SOCIAL REFORMERS AND WIDOWHOOD

The Indian social movement was a direct outcome of the response of the Indian society to Christian missionary and colonial influence. The critique of Indian society and its everyday customs—Sati, the burning alive of a widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband; female infanticide, common especially in north-west and western India; the enforcement of celibate and ascetic widowhood; pre-pubertal marriage, especially in northern India initiated a process of retrospection. The primal impulse was communicated by the Serampore missionaries to Ram Mohan Rai, and by him to the Hindu community. The new urban elite drawn mostly from the upper castes imbibed, along with English education and perceived some past traditions against widows as a civilization lapse, this among other factors led to the social reform movement. In the nineteenth century, these movements were started in various regions of the country and took up among other things the issue of widowhood. The present chapter focusses on the social reformers and widowhood. To understand it fully, the chapter is divided into five sections. The first section is about early reforms and widows remarriage. The second section deals with the Arya Samaj and widows. The third section tells us about the Singh Sabha and widowhood, and the women, who worked for widow upliftment is depicted in the fourth section. The fifth section deals with the impact of these reforms movements on widows.

I

In the Punjab, the Christian missionary entered the region with the arrival of the British in 1849, and since then had spread all over. The American and British missionaries were attracted to the Punjabi people. The first Christian missionary to the Punjab was a Baptist preacher, who visited Delhi early in the nineteenth century and established stations at Delhi and Shimla. The first great missionary movement in the Punjab proper was the establishment of...
the American Presbyterian Mission at Ludhiana in 1834 and Lahore in 1840. Later on, this mission was reinforced by the other missions. Divulging the real motive behind it, Robert Clark in his book, ‘The Punjab And Sindh Mission’ referred the letter of Sir H. Edwards to John Lawrence, the ruler of Lahore that “There are only two obligatory points the Peshwar valley and Majha. The rest are mere dependencies. Holding these two points, you will hold whole Punjab” This was the policy of British that areas of Amritsar and Lahore (Manjha) were as important the centres of Sikhs as Peshwar of Pathans. If the Christians were successful in these areas, then it will be easy to maintain control in other areas of the Punjab.

Padri John Newton gave the reason, after much thought as to why the Punjab was selected. He pointed out that no part of India was as attractive historically as the Punjab. From here, the Hindu community had spread to the whole of India. The great battle of Mahabharata occurred here. Moreover, this land was of the Sikhs, They had adopted new ideas even before the missionaries (no idol worship and no caste system), perhaps this reason, made them ready to listen to the missionaries. In the 1860’s, the Church Mission Society opened medical missions, particularly along the frontier with its heavily Muslim population. They sent female missionaries to individual homes. The Punjabis strongly resented these Zanana missionaries for tampering with their womenfolk and violating the sanctity of their homes. In their numbers,
the native Christians did not come up as a significant community. The Christian ideas, however, played a key role in contributing to or sparking off movements of reform and renaissance in the nineteenth century. By and large the Punjab remained populated mainly by the three communities - Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all politically important and ambitious, having been the rulers of the region at one time or the other.

Punjabi Hindu interaction with British began in 1827 with the introduction of English education in the old Delhi College. By the 1830s, a small group of educated young men formed the nucleus of a new anglicized elite in that city. A participant in the Delhi Renaissance, Munshi Kanhya Lal Alakhdhari maintained a pre-eminent position in the Punjab as an advocate of social and religious reform for nearly three decades until his death in 1882. He began his career as a Hindu reformer and raised his voice against the atrocities on widows. G. W. Leitner remarked that ‘A portion of the male community was, however, peculiarly interested in the widow question. Just as passing the Entrance, F.A, B.A and M.A examinations raised the value of the bridegroom in certain castes in the matrimonial market, so would many an aspiring regenerator of his country wished to take care of the peculium of the widow, to which, I had

14 The native Christians were subject to expansion by conversion from other faiths. The great number of Native Christians was to be found in the Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore and Amritsar districts that was to say in the western portion of the area, where the influence of Sikhism had been most powerful. In Sialkot, Montgomery, the Deputy Commissioner wrote that, “The majority of the native christians were from this caste.” The very large reduction in the number of Muslim churhas in Sialkot, Gurdaspur and Gujranwala districts might possibly be in part accounted for by conversion from that class to Christianity. It would seen, however that the proportion of literate persons among those returned as native christians by caste was 16.3 in 1891 The chief sects of native christian community was like this 1.Sects Unspecified -1497 (2)Raman Catholic-1092(3)Protestants-695 (4) Church of England- 4822 (5) Presbyterian Church- 3449(6)United Presbyterian- 5193(7) American Presbyterian - 593.Taking by, however the returns, as we find them, it is interesting to note that if we omit the Sialkot and Lahore districts, where almost all denominations were particularly strong, the Roman Catholic were returned as more powerful in Ambala than in any other district, the English church and the Baptists in Delhi, the presbyterians and United Presbyterian in Gujranwala and the American Presbyterian in Gujrat.( Source-Census Of Punjab, 1891,19, 97, 98.)

15 The chief mobilizing communities in the Punjab, however, were the Hindus and the Sikhs of whom the Hindus, 29.79 percent of population according to 1941 census the most advanced in urbanization and literacy. The Sikhs were a significantly smaller minority in the cities than they were in the as a whole 14.62 percent (Source- A.S. Narang,Storm Over The Sutlej, The Akali Politics, Gitanjali Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, 13.)

16 Alakhndari published his articles in paper ‘Neeti Parkah’ Ludhiana. Later on, this article published in a granth named ‘Kulilayat Alakhndari. In Punjab, the writings of the Munshi Kanhya Lal Alakhndari, did the great affect.. In that time, the newly educated Punjab and non-Punjabi considered Alakhndari as Pagambar and Rahbar. In the end, Alkhndari took shelter of Swami Dayanand with all his followers (Source-Munshi Ram, Jiwan Charita Of Dharmveer Pandit Lekh Ram, Arya Samaj, Calcutta, 1914, 24; Vidyalankar, Sachitra Ithihas Of Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 29.)

referred by rescuing her from the cheerlessness of a home, no longer her own, even should she be staying with her parents'.

The Christian missionaries were the first to raise the ‘widow’ question and had to face the indigenous reformers, who perceived this as proselytizing activities. The Christian missionaries and Swami Dayanand Saraswati always remained on the ‘verge of war’. The Christians had adopted a unique mode of propaganda and utilized Melas, and festivals like Dusheixa by encamping on the ground of Ramlila, to penetrate into Punjabi society. For conversion, the Christian adopted other technique, As the Arya Messenger wrote in “There is we hear a sort of school for widows at Amritsar. It is a purely missionary institution. Its sole object is of course to gain converts from Christianity. Over 200 widows attend it, each getting a monthly stipend from one rupee and a half to two rupees”. The existence of such an institution in a rich town, like Amritsar, seriously challenged the Hindus. Some started to question that, “why the Hindus left the task of providing help for their destitute widows to the some missionaries. Moreover, such Hindu widows had been forgotten by their own community.”

It was consistent with the fact that Hinduism, which confined its activity mainly to the semi-social movements, now became concerned about the fate of their widows. The Arya Samaj, the Dev Dharam among others, came forward to address the issue of widowhood.

Competing against the Christian mission for adherents were indigenous bodies. The first of these, the Brahmo Samaj was set up at Lahore during 1862-1863 by Navin Chandra Rai, an accountant with the North-Western Railway. It could be said that among the Hindus, this meant the Brahmo Samaj, who had been active in Lahore since 1863 and individual critics such as Munshi Kanyalal Alakhdhari, stood up against Christian influence.

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The followers of the Brahmo Samaj, for the most part was from outside the province. The Brahmo was led by Bengalis, who came with British from Bengal to Punjab. The total strength of Brahmos was not large in this province. They were confined mainly to the headquarters towns of the district. The number of the Brahma Samaj, it was not necessary to say much as its teachings were exotic in this province. In 1891, there were only 128 Brahmos, out of 128 Brahmos only, 112 had returned themselves as such by religion; one had been entered as Sandasi by religion and Brahmo by Sect, the rest were all returned as Hindus by religion and Brahmos by sect. Brahmos appeared to be strongest at Lahore (54) and at Gujrat 29 and they were doubtless for the most part Bengalis. J.C Oman’s description, which he expressed in his book ‘Indian life, Religious and Social,’ it indicated the position held by the Brahmo faith in Lahore. He himself attended the sixteenth anniversary of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj was to be celebrated as Sunday, the 9th of November, 1879 at the Brahmo Mandir Anarkali, Lahore. Oman further expressed his views that As far as I could judge, the congregation was drawn from the ranks of the well-to-do middle class of the native society of Lahore. The upper classes sent no representatives, nor did the labourers and artisans. Several Bengalis were present. The entire congregation, which was present excluding the women and children behind the curtain, did not, exceed fifty souls and of these several had been present at and taken part in, the Arya celebration. It shows that, the Arya Samaj was now drawing most of the young men, who might have come within the folds of this society. The Punjab, is however, had recognized the ‘advanced’ ideas brought into their province by Bengalis and accepted their leadership. A small contingent of educated Punjabis and leaders of the Kayastha emigrants from the North-Western Province joined with these Bengalis to create new ‘native’ elite. From a very early date, several urban Sikhs were attracted to Brahmo ideology. In Lahore, Bhais Sunder Singh and Chatter Singh were among the active members of the local Samaj.

24 The Brahmo Samaj was founded at Calcutta in 1828, by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, a Bengali (Source- Census Of The Punjab, 1911, 137; Census Of Punjab, 1891 Volume 19, 173)
27 Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 171.
28 Ibid., 173-174.
29 Census Of The Punjab, 1911, 138.
30 Prakash Tandon, Punjabi Century, 17.
31 W. Jones Kenneth, Arya Dharm, 14.
The Brahmo Samaj took initiative to lead a movement to purify Hinduism from many evils practices that had been customary under the Brahmanical domination such as idol worship, child marriage, infanticide, suttee and forbidding widows to remarry. The Samaj started the first girl’s school at Lahore in 1885. The only centre of sustained intellectual questioning was Lahore with its cohesive Bengali community and its growing numbers of educated Punjabis. In 1866, Lala Bihari Lal and Pandit Bhanu Datt, Bassant Ram joined Novin Chandra Rai and S.P. Bhatta-chaterjee to found the Lahore Satsabha (Society of Truth), a reform organization focused solely on Punjabi society. The Sabha was dedicated to social reform and education, as was with Brahmo Samaj.

It was probable true that about 1870, a great change began to make itself manifest in the Hindu spirit. Influence from Bengal, from the remnants of the Delhi Renaissance, from government missionaries, English educators and individual Punjabi thinkers created a milieu of intellectual and psychological ferment centered on the city of Lahore. These competitions between Bengalis and Punjabi would be decided in the 1880s, as the first generation of college-educated Punjabis made their appearance and choose between the older models of self and the new, between Brahmo and Arya.

The Dev Dharma sect, which arose out of the Brahmo group, was often looked upon as one branch of the Brahmo Samaj. The Dev Dharm was founded on the February 16, 1887, in Lahore by a Brahman Pandit, Satyanand Agnihotri. The Central office at Lahore was under the guidance of the President-founder, Pandit Agnihotri. In spite of Lahore as the headquarter of the movement; the stronghold of Dev Dharm Vigyan Mulak Dharm was Ferozepore. The

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<th>District</th>
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<td>1. Hoshiarpur</td>
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35 Jones Kenneth, Arya, 24.
36 J.N. Faruqhar, Modern, 101.
37 John Kenneth, Arya, 29.
38 By 1860s, only the Lahore and Simla Brahmo Samaj remained vigorous and active organizations, both supported by Local Bengali community (Source-Kenneth, Arya, 43.)
39 Siva Narayana Agnihoti born in 1850, belonged to the Cawnpore district of the United Provinces. In 1873, 23 years of age, he was appointed drawing master in a Government school, Lahore, and in that city came under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1879, he became a missionary of the Sadhuran Brahmo Samaj. Later on, he seceded from the Brahmo Samaj and founded a new society to be known as the Dev Samaj in 16th Feb. 1887 (Source-J.N. Faruqhar, Modern Religious, 173-175; Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 173, 180.)
40 Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 180.
41 Ibid., 39.
42 The districts showing the largest strength of Dev Dharam
other branches were Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur, Khanpur, Patna, Rurki, Quetta and Loralai. The Census of 1891, threw no light on their numbers, the only record being of two persons, who entered their religion as Brahmo and their sect as Dev Dharam. The Late return of the Dev Dharm itself, however puts the number of missionaries at 12 and number of members and sympathizers (whether in or out of the Punjab) at about 190.\textsuperscript{43} The organization continued its activity, founded four new schools, one girl’s school, and a night school for adults in 1900.\textsuperscript{44} The society published a number of tracts, and three newspapers, a weekly vernacular (Dharma Jiwan) and two monthly, one vernacular (Zami’ ma Dharm Jiwan) and one in English (The Conqueror).\textsuperscript{45}

Early marriage was practically unknown among the members of the Dev Samaj, as, the minimum marriageable age was 16 and 20 for girls and boys, respectively. Every year, a number of girls and boys were initiated into the order of Brahmacharya (celibacy), when their parents took a vow not to celebrate their marriage before they had attained the prescribed ages. Early marriage was condemned as being pernicious to the physical, intellectual and moral development of the nation. Polyandry and polygamy were both equally disapproved. The success of the initiative of Dev Samaj could be understood by the fact that only two widow marriages had, however, taken place so far.\textsuperscript{46} Nevertheless a beginning had been made to bring about on change in the life of the widows and the thought of society.

Another reform group was ‘Sanathan-Dharm,’ which merely implied that they belong to the ‘old school’. Maclagan found at the commencement of the preliminary enumeration that almost everybody, who was not an Arya, was being recorded as a Sanathan-Dharmi. There were numerous societies and clubs, which under this title what they could to maintain the

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<td>7 Lyallpur</td>
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<td>8. Kapurthala</td>
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(Source- Census Of Punjab, 1911, 140.)
\textsuperscript{43} Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 180-181.
\textsuperscript{44} Census Of India, 1901, Volume 17, 116.
\textsuperscript{45} Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 180.
\textsuperscript{46} Census Of India, 1911, Volume XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 267.
orthodox faith. The Sanatan Dharm Sabha was founded as a regular association in 1889, with the object of preaching the Sanathan Dharm or ‘ancient faith’ of the Vedic religion. It adopted the title of ‘Sanatan Dharm’ because it advocated a return to the old faith of Hinduism. The term was very widely used and was frequently entered as their sect by Hindus of even the lower castes in the Census schedules. H.A. Rose viewed that “How the phrase had become so widespread. I could not explain”. Modern Sanatanist (orthodox) movements in Punjab traced their growth from the career of Pandit Shraddha Ram. He established ‘Hindi Dharam Prakash’, later on, converted into Sanathan Dharam. In 1858, after meeting with Padri Newton, Pandit also did job in Mission Press, Ludhiana. Pandit Shraddha Ram wrote a book ‘Punjabi Baatcheet’ for the Punjab Government in 1875. For this, he also got a reward from Government. This book written in Punjabi for the British, who wanted information on the customs of the Punjab, in the tradition of Manjha, Doaba and Malwa areas. At one place, in this book, two characters talk about a widow of Bhandari (Khatri) family of Phillaur, who had an illegal child, but even then her family had not left her. The Sanatanists reflected the views of changing attitudes in the late 19th century in the context of widows.

