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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 channelling 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.¹ 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, am 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.²

The paper is divided into three parts: (i) The nature of Banaras society and its educational history³ (ii) The discourses available to women (iii) The women educationists and how we may judge their success.

I

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 articu-

lated 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;⁴ (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 'Banarasipani'.

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... Bengali society was a graveyard... the shores of Hinduism lay wasted..."⁵ 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.⁶ In Banaras the number of girl students crossed the 1000 mark in 1924, and 2000 in 1932.⁷

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.⁸ 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,⁹ 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.¹⁰

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!"¹¹

Reformist notions in Banaras, as they gathered strength around 1900, were broad-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 Khatris, the Kurmis, the Halwais, the Telis, as well as more 'progressive' castes of the region.¹² 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.¹³ 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 are less clear-cut and self-evident 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, admiyat jati rahi' (Learn English, and lose your manhood/humanity),¹⁴ It was based on a different sociology and psychology to the indigenous system, if offered no less than new definitions of self and new constructions 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? Continuation with a discredited, unpatronised, un-funded, un-recognised old model of schooling? No schooling? As for women, their lower status as mediators in society and their particular role as socialiser of children and the fulcrum of domestic stability, led logically to their more conservative socialisation and greater restrictions on their activity.¹⁵ This also evolved into the by-argument of reform: if males buy their progress at a price, let females at least remain the repositories of the best in the old culture.

(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, Bengali Tola 1898, Central Hindu 1904, DAV 1900, Gunjari Vidya Mandir 1906, Saraswati Vidyalaya 1917. These schools were all private but aided, which meant under the new dispensation that their curricula was regulated by government agencies.¹⁶ This undoubtedly signals the rise of a middle class consciousness, but also reminds us of an essen-

tial 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 contexts, not in most practical ones—gender identity.¹⁷ That is, discussion and organisation of public activity in Banaras was in grouping and sub-groupings of the following: Khatris, Agrawalas, 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 modem/progressive and Indian, a struggle accompanied by many clashes, 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 over¹⁸ and of a robust give-and-take between popular culture practice and these hegemonic texts,¹⁹ creating a total cultural ambience 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, 'taraqqi', '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 strategically retained while compromises were made on the fringes.²⁰

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 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.²¹ 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 [Rameshwari 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, inspir-

ing 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?²²

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, Sherring's observation that the term 'schooling' was an exaggeration was biased but factually correct.²³ 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 'ashikshit', though they were, of course, unschooled.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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, what is significant is the vision of structure, with each duty and its style of execution spelled out as in a 'shastra'. References to it range from the mundane: prescriptions of how the day should begin; to highly charged images evocative of Vedic 'yagya' rituals: the wheel of the world rotates on a hub, and if the woman who is this hub is not competent, how will the universe survive?²⁶

The sources from which women could imbibe these messages were varied: 'vrata kathas', rituals, festivals, performances, story-telling. But primarily it was the *Ram-charitmanas* and the *Mahabharata*, and popular stories and saying extemporising within the corpus of their mythologies, that educated women into their wifely roles. A re-exposition of them is not necessary to my purposes. The point I am making here is that the discourse of women in a trained, structured, specialised role as a housewife was a supremely hegemonic and powerful one with almost all (because never possibly all) loopholes plugged in, all kinds of pleasure and fulfilment, this worldly and other worldly guaranteed; sufficient mythical models set up, necessary rewards for obedience and punishments for transgression imagined; and centuries of literary eloquence ac-

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 and came to 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.²⁷

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, away 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 transformed the child, who grew up to resist his father and avenge the gods.²⁸

Women were incapable of public action, but by educating them one was reaching their sons, which was how social revolutions could be brought about, change equalling a re-stabilisation of society in this vision.²⁹ This Banarasi understanding of change fitted in neatly with that aspect of the growing alliance of nationalism and religion where women progressed precisely by keeping to traditional roles.³⁰ This was one way in which the 'grihastini' (housewife) discourse created a space for women's education. There were other spaces being created and widened also.

