

Journal of Education & Social Sciences

ISSN: 2410-5767 (Online)

ISSN: 2414-8091 (Print)

Non-Profit Endeavors For Education in Pre-Partition Pakistan: A Historical Appraisal of Civil Society's Role as a Harbinger of Social Science

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Manuscript Information

Submission Date: February 25, 2019

Acceptance Date: March 31, 2019

Citation in APA Style:

Khan, H. (2019). Non-Profit Endeavors For Education in Pre-Partition Pakistan: A Historical Appraisal of Civil Society's Role as a Harbinger of Social Science, *Journal of Education & Social Sciences*, 7(1), 17-27.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20547/jess0711907102>



Non-Profit Endeavors For Education in Pre-Partition Pakistan: A Historical Appraisal of Civil Society's Role as a Harbinger of Social Change

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Abstract: Civil society is often considered a western construct with little meaning and application in the eastern societies. To many western writers, the western civil societies emerging in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were harbingers of social development in Europe and America by promoting social welfare and education services in those regions. On the contrary, the masses in the eastern societies were thought to be illiterate and backward until the advent of the European colonial governments. However, history bears the evidence that education has been one primary goal of voluntary human associations in Indian Subcontinent since the ancient times. In this region the dissemination of religious and secular education was always considered a sacred duty performed or patronized by the state as well as the society. The Gurukulas, pathshalas and madrassahs established in the ancient and medieval periods by various communities in the Subcontinent have been agents of social change here. The trend became definitely obvious during the British period with a systematic education policy of the state and a vigorous nonprofit activity of the civil society. In this context, this paper is an attempt to bring forward various efforts of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the promotion of education in the areas which now comprise Pakistan during the various periods before the partition of 1947. It also tends to explore the impact of those efforts and the extent to which they could bring a social change in those areas and questions the western claims of bringing the light of knowledge to the 'heathen peoples' of South Asia. The paper has been completed with the help of various primary and secondary sources as well as interviews with some civil society activists who had some memories of the pre-partition days. It was actually started in 2003 but due to other engagements could not be completed on time. The author is particularly thankful to the wonderful educationists and civil society activists such as late Ms. Gool Minwala, Ibrahim Joyo, Qutubuddin Aziz and Maulana Shah Turab-ul-Haq Qadri for sharing their pre-partition experiences and insights with her. May their souls rest in peace!

Introduction

Significance of education for a society can never be overestimated. History has witnessed the rise of nations who had put emphasis on education in their public policy. However, there are few societies in the world where the formidable task of providing education to the maximum numbers of citizens could be performed by the state alone. In most cases this responsibility is carried out through a state-society partnership where the corporate sectors as well as the civil societies come together to share the state's burden.

The Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, though presently lags far behind the education levels of the developed countries of the world, witnessed no dearth of private and nonprofit efforts to promote

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learning in the past. Since the ancient times there have been sincere endeavors to teach the young generations the basic lessons in religious and worldly knowledge. Imparting education have been a noble profession and those who did that were revered in the society. In this context, this paper strives to trace the efforts of various formal and informal nonprofit organizations in the pre-partition history of Pakistan. It also aims at exploring the depth of the state-civil society partnership in this regard. For this purpose, the paper is organized in four main sections: The first seeks to address the definitional issues arguing how far the educational institutions of ancient and medieval Sub-continent can be called 'civil society' or 'nonprofit organizations' (CSOs/ NPOs). The second traces the roots of civil society efforts in basic education from the ancient period; the third highlights the services of CSOs in the field of education during the medieval period; while the fourth studies the new trends in this regard under the British rule.

Civil Society and its Organizations – Some Definitional Issues

Though the concept of civil society can be traced to ancient Greco-Roman debates, term civil society in its modern sense appeared in the European intellectual discourse during the Enlightenment period. In 1767 Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* initiated intellectual discourse on civil society. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the concept of civil society became popularized as a bulwark against the tyranny of the state and the market. However, it remained less understood and less recognized in the non-western societies. Unfortunately there exists no universally accepted definition of civil society apart from a general consensus that civil society is the arena of non-coercive interaction of various individuals and groups that exists between the state, the market and the family.

