the Wakf, or foundation of a college or mosque. This is an advantage in some ways to the poor scholars, who are sure to find some person capable of teaching them well, and who probably has devoted all his time and energy to the study of one branch of science, as logic, philosophy, or even grammar. Moreover, the Wakf is a good and economical arrangement for supporting the dreamy student,¹⁴ who is constitutionally unfitted for an active life, as it turns his indolence to some account, and yet offers few inducements to the idle and depraved to imitate his example. The Talpurs used to contribute a monthly sum, proportioned to the expenses of the several establishments.

Each college had one or two Makhdum, or heads of houses, that lectured to the more advanced scholars;¹⁵ they

received liberal salaries, and were treated with the greatest respect. This office was therefore much coveted, and the highest Sayyid in the country would not have been ashamed of filling it. The other instructors were three, four or five Maulavis, who received monthly sums, varying from thirty to sixty Rupees, and occasional honorary presents. There was no fixed number of *Khutabi*, or scholars; it was regulated by the accommodations which the *Rubat*, or college building afforded.¹⁶ The pupils received a daily allowance of food, and, in some cases, money; they were also clothed at the public expense. They studied all day, except on Tuesdays and Fridays; the other vacations were the two Eeds, and the Ashurah in the Moharram. After every second year, the scholar, if considered worthy of the indulgence, was permitted to go home for a few weeks. Absence without leave, and disobedience, were punished with expulsion; immorality, especially when the fair sex was concerned, with a solemn application of the Daro,¹⁷ or scourge. They were allowed to carry swords and daggers, or rather claimed the right of doing so; but they seldom abused the permission, as the Afghan students are wont to do.

The following is the usual course of study; and the reader will not fail to remark (comparing Sindhi with our vernacular tongue, Persian with Latin, and Arabic with Greek.) the similarity of the "pabulum" afforded to the youthful mind in the universities of the Christian, and Madrassa of the Moslem world:—

1. *Sarf* and *Nahw*, grammar and Syntax;—2. *Mantik*, logic;—3. *Fikh*; 4. *Tafsir*; 5. *Hadis*; different branches of divinity;—6. *Maani-bayan*, rhetoric (more rarely studied.)

A short account of the text-books may be found not uninteresting. The pupil had probably been taught at his school the simple parts of *Sarf*, or the forms of Arabic conjugations. The first work¹⁸ read was the little treatise called *Mizan-i-Sarf*, the work of the celebrated saint and scholar Lal Shah-Baz, upon the subject of the regular verb *Fa-'A-La*. It is usually committed to memory, as is also the work called *Ajnas* or *Munshaib*,

a set of simple rules for the formation of the increased derivatives. The "Kism-i doyyum" treats of irregular verbs, and teaches the Sarf-i-Saghir,¹⁹ or the Paradigma. These two books were written in Persian by the same saintly pen, Lal Shah-Baz.* The third treatise usually read is one called *Akil*, also the work of that author, but composed in Persian and Arabic mixed. It treats upon the almost endless subject of the permutation of letters, applying the rules to the several descriptions of irregular verbs. The fourth volume is called *Zubdat*;^{**} it further illustrates the same branch of language; some pupils learn the prose by heart, others commit to memory a poetical version, rhymed for mnemonic purposes. The pupil now commences the study of *Nahw*, or the declension of the noun, pronoun, &c., and first reads the well-known *Mi'at 'Amil*, or the Hundred Governing Powers, with its *Sharh*.²⁰ After the repeated perusal of these works, he returns to the subject of *Sarf*, reading either the work of Mir Sayyid Ali Sherif,²¹ or more commonly the *Sarf-i-Zarradi*, composed in Persian and Arabic by the poet Jami. He now either terminates this course of reading, or if anxious to attain high proficiency, studies the *Shafiyah*, a most valuable book written by the "marvellous boy", Ibn Hajib.²² This, however, is, generally speaking, beyond the powers of either professor or pupil, especially as very few of them have the valuable commentaries of Jahrehburdi, or El Razi. Returning to *Nahw*, the scholar studies the *Nahw-i-Zariri*, an Arabic treatise by Abu'l Hasan Ali El-Zariri El-Kohanduzi (Kunduzi?); and begins to learn *Mantik* or logic. In Arabic grammar, the line of demarcation between the latter study and syntax is very faintly drawn, and no student can, with any degree of facility, progress in one without the aid of the other. To conclude, however, the subject of *Nahw*, the highest books read are, the treatise of Sejawandi, a work more valued than it deserves; the *Hidayat El-Nahw*, and lastly, the *Kafiyah*.²³ The latter is committed to memory, and the celebrated commentary called the *Sharh Mulla* (Jami), together with the *Hashiyah* (marginal notes) of Abd-El-Hakim, and Abd El Ghafur.

