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Widows, Education and Social Change in Twentieth Century Banaras

Nita Kumar

In the first half of this century, some one dozen women in Banaras played key roles in channeling the educational movement into new directions, expanding its agenda to include girls, especially poor girls. These women stand out as pioneering in that they founded schools, dynamic in the way they administered and expanded them, and radical in the vision they had for their students. What makes the case of these women particularly interesting is that they were mostly widows. They rejected the familiar stereotypes for widows through their activism, but in subtle ways that retained for them the respect of society. Through the manipulation of symbols, they attained the position of ‘devis’.

Other women of the time, from before then, and right up to the present, who are active in education—and indeed in other areas of public life—have similarly found that functioning within certain norms that define ‘purity’, ‘virtue’, and ‘austerity’ enable them to go further in their professional work. Is this merely an instrumental technique of the most obvious kind, or do these highly motivated, enterprising women not share the same cultural fund of values as their society, and often deliberately choose to exploit the flexibility and contextuality inherent in a cultural tradition.

This paper is concerned with a slice of the educational history of Banaras, approximately 1920s to the 1950s, part of a larger study. I raise here a methodological question of importance to women’s studies. What have been the social and cultural spaces available for Indian women within which to initiate action? Effective action often consists of working, seemingly, within accepted boundaries, but in fact, inverting, subverting, and otherwise manipulating the familiar symbols of dress, behaviour, and life style. How, particularly, do marginalised women such as widows find spaces for action? This is related to the yet wider methodological issues regarding the recovery of the historical subject through the silences of documents and their usually cryptic allusions to one small aspect of a larger action. In asking the question: what are we to conclude when we have no direct speech by the actors? I and many involved in the history of women, share the territory with historians of popular culture and subalternists, are subjected to the same dangers of lapsing into essentialism and humanism, and am engaged in a similar deconstructivist enterprise that takes me back by many circuitous routes to my thinking, acting subject.

The paper is divided into three parts: (i) The nature of Banaras society and its educational history (ii) The discourses available to women (iii) The women educationists and how we may judge their success.

Contrary to the impression created by a Bengal-centred historiography of modern India, indeed a Bengal Renaissance-centred historiography, the reformist-nationalist discourse in other parts of India such as the United Provinces did not incorporate women’s issues before the 1920s. The nationalist-reformist notion itself became salient only in the 20th century, and battled in Banaras with another consistently articulated notion, best encountered in journalistic writings, of the continued importance of the Indian tradition to which only a pinch of the right purificatory stuff needed to be added. This was not for Banaras, as often labelled, the ‘orthodox’ reaction. The self-satisfaction of Banaras, compared with, say, Calcutta, implied (i) that colonial penetration was far less severe, and hence the need to mould oneself in the image of a master less troublesome; (ii) a lesser destabilisation of the economy had taken place, and a positive consciousness of older roles survived; and (iii) there was a continuing viability of local culture with its shared set of meanings, discussed at length by me elsewhere and labelled ‘Banarasipan’.

The metaphors of decay, moral crisis, failure, darkness, death, falsity, waste, Tagore’s vision: “a thousand permanent evils with their ever growing tentacles had amassed under the spell of inertia and age, creeping through the myriad cracks of the crumbling edifice of Hindu society... Bengal society was a graveyard... the shores of Hinduism lay wasted...” were emphatically not shared by the people of Banaras.