Disagreements still abound. During the last three decades intensive efforts have been made to clarify the concept, nature and composition of civil society and its related terms such as nonprofit sector and third sector which have often been used interchangeably. In this backdrop [Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier \(2000\)](#) from Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA produced a wide range of relevant literature which provided a theoretical basis for further research across the world. In this context, they have developed a Structural-Operational Definition of a nonprofit or a civil society organization which has proved to be very useful and objective.

According to this definition, an organization which fulfils five major criteria can be identified as a Nonprofit or Civil Society Organization (CSO) which must be:

- **Institutionalized** - whether big or small, registered or un-registered, formal or informal, a CSO must have a kind of organized structure with a set of rules and regulations, membership, scheduled meetings and goals and procedures recognized by all members.
- **Private** – It must operate privately without depending on the state for its operations, salaries and directives. A state may extend patronage or grant to a CSO but it does not control its administrative and financial setup.
- **Self-managed** – it must work according to its own system of governance, operations and policies.
- **Not-for-profit** – its basic goals may be welfare, development or advocacy but not profit-making. It may receive some fee for its services, or generate some profits out of sales, fairs etc. but that money does not go to the proprietors of the organization as 'profit' but may be used to enhance the cause of the organization.
- **Voluntary** – A CSO may give regular salaries and remunerations to its employees, but it must have at least a degree of voluntary participation. Members, volunteers and other participants have no legal obligations to work for the CSO.

For the sake of objectivity this criteria is used in this paper to identify the nonprofit educational institutions of the pre-partition Pakistan.

Civil Society in the Service of Education: Tracing the Roots

Civil society and nonprofit organizations are rather new terms which were not even understood in Pakistan areas seventy years ago. However, the existence of such organizations in the regions which now comprise Pakistan has been a fact. Education, being a 'goal of collective utility', occupied a special niche in the nonprofit efforts in this region since the ancient period.

Dissemination of knowledge has always been a noble service since the ancient period in Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent. With the beginning of rigid class and caste system in the later Vedic Period (1000 BCE onwards), the wealth and knowledge seemed to be monopolized by the upper strata of the society. However, there exists concrete evidence for educational institutions catering to general population also. For instance, 'Gurukulas' and 'ashrams' were centers of formal education. Students of different backgrounds were known to live either at Gurukula or the teacher's home or the ashram, a kind of community school for several years between the age of six to twelve, until they complete their education. The major goals were to impart knowledge and lessons in morality, modesty and humility. The curriculum varied from religious to secular subjects including studies in Vedas (sacred books of Hinduism), Sanskrit grammar, logic and literature and philosophy etc. Sometimes, according to a particular requirement of a student, medicine, mathematics, weaponry and politics were also taught. Lessons were conducted through reading, memorization, discussions, debates as well as practical work depending on the need of the subject.

Those Gurukulas and Ashrams usually provided free education but at times charged some nominal fee from the pupils especially at the end of studies. In order to mark the significance and to retain the interest of the students, certain rituals and ceremonies were organized on the occasions of beginning, promotion and completion of the studies. One such ceremony was Upanaya that celebrated the beginning of the elementary education (Gokhale, 1995). Nevertheless, D. P. Singhal claims that the Gurus (teachers) did not charge fee but rather lived in austere conditions wherein the pupils were supposed to gather food from the community and do other errands for the guru. The height of social service is reflected in the practice of some ashrams which did charge some fee but organize evening classes for needy students who did some kind of jobs during daytime. The community also shared the cost of education by donations called 'vidyadana' (gift for promotion of education) which was regarded as one of the noblest gifts. Further, the state also bestowed generous grants to such educational institutions enabling them to relief students from pecuniary worries (Singhal, 1983).

With the rise of Buddhism (6th to 4th century BCE), education gained more prominence in voluntary services. Buddhist monasteries spread across the northern Pakistan, served as centers of creed and education. The community became one main source of monetary support for education. A "guru (teacher) enjoyed the respect and hospitality of the whole community and a vidyarthi (student or seeker of knowledge) could knock at any door whenever he felt hungry" (Wadia & Hormasji, 1968).

