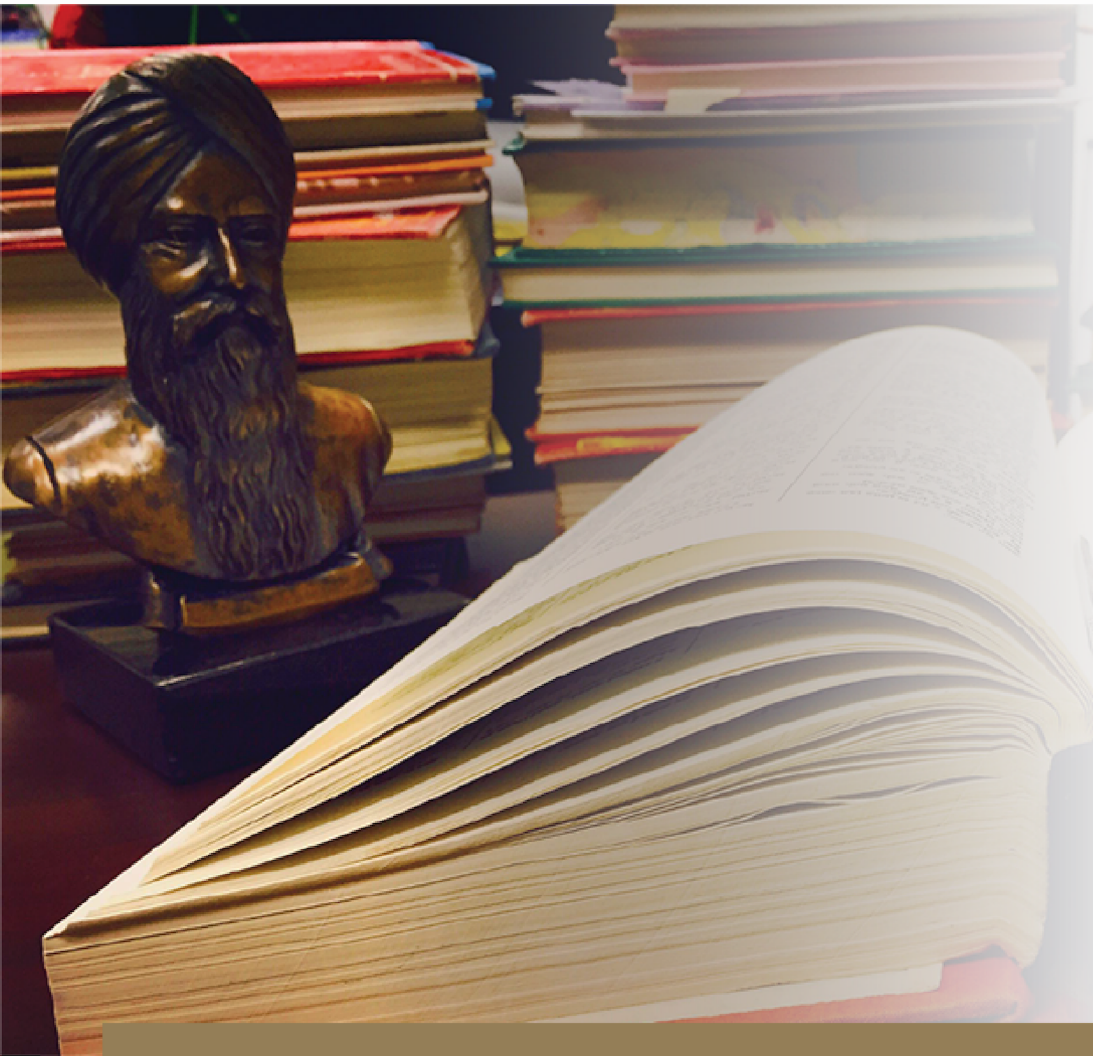


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Women's Education in Colonial Punjab: Significance of Women Teachers and Training Institutions

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Abstract

This paper documents and analyzes the dynamics of women's education chronologically, with a focus on women teachers and training institution in Punjab, before its annexation in 1849 by the British and during its colonial phase. Prior to 1849 Punjab had a vibrant and thriving indigenous educational system. There is evidence that women received education through the existing mechanisms, a fact appreciated by William Adam in his famous reports. The change in the medium of instruction from 'Persian'- the official language of the state, to 'Urdu' after annexation, proved detrimental not only to the women's education but overall education too. The unavailability of women teachers added to the despair as the simple idea of a 'woman teacher' was widely challenged by several old schools. The male opposition fearing competition from lesser paid women colleagues, and existing stereotypes regarding the responsibilities of women, restrained the efforts for women teacher training. Allender admits that not only in India but also in Britain, women teaching professionals had to struggle for acceptance. The training schools advanced the cause of women education through native women; it was agreed that only native women could help extend women's education; hence they must be trained for this cause. As a result of this historic phenomenon, we now have the National Council for Teacher Education training men and women teachers. As we embark on this research, data collected from various Regional and National Archives and libraries related to women's education in colonial Punjab has been reoriented to develop arguments according to the theme of this paper. This research shall enrich our understanding about decisive constituents of women's education in Punjab from a historical perspective; and reflect on the contemporary need to create a women inclusive system and functionaries working at the grassroots to reduce inequality of opportunities and recognition.

Keywords: *women's education, women teachers, training institutions for women teachers, normal school, training college.*

Women Education in Colonial Punjab: Significance of Women Teachers and Training Institutions

The contemporary situation of women's education in Punjab, according to government records, appears hopeful. The Gender Budget Statement for 2023-2024 indicates that the Punjab Government is committed to empowering women and girls by addressing key gaps and barriers that deny them the opportunity to benefit from the development efforts. It highlights significant achievements made through several policy initiatives introduced in the past, viz. improving the imbalance in sex ratio, girl child education, maternal health, etc. However, numerous gender gaps continue requiring stronger policy and program commitments to reinforce the State's commitment to gender equality. The 2011 Census reveals that the

women constitute 47.23% of the total population of the state, as compared to 48.5% at national level. The census shows an improvement in the sex ratio to 895 from 876 in 2001. According to several Government of India reports, the sex ratio at birth has improved to 928 per 1000 in 2021-2022 from 891 per 1000 in 2015-16. The female literacy rate increased from 63.5% in 2001 to 70.7% in 2011. Punjab ranks relatively high on women's education rates in the country, with almost 38 percent of girls completing secondary education and 10 percent completion rates for graduate degrees (Department of Social Security and Women & Child Development, Punjab, 2023-24, pp. Foreword-1).

