WOMEN : FROM EDUCATION TO OCCUPATION

The emphasis on different arguments justifying the value and necessity of education from the point of view of the individual as well as society has varied according to the historical needs of any society in different stages of its evolution. The first argument regards education as a value in itself, since it develops the personality and the rationality of individuals. The assumption here is that society, recognising the innate value of rationality and learning, accords a high status to the educated. The second argument emphasises the usefulness of educated persons to society at large. The knowledge, by serving a social purpose, raises their status in society.¹

The people of Punjab before 1849 were not much in favour of the professional education and the importance of professions was also not regarded much. Education at that time mainly revolved around religion of different communities - Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and religious education was imparted. Traditionally, education meant learning of sacred literature. Members of the priestly class imparted this education to boys and girls.² Even for the girls there were not big buildings as schools, but sometimes they were taught at religious places like temples, gurudwaras or masjids. Female education at that

time was much prevalent in wealthy families.³ Education on a moderate scale was prevalent, provided that it did not make the women leave the path of homely virtues.⁴ Female education was informal and largely limited to the practical and religious matters. Women from respectable families often studied classical or vernacular literature as “a pious recreation” and girls from propertied families received some education in keeping accounts. But most females learned only the household art.⁵ Thus, before the annexation of Punjab, female education was mainly religious and traditional and was to make girls as pious creatures.

After the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849, vast strides were made in the field of education. In one of the earliest declaration of British policy then made, the intention of the government to take in hand the work of educating the masses was emphatically declared.⁶ And under this declaration, the Department of Public Instruction in the Punjab was instituted in January, 1856 with Mr. W. Arnold as the first Director. The first step taken by the Director was to ascertain the steps taken by the people in the way of education. The education department (with a Director, Two Inspectors of Schools, ten Deputy Inspectors and Sixty Sub-Deputy Inspectors)

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³ Karamjit Kaur Layalpur, “Istri Vidya” in Istri Rattan, Layalpur, January 1926, p. 27.
⁵ Geraldine Forbes, Women in Modern India, p. 36.
collected the data regarding the efforts of people in the field of education. Boys were taught at religious places of Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammadans. The teachers were paid rupees two a month in cash, but offerings in kind and fees for performing religious ceremonies formed a material addition to their means of subsistence. The girls according to this report, apart from religious education were taught in private schools which were mainly started by the benevolent societies and private individuals for the benefit of girls but not on a larger scale.

When the Education department was first organized, it was proposed to let the question of female schools stand over till the ordinary establishments were set on foot. Gopal Singh, one of the Deputy Inspector, wrote a paper regarding the role of government in opening more female schools. Other Deputy Inspectors of Ferozepur (Karim-ud-Din), Jalandhar (Alaudar Hussain) and Rawalpindi (Safdar Ali), took up the question of female education with great interest and zeal. And with the British efforts the first female school was opened at Rawalpindi, under the auspices of Mr. Browne, Inspector of Schools, in December, 1856. By the close of the 1857, seventeen schools had been established and the total number of girls attending them was three hundred six or eighteen per school.

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After the formation of Education Department in Punjab, all the major obstacles were discussed in the field of education of boys and especially girls. In the early nineteenth century, the Britishers viewed social restriction as the primary cause for the illiteracy of women. But in the twentieth century, these causes or hindrances were combined with the problem of less number of girl schools and female teachers.

All the influences which operated against the spread of education amongst boys – the conservatism and prejudice of the people, the remoteness of the advantages accruing from education, the indifferent quality of the education offered and its cost – all gain added strength in opposing the education of girls.¹⁰ Among the other social causes which also counted, were the conservatism and prejudice reinforced by the purdah system and the custom of early marriage which led girls' withdrawal from the school when she reached the stage of literacy.¹¹

The other educational obstacles which became more apparent with the passage of time in the twentieth century were the difficulty of inducing girls to attend school regularly and to remain there for a reasonable length of time, the paucity of competent women teachers coupled with the prejudice against employing men and the differences of opinion regarding the nature of the curriculum.¹²

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For all these difficulties, various efforts were made by the government in Punjab. All the British policies which were drafted were tried to be implemented in this region. The zenana education was started, by which education was tried to impart at their homes.\textsuperscript{13} In Punjab, grants were also given for zenana classes by the Municipal and District Boards, provided their teaching was satisfactory.\textsuperscript{14} But this effort was not much successful as the house-to-house visits, favoured by the women themselves and their relatives, did not prove economical.\textsuperscript{15}