During this period this region witnessed the growth of some renowned centers of higher education. For instance, Takshasila (Taxila – a city near Islamabad) enjoyed the status of a 'university town' (Smith, 1968). It was a great seat of advance education where many exceptional teachers of different arts and sciences lived and taught. Kautalya, the renowned scholar of Politics and Panini the established grammarian are only to name a few. Rich Students from all over South Asia, and all backgrounds came to Takshasila to avail the advantage of quality education either free or at low cost of about 500 to 1000 Kahapanas (contemporary currency). Nonetheless, admission was not denied

to those who could not bear the burden of fee. Such students had to serve on the domestic chores to compensate for the monetary payment. Totally non-discriminatory treatment was meted out to the students from all classes and religious denominations. Takshasila's contributions for the transmission, development and preservation of knowledge and culture are priceless. Among the subjects taught there were religious as well as secular and humanistic disciplines like grammar, logic, mathematics, astronomy and philosophy. These subjects today form the core of what we call liberal arts. Students passing out from Takshasila often taught at Varanasi (Banaras) another famous education centre in northern India (Gokhale, 1995).

All such institutions helped to spread education in the region. Centers like Takshasila also provided a meeting ground for various indigenous and foreign cultures. Thanks to them increasing number of people from various backgrounds received education which at least to some extent, contributed to break the caste restrictions. Inscriptions of Emperor Asoka (4th century BCE) found all over the Indo-Pakistan region themselves suggest that at least a large section of population, could read and write otherwise what was the purpose of spending so much resources and labor on those inscriptions?

Nonprofit Educational Institutions of Medieval Period

With the advent of Islam and Sufism (Muslim mysticism seeking love of God) in India, the nonprofit activities also took a new form and vigor. Some Muslim rulers themselves took personal interest in promotion of learning. But the major contribution came not from the state but the civil society – not from the palace but from the Mosque (Muslim center for daily prayers) and the Khanqah – a unique example of medieval nonprofit organization.

In this context, the contribution of 'khanqah' (a kind of monastery and abode of a Sufi (Muslim mystic or saint) and his disciples as a medieval CSO cannot be overlooked. The khanqah stands out as a center of spiritual and social regeneration which continued to serve people even after the death of the founder sufi. Almost every mosque and khanqah had a maktab (center for primary level education) or a madrassah (center for higher learning). Those centers mainly imparted religious education but some madrassahs also provided an advanced level of knowledge and training in Arabic and Persian languages, jurisprudence, mathematics and philosophy.

One extremely popular sufi was Ali Hujwari, generally known as Data Ganj Baksh (the benevolent giver of treasures), who was one of the earliest Muslim saints who propagated the message of Islam and learning in Punjab during the late eleventh century. His teachings and writings he has asserted the significance of seeking and promoting 'ilm' (knowledge) as duty of all Muslims regardless of gender and position and also enumerated basic principles for the performance of this noble duty (Nizami, 1987).

By 19th century a virtual decline of Sufism was evident but some sporadic centers continued. Imparting religious education remained one noble cause. Madrassah culture was revived across the subcontinent with the inception of Waliullahi Movement (Aziz, 2002). The areas now in Pakistan also received their share of the movement and a number of new Madrassahs were opened. Lahore became a center of madrassahs where learned ulema (Muslim religious scholars) such as Maulana Shehryar, Hafiz Roohullah Lahori, Maulvi Jan Muhammad, Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin, Hafiz Waliullah and Maulvi Ahmad Den Bagwi etc, shared their knowledge and spiritual practices with their pupils (Salik, 1993). Another learning center emerged in Taunsa near Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab established by Shah Suleman (1770-1850), a sufi of Chishtia order. That was an era of decline for the Muslims of the Subcontinent not only in political power but also in social, moral and spiritual fields. At that time Shah Suleman along with his disciples strove tirelessly to regenerate the Muslim society with education as his preferred field. One perceived goal of his reform program

was to clear the Muslim minds from superstition, indolence and academic inertia. Hence a number of makhtabs and madrassahs were established with learned teachers to enlighten many thousands of pupils from various ages and social strata. Adequate boarding and lodging facilities were provided to both teachers and students. Thousands were fed from its free kitchens (langars).

Hence, the 19th century khanqah town of Taunsa attracted thousands of local and foreign visitors, not only to fulfill their spiritual and moral needs but also for the worldly education disseminated by learned scholars. Shah Suleman himself being one of them, delivered highly intellectual lectures on the philosophies of Ghazali and Ibne-e-Arabi (Nizami, 1987). His khalifahs or spiritual successors carried his mission to other parts of Punjab. This triggered the emergence of a chain of Chishtia khanqahs in the neighboring areas of including Campbellpur, Jhang, Jehlum, Rawalpindi and Sargodha etc.