Women had a potentially high status on the basis of an equally old, equally revered discourse, that of the female as 'ardhangini', or the model of 'ardhnarishwar' the gods with their consorts occupying one half each of an androgynous whole. In all kinds of texts—popular renditions for both males and females of sacred classics, magazines and leaflets, kathas and stories—the image is belaboured that the female is essential to all the workings of the world, not as cook, cleaner, and servitor in this case, but in a more undifferentiated, philosophic, general, and therefore more interpretable sense of helpmeet (Arjun and Subhadra), professional assistant (Kaikeyi and Dashratha),

rival in art (Shiva and Parvati), antidote for male excesses as the male is for hers (Shiva and Durga).³¹ So the point could be made, as it was, with total cultural validity that every activity could be co-shared by women.

At the practical level, this was a familiar facet of the economy of Banaras, where, in every craft occupation, women participated in essential ways towards the final production. Though not defined as workers, and though their training went unrecognised officially, all males would concede, as they do now, the level of expertise of their womenfolk (as one extremist went so far as to say: what was all the fuss about women working if they got educated? They are trained now, and could work for a living any time they wanted to).³²

The availability of cultural discourse, of models, and spaces for action, means for one thing that at times of faster change in history stimulated usually by external influences, sufficient individuals take up the opportunity for adopting these alternative, available models to make a trend that gets labelled as 'social change'. Another way to describe it for dominated groups is as occasionally recognisable formations within the ongoing tension between hegemony and resistance, consciousness and action. We see, on adopting this perspective, that those who have seemingly inconsequential histories have been instrumental in making history.

Among the 'kathak' (performer community), for example, the normative discourse is of women as private, secluded, pure, unsullied by public work for money. In fact 'kathak' women, like the women of artisan families, are highly proficient in their field, regularly providing accompaniment privately to their sons and husbands to practise by,³³ and there exists a lore of women taking 'tanals' (original improvisatory exercises) and 'talas' (rhythmic patterns) along as their dowry.³⁴ The availability of this (silenced) discourse of women as highly competent meant in the middle 20th century that some enterprising 'kathak' women did go public, taking to the stage, attaining fame, and acquiring independent name and fortune. They are regarded by 'kathak' as not quite proper, but simultaneously accorded respect as performers, particularly as the rest of the nation showers them with awards and tributes.

In the language of early 20th century Banaras, if men were regarded as uneducated, so were women, education in a formal sense being really marginal to their needs. But if men could be recognised as trained, skilful, and 'shikshit' (morally and socially trained), then so had women to be recognised to be. Now, if boys were supposed to need an education—without any direct relation to new occupations or new lifestyles—why not girls? A question for which there was no answer.

To take up a third discursive space: a woman's 'dharma' was unrenderable. She had no separate 'dharma'. 'Yagya', 'dan', 'tapasya' (sacrificial ritual, gift giving, meditation) were not for her; simply through

the merit of 'sewa'—service—to her husband she became deserving of all the fruits of these 'karmas' which were so challengingly difficult for men to attain.³⁵ What, then, about the unmarried female who refused the easy way out, and chose a more difficult path of acquiring merit? Or the widowed female who was no longer in a position to acquire merit through the service to a husband? The category of 'widow' particularly, was an over-determined one, defined by a discourse that weaved knowledge and power into a coercive structure that forced the individual back on herself and tied her to her own identity in a constraining way. But the 'widow' was also the Other, not a 'grihastini', not an 'ardhangini'; by not being this or that, she had far more ambiguity that could get re-constituted as a space.³⁶ For the widow was available for what I would like to call the larger Hindu discourse of 'atma'-development.

As numerous popularised writings in Hindi of the period tell us, the 'ancient' system of education in India was based on a model wherein:

(a) Development took place according to the 'gunas' of the individual, but in general the education process worked to promote the 'satvik' and discouraging the 'tamasik'.

(b) All the aims of life—'karna', 'artha', 'dharma', and 'moksha'—were taken into account, thus education provided intellectual resources for earning wealth, living with pleasure, executing religious duties, and finally attaining release through self-knowledge.