The second step taken by them was the system of co-education and later opening of new separate girl's schools. In Punjab, co-education was unpopular\textsuperscript{16} and had failed to obtain foothold. Even various vernacular newspapers and journals started fierce campaign against this co-education system. This is illustrated in the following extract:

\begin{quote}
\textquote{"रुझे जुड़ीहां दे बठे पझुठ तला वीह सीहां जडीहां धुधह जडीहां में। टिस्म पझुठट लाहें का पझुठट चंडा दे। पुर्णमि महुर लिंग मुझे जुडीहां दे बठे लिंगा उन बठे बझी उत्तीर्ण लही।...... भव से सहर भूविज अनु मुरिम राजवीर दे बठे पझुठ हूँ गुठ उब से सहरह दे आपूर दूर वासी अनु महक्षी का वातावरण मनिचा मारना लिंगा दे। से घुमाव घमाव, आपूर, चिटिया भजों अव जोर्नाल दे मील पथम दे हुँच आपूर लिंग जिमे पुराव उब डर हूँ र्ही बठे कर मबरे दे हिंदा आपूर मल इलावत है।}\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} Report on progress of education in India 1917-22, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{14} Review of Education in India in 1886, Calcutta, 1888, para 242.
\textsuperscript{15} Quinquennial Review of Education in India, 1907-12, London, 1914, p. 538.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, p. 534.
\textsuperscript{17} “Munde Kudiyan De Sanje College : Co-education” in Punjabi Bhain, Ferozepur, July, 1932, pp. 3-7.
“By co-education, young girls and boys would be busy in love affairs. Co-education is not much harmful till primary schools but in higher education they might loose their characters. If people want to maintain the importance of women and their character then they have to give up this experiment of co-education.”

So to overcome this problem, the Britishers as well as reformers started opening new girls schools in various parts of Punjab. Alexandra High School (Amritsar), Government High School (Ambala), Stratford Women College (Amritsar), Government Girls High School (Kaimbalpur) Government High School of Gujranwala, Moga, Gurdaspur, Hissar, Hoshiarpur, Layalpur, Sargoda, Peshawar, Jammu and many more with Kinniard High School (Lahore), Lady Anderson Girls High and Normal School (Sialkot), Lady Irwin School, Shimla and others were opened by the British government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.18

Many reformers who were either motivated by some religion or sometimes worked for social emancipation also opened various schools. By the end of the nineteenth century, progressive Arya Samajists opened the Arya Kanya Pathshala (Girls School) in 1890.19 The Kanya Mahavidyalaya (Girls Higher School) of Jalandhar was opened somewhat later in 1896 and eventually it developed into a

women's college.\(^{20}\) The Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya started in 1892 by Bhai Thakat Singh and his spouse Harnam Kaur, came to embody the ideals and hopes of the Sikh reformers.\(^ {21}\) Sushila College (Lahore), Mahila Vidyalaya (Lahore), Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Women's High School (Lahore), Shri Ram Ashram High School (Amritsar) were few other schools which were opened by various reformers who were fighting for the cause of female education.\(^ {22}\)

But the provision of the schools was not in itself sufficient especially in towns as there was a difficult question of transit from home to school. So the third step taken by the government was the arrangement to be made for conveyances for the students. The cooperation of the richer parents in this matter was availed. Even for propagating the need of female education, they received particular assistance from missionary bodies, both European (including American) and Indian.\(^ {23}\) The Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharma and Khalsa Societies were making great efforts to bring education within the reach of the masses and the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Muslims was also gradually establishing its own schools.\(^ {24}\)

After analysing all the hindrances in the way of education of girls, Britishers started implementing their policies on education. From 1882-1902 they discussed the problems of the education for


\(^{21}\) Doris R. Jokabsh, Relocating Gender in Sikh History, p. 145.

\(^{22}\) Punjab Bhain, May, 1934, pp. 16-28.

\(^{23}\) Eight Quinquennial Review on Education in India, 1917-22, pp. 128-129.

women and tried to overcome them. From 1902-1921, they followed a liberal policy and also asked help from the Indian people. From 1921-1947, women awareness increased and they also participated in imparting education and stepped forward to begin their own schools.

In 1862 an enthusiastic movement was initiated in the favour of female education, and a grand Darbar was held at Lahore under the presidency of Sir Robert Montgomery, then Lieutenant Governor, for the purpose of enlisting the co-operation of the chiefs and other Native gentlemen of the Punjab.25

In 1882, the Indian Education Commission marked a new era in the history of education in India. It discussed the problems of education of women with great insight. All the obstacles in the way of female education were analysed. There was no demand for education as a means of livelihood among the girls and women. The system of child marriage and employment of male teachers in girl’s schools prejudiced many parents to withdraw their daughters early from schools. The parents wanted different curriculum for girl’s education and not the same as of boys.26

Various measures were adopted in the Punjab for female education in accordance with the recommendations of Education Commission. Liberal grants-in-aid were given to girls schools than the

boys schools and on easier terms. In 1889 an Inspectress of Schools was appointed and under her supervision, scholarships for girls on passing the lower primary and upper primary examinations were awarded. Normal classes for the training of female teachers were also instituted in several girls schools and a certificate examination was to be held annually.\textsuperscript{27}