Modern Trends under the British Rule

The arrival of the British colonialism (18th to 20th century) opened the doors to the modern western ideas creating colossal impact on the local culture. Western notions of voluntarism and welfare also emphasized the significance of education as a cornerstone of public policy. Promotion of modern education was one major goal of this voluntarism. However, to many British officials, education meant only the modern western education which was perceived as the solution to all Indian problems while the age-old Indian endeavors towards education were least appreciated. Though some officials like Warren Hastings were against the 'social engineering' of Indian society and tried to promote local knowledge and methods of education, most of them accepted and followed Macaulay's famous dictum that only and only western education was 'useful' for the Indians. This situation was further aggravated by the evangelical zeal and the notion of 'white man's burden' to civilize the non-Christian and heathen nations of the Subcontinent. In this context the promulgation of the Charter Act of 1813 encouraged an influx of Christian missions to India. The Act clearly stated:

"...that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction amongst them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement" (Charter Act of 1813).

Here, it must be noted that the word 'useful' reflects the 19th century utilitarian thought according to which the only 'useful knowledge' was the western knowledge based on the ideals of modernity. Hence it implied that the treasures of learning accumulated in India since the ancient and medieval periods were 'not useful' and should be discarded. [Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education \(1835\)](#) clearly asserts this prejudice.

To promote 'useful' education and also to encourage local scholars the Act allocated annual 10,000 Pounds Sterling to the East India Company. Quite expectedly the amount was spent to promote "European science and English literature and the medium of instruction to be English" ([Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education, 1835](#)). Those were the new panaceas to all backwardness of India. Their 'utility' was to create "a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" ([Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education, 1835](#)). This class was to form the steel frame of the Raj, the new bureaucracy and the small exclusive group of educated middlemen between the British rulers and the Indian masses.

Following this concept of 'utility' the government of the Company, and later the Crown started a program of opening schools and colleges across India. For instance, a network of institutions like Christian Arts College of Bengal were established and run within the official framework. A number of modern universities also appeared on the map of India. The most prominent one was

the University of Calcutta which was thoroughly reformed by Lord Curzon in 1902. However, two shortcomings seem to be evident in this new policy: First, "the new education was useful and very little else. A certain drabness descended on the educational system; the grey clouds of utility blighted the prospect of intellectual renaissance" (Spear, 1967). Second, those institutions were mainly established in and around the power nodes of the British Indian Empire such as Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Bombay and Karachi. Their number and impact were negligible when compared to the multitudes of Indian population. Once again there was one possible solution - civil society.

Introduction of Laws Governing the Civil Society

The British seemed to be quite aware of the need of civil society organizations to complement their efforts in the field of education. Various voluntary and nonprofit organizations were already emerging to participate in the task. Just like the western societies, laws were needed to regularize and control those new and old organizations. Likewise, an array of legislations created laws which meant in effect a formal recognition of civil society sector for the first time in the Subcontinent. These Acts included the Societies Registration Act, 1860; Religious Endowment Act, 1863; The Trusts Act, 1882; Charitable Endowments Act, 1890; The Registration Act, 1908; The Charitable and Religious Trusts Act, 1920; The Mussalman Waqf Validating Acts, 1913 and 1930; Mussalman Waqf Act, 1923 and The Cooperative Societies Act, 1925. Most of the institutions registered under those acts worked in the field of educational development, religious or secular.

The Native Response

The response of natives to the lofty British ideas varied from the defeatist retreat to the modernist reformism.

The defeatist notions accepted the helpless decline and loss of power as 'fait accompli' which precluded any positive approach to improve the circumstances. Particularly, the Muslim society suffered from this mentality and suffered further stagnation and isolation. British expectation that the Indians would do and like the things the Europeans did in their own way precluded the natives to have their own world view. Hence, more stagnation.

The second response was religious revivalism aimed at "looking within for the secret of revival". The movements for religious revivalism emerged in almost all local communities which openly rejected all western ideas and raised the slogan of 'go back to the roots' of their old civilizations. For instance, Arya Samaj (Society of the Aryans) established in Punjab (1875) by Dyanand Saraswati raised the slogan "back to the Vedas". Arya Samaj was a retrogressive attempt to restore the ancient "purer" form of Hinduism as the only way to face the western cultural attack. However, its social reform program contributed to the opening of a large number of education institutions including dharmasalas and Kanya pathshalas (girl schools).