Pandit Shraddha Ram also developed differences with Arya Samaj. The arguments of rising Punjabi elite with society sometime became bitter with his involvement in a defamation case. This incident told us, how the preachers of reforms, were facing the threat to

47 Census Of 1891, Volume 19, 171.
48 Sanat Kumara, Sanada, Sanaka, and Sanatana were the four mind-born sons of Brahma, who declined to create progeny. Rupa and Sanatan were also two of the six Gosains of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava reformer. (Census Of India, 1901, The Punjab, 115.)
50 He was born is 1837, in the town of Phillaur; in Jullundur Shraddha Ram was an Saraswat Brahman, although he later worked for the British. During the 1860s, he became involved in the defence of Hinduism through a reaction to the criticism of Novin Chandra Rai of the Brahmo Samaj, the personal crusades of Kanya Lai Alakhdhari, and the persistent anti-Hindu stance of Christian missionaries. The Early life of Pandit was written by his follower Sri Swami Tulsi Dev in 1932. Tulsi Dev was dead in 1935, in the age of 80 years. Tulsi left his property for Sraddha Ram Trust. (Source-Kenneth, Arya Dharm, 27; Tulsi Dev, Beej Mantra Calcutta, 1945, Introduction)
53 When Swami Dayanad came to meet Sardar Vikram Singh, Pandit Shraddha Ram gave him a challenge for open discussion. Dayanand, did not accept it and left for Lahore. Pandit then followed Dayanand from Lahore to Sialkot in 1877(Source- Tulsi Dev, ‘Shraddha Prakash’ in Granth, Volume I, 62-64.)
54 As Shraddha Ram was involved in the case of a widow of Bhandari, family having a illegal child. The widow openly accused her brother-In-Law Anant Ram. Bhandari accused Pandit for this. Later on, it could not, be proved. Then Pandit was released and the widow was fined for Rs. 25. (Source- Tulsi Dev, ‘Shraddha Prakash’ in Granth, 47-49.)

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their image. On the other side, the orthodox, created a network of local Sanatan Dharm Sabha throughout the province. A considerable number of societies of the Sanatanists had been formed in different parts of India with the avowed object of encouraging the remarriage of widows. One of the most successful of these had its headquarters in the Punjab, where owing to the well known paucity of women and the traffic in imported brides, where seemed considerable scope for its enterprise, Sanatam Dharma Sabha claimed to have caused the marriage of over 300 widows in the year 1921 and to have over 4000 men registered in its books, who desired to find widows to marry and figures of marriages and applications in 1922 were considerably larger than those quoted.

Besides the religious organizations, such as the Arya, Brahmo, Dev Dharm Samajes, this aimed at the religious as well as social regeneration of the people. The Reform societies had been formed in most of the important castes of the Hindus. The Arorbans Sabha, The Mohyal Conference, The Rajput Sabha, The Khatri Conference and the Brahman Sabha might be mentioned as instances. Outside the Arya Samaj, under the Sikh Community, the Khatri the Vaishyas and the Aggarwals had also been carrying on good work in the fusion of sub castes, cutting down extravagant expenditure and raising the marriageable age of girls.

The Khatri Conference had been conducting a crusade against the custom of early marriage ever since 1901, although till 1910 their efforts had not assumed even the form of resolution. It had even resolved that the Khatris should try to marry their boys not before the age of 18 and the girls not earlier than 14. The practical effects of the deliberations were not far reaching.

In the nineteenth century, Diwan Sant Ram Chopra, of Akalgur was the life and soul of the Khatri Conferences that had been annually held Conferences at his mansion at Akalgur. Diwan Sant Ram Chopra fully approved the cause of widow remarriage, but this movement did not get progress due to the non seriousness of the action. The General Secretary

55 Outside of Lahore, the major area of Sanatanist support was the Jullundur Doab, particularly the cities of Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and the town of Phillaur. This area, the previous base of Shraddha Ram had active Sanatan Dharm Sabhas by 1890. The spread of Sanatan Dharm Sabha intensified the struggle between orthodox and Aryas.(Source– John Kenneth, Arya, 11.)
56 Census Of India, 1921, Volume I, Part I, Report, 161.
57 Ibid., 266.
59 Census Of India, 1911, Volume XIV, Punjab, 267.
60 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
observed that such marriages were celebrated now and then, and the general public opinion even among the uneducated messes was drifting steadily in favour of such marriages, though the progress was not very rapid. Polygamy was condemned by the conference, and no it was decided that Khatri should, without sufficient cause, marry a second wife, so long as the first was alive.

Not all reform was directed to the support of widow remarriage. The Jains were no less anxious to introduce social reform than the Hindus, The Shwetambar Sthanakwari Jain Conference was said to be making strenuous efforts to abolish customs (such as early marriage), which were against the principles and spirits of Jainism, with the result that the custom of early marriage was disappearing from the community. The Shwetambar Sthanakwari Jain Conference was however, not in favour of widow marriage The General Secretary of the Bharat Jain Mahamandal said that the community would not ever think of it and that it was stated that the remarriage of widows (Virgin or otherwise) was not enjoined by the Jain Shastras.

In the twentieth century, these caste societies were doing well as is evident from two conferences held by Mohyals in 1905 and 1910 at Lahore. The conference had not taken any step towards the marriage of widows. It was not opposed on principle to the remarriage and a widow marriage, which was recently celebrated in a well known family at Lahore, called forth no opposition either from the sabha or from the Mohyal community. On the other hand, the sabha had undertaken to circulate matrimonial notices on behalf of widows, through the medium of its Journal called the ‘Mohyal Mitra’. Though not approving of the remarriage of widows, the Mohyal tolerated it among others. The Brahman Sabha had been only recently

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61 The Joint General Secretary of All India Digambar Jain Maha Sabha noted that he had succeeded in reducing early age marriages to about one half. The claims appeared to be correct to a considerable extent, as the proportion of Jain females married before 15 years of age had fallen from 104 to 81 during the past ten years and of males of the same age from 58 to 45. (Source-Census Of India 1911, Volume xiv, Punjab, Part I, Report, 267.)


63 A summary of the reports received from some of the reform societies was given below—

"At the Mohyal Conference held in 1905, it was resolved that the age limit of marriage should be 18 and 13 years for boys and girls respectively. Later on, it was found possible to raise this age-limit still higher, and the conference held in 1910 resolved that no boy of less than 20 years and no girl below 14 years should be married. The resolution met with the general approval, not only of the male members of the community but of a certain number of females as well, with the result that the custom of early marriage was fast disappearing amongst the Mohyals. (Source- Census Of India, 1911, Volume XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 267.)
established, according to the Census of 1911. They also strived with other social reformers to stop marriages at very early ages, but refrained from taking up the issue of remarriage.64

A good deal had been done by these societies and the feelings of the educated classes were generally opposed to early marriage. So, the general tendency of the educated classes was, however, to discourage early marriage or at all events early consummations. Most of the reformed religious societies, particularly among the Hindus and Sikhs were conducting a regular crusade against this custom.65 However, widow remarriage was not part of their active agenda. The influence of the reformers was confined to the educated section and had not reached the masses.66

II

The Arya Samaj which had become a powerful body and which during the late 19th and early 20th centuries had expanded rapidly in the Panjab and the United Provinces.67 Swami Dayananda met some Hindus from Lahore at the imperial Darbar in 1877.68 They gave him a pressing invitation to visit the Panjab and shortly after, he visited Ludhiana and Lahore in 1877. So, great was his success in this latter city, that the Arya Samaj founded there very speedily, eclipsed the society founded in Bombay and Lahore and became the headquarter of the movement.69 In 1877, Arya Samaj was founded at the house of Dr. Rahim Khan in Lahore.70 After founding the Samaj or Union at Lahore, it was established at the other places of the Punjab.71 Swami Dayanand, who had come to the Punjab in 1877, stayed here for 15

64 Census Of India, 1911, Volume XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 267.
65 Census Of India, 1911, Volume XIV, Punjab, 266.
67 J.N. Faruqhar, Modern, 101; Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 174.
68 Swami Dayanand was born in 1825 A.D on Morvi of Tankara native state in Kathiwad in the south-west of Saurashtra, Gujrat (Source- Pandit Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya,, The Light of Truth, 2008, 9.)
69 Ibid., 110
70 Bhimsen Vidyalankar(ed.) Sachitra Iithihas Of Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, N.d, ॥
71 Ludhiana was the first place in Punjab, where Dayaanand did propaganda for 18 days in 1877, followed by Lahore, Amristar, Gurdaspur, Multan, Ambala and Others places.

Amristar-. On 12 August, 1877, Rishi reached Amristar on the invitation of Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, He founded Arya Samaj in the house of Mian Jaan Muhammad; Gurdaspur- Rishi was invited by Dr Bihari Lal, assistant Surgeon and he visted there.; Jalandhar- Rishi reached there on 11 September, 1877, on the invitation of Raja Vikram Singh and Sardar Suchet Singh. Ferozepore- On 26 october, 1877, Rishi reached here with Raja Vikram Singh. All arrangements were done by Lala Mathura Das, Supervisor Public work. Before Rishi, there was Hindu Sabha. Now the name of Hindu Sabha was changed to Arya Samaj. Rawalpindi- Rishi Stayed at Rawalpindi in November and December and founded Arya Samaj there Later on, founded Samaj in Jhelum. In februray, he reached Gujranwala. After founding Arya Samaj there, he again proceeded to Lahore in March, 1878. In 1877, Ludhiana was the first place in Punjab, where Dayanad came and did propaganda for 18 days. Then he

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Influential branches of the society were formed in several large cities. Those at Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar and other Punjab cities offered a wide scope for the malcontent leaders and intriguers, who joined its ranks from among the Maharatta Brahman community. These orthodox Hindus, especially Brahman and Kayasths were the alarmed, with the changes around them and a new society was formed known as the Arya Samaj. The leaders of the Arya Samaj were the educated elite. The nucleus of their activities was Lahore. Later on, it was shifted to Jalandhar also. The main leaders of the Doaba region were Mahatma Hansraj, Lala Devraj and Swami Shraddanand. These three leaders were the product of the Doaba Region. In 1885, Lala Munshi Ram, later Shraddanand returned to Jullundur as a lawyer and became the President of the New Jullundar Arya Samaj.

went to Lahore, followed by Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Multan and Ambala. Multan-On 4 April, 1878, The Samaj was founded in Multan.

This was the first and last tour of Punjab, who was completed in 1½ years (Source- Bhittisen Vidyalankar, (ed.) Sachitra Itihis, Ram Chandra Javed, Punjab Ka Arya Samaj, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, Gurudutt Bhavan, Jalandhar, 1964, 1.)

Mahratta Brahmans had been the chief advisers of the several mahratta kingdoms and principalities raised from the territories of the decadent Moghal Empire and the lesser Rajput States Since the days of Sivaji, Many of these mahratta joined Arya Samaj and soon dominated that society. (Source- George Batley Scott, Religion And Short History Of The Sikhs, 1469-1930, The Mitra Press, London, 1930, 62-63).

The Purvakal period of Arya Samaj was mainly divided into 5 periods

1. Dayanand Kal (1875-1883)
2. Gurudutt Kal (1883-1890) He had done M.A in Physics and professor in a government college (Source- Ranchchandra Javed, Punjab ka Arya Itihas, 11-30)
3. Lekhram Kal (1890-1897) He was born in a respectable family Brahmin in sayidpur village in Jhelum district in the age of 17, he joined the service of police. Later on, he left government service in 1897; he was killed by a musalman (Source- Satyaketu Vidyalankar, Arya Samaj Ka Itihas, 65.)
4. Lala Munshi Ram (1897-1917) He was born in Khatri caste in Talwan in Jullundur district in 1856. In 1882, he arrived in Lahore to begin Law Class at the Government College. The sister of Lai Dev Raj, another leader of the Arya Samaj was married to Lala Munshi Ram, Lata on, he was famous by the name of swami. (Shraddhanand (Source- Kenneth, Arya, 54-55)
5. Swami Shraddhanand Kal (1917-1926) from 1917, Lala Munshi Ram announced his name Swami Shraddhanand in Gurukal Kangra. In 1926, he was killed by a Musalman (Source-Javed.,Punjab ka Arya Itihas 11-30.


Mahatma Hansraj was born in town Bajwara near Hoshiapur. In 1871, he came to Lahore for Mission School with his brother Lala Mulraj. In 1889, he was appointed as Principal of college, in 1938, he got death. (Source - Satyadev Vidyalankar, Mahatma Hansraj, Ved Prachar Mandal Jalandhar, 1962, 4-15)

Lala DevRaj- In 1860, he was born is the house of Lala Saligh Sondhi in Kot Kishan Chand Locality in Jalandhar (Source- Shadi Joshi, Punjab Ka Arya, 24.)

John Kenneth, Arya Samaj, 55.
The Arya Samaj, though founded after the initiation of the Amritsar Singh Sabha, was the most far-reaching and influential of the reform initiatives in Punjab with regard to the question of women. As we know, the Sikhs and Hindus played active roles in the formation of the Arya Samaj during the late nineteenth century. Consequently, Dayanand’s vision of the role and status of women affected both communities and did much to increase the awareness of Punjabi society on the issue of widows.\textsuperscript{77}

The social programme of the Arya Samaj was ‘liberal’.\textsuperscript{78} The liberal social programme of the Aryas was the outcome of their religious views and included the spread of education the remarriage of widows, and the raising of the lower age for marriage.\textsuperscript{79} It busied itself with female education, with orphanages and schools dispensaries and public libraries and philanthropic institutions of all sorts.\textsuperscript{80} The lot of the widows improved somewhat with the spread of the Arya Samaj, which advocated education to befit them for a teaching job, but people were slow to react to the concept of remarriage. They were continued to hold the old belief that god had so willed it.\textsuperscript{81} After Lahore, Jalandhar Arya Samaj was the main centre of the movement of Swami Dayanand Saraswati.\textsuperscript{82} Lala Munshi Ram and Lal Devraj were the main activists of Jalandhar Samaj.\textsuperscript{83} Lala Devraj became Mantri of Jalandhar Samaj and started to preach the principles of Arya Samaj in Jalandhar by ‘Sandharab Pracharak Patra’.\textsuperscript{84} At first, the Arya cling to the traditional idea of the ideal widow.\textsuperscript{85} Lala Devraj was among the first to preach the ideal of asceticism for widows. Mostly, he inspired widows to adapt the life of Tayag, Tapasaya and Seva (Social Service).\textsuperscript{86} He favoured the spread of education among women to prepare them for a life of social service.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{77} Doris R. Jokobsh, \textit{Relocating Gender In Sikh History Transformation, Meaning And Indentity}, Oxford University Press, 2003, 119.
\textsuperscript{78} Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 177.
\textsuperscript{80} H.A. Rose, \textit{A Glossary Of The Tribes}, 23.
\textsuperscript{81} Prakash Tandon, \textit{Punjabi Centuries}, 102.
\textsuperscript{82} Shadi Ram Joshi, \textit{Uttar-Pachim}, 68.
\textsuperscript{83} Lala Devraj was born on 3\textsuperscript{rd} March, 1860 (Source Vidyalankar, Satyadev, \textit{Lala Devraj}, 3, Bhimsen Vidyalankar (ed.) \textit{Sachitra Ithihas}, 208.
\textsuperscript{84} It was started in 1889. Bhimsen Vidyalankar, \textit{Sachitra}, 334.
\textsuperscript{85} Many Leaders set personal example. In 1891, the wife of Lala Munshi Ram, Smt Shivdevi was dead. Lala was them 35 years old. He rejected all the proposals of remarriage (Source- Bhimsen Vidyalankar(ed.), \textit{Sachitra}, 334.)
\textsuperscript{86} His approach was more indicated by one incident. Lala Devraj gave training of social service to a talented widow. She got remarriage. When, one person wanted to know his reaction about her remarriage. He said that “As ordinary person of the society, I am happy with this marriage. As a social reformer, I consider better the life of her social service”(Source- Joshi, \textit{Uttar-Pachim}, 132.)
\textsuperscript{87} Satyadev Vidyalankar, \textit{Lala Devraj}, Mantri Mukh Sabha, 1937, 32.
To implement these parameters, the Arya Samaj needed some strategy. Jalandhar Arya Samaj started a new trend. Asceticism was coupled with self-reliance. This concept was well understood by Aryans by promoting education. As the approach of the society was that the widow should spend her days in asceticism, but could not be without education. The solution was given by Pathshalas, by this; the educated widows should not only be free from economic crisis, but also useful for her caste. The Arya thus came forward with a modification in the traditional life of widows and underlined the need for education and self dependence.