Thus with the advent of Britishers in Punjab, the religious and household education of girls was transforming to primary and secondary education. The efforts of the missionaries (who began the first girls Schools) in Punjab were also encouraged by the government in the second half of nineteenth century when the government offered financial support to them.\textsuperscript{28} Mr. Arnold’s Report on Public instruction mentioned of the missionary schools at Jalandhar, Lahore, Peshawar, Amritsar and Ludhiana. Ludhiana Missionary was regarded as the best school in this field.\textsuperscript{29} In 1836, the American Missionaries opened a school for promoting female education in East in the city of Ludhiana. The staff then consisted of four ladies, three of whom were almost wholly engaged in managing Christian girls' day and boarding school. The fourth lady retained her work in the zenanas and sometimes had slight knowledge of medicine which helped rural

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{27} Administration Report of Punjab, 1901-02, pp. 171-172.
\bibitem{28} Geraldine Forbes, \textit{Women in Modern India}, p. 35.
\bibitem{29} Mr. Arnold’s Report on Public Instruction for the year 1856-57, p. 4.
\end{thebibliography}
women in their health problems.\textsuperscript{30} These kind of missionary schools were started as private schools and they with their experience of the educational system of Europe, introduced graded classes in their schools with a set curriculum for each class.\textsuperscript{31} The missionaries were interested in female education and schools for girls because, they argued, women needed to be brought into the fold to make conversions permanent. Their main motive was the spread of Christianity. For this purpose they taught girls all the household art which proved as a boon for the female education.\textsuperscript{32}

Now when the missionary efforts were increasing in the field of female education as by 1900s, there were more than thirty European women educating the people in Punjab.\textsuperscript{33} Then the reformers of Punjab got scared of the real motive of missionaries which was to spread Christianity. Now they started working for the female education having curriculum which was to be primarily based on their tradition and conventions. They viewed only two options in front of them either to send their daughters to mission schools or to start their own schools for girls based on the traditions of their society.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} M. Rose Greenfield, \textit{Five Years in Ludhiana or Work Amongst our Indian Sisters}, London, S.W. Patridge & Co., 1886, p. IV.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Geraldine Forbes, \textit{Women in Modern India}, p. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Doris R. Jakobsh, \textit{Relocating Gender in Sikh History : Transformation, Meaning and Identity}, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 130.
\end{itemize}
The reformers looked to their own ideal of womanhood. They turned to the contribution of their gurus and vedas. The names of Sikh women who had contributed greatly to the glorious heritage such as Bibi Bhani, Mata Gangaji, (Guru’s Wives) then Sundri, Sharn Kaur, Rani Sahib, all these women came to be cited as examples of true womanhood.\textsuperscript{34}

So the reformers opened the schools where the education of girls and women was expected to lead to a situation where by a true helpmate could discharge her duties in the home properly. The main motive was to make girls as ideal mothers, daughters, wives and perfect in other family relations. The notion of purity, education and the home bound nature of womanhood were integral aspect of reformers. They were to be trained for the performance of those little household duties such as cooking and sewing, and other similar things which could contribute so very largely to the comforts of a family.\textsuperscript{35}

Whereas the Britishers not only wanted domestic education for the girls but also wanted them to be aware of their society and surroundings. Sir George Clarke, Chancellor of Bombay University supported this notion in his convocation address. He wanted the women to be expert in their domestic duties with the knowledge of religion, of cleanliness of houses, of literature in which their rights

\textsuperscript{34} Doris R. Jakobsh, \textit{Relocation Gender in Sikh History}, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Khalsa Advocate}, Amritsar, 15 February, 1905, p. 10.
and duties were mentioned. The general science, geography, health and diseases, children and their health problems were subjects which he wanted to teach the girls. This is illustrated in the following extract.

“In the early twentieth century, both the reformers and the British government in Punjab were deeply concerned about the curriculum and kind of education needed for the girls. The importance of female education was felt. They all believed that “Woman above all educates humanity. Man was regarded as the brain, but woman as the heart of humanity; he its judgment, she its feelings; he, its strength, she, its grace, ornament and solace”.”

After looking into all the obstacles in the way of female education, the government tried to examine the measures which were

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36 Sir George Clarke, Chancellor Bombay University, “Convocation Address” in Punjabi Bhain, Ferozepur, April, 1909, pp. 7-9.
to be taken to promote primary, secondary, college and special education for the girls. 38 Schools for general education, whether departmental or aided, were classified as Vernacular or English and as primary or secondary. Middle schools were also started. 39 The administration of both primary and secondary schools was in the hands of three different types of authorities, viz. Provincial governments, local bodies, District and Municipal boards and private agencies. 40 In the primary and secondary schools a uniform course of study was given for both the male and female schools. Vernacular reading and writing, arithmetic, object lessons and the geography of the Punjab, with elementary needle work for girls was decided. 41 Subjects such as home hygiene, elementary laws of health, cooking, care of children and also subjects concerning enlightened mothering, a good standard of maternal physique, better care of infancy, appropriate feeding, care and management of children, effective attention to children's diseases and generally to their physical condition, good sanitary environment and other matters of domestic concern, domestic art, embroidery all the subjects which would prepare girls primarily for home and married life were the basic concern of people in the province. They wanted different curriculum

38 Y.B. Mathur, Women’s Education in India, p. 78.
Reformers and educated men, in the nineteenth century wanted primary and secondary education to be limited to the household and domestic scope.

