CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Punjab was annexed into the British Empire on March 30, 1849. It became a part of the polity, economy and society of the British Indian Empire. The new rulers overhauled the old administration and introduced the rule of law. Departing from previous administration, a three member board of administration was established. Lord Dalhousie choose the brothers Henry and John Lawrence along with Charles Mansell and administered them the powers of military, finance and judiciary.\(^1\) They preferred direct personal rule with the masses of new province. They wanted peace in the province after ten years of long chaos and confusion. The province of Punjab was now to be linked with the dominions of the British in the rest of sub-continent through various means of communications that paved the way for the influx of new influences that were already sweeping through the rest of India.\(^2\)

The Sikhs had ruled over Punjab for more than eighty years. They were primarily a Punjabi community. They would live and die by their unique and specific provincial heritage. They were, however, bifurcated between Cis-Sutlej Sikhs, who resided within British territory and the remainder of the community within the Sikh kingdom. Annexation ended this division and reunited all Sikhs under the British. As a small in number they had little choice but except British rule for they themselves could do little and no allies stood ready to join with them.\(^3\)

The Britishers adopted harsh policy towards aristocracy. The foundation of this policy had been laid down during the period of regency and

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\(^3\) Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharma*, 20-21
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particularly during the tenure of John Lawrence as the Resident of Lahore. His elder brother Henry Lawrence was a defender of the princes and chieftains of India. He believed that these men could be turned into useful allies if British officers combined respect and kindness with firmness in their dealings with them. On the other hand John Lawrence regarded chiefs and princes as ‘parasitic jagirdars and political allies whose worth was dubious’. They should be, he told, ‘reduced in importance or, better still’, done away with altogether. He wrote to Henry Elliot, the Secretary to the Governor-General in October 1847, that the existence of jagirdar was as inconsistent with the civilization and improvement of the country as that of the Baron of the feudal ages would now be in Europe’. He believed, ‘they will always be opposed to be our dominion and ready for a change’ and ‘therefore’ he added ‘to get rid of them a political necessity’. On the other side Henry believed that it would be politically sensible and morally just to be uphold in full and in perpetuity the grants and powers of those Punjabis who had stood by the British. John Lawrence, a protagonist of utilitarian philosophy, was preoccupied more with the fiscal aspect and therefore was intrinsically opposed to the notion of alienating revenue to persons who were unproductive and were the ‘hangers on’. He advocated the adoption of a strategy of abrogating every jagir gradually and steadily to ensure complete annihilation of every jagirdars in a course of years. Similar policy was carried out towards Sikh soldiers. A muster of the darbar’s forces was called at Lahore. A small number of troops were retained, the rest of army was disbanded, thus lost their livelihood. Those who were retained treated as inferior in British army. All military grants were abolished.

Next to the Sikh soldiers were Sikh peasants. British administrators introduced reform in the agrarian system to increase agriculture production

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and revenue from land. With periodic settlements and records of rights, land revenue began to increase steadily. The peasants suffered under the new settlement policy. In the kingdom of Lahore, the question of land revenue was related to the rate and method of assessment and mode and method of collection. The rate of revenue demand varied from two-fifth to one-third of the gross produce in the most productive and well-settled areas. The methods of assessments were \textit{batai} or sharing of the crop, \textit{kankut} or appraisal of the standing crop and \textit{zabt} or the rates fixed in cash per unit of area of a crop on the basis of periodic measurement. Fixed rates on the yokes of oxen attached to a well and plough were also recognized in some parts of the Lahore kingdom. Three major modes were there to collect the revenue assessed; through farming the revenue to \textit{kardars}, through engagements with the village headmen and through the division and appraisements of crops. In all these where the system of assessment per well or per plough or through \textit{zabt} rates were prevalent, collections were normally made in cash. But in the areas where the government demand consisted of a share of the crop whether by actual division or by appraisement of the harvest, the cultivators generally paid in kind. Though the revenue collected under these systems was often commuted into cash at market rates by the concerned officials yet these methods implied the right of the cultivators to pay in kind. It is important that two-third of the revenues in the kingdom of Lahore were collected through \textit{batai} or \textit{kankut}. The British claimed to have made a ‘considerable reduction’ in the rate of land revenue. One-fourth of the money value of the yield per acre for each kind of crop was fixed as the government share. Of crucial importance in this situation was the method of calculating the money value. The factor which seriously hit the peasants’ economy was sharp decline in the prices of grain. As a result the peasants faced hard time

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\textsuperscript{6} J.S. Grewal, \textit{The Sikhs of the Punjab}, 1994, 128.
to pay the fixed land revenue on time. Moreover the British government exercised control over the finances of the Punjab in its own favour.

To run the administration smoothly the province was divided into divisions and districts with a corresponding Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners. The Deputy Commissioners were given the combined powers of revenue collector, magistrate and civil judge. The British government organized a huge, extensive, well-ramified state machinery to administer the territory. A large number of educated individuals were required to run the administrative machinery. It was not possible to secure this supply of educated people from Britain. They could not find Punjabi local officials fit for above avenues. Therefore, it became necessary to establish modern education system in Punjab to train the people who would staff the administrative apparatus of the British rule. To fill the immediate need of local functionaries they brought Bengalis and Kayasthas from Bengal and North-Western provinces to staff the lower levels.

The British inherited a traditional education system in the Punjab like the rest of India. The chiefs, aristocrats, the wealthy inhabitants of province shown keen interest in the education but the nature of education was mainly religious. Each mosque, dharmsala and temple had a school attached to it. Pathshalas, Quran schools and Gurmukhi schools were respectively Hindu, Muslim and Sikh institutions chiefly or entirely devoted to the propagation of religious teachings. Elementary knowledge of shastras was imparted or mantras learnt, the Quran was repeated and learnt. Gurmukhi

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characters were taught and practice in the study of the *granth* or portions thereof acquired.¹²

Various type of education was given for various purposes. Instructions in Persian were for the service under government, in Arabic, Sanskrit and Gurmukhi for religious purposes; in *lande, mahajani* for trade.¹³ The Persian was the official language of the Lahore *darbar*, therefore Persian schools were most popular. They were popularly known as *maktabs* kept by Muslim *maulavis*. In these schools, students were taught Persian characters and texts such as *galistan* and *bostan*. *Quran* schools attached to mosques, taught Arabic. For more advanced study in Arabic there were *madrasas*. The Hindi schools generally taught writing and rudiments of arithmatic in Hindi character. For Sanskrit learning there were *pathshals*.¹⁴