(c) Most important of all, the 'atma' contained all knowledge *within* it, and education 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 'karna shakti'—gross energy—could be transformed 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.³⁷

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 them to their place.¹⁸ (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 *his* 'kalpa' (some 300 odd million year 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)!"³⁹ 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 crossed boulders and thorns, soles scratched, toes hurt, heels bleeding, her husband Rama in front, strong, smiling, and untouched.

Any of these time-based discourses could be, and were, summoned up according to the preferences and purposes of the speaker. Whatever their desirability as role models for women, they all served to historicise the essentialist category 'woman'.⁴⁰

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 real experience 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, vampish, destructive; now (iii) Indian, educated, pure, motherly, serving all, the nation before family, society before self. What it definitely did in its self-reflections was to make even more available, through its reliance on history, the range of choices as to which vision of time should be adopted; its practices enhancing the importance of contextuality in 'correct' interpretations.⁴¹

So we have a feeling for the spaces possible for women to appropriate as subjects of their own history in 20th century Banaras.

III

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.⁴²

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.⁴³

Another widow with a sense of mission was Satyavati 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 of a school of her own. This school, begun with two girls "under a tree on the road", was slowly helped by her brothers' families as well as by the larger Agrawal community of Banaras, and is today one of the most popular schools for girls in south Banaras. It is called by the unusual name of Gopi Radha, explained as being "based on Indian culture", with the nationalist movement invoked to explain its philosophy.⁴⁴

Leela Sharma was a nationalist who vowed not to marry in unfree India. Upon the death of her father in 1931, she would have returned to Punjab, but was kept back with her sisters by Godavari Bai, another educationist, who encouraged them to study further and stand on their own feet ("Get married, and you'll be washing dishes" was Godavari's motto.) Godavari Bai was herself unmarried, a saint, a 'devi swarupa' of the nature of a goddess. According to Leela Sharma, the initial opposition to working was changing because of Gandhi, although she continued to face pressure from her neighbours to conform. Most of all, Gandhi made them get out of the house. She and her companions left their veils and took to processions, picketing liquor shops and foreign cloth stores. When Vasanta College suddenly shifted to Rajghat in 1954, she

became the principal of the new institution that sprang up overnight on the old campus,) and is universally credited with seeing it survive and expand into what is today one of Banaras' foremost girls' schools (and degree college as well), Vasanta Kanya Mahavidyalaya.⁴⁵

Another kind of 'guru' and another kind of mission was that found by the widow Vidya Bai, who came around 1920 to Kashi and took 'diksha' from swami Gyanandji. Swamiji had founded in 1901 the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal "upon seeing how Western influence, selfishness, atheism, heterogeneity of religion, neglect of 'shastras', and disregard for ancient 'sanatan' cultural values was increasing day-by-day in the 'lila' ground of god and the land blessed by 'dharma samskaras', the land of Bharat."⁴⁶ Vidya Devi learnt not only the 'shastras' and philosophy but also to perform all the various public tasks he was engaged in, such as fund raising, managing six different trusts, and publicity. After his death, she took on the endless task of the regeneration of 'sanatan dharma', and her own original contribution to the Mahaparishad's activities was the founding of the Arya Manila Kanya Vidyalaya (the Aryan Women's Girls' School) in 1933. Today this is one of the four largest and best regarded girls' schools/colleges in Banaras. Vidya Devi's name is usually coupled with that of Sundari Bai, who left her family in Mangalore at the age of 24, and joined the Aryamahila Hitkarini Mahaparishad, the Society for the Promotion of Aryan Women. She moved from being teacher to headmistress to principal, and retired as joint general secretary of the Society.⁴⁷