The higher education was controlled by the Punjab University (incorporated in 1882) which had the Lieutenant Governor as ex-officio Chancellor, a Vice-chancellor appointed by the government and Senate. The High School embraced a primary, middle and high school department, the first two corresponded to a Middle School and the last had a course of two years and terminating with the Entrance examination. On passing the entrance examination in English students were admitted to the Arts College and on passing in the Vernacular to the Oriental College, Lahore. The curriculum prescribed in the High Schools was of the same subjects prescribed for the primary, middle schools, but carried to a higher stage.

Inder Singh ‘Dilbagh’ of Amritsar in his article ‘Istri Vidya Par Vichar’ (Istri Vidya Par Vichar) recommended totally different kind of curriculum for girls. He wanted only the study of vernacular language, knowledge of accounts for managing household work and singing songs as subjects to be taught in the primary schools. In middle schools, he recommended practical knowledge of health and diseases

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43 Sir Stanley Reed, (ed.), The Indian Year Book, 1914 : A Statistical and Historical Annual of the Indian Empire with an explanation of the Principal topics of the day, Calcutta, Coleman & Co., p. 49.
with religious knowledge. He was not much inclined to the professional education as he only wanted women to be homemaker not bread earner.\textsuperscript{45}

Mrs. A. Latif, wife of the Financial Commissioner, Punjab in her presidential address at the Punjab Women’s Educational Conference, Lahore on third November, 1934, referred to the curricula taught to the girls in Arts Colleges. She said the ideal for the Punjab was not merely a mass of primary passed women but an army of trained house-wives and mothers with well trained captains who would drill and lead the rank and file. She wanted Domestic Science as the subject in which a degree in Domestic Science could be instituted.\textsuperscript{46}

After the organisation of the Education Department in Punjab, various schools were opened for the girls and women. Now the question was the proper functioning of these schools, so to encourage and promote girl’s education and supply efficient supervision and foster its growth an Inspectress was appointed in 1887. Mrs. Francis, as the first Inspectress, did splendid and devoted work.\textsuperscript{47} The province was divided into three circles - Central, Western and the Eastern. The Inspectress regularly visited the government and aided schools. The department with the help of regular inspection took the light of education to the remotest corners of the Province.\textsuperscript{48}

\begin{itemize}
\item[Inder Singh ‘Dilbagh’] (\textit{Istri Vidya Par Vichar}, \textit{Istri}, Amritsar, April, 1932, pp. 28-32.
\item[48] \textit{Ibid}, p. 542.
\end{itemize}
Inspectress even organized various refresher courses for primary teachers, for example, the Rawalpindi Inspectress (Miss Must) organised such a kind of “refresher course” in 1919 by which teachers were able to improve their qualifications. Miss Stratford, the chief inspectress remarked the greatest need to ensure the steady and regular progress of the schools was the strengthening of the inspecting staff by appointing more and more assistant inspectress.

These inspectress even visited the local girls schools and asked them about the changes they wanted in girls education. On 28 November, 1919, Miss Stratford along with Mr. Clark (Deputy Commissioner) visited Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepur and explained the importance of female education. They even participated in the Sikh Educational Conferences being held in different parts of the Punjab. Bibi Pritam Kaur, Inspectress of Schools Kapurthala delivered her lecture at the twenty first Sikh Educational Conference at Khalsa College in Amritsar. This is mentioned in following extract.

“सिक्खत दिब देसक पहलाि मलेसिया ईंग्रा दूरा दिन दूरल दिब देसक भी दूरल दूरा लाई तथ भविष्य। दिनदराय सुनद दूरल दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दिन दि
(Nation can not progress completely until and unless social status of that particular nation is up to the mark. For that social status, there is need of female emancipation. For that development, important steps should be taken for the spread of female education).

These inspectress even conducted examination of middle and higher schools. All the exams were conducted by the education department under the supervision of these appointed officials like Miss Thomson. The inspectress conducted exam of government and aided schools like Dev Samaj Girls School, Sikh Kanya Mahavidayala and others.53

Female education progressed by the efforts of three main groups – the British rulers, Indian male reformers and educated Indian women. The motives of all these three groups were different for the promotion of education of girls. The Britishers wanted their civil servants to have educated wives to further ensure their loyalty. Reform-minded men were interested in developing a progressive society. The “new women” after 1920s wanted professionalized housewives and later wanted women to join new jobs.54

In the twentieth century, education became the parameter by which different classes of society in Punjab laid the reforms for women. For upper class educated men it became an eligibility for marriage. “Educated men desired educated wives for their sons and

54 Geraldine Forbes, Women in Modern India, pp. 60-61.
presumably educate their daughters with the same object in view, but they generally withdraw them from school on any manifestation of a desire to adopt a profession or to push education to any length which might interfere with or delay marriage. These people send their daughters to schools in order to enable themselves to marry them better and occasionally on easier terms.\textsuperscript{55} For this purpose matrimonial notices regularly appeared in the newspapers and journals; education increasingly became a prerequisite for marriage possibilities and a modern home.\textsuperscript{56} This is illustrated below:

“पुत्राँ सभी पत्नी लिखी हिमच्छिला दी लें : सिँध बल्ला अनंता त्यं द्वीत 20 मल र्णी पत्नी लिखी 12 उं 16 मल उव द्वीती ली मर्वी दी लें।”\textsuperscript{57}

But the advantages of education as an aid to successful marriage did not influence the parents of the poorer and lower middle classes. They were, on the other hand, less averse to the employment of their daughters in independent occupation.\textsuperscript{58} Thus, the women started progressing towards \textit{Occupation from Education}.