The Sikhs went to Gurmukhi schools usually run at Gurdwaras and *dharamsalas* of the villages. Children were sent to school between the age of 5 and 7 years. Both boys and girls went the same primary school. The Sikh students learnt Sikh texts, the forms of the numerals and simple enumeration, the sign of weights and measure. If they wished to learn multiplication table they could attend *mahajani* and *lande* schools, usually run by *brahmin* *pandhas*.¹⁵ Besides Sikh texts, the course of Gurmukhi schools comprised Hindu texts also like *Hanuman Natak*, *Ramayana*, *Bhagwat* etc. For trading classes there were *chatshalas*. These were further divided into *mahajani* and

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lande schools. Techygraphic form of lande was taught to shopkeepers and mahajani were taught to merchants and sarafs.¹⁶

During Ranjit Singh’s period there were some well-known schools in Amritsar maintained by state endowment. Most famous was Bhai Juna Singh’s school, a fairly large one, where both the Adi Granth and Dasam Granth and other religious books, along with arithmetic, vyakaran and purans were taught. Meals were served to the students by the school and no fees were charged. Similarly, there was Bhai Lakhan Singh’s school, which the teacher held in his own house and taught religious books. Bhai Ram Singh widely known for his learning, had a flourishing school to which students from distant parts of the country came to take lessons in the higher departments of learning such as the scriptures, Vyakaran, Kavya, Alankar, Pingal (prosody in gurmukhi), Literature, History, Niti, Arithmetic and Astronomy.¹⁷ These schools were endowed with jagirs and stipends by the Maharaja. In the deras or monasteries, Sikh sectaries, nirmalas and udasis, kept their own schools. The former specialized in Sanskrit learning.

Leitner has reported about the state of the women education in Punjab. He states

Although education among Punjabi women of the higher castes of Hindus, the better Muhammadans and all orders of Sikhs is not so uncommon as would be supposed from the interested outcry of native reformers, in whose castes there are few educated women and fewer still who will marry them. It is an accomplishment in India regarding which, to quote from memory words


of Pericles, “She is the noblest woman of whom least is heard either in the praise or blame”. Indigenous female education in the Punjab requires less development than revival. The girl who was ever taught to read nagri or Gurmukhi or Arabic in her home or in a friend’s house, conveniently situated, where other girls could also assemble, now has a brother at a Government school reading Urdu and becoming daily more dissociated from her in language and feeling. The mother also, for the same reason, cannot co-operate with the teacher. For even the Hindustani-speaking mother has a dialect which is not that of her son. The spirit of disbelief also imported from the Government school is a source of great sorrow to her and adds to the deteriorating influences of a climate and of homes in which passions can only be restrained by the rigorous observance of conventionalities and the minute practice of religious ceremonies, which the Hindu lawgiver and native society in all Indian communities so wisely enforce. The Punjab has ever been more liberal in religion and manners, than the impenetrable North-Western provinces. It is therefore, not unnatural that he should desire to spread “female education” in a sense that will provide him with a more congenial home than he enjoys at present.

The Punjabi woman has, not only been always more or less educated herself, but she has also been an educator of others. In Delhi, for instance we find that before the annexation of the Punjab, six public schools
for girls were kept by Punjabi women, who has emigrated to the south for this purpose.

In other places, similarly, Punjabi women were to be found as teachers, just as the Guru or the pandha spread his instruction beyond the precincts of a province, where he was becoming a drug in the market. Among Muhammadans, very many widows considered it a sacred duty to teach girls to read the Quran and though Delhi, like the rest of the North-Western provinces, was far behind the Punjab in female education, we find that it had in 1845 numerous schools for girls kept in private house.

The native girl is even more intelligent and enquiring than her brother, and few were the families in which the father, brother or mother did not take a pride in teaching the younger female members to read; there the education stopped short in theory, but the timid little girl would nestle up to her brother and imitate his writing, till she became fairly proficient in that accomplishment. 18

Women education was mostly carried out at home and, therefore, has been described as domestic education. Leitner further states about women education that

In the Hindu higher classes, both the parents were enjoined to instruct their children, including daughters, in their religious duties. The greatest respect to the mother and to the elder sister is distinctly laid down in the rules for the conduct of students. Among Muhammadans

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18 G.W. Leitner, History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882, 97.
nearly all girls were taught the *Quran*, nor could a Sikh woman claim the title and privileges of a “learner” unless she was able to read the *Granth*. The knowledge, therefore, of her religious duties, imparted in numerous little treatises, and in some of the sacred texts and illustrated by stories of deities, saints and prophets, was deemed to be sufficient for one who has the duties of a household to learn, which, besides sewing and cooking, included the art of embroidery and the keeping of accounts in an elementary, and sometimes very primitive, form.\(^{19}\)

On the whole, till the advent of the British, the education system in the Punjab had been essentially religion based. Once Maharaja Ranjit Singh had tried to establish an English school for the benefit of the children of his family and the sons of *sardars*. This was a part of the Maharaja’s programme of modernization which had worked well in his army. He spoke about it to several visiting Christian *padris*. He invited John C. Lowrie, the first American Presbyterian missionary for the purpose. But the plan fell through owing to Ranjit Singh’s refusal to let the *Bible* be taught in the proposed school.\(^{20}\) Therefore, the system of education before annexation remained traditional, which was not fit for the newly established British *raj*.

The need of lower level functionaries particularly to maintain land revenue records, let the British government lay the foundation of an official education system in the province. The first government school in central Punjab was founded at Amritsar in the summer of 1851 with an annual grant of 5,000 rupees. The Amritsar school provided instructions in English as well as in oriental languages. The subjects of study included English, Arithmetic, Arithmetic,

\(^{19}\) *Ibid.*, 98.