At the turn of the century the number of girls being educated in all of India, the percentage of population they represented, the percentage of school-going-age girls, and the percentage increase per year, were all low, and lower yet in UP, and lowest still in Banaras. In 1885, 92 per cent of the population of the (then) North Western Provinces and Oudh was quite illiterate, and one of 350 females received an education. In Banaras the number of girls students crossed the 1000 mark in 1924, and 2000 in 1932. The causes for low rates of female education were many, and we will summarise them very briefly here. There was no incentive for women’s education, economic or otherwise. Women were not the earners, men were, and the new education did not in any case guarantee jobs. The curricula in the new schools were inappropriate both because they were too difficult without strictly seeming relevant, and because they were simply wrong with religion absent from it. All these were problems that Indians experienced and articulated far more strongly with regard to boys’ education. For girls it was most of all the infrastructure of the new government or aided private schools that was objectionable. Girls had to leave home, spend many hours away, perhaps be taught by missionaries which, especially after the kind of incident in 1870 in which a Bengali widow was converted to Christianity, was highly suspect; and they had to mingle with all kinds of people and be exposed to unknown influences. Both in a vague, general way, and in some very precise ways, these problems continued to be seen as the extension of a discredited Western materialist philosophical system at the expense of a highly refined Aryan way of life.

The government’s repeated call for a ‘change of heart’ among the leaders of society were constantly countered by the realisation that there was a double mindedness even on the part of those who wrote or spoke in favour of female education. “So long as those who gave education were trusted and refined women”, the public would find it acceptable. Sometimes this took the form of a direct call for ‘parda’ schools, sometimes more generally as an overall difficulty with government aid. To be acceptable to the public an institution “would require to have considerable liberty in the way of teaching and also of a certain amount of freedom in the curriculum.”

Reformist notions in Banaras, as they gathered strength around 1900, were broadly based and struck at many roots, predominantly the proclivities towards drinking, drugs, obscenities, patronage of other pleasure activities such as gambling and prostitution, certain superstitious practices and...
rituals, the over-early marriage of girls, and the prohibition of widow remarriage. The lack of education only gradually came to join the list of vices in the catalogue of problems of the Khattris, the Kurnis, the Halwais, the Telis, as well as more ‘progressive’ castes of the region. If we keep in mind the economy of the city, the fact that these castes were in ‘traditional’ occupations, most of which did not require a high level, or even any level, of literacy, and then if we note their actual transactions with the new agencies of control of the educational system, we recognise that this is a derived discourse. There is an abstractness to it; education itself becomes a sign of a pace of change rather than a utilitarian action. One of the reasons why there is a three to four decade lapse between the local efforts made in this sphere in Bengal and in eastern UP is because the ideas of what should be done and why it should be done exist in UP and the struggle for education to acquire both form and meaning lasts longer there.

We can delineate three phases in this struggle: (i) the extinction of indigenous institutions over a period of half a century without proportionate replacement by an alternative system. In its ideology, this alternative system was far more threatening and therefore unacceptable to females than to males. As a Hindi proverb went, ‘Angrezi parhi, admiat jati rahi’ (Learn English, and lose your manhood/humanity). It was based on a different sociology and psychology to the indigenous system, if offered no less than new definitions of self and new con’structions of lightness and rationality. In the first phase of the new educational system in Banaras, then there was a kind of vacuum in public life as citizens took stock of their options: schooling on the British model? Continuing clearly and self-evidently in UP and the struggle for education to acquire both form and meaning lasts longer there.

(ii) In the second phase, approximately 1890s to 1920, there was a movement towards the British educational system, with progressive patronage of government Anglo-vernacular schools, Christian schools, and private schools based on this model. Among the large schools funded in Banaras in this period are: Anglo Bengali 1896, Bengal Tola 1898, Central Hindu 1904, DAV 1900, Gurjarat Vidya Mandir 1906, Saraswati Vidya-laya 1917. These schools were all private but aided, which meant under the new dispensation that their curricula was regulated by government agencies. This undoubtedly signals the rise of a middle class consciousness, but also reminds us of an essential fact about Banaras society. The structure within all public action took place was the ‘jati’ structure, ‘jati’ being the term used not merely for caste and sub-caste, but for linguistic identity, regional identity, and religious identity, and—in rhetorical con’texts, not in most practical ones—gender identity. That is, discussion and organisation of public activity in Banaras was in grouping and sub-groupings of the following: Khattris, Agrawals, Marwaris, Bengalis, Marathis, Tamils, Ansaris, Pathans. This identity meant specifically male identity, and subsumed in this period female as well. Thus all the schools set up included the teaching of girls.