From a historical perspective, we discover significant evidence of a comprehensive women education system existing in pre-annexation Punjab. G.W. Leitner (1883), who became the Principal of the Lahore Government College in 1864, rightly described the situation of women education in Punjab, stating, "Indigenous female education in the Panjab requires less development than revival" (p. 97). He noted that the native girl was often more intelligent than her brother and there was not a single family that did not take pride in having their female members learn to read (Leitner, p. 98). William Adam, in his celebrated Reports on the State of Education in Bengal from 1835 & 1838, made a priceless remark that Punjab was far ahead of Bengal in women's education, a sector that was rapidly developing in Bengal (Adam, 1941, p.504).

Section I: Indigenous Education System and its Decline: Educating Women in Pre-Annexation Punjab

In 1849, when the British conquered Punjab, there existed a robust indigenous education system. This fact is reinforced by William Arnold*, (1857; as cited in Richey, 1922) who observed, "Certainly the idea of Education is not new to the Punjabis...We find all the school phraseology ready-made to our hand" (p. 99).⁵⁵ Under Sikh rule, Persian was the official language which heavily influenced the indigenous educational landscape. This led to the predominance of Persian in local schools which also taught Sanskrit and Arabic. The schools dedicated to Sikh teachings instructed in Gurumukhi from the Granth Sahib, while Lande schools specialized in teaching bookkeeping to the children from trading community. The Persian schools were attended by boys from Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim communities, although the teaching profession was predominantly in the hands of Mahomedans. The education system in Punjab was distinct from those in other regions of India in three key ways. First and foremost, unlike other parts of India, women's education and women teachers were common in Punjab; secondly, it was common for entire communities to assist in sustaining schools and lastly, teachers frequently received cash payments and occasionally regular salaries, with such allowances being more distinctive in Punjab as compared to other regions (Richey, p.279).

During the era of the East India Company, the Charter Act of 1813 marked the first step towards education, allocating a sum of Rs.1 lakh towards the education of Indians under British rule and officially allowing missionaries to come to India. Missionary efforts to educate the local populations were ongoing

⁵⁵ The term 'Punjabi' hereafter appears at several places throughout the manuscript which besides the Punjabi language connotes the natives of Punjab. It is inclusive of all the communities the Sikh, the Muslims and the Hindus. It has been used in several historical reports used in the text and I also specifically retained it as I feel that this term reflects the superior picture of the then Punjab. *William Arnold was appointed the First Director of Public Instruction, Punjab in 1856)

across India, including Punjab. Arnold noted in his initial report that while there was some unwillingness among missionaries in other parts of India to accept aid from the government, due to the religious neutrality of British government, however, this reluctance was not evident in Punjab. He also mentioned about the Church of England Mission schools and the American Presbyterian Mission schools already established in the province (Richey, p.298). Unfortunately, the Charter Act of 1813 was nonfunctional until 1823, when “organizing a state system of education was begun in three presidencies by 1823 and the educational grant of India increased from one lakh to ten lakh rupees” (Nurullah & Naik, p. 74) a watershed moment in the history of Indian education. However, prior to 1854, the British government made no sincere efforts, particularly for women's education, often under the pretext of strict social and religious neutrality. It was not until Wood's Despatch of 1854 that the British government acknowledged the value of women's education in India and pledged its free and cordial support (Wood's Despatch, 1854, p. 35). This was thirty-one years after they accepted responsibility for men's education (Kamat, 1976, pp. 3-4).⁵⁶ Richey (1922) highlighted this neglect, 'female education was not recognized as a branch of the State system of education in India' (p. 32). The prevalent social customs such as early marriage, the evil of Sati, prohibition of widow remarriage, and the pardah system made educating the women difficult. William Adam (1941), in his Report on the State of Education in Bengal, summarized this view: “A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to read and write will soon after marriage become a widow” (p.187).

Nevertheless, by 1856-57, the authorities in Punjab encouraged the educational department to promote women's education. At the 1862 Education Durbar in Lahore, the third anniversary of the public distribution of prizes to meritorious scholars belonging to government educational institutions, Lieutenant-Governor Robert Montgomery called on the native chiefs to support him in introduction and expansion of the women education. A year later, he declared that a significant movement was underway in Punjab, overcoming centuries-old prejudices against women's education (Punjab Provincial Committee, 1884, p.10). In 1856, subject to the supervision of Mr. Browne, Inspector of Schools, the first female school, was started by the British at Rawalpindi, and by the year's end, 17 more schools were opened with 306 girls enrolled, averaging 18 per school (Richey, p.299).

An account of girls' education in Punjab would not be complete without acknowledging the contribution of Baba Khem Singh Bedi, a direct descendant of Guru Nanak Dev, who played a pivotal role in advancing education for girls by motivating communities to educate their daughters and founding 108 schools for girls in Rawalpindi around 1855 (Leitner, p.102). Guru Nanak Dev, the founder of the Sikh religion, believed men and women are equal and therefore women cannot be considered inferior. The Guru in his teachings asks, *so kyon manda aakhiye jit jamme rajan*, (why call her bad? From her, Kings are born). To woman we married, of woman are we born, of woman conceived, and by woman are the civilization continued. It is by woman that the entire social order is maintained. Baba Bedi emphasized the importance of Guru Nanak's teachings, urging parents to love their daughters as dearly as their sons and to educate them

⁵⁶ Before annexation that is 1849, the first government school in the Punjab territory was opened at Simla in 1848; and after annexation it was proposed to establish a government school at Amritsar. These schools were basically for men and efforts for women schools remain suspended for quite long.

accordingly. He appealed to the people to remember that there was once the custom of educating daughters in their families.

Unfortunately, after annexation, the promising educational landscape changed drastically. The shift in the medium of instruction from Punjabi to Urdu proved detrimental. The people were unfamiliar with the new script of Urdu, which is written from right to left, unlike the left to right of Punjabi with which they were familiar. The government had to establish new schools since none of the indigenous schoolmasters knew Urdu, leading to resistance among teachers who were now required to teach history and geography in an unfamiliar language. Moreover, the introduction of modern education itself did not bring in the decline; before 1849, Punjab already had missionary schools teaching modern education. However, the adoption of Urdu as medium of instruction led to the educational deterioration. Prof Rao rightly claims that the indigenous schools during the British rule did not diminish as the British government followed a policy of integration. She states that regardless of 'linguistic and religious multiplicity' British appreciated the reliability of indigenous schools to be the foundation of state education. The British authorities in several parts of India adopted 70,000 indigenous schools with their curriculum and trained available local teachers for a month to equip them to teach geography and history. Consequently, countless government primary schools came up without much expenditure. With a roll call book and a small pay for the teacher these government schools were simply the indigenous schools till 1860s except in Bombay and Punjab (Rao, 2020, p.37). Surprisingly, the situation in Punjab differed as the government introduced Urdu as medium of instruction, unfavorably affecting both the indigenous and overall education. Before 1849, Punjabi served as the medium of instruction; during the colonial reign, it was replaced by Urdu, and in the post-colonial period, Punjabi was once again reinstated as the medium of instruction.