This new trend came forward to stem the tide of the opposite group. The daughter of Lala Munshi Ram, Vedvati, had joined Local Christian Girl Pathshala. One day, her father heard the bhajan of Christ from his daughter. He then contemplated over this and shared it with other Arya Samajisits. So, in 1886, Arya Samaj proposed for a girl education. The Jalandhar Arya Samaj named it Janana School. It was the first experiment for the education of the girls. The idea of the school however, could not be implementing due to the non-availability of a teacher. In 1890-91, Arya Samaj tried again in this direction. Now, this school was named Kanya Pathshala. This was started with 8 students in one rented room. According to the report of 1892, there were 55 girls in Pathshala. However, the foundation of Kanya Ashram was laid in 1893, in that year, the famous Arya Hakim, Chhiman Lal of Dera Ghazi Khan sent his daughter and daughter-in-law to Jalandhar for studies. In 1893, the foundation of Kanya Ashram was laid by Lala Dev Raj by keeping some girls with his family. Later on, Arya Samaj laid it separately with 5 hostellers on 12 April, 1895. On 14 June, 1896, Kanya Pathshala was named Kanya Mahavidyala. Meanwhile, KMV has started to get funding. The land for KMV was donated by Chaudhari Bhagmal on the inspiration of his daughter, Parmeshwari, ex-student KMV. Lala Devraj wrote in his diary (18 September, 1897) that the “Mahavidalaya received very much help from outside.” As In 1895, Dewan Sant Ram Chopra of Akalgarh donated Rs. 25 on the occasion of the marriage of her widowed daughter.

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88 Bhimsen Vidyalkar (ed.), *Sachitra Itihais*, 100.
95 Satyadev Vidyalkar, *Lala Devraj*, 164

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of Amritsar had founded a scholarship of Rs. 2 per month for KMV. In 1896, the head council of the Vidyalaya had sanctioned the repair to be carried out in the house given by Chaudhri Bhag Mal to the Mahavidyalaya. The school would shortly be removed into this house. It was a fairly large, commodious house in a good quarter, well suited for the purpose of a school. In 1906, another student of KMV, Parvati donated 800 Rs from Gurdaspur for its building. Later on, when she came to know about the more cost of building as 1860 Rs. She decided to repay the remaining money in instalments. The father of Suhavadevi, who was dead, donated one tola gold medal annually and 3 Rs. monthly to school. In 1916, Lala DevRaj toured United Provinces and Calcutta with Kumari Lajjawati, Later on, Kumari Lajjawati alone continued her tour to fulfill her pledge for the collection of Rs. 50,000. In 1932-33, the Krishna Hall was constructed in Kanya Mahavidyalaya. For this, Rs. 3829 was donated by a widow, Krishna Devi, the devoted activist of Mahavidyalaya.

However, Lala Devraj accepted that around 1890, the work of KMV was getting difficult even with the work of Arya Samaj as the idea of women education was unacceptable to the people. The question of education of widows was even more complex than girls. The remarriage of widows was a very restricted concept. The main sufferers were the child-widows. On the one side, they had got marriage as other’s people’s desire, on the other side; they got widowhood, as God’s desire. However, this work was supported by Mahatma Munshi Ram, Lala Devraj and Diwan Badri Das. With the success of the Mahatma Party, now Arya Samaj, Jalandhar, stood formidable against the Lahore Samaj and continued to support education for widows.

When the KMV was first established, there was no fixed curriculum and Lala Devraj had started an independent compilation for a text book in Hindi. Besides it, the girls learned sewing, embroidery, drawing, cooking, music, poetry, games, arithmetic, hygiene and the

98 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 132-133.
99 The Panchal Pandita, 15 September, 1899, Volume II, No 11, 17.
100 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 166.
101 ibid., 162.
102 Lala Dev Raj compared KMV with the works of Columbus. He opined that Columbus reached the sea shore of Patal country with the efforts of two and a half years. But the activists of the Vidyalaya had watched only sea shore after the efforts of twenty years. (Source-Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 125, Shadi Ram Joshi, Uttar-Pachim, 69
103 Vidyalankar Bhimsen (ed.) Sachitra, 99.
104 In 1894, Punjab Arya Samaj was divided into 2 groups, College Party and Mahatama Party (Source-Javed, Punjab, 97,100)
105 Shadi Ram Joshi, Uttar-Pachim, 133.
religious literature of the Samaj. Lala Devraj wanted an independent course for the Vidyalaya for this task; he wanted to write useful books himself. His dream was to set up Mahila VishwaVidyalaya. In all Kanya Pathshalas, this would be under Mahila VishwaVidyalaya with one curriculum. For the facility of the widows, the Ashram was opened in summer vacations also. In 1916, Sir Michael, O'Dwyer, Governor of Punjab remarked that Jalandhar had no historical importance; it had become famous in the country due to the Kanya Mahavidyalaya. With the success of the experiment of the Jalandhar Arya Samaj, the education of the widow was started in the other parts of the Punjab, as well.

Around 1890, the Ferozepore Arya Samaj had been doing much good work. Through the efforts of the Samaj, an orphanage and a girl’s school in connection with it had been established in that town. Both these institutions were not on a ambitious scale because the funds were not plentiful and public did not take as much interest in them as ought to nevertheless by its unaided exertions to its great credit. The Samaj had succeeded in placing the ‘Anathalaya’ and ‘Balika Vidyalaya’ on a permanent and efficient footing. Special arrangements had been made for the 2 girls’ students, who were reading for midde examinations, one of them was Bibi Bhagwandevi, the daughter of Lala Dhanpat Rai. He sent his daughter from Kuttuck to Ferozepur to get education in the girl’s school there. This sort of moral courage was very rare among our countrymen. There were two widows of respectable families, who had come from Bulandshahar to be educated in the school. The teaching and management of the school were excellent, as was evident from commendatory testimonials from Conolonel Gordon, Lala Sagar Chand, Mr. E.O Brien (the D.C) attached to the Report for 1888. In 1891, Kanya Mahavidyalaya was founded in Ferozpore. Lala Munshi Ram was one of

106 The physical fitness was the part of the course, as prescribed by the KMV As the Jullundur Kanya Mahavidyalaya celebrated its golden Jubilee on 30,31 Oct, 1937 Regarding it, the new’s published in Tribune, “There will be two interesting sammelans and display of physical exercises by the students” Besides this, the household affairs was included in the curriculm. As Lala Devraj wrote ‘Shala ki Kanya’ (school girl) The heading of some of the chapters such as household duties, punctuality, cleanliness, mutual help, exercise would show the subject that had been dealt with from 1907, the study of Stitching, Geography and Science subjects were introduced in 1909, the education of Nursing and from 1924, the education of English and Music were included in the curriculum. But the Sanskrit remained compulsory, where as English was optional.Special arrangements had been made to give them religious as well as secular education in the Ashram in addition to what they learn in school. The girls were healthy and cheerful and the system of teaching was so good that they actually enjoyed their studies. (Source - Tribune, 21 October, 1937; Tribune 9 May, 1894, 4; Satyadev, Lala Devraj, 157; Tribune 4 July 1896, Lahore, 4; John Kenneth, Arya, 216.)


110 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 119.
his founders. It was opened because previous institution ‘Putri Pathshala’ of Ferozpore had not taken the shape of Kanya Gurukul. In those days, Gurukul was synonymous with D.A.V. College. As Arya Samaj Sri Gobindpur (Gurdaspur) had sent 5-6 widows to Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar to get education. Here, Lala Devaraj, and Mahtama Munshi Ram (Swami Shradhanand) had come here for propaganda. In 1892, Arya Samaj laid foundation in Hazuri Bagh, Srinagar. Later on, one ‘Widhwa Pathshala’ was opened in RanaBari in Srinagar. In the beginning, 9 widows got education along with 47 Rs. monthly scholarships. The Subjects, Hindi, and Math, stitching etc. were taught them, so that they could earn their living. In 1923, Swami Shraddhanand had founded Kanya Gurukul. It started in Kothi of Darya Ganj at Delhi. It was named Kanya Gurukul, Indraprastha. After 4 years, it was shifted permanently to Dehradun; there was curriculum of Gurukul Kanya. In Punjab, there was no such college, whereas Kanya Pathshala was not opened with the inspiration of the Jalandhar Kanya Mahavidyalaya; there was a minimum of 125 Pathshalas, following the example of Jullundur. In Saharanpur and Ludhiana, there were the branches of Mahavidyalaya. In 1918, 104 Pathshalas were following the curriculum of Mahavidyalaya.

To give education to women was the basic principle of Arya Samaj. So, they opened girl’s school, where as Sanatani advocated that girls should not be taught. However, Swami Dayanand’s approach was that women can join different professions such as of education, judiciary, army and trade etc. There was no such qualification, which women could not get. The Indian Mirror of Calcutta said about KMV, “The Arya Samajists were to be congratulated on their recent efforts towards the inauguration of the schemes for the higher education of Arya and other Hindu women and young ladies, as distinguished from girls was looked upon as a certainly that the Jullundur college for Arya women would attract pupils from various parts of the empire.”

Before 1893, there were 2-3 Widow Ashrams here and there in north India. After that, it spread rapidly. In 1904-5, the 1st Acharya of the Mahavidyalaya, Savitri Devi had gone towards south for the propaganda of the Mahavidyalaya. She also visited ‘Vidhw Ashram’ of

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111 Bhimsen Vidyalankar, Sachitra, 303.
112 Ibid., Parishat, 161.
113 Ibid., 163.
114 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 156.
115 Bhimsen Vidyalankar(ed.), Arya Pratindhi Sabha Ka Sachitra, 301.
Karve. With her inspiration, Mahavidyalaya had opened Vidhwa Bhavan’ in 1906. To educate widows, was the main part of the programme with the establishment of the Vidhwa Bhavan. Before it, this was ‘Kanya Ashram’ from 1895. In 1906, there was the separate ‘Vidhwa-Bhavan’. The proposal was given by the Mahavidyalaya that the Ashram of the widows should be separated from the girls. From 1906, there was the six widwas in the Kanya Mahavidyalaya. In the following years, the number increased from 6 to 7 and 11 by the years in 1907 and 1908 respectively. In the Widhwa Bhavan, the number of widows was highest in 1912 as 26. If we look at the proportion of widows among total girls of Kanya Ashram, we find that the proportion was less in 1907 as one widow among 15 girls. It never went down the figure of 6 as in 1912. The generally ratio of widows with girls of Kanya Ashram, ranged from 6 to 15 from 1906 to 1936. Here, we see the growth of Widhwa-Bhavan from 1906. In 1936, this growth was three times more than his foundation year. In 1918, after the death of Savitri Devi, Lala Devraj had constructed the building of Widhwa Ashram with the expenditure of 40,000 rupees in the memory of Savitri Devi. Thus Widhwa Ashram was called Savitri Bhavan.

The popularity of Mahavidyalaya could be inferred from the fact that there was the increase of girls in Widhwa Bhawan.

117 The Number Of Inmates In Ashram And Widhwa Bhavan were like this-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Vidyalaya</th>
<th>Kanya Ashram</th>
<th>Widhwa-Bhavan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>1893</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1907</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1913-14</td>
<td>City vidyalaya</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>Outer Vidyalaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1930-33</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>160</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In 1913-14, the Mahavidyalaya was divided into two parts One was city Vidyalaya and other was Outer Vidyalaya(Source- Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 153-154).

118 Vidyalankar(ed.), Sachitra Bharat, 99-100.
119 Shadi Ram Joshi, Uttar-Pachim, 199; Vidyalankar, Satyadev, Lala Devraj, 161.
120 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 177.
Taking Jalandhar Widow Ashram as a role model, many Ashrams were started in Punjab in the twentieth century. This feeling was inducted into the minds of widows. The Vanita Vishram Ashram was situated on Lahori gate, Hoshiarpur, where the widows could live and made arrangements for their marriage. Sometimes, they were sent back to their houses. For all this, expenditure was done by the Ashram. Dayanand Salvation Mission, Hoshiapur was founded by Lala Devi Cand, M.A. in 1924. Its chief aims were to establish Ashrams in many centres and to work for the welfare of Hindu widows from the clutches of goonda. Mahatama Munshi in his ‘Sandharab Pracharak’, dated 11 Dec., 1903 had said that the activists of Ferozepore Vidyalaya should convert Kanya Mahavidyalaya to an Ashram by constructing a house in the outskirts of the city Ferozepore. There should be separate arrangement for the unmarried girl from the married and widows. These widow-Ashrams were started with the specific purposes that the widow girls should be prepared as pracharika and teachers. This feeling was inducted into the minds of widows. The approach was crystal clear from the diary of Lala Devraj. On 19 March, 1899, he wrote, “Sumitra Bai is active. But there is need of more hard-work. There should be change in her manners and dress-up. To get success in my efforts, I have asked her and other widows that “they should think daily for the two things, in the evening. One is the dead corpse, that how life ends and other is Leprosy, which effects man, to realize that how beauty is temporary and short-lived.”

From asceticism as the approach to widowhood, which Jalandhr Arya Samaj had been devoted more. The Arya moved to a new social situation on for widows and they assigned the widows, the job of teachers and pracharikas, combined with them deeply religious lines, to make them self reliant and thereby bring about an improvement in status.