Now before moving to the second half of the chapter, that is, Occupation, few terms are to be understood first. \textit{Education}\textsuperscript{59} means a process of teaching, training and learning, especially in schools or colleges, to improve knowledge and develop skills. \textit{Occupation}\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Eighth Quinquennial Review of education in India} 1917-1922, pp. 129-130.
\textsuperscript{56}Doris R. Jakobsh, \textit{Relocating Gender in Sikh History}, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{57}\textit{Istri Satsang}, Amritsar, 10 Aug., 1909, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{58}\textit{Eighth Quinquennial Review}, 1914-1922m o, 130.
\textsuperscript{60}\textit{Ibid}, p. 876.
means a job or profession or the way in which you spend your time, especially when you are not working. *Profession*\(^61\) means a type of job that needs special training or skill, especially one that needs a high level of education. *Job*\(^62\) means work for which you receive regular payment. All these four terms are interlinked. Occupation is a wider concept than profession and job and occupation can only be attained if a person is educated.

So in the context of females in society, different type of education was imparted to them at the different times. This led to variation in their occupation from ancient to modern period.

Before the advent of the British or before the initiation of formal education to the women in Punjab, they were imparted religious or traditional education based on the conventions of the society. Girls were given training in domestic household works combined with respecting the elders and caring the children. This led to a household or domestic occupation for the women. Thus, women were in the full fledged circle of domestic occupation. Thus, the bulk of the female population of this province was undoubtedly constantly engaged in numerous kinds of works, which comprised among other duties of cleaning and plastering the house, bringing up children, cooking, milking of cows and buffaloes, spinning, sewing and mending of clothes, embroidery of clothes and shoes. All these activities, though

\(^{61}\) Ibid., p. 1010.
\(^{62}\) Ibid., p. 696.
of the utmost importance, were regarded at the census, as no work at all, and the women engaged in them were treated as ‘non-working dependants’.

But when more stress of education was laid on skilled one rather than religious or traditional then there was a change in the occupation of women. The Britishers and the reformers tried to impart education of household with special training in the field of teaching, medical aid, law and many more. This led to professionalism in women. Now their occupation began to witness a change from homemaker to the bread winner.

More skilled occupations of females were recognized. Even in certain categories women workers were more numerous than men. In the textile industries, spinning of cotton, wool, silk and other fibres was largely done by women, and both in cotton and wool spinning there were more than three times as many women workers than men, while among the total number of textile workers the proportion of women workers per thousand men workers was as high as six hundred forty two in 1921. Another large industry in which women workers exceeded the men in numbers and was the food industry where there were one thousand twelve hundred fifty nine females per thousand males. The number of women who pounded rice or grinded flour was more than five times the men. The classes of midwives, and

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nurses naturally were women and among indoor domestic servants women were numerous, five hundred and nineteen per thousand men.\textsuperscript{64}

Hence, women were never free and were always busy in one or the other occupation with the change of time.

As the education department of Punjab was taking steps for the spread of education, women were needed in every department of the national life. The Health and Education Services were seriously hampered for a want of the intelligent co-operation of women, both as citizens and home-makers, and also as professionally equipped teachers, nurses, and doctors.\textsuperscript{65}

Now as the female education progressed women began to take up careers too.\textsuperscript{66} The notion of service along with that of duty increasingly became the slogan of reformers in their transformational endeavour of women.\textsuperscript{67} The inauguration of girls schools had opened a novel occupational option for women – to serve as honorary teachers at various girls schools. The dearth of teachers continued to be the one of most pressing issues facing the girls schools. The call for teachers filled almost every edition of vernacular newspapers and journals.

\textsuperscript{66} P. Thomas, \textit{Indian Women through the ages.}, p. 316.
\textsuperscript{67} Doris R. Jakobsh, \textit{Relocating Gender in Sikh History}, p. 155-156.
Even government also took steps for the appointment of women teachers. A conference on the education of girls was held in February 1919 in Lahore which recommended - need of at least one teacher for every thirty girls and that there were to be two female teachers in every primary school.68

Local women earlier didn’t want to join schools as teachers, so it, therefore, became necessary to employ, to a large extent, the services of missionary societies, English ladies, Indian Christians and members of the domiciled community as teachers.69

But with the passage of time local girls started becoming teachers in primary schools. For these primary teachers, not much training was needed but as new high schools and colleges were opened, trained teachers were needed. Thus the women came out of their homes and started serving their society as teachers.