Section II: Changing Dynamics of Women's Education during Colonial Period

(a) Ramifications of Urdu as medium of instruction

After annexation, the earliest ruling head of Punjab, Robert Montgomery, proposed that Punjabi language and Gurumukhi characters should be replaced with Hindi and Urdu like the Northwestern Provinces as it "possesses advantages over less cultivated patios of Punjab" (Rao, 2020, p.214). Along with using Punjabi for communication, the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities resorted to Nagari, Persian, and Gurumukhi characters consecutively for writing. When the government announced Urdu in Persian characters to be the medium of instruction it corresponded with teachers to take up teaching in its newly founded schools. On being employed the teachers were handed over a set of guidelines they had to comply with. The schoolmasters turned adamant, because they heard the words-History, Geography, and Arithmetic for the first time, and found them to be strange and repulsive (Punjab Provincial Committee, pp. 3-4). Unfortunately, Arnold was completely unreasonable hoping that the schoolmasters who spoke Punjabi, Arabic, and Persian would instruct history and geography in a foreign language and criticized them when they refused to do so (Rao, 2020, pp. 214-15). He also argued that people strongly opposed the introduction of the Urdu language as medium of instruction, finding it to be offensive. However, the resistance was not due to a lack of knowledge about the subjects they were supposed to teach, but rather because of the unfamiliar language in which they were expected to teach. Arnold wrote,

We found a whole people wedded to system diametrically opposed to that which we wish to introduce; to whom Urdu is utterly inconsistent, opposed to the idea of erudition and learning; people who were ignorant of the geography of their own province, ignorant that there was such science and therefore prepared to reject geography, inclined to reject whatever is strange to them. (Arnold, 1858; as cited in Richey, 1922, pp. 301-02)

Apparently, Arnold's statement reflected that natives of Punjab were against modern education. Prof. Rao (2022) asserts that it was much before Arnold's report that the people of Punjab had redirected town duty of Rs. 130 in Rawalpindi for the management of a school with 300 boys. This school was handed over to the American Presbyterian Missionaries who already were running a school in Lahore with same number of boys. All these schools were teaching modern disciplines. This proves that the hostility of natives was not for the subject but for an unknown language and characters. Nevertheless, the British government introduced Urdu for instruction proclaiming it "a really national system of education" (p. 215).

Regrettably, when introduced as medium of instruction Urdu disadvantageously influenced the women's education. Not only were the Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs of Punjab getting their girls educated in schools but also had women teaching in school which was unheard of in other areas in India. No religion restricted their girls being educated. Unfortunately, once Urdu replaced Persian as medium of instruction these female educators became jobless. Leitner too assigned the decline in women's education to the change of medium of instruction and acknowledged that women education in Punjab just needed restoration. He further admits that girls who used to come together as per their convenience at their own or a friends' house to learn Nagri or Gurmukhi or Arabic, were sadly getting dissociated from their brothers in language and feelings every day by the change of language. So was the case of a mother at home who for the same reason could not cooperate with the teacher (Leitner, p. 97). Before annexation, Persian was taught extensively, while Urdu was primarily studied by Europeans. The substitution of Urdu for Persian was looked upon as a limitation of education, leading to disuse of Urdu as the spoken and written language of gentlemen (Leitner, p. ii). Consequently, the medium of instruction was a crucial aspect that hindered the progress of not only women's education but the entire system of education in Punjab.

(b) Engaging schoolmasters' wives and widows as teachers: availability, limitations, and suggestions

During the nineteenth century, educating women remained a challenging issue world over. Besides some obvious tribulations, the most significant hurdle was the shortage of women teachers. Also, the very idea of "plans for establishing the figure of a female teacher were widely resisted by many conservatives" (Caruso & Moritz, p. 21). With England introducing the teacher education system around mid-nineteenth century, it was then implemented in India as well. Following Wood's Despatch in 1854, women's education and teacher training in India followed the pupil-teacher system model. Additionally, the zenana teaching system, which involved home education, must be acknowledged. This method was preferred over traditional women's schools as it was aligned with social customs of the time, with women of the upper caste families being taught at home by the missionary women. Despite the practical challenges, missionaries and government agencies used this system to provide systematic instruction to select groups of women (Caruso & Moritz, 2018, p. 37).

Mary Carpenter, a British social reformer known for her significant contributions to prison reform and correctional education, was deeply troubled by the lack of women's education during her visits to India in 1866. She stressed that a major obstacle to the improvement and expansion of female schools was the widespread shortage of women teachers (Sengupta, 2011, p. 102). Malcolm Darling (1925), who served as Assistant Commissioner and later Financial Commissioner in Punjab, similarly asserted that, "the slow rate of progress in female education is officially ascribed to the "paucity of qualified teachers" (p. 299). In contrast, Leitner noted that before annexation in Punjab, indigenous women's education was supported by the local community and there was no shortage of women willing to teach. He (1883) noted that, most of the time not only was the Punjabi woman knowledgeable but was also an instructor. For example, before 1849, six schools in Delhi were maintained by the Punjabi women for girls (p. 98).⁵⁷ H. R. Mehta (1929) highlights the presence of women teachers and the respect associated with teaching among Hindus and Muhammadans. He suggests that women "instructed for their own pleasure or what is more likely, under the idea that they were engaged in a meritorious and laudable task" (p.13).