Revivalism also affected Muslim society wherein clearing the Indian Islam from local impurities became the main goal. By 19th century, the moderate Waliullahi Movement had transformed into extreme puritanical zeal suggesting 'jihad' against the infidel rulers. Yet the service of imparting religious education was never ignored. Establishment of Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband in 1867 reflected the revivalist approach not only for the purification of Muslim society from local elements but also against the Christian missionaries pouring down to India with their proselytizing zeal. Moreover, it also stood as a bulwark against the modernist trends among the Muslims. The alumni from Deoband soon spread to other areas with a mission to spread their ideas to all parts of sub-continent including the areas which are now in Pakistan. This led to establishment of a number

of madrassahs in all the four provinces of present Pakistan. Sindh and Paunjab were main arenas of this activity, though NWFP and Baluch regions also witnessed the growth of some revivalist organizations aimed at the resurgence of Islamic glory and Shariah (the way of life as advocated by the fundamental sources of Islam). Some of those were Madrassah Mazharul Uloom (1884, Karachi), Madrassah Noor Muhammadia (Shadadkot), Madrassah Darur Rishad (1901, Pir Jhanda, Hyderabad), Darur Rishad (1912, Nawabshah), Madrassah Darul Huda (Khairpur, 1911), Darul Fuyuzul Hashmia (1920, Sajawal), Darul Uloom Taqwiyatul Islam (1901, Amritsar, India), Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Din (1921, Lahore), and organizations like Idara-e- Islah-o-tabligh (1937, Lahore), Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Muslemeen (1929, Quetta) (Siddiqui, 1974-75).

A few important points must be noted here:

First, despite of the fundamentalist fervor of those institutions those madrassahs and anjumans (societies) did contribute to a large extent in promotion of literacy to a significant section of masses who had no access to either public or convent schools. Second, both Hindu and Muslim (and even Buddhist in some cases) revivalism emerged in nineteenth century as a reaction to the challenge of modernity ala' western imperialism and both received a receptive milieu in their respective communities. Arya Samaj had thousands of followers in these areas. On the other hand Muslim revivalists also gained equally large number of adherents. Both resisted against the foreign and internal enemies of their glorious civilizations.

However, this approach failed to face the challenge of modern onslaught from the west and those who remained stuck to it faced the danger of retrogression. Some revivalist movements even turned to extremist tendencies which further precluded their progress. For instance Arya Samajists ended up in extremist movements like Shuddhi and Sanghatan. On the other hand Muslim revivalism led to the unfortunate Hijrat (migration) Movement of 1920s.

Hence the first two responses to the western onslaught – retreat and revival could not produce the desired uplift in the stagnant Indian society. That was the time when some farsighted reformers with a fresh reappraisal of their situation thought of an alternative approach i.e. accommodation and acculturation rather than collision with the western ideas. A number of western educated and liberal-minded Indian elite aimed at bringing the western notions of rationalism and pragmatism to the Indian arena. This formed the basis of modernist movements in the region asserting to 'adopt the modernist approach without losing our own identity'.

Among the modernist movements which had a profound impact on the socio-political scenario of present Pakistan regions were included the Brahmo Samaj, the Ramakrishnan Mission, the Theosophical Society, and last but not most affective – the Aligarh Movement. The leadership of these movements mainly came from the upper middle classes of local communities who were quiet religious in their private lives but clearly secular in their socio-political outlook. All of them had three common features:

- They rejected the revivalist approaches and looked forward to modernization and good relations with the foreign rulers.
- They particularly emphasized education as the focal point of their reform agendas.
- They established a number of nonprofit organizations to fulfill their modernist agendas.

By mid-nineteenth century Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal established Brahmo Samaj (the Society of God) aiming at application of western rationalist thought to Hindu philosophy. Within an amazingly short time, the movement reached Punjab, thanks to the endeavors of two followers of Ram Mohan, Devendranath Tegore and Keshub Chandra Sen, and a group of Bengali officers (such as J.C. Bose and P.C. Chatterjee) posted in Punjab. Punjab provided some staunch adherents to the movement including Dyal Singh Majithia, Raja Harbans Singh, Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and many others.