In *Manik*, the first treatise perused is the *Isaghuji* (Isagoge of Porphyry), translated into Arabic by Asir El-Din Abhari. This is always the first step; the next, is the study of the *Kalakuli*,²⁴ a commentary on the above. Some students next read *Shammah* and its two *Sharh*: the text-book being committed to memory. The few pages called 'Nim-Ruzi', and 'Yek Ruzi',²⁵ from the length of time it took to compose them, are next studied. After these, the student proceeds to the serious study of the *Shamsiyah*, a highly prized work on dialectics by the poet Hafiz. A somewhat bulky commentary on the above, called *Kutbi*, concludes the course, though some have been known to learn *Zubdah*, *Tahzib*, and *Sullam*. The tenebrious works of the Mirzas and the ancient logicians are never read. The science has a bad name in Islam, especially among the half-learned, who object to it on religious grounds.²⁶ All, however, are agreed upon one point, that it sharpens the intellect, although some assign the *modus operandi* to certain devilish influences.

The curb chain of theological and religious study is applied to the young student's imagination, as soon as he enters upon the intricacies of high syntax, and is exposed to the seductions of dialectics. The first step in that study is to read and learn by heart the common works upon the Hanafi branch of divinity, as the *Hidayat*, *Wikayat*, and other books too well-known to require any mention here. For the benefit of very young readers and the fair sex, there are numerous vernacular treatises of the simple points of faith and practice in prose and verse; these the boy would usually read at his school, and, therefore, be in some degree prepared for the more systematic study of the Madrassa. The next step, is to peruse some *Tafsir* (commentary on the Koran), as the *Jalalain*, *Madarik*, *Baizawi*, *Ismail*, *Kashshaf*, *Jawalir*, *Hosayni*, and others. At the same time, the *'Ilm-i-Hadis* is taught; superficially, however, as it is of little use to those who do not intend devoting their lives to the exclusive cultivation of the religious sciences. Very few youths advance so far in syntax and logic as to attempt the study of *Ma'ani-bayan* (rhetoric); and those that do so, seldom proceed beyond the

text-book called *Talkhis* with its commentaries, the *Mukhtasar* and *Mutawwal*, as they are commonly termed.

The other studies are:-

1. Kiraat
2. Munazarah
3. 'Uruz
4. Tibb
5. The occult sciences as Raml (geomancy), 'Nujum' (Astrology), and Jafr (a peculiar method of dividing by numbers, &c.)
6. Tawarikh; or history, very seldom read.
7. Hikmat, or philosophy. I have heard of individuals in Sindh, who are said to have studied the works of Avicenna, Chelepi, and the other standard books, but I never met with one.
8. Ilm i Khat (calligraphy).

Kiraat, or Tajwid, (the art of pronunciation, reading and chaunting, as applied to the Koran) is little cultivated in our province. Of the seven Kari, or authors that systematized the study, Hafs, as in India,²⁷ is the only one generally known. The short tract of El-Jazari, abridged from the large work called Tayyibat El-Nashr, is the usual text-book, but there are many other treatises in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi, composed in rhyme as well as prose. The people of Sindh pronounce Arabic in a most extraordinary manner; except in some rare instances, when a pilgrim returns to his native country after a long residence at the holy cities, no amount of study can master their cacophony. At the same time the country swarms with Huffaz, or drones who have learned the Koran by heart, and live by repeating it at mosques and over tombs. They generally begin early in life, and commit the whole to memory in five or seven years.²⁸ All learned men, however, are expected to be able to recite the following portions of their scripture:

- 1st. The Fatihah, or first chapter.

2nd. The last Juz, or section: the short chapters being used in prayer.

3rd. The thirty-sixth chapter, which is peculiarly efficacious at the hour of death.

4th. The forty-fourth, seventy-first, and seventy-third chapters, which act as talismans against danger, difficulty, poverty, &c., &c.

5th. Generally, those portions of the volume which contain Ahkam, or commands, e.g., the few lines explanatory of Wuzu and Ghusl (ablution) in the second chapters.

The *Ilm i Munazarah*, or art of wrangling, is fortunately very little known. It is a branch of logic and divided as among the Greeks into [*Greek word*] or 'interrogatory disputation', and [*Greek word*] 'disputation in general'. The only work of the kind I met with, was a little volume containing seven separate treatises illustrating the most approved methods of confuting the adversary when he is in the right, and establishing the correctness of one's own opinion when wrong.

The '*Ilm i Uruz*', or prosody, is not included in the Arabic system of grammar, and therefore seldom studied in a regular manner. The *Nisab El-Sibyan*, and several commentaries, are the only works generally used.