Educating women and recruiting women teachers were challenging issues that needed immediate attention. The existing pool of the available teachers was limited to those who were competent to teach only reading and writing. Compounding the shortage were social conditions like women being unable to "leave their homes until they are married and then there is husband to be considered and provided for. If the wife is suitable, and she and her husband are willing to come, the head of the family objects," (Caruso & Moritz, 2018, p.37) making the availability of women teachers almost impossible. During this period, women, especially the unmarried, did not adopt the profession of teaching; schoolmaster's wives and widows were therefore sought by the government as teachers, although this too proved challenging due to 'the conditions of Hindu society are not such that she could go off to a strange place to undertake the charge of a school' (Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884, p.112). Recognizing the shortage of women teachers as the greatest obstacle in women's education, there was a push to involve schoolmasters' wives as teachers. As a result, provincial governments took steps to encourage the schoolmasters to educate their wives, and it was found that many of the young schoolmasters of parts of India did not object to their wives engaging in schoolwork. To their relief, inquiries revealed that in Punjab, a considerable number of schoolmasters' wives had started private schools for girls, prompting authorities to promote this practice further. Another solution was to employ widows as teachers for women's schools. Mrs. Mitchell, Lady Superintendent at the Female Training College in Pune, highlighted the advantages of widows as trainees:

I have found in my own experience that so far from married women being the best sort of women to be trained as teachers, I would here say just one word. I have found in my own experience [...] the reverse, as the husband has been as often a hindrance as not; the best women I have had have been widows or single women. (Lee-Warner 1884, p.385)

⁵⁷ Leitner's Report shows the existence of several female indigenous schools, in some of which boys were admitted. Not to speak of the numerous Koran schools for both boys and girls taught and supported by pious widows; there were the following schools conducted by female teachers: Nawankot and Moharwal in the Lahore District, Wairowal and Fattahabad in the Amritsar District, Dhatrat and Asant in the Karnal District, and Panipat had 6 schools so conducted.

The Education Commission made significant suggestions regarding employment of widows on a larger scale for teaching. It reaffirmed that one of the major hurdles in the way of women's education would be overcome if Hindu widows could be persuaded to accept schooling job. This would in turn provide an independent and interesting career to a large group of women (Education Commission, 1883, pp. 539-40). The Education Commission reported that the employment of women teachers was critically necessary for women's education due to prejudices among the natives against male teachers and inspectors in girls' schools. Notably, the majority of existing girls' schools was primarily staffed by male teachers. Only elderly men were thought to be apt to teach, and efforts of extending women's education by employing young males as teachers would not be accepted by the people. Therefore, most of the time the faculty in girls' schools were procured from the retired male teachers, out of whom several had exhausted their working capacity (Education Commission, p. 38).

The Education Commission stated that the lack of women teachers in Punjab was a major obstacle to the women's education. Deficiency of teachers for girls' schools was clearly evident in the figures that showed that the availability of trained women teachers in the profession was extremely low in comparison to their need. In 1881-82, of 515 girls enrolled at Normal schools across India, Punjab had 138 (Education Commission, p.538). Therefore, increasing the number of schoolmasters' wives as teachers would produce far-reaching impact if it could successfully produce, the required number of teachers, as other methods had failed to obtain an adequate supply. Regarding a specific proposal made with regard to the more extensive employment of native widows as teachers, the report stated that native public opinion in many provinces posed a barrier. It was likely that the highly regarded Hindu families would not allow their widowed members to take on a public service, as being a schoolmistress. Only if Hindu widows could be convinced to take up the profession of teaching a major difficulty would be conquered. However, besides the exposure to the outer world beyond the safe four walls of the house there were several major challenges that widowed teachers had to face once they moved out. Firstly, the position that they assumed exposed them to rude remarks and secondly, the school mistress often found opponents in areas wherever they were posted. Additionally, she would be faced with male teachers' chauvinism, be young or old, who would be reluctant to accept her orders. Women heads of women training colleges were extremely understanding of the seriousness of the situation and tried to provide a favorable environment to the young widow teachers. For example, the Ahmedabad Female Training College's head never approved of a widow teacher's appointment unless she obtained the permission and approval of the native families. Despite these hopeful steps the situation of a widowed educator continued to be extremely tough in rural areas. It was observed that these challenges would cease to exist if trained female teachers would get a job in their own area (Education Commission, pp. 538-40).

Women teachers faced specific limitations and conditions that applied to the various social classes from which they could be recruited. Hence, for a genuine and lasting expansion to be made in educating women, the growth and change of native public opinion was a must. It was observed that the "Native society does not approve of the adult daughters of good family studying in an institution like a Normal school or going out into the world as women teachers" (Punjab Provincial Committee, p. 25). Moreover, the Education Commission made significant suggestions regarding the promotion of women education. To mention few, it recommended that, a) rules need to be framed to promote the gradual replacement

of male by women teachers in all girls' schools, b) schools under the women teachers should generally encourage stipendiary pupil-teacher positions, c) establishment of additional Normal schools or classes⁵⁸ was recommended. Furthermore, the existing schools under private management were to receive liberal aid from government and apart from that aid may be granted as perk to the normal student who cleared the exams for teacher training, d) the faculty of regular schools to be rewarded for their efforts to prepare students. especially the girls be motivated and awarded for teacher training certificate examination, e) the wives of the male teachers to be encouraged to take up teaching, and widows be trained and recruited as educators with provision of sufficient secure environment wherever they are posted, and f) special encouragement was to be given to the European and Eurasian young women to qualify in the vernacular language in the districts where they may be required as teachers in the native schools (Education Commission, p. 549).

Besides these recommendations, significant suggestions were made after observing the current state of women's education and the scarcity of women teachers. The significant difficulties in recruiting women teachers for village schools called for the employment of married couples in these roles. This approach had already been implemented in the Madras Presidency, where married couples were recruited to teach in mixed (co-education) schools and was being followed in Punjab to some extent. Efforts were being made in Punjab to train the wives of schoolmasters, highlighting the advantages of having women teachers in both mixed and boys' schools. Additionally, the high number of male teachers in purely girls' primary schools across all provinces was adding to the difficulty of keeping girls in school after a certain age. Interestingly though, in "Punjab much keenness is felt for the girls' education" (Women Education Commission, 1936, p.5). The reports acknowledged that while replacing male teachers with female teachers was not that difficult, it was more challenging for women teachers to work alone in villages. Often, there was no suitable place where they could live, and they could not remain there unprotected. Therefore, it appeared that the employment of married couples could be a very important solution in mixed schools (Women Education Commission, p. 7).

Regarding the availability of women teachers in Punjab, the demand was higher than the supply. Although teacher training did make a few promising advances, training for women teachers was still in a nascent stage. This unavailability served as a major obstacle to the girls' education. W.R.M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in Punjab, identified three factors essential for the success of women's schools: competent teachers, effective supervision, and regular inspection. He noted the scarcity of competent women teachers in Punjab, observing that women joining the existed Normal schools as students had received very little prior education. Holroyd lamented the fact that after completing their training in these schools, many were not available for employment far from their homes. Generally, the pupils were reluctant to accept an unfamiliar person as a teacher in a girls' school, and when no women teacher was available, they would often employ old men. In some instances, people open to hiring young men belonging to the priestly classes who came from well-recognized and respected families. He also attributed the non-availability of the trained women teachers to the insufficient salaries offered. If these were on the same scale as those provided for boys' schools, all other difficulties might perhaps be

⁵⁸ Training or Normal classes started by a small number of schools were like the pupil teacher system that paid the girls who got enrolled in them.

overcome (Punjab Provincial Committee, p. 254). Therefore, it was evident that the presence of women teachers was necessary for the success of advancing women's education in Punjab.