The reasons which were ascribed for this stand was the fact that there was a difficulty of qualified educated women to take the charge of girl’s school which was much more formidable in its nature than anything else. The scarcity of female teachers was due to several causes. In the first place, women as a class had long remained utter strangers to all education and culture. It was hardly practicable for a girl to go through the entire course of studies from childhood till womanhood unless her misfortunes had put an end to her married life in early

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121 Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 199.
122 Bhimsen Vidyalankar(ed.), Sachitra, 1902, 393.
123 Arya Directory, 1941, 187.
124 Bhimsen Vidyalankar(ed-), Lala Dev Raj, 199.
125 Ibid., 199-200.
girlhood. Secondly, it was only in rare cases that married women under the present constitution of society could properly discharged the duties of a teacher. On account of the custom of early marriage, the sight of a child widow was by no means rare. In the absence of education and culture, the widows were, estranged from the sympathies of her husband’s relations. It was not very seldom that they fell a reluctant prey to degrading passions spoiling their character to the great augmentation of evils in the society. To control it, Jalandhar Arya Samajists showed concern for widow’s sexuality. By this way, they favoured those widows as only class that can be used as a female teachers and preachers. Their approach was to confer the boons of high education upon widows and to qualify them in every respect for the task of teaching.

The education of widows and training them as mistresses and even religious preachers would according to the reformers put a stop to all the evils relating to widows. It would raise them above the precarious mercy of their indifferent relations by giving them an independent means of subsistence. The Jalandhar Arya Samaj afforded expenditure to extend the benefits of high education for widows. It was idle, however to expect that the widow’s relations in different to education and even to her welfare would care to bear the expenses and trouble of sending her to school. In 1899, the Jalandhar Arya Samaj started the ‘Bhagwati Widows Relief Fund’. Mai Bhagwati proposed a few years ago, the opening of a permanent fund for facilitating the studies of widows unable to support themselves at school. Actutally, Mai Bhagwati was the first to suggest the opening of a fund for the relief of the widows. Lala Devraj did expenditure on widows. As in 1894, Devraj brought Savitri from Muzaffargarh Later on; Charles Harvard of America visited Mahavidyalaya and awarded scholarship of 75 Rs gannually for 5 years. Lala Devraj gave this scholarship to Savitri to complete her studies. Savitri, devoted all her life in Vidyalaya. In another case, when Sumritabai, a child widow, got remarriage in 1901. He wrote in his diary that I spent many rupees on her education. He expressed his dissatisfaction with remarriage. However, the Aryans began providing free

126 Panchal Pandita, August 1899, Jullundur, 20, 21.
127 The Panchal Pandita, August 1899, No 10, Jullundur, 21.
128 The Panchal Pandita, August 1899, No, Jullundur, 21
129 Panchal Pandita, August 1899, 21.
130 Panchal Pandita, 15 September, 1899, Volume 11 No 12, Jullundur, 19.
133 Ibid, 100.
boarding and lodging as well as education to widows. The main aim behind these fundings to widows was to arrange for teachers and pracharaks for the Arya Samaj. Some people expressed astonishment at how the Arya Samaj was able to get teachers and pracharaks easily. In the first two decades of the twentieth centuries, the Kanya Mahavidyalaya sent 80 teachers to various Pathshalas.

In the nineteenth century, the Arya Samaj provided leadership for widow remarriage. In 1886, a widow remarriage had been celebrated at Kohat under the influence of the local Arya Samaj. This marriage happened in the month of August. In September, the Amritsar Arya Samaj took the lead by getting a widow of a respectable family remarried. As the news was published in The Tribune dated 4 September, 1886, “We have learnt with pleasure that a widow remarriage has been celebrated at Amritsar under the auspices of the Arya there. Both the bride and bridegroom belonged to respectable families of Khattris, and the ceremonies were performed according to Arya rites.” The Lahore Arya Samaj also joined the lead started by the Kohat and Amritsar Samaj. In 1894, a widow remarriage of an advanced type took place in the city under the auspices of some Arya gentlemen on Tuesday evening at Lahore. Moreover, both ‘Bridegroom’ and ‘Bride’ were of a mature age and the latter had a child by a previous husband. The different reform movements in the Punjab generally supported the question of the remarriage of virgin widow. It seemed likely that there was a twist in the perspective of the Arya Samajists by the late 19th century. It would surely be equally plausible to argue that most of the remarriages were of the child widows.

The cause of social reform had rarely achieved such a grand triumph in Punjab, as when the marriage took place of the widowed daughter of Diwan Sant Ram Chopra in 1895. The Diwan belonged to the well known family of the Diwans of Akalgarh, one of the leading khatri in the Punjab. His grandfather was the Diwan Sawan Mal, the Governor of Multan. Sant Ram’s name was also familiar in the province as a quite worker in the field of social reform. The Diwan considered three things to carrying out of the object of getting remarriage of his daughter- the ordinance of the Shastras on the question; the counsel and opinion of the elders and leaders of the community; the sentiments of the general public. He consulted all these three

137 Tribune, 4 September, 1886, Volume 6, No 32, Lahore 7.
138 Tribune, 17 February, 1894, Volume 17, No 14, Lahore, 4.
factors. They were all emphatic on one point, namely that the reform of such evil customs would only be practicable, when men of high families would place thems-selves at the head of the reform movements. The Diwan set the example by getting the remarriage of the girl, aged sixteen: with the bridegroom, Lala Tirlok Chand, and aged 22 years, son of Lala Dewan Chand, caste Wahi, Panjzati Khatri. The bridegroom was a grandson on the maternal side of the Saigals. The bride was previously married when she was 11. The great calamity of widowhood suddenly fell on her at the age of fourteen.139

As a matter of fact, two more remarriages in the Punjab occurred that year, one according to the Brahma rites and the other in Arya rituals.140 In 1895, again a widow marriage among high caste Khattris took place under the auspices of the Arya Samaj. As the news published in the Tribune was this, “very little opposition has been evoked by a step, which would have involved excommunication, a few years ago. The bridegroom was Lala Chajju Ram Anand of the Hakim family of Lahore, a young man of 28, the bride, a girl of seventeen, native of Hoshiarpur of the sub-caste Kohli of the Khatrees, She lost her husband, when she was quite a child and has been living with her old sister ever since. The marriage took place according to Arya Samaj rites, which were witnessed by nearly two thousand people. There were many relations and connections of the happy bridegroom present in the gathering and they loudly congratulated him at the conclusion of the ceremony.141 On 18th March, 1896, the news published in The Tribune about two widow remarriages at Wazirabad and Muzaffarabad. In Wazirabad, the bride was aged 14 and bridegroom 22, and both belong to the Sajdev branch of the Arora caste. This marriage was performed on the 10th March. The second widow remarriage was performed on the 17th February. A Hindi Shahukar of Muzaffarabad (Kashmir State) married his young widowed daughter to a youngman of Kot Najebullah, district Abbottabad.142

It is worth noting that there was more widow remarriages under the influence of reformers. Sometimes, there was resistance of society which had not accepted such remarriages as yet.

The central Punjab became the hub of a widow remarriage movement. As in May 1896, another widow remarriage was performed in Lahore in the Sood community. The bridegroom was a well to do young man from Ludhiana and the bride, a fatherless child of

139 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
141 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Volume 18, No 97, Lahore, 8.
142 Tribune, 18 March 1896, Volume XIX, No. 23, Lahore, 4.
good family aged thirteen or so. In the same month, another widow remarriage was celebrated at Phagwara. The bride was Saikhri Khatri from Batala and bridegroom was a Chopra Khatri of Nawanshahr, district Jalandhar. It was a praise worthy that the marriage ceremony was performed by the Sanathan Dharma Pandits with havan and all, in the presence of about 300 gentlemen. Moreover, this marriage was celebrated by distributing rupees and pices among the Lagis as usual and Karah Pershad was given to all present. From these marriages, it was clear that the ceremonies were not simple. It displayed pomp and show.

The widow remarriages were reported in other parts of the Punjab. In June, a widow remarriage was performed in Akalgah, 1896. Two more widow remarriages had taken place during the month of June. In the first case, a Khatri child widow, aged only 11, was married at Alawalpur to a Khatri lad of the caste in which she had first been married. This marriage was performed on 12th June 1896.

In the same year (1896), another widow remarriage was celebrated at Arya Samaj Mandir, Lahore. The bridegroom Lala Thinda Ram Malhotra was a Clerk in the Railway Examiner’s office and the bride was the sister-in-Law of Lala Kedar Nath Thapar, Secretary, City Arya Samaj, Lahore, Both the parties were Khatris. It was performed according to Arya Samaj rites. In another case, a widow girl of Arora caste, of Chak Sjada, district Gujranwala was married to a young Gulati (Aroras) of Wanike in the same district on 17th June, 1896. In both the above marriages, the rites were performed by the priests of the girl’s family. It showed the somewhat acceptance of society towards these marriages. Moreover, the newspaper informed that, the above happy events brought the toal of such marriages, during the current year (1896) to 15.

All these marriages, which were performed in the nineteenth century, showed that In Punjab, these marriages started among high castes in the decade of 1890s under the influence of the reformers. Of course, widow remarriage were already prevalent in the rural areas by the

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143 Tribune 9 May 1896, Volume XIX No. 38, Lahore, 4.
145 The news appeared in the Tribune, “Bibi Narain Devi, a daughter of the well know Cochhars of Chahil and the widow of Sukha singh, son of Sardar Pansa singh of Ramnagar ( a military officer under the Late General Hari singh) was remarried with Lala Narain Dev, Jubbal Khashtri, a Sahukar of Maryala waraich. We congrulate the Banjahi biradri of Chalril, Maryala and Ramnagar for the display of moral Courage.” (Source-Tribune, 3 June, 1896, Volume XIX, No 45, Lahore, 4)
146 Tribune, 8 July, 1896, Volume XIX, No 55, Lahore, 4.
name of Karewa. Now among urban areas, the influence of the idea of remarriage could be seeing among the higher castes such as Khatri, Arora, Sood and others. From the nineteenth century, many Arya Samajes established associations in different parts of the Punjab to promote the cause of widow remarriage. These societies were quite active in different parts of the Punjab for publicizing remarriages, as Prakash Tandon disclosed in his book, Punjabi Saga. However, the conventional thinking of the society towards remarriage could be withiners in the twentieth century also in 1906, Mahashaya Khuba Ram, a widowed, of Dera Ghazi Khan got marriage with a widow. The biradari protested for this, after some time, there was the fixation of marriage of young brother of Meghu Ram, Arya Samajists. Biradari said “if Khuba Ram will go with barat, we will not remain with you”. But Meghu Ram did not bother of biradari and with the help of Arya Samaj; the marriage was performed with Vedic method. The worries and difficulties were doubled, when one had to seek a husband for a child widow. To remove all these difficulties, it was needful that there should be a society of workers, possessed of tact and influence, who could afford effective, help to those, who intended to have widows, under their guardianship, married. To carry out this philanthropic object, some gentlemen formed themselves into the committees with the different names. Some

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149 Arya Samaj, Pind Dadankhan (Jhelum) = The Arya Samaj was established in 1887 by Munshi Harbhagwan. This samaj had mainly contributed in the field of widow remarriage and Shudhi.

150 Prakash Tandon disclosed in his book, Punjab Saga, that when his father was first posted in a town, both he and my mother came under the influence of the Arya Samaj. This reformist movement, started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, had found a more receptive soil in the Punjab than in the home of the founder is Kathiawar, or even in progressive Bombay and Poona. They made a direct appeal to the Punjab intelligentsia. Its emphasis on modern education; opposition to child marriage and sponsoring of widow remarriage were in line with the modern concepts in which my father had been trained. As under the influence of father, two widows in fact managed to arrange their own marriages, but that came many years later (Source- Bhimsen Vidyalanakar (ed.), Arya, 91, 26-27, 29 71, 130; Arya Directory, 77.)

246 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
Arya Samajists laid down the Widhwa Vivah Sabhas to promote the cause of widow remarriage. These sabhas became visible in the last decade of the nineteenth century and marked attendance by their performance. In the twentieth century, their activities gained momentum. There were many instances in which these Sabhas were instrumental in cutting across the orthodox rules, and getting widow-remarried. We had seen in the Delhi case on 29 April, 1896, in Goldsmith caste. This widow remarriage was celebrated at Delhi on 17 April, 1896. Both the bride and bridegroom belonged to the Sunar (goldsmith) community, the bridegroom and the bride belonged to Muzaffarnagar and Delhi respectively. The ceremony was attended by over 200 peoples from both sides. This widow remarriage at Delhi burst like a bomb-shell on the snoozing orthodox community. After much heated discussions and agitations among Sonars, it was decided to hold a Panchayat and a Caste meeting was accordingly held in which it was decided to ostracise from society the principal parties as well as the aiders and bettors as along as. The matter was not solved here. There were the much social differences between the orthodox and the reformist section. The Tribune regretted that in this matter (Delhi case), the example of Lahore ought to have been followed, A regular torrent of invectives had poured on the head of the ‘Reform Party here since the formation of the ‘Child Widows Remarriage Society’. If we could not settle our social differences ourselves, then it must be said, we still had lack fitness for such serious undertaking.

However, the activities of these Sabhas were going on. Again on 1st May 1896, a widow remarriage was celebrated at Mia Mir, through the instrumentality of the Bidhwa Vivah Sabha. In this case, the age of the bride was 15 and she had been seven years a widow. The bridegroom, Bhai Tara Singh was a merchant of Jullundur cantonment. Another widow remarriage was took place at Akalgarh in 1896 with the initiatives of the Adhikari Bidhwa Vivah Sabha. Many people congratulated the Sabha for its efforts. This was the respectable family of Arorbans in village Kotnukka near Hafizabad. The bride, of Achporani Caste was 14 years old. The bridegroom, Jeewan Singh Arora was a young Shahukar of Pindi Bhattian.

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153 Tribune, 29 April, 1896, Volume 19, No 35, Lahore, 4.
155 Tribune, 6 May, 1896, Volume XIX, No 37, Lahore, 4.
marriage was performed according to the Shastric ceremonies. Kara, Tulwar Ganah and Mukat were also used.\textsuperscript{157}

In Ludhiana, in 1889, some Arya Samajists had started ‘Widhwa Vivah Sabha’ with help of Devi Chand of Jalandhar. Later on, this Sabha was disbanded.\textsuperscript{158} In 1895, the procedure of the working of Adhi-Kari Bidhwa Biwah Sahayak Sabha, announced during the marriage of the widowed daughter of Diwan Sant Ram Chopra. The members of this Sabha were Lala Hans Raj Honorary Principal, D.A. College; Lala Shiv Dayal, M.A, Assistant Inspector of schools, Lahore circle, Bakshi Jaishi Ram, Reader, Chief Court; Lala Devi Dayal, B.A. Assistant Professor, D.A.V. College. Now of the Sabha would be to call for applications (for the marriage of child widows) from parents or other guardians, by means of advertisements and to call for applications from such men, who wished to marry widows. The Secretary of the sabha would enter the applications from the respective parties in two different registers; and arrange for marriage by means of correspondence between the parties, with considerations of caste, family and such matters.