The student of *Tibb*, or medicine, begins by reading the few pages called the *Tibb-i-Yusufi*,²⁹ composed in verse and prose, committing the rhymes to memory. He afterwards studies the Persian works called *Mizan* and *Tohfat El-Mominin* upon the subjects of *Materia Medica*, and the practice of *Physic*. At the same time he frequents the Gandhi's (druggist's) shop, and there learns that part of his profession. He then selects the line he intends to pursue. Medical practitioners in Sindh are of three descriptions; the lowest, unable to read or write; the middle, capable of perusing a work in the vernacular tongue or in easy Persian; the highest class, men of rank and education,³⁰ well-versed in the classical languages. The student must become

the *shagird* (scholar) of a well-known physician, and under him learn the simple treatment usually adopted. The use of the lancet is acquired by diligently thrusting it into the leaves of the Ak (Asclepias) or Pippar (*Ficus Religiosa*); the contents of the Karura (urinal) are carefully scrutinized; the peculiarities of the pulse are learned, and the operation of the Dumbh, or actual cautery, is illustrated by the professor. The student is now sufficiently advanced to be entrusted with pauper cases, and upon their persons he studies the dressing of wounds, opening tumours, and removing cataract. He concludes his course of instruction with acquiring a most superficial knowledge of anatomy and surgery, and a fair stock of dietetic rules, prescriptions and simples.³¹

The young physician now begins "manslaying on his own account," to use the native phrase, and in order to acquire knowledge and a name for skill distributes drugs and advice gratis to those who are willing to receive them. This way of winning fame is not so dangerous as it appears, because the chances are that out of the dozens that flock to the aspirant, demanding his advice and remedies, no one will do more than carry off, and promise to take, the drug he prescribes...

The Hekim (doctor) is seldom allowed to see female patients, otherwise an intrigue would follow every visit. He must be treated with all kinds of ceremony such as sending a horse for him, offering a high seat in room and other such observances, otherwise a mistake in the prescription would certainly occur, to teach the patient better manners.³² The visit is managed as follows: The physician sits down, observes the sick man, asks his symptoms, feels the pulse, or calls for a *Karura*, drops some strange words, generally in Arabic for the sake of unintelligibility, and declaring that a cure is the simplest thing in the world, takes his leave. He retires for the benefit of consulting his books, and what is called *Tashklis-i-Maraz* (diagnosis): he then writes out a long prescription³³ in Persian, usually beginning with venesection proceeding with a cathartic dose, and concluding with dietetic directions. The latter are very rigorous,

and if the patient can resist the two preliminaries, he may recover. When this event happens, the relations meet, and the Hakim, with due solemnity, informs that the sick man may now perform the 'Ghusl-i-Sihhat', or ablution of recovery; those present all cast some pieces of money upon their relation's head, and the amount, when collected, becomes one of the medical attendant's perquisites. When, on the other hand, the case turns out badly, the physician consoles himself, and the friends of the deceased by attributing the event to the will of God, the decree of destiny, or to the untimely intervention of a Jinn (demon).

The great deficiency of the profession in Sindh is in point of surgery. The 'Ilm-i-Tashrih', or anatomy, is never properly studied, and the books which contain the plates and description of the body, are copied and recopied by ignorant scribes, till the drawings are more like anything than what they are intended to represent. Religious prejudices forbid the use of the scalpel and consequently the teacher is as ignorant as his pupil. In Sindh, and indeed throughout the East generally, the people have the greatest confidence in the skill of European surgeons. Not so when medicine is required: we study the constitution, diet and habits of the natives so little, that, with all our advantages, we are by no means respected as physicians. Our ignorance of aphrodisiacs is considered the most remarkable phenomenon: there being scarcely a single oriental work on physic that does not devote the greater part of its pages to the consideration of a question which the medical man in the East will hear a dozen times a day.

As, in almost all cases, a respectable person would let his spouse die in childbed rather than call in a medical man; the Dai, or midwife, is the only practitioner of the obstetric art. The consequence is, that any but a common presentation usually kills the woman. Under these circumstances, the approved treatment is to give alms to the poor, recite certain orisons, or tie a *Tawiz* (charm) to the patient's thigh. When she dies, the Jinn³⁴ is abused accordingly.

The people of Sindh were at one time celebrated for their skill in calligraphy; at present, however, they have only three hands;—

1st, *Naskhi*, generally called “Arabi Akhara”, (Arabic letters).

2nd. *Nastalik*, or “Chitta Akhara”, (the plain handwriting).

3rd. *Shikastah*, or “Bhagel Akhara”, (the broken or running hand).

I have seen some excellent specimens of the *Naskhi*, and, generally speaking, this character is well written in Sindh. The *Shikastah* is detestably bad. The *Cufic* alphabet is quite forgotten although the walls of tombs and mosques prove that at one time it must have been common. All the ornamental characters, as the *Sulsi*, *Rayhan* and others, are unknown. The Talpur Amcers were great patrons of calligraphists, and used occasionally to send to Persia for a well-known penman.