Other widows—Gayatri Devi, Krishna bhamini, Ushamayi Sen, Manorama Chatterji—all had similar experiences, first of bereavement, then of inspiration to act from an external source, nationalist, reformist, or missionary, then of adopting a lifestyle of lifetime service. Gayatri Devi is typical in that she was widowed four months after marriage, and lived with relatives (in her case also widowed) after that, rather than remarry. She was a Marwari from a business house, and used her considerable wealth and property to promote charitable causes, such as a school for the blind. Like other widows in a similar position, she invested her own wealth in her efforts and also managed to collect funds from her other caste and community members. High on the list of charitable causes is the education of girls, especially poor ones. Although not educated herself she wished to provide other females with a means to stand on their own feet in the world, particularly if they were to meet a fate similar to her own, namely, early widowhood. Her primary school, Nandlal Bajoria Shiksha Sadan, named after her husband, is also a recognised, large, popular school today.⁴⁸

Manorama Chatterji, who came to Banaras in 1933, educated herself and her sister Rameshwari with great difficulty.

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!"⁴⁹ 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 Krishnabhamini 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-fledged schools achieve reality. Bipan Bihari Chakravarty, founded in 1922 by Sen, and Durga Charan School, founded in 1918 by Krishnabhamini, are even today in spite of the generally bemoaned overall 'fall in standards', reputed to be excellent, serious institutions.⁵⁰

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.

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.⁵¹ 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—ail were widowed, one lost her father and another her sister and took it very hard—of the gradual acceptability of a nationalist discourse that wanted self sacrifice and service to the community (how far these women saw their work, not as a profession but as service and self-denial, as our sources claim they did, remains to be discussed); and of a sense of mission, that of brightening the future of poor girls—this conjunction provided their motivation. It is important to note that they were directly inspired by a 'guru' figure (often expressed as "He/she called me to come and join him/her" or "she came one day and said, 'Join tomorrow!'"'). 'Gurus' are all-powerful figures in Indian thought, and it is unusual to resist their call. But even when the inspiration was nationalist and came from Gandhi

or a local leader such as Malaviya, or it was religious and came from one like Swami Gyanandji, it was not nationalist or publicist religious activity that occupied the women for any length of time, but acted rather as a kind of entry way into public life following which other courses were charted.

The most significant fact about all the widows was that their bereavement, their being alone and unsupported, turned out to be "a blessing in disguise". They were freed from the duty of 'pati sewa' (service to one's husband) which they would have consensually ranked as first among their duties. Their dharma changed from that of service to husband to service to others. This was, incidentally, a possibility glimpsed earlier by British administrators as they tried to push girls' education forward, but while their idea of training widows for teaching was good, it was unacceptable because it came from them.⁵²

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 widowed 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 homespun, 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' Saraswati; 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!"⁵³

Two things come together here. One, that all these widows display through their sainthood that training of the senses which has value in Hinduism as a legitimate search for freedom through self knowledge which relies, technically, on a disciplining of the body. For Hinduism it is also an instrumen-

tal technique to increase one's powers to achieve whatever goal one set oneself—the example of Drona and his disciples and the bird on the tree comes easily to mind—the practice of celibacy, vegetarianism, etc. as in 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.⁵⁴

The cultural practices of these women, to use Mohanty's terms, were 'traditional', but politically mature.⁵⁵ 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 educationists was that they never questioned or debated the terms of the educational 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 participate 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 for them had to be developed, for which there were sufficient calls.⁵⁶ 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. Schools 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 1911⁵⁷ as well as all the journalistic literature of the period, condemned almost every aspect of the new curriculum—text-books, choice of subjects, teaching methods, and the philosophy of education itself. But if textbooks were inappropriate, their idioms couth and unfamiliar, subjects like clay modelling and drawing irrelevant, the useful Indian systems of accounting and hygiene untaught, and religion and respect of elders absent, all this mattered less for girls than it did 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 thus could in turn produce from among their ranks those who could and did shake off normative grihastini discourse because their own thinking was not fashioned by it. They grew up to be, e.g., both housewives and doctors, lawyers, teachers, 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

But the modern schools such as founded by 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 strategically to their own ends; 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 Metcalf, Johnny Parry, Chris Fuller, Mary Chatterjee, Joan Richards, and Tom Gleason.]