(iii) In the third phase, which followed quickly from approximately 1920 onwards, there were concerted efforts by ‘jati’ organisations to reach a compromise between modern/progressive and Indian, a strategic compromise brought about by producing a short-lived victories and defeats, and a remarkable lack of unanimity. The local perspective on change and continuity is of some interest. At the ideological level there was a perception, more coherent in Banaras than perhaps in other regions, of the continuity of tradition, tradition consisting of texts and discourses, given, challenged, mediated, and struggled over, and of a robust give-and-take between popular culture, practice and these hegemonic texts, creating a total cultural ambiance that allowed for change along indigenous lines, as yet another debate within the tradition, rather than a questioning and overthrow of the whole edifice. Modernisation (as economic progress, ‘tarāqqī’, ‘vikas’) was a real thing, in the interest of Indians, but to be achieved through playing a new kind of game with the rulers, by which core values were preserved while compromises were made on the fringes.

It was in this phase that girls’ education came on the agenda. The progressively louder summons of nationalist ideology as it called upon new estates, including women, to participate; the progressively greater weightage given to Gandhian style reform within this ideology; and the expansion in journalism and propaganda techniques in urban centres, including magazines for women; all got together to produce a new consciousness that largely acted itself out through rivalry. The condition of women, it became for each ‘jati’ an indicator of its progressiveness and dynamism. Woman is a sign, a language, at this stage, and while the protected woman was a sign of male superiority so far, she becomes within years the sign of male backwardness. While all this is easy to discover in the literature, what is more difficult to perceive is when and how women take action in their own hands, founding schools [Rameshwar Goel, 1939, Arya Manila, 1933, Bipan Bihari, 1922, Durga Charan 1918, Sarojini Vidya Kendra, Central Hindu 1904, Gopi Radha 1963, Vasanta Kanya, 1954, Nandlal Bajoria, 1955], administering them, recruiting teachers, inspiring students, and leading the educational movement in new directions. The impression we get from the activities of the 1920s onwards is one of strength, of women shaking off bonds and playing unpredicted roles. How do they do so? What were the discursive spaces that existed for the new discourse of the public woman to occupy?

II

Had women, to start with, been educated before the British system was introduced, that they were now deprived and going to make up for it? They had not, of course, been formally educated, but neither, for that matter, had most males. Although 10,000 students were recorded as receiving schooling in Banaras in 1890, Sherrin’s observation that the term ‘schooling’ was an idiom brought but factually correct. Boys were educated in the 19th century according to their prospective careers. Women did not have careers. But they had duties. The term ‘shiksha’ as observed by several authors, could not be happily translated into education (as we know that ‘dharma’ cannot be into religion) so that it would make little sense to Banarasis of 70 to 80 years ago to say that women were ‘ashishkhit’, though they were, of course, un schooled. The catalogue of their necessary accomplishments was very long, their job as housewife and servor seen as a weighty and specialised one, needing apprenticeship and practice. Within this necessarily abstracted, totally dominating discourse which specified the ‘place’ of women in the private, internal domain, and the role of women as mediators, the necessary reproductive link, therefore the preservers of purity, was the vili- 

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cumulated, to enhance its persuasiveness. At the same time, the notion of structure implied a training, and education, and the case could smoothly be made that the points of weakness lay in the quality of women's performance of their duties, and the solution lay in educating women. The lack of education was already being blamed for all the shortcomings of Indian society, to which list could be added various shortcomings of women, from singing obscene songs at weddings and giving children tasteless, uninspiring names, to sleeping too much or failing to balance the domestic budget.