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Geometry and Geography. Within a year the daily attendance at the school increased by 50 per cent.\(^{21}\) A point of interest is that the Amritsar School provided for the various religious groups at this time by having Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Gurmukhi departments and that the Sikh students of Gurmukhi comprised one-fifth of the total student group. Among the Sikh scholars, the Jat Sikhs were the prevailing group. While among the Hindu scholars, the prevailing caste groups were Brahmans and Khatris. During the years 1853-1854, the Amritsar school had 308 scholars including 137 Hindus, 84 Sikhs and 84 Muslims.\(^{22}\)

On the model of Amritsar school, government sponsored schools were opened at Rawalpindi, Gujarat, Shahpur, Multan, Jhelum and Jalandhar. By 1856 there were thirty-five such schools.\(^{23}\) These schools became popular among the enlightened Punjabis who wanted to bring up their children on modern lines to take benefit in government jobs. In 1856 British government established separate education department under the education scheme of Wood’s despatch. The Despatch of 1854 invited the special attention of the Government of India for the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular. The means prescribed for the attainment of these objects were, the constitution of a separate department of the administration for education, the institution of universities at the presidency towns and the establishment of institutions of training teachers of all classes of schools. The existing government colleges and high schools were to be maintained, and new ones opened where necessary. New middle schools were to be established and more attention was to be given to vernacular schools, indigenous or otherwise, for elementary education. Lastly,

\(^{21}\) Report on the Administration of Punjab for the year of 1849-50 and 1850-51, 143-143.
\(^{23}\) Harjot Oberoi, The Construction of Religious Boundaries, Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997, 266.
a system of grants-in-aid was to be introduced to encourage private enterprise in the cause of education.\textsuperscript{24}

Wood’s despatch laid stress upon the spread of education among women.\textsuperscript{25} The Education Department paid special attention to it. They started girls’ schools and gave grants to private ones. The first Director of public instruction, Arnold, wrote that when the department was first organized it was proposed to let the question of girls schools stand over till the ordinary establishments were set on foot. The need for educating girls was badly felt. The experiment was successfully tried in the limited areas. The educational authorities of Punjab commenced operations by impressing upon the people the importance of teaching their daughters as well as their sons.\textsuperscript{26} But even then the progress of women education was very slow. Child marriage, \textit{purdah} system, people’s dislike for western culture, poverty, lack of women teachers and girls’ schools, social and religious customs and conservatism of people were some of the obstacles in the way of women education.\textsuperscript{27}

The first impulse to female education in Punjab was given by Captain Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner, Jalandhar. But the people showed little interest in the movement. An important step towards the encouragement of the movement was taken on February 14, 1863 when at the educational \textit{darbar} held at Lahore, Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab drew attention of the nobility and gentry to the necessity for providing education for their daughters and promised the liberal assistance of government in carrying out the measures for this purpose. There was a favourable response to this call. Thus a movement for the moral and intellectual welfare of the people was begun. Baba Kahan Singh Bedi, a lineal descendant of Guru Nanak Dev preached to Jalandhar and its neighbourhood in

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\item \textsuperscript{24} H. R. Mehta, \textit{A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in Punjab 1846-1884}, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{25} A. R. Kamat, \textit{Education and Social Change in India}, Somaiya Publications, Bombay, 1985, 206.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Sanaullah Khan, “Girls’ Education in the Punjab”, \textit{The Panjab Past and Present}, Vol. 3, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1973, 111.
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favour of female education. The success of his mission was immense and girls’
schools came into existence in large numbers in those part of the Punjab which he
visited.28

Modern education among women in initial stages was promoted by the
missionaries. The charter of 1833 opened up Indian missions to all churches.
The Christian missionaries arrived in the Punjab during the period of Ranjit
Singh. American Presbyterians were the first to reach in Punjab and they
landed at Ludhiana in 1834. Soon the Church Mission Society of the Church
of England followed in 1852. The Church of Scotland, United Presbyterians
of America, Baptists, Methodists and Catholics also came but the American
Presbyterians and Church Mission Society remained the most influential
missions in the Punjab.29 Presbyterian missionaries expanded their activities
in the whole Punjab. They opened mission stations in Jalandhar 1846, Ambala
1848, Lahore 1849 and Rawalpindi 1856.30 These missionaries employed two
ways to promote their thoughts that were education and publication of
literature. When the British needed personnel to promote the study of English
language and literature in the province, the missionaries were readily
available in good numbers.

Evangelical missionaries remained forward in the area of education.
They started mission schools in Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Ambala, Lahore,
Amritsar and Kotgarh like other schools, functioned as completely
autonomous units with their own purposes, methods, policies, curricula and
standards. What set the mission schools apart from the others were their
evangelistic aims carried out through compulsory classes on Christianity and
participation in Christian worship, a basically western curriculum, the
Christian perspective from which it was taught and classes were conducted in
English.31 Missionaries made an enormous investment in education alongwith

29 Davis Emmett, Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 15.
30 John C.B. Webster, The Christian Community and Change in 19th Century North India, Manohar,
New Delhi, 1976, 14.
31 John C.B. Webster, A Social History of Christianity in North West India Since 1800, Oxford
University Press, New Delhi, 2007, 82-83.
the government grant-in-aid scheme. Every mission had at least one school. Their major purpose remained evangelistic and most of their students were either Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

The American Presbyterian Mission started their activities with the establishment of an elementary school for girls at Ludhiana in 1836. The curriculum included reading, writing, Arithmetic, Geography, religious instructions, cooking, knitting and sewing. Similarly a girls' school was also started in 1850 at Jalandhar. Later on the Christian Mission Society opened girls' schools in Amritsar, Kangra, Jandiala and Narowal. They established the Alexandra High School for girls and also a middle school for girls in Amritsar in 1878. A midwifery school was opened in Amritsar in 1866. Besides, the Shrimati Dayawanti Kanya Vidyala was founded in 1906. Evangelism remained the central aim of the educational work done by Christian missions in the Punjab. They preached evangelical themes as the charter of God, human sinfulness, the atoning death and resurrection of Christ, as well as the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments to all classes of the society including women. In reward they got wholesale conversion of Punjabis. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Christian converts rose from 3,912 in 1881 to 37,980 by 1901, that frightened religious leaders of the Punjab.