Moving ahead in this interesting historical journey, below is a quick brief summary of how and when the teacher training institutions originated in Punjab. Teacher training institutions, particularly those for women, were significant aspects of the colonial educational policy that is why they have been discussed in a separate section.

Section III Teacher Training Institutions: The Need and the Beginning

Prior to annexation, although there was a widespread respect for education and the teachers, there were no formal programmes for teacher education or training schools. In the middle of nineteenth century, when England began organized attempts for improvement of education, one major issue identified was the lack of qualified schoolmasters and the inadequate methods of teaching. This deficiency was felt more acutely in India. Consequently, following the recommendations of Wood's Despatch in 1854, that the model adopted in Britain for establishing training schools and classes for Masters be followed in India, an Education Department was established in 1855. Subsequently, Punjab saw the establishment of its first Normal schools (as teachers' colleges in India were called), was opened in Lahore and Rawalpindi in 1856 and 1857 respectively, with another following in Delhi the next year (Mehta, 1929). As defined by the Punjab Education Code (1925), a 'Normal School is an institution in which students are prepared for vernacular masterships in primary and secondary schools' (p.4). Each Normal school in Punjab was situated at the headquarters of their respective Education Circle, with districts of Punjab organized into these Circles under specific divisions. After several modifications in 1901, these included Delhi, Jalandhar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan Circles each encompassing several districts.

Normal schools were started by the government to train and enhance the learning of the vernacular teachers. In these schools, a certificate was awarded to the student at the end of the completion of the training courses and teachers' examination. The various grades of certificates which were granted and the positions for which they qualified the holders, are shown in Table 1 (Nathan, 1904, p.193).

Table 1: *Various Grades of certificates in Punjab*

Province	Grade of certificate	Grade of certificate	Posts for which the certificate qualifies
Punjab	Anglo-vernacular teacher's certificate	Senior First grade	Head master, high school.
		Senior Second grade	Head master, middle school, or assistant, high department.
		Junior First grade	Assistant master, middle department
		Junior Second grade	Head master, primary school.
	Vernacular teacher's certificate	Senior First grade	Head master, high school.
		Senior Second grade	Head master, middle school, or assistant, high department.
		Junior First grade	Assistant master, middle department
		Junior Second grade	Head master, primary school.

	Zamindari certificate		Head master, zamindari school
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Adapted from *Progress of education in India, 1897-98-1901-1902*, by A. Nathan, 1904, p. 194.

The Normal schools in Punjab offered two types of teacher training classes: one for vernacular teacherships in primary schools, and the other for teacherships in Zamindari schools, which were, however, a diminishing category (Cotton, 1898, p. 240). The Zamindari certificate examination required acquaintance with the native method of accounts in the Mahajani script, and qualified individuals for the teacherships in Elementary Zamindari schools designed specially to meet the demands of the agricultural people. These schools for the agriculturists' children were opened in 1887-88; they operated on a half-time system where each boy was required to attend school in one half, either in the morning or in the evening, and working in the fields in the other; at harvest time, the schools were closed altogether. The course of instruction included reading, writing and native arithmetic. The half-time educational system of the Zamindari schools was frequently receiving complaints from the zamindars for making their children unfit for the hard work in the fields. Also, it was feared that with the agriculturists becoming more aware of the advantages of education, they would soon want their children to attend full-time rather than half-time (Nash, 1893, p. 175).

In addition to Normal schools, there was a Central Training College in Lahore, established in 1881, for the training in science and practice of teaching for English teachers across all classes of Anglo-vernacular schools and for vernacular teachers in secondary schools (Cotton, 1898, p. 240). There was a Model or practicing school attached to Normal schools and training colleges, where the students received practical instruction in the art of teaching. Further details are provided in the following Table.

Table 2: *The Central Training College's qualifications, length of course, examinations and certificates*

Institution or Class	Department	Preliminary educational qualifications	Length of course	Examinations	Certificates
Training College, Lahore	Senior Anglo-vernacular class	University degree	One year	At the end of course	Provisional second grade senior Anglo-vernacular certificate.
	Junior Anglo-vernacular class	Study up to the intermediate standard	One year	At the end of course	Provisional second grade junior Anglo-vernacular certificate.
	Senior vernacular class	Entrance examination or junior vernacular teacher's certificate	One year	At the end of course	Provisional second grade senior vernacular certificate.

From, *Progress of education in India, 1897-98-1901-1902*, by A. Nathan, 1904, p. 205.

(a) The start of a new chapter: training schools for women teachers and the role of missionaries

Until 1813, the East India Company opposed the entry of Christian missionaries into India, citing that East India Company was a trading agency, seeking profit and not the spread of religion. They contended that supporting missionaries might be seen as their support of conversion efforts and possibly turn the Indians hostile against the British (Rao, 2020, p.58). Particularly, in Indian context, missionaries and the colonial administration did not work together because of the government's aggressive attitude, to the extent that by the end of nineteenth century, all missionaries, including the Anglicans, became decidedly against the colonial state. However, in several instances, missionaries worked together with Indians, earning respect and admiration for negotiating with the colonial state on behalf of local people's rights. This was a unique and unusual development in the history of missionaries and education (Rao, 2021, pp.156-167).

Regarding the relationship between colonial administration and missionary presence, Cox (2002) notes that it was highly unlikely to be a missionary in Punjab without dealing with problems created by the attitude of imperial power (p.17). Harding (2008) highlights that government of India's educational policy (Wood's Despatch, 1854) was a resonance of modern thinking in England, emphasizing that private institutions would provide the majority of education, which was to be funded and overseen by the government. He further states that Wood's Despatch had limited success in Punjab because, in the nineteenth century, the only private institutions providing popular western education were Christian missions, particularly the American Presbyterian and the Church Missionary Society. The government was forced to open more of its own schools only after becoming apprehensive about disturbing religious and political reactions fueled by the local press's interest in seeking the political connections of different Christian mission societies. Yet, the Christian institutions often posed challenges to the state-run schools, as parents greatly valued the mission-run schools because of their perceived competence and superiority (p.179).