Equally, their roles as the receptacles for that most precious of substances, sons, ironically gave women a wedge. The story of Narad and Kayadhu, wife of Hiranyakashipu, was directly narrated as a guide to "how social revolutions can be effected". When Narad wanted to overcome the all-powerful demon, he did not know how to proceed because at time everyone in all three worlds had 'become like stone' (that is, displaying false consciousness, a familiar Marxist problem of where the vanguard will come from). Upon Indra's temporary victory over Hiranyakashipu's kingdom in the demon's absence, he (Indra) was about to take the demon's wife Kayadhu, avenging her as a prisoner of war. Narad intercepted, explained his purposes, and took her to his 'ashram', where he started patiently teaching her. He knew he had no hope of making headway with her because she also had 'become like a stone'. But she was pregnant, and while she was a stone, the foetus inside was a ball of soft, malleable, matter. The teachings she was a stone, the foetus inside was a ball of soft, malleable, matter. The teachings of soft, malleable, matter. The teachings

A woman's 'dharma' was unrenderable. She had no separate 'dharma'. 'Yagya', 'dan', 'karma—gross energy—could be transformable into spiritual 'shakti', knowledge. The 'Atman', the world soul, of which every individual 'atma' contains all knowledge within it, and educa-

tion was the process of disclosing it by removing sheath after sheath of ignorance. This had to be done through technical processes that preferably needed a 'guru', but could also be accomplished on one's own (e.g., we do not know of every 'guru's 'guru'). The 'chit' or nature had to be controlled; the material basis of life recognised and handled; the body trained through exercise, such as meditation, yoga, disciplines of food, sleep, and sexual abstinence, so that its 'karma shakti'—gross energy—could be transform-
abled into spiritual 'shakti', knowledge.

This 'atma-revealing process with its necessary disciplines was what constituted education, and although full coherent accounts can be found only in the writings of those who were purists about the Indian way, the discourse could be heard in many different forms: in popular literature, in the talks of saints and ascetics, in journals, and in newspaper editorials.

The 'Atman', the world soul, of which every individual 'atma' is an aspect, has no sex and no gender, and nor does the human 'atma' and this non-gendered discourse of self-fulfilment was available to the women, particularly widows, of Banaras. And then we come to notions of historical time, as another space existing for women. Here we have two myths or constructions: first the notion of cycles of time in Hin-
duism, and second the time we are looking at—early and middle 20th century—as some kind of a 'period of change' in Indian history. What we see in the first construction is all those concentric circles or spirals of time which Hindus know in a general sort of way, and when they make a specific allusion, it can be to a 'kalpa' (4,320 m earthly years with 14 periods in each), a 'yuga' (four in all, of varying lengths of some 100,000 years each), or to a smaller historical period. Nationalist discourse often referred to Vedic times as a time when women were educated on a par with men, so that after centuries of degradation one could recover the ancient glory by returning to their place. I (noted that present day viewers of the TV serial Mahabharata could spot exactly at which point of time the decline of women set in—thanks to Draupadi's performance in the courtroom scene.) Or, as Manu says with his usual flair for the obnoxious: "In that kalpa (some 300 odd million years cycle) women do not go through Vedic rites, except for marriage. Their service of their husbands is their gurukul (university) and the running of their home their 'agnihotra' (domestic sacrificial ritual for twice borns)". The epics, as we all know, provided a model for women in the 'kali yuga', where women followed their husbands to jungles with total commitment, Sita wincing with pain as she followed her husband, is also a recognised, large, popular school today.

The 15 or so women I am interested in were all educationists and may be further characterised as nationalists and/or missionaries. What they all were are 'saints'. Let us enquire into their nationalism and sense of mission a little bit before inspecting their sainthood.

We have the example of Sarojini Devi Bhattacharya, a widow who came to Banaras (as many widows, particularly Bengali, did), and was influenced by Gandhian ideas in the 1930s. She started a school for poor widows, giving them also a means for support by weaving rugs and shawls. Her social work making her more familiar with poverty and illiteracy, she next started a school for children, at first on a very small scale in her spare time. She invested her own capital in it as well as collected donations from others. This school gradually expanded, became recognised and registered, was taken over by a trust, and named Sarojini Vidya Kendra in her memory. It has a student body of some 200 girls and boys at the primary level today, mostly from poor, working class families of the neighbourhood.