The mission activities to provide equal status to women in the society disturbed the local leadership more than anything else. The zanana missionary activity and women’s medical mission were focal aspects of the

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34 John, C.B. Webster, *A Social History of Christianity in North West India Since 1800*, 89-90.
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multifarious Christian missionary efforts in Punjab. The zanana missionaries attempted to reach women in the seclusion of their homes. The practice of pardah, kept most women beyond the reach of Christian missionaries till 1860. During that year, it was decided to send female missionaries to individual homes. Visiting during the day when the men were generally in the fields, missionaries succeeded in reaching the unreachable. The visits of zanana missionaries were both educational and evangelistic in nature. The work of zanana missionaries was known as ‘women’s work for women’ having the aim of like all other mission works at the time ‘evangelistic’. The effect of the missionaries work could be seen in the Punjabi homes that initially some women of Muslim and Hindu families started to leave their homes to convert to Christianity. The circumstances behind these conversion lay very much in the social structure of the Punjabi society, imposing many restrictions in form of religion sponsored evil practices on them.

The Punjabis saw Christianity and British rule interlinked. They strongly resented zanana missionaries for tempering with the privacy of their womenfolk and violating the sanctity of their homes. On occasion they accused the missionaries of “kidnapping” and “girl-stealing”, on the other hand they urged their co-religionists to educate their women according to their own religious, moral and ethical values. They also urged to start their own community schools for their own girls. Thus the question of women education became the foremost among the concerns of the reformers of 19th century. It was considered as an important remedy to get their society out of the degradation. One Muslim tract circulated in Amritsar in 1885 appealed Muslims to educate their women in such words:

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“The missionaries, who pour like a flood into their country, are striking deadly blows at the root of our faith. They know how much depends upon the women, so on various pretences of teaching, reading and needs work, they enter your houses and sometimes even plant schools there! By this means a loophole is made for the Bible. Soon the women learn to despise their own religion and the evil seed is shown in their hearts.”

Education provided many Indians of all walks of life with the new knowledge and skills necessary for movement into new and were highly valued social roles. The increase in the amount and availability of education led to an increase in the amount of social mobility. The impact of western education and Christian missionaries gave birth to a new awakening in the province. The enlightened prominent members of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities started socio-religious reforms movements in the province. The pioneering work of women’s education was carried on by these socio-religious bodies such as the Dev Samaj and Arya Samaj of Hindus, Ahmadiya of Muslims and the Singh Sabha of the Sikhs.

The Punjabis responded to the Christian missionary activities by launching their own organized educational programmes in the province. All three major communities of the province organized themselves under different social and religious reforms movements which revived their distinctive religious and literary traditions. These movements established schools and colleges spread all over the province to impart modern education in combination with values, culture and religious traditions of their respective communities.

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41 Ibid., 160.
42 Ethne K. Marenco, The Transformation of Sikh Society, 97.
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Sanatanis were the first among Hindus who established Sanskrit and Vedic educational institutions and promoted Hindi as the language of education and administration. Pandit Shraddha Ram Phillauri was the first protagonist of the 'Sanatanist cause'. In 1867-68 he founded a Hindu Sabha at Ludhiana to sustain Sanatana dharm. He also set up a Hindu school at the same time to teach Sanskrit and Persian. He also established Hari Gyan Mandir at Phillaur, and a school to teach Vedas there.44

Sanatanists emphasised religion based education including the study of Vedas, Puranas and learning of Sanskrit. Sanatan Dharm's central body Bharat Dharm Mahamandal was organised in 1887 by Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma. It adopted educational progress as its major concern. Nine conferences of the Mahamandal were held between 1887 and 1902. At these conferences some resolutions were passed to improve the educational structure such as the condition of schools and pathshalas. It emphasized that religious instructions should be made compulsory in all schools and pathshalas and the question of religious instructions in government schools should be looked into. The Sanatanists also paid their attention towards women education.45

Sanatan Dharmis established Sanatan Dharm Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab at Lahore in 1917. Its aim was to set up local Sabhas, high schools and pathshalas. However, this work does not appear to have gone far. It was revived at the Sanatan Dharm Conference of Sargodha in 1923. The Pratinidhi Sabha had nine departments to do various functions. For the promotion of education it established education department. A large number of schools for boys and girls were coordinated by the Sanatan Dharm Education Board of

the Pratinidhi Sabha. The annual expenditure of the Sanatan Dharm educational institutions was nearly 17,00,000 rupees.46

The Sanatanists established many educational institutions in Punjab. There was one Sanatan Dharm College at Lahore. It was established by Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma in 1916-17. It was affiliated to the Panjab University for B.A. courses in English, Sanskrit, Persian, History, Economics, Philosophy and Mathematics and M.A. courses in Sanskrit and Economics. Sanatanists founded many schools for boys and girls in the Punjab. There were twenty-six high schools, forty-five middle schools and forty-eight primary schools for boys. The subjects English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Drawing, Psychology and Hygiene were taught. Apart from the Anglo-Sanskrit institutions for boys, the Sanatanists established a number of putri pathshalas for girls. The putri pathshalas were up to the primary level and laid emphasis on religious instructions. The medium of instructions was Hindi. In 1928 there were 83 putri pathshalas in the Punjab. Majority of putri pathshalas were in Shahpur, Gujarat, Jhelum, Multan, Attock and Ferozepur.47 Widow homes were set up to make widows financially independent by teaching them to sew and stitch. They were also provided food, clothing, accommodation and monthly stipend. Besides putri pathshalas and widow homes Sanatanists arranged istri satsangs to protect women and widows from the corrupting influence of dharmnashini societies which encouraged widows to remarry despite its prohibition in the Shastras. These satsangs were conducted by the headmistresses of the putri pathshalas and updeshikas. At times katha vachaks were invited. Kathas from sacred scriptures were held. The satsangs were organised in the afternoons when the women were free from house-hold activities. All women joined in the singing

46 Sheena Pall, “Treatment of the Sanatan Dharm Movement in the Colonial Punjab and the Historian”, 
Journal of University Institute of Legal Studies, Vol. 2, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 170-171.
of hymns and collected money for widows and orphans. Sanatanists also made efforts to found nari ashrams for poor women. They published journals, books and tracts for women to make them aware.