In 1896, another society, Hindu Child Widow Matrimonial Society came to the fore and gave the first advertisement in the newspaper, Tribune with effect from 7 March, 1896.\textsuperscript{159} The below format was continually appeared in the Tribune till 22 April, 1896.\textsuperscript{160} But after that from 25 April, the advertisement came in the form of another format.\textsuperscript{161} This new

158 Bhimsen Vidyalankar(ed.), Arya Pratirtidhi ka Sachitra Itihias, Parshisht k, 149.
159 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement.
160 Beginning in 1883, the Samaj Press carried requests for an Arya gentle, who desirous of getting married in strict accordance with the Vedic rites. By 1884, the matrimonial notice was a standard item in many Samaj publications. The format of the advertisement of the society was like this-

\textbf{Caste} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Present Age} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{District} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{The match must been Dabra Arora} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Sikh will be preferred} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Secretary}’’

(Source-Tribune, 7 March, 1896, Volume XIX, No. 20. Lahore, 8; Johns Kenneth, Arya Samaj, 99)

161 Tribune, 7 March, 1896, Volume XIX, No 20, Lahore, 8; Tribune 11 March 1896, Volume XIX, No 21, 8; Tribune 14 March 1896, No 228; Tribune 18 March, 1896, No 23, 8; Tribune, 21 March, 1896, No 25, 8; Tribune, 22 April, 1896, Volume 19, No. 33, 8.

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advertisement was appeared from 25 April, 1896 from the Hindu Child Widow Matrimonial society. This type of advertisement continuously appeared twice every week throughout the year (1896). The Sabha continued to help child widows for remarriages. There was no trend of advertisement by the family of child widows.

However, the twentieth century brought change in the people’s approach. The advertisement came not only from the societies, but also from the people. As more generally, it would seem that the advertisement appeared for the different type of widows. They were like this - ‘A Middle class Arya Samajist match for an Issueless widow of 25. Well up in Hindi and Household affairs Caste immaterial. No 6452 c/o Tribune.' It was obvious that now the people wanted a suitable match for the widows, who did not have children but were order than the child widows. There were persons of the right way of thinking, who gave attention to this serious problem. Moreover, it was the great pleasure to have advertisement from the side of widowers, who were asking for virgin widows first, but also for widows. It was the slightest divergence from what was prescribed by custom. It was attested by the following advertisements; for example, ‘Wanted a Virgin or Widow for a Mohyal Brahman Gazetted

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162 Now in the following advertisement was “Parents or guardians of such child widows as were willing to marry them off second time were requested to apply to this society, which will help the applicant in arranging a suitable match for the widow. Also men desirous of marrying widows are requested to inform the Society. The Society will arrange their marriage, on the agreement of the parties.

Vachhowali, Lahore

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M.A. Secretary

(Tribune, 25 April, 1896, Volume XIX, No 34, 8; Tribune, 12 August, 1896, Volume XIX, No 65, 8; Tribune 15 August, 1896, 8; Tribune 5 September 1896, Volume XIX, No 68, 8; Tribune 26 August, 1896 No. 69; 29 August, 1896, No 70, XIX, No 66, 8; Tribune 19 August, 1896, Volume XIX, No 67, 8; Tribune 22 August, 1896 No 71, 8; Tribune, 2 September, 1896, No 77, 8; Tribune 9 september, 1896 No 72, 8; Tribune, 9 September, 1896, No 74, 8; Tribune, 16 September, 1896, No 75, 8; Tribune, 19 September, 1896, Volume XIX, No. 76, 8.)

163 The other advertisement was “Wanted Match for Sikh Widow a respectable family, aged 20 has one son. Well versed in household affairs and needle works knows Punjabi, Hindi and Harmonium. Sikhs Only, irrespective of any sub-caste.” (Source-Tribune, 6 October, 1937, Lahore, 11)

164 ‘Wanted Suitable Match Virgin or Widow for a foreign qualified Agarwal Professor, Age 35 earning about 500 R.S. No Caste Restrictions”

165 -“Wanted a Healthy Suitable Match, Virgin or Issueless Widow, below 25 is required for an Arora widower, aged 38. Health excellent A Leading medical practitioner, monthly income 300, besides Land property, Dowry and caste immaterial ,Correspond B.S. Gill of Bhagatpore, Post Sangher, Tharparkar Sindh”

-“Wanted a Widow or Virgin of above 20 for an Arora widower, aged 38. Health excellent A Leading medical practitioner, monthly income 300, besides Land property, Dowry and caste immaterial ,No, 6801, C/o Tribune, Lahore”

These advertisements were a glimpse of the new perspective of society. Of course, widow remarriage was no stigma in this time. In Hindu high caste families, these marriages had started especially among the Khatris and Aroras. One more fact could be seen from the above preview that the widowers had difficulty in finding virgin girls. So, they were forwarding two options, virgin or widow. In the case of the shortage of virgin, they went ahead with the other option, widows. This fact was also to be noted that if the widower was of matured age, he would give preference for the widows aged 20 to 25, not for the immature widows. In these marriages, the widow could be of half the age of the widower. By the 20th century, therefore remarriage of widows, virgin and mature, had become more acceptable in society. The individual reformers came forward and set example by the Muslims getting married to a child widow. The following advertisement showed this perspective.167

“Wanted An Arya Child widow of about 22 for a Brahman Arya missionary of 30, Pay Rs. 60, Caste Immaterial, No 6451, c/o Tribune, Lahore.”168 By this, the reformers were endorsing the principles, propagated by them. This also manifested an awakening among the different sections of the society. Even in the widow remarriage conferences, resolutions were passed regarding prohibition of widower’s remarriage with virgins as in the Kartarpur Widow Remarriage Conference (30-31 October, 1937) to support remarriage of old widows.169

In the nineteenth century, these Sabhas continued activities through individual efforts, by speeches or by advertisement. However in the twentieth century, these Sabha added on a new technique, the Widow Remarriage Conference to further the cause of widow remarriage.

Vidhwa Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Punjab, Jullundur, held a conference on the 30th and 31st October 1937. The conference was presided by Shrimati Inder Kaur, wife of Rai Bahadur

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166 Tribune, 14 November, 1937, Lahore, 11.
167 "Wanted A fair cultural girl (virgin) for an Arora youth of 27 years belonging to a very respectable business and millowners family. No issue from the first wife, who is a permanent invalid and is staying with her parents. Photo may be exchanged Apply No 6330, c/o The Tribune, Lahore.

168 Tribune, 10 October, 1937, Lahore, 11.
169 Tribune, 4 November, 1937, Lahore, 5.
Captain Ram Rakha Mal Bhandari, Bar-at-Law. This conference was well-attended. The conference passed resolutions urging remarriage of widows amongst the Hindus; it also recommended remarriage of young widows as virgins in accordance with the scriptural injunctions.

Under the auspices of the Vidhwa Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Punjab, Jullundur, the 11th Annual Widow Remarriage Conference held from the 26th to 28th December. Dr. Shakuntla Budhwar, M.B.B.S of Rawalpindi presided over it. Hundreds of widows had been remarried under the auspices of the Sabha, which had already held 10 annual conferences under the presidency of distinguished leaders like the Late Swami Shradhanand, Mahatma Hans Raj, Late Lajpat Rai, Bhai Parmanand, Pandit Nekiram Sharma and Pandit Thakur Dutt of the Amritdhara.

It is clearly evident that the acceptance of widow remarriages was tremendous in the last decade of the nineteenth century, as huge gatherings attended the ceremonies. This expressed the approval of the society. It was also praiseworthy that these remarriages had been started in high caste Hindu families. The power behind these factors was of course the increasing influence of the Arya Samajists, in the beginning, there had been sporadic widow remarriages, but later they met with success, due to the increase in number of the widow marriages with time. However, the change was clearly visible in the 20th century. Now, the movement for the remarriages of child widow gained momentum. Nevertheless the perspective of the society towards the remarriage of the matured widow had not changed very much, so in the cases; the number of marriages was less. We have also held that in most of the cases, the marriage was mostly performed by the Arya Samaj rites except in a few cases. By way of conclusion, however, it is perhaps worth stressing to take this view published in Tribune, “In connection with the widow remarriage movement, it might be noted that 99 percent of our educated people, whether holding orthodox or heterodox views were in favour of reform.”

In the twentieth century, the number of widow remarriages was increased. Moreover, Samaj sponsored remarriages led to public approval of ‘virgin’ and other widow’s remarriages. May
be, this acceptance came slowly. The Samaj also copied other forms and teachings of the Christian mission. They had their Tract Society, their Stri Samaj or Women’s Arya Samaj, their Arya Kumar Sabha, or Young Men’s Arya Association, and their orphanages.  

The writings of many novels, tracts, pamphlets, books and dialogues showed concern for this problem of widowhood. Lahore Arya Samaj started a weekly ‘Arya-Patrika’ in English. Meanwhile, the paper ‘Arya’ was published in English in 1882 from Lahore. The propaganda of Arya Samaj was also done by ‘Tribune’, Later on; the Samaj started its own Arya Patrika. Arya Samaj also published the Regenerator of Arya Varta in English and Sandharab Pracharak, Dharmopadeshak and Arya Gazetteer in Urdu. In 1896, this older Urdu organ of Arya Samaj was publishing at Lahore, instead of Ferozepure. In Jalandhar, Panchal Pandita, the first Hindi monthly magazine of women was started in 1898. Arya Pratindhi Sabha started a monthly paper ‘Arya Musafir’ after the 1½ years of death of Pandit Lekh Ram. Each Samaj depended on its own talents and resources. Leadership developed within the Lahore Samaj as the largest, wealthiest and most talented of the new societies.

Each group did not leave the question of widows as unattended.

Lala Jiwan Das in his ‘Do Hindi Bewa Auraton Ki Batchit’ (A Discourse between the two Hindu Widows) aimed of propagating widow remarriage as sponsored by Amritsar Arya Samaj. According to this discussion, the reformer tried to divulge information to two Hindu widows, Radha and Jasoda that on January 21, 1885 A.D, Amritsar Arya Samaj had shown courage by performing remarriage of a widow in the Arya Samaj mandir of Amritsar. When one widow, Jasoda wanted to know about the Varna and caste of the girl. The reformer further gave a detailed account of the widow that she was a Malhotra khatri. The boy, who was also

174 J.N. Faruqhar, Modern, 125.
175 Chajju Singh Bawa, Brahmacarya Verus Child Marriage, Tract No 1, Arora Bans Press, Lahore, 1893; Ama, Masala-i-Niyog (Principles of widow Marriage), Mufid –Am Press, 1888, Lahore.
176 Lala Rattan Chand Barry of Lahore started. ‘The Arya’ in March, 1882. (Source- Bhimsen Vidyalankar, Arya Pratindhi Sabha, 11; Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Gurudutt Vidyarthi, Life And Works, 1891, Reprinted by Arya Prakashan, Ajmer Gate, Delhi, 1990, 46)
177 Ibid., 45-46.
178 A group of young students including Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Hans Raj, Lala Shiv Nath and Pandita Gurudatta responded to the Lala Salig Ram, the proprietor Of the Arya Press. The result was the start of Regenerator of Arya Varta, an English Weekly and official voice of Lahore Samaj. (Source-Vidyalankar, Arya Samaj Ka, 95) Sandharb Pracharak was started by Munshi Ram in 1889 (Source - Ram Chandra, Punjab ka Arya Samaj, 28.)
179 Tribune, 19 December, 1896, XIX Volume, No 100, Lahore, 4.
180 Shadi ‘am Joshi, Uttar, 135.
181 Munshi Ram, Jivan Charita, 89.
182 Kenne h, Arya, 44.
183 Lala Jiwan Das was the President of the Lahore Arya Samaj.
widower, belonged to Chopra Khatri by caste. Thus the two, were bound to wedlock in accordance with the Shastras.\textsuperscript{184}

In the Conferences, the reformers used poetry to depict the condition of Hindu widows. As, in Kartarpur Widow Remarriage Conference (30-31 Oct, 1937), a grand Kavi durbar was also held at which Pandit Hari Ram Gustakh of Dasuha, Master Bachint Ram, Aish, Harbans Lal Mujram and half a dozen other poets recited their compositions on the miserable plight of Hindu widows.\textsuperscript{185}

To promote remarriages, Pandit Lekh Ram planned to divulge the numbers of the remarriages of the widows through his monthly paper in 1894. The seven points were to be included in the subject matter of this paper. Out of this, one point was to collect the statistics about the remarriage of the widows.\textsuperscript{186} Realizing the tragic plight of widows, Arya tried to constitute the ideals of Dayanand by the above strategy. The issue of virgin Widow remarriage would gradually fade in the early twentieth century, both from acceptance by the educated sections of society and by the facts of female education. With the growth of girl’s schools and trends towards educated young women, the age of marriage became late, lessening the instances of widowhood among the very young.\textsuperscript{187} The progress of Arya Samaj for widows could be inferred from the fact that in 1883, after the death of Swami Saraswati, there were a total of 86 Arya Samaj in India, out of which 19 were in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{188} Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, Settlement collector of Muzaffargarh writes, “It may be noted that the number of Arya Samajists is gradually increasing. Their preachers came and give lectures every now and then in towns and villages. The chief features of this school, which attracts Hindus and particularly young men “are freedom from restriction, simplicity and economy.” Diwan Narendra Nath, D.C of Gujranwala gave the following account of the present phase of the movement, “The Arya Smaj movement is not a new one, but there has been considerable progress made within the last ten years”\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{184} H.L. Saxena (translated), \textit{Do Hindu Bewa Auraton ki Batchit} by Lala Jiwan Das, Arya Pustalakaya, 1891, Lahore, 12-15.
\textsuperscript{185} Tribune, 4 November, 1937, Lahore, 5.
\textsuperscript{186} Munshi Ram, \textit{Jivan Chaiti}, 89.
\textsuperscript{187} John Kenneth, \textit{Arya}, 219.
\textsuperscript{188} Satyaketu Vidyalankar (ed.), \textit{Arya Samaj Ka Ithihas, Volume II}, Arya Swadhyaya Kendra, New Delhi, 1984, 42.
\textsuperscript{189} Census Of India 1901, \textit{The Punjab And Its feudatories}, 115.
The doctrines, they preached met with acceptance chiefly in the progressives tracts in the north and east of the capital. The Deputy Commissioner of Ambala wrote that, “In the town of Ambala, the only religious sect of any importance among the Hindu is the Arya Samaj here.” The Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon also wrote that “there are no religious societies established here except the Arya Samaj, which is established in several places. This is only religious movement, which has spread during the last ten years. The numbers are in increasing gradually. Many Ahirs have commenced following the principles of the samaj.” In 1935, there were total 504 Samajs. One great result of its spread had been the diminution in expenditure on marriages and other occasions. It means, Arya Samajists was first among reforms, which put their influence there. However, the Arya Samaj did not penetrate very much in rural areas.

The limitations were however, there. The strength of the Arya was not, however, to be estimated by number. They had an influence quite out of proportion to their numerical strength from the fact that they were recruited almost entirely from the English-educated.