Another widow with a sense of mission was Satyvari Devi who returned to her natal home in Banaras some years after being widowed at the age of thirteen. From a prosperous Agrawal family of Banaras, her education had been disrupted upon her early marriage, she was supported by her brother in her desire to resume education upon widowhood, studied privately, then at the Banaras Hindu University, finally going to England for a degree. She started teaching in Central Hindu Girls' School and upon retirement fulfilled a long cherished ambition: a school of her own. This school, with two girls' and an expanded, became recognised and registered, was taken over by a trust, and named Sarojini Vidya Kendra in her memory. It has a student body of some 200 girls and boys at the primary level today, mostly from poor, working class families of the neighbourhood.

Lastly, we have our own construction of a period of change when new discourses based on reform and reassessment of the self are being articulated, so that we feel justified in saying that this was a time when change was in the air. How far Social change was a reality for the people living in it is an open question as far as I am concerned, because the historical tendency to read coherence, organised movement, and purpose into events of the past is a very powerful and self-legitimising one. It seems fair to say that the nationalist movement opened up new possibilities for action through its opening up of a third representation of women: beyond (i) Indian, traditional, pure, sacrificing; and (ii) Anglicised, educated, free, and with a means to stand on their own feet in it, another often referred to.

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Upon the latter’s death in childbirth, she resolved to continue her studies, even in the face of opposition from family and friends (she often went on hunger strikes to get her way) and declared: “I will also educate girls for whom there are obstacles in learning!” She opened the Rameshwari Goel Balika Vidyalaya in memory of her sister and remained its principal till her death in 1985. Similarly Ushamayi Sen and Krishnapriya thought of helping poor girls, started classes on a small scale in their own homes, were helped by supportive family members, and gradually saw their dreams of full-ledged schools achieve reality. Bipan Chakravarty, founded in 1922 by Sen, and Durga Charan School, founded in 1918 by Krishnapriya, are even today in spite of the generally bemoaned overall ‘fall in standards’, reputed to be excellent, serious institutions.

These women may be ‘classed’ together in that most of them were women of means with rights over their own property, and no children to save it for. This enabled them to change the terms of gender discourse in their society. They were of upper castes: Brahmin, Kayastha, or Bania. The differences in their regional origins—Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, UP, Bengal—apparently mattered little, a point that holds true for the larger population of Banaras. For all of them widow remarriage was a non-issue. From a concern with re-marriage as the only solution for widows who had otherwise neither the freedom to live or to die, they took up through their actions a vindication of their direct experience of the suffering of bereavement. Alone and unsupported, untrained and unable to support themselves, they turned their situation around to asserting the necessity for action to prevent further members of their sex undergoing the same experience as they had.

We can narrate the lives of other such inspired women, and we can bring the account close to the present by looking at present day teachers and principals. But this is enough presently to derive some significant conclusions. There was no one moment of awakening in the experiences of these women but rather a process of growth. The conjunction of bereavement—all were widowed, one lost her father and another her sister and took it very hard—of the gradual acceptability of a woman’s education as a right of all, whether poor or not, to education, comes together to an instrumentality which changed the terms of gender discourse in their society. They were of upper castes: Brahmin, Kayastha, or Bania. The differences in their regional origins—Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, UP, Bengal—apparently mattered little, a point that holds true for the larger population of Banaras. For all of them widow remarriage was a non-issue. From a concern with re-marriage as the only solution for widows who had otherwise neither the freedom to live or to die, they took up through their actions a vindication of their direct experience of the suffering of bereavement. Alone and unsupported, untrained and unable to support themselves, they turned their situation around to asserting the necessity for action to prevent further members of their sex undergoing the same experience as they had.