The Brahmo Samajists came to Punjab only after the mutiny. A branch of the Brahmo Samaj was established at Lahore in 1864 and by 1872 it had its own temple in anarkali. Brahmos appreciated western science and stood for the freedom of press and English education. In 1876 Brahmo Samaj founded a society to translate its literature into Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu. They established their press in the Punjab and brought out tracts and a monthly periodical Hari Hakikat into two editions, one in Hindi and other in Urdu. This movement however, could not find much success in the Punjab but it gave new educational programme to the Punjabis. Brahmo Samaj's main representative Dyal Singh Majithia started a college and a library in Lahore. He also laid down the foundation of an English newspaper ‘The Tribune’. Brahmos in the Punjab also worked for the education of women. Their Anglo-Vernacular Girls’ School, Lahore was the most successful institution. Being patronised by the educated community this school attracted students from well-to-do families. The students were taught a limited curriculum in Hindi. Besides reading and writing, the girls were taught the useful arts of sewing and knitting.

Dev Samaj, founded by Dev Atma in 1887, was an offshoot of Brahmo Samaj. He left the Brahmo Samaj in 1878 and came to Punjab from U.P. He joined the Punjab Education Department as a drawing master. From very young age, he was the promoter of girls’ education. He understood and articulated himself on the women question. He felt the need of girls' education as right and proper as for boys. He believed that the future of women lay in

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48 Ibid., 107.
education. He believed that child marriage, enforced widowhood and denial of opportunities of education to women were the major causes of their low status in comparison to men. He underlined the necessity for the spread of education among women which alone could open for them opportunities of enlightenment and independence for professional and public life. He made women education as the chief plank of his society’s contribution to social reforms. For that purpose he educated his own wife and trained her to be an outstanding public worker in those days. She fully cooperated with her husband with her useful services.52

Along with boys’ educational institutions, Dev Samaj opened schools and colleges for girls. It established two colleges for women, one in Lahore and another in Ferozepur. It also opened 16 schools for boys and 4 for girls.53 The sincerity with which Dev Atma worked for the spread of education among women is reflected in the foundation of Dev Samaj Girls' High School, Ferozepur in 1901. It was one of the first Hindu Girls High School in the Punjab. The greatest achievement of this school was that it produced the first M.B.B.S. in the Punjab, who, in course of time, became the Principal of the Lady Harding Medical College, Delhi. It also gave the first B.A., B.T. to Punjab. Gradually the school developed into a post-graduate college and training institute. The college became popular as it has produced hundreds of graduate and thousands of teachers for schools of Punjab and Delhi states.54

For the upliftment and education of women and widows Dev Samaj opened two nari ashrams and four widows' homes to enable them to make both ends meet and be self-dependent. Working on every platform, it emphasized on moral ethical education for women. Believing the women as the centre of family life and society, Dev Samaj wanted to turn out its

students to be good daughters, devoted and self-sacrificing wives and responsible mothers. The success of the educational programme of Dev Samaj can be seen from the fact that there was 100% literacy in the Samaj.

The most important reform movement was of course, the Arya Samaj. It organized the Hindu community in the Punjab on a large scale. Educational programmes of Arya Samaj further united it. It was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875, is believed to be amongst the most articulate movement to work for education for women. His philosophy of social reconstruction had a well defined place for woman, with emphasis on their right to educate in it. He advised the Arya Samajists to help the women to build up both intelligence and physical strength as well as bring her means of economic independence.

The Aryas, therefore turned their attention towards education of women along with men. During the early 1880s the Arya Samajists had begun to found girl’s schools in different cities of the Punjab. They opened girls schools in Amritsar, Jalandhar and Lahore by 1885. Initially the response was not encouraging, but gradually the movement picked up. The Ferozepur Samaj had organized a successful girl’s school by 1889. The Samajis of Gujarat and Jalandhar districts quickly followed the Ferozepur model. Even one of the smallest and poorest Samajis that of Baghbanpura managed to maintain a girls’ school. Besides this, many girls’ schools were opened in the early twentieth century as Arya Patri Pathshala, Abohar in 1903-1904, Arya Girls’ Middle School, Moga in 1921. Lala Munshi Ram's contribution towards spread of education among women through Arya Kanya Pathshala is

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believed to be the most significant. The curriculum of the *pathshala* in addition to basic literacy included also sewing, embroidery drawing, cooking, music, poetry, games, arithmetic, hygiene and religious literature of the Samaj.  

In the field of higher education for women, an advocate of the education of girls' Lala Dev Raj announced in 1892 that the Jalandhar Samaj intended to establish a girls' high school, a Kanya Mahavidyala, at a projected cost of 2,50,000 rupees. However, the other advocates of women education Lala Sundar Das, Lala Kushi Ram and Lala Ralla Ram found themselves caught between the desire to educate women and the fear, which they shared with others, of the possible impact of education might have on women and their relationship with the dominant males. Lala Lajpat Rai wanted only primary education for girls.

The Kanya Mahavidyala of Jalandhar was opened later. Both this high school and elementary girls' school firmly established by 1892, owed their existence to the efforts of Lala Dev Raj. He opened his first school for girls in the family home, supported it through the sale of ‘waste paper’ and staffed it with teachers who were partially compensated with food from his mother’s kitchen. As public acceptance for the idea of female education grew so did the school’s enrolment. Before long a cadre of experienced women teachers and school administrators had designed special instructional materials. This institution occupied a special place in the community and became a catalyst for various kinds of change relating to women in Punjab.

Caution, opposition, the lack of trained female teachers, of textbooks and school facilities and the difficulty in raising funds, all inhibited the movement for women education but they did not halt it. The Samaj pushed

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60 Radha Sharma, "The women question and the socio-religious reform in Punjab", 151.
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ahead with its goal of higher education for girls and opening a boarding house for girls, the *Kanya Ashram*. In 1898 Kanya Mahavidyala founded the *Panchal Padita* a Hindu monthly periodical to propagate the cause of women education.

The Muslims appear to be less enthusiastic about the response to educational opportunities for women. They were on the whole indifferent in adapting themselves to changing conditions under British rule. They objected towards English education because they feared that English education would undermine their religion. Moreover the Muslims law as expounded by *sunnis* of the old school, said that it was unlawful to learn English or the language of any other non-muslim people except for the purpose of writing letters. They also stood aloof from missionary institutions. They feared that the western education system and language would corrupt the morals and manners of the students.

In Punjab, the Muslims were largely an agricultural community to whom English education was not a necessity. Moreover they lived in rural areas, where there were few English schools and those who lived in towns did not belong as a rule, to the wealthy classes. In Punjab the Muslims were more responsive towards Ahl-i-Hadith and Ahl-i-Quran movements.