- 1 I am presently engaged in completing a manuscript on the history of primary schools and curricula in Banaras, c 1880 to 1990..
- 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, 1985); and Julie Stephens, 'Feminist Fictions' in R Guha, ed, *Subaltern Studies VI* (Oxford, 1989). Susie Tharu's reply to the latter is very acceptable, but makes a different point. For one of the best 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 is 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 Vidyalkar, "Shiksha Kyon Avashyak 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.)
- 5 *Rabindra Racanabati*, Vol 11, p 425, quoted in Sudipta Sen, 'The Engendering of Tradition', paper presented at the AAS, Chicago, 1990.
- 6 Selections from the vernacular newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana, 1885, Vol 18.
- 7 *Annual Administrative Report* of the Banaras Municipality for the year 1910-1911.

- 8 File 48, Education, 1914,
- 9 *Allygurh Institutional Gazette*, July 8, 1870.
- 10 The problem was best summed up in *ibid.* Also, 'Bharat men Shiksha Prachar', *Saraswati*, April 1, 1914; Ram Prakash Lal. *Bul Bodhini* (Meerut, 1900): 2-4.
- 11 File 378, Edu A, 1916.
- 12 'Hamari Jati men Vidwan Kyon Nahin Hote' in *Khatari Hitkari*, November 30, 1906; 3-4, December 31, 1907:6-7; 'Central Khatari Education Committee, Kashf, *Khatari Hitaishi*, November 1938: 43-45; *Sri Arya Mahila Hitkarini Mahaparishad* (Varanasi, 1962): 55-56; 'Diwakar Dvara Jati Itthan' in *Kurmi Kshatriya Diwakar* 10, No 8-9 (October-November 1934): 2; 'Kashi men Samajik Sudhar ka Prarambhik Udyog' in *Hans* 4, No 3 (1933): 173-74.
- 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 Pradesh' in *NPP* part 2 (1988): 140-70.
- 14 File 378, Edu A, 1916.
- 15 To use the phrasing of Sherry Orlnr, 'Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?' in M Z Rosaldo and L Lamphere, eds, *Woman, Culture, and Society* (Stanford, 1974). See Ramkrishna, *Stri Shiksha* (Allahabad, 1866); 'Kya Striyon ko Shiksha Dena Murkhta Hai?' in *Saraswati*, January 1, 1914: 54; and 'Sri Agrasen Kanya Vidyataya Swarna Jayanti Smarika', 1972:4.
- 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, classroom size, trained teachers, the eschewing of religion, etc.
- 17 Ramnath Suman, *Bhai ke Patra* (Allahabad, 1931); 'Kashi ke Maharashtra', *Hans A*, No 1 (1933-34): 161-66; *Sri Arya Mahila Hitkarini Ahaparishad* (Varanasi, 1962): 30-31.
- 18 Ramnath Suman, *Kanya* (Allahabad. 1943): 15-18; 'Suyogya pati' in *Jyotsna* 2, No 2 (December 1948): 17-19; letter from Sri Prakash in *Kamala* 1, No 1 (April 1939): 34-37; 'Doha' in *Kavivachan Sudha*, February 14, 1887.
- 19 I detail some of these interactions in my book, *The Artisans of Banaras*.
- 20 'Bharatiya Shiksha Padhati ka Patan' in *Kurmi Kshatriya Diwakar* 10, No 12 (February 1935): 13-15; 'Shiksha Prachar ki Avashyaktayen' in *ibid.*, 9, Nos 1-2 (March 1933): 21-25; 'Dharma Shiksha' in *Khatari Hitaishi*, November 1937: 16-17; 'Angrezi Shiksha' in *Kavivachan Sudha*, August 29, 1881.
- 21 'Shikshit Stri Samaj' in *Hans* 4, No 4 (1934); 'Stri Samaj aur Shiksha ki Avashyakta' in *KKD* 10, Nos 8-9 (October-November 1934). Rivalry and competition was a fundamental part of Banarasi ideology, as expressed between 'mohallas', sports clubs, Ramlila associations, political processions, festival committees, and akharas for any number of arts (see my *The Artisans of Banaras*).
- 22 The Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, has a vast store of Hindi periodical literature, some of which I have been able to tap. The