Then the question of trained teachers arose, so the Britishers started opening normal schools for training of teachers in the Punjab. Government Normal School for Women, Lahore,70 was opened for training of teachers. Even some aided schools also opened their doors for the teacher training like Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, and others.

In 1914, Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya started Training classes from April of that year. Two types of courses were to be taught – junior and senior. Both courses were of two years duration and eligibility for them was primary and middle pass women respectively.

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69 Y.B. Mathur, Women's Education in India, p. 66.
Even scholarships were given of Rupees eight and ten per month. After passing these courses, students were given certificates by the education department by which they could get jobs easily in government and aided schools.\textsuperscript{71}

By the end of 1942, classes for training master's (male teachers) wives were started at the government schools for girls in Layalpur, Sialkot, Pakpattan and Gakhar. The Government High School for girls, Jalandhar and government school for girls, Amritsar also opened the classes for training of master's wives.\textsuperscript{72}

The government carried out the training of primary, secondary and higher school teachers in these normal schools. The basic eligibility was fixed for admission to these schools. Sometimes the government opened these normal schools with the help of local government and aided high schools.\textsuperscript{73}

In Punjab, the government also adopted the policy of taking over the local training classes and converting them into normal schools for women, as those maintained for men. Of these the best was the Lahore Normal school. The Junior English teachers were also trained at the Kinnaird College, Lahore.\textsuperscript{74}

In 1911, the number of female instructors – professors and teachers of all kinds except law, medicine, music, dancing and

\textsuperscript{71} Punjabi Bhain, Ferozepur, April, 1914.
\textsuperscript{72} Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the quinquennium ending 1941-42, Lahore, 1942, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{73} Eighth quinquennial Review, 1917-1922, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, p. 149.
drawing was one thousand and five per thousand males.\textsuperscript{75} This indicates that in 1911, 10.5\% of persons in teaching profession were females. ‘In 1921, the female teachers per thousand males were one hundred forty four’\textsuperscript{76} which meant 14.4\%. This indicated 3.9\% increase in the number of female teachers. This increase was mainly due to opening of new normal schools for training of teachers by the government and reformers of the Punjab. From 1901 to 1947, there was similar increase in the number of female teachers in the Punjab in almost every decade.

Medicine was one of the new careers opened to the women in the late nineteenth century. Besides the profession of teaching, there was increasing attraction of the medical profession for girls who took up their higher education.\textsuperscript{77}

There were three main professions adopted by women in the colonial Punjab. It can be seen from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1,791</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>1,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>6,857</td>
<td>6,862</td>
<td>5,471</td>
<td>7,958</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In 1901, the number of females of Punjab in the profession of teaching, law and medicine were six hundred eighty, ninety six and six thousand eight hundred fifty seven respectively.\textsuperscript{78} In 1911, it rose to one thousand seven hundred ninety one, one hundred thirty and six thousand eight hundred sixty two respectively.\textsuperscript{79} Further increase was seen in 1921 as females adopting these professions of teaching, law and medicine were one thousand eight hundred twenty six, two hundred twenty seven and five hundred forty seven.\textsuperscript{80} By the end of 1931, the number again rose to one thousand nine hundred thirty two, three hundred thirty and seven thousand nine hundred fifty eight respectively.\textsuperscript{81} The women in these professions were encouraged by both the male reformers and the government of Punjab.

“Apart from the training of teachers, it has been recognised by many authorities, including the Calcutta University Commission, that the profession in which there is greatest need for women is the medical.”\textsuperscript{82} This was one of the resolutions passed by department of Education at Simla on first October, 1919.

\textsuperscript{78} Census of India, 1901, imperial Tables for the Punjab, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, 1903, pp XV-XI II to XV-Cl XXXV.
\textsuperscript{80} Census of India, 1921, vol XV, Punjab and Delhi, Part-II, Tables, Lahore Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1922, pp. 343-345.
\textsuperscript{81} Census of India, 1921, vol XVII, Punjab Part III, Appendices to the Imperial Table, Lahore, Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1933, pp. 79-81.
\textsuperscript{82} “Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, dated 5th Nov. 1915” in Y.B. Mathur, Women’s Education in India, p. 183.
The steps taken by the Britishers regarding medical aid and education were inaugurated by a movement of Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin. In 1885, the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava founded the National Association for supplying Medical Aid by women to the women of India. The aims of the Association also included the training of women as doctors, nurses and midwives. An appeal was made and the ruling princes and princesses and aristocracy of India readily came forward with donations and endowments. Branches were formed in the provinces and hospitals staffed by women were established in cities and towns, named after Empress Queen Victoria.

Very soon this movement gained momentum and medical classes were opened in nearly all the provinces. This was highly appreciated by women, both, because they could now learn a subject of practical importance and also because they could choose a career for themselves, leading them to economic independence.