In Punjab, the Muslim organization Anjuman-i-Punjab revived ancient oriental learning and the diffusion of useful knowledge through the medium of mother tongue. It was founded at Lahore in 1865. It provided to promote the study of Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. It also organized special oriental classes from the entrance to the degree course. The Oriental College at Lahore established by the Punjab University in 1870 continues these studies with

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modification from time to time. Their contribution towards women education, however, remains to be explored.

To encourage the education of English and religious, Anjuman-i-Islamia worked for the Muslim community. It opened Anjuman-i-Islamia Primary School in 1887 at Amritsar. After some time it was raised to middle standard and then to a high school. The other Muslim organization Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam had objectives to teach the Muhammadan religion to boys and girls so as to save them from the influence of other religions and to support poor and orphaned children. It maintained large schools. They helped in establishing educational institutions throughout Punjab. They began work with a girls' school with 88 pupils at Amritsar. In 1887 an orphanage was started with separate accommodation for boys and girls and suitable provisions for their maintenance and religious and secular instructions. The quest of women education was filled by the Ahmadiya movement. They ran pardah schools for their girl children and claimed 75 percent female literacy.

In the wake of introduction of western education, imparting knowledge of Gurmukhi language and literature became very essential. The Sikh pupils admitted in the western educational institutions were not taught anything related to their religion and cultural heritage. They were deprived of their parent’s knowledge of the Sikh religion and history. In fact, very introduction of the western education made indigenous system of learning and the Sikh past irrelevant. Subsequently, the Sikhs also raised their voice for the opening of their community schools by launching their organization named Singh Sabha. During their educational programme, Sikhs broke down the traditional popular resistance against education of women. The earlier social-

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religious organizations of the Sikhs, the Nirankaris and Namdharis had worked for the upliftment of the Sikh women. However they couldn’t raised the question of women education directly among the masses. They couldn’t start the educational institutions for women but laid the foundation of gender equality on which the Singh Sabha later on Chief Khalsa Diwan build the educational infrastructure for them.

Moreover the tradition of the gurudom in Sikhism was on increase. Several persons of Bedi and Sodhis families had projected themselves as gurus, in the line of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. These so called gurus were practicing all moral and immoral means to encourage their own interests. They were developing their own principalities. The most important such gurugaddis were of Baba Bir Singh of Naurangabada, Baba Sahib Singh Bedi of Una, Sodhi Sahib of Anandpur, Sodhi Sahib Guru Har Sahai of Ferozepur and the Sodhis of Kartarpur.\(^{73}\) The Sikhs worshiped these Bedis and Sodhis the descendents of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind. They had forgotten the real teachings of Sikh Gurus. They indulged in prejudices, superstitions and the caste division once again. The Brahmanic influences, costly ceremonialism, emotional deprivities, individual treacheries and violence etc. became wide-spread.\(^{74}\)

The position of Sikh women was also a part of such social milieu. They were suffering from the many social evils though Sikhism worked as a potent force to plead the cause of the emancipation of Indian womanhood. The Sikh Gurus worked for the social uplift of women who by and large, had been neglected, discarded and considered inferior to man in the Indian society. They preached that there was no difference between a son and a daughter. They were against female infanticide and told the Sikhs not to have any

\(^{73}\) Man Singh Nirankari (ed.), *Baba Dayal Crusader of True Sikhism*, Publisher, Man Singh Nirankari, Amritsar, 1997, 64.

relations with such people who indulged in such a heinous crime. They advocated equal status for women with men in all spheres of life. They repudiated the old and deep-seated belief that a woman was inferior to man and condemned the social evils of purdah, infanticide and sati. The Guru says:

From women is our birth;
In the women’s wombs are we shaped.
Women are our friend;
and from women is the family.
If one woman dies, we seek another;
Through women are the bonds of the world.
O, why call woman evil;
Who giveth birth to kings?
From woman is a woman;
Without woman there’s none;
Nanak: without a woman’ is
The one True Lord alone.

During 18th and 19th centuries the Sikh women performed marvelous roles in the battle field and in diplomatic matters. No doubt the status of Sikh woman as compared to the Hindu and Muslim women was superior. They were able to stand by the side of their husbands in difficult times. If a Sikh peasant was away in service of the government and had no male member in the family his wife engaged a servant and entrusted to him the work of cultivation and the care of domestic animals. She supervised the whole work and did not allow the cultivation of land to be discontinued. Nobody dared to disposes her to her land etc. They performed multifarious duties, usually performed by all native women. They cooked food for their husbands and

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75 Sudarshan Singh, Sikh Religion, Democratic Ideals and Institutions, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2009, 120.
77 Ibid., 355.
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brothers and took it out for them in the fields. They also cleaned the house, collected firewood and cow dung to make cakes for fuel. Besides all this, they also helped their husbands in the field, especially with hoeing, picking of cotton, carrying home on their heads huge bundles of jowar (millet) and cherri (maize) etc.\textsuperscript{78} At social level they were regarded as subordinate and inferior to men. They could not eat their meals in the presence of their husbands. On journey man and wife never walked abreast, the women always walked in rear.\textsuperscript{79}

Sikh women also suffered from social evils like infanticide, sati, sale of daughters and pardah practices. Female infanticide was highly practiced in the upper classes of Hindus and Muslims. The Sikhs were no exception to it. Among the Sikhs, the Bedis were famous for killing their infant daughters without any hesitation. They killed their daughters either by poisoning, drowning or giving over dose of opium.\textsuperscript{80} Sometimes, a mid-wife choked the baby, or the mouth was stuffed with cow dung or the infant's head was immersed in cow's milk. Mostly Bedis were occupied prominent positions within the guru lineage, but they ended up paying very dearly for their high social and ritual standing. Due to their extra ordinarily high status given to them by society they found it difficult to draw husbands for their daughters. They felt degrading to marry among biradaris of a lower status. Being exogamous, they could not marry among themselves. Also, the Bedis reasoned that because of their position as Gurus among the Sikhs, they could not marry their daughters to their followers. To solve this problem they started to kill their female offspring at birth.\textsuperscript{81}

The female infanticide was practiced secretly. It was not considered illegal or criminal either by the state or the society. It continued unchecked. It