- journals I found particularly useful are: Kavivachan Sudha, 'Khatri Hitaishi, Khatri Hitkari, Kamala, Jyotsna, Nagari Pracharini Patrika (NPP), Kurmi Kshatriya Diwakar (KKD), Janapada, Andhi, Grahasta, Hans, Saraswati, Aj, and Bharat Jivan. In addition, I have found some fifty monographs written for women, half of them published in Banaras, A task I wish to undertake is the analysis of the publication histories of these journals and books in order to better gauge their probable impact on their readership—always a difficult thing to gauge.
- 23 M A Sherring, *Banarès; the Sacred City of the Hindus* (Delhi, 1975; first published in 1868). Apart from the well known discussions of indigenous education such as Dharmapal, for an analysts that stresses what was different in it, see Joseph di Bona, 'Indigenous Virtue and Foreign Vice: Alternative Perspectives on Colonial Education' in *Comparative Education Review* 25, No 2 (June 1981): 202-15.
 - 24 'Vidya' in *Khatri Hitkari*, March 31, 1907; 'Hamari Dasha' in *ibid*; 'Stri Samaj ki Sadbhavnayen' in *Khatri Hitaishi*, November 1937,
 - 25 Ram Prakash Lal, *Bal Bodhini* (Meerut, 1900): 2-33; 'Bal Shiksha' in *NPP* 19, Nos 11-12 (May-June 1914): 348; Baburam Sharma Indravati, *Kanya Sudhar* part I (Itawa, 1940): 13-22; Rameshwari Devi Sinha. *Mahila Kalpadrum* (Mathura, 1939): 10-31.
 - 26 Chandra Dipnarayan Tripathi, *Stri Shiksha Sar* (Kashi, 1934): 64-65; Ram Chandra, *Stri Shiksha Shiromani* (Bombay, 1904): 5-51.
 - 27 'Vivah men Gali' in *Khatri Hitkari*, October 31, 1906: 3; 'Ashlit Sithaniyan' in *ibid*, December 31, 1906: 2-3, March 31, 1907: 2 7; 'Yatha Nam Tatha Gun, Yatha Gun Tatha Nam' in *Jyotsna* 1, No 2 (1943): 4-8; 'Gali Gone ka Shauk' in *Kamala* 3-1, No 1 (1941): 101; 'Apni Bahno Se' in *Kamala* 3-5, No 5 (August 1941): 428; *Stri Shiksha Sar*, pp 55-57, 93-97; *Stri Shiksha Shiromani*, pp 5-6.
 - 28 'Devarshi Narad' in *Kaiyan* Shikshank (1988): 432-33.
 - 29 This of course is one of the best examples of the conservative arguments used universally for girls' education; see, E Hansot and D Tyack, 'Gender in American Public Schools' in *Signs* 13, No 41 (1988).
 - 30 *NPP* 23, No 4 (October 1918): 73-78; for a discussion of this alliance, see T Sarkar, 'Politics and Women in Bengal—The Conditions and Meaning of Participation' in J Krishnamurty, ed, *Women in Colonial India* (Oxford, 1989); and Joanne Liddle and Rama Joshi. *Daughters of Independence* (Rutgers. 1986): 33-35.
 - 31 Devnath Pathak, *Stri Subodhini* (Allahabad, 1917); 'Nari Aur Uske Rajnaitik Adhikar' in *Jyotsna* 2, No 2 (December 1948): 43-46; 'Bharat ka Nari Jagaran' in *ibid*, 3, No 1 (January 1950): 83-87; 'Nari Aur Shiksha' in *ibid*, 2, No 7 (June 1949): 22; 'Stri Shiksha' in *KKD* 10, Nos 8-9 (October-November 1934): 15; 'Samaj men Stri ka Sthan' in *Kamala* 1, No 1 (April 1939): 38-40.
 - 32 *Stri Shiksha*, pp 64-65.
 - 33 Pandit Hanuman Misra, private communication, September 1990.
 - 34 Pandit Mahadev Misra, private communication, January 1991,
 - 35 'Ramcharitmanas men Nari Dharma ki Shiksha' in *Kalyan* (1988): 306-307.
 - 36 'Hindu Samaj men Vidhwa' in *Jyotsna* 1, No 11 (July 1948): 624-26; 'Vidhwa Vilap' in *KKD* 12, No 10 (December 1936): 16.