In the later years medical education received more attention of the government. The Lady Hardinge Medical College Delhi was opened on 8th October 1916. The college was named after the founder, the late Lady Hardinge of Penshurst, who knew that the one of the greatest needs of the women of India was the provision of medical

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83 Evelyn C. Gedge and Mithan Choksi (eds.), Women in Modern India : Fifteen Papers By Indian Women Writers, Bombay Taraporewala Sons & co., 1929, p. 57.
84 Review of Education in India in 1886, Calcutta, 1888, para 232.
help, and that such help could best be given by their own countrywomen, provided that these could be satisfactorily trained.\textsuperscript{85} Generous subscriptions were given by princes and wealthy land owners for the opening of this college. In March, 1917, the hospital attached to it was opened by Lady Chelmsford.\textsuperscript{86} This medical college was affiliated to the Panjab University (Lahore) and its students were allowed to appear for the university examination for the M.B.B.S. degree.

In 1920, The Lady Chelmsford All India League for Maternity and Child Welfare was founded. The work of the league divided itself into three main activities, namely, health schools, health centres and propaganda. There were five health schools initially, which trained women as Health visitors at Lahore, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The Punjab Health School at Lahore was taken over by the government from the Lady Chelmsford League in 1927.\textsuperscript{87}

In 1921, a “State Medical Faculty” was constituted in the Punjab for the purpose of examining and granting licenses to practitioners of the sub-assistant surgeon class.\textsuperscript{88}

Apart from the above mentioned institute, there were various other medical institutions working in the Punjab. In 1921, the Medical School of Lahore was shifted to Amritsar.\textsuperscript{89} The North India

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{85} Gedge and Choksi (eds.), \textit{Women in Modern India}, p. 52.
\bibitem{86} \textit{Progress of Education in India, 1917-22}, pp. 156-157.
\bibitem{87} Gedge and Choksi (eds.), \textit{Women in Modern India}, pp. 55-56.
\bibitem{88} \textit{Progress of Education in India, 1917-22}, p. 156.
\bibitem{89} \textit{Ibid}, p. 156.
\end{thebibliography}
Medical School for Women at Ludhiana, was a missionary institution and was doing admirable work.\textsuperscript{90} This institution was running courses in medical class, compounding's, midwifery and nurses class. The Madrassa Tibbiya or Yunani School of Medicine at Delhi was doing commendable job.\textsuperscript{91} The Punjab Medical School for Women at Ludhiana was also giving good results in medical education.\textsuperscript{92} The King Edward Medical College, Lahore was a co-education college. Every year there was a steady increase in the number of women students on the college rolls.\textsuperscript{93}

These were some of the efforts, as enlisted above, made in the field of medical education. Now the question is that why the government initiated medical education for the females at a large scale.

The pioneers of female education - the Christian missionaries studied, in detail, the health conditions of women. They viewed, that the Indian women is exposed to the same risks of disease as the other women, but she has an additional handicap of the perils of childbirth.\textsuperscript{94} Owing to customs in connection with caste and purdah, moreover, she may not receive help from a male doctor in her time of peril, even if help were available and will die undelivered rather than

\textsuperscript{91} \textit{Administration Report of Punjab and its dependencies 1901-02}, p. 179.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Progress of Education in Punjab}, 1919-20, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Progress of Education in Punjab}, 1941-42, p. 32.
show herself to a man.\textsuperscript{95} The women was accordingly dependent for help in her confinement on the services of indigenous midwife or Dai.

The service of Dai or midwife was usually performed by the wife of the village scavenger or other person of low caste; and she must often have been trained under her husband.\textsuperscript{96} The typical dai had no knowledge of the use of antiseptics and many times in order to sever the cord a frequent ‘practice in villages was for these women to use sharp implement which was handy, such as a piece of glass, a pen knife, a stone, a piece of rusty iron or even the same sickle which the woman was using in the field when she was called to the case; and hence it was really not surprising to find that the birth of child was often followed by blood-poisoning and death, either to the child or the mother, or to both.\textsuperscript{97}

So to save women from this ill treatment, the government started opening new hospitals and dispensaries with initially European and later local practitioners. But these government hospitals and dispensaries, were alike unused by the vast majority of women. The prejudices of the women themselves were not less opposed to tell their sufferings to men, than their jealous husbands and fathers, or other guardians. The whole system of purdah or the seclusion of females, forbade the calling in of a male practitioner, however urgent the case maybe.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{95} Margaret Balfour and Ruth Young, \textit{The Work of Medical Women in India}, 1929, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{97} A.R. Caton, \textit{The Key of Progress}, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{98} M. Rose Greenfield, \textit{Five Years in Ludhiana}, pp. 45-46.
The missionaries, and the British government started working for providing medical aid to the Indian women by their own womenfolk. This was done by opening new schools and colleges to provide medical teaching which created experts in the medical profession. Now this was the best profession and the need of hour by which ill treatment of women could be stopped and their proper health could be maintained.

Various girls from Punjab were either studying in medical colleges of Punjab or of nearby provinces. After studying and completing their degrees in M.B.B.S., they starting serving their nation. Lady Hardinge College, Delhi was the most popular college at that time outside Punjab (As Delhi became separate province in 1911). The colleges at Ludhiana, Amritsar, Lahore and Agra also lured the female students.