Among them Dyal Singh Majithia was perhaps most active contributor to the cause of education. Belonging to an aristocratic Sikh family he imbibed the humanistic teachings of all existing religions in Punjab viz. Sikhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity to initiate an elaborate social reform program. Being a born-philanthropist and social worker, he contributed generously to the funds of Braho Samaj and later, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, a faction of Brahomo Samaj. His services in establishment of an industrial and educational base in Punjab are numerous while his group contributed same services in some other regions. The launching of the Tribune (Lahore 1881) was the beginning of free press in the region. The periodical is often hailed as the "mouthpiece of the mute masses" (Gopal, 1999). Dyal Singh was no less interested in promotion of education. His efforts for the establishment of the Punjab University and the activities of the trust founded by him helped the cause of education in the region. Following his will, his trust continued working even after his death and particularly supported the completion of the famous Anglo-Vedic College with its rich library in Lahore. Few people know that Dyal Singh extended a warm welcome and a generous financial support to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for the cause of Muslim education (Gopal, Dyal Singh Majeethia). Another institute viz., Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics which was originally established in Pune (India) started its branch in Lahore during the same period by a Hindu trust (Shahjahanpuri & Siddiqui, 1975).

Similarly, the modernization zeal entered Sindh with a vigorous contribution of Hindu reformers and philanthropists even before Muslims could catch up with the task. Inspired by modernism, those target-oriented reformers were the pioneers of native education in Sindh. For instance, the efforts of Dyaram Jethamal of Karachi made possible the establishment of D.J. Sind College - the first college of Sindh. Many Hindus donated their full month's salaries for the college. Another sincere personality was Dyaram Giddumal, the District Session Judge, worked to establish the D.G. College Hyderabad, a library at Amritsar and many other institutions across the region.

Brahmo Samaj became quite popular in Sindh thanks to the efforts to Nal Rai and Hiranand along with their spirited companions who with tireless efforts in raising funds and society's support were able to establish the first Model School - Nal Rai - Hiranand Model School and the first school for girls in Karachi.

Eventually the Aligarh Movement filled the vacuum in Muslim society of the Subcontinent with the much awaited Muslim renaissance. The Muslims, still stuck to their medieval traditional approach to life, were far behind the Hindu, Sikh and Parsee communities. The Aligarh miracle reawakened them to the ground realities of modern times. Inspired with the modernist zeal to equip Muslim youth with modern education and enlightenment thinking, the Aligarh reformers adopted a modern approach to voluntarism (Manshardt, 1961). The miracle could not have been possible without Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's vibrant leadership and intellectual contributions all asserting the inevitability of modern education and rational approach to the problems suffered by the Muslim community of the Subcontinent.

The miracle did work as it had a great appeal for the new generations of Muslims who were either disillusioned by the retreat and revivalist approaches or increasingly being aimless amidst their declining socio-political position (Hamid, 1967). It was further transmitted to present Pakistan regions thanks to the services of some followers of Sir Syed. Sind Madrasah-tul-Islam, Karachi, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore, and Islamia College Peshawar are a few amazing examples of this. The Sind Madrasatul Islam, established by Hassanally Afandi played a remarkable role in educating not only Muslim youth but students from all religions. At least ten percent of the enrolments were always from non-Muslim communities. (History of Sindh Madrasatul Islam) Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, established by Qazi Hameeduddin in Lahore, served the purpose of education by establishing a number of institutions for primary, secondary and vocational education for Muslim girls and boys. It also started a publishing house to produce appropriate texts for Mus-

lim youth. But probably a more praiseworthy role as a vehicle of Islamic modernism in an extremely conservative Pakhtoon society was that of Sahabzada Abdul Qayyum Khan's mission in Peshawar. Ahmed (1987) starting with the Darul Ulum Islamia (Peshawar, 1909) the Islamia College and the Collegiate School Peshawar (1913), he definitely proved to be the

"...chief architect of that synthesis of Pathans with British practice which enabled a foundation to be laid for the political edifice within which the Frontier (now Khaiber Pukhtoonkhwa Province) eventually took its place as the bastion of West Pakistan" (Caroe, 1992).