To conclude the subject of Moslem education in Sindh, the first thing then that strikes the European observer, is the deficiency of mathematical study. The system of loading the memory with the intricacies of Arabic grammar, and of learning text-books by heart, deserves very little praise. It is, however, facilitated by mnemonic methods, although they are equally ignorant of Simonides' local system, or the fanciful *aide-memoires* invented by modern Europeans. The representation of numbers by means of the formula called ‘Abjad’ is not only useful in the *jeux d' esprit* called chronogrms, but also of solid service in enabling the students to remember dates by means of significant sentences.³⁵

Artificial words, expressing different formulae of ciphers, calculations in astrology, geomancy and other studies, are much used, and generally thrown into a metrical form. Technical verses are commonly committed to memory, and by means of them the minute points of syntax, logic, and prosody are easily

learned and readily retained ³⁶. These devices, however, though sufficiently useful, are poor succedanea for the strong and permanent effect that the study of the exact sciences has upon the human mind.

I am little acquainted with the Brahminical education in Sindh, and am therefore obliged to rely upon information gathered from conversations with individuals of that caste. They agreed in one point, that the only studies are those of Sanscrit grammar in general, Jotishya ³⁷, or judicial astrology, and the common Dharma Shastras (religious works). Some learn the Bhagawat Purana, or the Mantra Shastras (magical formulae): a few study the Sanhita of the Yajur Ved, and still fewer peruse the whole book. The Hindoo Amil, or civil officer, who is almost always of the Vaishya, or third caste, seldom studies Sanscrit. At an early age he goes to some Brahman, who, after a few religious preliminaries, makes the pupil read through, for good omen, the Devanagari alphabet. After this, the work of education seriously commences; the boy is sent to an Akhund, generally a Moslem, to learn the reading and writing of the Persian language. When sufficiently advanced to understand the Gulistan, the Insha of Harkaran, and the elements of arithmetic ³⁸, he is taken to some Daftar, or government office, by a relation, and there thoroughly initiated in the mysteries of *Arzi* (petitions), and of making the simple calculations required in the routine of business; he is also imbued with a thorough knowledge of the intrigue, chicanery, and intricate rascality that belong to his trade. His Persian is of the vilest description. He is ignorant of the simplest grammatical rules, and would be unable to comprehend the distinction between noun and verb. He is fond of reading or rather pretending to read, Jami, Nizami, Khakani, and other difficult authors, though, at the same time, he is unable to gather from the simplest page of Hafiz. His style of writing is formed from the solecistic productions of the authors of Insha, his pronunciation from that of the ignorant Akhund, and his handwriting from the abominable models in the official Daftars. If attached to the tenets of Nanak Shah,

the Hindoo Amil often learns to read and recite certain portions of the Granth, but seldom, unless of ambitious character, attempts to master the difficulties of understanding what he is reading, and of learning the Gurumukhi character. The usual plan is to procure a copy of the prayers deemed requisite in the *Nastalik* hand, and to peruse the same with devotional fervour and faith in the efficacy of utterance. As regards Arabic, I have heard of only one Hindoo who had the courage to attempt the dangerous study³⁹.

Under our rule, at present, the Moslem has fewer opportunities of study than the Hindoo. Instead of six establishments for the promotion of education, all that we have done hitherto is to authorize the foundation of a school at Hyderabad, and to support an "Indo-British" one at Kurrachee, in addition to a place of instruction maintained, I believe, by private contributions, and superintended by a converted Hindoo. The Mussulman therefore, is reduced to the limited means of acquiring knowledge offered by the petty day-schools which abound throughout the country. Not so the Hindoo ⁴⁰. His greater pliability of conscience and tenets allows him to take any step towards improving his position except the last and irrevocable one, that of becoming a Christian. He will apply for, receive, and read the religious tracts and translations of the gospels, which our countrymen are fond of distributing, especially if the injudicious ⁴¹ donor possess the means of temporal advancement. The Hindoo will even study the Bible for the purpose of getting up some phrases to quote before his patron, will punctually attend his school, and even engage in its devotional exercises. When the object is permanently secured or lost, like the "rice Christians" of early Goa, our supple Polytheist not only throws off the appearance of amendment, but also infuses a little additional bigotry into his heathenism, in order to regain that position in his own caste which worldliness has tempted him to peril.

The Moslem, on the contrary, stands aloof, scrutinizing these signs of the times with jealous eye, and quoting the traditional

apothegm of his faith, "An-Naso ala' din i Mulukihim,"—"people are religionized by their princes".

Of late, there has been an abundance of very unprofitable discussion amongst the rulers of the province as to the language which should be selected for literary and official purposes. The linguists prefer Sindhi, seeing that it is sufficient for the objects required, and is moreover, generally understood.

The other party supports Persian, or advocates Hindostani, opining that the "language of Scinde is in a very crude state", has "no standard dialect, no universally prevalent character, and no literature"; — that "its literature is depressed without extinguishing the language."⁴² The linguists, it is presumed, will succeed eventually in spite of ignorance and apathy, as they are in the right. The point to be considered, is the best means of improving the dialect (practically speaking) by diffusing a knowledge of it, and bending it to our purposes. And with such object, the establishment of places of instruction is manifestly indispensable.