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190 Imperial Gazetteer Of India, Provincial Series, Punjab, Volume I, 1908, 52.
191 Census Of India, 1901, Volume XVII, The Punjab, 1902, 116
192 Vidyalankar, Sachitra, 182.
194 Diwan Narandra Nath, Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala, gave the following account of the present phase of the movement that, “the Arya-Samajic faith is confined only to the urban population up to the present, and is not likely to replace the religion of either Baba Nanak or of Guru Gobind Singh. It is a movement for a general religious reform amongst the Hindus. (Source - Census Of India, 1901, The Punjab, 15)
195 In 1891, there were no statistics from which the increase or decrease of the Arya could be deducted; as the number of Arya was not recorded at the Last Census (of 1881). The principal castes enrolled in the Samaj were the Khatri and Arora. In 1901, They Arya Samaj had returned 9105 male members. They were Hindus only. The Sikh (78 males and 39 females) returned as Arya have to be added to the above figures. From the principles castes, enrolled in the Samaj, we can conclude that the movement was thus practically confined to the educated castes, A few of the artisan and menial classes being also attached to it. In Census of 1901, it is however doubted whether the 24 chamars, who profess to belong to the sect were really members of it. The movement then was numerically making very slow progress. In twentieth Century, The classification of castes, showed that 63 percent of the Aryas belonged to the higher or middling castes, 3 percent of them come from menials and about 34 percent were recruited from the low (or untouchable) castes. It showed that the attention of the preachers of the faith had of late been directed very largely to the lower classes. The increasing numbers show that there were many of the believers of Arya Samaj in this province. Number Of Aryans in Census Of 1901, Khatri-3394, Arora-1627, Brahman-1293, Banre-444, Jat-300, Sunar-213, Rajput-167, Sud-151, Kalal-125, Jhiwar-110, Mahajan-108, Bhatia-70, Kumhar-69, (Source- Census Of Punjab, 1901, The Punjab’s Feudatories, 116.)
classes. The main bulk of the society consisted of Banias, Khatris and Suds and though Tarkhans, Chimbhas and others were also found in its ranks. It was however, no doubt that the Hindu might be divided into those belonging to the orthodox faith, Sanatan Dharm and those following the tenets of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj achieved more success. Moreover, the Arya Samajists in Punjab found chiefly in towns, contributed immensely to improving the situation of widows in modern society and placing new alternatives before them.

III

Within Sikhism, a movement for social reform was championed by the Singh Sabha in the late nineteenth century. In 1875, when the Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand, one of the main functions of the Arya Samaj was condemnation of all the other religions. On the other side, the Christian missionaries had also started to propagate the religion. The Sikhs went ahead to form a Sikh organization for reform, when 4 Sikh students of Amritsar Mission School desired to adopt the Christian religion in 1873. The Sikhs formed first organization, ‘Sri Guru Singh Sabha’ by Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhawalia in 1873 in Amritsar. Thus was the beginning of the Singh Sabha movement. On 2 November 1879, Lahore Singh Sabha was started by Gurumukh Singh. On 11 April 1880, this Sabha was allied with Amritsars Singh Sabha. Now, both these Sabha were named ‘Shri Guru Singh Sabha.

196 In 1889, Professor J.C. Oman had said in his book Indian Life Religious and Social that “The Arya Samaj, composed as it is mostly of men, who had received an English education, will probably be important factor in the regeneration of India.” (Source- Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 179.)
197 Census Of Punjab, 1891, Volume 19, 179.
199 Ganda Singh (ed.), Bhai Jodh Singh Ka Abhinandan Granth, 123.
200 Reaction of religious propaganda was started by Christian missionary. Every religion had started own’s movement to preserve the traditions. Among Sikhs, 1st movement was founded by Nirankari (Baba Dayal) during Ranjit’s time and second was started by Namdari Movement (Balak Ram) for Satvik life. In 1862, the chief responsibility passed on to Baba Ram Singh after Baba Balak Singh’s death, whose growing influence helped in widening the scope of the movement in the central and eastern Punjab Social evils of Sati, Child-marriage and infanticide had entered the stronghold of the Khalsa Society Baba Ram Singh advocated indiscriminate marriages of all classes, enjoined the marriage of widows all which he performed himself. The Namdari also attacked the practice of selling and exchanging females, which was particularly widespread in Ludhiana, the area surrounding Guru Ram Singh’s Headquarters. The practice resulted in inordinately high rates of prostitution in the region. According to an early nineteenth century document, Ludhiana had the reputation of furnishing women to all the British regiments stationed there. In a population of not more than 20,000, there were 3000 prostitutes-that was nearly half the female population were engaged in this occupation. Although many of these girls were stolen and brought from the surrounding hill areas. (H. L.O Garret (ed.), Punjab Hundred Years Ago: As described by V. Jacquement (1831) and A. Soltynkoff (1842) Reprinted by language Department, Patiala, 1971, 21-22; M.L. Darling, The Punjab Peasant, 1928, 55; Jaggi, Rattan, Punjab Ithihas Da Sahiyya, 207.
201 Ganda Singh (ed.), Bhai Jodh Singh Ka, 124.
General. Before the foundation of Singh Sabhas, many Sikhs like Bhai Jawahar Singh, Bhai Dutt Singh Giani and Bhai Maya Singh were members of Arya Samaj. Later on, they resigned and organized another Singh Sabha.\(^{202}\)

The chief line of reform, which were being pressed by the leaders were the same as those advocated by Hindu social reformers.\(^{203}\) From the mid nineteenth century onwards, there were concerted efforts among high caste men to raise the question of ‘widow.’ This question was always considered to be problematic for reformers. Even they raised the question of the exploitation of widows, as the widow now addressed by the new abusive name ‘Randi’. The widows, who spent their life in their in-law’s house, were ‘treated like dogs’.\(^{204}\) For these hapless widows, there was no medicine, but death.\(^{205}\)

For widows, the reformers were more devoted especially with the cause of the child-widows. It was necessary to note that they tried to the mobilization of opinion of the society.\(^{206}\) They felt depressed with the tradition that they had to adopt a specific dress code and strict rules for daily routine.\(^{207}\) They argued for a self-questioning and rigorous approach to understand the nature and character of the problem. The reformer diagnosed the problem behind these two factors. First was the ‘Child Marriage and other was the ‘Opposition of Widow Remarriage In higher castes’. They regretted that now the lower castes were also following the footsteps of higher castes by prohibiting the remarriage.\(^{208}\)

In the nineteenth century, the reformers tried to arouse the society’s consciousness by adopting different types of strategy. The Singh Sabha reformers set a personal example of support to widow remarriage by attending the marriage of Diwan sant Ram’s child widowed daughter.\(^{209}\) Bhai Jawahir Singh, representative of the Khalsa Diwan, accepted that the evil

\(^{202}\) Ganda Singh (ed.), *Bhai Jodh Singh Ka*, 125.
\(^{205}\) Akali Nihang, *Istri Sankhat Mochan*, 36.
\(^{206}\) Punjabi Bhain, *October 1918*, No 10, 5.
\(^{207}\) Sewak Singh, ‘Randia De Dukhra’, 5.
\(^{208}\) Akali Nihang, *Istri Sankhat*, 36.
\(^{209}\) “Lala Boota Mal Chopra, a representative of the Gujranwala Biradari and Sardar Laddha Singh, Secretary, Singh Sa’ha, Gujranwala, also attended the above marriage, He also spoke on the subject and expressed his hearty sympathy with the noble mission of the widow remarriage movement.(Source- *Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore*)
consequences of the custom were realized by every individual member of Hindu society, but no one dared to make himself an examplar.210

In the twentieth century, the notion of widow remarriage was not enough to accept in principle. The reformers made a radical change in their strategy by organizing widow remarriage conferences. One such conference was held on 16th April, 1933 at the place of religious diwan, Peshawar. In this conference, Giani Sher Singh used example of Shri Guru Amar Das and Shri Guru Hargobind Singh to explain the people that how false was the tradition, not to remarry the widow. This was supported by Sardar Amao Singh, Sardar Kalyan Singh and many other persons in their speeches. But many peoples had not gathered for this conference. This showed attitude of the Society towards these conferences.211

To give practical shape to its ideology, they made initiatives themselves. In 1881, Dyal Singh Majithia, a Sikh aristocrate philanthropist and close friend of the Bengali Brahmos of Lahore founded the ‘Tribune’, an English newspaper.212 It covered a wide range of the activities for the widow of Punjab.213 To propagate their views, the reformers started Khalsa Akhbar in 1886.214 It was the first weekly newspaper in Punjabi founded by Singh Sabha, Lahore.215 Its first editor was Jhanda Singh Farid-Koti. Later on, it was edited by Prof Gurumukh and Giani Ditt Singh.216 The main aim of the Sabha was to propagate the ideals of Singh Sabhas. In 1899, ‘Khalsa Samachar’ was started by Dr. Charan Singh.217 The aim of all these papers was to propagation of Sikhism, social reforms and spread of education.218

Meanwhile, in 1892, Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1954) the prolific writer set up Wazir Hind Press, following the example of the influential Luhdiana Mission Press. The aim was to publish Sikh texts, by 1894 he inaugurated the ‘Sikh Tract Society’ He became the most

210 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
211 Khalsa Te Khalsa Advocate, 22 April 1933, Serial No 464, No 8, Amritsar, 11.
212 Before 1886, it was a weekly newspaper published on every Saturday from Lahore but from 16 October 1886, it became the bi-weekly Tribune. Now its two issues were published at every Saturday and Wednesday(Source-20ctober, 1886, Volume 6, No. 36, 1)
213 Kenneth, Arya, 62.
214 In 1889, it stopped publication. In 1892, it began started with the help of Maharaja of Nabha, Hira Singh. It was continued till 1905 (Source-Rattan, Punjab Ithias, 203.).
216 Rattan Singh Jaggi, Punjabi Ithias, 203-204.
218 In 1903, Khalsa Advocate, a weekly paper in English was started to propagate the programmes of the reformers (Source-Faruqhar, Modern, 341; Satinder, Singh Sabha Lahar De Parbhan Adheen Parkashit Punjabi Patravich Samlit Punjab Sahitya Sarvekhah And Mulyakan, 1873-1900, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2005, 171.)
important spokesperson for the Singh Sabha Movement.\textsuperscript{219} This Khalsa Society worked under the many Singh Sabha reformers particularly under the ageis of Bhai Vir Singh. In 1896, the Khalsa Tract Society had hit upon excellent plan to ensure further success for their benevolent work. 24 different tracts on a variety of subjects had been prepared and also issued twenty fifth dealing in a form of a dialogue with the evils of early marriage in the press.\textsuperscript{220} In one tract, a group was discussing widowhood. A woman argued that the name ‘Randhepa’ is due to the sufferings of ‘Randi’. Happiness always comes from husband’. The other women added it by viewing that what type of behaviour should meet to widows.\textsuperscript{221} Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid in this tract pointed out 10 reasons of the sufferings of the women, child marriage; early betrothal; uneducated girl; strictness on daughter-in-law; indifference of society to daughter and daughter–in-law; no religious education, unfriendly social environment for widows; unemployment Lack of widwah Ashram; no widow remarriages.\textsuperscript{222} In another tract, No 410-12, ‘Bal Vivah de Dukhra’, the problems of the child marriage had been presented.\textsuperscript{223} In Tract, No 457, ‘Teen Kunjiya’, the writer had pointed out 3 Sadacharak qualities for women to live peacefully. One was Patibrat hona means, Pativarta.\textsuperscript{224}

The best known monthly Journal ‘Punjabi Bhain’ was publishing through the Ferozepore Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya and edited by school masters. The Journal ran issues from 1908 to 1930. It was a Sudharak Patra.\textsuperscript{225} Through all these printing material, the Sikh reformers raised the question of widow remarriage very effectively. As in the ‘Punjab Bhain’ the reformers quoted the example of widow remarriages, which occurred in other parts of the country also.\textsuperscript{226} The purpose of quoting the example was to create consciousness among people.\textsuperscript{227}

\textsuperscript{219} Jakobsh, Relocating Gender, 160-161; Satinder, Singh Sabha, 174.
\textsuperscript{220} Tribune, 6 May, 1896, No. 37, Lahore, 4.
\textsuperscript{221} Tract No. 251, Istri Dukh Dasi Arthat Istriya De Sau Kashat, Khalsa Tract Society, Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar 1905, 31-32.
\textsuperscript{222} Tract No. 251, Istri Dukh Dasi, 26.
\textsuperscript{223} Kesar Singh, Parakh, A Research Bulletin In Panjabi Language And Literature, Department of Punjabi, Panjab University Chandigah, 1999, 78.
\textsuperscript{224} Kesar Singh, Parakh, A Research, 76.
\textsuperscript{225} Punjab, Bhain, January, 1918, Jilad 11, Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepore 1918; Jakobsh, Relocating, 158.
\textsuperscript{226} As in one example, the reformers referred the remarriage of a Meerut girl, where a Sanathan Dharma Gaud Brahman had fixed the remarriage of his 17 years old widow daughter. Here, in laws of the girl created the trouble for this marriage, by the boycott of Panchayat. But the girl’s family showed courage by filing a case of defamation. Later, on the court fined 700 Rs. each to father-In law and his companions.(Source-Punjabi Bhain October 1918, 14)
\textsuperscript{227} Punjabi Bhain, October 1918, Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepur, 14-15.
The reformer sometimes concerned itself with the exploration of Hindu Widhwa Vivah Sahayak Sabha, Lahore by divulging their details of the numbers of the widows. These figures were published in the Punjabi Bhain. These measures were taken to present the right figure before the community. As they thought that numbers would influence more than the arguments.228 The Punjabi Bhain also published notes of the Hindu Widhwa Vivah Sahayak Sabha, Lahore. As in note 1, the Sabha compared the present with the past. Again in note 2, they explained the aim of note 1 was to sensitize the public, so every reader should assist for widow remarriage.229

There is some evidence to suggest that the Singh Sabha reformers also used poetry to expose the current exploitation of widows. The poetry goes on as follows-

Fed up of such existence, the widows appeal, Why in the absence of a patriarch, do Lakhs of women mourn for happiness; Lord Brahma, Vishnu, Shiv, Christ and Veda Purana, mourn for happiness all preach alike, yet in this land (Hindustan), preaching does not necessitate action.230

In these lines, the widows have been projected as death-wishers. The reformers tried to express this view that till religious granths supported widows, there could not be much change. There was talk of principle, but it had not been put into practice. However, this type of poetry certainly enjoyed contemporary usages. The reformer, in another poem, showed widow’s depression, and condemned widowhood.

A burning pyre is my body
My life a graveyard
Violence simmers in my heart
The gardens of my Life is desolate
I am like the sea of this life
Whose bed has dried up
I am restlessness personified

228 Hindu widowed women (Census-1911) Age 1-5 Number (10546) 5-10 (69264) 10-15 (148852) 15-20 (293123) 20-25(558004) 25-30 (739714) 30-35 (1280017) 35-40 (1219271) 40-45 (2118018) Description of number Hindu Widowed women (Not included Arya, Brahmo). There figures were taken by the Sabha from the last Census. (Source- Punjabi Bhain, October, 1918, NO. 3, Ferozapore, 13.)