Students of schools opened by reformers were also encouraged to pass the entrance test for admission in medical colleges. Bibi Hardit Kaur of Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya completed her M.B.B.S. degree from Lady Hardinge College in 1932. In June 1932, Bibi Harjagir Kaur and Harbans Kaur also cleared the entrance test and took admission in the medical College of Delhi.

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100 Punjabi Bhain, June 1923, p. 6.
101 Ibid., p. 7.
Dr. Raminder Kaur, M.B.B.S., Superintendent Mental Hospital Lahore and Panjab University Lecturer, was one of the first students of Ferozepur school to pass entrance test for M.B.B.S. degree of Lady Hardinge College. She even served as a lecturer in that college, and later was appointed medical officer in the princely state of Patiala.¹⁰²

Bibi Mohinder Kaur and Inderjeet Kaur, students of Medical College Ludhiana were also trying to follow the food steps of Dr. Raminder Kaur.¹⁰³ Bibi Sharan Kaur and Harbans Kaur also completed their medical education from medical college, Ludhiana.

These educated women then started participating in local conferences held in Punjab like Sikh Educational Conferences and delivered lectures regarding the importance of education for girls. They even used to visit local schools for girls to encourage them to pursue higher education.

Even highly educated men of the twentieth century started publishing their articles regarding various professions which women could opt for. They discussed the work of religious instructor, profession of teachers, doctors and law for the girls. The home industries of embroidery and lace making were also opened for girls. They were even encouraged to become editors of newspapers and journals like Sardarni Bhagwan started her newspaper Istri from

¹⁰³ Punjabi Bhain, April, 1920, p. 8-9.
Amritsar in 1920s as editor. The profession of legal practice was also opened to them in late 1930s. In 1933, Miss Sharda daughter of Justice Jai Lal of Lahore High Court was the first Punjabi woman to get the LL.B. degree from Panjab University.”

The men thus wanted women to start doing some productive work.

In Punjab the achievements of private enterprise in the matter of female education were considerable. Hindus, Sikhs and Muhammadans vied with one another in promoting female education. The various religious and social organizations in the province, the Singh Sabha, Anjumans and the Arya and Dev Samaj did much to promote the education of women. The Arya Samaj had its own network of girls’ schools. The Dev Samaj took a most admirable lead in the matter of female education. The Singh Sabhas and the Chief Khalsa Diwans started their own schools.

There was also a rush for higher and professional education among the females. This is evident from the following remarks of the Director of Public Instruction in his departmental Report of 1909-10.

“In addition to the marked increase in the number of pupils during the year, there are many signs that the education of girls is being more fully realized as one of the needs of the time. Higher education is being taken up energetically by private bodies and the

104 Punjabi Bhain, July, 1933, p. 27.
new unaided schools, such as those of the Maharani of Burdwan, the Vedic Pathshala, and the Khatri Girls' School at Lahore, all aim to have High departments.\textsuperscript{106}

The cause of female education also became the main concern of the Sikh Educational Conference (discussed in the fourth chapter) inaugurated in 1908 at Gujranwala. The impetus for the conference came from a similar endeavour among the Muslims of Punjab. Delegates of Sikh Educational Conference were elected from mediums – the Khalsa Diwan, the various Singh Sabhas, public meetings where no Singh Sabha existed and, through the various Sikh educational institutions. The educated women, many of them whom were fore runners in the education of female through their gratuitous teaching efforts in Sikh schools, also participated in this conference and delivered lectures encouraging female education.

Thus, from 1901-47, the efforts to promote education started by the Britishers (including European missionaries) along with social reformers made women aware and the ‘new women’ in 1920’s and 1930’s joined hands with these two groups and tried to open new schools in every nook and corner of the Punjab. The demand for female education grew steadily and what parents wanted, it seemed, was reassurance that these new schools were to observe ‘traditional’

customs along with modern professional education. The boundaries of the early nineteenth century had been stretched considerably by the early twentieth century. What was deviant behaviour for one generation was acceptable behaviour for the next. What is more important, by the early years of the twentieth century women were full participants themselves in redefining their future.

The women’s journey from education to occupation was made successfully by the efforts of the above mentioned three groups – Britishers, reformers and educated women. The Government made sincere efforts for making women educated and perfect in profession by having collaboration with local governments and social and religious organisations. There was an all-round educational development and it helped in raising the social status of women.

Hence, for the first time in the history of the Punjab province, women started moving out of their houses and adopted different kinds of occupation. The traditional occupation of midwife was converted into skilled nurses, compounders and doctors. The place of the religious instructors, priests and preachers was taken by new educated female teachers. All sort of domestic works were done by women in a technical and more skilled manner. Refined methods of child care were taught to women either by nurses, midwives or by the vernacular media. The vernacular press played important role in as
has been discussed in the first chapter in creating awareness amongst women to enlighten themselves and thus make them economically independent.

Thus, it can be concluded that as education amongst girls progressed, it led to the development of the personality and the rationality of the females which inturn help to accord a high and equivalent status to the women. The usefulness of the educated women was also acknowledged by the society at large. In today’s world, journey of women from education to occupation is still going on and it is a never ending process.