At the five large towns of Kurrachee, Tatta, Hyderabad, Sehwan and Sukkur, Sindhi vernacular schools might be founded. The course would be Sindhi reading and writing, a little grammar and epistolary correspondence. The number of scholars might be limited to forty or fifty. The term of instruction would be from three to four years, as in such a country, length of preparatory study would be considered time wasted.

After doing this much for the venacular dialect, it would be as politic as profitable, to encourage the study of our own. If we would give the natives of Sindh opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and connect them with ourselves by proving to them our superiority, they should be taught the English language. Schools might be established at the three chief towns, Kurrachee, Hyderabad and Shikarpore (or Sukkur). The course would be, English reading and writing, grammar and composition, arithmetic, account keeping, and a superficial knowledge of history and geography. The probable duration of the courses

would be about five years. Pupils of the English schools should be taken directly from the vernacular establishments, and unless the prospect of government employ be clearly held out, students would be scarce.

That such measures will eventually be carried out under our enlightened rule, there is no doubt.

The characters in which the Sindhi tongue is written are very numerous. Besides the Moslem varieties of the Semitic alphabet, there are no less than eight different alphabets used principally by the Hindoos, viz.,

1. The Khudawadi, or Wanika-akhar.
2. The Tāthai, of which there are two varieties, viz. 1st.—The Lohana; and 2nd. The Bhatiha hand.
3. The Sarai, used in Upper Sindh.
4. That used by the Khwajah tribe.
5. The Meman handwriting.
6. The Ochki form of Panjabi.
7. The Landi form of Panjabi.
8. The Gurumukhi, or Panjabi.

The average number of letters is forty, ten being vowels, and thirty consonants.

The origin of these characters may fairly be traced through the Landi¹³ and Gurumukhi, to the Devanagari character. As the immigration of Hindoos into Sindh has always been from the north, it is most probable that these alphabets were brought down from the Punjab, in the form used by Nanak Shah. This was gradually altered into running hand: and underwent almost as many changes as there are castes or tribes.¹⁴ The learned Mr. James Prinsep was completely at fault when he supposed that Marwari had been corrupted into Sindhi, or that the latter is a mixture of Guzerattee, Tamul and Malayalam.

But however numerous these alphabets may be, they are all, in their present state, equally useless. This arises from one cause the want of a sufficient number of vowel signs. The conse-

quence is, that the trader is scarcely able to read his own accounts unless assisted by a tenacious memory.

The selection of a character which will be practically useful, is necessary, if we would establish schools: the choice, however, is not without its difficulties. Four systems have been advocated, viz. 1. Devanagari; 2. Khudawadi; 3. Gurumukhi; 4. Naskhi.

The Devanagari is certainly the most scholar-like and analogous system, and therefore, perhaps, the best for the dictionaries, grammars and other works, intended solely for the purpose of teaching the language to Europeans. At the same time, it has many imperfections. No less than twenty letters⁴⁶ would require diacritical marks to render them intelligible. Moreover, this character, however well adapted for books, is tedious and cumbersome for official papers⁴⁷. Finally, it would not easily be learned by the people, and is at present utterly unknown to them. The last objection appears to be the strongest of all, for surely no undertaking could be more troublesome or useless than an attempt to supplant a well-known alphabet by one unknown to the people.

The adoption of the *Khudawadi*⁴⁸ character has been advocated, on account of its being already extensively used by the people. It is, however, confined to a particular, though influential, caste of Hindoos, and even amongst them is only known to the traders, and generally neglected by the Moonshees and Amils. The main objection to it is that, in its present state, it is all but illegible. And to dress it up in Guzerattee "vowel points"⁴⁹ as has been proposed, in fact to remodel it, might be an easy work, but at the same time it would be an improvement very unlikely to be generally adopted by the Sindhis.

The Gurumukhi is an admirably simple form of Devanagari, and perfectly fitted for Panjabi, imperfectly for Sindhi. The disadvantages attendant on its introduction would be the same as belong to its Sanscrit progenitor, viz., it is very little known to the people, would require extensive alteration, and, though useful for books, would be slow and clumsy to write.

The Naskhi form of the Arabic alphabet appears to be the most favoured by circumstances in Sindh. The intrinsic merit of the character must be acknowledged, when we reflect that it has spread from Arabia, its origin, to Algiers and the Ganges, to Bokhara and Ceylon. For centuries it has been tried, and found capable of adaptation to a multitude of dialects; by a few simple additions and modifications, it has been trained to denote the cerebrals of India, and the liquid tones of the Persian and Malay tongues, as well as the gutturals of Arabia. It may be termed, *par excellence*, the alphabet of Asia: nor is it likely to be supplanted by any innovating Romanized systems, or to decline as civilization progresses. In elegance of appearance, and brevity without obscurity, it yields to no other written character, and it is no small proof of its superiority to many, that it offers a symbol for every sound existing in the language for which it was invented.