\textsuperscript{78} Gazetteer of the Ferozepur District, 1888-89, Punjab Government, Lahore, 1889, 44.
\textsuperscript{80} Mohinder Singh (ed.), History and Culture of Punjab, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1988, 238.
\textsuperscript{81} Harjot Oberoi, The Construction of Religious Boundaries, 227-228.
is said that in 1846-47 there were about two thousand Bedi families in Jullundhar Doab and fifteen hundred in Dera Baba Nanak and not a single girl was alive in these families.\textsuperscript{82} The Jats, Khatris and Sodis of some areas also followed the practice of female infanticide as honour of upper caste. The 1868 British Census shows the disproportion of male, female Sikh population as 57.26\% males to 42.74\% females. The main reason for this disproportion between the sexes among the Sikhs was female infanticide. The British reported in an enquiry that the Sikhs as a whole were more careless of their female children than persons of other faiths.\textsuperscript{83}

The popular couplet of the Punjab is supporting the above crime:

\begin{align*}
gur \ khaeen, \ punni \ katteen \\
aap \ na \ aeen, \ bhaiya \ ghallen
\end{align*}

(eat gur, spin you cotton, don’t come, send brother instead).

The census report of 1881 tabulated the number of females per 1,000 males for each religious community. For girl children under the age of five, the Sikhs enumerated 839, Hindus 941, Muslims 962. The numbers decreased, significantly for all three when females of all ages were compared to males: Sikhs 765, Hindus 834 and Muslims 864.\textsuperscript{84}

The practice of sati was another social evil. The third and fifth Gurus of the Sikhs had strongly denounced the practice. Usually Sikh women didn’t burn themselves with the corpse of their husbands.\textsuperscript{85} But under the Brahmanical influence sometimes the Sikh ladies of higher families did so. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh died his four principal wives, along with seven

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{82} Bhagat Singh, "Condition of Women in the Punjab in the Early Nineteenth Century", 358.
\bibitem{84} Jakobsh, Doris R., \textit{Relocating Gender in Sikh History}, 70.
\end{thebibliography}
slaves, burnt themselves alive on his funeral pyre.\textsuperscript{86} From the time of the Gurus, this was the first recorded event of \textit{sati} among the Sikhs.\textsuperscript{87} Same way when Maharaja Kharak Singh and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh died the practice of \textit{sati} was performed.\textsuperscript{88} It seems that Lahore Darbar was not against this practice, but it was rare amongst the common people.

Practice of \textit{purdah} was prevailed commonly among the Hindu and Muslim women of the Punjab. It was partially observed by the Sikh women. The Sikh Gurus had prohibited the \textit{purdah} system as an hindrance in the intellectual development of the women. But belonging to the social scenario of 19\textsuperscript{th} century the Sikh women of high caste and high class also covered their faces from the elderly people of their families or strangers. R.E. Parry comments on Sikh women as they were difficult to get a good look at, as at the approach of a stranger they disappeared or hastily cover their faces.\textsuperscript{89} Generally women were required to remain within their houses. It was preferred for women to stay at home. It was said, \textit{andar baithi lak di, bahar gayi kakh di} (she who stays at home is worth a lakh and she who wanders out is worth a straw). Further, \textit{tene kam kharab, mard nun chakki, sandhe nun gah, ran nun rah} (three things are bad, grinding for a man, threshing for a buffalo and traveling for a women).\textsuperscript{90}

Nirankari Gurus led a crusade for the emancipation of woman. They had told their \textit{sangat} that when a child was born, whether a girl or a boy, they should sung Guru’s hymns and distribute \textit{karah prashad}. Thus they welcomed the girls and boys into the world with equal enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{91} They worked for the eradication of the inhuman practices of \textit{sati} and female infanticide and


\textsuperscript{87} Bhai Jodh Singh, "Bhai Vir Singh and the Sikh Reform Movement". Guleria, J.S, (ed.), \textit{Bhai Vir Singh, the Sixth river of Punjab}, Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, Delhi, 1984, 189.

\textsuperscript{88} Man Singh Nirankari, \textit{Baba Dyal Crusader of True Sikhism}, 16.

\textsuperscript{89} R.E. Parry, \textit{The Sikhs of the Punjab}, Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970, 24.

\textsuperscript{90} Bhagat Singh, "Condition of Women in the Punjab in the Early Nineteenth Century", 361.

\textsuperscript{91} Navtej Singh (ed.), \textit{Reflections of Baba Dayal Singh Nirankari Movement}, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2007, 5.
denounced the polygamy which was prevailing among the upper classes. They emphasized the widow remarriages and criticized the purdah, show of dowry and other such evils which were responsible for the suppression of women.\textsuperscript{92}

The reforms in the condition of women were pursued more forcefully by the Namdharis. During that time women were becoming the victims of social tyranny from their very birth. Female infanticide, child marriage, sati, purdah, dowry and practices of selling or exchanging women were accepted ethos of the Punjabi society in nineteenth century. The very birth of a female child was considered as an ill omen and a widespread female infanticide prevailed in the land. Of them, those who were lucky enough to survive were subjected to the inhuman and unnatural practice of child marriage. If unfortunately, these child brides lost their husbands, they were compelled to immolate themselves on the pyres of their deceased husbands. If they did not want to do so, they were required to undergo the lifelong agony of an enforced widowhood. A widow was an object of universal contempt and she deserved no sympathy, nor was any given to her. Women were the virtual cattle who could be like other cattle sold or battered away. The practices of batter or exchange marriages and of the sale of bride were fairly common among the people. Among the upper classes, where the dearth of wives was no difficulty, the evil customs of widowhood and sati were deep-rooted and common phenomena. Women were also dangerous things who must be veiled or kept carefully hidden within the four walls of the house.\textsuperscript{93}

To improve the situations of the Punjabi women, Namdhari Gurus censured the widely spread practice of female infanticide. Ram Singh issued circulars to his followers to forbid them to follow the custom. In a letter to Daya Singh, he said “Io not kill infant girls as infanticide is a great sin. Excommunication those who are cruel enough to put their children to

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., 76.
\textsuperscript{93} Fauja Singh Bajwa, \textit{Kuka Movement An Important Phase in Punjab’s Role in India’s Struggle for Freedom}, Kuka Research Centre, Delhi, 1965, 12.
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dearth.”\textsuperscript{94} At one place Baba Ram Singh said, “If in future somebody will kill the girls or sell the girls he will be punished because there are great qualities in girls. They give comforts of varied nature and I cannot explain their qualities. Girls killing is a greater sin in my eyes than cow killing”.\textsuperscript{95} He was well aware of the extent of the practice, issued again and again circulars to his followers against it.