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The alone-ness of widowhood and the sense of vocation in teaching became conflated in the case of these widows where their greatness seemed to arise from the interdependence of the two circumstances, and one seemed a necessary condition for the other. All those who chose to dedicate themselves thus were and are regarded—never as professional, competent teachers or administrators—but as ‘saint like’, of ‘sat vik pravriti’ and ‘devi swarupa’, goddess like, Whereas any man may be glorified by similar epithets, it is not men educationists who are thus glorified. Nor of course are they widowered as a rule. The lifestyles of these women were characterised by eschewing regular family life, vegetarianism, early rising and early retirement to bed, wearing of plain or coarse cotton, preferably home-spun, sleeping on hard surfaces, and giving darshan with difficulty. Rarely are male educationists associated with such lifestyles, and hardly ever with chastity. It is sadhus, swamis, and other ascetics that are.

The women, of course, came to be genuinely powerful—in controlling, raising, and administering funds; in managing and organising people and institutions; in being given public recognition and being sought after for favours. This in return (as it were) for being ‘other-worldly’, for being at the last stage of life beyond that of householder, supposed to live simply and think pure thoughts. Vidya Bai was eulogised in the following way, as being: “From the viewpoint of learning Sarawati; from that of raising funds for her school, Lakshmi; and from that of showing courage and discernment in defeating undesirable elements, Durga!” She has demonstrated perfectly that “In the ‘gunas’ of ‘puja’ (service), there is no class and no sex.”

Two things come together here. One, that all these widows displayed through their saintly, ascetic, and educational goals. But what if they had not? The case of Gandhi, making for a single-mindedness of pursuit that almost guarantees success.

This instrumentality is the second point also. Because by effective deployment of the image of sainthood through manipulation of symbols (a single black bangle on her left hand), the public efficacy of the worker was greatly enhanced. She achieved not only internal power but external power as well. Yet this use of symbols, totally within the accepted discourse as it is, may be called discursive displacement because its ends were subversive. A widow equals powerlessness and inauspiciousness in normative discourse, but a widow also equals austerity and asceticism, which in turn breeds tapasya that leads to extraordinary power. Satyavati Devi was so strong, so healthy, capable of such long hours of hard work, because of her ‘daivi shakti, arising from her renunciation of greed, attachment, and anger.

The cultural practices of these women, to use Mohanty’s terms, were ‘traditional’, but politically mature. From their actions we can theorise regarding the identity, the concept of woman, and see how it is a relational term where women may be able to actively utilise their position. We see our widows construct the meaning of widowhood rather than merely discover it, or even transcend it.

Thus the woman educator of Banaras found herself eulogised for doing what was not envisioned for her, and to do unto other women that which was highly disputed as desirable and useful. This was no less than the educating of girls in exactly the same curriculum as boys. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the early 20th century women educators was that they opened windows on the system. The schools they founded, although ostensibly nationalist, Gandhian, Aryan, etc, were modern institutions with the same formal structure, content, and culture as all the other institutions being founded on the British model. There was nothing remotely ‘indigenous’ about any of them, not even in a general way of emulating one of the tour so-called indigenous models of education (the Tagore, Gandhi, Dayanand Saraswati, and Kashi Vidyapith/gurukul model). One might say this was inadvertent, that it was a kind of handicap that they did not parti ciple in the discussions regarding textbooks (which continue to be sexist), curricula, and educational goals. But what if they had? The education of girls would most likely have been marginalised and treated as a separate sphere where ‘appropriate’ subjects and approaches were for them hard to be developed, for which there were sufficient calls. Instead they adopted the liberal feminist approach of equality within existing institutions, on the same terms as males. Their silence on the question of curriculum complemented
very nicely the public’s overall feeling of unease, throughout the 20th century, of the irrelevance of the prevalent curriculum. Schoolbooks had been seen as failures in that they fulfilled neither the criteria of utility (preparing Children for diverse occupations) nor morality (making them responsible members of society). Repeated surveys by the government, such as that conducted in the province in 1917 as well as all the journalistic literature of the period, condemned almost every aspect of the new curriculum—textbooks, choice of subjects, teaching methods, and the philosophy of education itself. But if schoolbooks were inappropriate, their idioms are not. Court and unfamiliar, subjects like clay modeling and drawing irrelevant, the useful Indian systems of accounting and hygiene taught, and religion and respect of elders absent, all this mattered less for girls than for boys. All the constituencies in the city that chose to identify themselves politically, Sunnis, Shias, Arya Samajis, various Hindu ‘jatis’ and regional and linguistic groups, spoke out regarding their dissatisfaction with the curriculum controlled by the government, but none of them spoke of anything but its shortcomings for boys.