But, as might be expected, the further it deviates from Arabic the more imperfect it becomes. At present it has been rudely and carelessly adapted to the language of Sindh, and by the confusion of points and multitude of different sounds expressed by one letter appears difficult and discouraging. Still its intrinsic value remains, and we may safely hope that as education advances much will be done for it. As a case in point, we can instance the many little changes and improvements which have been lately introduced by the natives of India into their system of writing the *Nastalik* hand.

My reasons for advocating the adoption of the *Naskhi* character are as follows:-

1st. That all the literature of the country has been for ages written in this hand.

2nd. All educated Moslems are able to read it and most of them to write it.

3rd. Although the Hindoo Amils throughout Sindh are at present unable to read it, their knowledge of the *Naskhi* or Persian hand would render the difficulty of learning it nugatory. It must be recollected that religious bigotry formerly forbade

any infidel to open a book written in the same character as the Koran⁵⁰.

4. It converts itself with great facility into a running hand sufficiently rapid for all practical purposes. The epistolary correspondence of the Arabs is a sufficient proof of this.

Such are the reasons for preferring the *Naskhi* character. On the other hand, it may be argued that the *Nastalik* has the one great advantage of being known to every writer in the province, that it has been successfully adapted to Hindostani and Panjabi⁵¹, and therefore might be made equally useful in Sindhi. The chief objection to it is that however practicable for *Parwānās*, *Arzīs*, *Hukms* and other official papers, it partakes too much of character of stenography to suit the language we are considering. The dialect of Sindh is so complicated in sound, construction and number of vocables, that, as is proved by the practice of the people, a more complete alphabet is required for it. Any Sindhi scholar may observe that the best educated native will find considerable difficulty in reading out the vernacular hemistichs and tetrastichs written in *Nastalik*, which are frequently introduced by authors into religious or metaphysical works composed in Persian. Whether habit and education would or would not do away with a considerable portion of this difficulty is a consideration which I leave to the profound practical linguist.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR †

1. Generally at the age of four years and four months, as it is supposed that, before that time, the memory is not sufficiently developed.
2. Boarding schools being, fortunately for the boys, unknown. None but the wealthiest classes keep private tutors; the expense, however, is not more than from thirty to sixty rupees per mensem.
3. Except on Fridays and other holidays.
4. Such as a Pag (turban), with the Pirhan (shirt), Sutthan (drawers),

† Only the notes within the square brackets [] are by the Editor.

Lungi (waist cloth), and Rimal (handkerchief). These five articles of clothing made up the *Khil'at* or dress of honour.

5. This system of perquisites is decidedly bad, as the Akhund always refuses to commence anything new, book or study, without his fee. So, if on Friday the customary *Nazzaranah* (present) of few pice is not offered, the boy loses his holiday. On the three great Eeds or fetes of Bakar, Fitr and Barat, the pedagogue writes two or three couplets upon rudely ornamented paper, and receives from four annas to a rupee for the same. These specimens of art are called *Eedi*, and are usually hung against the wall, as samplers would be in England. At the same time it must be recollected that the teacher seldom receives from each pupil more than half a rupee per mensem, and is therefore compelled to make up the rest by presents.
6. Such as the short chapters of the Koran, which are used in daily prayer, together with easy mnemonical lines upon different subjects. Some of these are sufficiently ingenious, but trifling and ill-selected in point of subject. For instance, one couplet describes the five *Sirr* of a good Kani, or reed pen: 1st. It must be *Sanhi* (fine); 2nd *Sallira* (well pierced); 3rd. *Surkha* (red); 4th *Sain* (straight); and lastly, *Supak* (ripe and well grown).
7. Or *Farahi*; a thin board made of some hard and fine-grained wood. It is sometimes stained red, black, green, or yellow. The ink contains no mineral substance, and is therefore easily washed off; the board being smeared with a thin layer of clay and water. Metal plates are sometimes used. When the pupil has become somewhat skilful in the management of his pen, he lays aside the board and uses a material called *Daftari*. It is made of several sheets of writing paper pasted together, smeared with a composition of verdigris, and glossed with a *Mohro* (polishing instrument made of steel), so that it may be washed when dirty.
8. [Not based on the tradition of the Prophet; it is rather based on the romantic hearsay of a credulous believer.]
9. [These are mentioned by the author earlier under Chapter-IV of his book, as follows: "1. *Akaid*; 2. *Faraiz*; 3. *Zibh-i-Shikar*; 4. *Aghsini*; 5. *Zikr-i-Khulafai Rashidin*; 6. *Zikr-i-Kiyamat*; 7. *Badr el-Munir*; and 8. *Maulud*". By "*Akaid*", is probably meant the book *Binat-ul-Islam* of Makhdum Muhammad Hashim.]
10. A work which may be recommended to the European scholar when beginning to read Sindhi. The Arabic and Persian vocables in which it abounds will facilitate the study; the style is pure, copious, and not too much laboured.