Nevertheless, the beginnings of the modern education of women in Punjab can be traced to the schools started by missionaries. Robert May from the London Missionary Society came to India in July 1814 and established a school in Chinsura, a town in Bengal close to British India's capital Calcutta and the Danish settlement Serampore. Subsequently, the Serampore trio-William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward - founded the Serampore College in 1818. The missionary collaboration with Indians was not confined to Bengal, which had a large European presence and was the heart of the British Empire (Rao, 2021). Robert Frykenberg has extensively studied missionary activities in education, starting from the first Protestant Mission at Tranquebar in 1706, established by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau, to the connections extending into the twentieth century (Frykenberg, 1986). Consequently, "even before the annexation of Punjab, there were English schools in Amritsar and Rawalpindi maintained by the people and by the missionaries at Amritsar, Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Ambala, Kangra, and Kotegarh, near Simla. By the time Arnold wrote this report, the people of Rawalpindi had supported diverting the surplus town duty of 130 rupees to maintain a school with 300 boys and it was handed over to the American Presbyterian Missionaries, who already had established a school at Lahore" (Rao, 2020, p. 215).

Regrettably, the government's indifferent efforts to address the issue of finding trained female staff for the girls' schools in the existing educational (the idea of separate girls' schools was new in the province) and social situation in the province added to the troubles. Consequently, the entire endeavor was left to the private entities such as the philanthropists and missionaries. The American Presbyterian Missionaries, after setting up their headquarters in Ludhiana, initiated women's education by opening a girls' orphanage there in 1836. Subsequently, the Church Missionary Society established a girls' school in Kotegarh in 1844. As previously discussed, the wives of missionaries were often engaged in teaching at these schools (Mohabbat, et al., 2020, p. 3883). According to the Education Commission (1883), missionaries achieved great success in the field of education in Punjab, particularly through the girls' schools and zanana agencies (p.527). Later, in the early twentieth century, socio-religious organizations like Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha, and Anjuman-i-Islamia led reform movements in Punjab. Notable among the efforts to promote women's education, along with social reforms, were put in by pioneer institutions such as the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, established by Lala Devraj in 1886 in Jalandhar, the Hansraj Mahavidyalaya and the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya. Madhu Kishwar (1986) reveals that as the drive for the women's education accelerated, there was an increasing need to teach English to girls so that a 'gulf was not created between men and women', (p. 16). Consequently, the Kanya Mahavidyalaya started teaching English from class five onwards from 1906, despite the significant opposition from the community.

Moving forward, while Normal schools for training male teachers were established, training schools for women teachers were not yet established by the government in Punjab. Instead, the women's Normal schools being conducted by the missionaries were following the same curriculum for training women teachers. Thus, the few institutions for women's education that came into being in the first three decades of the nineteenth century owed their existence to the efforts of missionaries and philanthropic private individuals. These entities not only educated girls but also trained them to become teachers.

Many of the solutions implemented to address the scarcity of trained women teachers were still inadequate given the mammoth task of advancing women's education. Due to the existing social conditions and the underdevelopment of women's education in Punjab, there were no institutions specifically for training female teachers. Hence, in 1891, Normal classes were attached to some existing girls' schools, which offered stipends to girls who passed these classes and prepared for the certificate examinations in the province. The government acknowledged that though this system was not satisfactory, it was almost impossible to improve upon until the social conditions in the province allowed for the establishment of proper Normal schools for women teachers (Nathan, p.220).

(b) The significant constituents: women's training school

The course for women teachers in Punjab extended a little more than two years. Throughout this period continuous training was provided in the disciplines along with everyday teaching drill same as recommended for the men counterparts for the teacher training certificate. The students of Anglo-vernacular had to study the same program as the men of the training school; vernacular students had a different program for junior and senior certificates. Nathan (1904) reported that the senior certificate program comprised: "vernacular language, arithmetic, history and geography, physiology and domestic

economy, Euclid and algebra, or elementary physical science, or a classical language, needlework, school management, and practice of teaching" (p.221).

With respect to qualifications, various systems were in place across India for provision of women teachers. In regions such as Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa, the system was organized based on a vernacular secondary education. Conversely, Bombay and Madras called their vernacular education as either primary or elementary, and reserved the term secondary for Anglo-Vernacular education. Bengal, on the other hand, hardly recognized any education that did not include English. There were, therefore, fundamental differences in the types of teachers available and the methods of training in different parts of India. However, as a general rule, the primary teacher typically was product of an either primary or secondary vernacular school. Generally, there were two levels of training, lower vernacular and higher vernacular. In the lower vernacular, the teacher had typically completed primary education, while in the higher level; she was read up to the end of vernacular middle stage or its equivalent. In the United Provinces, widows were recruited rather than the girls from schools. Further, concerning the duration of the training courses, the women's education committee suggested that training periods could be as short as six months. And, with a view to raising the standard of women primary school teachers, a minimum period of at least eight years' school education followed by a two years' training course was necessary. The Committee also discussed the types of training schools that were necessary, concluding that a general educational school entirely devoted to training, with attached practicing schools and hostels, particularly situated in rural areas to attract village girls, were essential (Primary Education of Girls, 1936, pp. 5-6). The Committee maintained that it was essential to engage women teachers in primary schools for girls, with provisions for hostel accommodation and transport facilities. It also highlighted the need for special efforts to train village girls who would return to their own villages to teach after their training (Primary Education of Girls, p. 8). In addition, the authorities advocated that proper inducements should be offered to the teachers at boys' schools to teach or have their wives trained as teachers in girls' schools.

Normal students were provided with stipends and awarded scholarships based on exceptional performance. A scholarship was defined as a periodic payment guaranteed for a fixed time based on certain conditions, and it was strictly based on the results of a public examination. A stipend, on the other hand, was a subsistence allowance given to a scholar under certain conditions to enable or induce him to pursue certain specified courses of study (Punjab Education Code 1925, p. 4). In Punjab there was a bursary of Rs 2 per month for upper primary and Rs. 3 per month for middle vernacular, for female pupils who planned to take up a program in an authorized Normal Class (Nathan, pp. 221-22).

Refresher Courses were introduced by the government as a strategic measure to promote acquisition of knowledge by women teachers through training in Normal schools. While Refresher Courses for men were already being conducted, it was felt that women teachers also needed such opportunities to update their skills after completing their training and had taught for some time in a school. These courses were conducted in government girls' schools and lasted for about a week or ten days. However, more such courses were needed because teachers in average vernacular schools, especially in rural areas, lacked encouragement and motivation to put into practice what they learned at the Normal school. These

courses were successful; in many cases, they were almost exciting, and were always interesting (Progress of Education in Punjab, 1937, p.100). Hence, Refresher Courses had definitely contributed to the efficiency of the schools, as it had become increasingly clear to the government that efforts were needed to prevent the stagnation that teachers may drift into after they had been employed as teachers for some time, making these courses very desirable (Progress of Education in Punjab, pp.5, 56).