This had crucial consequences: the girls educated this in that result, then turned produce from among their ranks those who could and did shake off normative girlish discourse because their own thinking was not fashion- ed by it. They grew up to be, e.g., both housewives and doctors, lawyers, teachers, with a possibility never encountered in the texts. I do not want to exaggerate the results, particularly since I do not have any figures regarding the fates of school graduates. The domestication of women who worked, taught, thought, interacted with others, and lived fairly independent lives, in short, is almost too explicit to merit comment. The domestication of girls who left homes, crossed streets and public places, interacted with peers and seniors in schools, and could conceivably use their education for building professional lives, was likewise an easily recognisable part of the hidden curriculum of schools. The virtues of discipline, obedience, motherhood, and sainthood were explicitly promoted: written out in school brochures, stated at annual days, discussed with investigators, gone over in reminiscences, and repeated in class as well as in individual conversations with girls. But the modern schools such as founded by our women educationists were different to the kind of private schooling most of our women educationists were different to the kind of private schooling most of them had experienced. So the consequence of their moderate liberal action was a radical one. It was also achieved through radical means: the deployment of familiar symbols of preserving their sainthood, because in India, although we may disagree with Dumont about everything else, saints are the ultimate individuals, those who have the sanction to act as they please. Unfortunately, to the extent they are ‘outside’ society, their visions and their powers are not automatically passed on to their disciples, and neither were the radical qualities of our educationists passed on to their students.

Notes

[Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the AAS New England meetings at Wesleyan, 1988; the AAS meetings at Washington DC, 1989; the University of Edinburgh South Asian Studies Committee; the University of Man­chester, Anthropology Department; the London School of Economics, Anthropology Department; Brown University, History Department, in 1990; the Indian Association for Women’s Studies Conference, Calcutta, in 1991. I would like to thank my audience at all those occasions for their comments, particularly Barbara Met­calfe, Johnny Parry, Chris Fuller, Mary Chat­terjee, Joan Richards, and Tom Gleeson.]