11. Such stories are so similar throughout the world, the reader may easily guess that all the suitors who were unable to reply properly suffered instant death. The invariable simplicity of the questions thus proposed, from the time of the Sphinx downwards, is intended, I presume, to diminish any feeling of pity or regret one might be disposed to entertain for the fate of individuals that possessed so small a share of intelligence.
12. Even in Persia, the people seldom peruse the pages of Jami or Nizami without a Sharh (commentary). Hafiz is the household poet of Persia, and they hear and read his verses too often to require any other aid.
 *[p. 49. The *Shahnameh* of Firdausi was rather read fondly and with understanding in Sind. Its numerous manuscripts, and Sindhi translations, both of the selected parts and of the whole work, confirm this.]
13. This account of the Madrassa is derived from the information of a native who studied at Matalawi in his youth. I have no reason to doubt his words. Captain Hamilton (the traveller in A.D. 1744) says of Lower Sindh, "The city of Tatta is famous for learning in theology, philology and politics, and they have above *four hundred* colleges for training up youth in those parts of learning".
14. Many of whom exist, half blinded by reading all night with a dim oil lamp, and stupified by logic and theology; occasionally perhaps by more natural means.
15. Every pupil, however, began his studies with the Makhdum, for the sake of Tabarruk, or good omen.
16. That at Matari contained, I am told, about twenty cells, in each of which three or four scholars might be accommodated; the gates were locked at night, and no strangers, male or female, were permitted to remain. The more advanced students were allowed to live in the town Musjid (mosque), and this was the less dangerous, as the feelings of the "town and gown" towards each other were even more decidedly hostile than at our universities.
17. This being a religious punishment, boasting the authority of the Koran, no disgrace was incurred by the infliction. The fanatic Wahabis used regularly to flog every member of their society, male female, for such a light offence as coming late to the five daily prayers. At every blow the fustigator exclaimed, Taubah (repentance!); the fustigated, Y'allah (Yes, by God).
18. No critique upon the merits of these books will be offered, as I hope at some future time to finish a detailed account of the principal works on

the study of language and scholastic science in use throughout the tribes of Islam.

19. Opposed to Sarf-i-kabir, or the conjugation of the verb through its several voices, moods and tenses.
 * [p. 51. The renowned Saint (d. 1274 A.D.) is not known to have written these works (Editor).]
 ** [p. 51. A Commentary on Mizan, written by Qadi 'Alauddin Manglori in the 15th century at the instance of Jam Unar, the ruler of Sind. (Editor)].
20. The two elementary treatises published by Captain Lockett. Calcutta, 1814.
21. The equally well known book of syntax by the same author is very seldom read.
22. Who composed the soundest standard works upon the subjects of grammar, syntax, logic and metaphysics, before it is said, the age of ten.
23. Also by Ibn Hajib. There is a translation of this into Persian verse, which is sometimes used.
24. So called because the quotations from the text-book are always prefaced with a Kala (he said), and the annotation begins with Akulu (I say).
25. The "half-day" and the "whole day's" work.
26. As formerly the case in Europe. The Moslem theologian holds the dogma of the three moral certainties, viz.

1. The Koran, or Revelation.

2. Sunnat, the known practice of the inspired and infallible Prophet.

3. Ijma, the universal consent of all God's people, or Islam.

Now to these three the logician has the impertinence to add a fourth certainty, known to be of Pagan origin, viz., the Kiyas, or syllogism. The theologian very properly conceives this to be a most diabolical idea.

Some learned divines have gone so far as to assert that Kucifer was the inventor of the syllogism; he having been the first to dispute the propriety of bowing down to Adam. His argument, they gravely state, was as follows:

My nature is fiery, man's earthy;

Fire is better than earth;

Ergo, my nature is better than man's.

This fact, however, did not prevent some of the most orthodox and celebrated churchmen from venturing upon the task of purifying logic by diluting the wisdom of the Greeks with some very heterogeneous additions. The effect produced upon the reader, is precisely that usually experienced when perusing Watt's *Logic* after Aldrich.

27. Afghanistan and Persia. In Arabia, especially the southern parts, the style called Warsh, a branch of the Nafi system, is more common than that of Hafs.
28. The profession is considered a very creditable one in a religious sense, and many sayings of the Prophet inculcate its excellence. It is not considered at all necessary to understand the words repeated.
29. In the Persian language. It has been translated into the vernacular.
30. In the East, every gentleman necessarily knows something of the healing art. The medical profession, therefore, ranks next to the clerical in point of respectability and so highly is the study thought of, that even royalty itself will occasionally condescend to dose its subjects.
31. The standard works are about seventeen or eighteen. I do not quote their names, as I have not read them, and can offer no information upon the subject of their contents.
32. The Amceers, therefore, always made either the prescriber, or a confidential servant, take the first dose intended for themselves. When the servant was made the victim, he always took care to exact a fair portion of the fee from the physician, under pain of misrepresenting the effects of the medicine, pretending great suffering, or declaring that he was poisoned. The medical man was careful not to refuse a share of his gains, or his head would probably have left his shoulders.
33. Not neglecting, however, to make up the prescription himself, and to charge at least a rupee for every pice paid to the druggist.
34. The Persian women have the name of a Jinn, to whose malevolence they attribute the disasters of parturient ladies. The ill-omened word is, I believe, *Al*. [So far as Sind is concerned, Burton's observation is rather presumptuous and exaggerated.]
35. As, for instance, '*Nadir darak raft*,' ('Nadir is gone to hell'), to remember the date of the death of Nadir Shah, whom I would willingly call the Great, had not an authority in such matters given him the character of a "Persian Robber". The complimentary nature of the chronogram arises from the religious prejudices of his countrymen. The Persian student should remember that it is not customary to employ insignificant words to express dates, especially in verse; the