229 Ibid., 14.

Folk, drowning am I in the restless Sea,
In-Laws and parents, the whole world
Death alone shall redeem me
I am a living corpse
Whose life and death are alike
But who am I, the unfortunate one?
A widow, whose description, I state

In reality, the sufferings of the widows, continued to exist, even in the twentieth century, as visualized by these above lines.

To control her sexuality and to encourage asceticism, the reformers provided the impetus for the education of the widows. A college for Sikhs called the Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar. A central association called the Chief Khalsa Diwan, with its office at Amritsar was created and local associations called Singh Sabhas were formed all over the country. An agitation was started in favour of the extension of education and social reform. As education advanced many followers of Khem Singh Bedi and Nirankari were joining the Singh Sabha.

The Sikh reformers were aware of the need of the widow education. They pointed out that of course, the education was important for men as well as women. For widows, it was imperative, as books were good companions of widows. Moreover, education would develop character among widows. Further, they pointed out that there was the shortage of women

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231 Jaldi Chikha Tan Aih Mera
Jiwan Mera Vang Masaan
Jwalamukhi Hriday Ha mera
Ah Ha Janam Bagh Sunsaan
Me Us Jiwan Di Sarita Ha
Sukh Giya Jisdi Sukh Nir
Me Oh Niri Vyakulata
Dub Rahi Loka Nadi Adhir
Sauhar, Piauka, Jagat Satai
Kari Maut Mera Kalyaan
Me oh Jiundi Murda ha
Jisdi Jina Maran Saman
Me Abhag Par Kaun Ha?

Vidya Jisda Abkardi Me Gaan (Source- Akali Nihang, Siri Sankhat, 4.)

232 J.N. Faruqhar, Modern ,34.
233 Census Of India, 1901, Volume 17, 125.
234 Sewak, Randian De Dukhra, 27.
teachers and dharam pracharkas. If we educate the widows, then this deficiency could be overcome. Moreover, the old uneducated widows could also provide service to patients in hospitals. By this, the widows could be come the main instrument to save the lives of the many peoples. Moreover, no community could be educated, if their women were not educated. This view was pointed out in the Third Sikh Educational Conference.

The Anglo-Sikh system of education was an important plank of reform. The proposal for a Khalsa College at Lahore was made as early as 1885. The foundation stone of Khalsa College was eventually laid at Amritsar in March, 1892 and the College soon became the premier educational institution of the Sikhs. Equally symbolic of the Singh reform was their Sikh Kanya MahaVidyalaya founded at Ferozepure by Bhai Takhat Singh in 1891 and run without any grant from the government and without any tuition fees from the girls. It embodies the ideals and hopes of the Sikh reformers. Some Sabhas also started schools for girls. The leaders of the Jat Sabha, Lahore were the big industrialists like Bhai Uttama Singh Bhai Buddha Singh, and Bhai Lehna Singh. They belonged to the Khamano Riyasat, Patiala. They founded a Guru Singh Sabha in Khamano and started a madrasa for girls in Khamano. According to the Census of 1931, numerous Khalsa Schools had been established in rural areas during the last decade.

The reformers were of the view that to lessen the problem of widow, we should pay attention to the problem of child marriage. For this, they suggested practical measures of the registration of marriage. Among the Sikh agricultural Jats, this problem was less serious.

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235 Third Sikh Educational Conference, Amritsar, 1910, 32.
236 In the programme of Singh Sabha, the education of the girl was included besides the religious education. So, when Surat Singh, suggested programmes to candidates of the members of the local Gurudwara Committee and SGPC, one suggestion was the education of women. Several girls schools were opened in the Punjab as early as 1855. Yet female education could hardly be said to have taken firm root except in the Central Punjab (Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Jullundur, where Sikh influences are strong and among the Hindu element in the Western districts. (Source- J.N. Faruqhar, Modern Religious, 34; Imperial Gazetteer, 1901, Volume II, 40.)
237 Sewak, Randia De, 27.
238 Third Sikh Educational Conference, Amritsar, 1910, 32.
240 Khalsa Akhbar, S.N-417, 1886, 7.
241 As Darling wrote that, “The Sikhs in America were so impressed by the benefits of education that they had recently remitted a Lakh ($75,000) for the education of the girls of their community. (Source- Malcolm Darling, Rasticus, 178; Report On The Census Of The Punjab, 1931, 341.)
242 J.N. Faruqhar, Modern Religious, 342.
243 As, Bikram Singh Ahluwalia, C.S.I proposed, “When the marriage takes, place, it should be registered in some Government office. Betrothals need not be registered, as the death of one of the betrothal parties does not debar the other from being betrothed again and married to some other person. The registration of marriage of boys under 14,
among the Jats in the Punjab, most girls were not married off till they were of age. The wealthier Jats sometimes followed the pernicious example of their Khatri, Arora and Bania neighbours. Child marriages were not at all common in the community as a whole.244

Many leaders of the Singh Sabhas were critical of the Arya Samajists and Dayanand’s ideology, regarding remarriage and especially for Niyoga. Sewa Singh, a Singh Sabha reformer asked question from Dharam Dev, (alias Abdul Ghafur, a convert from Dev Dharam to Arya Samaj. “Please, think over it peacefullly regarding the restriction of widow remarriage by Swami Dayanand, Further he has pointed out that the crimes regarding widows have been occurred more, and then who is the real culprit.” Regarding Niyoga for widows, Sewa Singh opined that the relatives of these hapless widows did not give permission even for remarriages, then, how the family would accept niyoga as advocated by Dayanand. On the one hand, Dayanand was not accepting remarriage of widows, On the other hand, the society wass not accept.ng Niyoga. The result was the more adultery, committed by widows. Sewa also Singh suggested Dayanand to delete that page of the Satyarth Prakash, in which he was suggesting for Niyoga.245 It seems that in the beginning of the twentieth Century, the Singh Sabha was apparently the most active organization in the different districts of the Punjab, who had stirred up society with their ideology.246

IV

In the nineteenth century, women’s voices for support to widows was heard on, there were several individual women, who worked for this cause. Some pioneering women took up the cause of widow by themselves. Smt. Sundari Devi, wife of Lala Dev Raj helped her husband in his educational work in Kanya Maha Vidyalaya in Jullundur.247 The foundation of a Kanya Pathshala was laid by Mai Bhagwati in town Hariyana of Hoshiarpur district.248 Mai had

and girls under 12, should be refused as unlawful. This rule of registration will, in all probability, act as preventive to early marriage. (Source- DayaRam Gidumal, The Status, 116.)

244 Tribune, 13 May 1896, Volume 19, No 39, 4.
246 As th: Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar writes. "Among the Sikhs, the Singh Sabha seems to stir up people and its working members are to be seeing not only in the city and town, but are found busy in rural areas including principles of the Sikh faith. About the Western Punjab, Mr. W.S Talbort, Settlement Collector, Jhelum writes that, "The Singh Sabha, I am informed, is increasing in vigour and is developing into a separte sect.(Source- Census Of India, 1901, Volume 17, 135)

247 Satyad^v Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 48.
248 She was the daughter of a Khatri family of Hariana, who was married in Jalandhar, Lala Devraj called her as ‘Hajenela’. As Rani of Spain, Hajenela has inspired Columbus, he compared KMV with columbus, who has got

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been the guardian for women’s education in Punjab, as there was opposition rather frequently in the twentieth century also.249

Pandita Savitri Devi, born in Muzaffargah was widowed at the age of 10 years in 1890. In 1894, Lala Devraj brought Savitri to the Vidyalaya. In 1913, was appointed Acharya of Kanya Mahavidyalaya.250 She became the honorary principal of KMV. Similarly, Kumari Lajjawati worked for the cause of education.251 In 1913, she was appointed as upacharya with Pandita Savitri Devi. After her death in 1918, Kumari Lajjawati was appointed as Acharya and worked it till 1926.252 In 1902, Smt. Subdhara Devi with her husband came to Mahavidyalaya; she belonged to Patur in Akola district on the border of the South Hyderabad. Till 1920, both devoted their life to the Vidyalaya. She supervised the Ashram also.253 In 1920, Pandita Draupadi Devi came in the service of Sabha. She was the first upadeshika of Sabha and was always demanded.254 The question for education was raised by some women such as Mrs. Shilla Tandon, wife of Mr. B.R. Tandon, I.C.S Deputy Commissioner, Kangra, while laying the foundation stone of the new girl’s school at Palampur. She deplored the attitude of a majority of the Kangra Hindu community towards girl’s education. She pointed out that in the whole Palampur tehsil, the Hindu population could not boast of even a single high school for women.255

Many widows worked as teachers and female updeshikas. This was more surprising that where the education for women was not allowed, then these women updeshikas travelled in

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249 As in 1934, an old student of KMV wrote in the Patrika of the KMV, ‘Jalvid Sakha’. According to her “When the education of girls was considered sin It was a crime to hold ‘Akshar Deepika’ in the hand of Kanya. Due to this reason, the engagement could be broken off. In 1909, when I came to KMV for study, then Biradari had shown fear to my family of boycotting. (Source- Shadi Ram Joshi, Uttar-Pachim, 164-166.)

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251 In 1903, in the age of 6, she entered as a student. In 1910, she returned home. Later on, Swami Shraddhanand brought her back from her parents, when he went to Arya Samaj Utsav in Peshwar. In 1926, she went to Lahore. In 1935, after the death of Lala Dev Raj came back to Jullundur and remained principal of KMV 1935-65 (Source- Shadi, Uttar, 164-166)

252 Shadi Ram Joshi, Uttar-Pachim, 164-65.

253 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 184.

254 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Devraj, 421.

255 Tribune, 4 November, 1937, Lahore, 5.
different parts of the Punjab and other states. The early nineties, was witnessed the increase of the activities for the widows.

The Punjabi woman had started to participate in the conferences. As on 13 November 1937, a conference of the Central Punjab Branch of the All India women’s Conference was held in Lahore. Mrs. L.R. Zutshi presided over this conference. This Conference was attended by 500 ladies including Begum Shah Nawaz, M.L. A, Shanno Devi, Mrs. Daultana, Mrs. Nanak Chand Pandit, Prem Vati Thaper and Mrs. Cocks participated in the conference. This conference drew the attention to the need for better accommodation for girl’s schools of Lahore. They also wanted political revolution, which meant freedom of India, social revolution and eradication of bad customs.256

Pandita Savitri Devi presented the idea of a Widow Ashram from Karve’s Ashram, when she visited Bombay and South India in 1905.257 Widow- Bhavan was established for the education of widows, with the help of the wife and mother of Lala Devraj.258 In 1913-14 Smti Ashadevi was made Adhaksh of Vidhwa-bhavan.259 Many women were educated from the lower castes. One such woman became assistant president of Jalandhar Kanya Ashram.260 So, various sects opened ashrams for widows, in which Arya Samaj was championing the cause. As in Jullundur, there was Kanya Pathshala of Muslims. They had their own Ashrams.261 A Stri Samaj (women’s society) existed in Ludhiana, maintained there a female Vedic school and an Ashram for widows.262

It was also brought to light that some widows expressed dissatisfaction on the ways of the Widhwa Ashram. Widow raised the question that the reformers were making ashrams for Randis, but through them, they were dragging the widows to their respective religions.263 This issue had significant political implications as well.
Many women entered in the field of writing as Savitri Devi was appointed sub-editor of the magazine, *Panchal Pandita* from 1903.264 In Punjab, it was 1st magazine, which was issued in Hindi.265 Lala Devraj’s daughter Gargi also wrote articles for ‘*Panchal Pandita*’ and also helped him in editing of this magazine.266 From June, 1922, ‘*Jalvid-Sakha*’, a monthly magazine in Hindi was issued from KMV. This magazine was edited by Kumari Satyavati of Moga, who did graduation from this Vidyalaya. After her, this work did by Kumari Shakuntala Devi of Rahon.267

 Widows themselves found the courage to question the norms of society.268 Various atrocities regarding ‘The sufferings of widow’ were published in different newspapers, which depicted the widow’s apparent voices in the twentieth century.269 They had become the critique of existing social ideals. In tract, ‘*Stri Dukh Dasi*,’ one widow decided that I will not allow my daughter for an early marriage as her mother. The other woman also added that of course, what would be of my daughter without education. Now I would not do child marriage.270 This was in fact instances of resistance on the part of the women. Moreover, one instance of the resistance on the part of the Jat girl towards her early betrothal had come to news in Tribune in 1896. The girl was the daughter of the Lambardar of a village near Ajnala (Amritsar District). Lambardar had betrothed his daughter to the son of a friend in another village, when the child grew up. The brave little lady protested her mother in the baisful and frightened manner for her early betrothal. Her parents began to persecute her ‘Bakshin! Aj kal dian Kurian’, this was the formula they incessantly repeated, while tormenting her, but the girl was adamant.271

 Many widows now asserted their own choices. Some observed asceticism. One such widow was Savitri Devi, who preached for Sayam. She also wrote one small book ‘*Indiriya*  

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264 She died in the age of 35 years (Source –Vidyalankar, *Devraj*, 237.)
265 Vidyalankar, Satyadev *Lala Devraj*, 76.
266 She was born on 23 December, 1884 Later on, she died in the young age of seventeen years (Source-Vidyalankar, *Lala Devraj* 49,50.)
268 She said that “Gentlemen, if you do not like to live as widower, If you are not ready to live such a life. Then how do you like these things for women.... (Source- Sewak, *Randia De Dukhra*, 11.)
269 In one English newspaper, ‘Madras Mail’ one widow complained that Srimanji, I am a daughter of a rich Hakim in Mysore, after becoming child widow; there is no happiness during the day and night... I have no permission to attend any festive occasion or to wear fine clothes and ornaments, or any other means of entertainment. When I looked at my sisters and sister-in-Laws with heir husbands then I feel the clear difference in our happiness.... I am young and good Looking ...In these conditions, any Hindu can furnish evidence that why widow marriage are not allowed.(Source-Sewak, *Randia De Dukhera*, 7-8.)
270 *Tract No 251, Istri Dukh Dasi*, 1905, 36.
Daman'. She claimed that for favouring sayam life, it was based on her own experiences. The other widows preferred remarriage and spoke for it, as one child widow, got remarriage with Dr. Gurudutt in 1901. For it, she had to face the unfavourable remarks from Lala Devraj.

Moreover, the women were more active in the widow remarriage conferences in the twentieth century. The 11th Annual Widow Remarriage Conference, 1937 added one unique feature. The interesting feature was that besides the President, the Chairman and Secretary of the reception committee, the proposers and supporters of the resolutions were only ladies. The news further quoted that “being the first of its kind, the conference was expected to attract thousand of people from all over the Doaba, Majaha and Malwa. Lady delegates were being enrolled from the Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Gurudaspur, Amritsar and Lahore districts. This was the the changing scene of women’s participation resulting in the remarriage of hundred of widows, besides new attitude and perspective towards women.

On 16 April, 1933, in the Widhwa Vivah Conference at Asthanpur in Peshawar, women not only participated, but also Bibi Jiwan read a poem in this conference.