The Aligarh Movement and its spirit were further carried across the regions of present Pakistan. Women education was also not ignored. Sir Mohammad Shafi became one of the earliest advocates of Muslim women's education in Punjab (Malik, 1996). In the Bombay session of Muslim Educational Conference (1924) a committee was formed to promote Muslim Education in Sindh. This committee later transformed into Muslim Education Society, Hyderabad which became the main platform for the mission of Muslim Educational Conference led by Abdul Qadir Hussain and Sheikh Noor Mohammad. In Karachi, another institute, Markaz-e-Islami, was established under the leadership of Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui and his son in law, Maulana Fazlur Rehman Ansari and worked vigorously for the educational and social uplift of Muslim community. In Punjab Idara-e-Tuloo-e-Islam (1938, Lahore), was among the vanguards of Muslim League's mission. With regular publications and awareness programs it carried out its mission to create awareness creation and sympathy among Punjabi Muslims for the freedom movement and the efforts of Muslim League.

A number of other societies and organizations came forward for similar causes. Sind Muslim Adabi (literary) Society (1930, Hyderabad) led by Khan Bahadur Haji Mohammad Siddique Memon was one of them. In Baluchistan, Idara-e-Adab Baluchistan (Literary Organization of Baluchistan, 1945, Quetta) filled a wide gap by initiating publication and translations of important books, essays and manuscripts.

Another movement at the beginning of the 20th century in NWFP was that of Khudai Khidmatgars, (Servants of God). The vibrant association of enthusiastic unarmed Pakhtoon troops clad in red color was founded by Dr. Khan and his brother Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Caroe, 1992). The aim was to serve the oppressed Pakhtun people in particular and all communities living in the Frontier Province in general and the method was social reform and service.

These movements served to transform and reorient the civil society of this region as a harbinger of a progressive socio-political change. The organizations like the Anjuman-e-himayat-e-Islam, Islamia College (Peshawar) and Sindh Madressat-ul-Islam moved the Muslim community one step further. From the introduction and promotion of modern education, it was just a small step towards the political awareness and eventually towards mobilization of educated youth for a freedom movement.

"For instance, the Islamia College Peshawar did a great service in a difficult region. In an area where Pakhtoonism was a great bane and challenge to the architects of Pakistan, the 'Islamians' did fine job to strengthen the ideological frontiers of their modern Muslim state" (Khan, 2001).

Conclusion

The above study clearly shows that there have always been local nonprofit endeavors in the promotion of education in Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent including the areas which now form Pakistan.

Those endeavors played a significant role in the social uplift of the masses often in collaboration with the state but at times without it. Most of those institutions fulfill the criteria laid by the Structural-Operational Definition of JHCNP. The Hindu Gurukula and ashram, the Buddhist vi-hara (monastery), the Muslim khankah and madrassah, or the Sikh gurdwara (worship place) all played a role in enabling the local youth to fill the vacuum between the upper and lower classes, at least to some extent. As channels of social mobility, these institutions were giving birth to a nascent middle class. However, the superimposition of colonial power-structures and utilitarian mindset behind them rendered the centuries-old sources of local knowledge and learning useless and disposable. All of a sudden the learned scholars of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic became 'illiterate' as they could not speak or write English – the language of the masters.

In the light of above discussion the claim made by many British official's and orientalist writers such as Macaulay and Eliot and Dawson (Eliot & Dawson, 1867), viewing the British colonialism as the sole benefactor and harbinger of modernization in the Subcontinent cannot be accepted in toto. Education and promotion of knowledge in various fields have been always considered a noble cause and often enjoyed the support of the state and the society. In fact, throughout history the endeavors of voluntary nonprofit organizations have been substantial in this regard. All those institutions mentioned in this study more or less qualify the structural-operational definition of Johns Hopkins scholars. It must be understood that the India of Asoka, Akbar and Shahjahan was neither barbaric nor backward. It was rather a center of civilization where the society exhibited a particular devotion towards learning and social welfare.

This is evident from the report of Dr. Leitner, the first Educational Commissioner of Punjab who wrote in 1882,

"Respect for learning has always been the redeeming feature of the East. To this Punjab found no exception. The most unscrupulous chief, the avaricious money-lender and even the freebooter vied with the small money-lender in making peace with his conscience by founding schools and rewarding the learned. There was not a mosque, a temple or a dharmasala that had not a school attached to it, to which the youth flocked for religious education. There were few wealthy men who did not entertain a Maulavi, a pundit or a guru to teach their sons, and along with them, the sons of their friends and dependents. There was not a single villager who did not take pride in devoting a portion of his produce to a respected teacher" (Leitner, 1882).

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