two couplets in Jones' Grammar are poor specimens of this use of the Abjad.

36. It is by means of its peculiar rhythm that the Koran is so easily learned by heart, and probably it was composed in this form partly in order to assist the memory.
37. For the practical purpose of compiling the Janam Patri and Tripno. The former is indispensable to every Hindoo child, being at once his horoscope and guide throughout life. The price is from eight to twenty rupees, and the document is drawn up in the form of a long slip of paper or rather papers pasted together, in a fair, bold, Devangari hand, illuminated with grotesque sketches of the conjunctions and aspects of the planets, eclipses, and other such important events. The duration of life, habits, tastes, dispositions, and often the future fate of the individual are so carefully described, that nothing can occur to him throughout life that is not (after the event) discoverable in the Janam Parti. The Tripno in form resembles the horoscope. It is a species of almanac, somewhat resembling the Moslem "Takwim". The subject is the duration of the Yoga, Nakshatra, Tithi, Wara and other astronomical divisions of time. The object of it is of course devotional.
38. With very little knowledge of Cocker's art. The only rules regularly learned are those of Jama (addition), and Khorā or Zarb (multiplication). In this latter they are generally able to multiply 24 by 24 at least, and thus make up in some degree for their deficiency in the other branches.
39. At the same time it is only fair to state that the Sindh Hindoo possesses apparently great and even unusual capability for the mere acquisition of language. Next to arithmetic and intrigue, it is his forte.
40. As opposed to the Sindh Moslem. Islam in India is not so scrupulous as in our newly-conquered countries; and whenever in this province one of the Faithful proved himself peculiarly unprejudiced, I have observed that he was some emigrant in search of fortune.
41. Injudicious, as our name and fame throughout the East have been gained and are to be preserved by avoiding this and other dangerous errors of the Portuguese. In Persia, the Russians by their early acts of bigotry, have secured for themselves the jealousy and mistrust of the bulk of the nation - the populace. And though Russia has now so far altered her tactics that her representative has, it is said, erected at Theran a Taziyah-khanch, or building devoted to commemorate the Hasan and Hosayn tragedy, till the suspicions of the vulgar once well aroused, pursue the track of her policy with unremitting

attention. We, on the contrary, as a nation unknown except by report, would be welcomed by mass of the Persian population.

42. Literal quotations of certain very unsupported assertions.
 43. An alphabet much used in the Punjaub, as we are informed by Lieutenant Leech (Introduction to Panjabi Grammar) for accounts and book-keeping.
 44. For purpose of concealment, as cypher is used amongst us. Moreover, the people of India generally consider a distinct "Kalam", or alphabet, as a necessary appendage to language, and are far from admiring the ingenuity of Europe when informed that one character is used for a dozen different tongues.
 45. The initial vowels only being expressed.
 46. Namely the six peculiarly Sindhi, and the fourteen Arabic and Persian letters. It may be objected that words derived from the two latter dialects are used without points in some of the Indian alphabets (as in Guzerattee, & c.) and require no mark of distinction. This certainly is the case, but the Sindhi borrows a dozen foreign words where the Indian appropriates one.
 47. When the Maharattas found themselves obliged to transact extensive public business, they invented a running hand, the Mori. We must teach the Sindhis two instead of one character - a Herculean task.
 48. Commonly and erroneously called the Sindhi. There is no one alphabet peculiar to, or generally known throughout the province.
 49. Many of the consonants as well as the vowels would require alteration. as, generally speaking, there is no distinction between the symbols denoting the aspirated and unaspirated.
 50. This respect for the Naskhi increases in proportion as it diverges from Mecca, the fountain head of Islam. The wild Affghans, for instance, will often salam, bless and almost pray to the holy handwriting.
 51. A cognate to Sindhi. The alphabet, however, is much less complicated, as it rejects five of the Sindhi letters. The present system of writing Panjabi like Hindostani was, I am told, generally adopted about twenty or thirty years ago. Before that time, it was confied to the learned and polite; and the generality of writers were unaccustomed to distinguish the cerebrals by means of diacritical marks, and ignorant of the many improvements now known to all.
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