1 I am presently engaged in completing a manuscript on the history of primary schools and curricula in Banaras, c 1890 to 1900.  
2 Many reviewers, such as Rosalind O’Hanlon, have made useful comments on the category of essentialism in subalternist history-writing. Two I find particularly useful are Gayatri Spivak, ‘Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography’ in R Guha, ed, Subaltern Studies IV (Oxford, 1989); and Julie Stephens, ‘Feminist Fictions’ in R Guha, ed, Subaltern Studies VI (Oxford, 1989). Susie Tharä’s reply to the latter is very acceptable, but makes a different point entirely. For one, the statements on deconstructivism, see Jane Flax, Thinking Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism, and Postmodernism in the Contemporary West (Berkeley, 1990): 37-39.  
3 Although I regard this section as absolutely essential to any discussion of my subject—largely to prevent falling into the trap of referring to ‘the colonial subject’, ‘the third world woman’, ‘the indigenous elite’, I have a tactical problem in balancing what is required here as background with all the details one feels interested in seeking and presenting. A larger discussion of the nature of change in Banaras, of course desirable, as called for by Frank Conlon, ‘Indian Renaissance beyond Bengal’ in M Case and N G Barrier, eds, Aspects of India (Manohar, 1986), which I partially attempt to deal with in my forthcoming book on education.  
4 Prem Nath Vishalakar, “Shiksha Kyon Atyagha Hai” in Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, has number of arts (see my Prem Nath Vidyalankar, Shiksha Kyon Avyakhya Hai” in Nagari Pracharini Patrika, 23, No 1 (July 1918): 7-14; File V/26/860/11, Report by the NW Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee 1884 (IOL. Unless specified as from the IOL, all files cited are from the UP State Archives, Lucknow.)  
6 Selections from the vernacular newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana, 1885, Vol 18.  
8 File 48, Education, 1914.  
9 University of Pennsylvania, July 1917.  
10 The problem was best summed up in ibid, ‘Bharat men Shiksha Prachar’, Saraswati, April 11, 1914; Ram Prakash Lal, Bul Bodhini (Meerut, 1900): 2-4.  
13 Nagari Pracharini Patrika 23, No 3 (September 1918): 49-57. There were other live questions too, as, e.g., regarding language, both the mother-tongue and the medium of instruction, see ‘Pashchimottar Pradesha in NPP’ 4 (1938): 140-70.  
16 The scheme that was implemented as a result of Wood’s Despatch was the promotion of primary education through indigenous institutions by giving grants-in-aid as long as they met certain criteria regarding curriculum, class size, trained teachers, the eschewing of religion, etc.  
19 I detail some of these interactions in my book, The Artsisans of Banaras.  
21 ‘Shikshit Sri Samaj’ in Hans A, No 4 (1934); ‘Sri Samaj aur Shiksha ki Avashyakta’ in KKD 10, Nos 6-9 (October-November 1934).  
22 The Nagar Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, has a very nice store of Hindi periodical literature, some of which I have been able to tap. The
Ebook views are not available for this document.
NOTICE
(Under Rule 4 A of MRTP Rules, 1970)

It is hereby notified for the information of the public that Dalmia Cement (Bharat) Ltd proposes to make an application to the Central Government in the Department of Company Affairs, New Delhi, under subsection (9) of section 29 of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969, for approval to the establishment of a new unit/division. Brief particulars of the proposal are as under:

1. Name and address of the applicant

Dalmia Cement (Bharat) Ltd.
Hansalaya (11th & 12th Frs),
15 Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi - 110 001.

2. Capital structure of the applicant organisation

- Authorised Capital:
  - Rs. 600.00 lacs
- Issued & Subscribed:
  - Rs. 286.93 lacs

3. Management structure of the applicant organisation indicating the names of the directors, including the managing/whole-time directors and manager, if any

Sh. N. Gopalanwamy
Sh. S.K. Misra
Dr. M. Satyanarayana
Raja J. Rameshwar Rao
Sh. Nitran Khatan
Sh. D. Maitra
Sh. K.K. Varshney (Nominee of IFCI)
Sh. P.C. Gupta (Nominee of UTI)
Whole Time Directors

4. Indicate whether the proposal relates to the establishment of a new undertaking or a new unit/division

New unit/division

5. Location of the new undertaking/unit/division

Uttar Pradesh
Distt. Moradabad or
Distt. Muzaffarnagar or
Distt. Lakhimpur Kheri

6. Capital structure of the proposed undertaking

Nil

7. In case the proposal relates to the production, storage, supply, distribution, marketing or control of any goods/articles, indicate

(i) Name of goods/articles
Sugar
(ii) Proposed licensed capacity
40,000 Tonnes Sugar/Annnum
(iii) Estimated annual turn-over
Rs. 30 Crores (approx.)

8. In case the proposal relates to the provision of any service, state the volume of activity in terms of usual measures such as value, income, turn-over, etc.

Not applicable

9. Cost of the project

Rs. 34 Crores

10. Scheme of finance, indicating the amounts to be raised from each source

- Internal generation:
  - Rs. 11.34 Crores
- Loan from financial institutions:
  - Rs. 22.66 Crores

Any person interested in the matter may make a representation in quadruplicate to the Secretary, Department of Company Affairs, Government of India, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi, within 14 days from the date of publication of this notice, intimating his views on the proposal and indicating the nature of his interest therein.

Dated this 30th day of March, 1991.

Sd/
(OC Jain)
Company Secretary