(c) Development of women Normal schools: a brief account

Government efforts for the development of training schools for women teachers began with a delay. Initially, women teachers training in Punjab was exclusively a private endeavor, which needs to be applauded, until a government training school was established in 1905. Until then, the training of women teachers was left completely to private enterprise.

As early as 1864, the Normal school for the training of women teachers was established in Delhi through the efforts of Mr. Winter of the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission. This school produced several qualified women teachers who were employed in government schools for women (Female Education, 1869, pp. 12-13). Subsequently, Normal schools were opened in Lahore and Amritsar in the following year by the Committee for Promoting Woman Education, and schools at other places followed shortly after (Mehta, 1929, p. 77). By 1867-68, the Normal school of the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission at Delhi was progressing fairly and was attended by both Hindu and Muhammadan women. The Lahore Normal School, placed under the care of a European lady, proved to be excellent. The Normal school at Amritsar implemented schemes for the training of women teachers and students, under the superintendence of an English lady (Holroyd, 1868, pp. 38-39). By 1868-69, out of the five existing private or Aided Normal schools, four were for women. Additionally, a Normal school was set up by the Anjuman at Kangra, and the schools at Delhi under the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission and at Amritsar under the Christian Vernacular Education Society continued to make satisfactory progress (Holroyd, 1869, p. 42).

By 1873-74, there were five aided women's Normal schools. Out of these, four were located within the Lahore Circle and one in Delhi, all for the year 1873-74 (Holroyd, 1874, pp. 91-93). Additionally, there were six Aided Normal schools, one for men and five for women, including the European training school in Delhi (maintained by the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission). The Aided Normal school for the native women in Delhi was also managed by the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission (Holroyd, 1880, pp 71-72). The European Training School in Delhi was established later, in 1875-76 (Mehta, p. 77).

The Provincial Report indicates that up until 1882, the three existing Normal schools prepared teachers for women's schools; the ones at Lahore and Amritsar were being looked after by groups of local men, and third one at Delhi was being supervised by the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission. The Report admitted the fact that none of the Normal schools answered the purpose for which they were proposed. It lamented that at Delhi Normal School, the women students for training were either too old or too young, and in both the cases, they hardly had any plans of seriously taking up the work of teaching after the completion of the course. Hence, the mission recommended converting the Delhi Normal school into a Normal school specifically for Christian females. The schools at Lahore and Amritsar were faced with

similar serious situation of finding trained female to take up employment of Lady Superintendents, and it was discovered that they stayed on for years as pensioners or if appointed as teachers excused themselves due to some cause. Had the Normal schools fulfilled their job of supplying trained teachers there would have been a sound availability of women trained teachers. However, they were merely regular schools of a better quality with regards to the development and accomplishments of the students (Punjab Provincial Committee, p. 62).

By the year 1883-84, the number of women aided Normal schools had reached six for Indians and one for Europeans, enrolling 187 and 4 pupils respectively (Mehta, p.77). Alfred Croft's report in 1886 states that the four training schools for mistresses in Punjab were all under private management and yet received aid (Croft, Review of Education, 1888, pp. 79-80). By the year 1887-88, there were two Normal schools: one in Delhi under the Society for Propagation of Gospel Mission and another in Amritsar managed by a committee of native gentlemen. Additionally, there was an institution in Delhi specifically aimed at training European girls for zenanas work (Report on Administration, 1889, p. 159).

By 1902, the pressing issue was the need for more efficient teachers in girls' schools, and the arrangements for the training of women teachers were, in the opinion of the government of India, inadequate in most provinces and required improvement without delay.

Surprisingly, 1905 witnessed a remarkable development with the establishment of the First Government Normal School for women in Lahore on January 4th, finally ending the long wait for a government initiative. The teaching work was carried on in three vernaculars-Urdu, Gurumukhi and Hindi, with the full staff being sanctioned for both the Normal school and its practice school. This was essential as the task of teaching full grown women who had been for some time out of the school was quite challenging (Orange, 1909, pp. 241-245).

In 1912-13, the Lahore Normal school was rapidly growing in terms of enrollment and had reached full capacity. Additional training classes at Amritsar, Sialkot, and Gujranwala produced a significant number of teachers. Anglo-Vernacular teachers were trained at the Kinnaird High School in Lahore (Report on Education in Punjab, 1913, p. 11).

Interestingly, by 1916-17, women teachers for girls' secondary schools were primarily trained in the Kinnaird High School for Girls, though a few also attended the men's classes at the Central Training College in Lahore. Teachers for primary girls' schools were trained at the Normal school for women in Lahore. For European Schools, women teachers were trained at St. Bede's College in Shimla, while men were trained at the government Training Class in Sanawar. The only government institution for training teachers for vernacular girls' schools was the Lahore Normal School for women. The Victoria Girls' School in Lahore was used as a practice school for the Normal school. Training classes were also maintained by the Amritsar Church Missionary Society, the American Presbyterian Mission and the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya in Ferozpur. Despite the establishment of many training classes by municipal and the district boards, there was a need for more government Normal schools for women outside Lahore as well (Progress of Education in Punjab, 1917, pp. 44-45). During 1921-22, the progress of the training was more noticeable among

Indian girls than it was among men. There were seven government Normal schools and three maintained by missions (Quinquennium Report, 1921-22, p. 107).

By 1927, women's teacher training appears to have made a gradual advance in India. Madras was the only province that produced a fair number of trained women teachers across all grades. Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar produced only a small fraction of the trained teachers required for their schools and population (Review of Education, 1929, pp. 176-77). Punjab, however, made a commendable progress, with teacher enrollment increasing from 224 in 1917 to 445 in 1927, and then to 853 in 1932. The number of women scholars in women's college had grown significantly. The enrollment at the Lahore College for Women rose from 60 to 135, and that of Kinnaird College, Lahore, a mission institution, from 26 to 105. Both colleges had to turn away large numbers of applicants due to lack of space (Anderson, 1932, pp. 181-90). The Lady MacLagan Training College for Women and the Kinnaird Training Center, Lahore, provided trained graduates and under-graduates for Anglo-vernacular schools (Progress of Education in Punjab, 1937, pp. 5-6). In 1939, a government Normal school capable of accepting 50 Junior Vernacular students opened at Sharaqpur, training girls from rural areas from all districts of the province (Quinquennium report, 1941-42, p. 41). Furthermore, in 1944-45, a Normal school for Junior Vernacular women teachers was started at Chunian (District Lahore) (Progress of Education in Punjab, 1946, p. 14).