During the twentieth century the activities of the women could be noticed in the raising of voices for social vices. The meeting of the Istri Sahayak Sabha was held on 27 October 1937 in Shri Guru Randas Serai at Amritsar. The Sabha passed resolution that, “No second marriage, while first wife is alive. In case, one does so, and he should be compelled to give half of his property to his former wife. The defaulters will have to face black flag demonstrations and Satyagraha at their houses and such other means of public protest, as the Sabha might arrange with a view to bring on them pressure of public opinion—United Press.”

Widows also looked into the efforts made for their maintenance and regretted that in this country, there were many Lakhpatis and Dharamatmas, but ask them, what type of arrangement they had made for widow’s maintenance, whose number had been increased to lakhs. They believed that our men did not feel sorrow for this because they had enmity only

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272 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala Dev Raj, 236.
273 Satyadev Vidyalankar, Lala DevRaj, 201.
274 26 to 28 November, 1937, Jullundur by Vidhwa Vivah Sahaik Sabha.
275 Mrs. Dutt (wife of Rai Bahadur, Mr. P.N.Dutt and Retired Registrar of the Punjab University) and Dr. Vidya Devi had consented to act as chairman and secretary respectively of the reception committee. (Source- Tribune 15 December, 1937)
276 Tribune, 15 December, 1937, Lahore, 12.
277 Khalsa Te Khalsa Advocate, 22 April 1933, Serial No. 464, No 8, Amritsar, 11.
278 Tribune, 28 October, 1937, Lahore , 2.
with widows. Further, the widow suggested that if you could do nothing for them, then at least open the gates of karkhanas for them, so that they could earn their livings by labour. She further said with alas that for Randi, there was no labour; they did not allow widow to work as domestic servant, because the Shastras did not permit to food, to be prepared by the widows.279

On 13 November, 1937, the Punjab Women Conference held in Lahore urged the women members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly to take early steps to propose bills for securing full rights of inheritance for women of all communities in the Punjab.280

The last decade of the 19th century, witnessed the individual efforts of the widows, who had extolled the life of virtues and self restraint, dedicating them-selves to the memory of dead husband. In the twentieth century, the social awakening for the cause of the widows was passed into the hands of the more educated women, who were showing resistance with the demand of rights. They were not passive, but active in reforms for women, understood widowhood.

V

From the 1880s to 1890, a new anglicized Hindu elite group started to emerge and was dominating the scene. The Brahmo Samaj could be seen as experimental voluntary movement, which gave other Punjabis, the opportunity to form new organizations. The result was the Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam, Dev Dharm and SinghSabhas. The programme of these early reform societies was related to early marriages and widow remarriages. The abolition of early marriage was among the principal items on the programme of all such societies, although widow marriage was advocated mainly by three religious bodies such as the Arya, Brahmo and Dev Dharm Samajes. Besides these religious organizations, which aimed at the religious as well as social regeneration of the people, reform Societies had been formed in most of the important castes of the Hindus. The Rajput Sabha, the Khatri conference, the Arorbans Sabha, the Mohyal Conference and the Brahman Sabha might be mentioned as such instances.281 In the twentieth

281 Census Of India, 1911, XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 266.

267
century, there was some improvement in ratio of married women among Hindus and Jains as a result of this social impetus.  

From the data, it was noted that the practice seemed to be decreasing amongst those most prone to this custom. It was on the increase among the Muslims, while the proportion of Hindu married males under 15 had remained stationary, that of the married females of the same age had decreased slightly from 135 to 131 per mille. The Jains had shown the best results the proportion of males having fallen from 58 to 45 and that of females from 105 to 81. On the other hand, amongst the Muslim, who had 19 males and 62 females in wedded life under 15 in 1901, had now risen to 22 and 66 respectively. In spite of the difficulties, within social circle, the reform societies did well, much upon the masses. In the twentieth century, as in 1911, we did not find child marriages among high castes except Aggarwal in the age group of 0-5. As these high castes were professing different dharmas, Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and Dev Dharm. The impact of these reform movements is clearly implicit from this fact that in the age group of 5-12, we do not find child married among Brahmo Samaj, in the perscrible castes, on the contrary, the Arya Samaj showed higher proportion among Brahmans as 2.3%, Jats 2.1%, Aroras 1.2%, Rajputs 0.9%, Khatris 0.8% and Aggarwals 0.8%. The Chamar and Naik had no child married in this age group. There was no child married among Aggarwals, Brahmans, Khatries Rajputs, and Megh etc, who were professing Dev Dharam. We find highest child married among Jats as 6.9%, Chamar 3.6%, Naik 1.1% and Arora 0.8% among Dev Samaj. In the age group of 10 to 15, the castes Jats, Arora showed highest proportion more than 9 percent among Arya Samaj, then Rajputs by 8.3% and Aggarwals by 5.7% and Meghs by 2.7%, but Naik and Chamar had no child widowed under this age group. Among Brahmo Samaj, the of

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268 Proportion Of Married Persons Under 15 Years To Every 1,000 Of Total Population Of Each Sex At Those Ages (1901-1911).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religions</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<td>Muslims</td>
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(Source-Census Of India, 1911, Volume XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 264)
Table 6.1 Distribution Of Age period Per 1,000 married Of Each Sex Among Arya, Brahma and Dev Dharm In 1911. 283

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<thead>
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</table>

proportion of child married among different castes ranged from 4.4 to 1.6%, but it was 19.0% to 5.6% among Dev Dharam.

It was important to note that the castes showed different results of the same caste among different dharams. As Aggarwal, showed proportion of child married among Arya Samaj, but under Brahma and Dev Dharm, they had not. Some castes as Naik and Chamars were observing child marriages under Dev Dharam, but not under Arya and Brahma Samaj. The figures relating to the important castes in each sect was that the proportion of boys and girls married before the age of 15 was a generally larger for the members of each caste belonging to these societies than for the caste as a whole. This might be due in some degree to the return of certain Brahmans as Brahmos and Devi Dharmis as Dev Dharm, and the comparative accuracy of the age statistics in the cities and towns to which the members of the reform societies were mainly confined might also have magnified their figures compared with those of the total castes, but there seemed to be little doubt but that early marriage was still practiced largely among the members of these sects.

Widow Remarriage was advocated mainly by the three religious bodies, Arya, Brahma and Dev Dharm Samajes. Of course the remarriage of widows was heard among the educated people. There were sporadic cases of remarriage, but no impression appeared to have made by these isolated cases upon the statistics as attested by the figures. The figures show that, while the proportion of the widows to the total females in all castes increased from 8 to 13 in Arya Dharm from 1911 to 1921, while in case of Brahmo sect and Dev Samaj it had been declined from 9 to 5 and 10 to 9 respectively.

If we compare these three sects, we find that out of them, Brahmo Sect had shown improvement in the percentage of the widows in almost all castes except Arora. While in Vedic Dharm except Aggarwal and Jat, there was increase of proportion of widowed in all castes. The Khatri and Aroras castes, mainly professed Vedic Dharam, showed increase from 1911 to 1921. The Rajputs, who had adopted Vedic Dharma, among them the proportion of the widowed, had been almost doubled from 1911 to 1921. In Dev Dharam also, the proportion of the widows was increasing in many castes. It is interesting to note that the proportion of the widower had

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284 Census Of India, 1911, XIV, Punjab, Part I Report, 268.
285 Census Of India, 1911, XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 266.
Table 6.2 Proportion Of Widowed Of All Ages By Castes Of Certain Sects In Punjab (1911-1921) 286

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Dev Dharm</th>
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<td>Male</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</table>

286 ‘X’ signifies, no separate data is available in the Census, ‘-’, sign signifies there is no widowed in that age group. Census Of India, 1911, XIV, Punjab, Part I, Report, 168-187; Census Of India, 1921, Volume XV, Punjab And Delhi, 1922, 72-103.
been decreased in almost all sects. Now question is that if all these sects were verbally championing the cause of widow remarriages. Then why there was infrequency of widow remarriage. Many factors seem to be responsible for this.

Though, there had been individuals of the right way of thinking here and there, who gave attention to this necessary reform, their worldly connection did not allow them to give full scope to their ideas and as they did not see anyone from whom they could expect support. The fear of failure made them desist from making any efforts themselves.\textsuperscript{287} There was no lack of men of education and position, who were reformers; i.e. adherents of the doctrine of progress and reforms in matters of social. There were many, who were lions in lions was talking of social reform, but very rabbits in carrying what they said into practice.\textsuperscript{288} The reformers promoted the ideology to asceticism rather than to the cause of widow remarriages.\textsuperscript{289} To promote this, they paid attention to the female education in the nineteenth century. Later on, idea of widow’s home came before to provide them space. The question of female education was not favourable to society. So, all sects provided homes to widow besides education.\textsuperscript{290}

The beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century groups of Hindus in various parts of the Punjab had begun to maintain widow’s homes in imitation of Christian missions.\textsuperscript{291} In Punjab, Dev Samaj and Arya Samaj founded their homes at Ferozepur, Bhatinda and Jullundur respectively. In

\textsuperscript{287} Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
\textsuperscript{288} Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
\textsuperscript{289} Lala Devaraj wrote in his diary (9, January, 1901) that the child widow, Sumitra (of his ashram) got marriage with Dr. Gurdutt. He viewed that it would be better, if Sumitra propagated women’s education by sticking to asceticism. I am providing education only with this belief and also spent money on her. The people questioned me, ‘Am I happy with this marriage’, I replied, ‘I am happy as a member of the society that widow marriage was propagated, but as a manager of Vidyalaya, I am unhappy that Sumitra could not stick to her ideology. All this was written in his diary which he started to write in 1880 till 1902 in Urdu. The period from 1902-16 was missing. From 1916, he wrote in Hindi. From 1918-24, he did write diary, for 1924-25, the diary was available. (Source- Satyadev Dev Raj, 200, 201, 257.)

\textsuperscript{290} The following quotation from the Tribune of the 26\textsuperscript{th} July 1912 gave a sufficient account of the state of female education. “In the Punjab, the achievements of private enterprise in matter of female education are considerable. The various religious and social organizations in the province, the Sabhas, Anjumans and the Samajes have done much to promote the education of women. They have their own’s network of girl’s schools”. So the progress in education has been marked and continuous. It is worthy to note that many teachers were under the idea that they were engaged in a meritorious and laudable task. (Source- Punjab Census Report, 1911, 328 ; H.R. Mehta, History Of Indigenous Education, 13.)

\textsuperscript{291} In India, the first widow’s home was organized by a Hindu Sasipada Banerjee at Barahanganar near Calcutta in 1887. In 1889, a Christian lady Pandita Rama Bai open the Sarada Sadan for Hindu widows in Bombay. Soon after, it was moved to Poona, but within a few years so many of the widows had been baptized that Hindu became very hostile. Hence the Hindu Widow’s Home Asssociation was organized in Poona 1896 and a Home was opened. It was well managed by the founder Mr. D.K. Karve (Source- J.N. Faruqhar, Modern Religious Movement, 403.)

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1908, the Sikhs opened their widow’s home in Amritsar with thirty inmates. The Deva Samaj had two widow’s homes. These efforts however, had to face opposition and obstruction in their functioning.

The fund for this philanthropic work was provided by Diwan Sant Ram Chopra, who provided Rs 250 to the Secretary to start work on the Adhikari Bidwa Biwah sahayak sabha. With this, he also expected that the public will spontaneously help it with the needful funds. Above all, he provided space for office in his house. In 1937, at the 11th Hindu Widow Remarriage Conference at Jullundur, Dr. Shakuntla Budhwar of Rawalpindi appealed to the Hindus for financial help for the movement of remarrying widows and for the construction of a Widows home at Jullundur.

The people were generally blind followers of custom and could not step out of a deep-worn groove. Their consternation knewed no bounds even, if there was the slightest divergence from what was prescribed by custom. The reformer expressed hope that but in time, when they grow accustomed to a departure and come to see its benefits they become its strongest supporters.

Dr. Shakuntla Budhwar of Rawalpindi and Dr. Satyapal, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee said that the panacea for all social evils in the Hindu society was independence. He further stressed the mobilization of public opinion in support of widow remarriage because it was much more effect than any legislature measure like the Sarda Act, which was a dead letter. Rai Mulraj noticed that, “Ask any ordinary Hindu his views about widow marriage and he will tell you that widow marriage goes, against dharma.... Mr. Malabari perhaps does not know that against widow marriage, the opinion of women among Hindus is even stronger than of men.” They understood the need to change this mental attitude.

There was, on the other hand, some reason to suppose that the restriction in widow remarriage was actually increasing among the lower classes in social scale and it was likely still

292 J.N. Faruqhar, Modern Religious Movement, 342, 404.
293 Ibid., 180.
294 Tribune, 30 December, 1937, Lahore, 10.
295 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
296 Tribune, 11 December, 1895, Lahore Supplement, Lahore.
297 Tribune, 30 December, 1937, Lahore, 10.
298 DayaRam GiduMal, The Status Of Women In India, 169.
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299 Censuses Of India, 1931, Volume 17, Punjab, Part I, Report, Lahore, 1933, 188.
further to increase. To imitate the customs of the highest classes was to acquire more respectability.300

The increasing difficulties was experienced in obtaining suitable husbands. While in any case, the movement was so far almost entirely restricted to the more educated and advanced sections of Indian society and its influence on the statistics was negligible. The few infractions of the rule which occasionally took place in the more educated grades of society were still celebrated in the reformed press by congratulatory notes.301

The number of widow remarriages among Hindus was very small as was apparent from the figures for caste given in the table. Among some Hindu castes, such as Jats, widow remarriage was common, as indicated by the smaller proportion of widows among them (125 per mille of total females as against 198 among Brahmans). The actual figures of remarriage of caste widows given were based on the information supplied by the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, the main society in the province which encouraged widow remarriage.302 The figures comprise widow remarriages in the Punjab and the N.W.F Province, and indicate an increase from year to year. In the twentieth century, the high castes as Brahman show highest figures of widow remarriages as 5009 amongst total remarriages in the Punjab, followed by Arora 4976, Khatri 4835 and then Aggarwal 4140. Comparing the other castes, the Brahmans showed highest figures in 1914, 1918, 1927, 1930. It means that there was some what change in the attitude of higher caste towards widows under the influence of the reform movement. Aggarwal, which showed improvement in widow remarriages from 1919, had highest number in 1928. The Khatri and Arora maintained their previous positions with these figures of widow’s marriages as they showed in the nineteenth century by leading the widow remarriages movement. However, the number of remarriages was negligible in view of the enormous number of widows of marriageable ages.

It was significant that Punjabi reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the offshoot of the establishment of the British rule, the impact of the west, the missionary factor and the introduction of western education. The treatment of these reformers to show concern for such issues as widowhood was started as an alternative to the missionary

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300 Census Of India, 1921, Volume I, Part I, Report, 161.
301 Census Of India, 1921, Volume I, Part I, Report, 161
302 Census Of India, 1931, Volume 17, Punjab, Part I, Report, Lahore 1933, 188
The major conflict among these reformers was over the shaping the life of the widows. They had little concern in the widow as a person, only used them as a teacher and dharampracharikas to control their sexuality. Widows became symbols for the educated patriarchy to prove their progressive image before the traditional society. What was significant that from 12 widow remarriages in 1911-15, the number was 5484 by 1931. A 45600% increase was incredible. The work of the reformers had found its mark.