Namdhari Gurus forbade their disciples to marry their children at very young age. They tried to fix marriageable age of eighteen for girl and twenty for boy. Ram Singh insisted his followers to marry the girl child when she is very young.\textsuperscript{96} Namdharis forcefully attacked the practice of selling and exchanging females, which was widespread in the rural areas of the province. Mostly the girls were stolen from sub-mountain region and sold in the villages and towns of the Punjab. In Amritsar a jat bought a widow and daughter for 600 rupees. He sold the daughter, who was in teens, for 1200 rupees and six months later got 300 rupees for the widow, clearing for 900 rupees in all. There was another widely spread practice of bartering away girls in many districts. This practice was popularly known as \textit{vatta-satta}.\textsuperscript{97}

Baba Ram Singh strongly opposed such marriages and said that in case somebody is marrying girls in exchange or taking money for the marriage of the girl he should be boycotted by the society.\textsuperscript{98} Baba Ram Singh used these comments in supporting his argument like, “धी वहन का पैसा खोय गोविन्द सिंह धकके गम लाये /” (one who takes money of the girls or for the girls goes straight to hell and gets kicks from the dharmraj). Ram Singh issued a special circular and prohibited the sale of daughters in very emphatic language. According to the official records, he said in the circular, “whoever makes money by the marriage of his daughter is a rascal. Whoever commits infanticide or gives

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., 162-163.
\textsuperscript{96} Jaswant Singh Jas, \textit{Baba Ram Singh Namdhari}, Kasturi Lal and Sons, Amritsar, 1958, 64.
\textsuperscript{98} Jaswant Singh Jas, \textit{Baba Ram Singh Namdhari}, 81.
aways his daughter in batter marriage is an evil-doer." The impact of Kukas on the society regarding the practice is reflected in the Punjabi literature on that time. There was a popular folk song as:

"न बेच कुमारी वे बाबला लालचीया
गल गड़ कटारी वे बाबला लालचीया
तेरी गई मात मारी वे बाबला लालचीया
न बनी व्यापारी वे बाबला लालचीया।"

“It said oh my selfish father don’t sell a virgin. It is like the slaughtering of cow. Why have you lost wisdom to become a trader by selling me.”

Ram Singh also worked against the dowry and inhuman practice of sati. He initiated mass marriages for adherents in order to bring down wedding costs. Extravagant on marriages in foam of dowry had led to great indebtedness among the Sikhs in Punjab and created negative attitudes towards girl child. Ram Singh disposed off the services of Brahmins and rejected the practice of dowry among the Kukas. He also advocated remarriage of the widows.

Baba Ram Singh with his reformative work tried to offer women happy life and higher status in the society. He baptized first lady Khemo of village Siyahar in the district of Ludhiana in 1858. He allowed the women to wear while clothes and to keep white woolen rosary on equal grounds. It was the radical break with tradition of Khalsa cosmology. Moreover he appointed a twenty years old young lady Bibi Hukmee as the Suba (governor) of Amritsar and Hoshiarpur, where she preached with great success. His decision to

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102 Jaswant Singh Jas, Baba Ram Singh Namdhari, 82.
103 Doris R. Jakobsh, Relocating Gender in Sikh History, 173.
appoint Hukmee as Suba was an attempt to transform and enlarge the scope of women’s roles among the Sikhs in Punjab.

Baba Ram Singh’s work for equality of women was noted by British. The official account published in 1863 describes Baba Ram Singh achievements as, “He enjoins the marriage of widows… advocates too much free intercourse between the sexes, men and women rave together at his meetings; and thousands of women and young girls have joined the sect, he exhorts his disciples to be clean and truth-telling.”

A famous writer Kapur Singh also explain the works of Ram Singh in this respect in his book ‘Sapt Sring’, as “After the Sikh Gurus, Nanak and Gobind Singh there was a very great reformer and leader of thought who worked for a complete equality of the sexes in the society and achieved notable success in his efforts. Even if his other great achievements are left out of consideration, this alone the preaching that man and woman are entitled to equal rights in the society will rank him with the leading most reformers of the world.”

Later on, equal status to women in the sect lead them to play an important role in the political affairs of Kukas. Notably when British authorities prisoned sixty six Kukas for the murder of Muslim butchers, there were two women in them which were subsequently released after some time. Moreover there were some women, whose name were noted in official records for their political activities as Attri (Khanna), Bhagan (Patiala), Jai Kaur (Ludhiana), Rupan (Seheran Majra), Dharma (Ferozepur), Bholi (Ferozepur), Rato (Sirsa), Desan (Sirsa). Gender equality in the sect encouraged women to join the movement in large number that women and

105 Fauja Singh, Kuka Movement, 28.  
106 Ibid., 29.  
107 Doris, R. Jakobsh, Relocating Gender in Sikh History, 116.  
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children often accounted for one-third to one-half of the adherents at fairs and other gatherings.

No reform is possible without social awareness and social awareness always come with education. Baba Ram Singh also emphasized the importance of education as a fundamental force for the emancipation of women. He writes, “As soon as children could understand something make them to learn the letters.” In another letter he emphasized that education should be imparted to both boys and girls. He further advocated education for women as “educate your sisters, women, daughters and sons and they will easily learn the bani (prayers). Without education prayers cannot be properly learnt.”

Baba Ram Singh, however, made the Punjabi masses aware about the importance of education for both men and women. The task of educating the community was carried on more systematic and arranged way by the newly emerged organisation of the Sikhs – the Singh Sabha in the late 19th century.

109 Surjit Kaur Jolly, Sikh Revivalist Movements, 85-86 and also see Ganda Singh, Kukain Di Vithia, 128.

“ਧੀਆਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਸਤਗੀਆਂ ਹੀ। ਘਨਾਂ ਹੀ ਅਧਾਤ ਧਰਆ ਟੇਡੇ, ਸਤਗਾਵੀ ਖਾਟੀ ਨੈਮ ਵਾਲੇ ਟੇਟੀ।”