In the absence of a specific report on the progress of education in Punjab for the years 1946-1947, we have to depend on the report of progress of education in India. According to the report on Education in India for 1947-48, the number of female students receiving instruction at normal and training schools in East Punjab was 264 in 1946-47 and decreased to 229 in 1947-48. Additionally, the number of students enrolled in the teachers' training colleges and classes in East Punjab was 51 in 1946-47-, and increased to 109 in 1947-48 (Education in India, 1951, pp. 96-97).

Postscript

As our discussion draws to a close, we recognize that the native women teachers were the answer to advancing women's education. The efforts of widows and wives of school masters are particularly noteworthy. Despite this progress, several issues, including the pay disparity, remained a cause of concern. It was believed that unsatisfactory conditions in schools would persist as long as the teachers were paid wages comparable to those of a coolie (Punjab Provincial Committee, p.17). Over time, the salaries of vernacular women teachers gradually equalized to those of men of the same qualifications as more mistresses became available. In 1927, the starting salary of a senior vernacular woman teacher was Rs.35. Another major issue was the facilities required and their availability for the women teachers, including protection, accommodation and security, which posed significant challenges. Girls graduating from the Normal schools were glad to go to any part of the province, if there was no work nearer home, provided they could live in the school hostel. In schools maintained by local bodies, a room in the schoolhouse was often provided. In some Aided schools, such as mission schools, teachers were allotted free quarters and security, but many Aided schools lacked such provisions. Until these conditions of service improved, it was difficult to raise the requisite number of trained mistresses. Only a few could find

work in their hometowns, and the rest were unable to accept posts for lack of protection and facilities (Education in Punjab, 1933, p. 95).

To sum up, after conquest in 1849, British discovered that the concept of education was not new to the people of Punjab. A system of indigenous schools existed, and surprisingly, unlike other parts of India, in most districts in Punjab, agricultural and non-agricultural classes manifested a wish for education. Also, it was remarkable that natives were not opposed to women's education, which was prevalent across various communities including Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs. However, the annexation and the change in the medium of instruction dealt a serious blow to education, particularly women's education. Furthermore, Professor Chanana (1997) argues that the kind of secular education imparted in government schools was not significant for girls, leading parents to be unwilling to send their daughters to these schools (p. 144). Miss M. Rose Greenfield had befittingly described that neither Urdu nor Hindi, the languages taught in the Government Female Schools, were the dialects of the people. Hence, the schools established were not popular as people felt that learning Urdu was unnecessary if their daughters were not going to do a job, and even boys would merely get a government or railway employment (Leitner, p.109). Miss Greenfield had come to Ludhiana, Punjab, in 1875 as an agent of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East and had since worked to educate women in the city (Punjab Provincial Committee, p.226).

This overview of the geographical layout provides context to understand how the developments in education in the nineteenth century in both the metropole and other provinces of colonial India influenced developments in Punjab. In British administration, a province was the extension of metropole, with little difference between the qualities of government primary schools (the indigenous schools adopted by the government) between the two. Therefore, understanding British administration's commitment to education, including women's education, requires examining the measures being taken elsewhere. Although government's efforts in Punjab province for women's education remained suspended for quite some time, in the princely states, teacher training and education of women was receiving a more balanced attention. For instance, missionaries attached an interesting assistive step to girls' schools to bring girl pupil to schools in the guise of *Callers*. Attached to every girl's school, there was generally a woman who 'called' the pupils in the morning, supplied the girls with water during school hours, and took them to their homes when the work of the day was over. The girls' school at Patiala had two callers, each of whom received Rs.4 a month. Parents felt more confident in sending their children to school when they knew that they will be under the care of an elderly woman while coming and going. It was recommended that callers be attached to every school (Knowlton, 1904, p. 52). Gordon (1886) noted that it was considered improper for a girl child over eight to go out by herself, this impeded girls' education and the progress of girls' schools; hence, missionaries hired poor widows, known as *Callers*, to overcome this situation (p.473). In Bengal's Dacca district, the absence of women teachers was preventing the spread of education among women. Although, there was profitability in training of respectable women teachers as women mistresses for girls' schools, and private teachers in the zenanas of native gentlemen, yet there skepticism about the possibility of convincing native girls to embrace this kind of life. As to the possibility, of finding women for entering a Normal school, it was proclaimed that *bairaginees* had expressed willingness to enter such schools. *Bairaginees* were engaged in the education of ladies and

children in Dacca. The residents employed *bairaginees* for the purpose of educating their wives and had no objection to the educated *bairaginees* entering the zenanas (Proceedings of Government of India, 1863, pp. 108-110).⁵⁹

Apart from the language barrier, the scarcity of women teachers was the greatest barrier to girls' education. While the training institutions for male teachers were established in 1856, institutions for women teachers came up quite late in 1905. Unmarried women were unwilling to join these institutions; as a result, one solution for overcoming these challenges in women's education involved employing schoolmasters' wives and widows as teachers in the women's schools. A number of reports mentioned that people were against their girls studying in Normal school or becoming teachers. Consequently, the students in the early Normal schools set up by the missionaries were mostly from lower castes and were not considered by respectable families as suitable teachers for their children.

In conclusion, Hayden Bellenoit's work notes a statement by William Lee-Warner the influential historical systematizer of the Indian princely states,

if education truly cemented Indians to the Raj, then the British would have lavished unlimited amounts of money on schools and colleges across India (and the Empire). This was something which the British never came close to achieving, as education never constituted more than 4% of the Raj's annual budget (Bellenoit, 2007, p. 41).

While colonial administration took measures for advancing education, including teacher's training, yet the actual outcome was not highly satisfactory. Additionally, the contemporary state of women's education in princely states needs to be considered when assessing the colonial state's intention towards the promotion of women's education. The employment of *bairaginees* in Dacca and *callers* in the princely states proves that the authorities were eager to experiment with new ideas in teacher education. However, the same enthusiasm is not evident in Punjab. Despite ample opportunity for innovative approaches in Punjab, the inability of the government to implement these experiments ultimately reflects their real intent.

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⁵⁹ From R.L. Martin, Inspector of Schools, South-East Division, to the Director of Public Instruction, No.201, dated, 28th May 1862. The discussion exchanged was regarding the possibility of encouraging local girls to enter a normal school for women and embrace the life of a teacher. *Bairaginees* formed an isolated portion of native society, and at their initiation, they took a vow renouncing the world and its pleasures.

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