 - 37 Parpurnanand Verma, 'Bharat men Prachin Shiksha Tatha Adhunik Shiksha' in *Kalyan* (1988): 225-30; *Stri Shiksha Sar*, p 58; Mukutbihari Verma, *Bahan ko Sikh* (Delhi, 1956): 11-12.
 - 38 Baburam Sharma Indravati, *Kanya Sudhar* part I (Itawa, 1940): 1-4; Rameshwari Devi Sinha, *Mahila Kalpadrum* (Mathura, 1939): 2-3, 8-9; see the statements of Indian leaders in J C Aggarwal, *Indian Women: Education and Status* (Delhi, 1976): 7-10.
 - 39 'Maharaj Manu' in *Kaiyan* (1988): 439.
 - 40 'Parda: Prachinkal Men' in *Jyotsna* 3, Nos 9-10 (October 1950): 19-22; 'Prachin Bharat men Nari Shiksha' in *ibid* 2, No 9 (August 1949): 14-15; 'Prachin Bharat men Nariyan' in *Kamala* 1941: 272-75.
 - 41 Maya Gupta, *Bapu aur Nari* (Patna, nd): 34-46; 'Striyon ka Adarst in Grahasta 2, No 3 (1940): 244-45; 'Nari aur Satyagraha' in *ibid*, July 1940: 215-17; 'Hindi Sahitya aur Mahila Samaj' in *Kamala* 2, No 1 (April 1940): 72-74. Gandhi also had his opponents, see 'Gandhivad aur Stri Andolari in *Kamala* 2, No 3 (June 1940): 232-33; 'Wah! in *Grahasta* 2, No 8 (November 1939): 237-39.
 - 42 Most large schools have annual reports, periodically published souvenirs, magazines, brochures and prospecti in which their histories are discussed in bits and pieces. I know about their founders mostly from these sources. I have found no literature that originates directly from any of these women, as e g, the correspondence that Jo Anne Preston managed to peruse, see 'Female Aspirations and Male Ideology: School Teaching in 19th Century New England' in A Angerman et al, ed, *Current issues in Women's History* (Routledge, 1989): 171-82. So part of our concern here is really with 'invisibility', of data, of documents, of action, of consciousness itself. To compensate, however, I could in interview those of my subjects who are alive and the closest possible relatives of those who are dead. This interaction with both the actual subjects and third parties gave me interesting insights into how far the eulogistic accounts I encountered in school literature are shared by the actors themselves. In some cases I was in the strange positions of being in the presence of an aged lady who had agreed to see me, but preferred to pass on my questions to her attendants (either because of physical frailty or what I would call 'psychological frailty', or sainthood, where she gives 'darshan' but does not otherwise interfere in worldly matters) and the attendants' eulogies were taken matter of factly by the subject concerned.
 - 43 Interview, Dubeyji and Mauryaji, managers of school, September 1986.
 - 44 Interview, Leela Sharma, July 1988; Karuna Shah, August 1988; visit to Satyavati Devi, August 1988; to school, August 1986.
 - 45 Interview, Leela Sharma August, October 1986; *Vasantshree*, Annual Magazine of Vasanta Kanya Mahavidyalaya 1980-81: xxvii; see particularly the references tocher nationalistic loyalties and simplicity as expressed in her white khadi sari, black watch-strap, and single thick bangle
 - 46 *Shubhabhinandan Patrika* from 'Members of the Aryamahila Family', December 14, 1986.
 - 47 Mahaparishad office, October 1988.
 - 48 Interview, Gayatri Devi, October 1986; visit to school, August 1986.
 - 49 Interview, Rustom Satin, manager of school, October 1986.
 - 50 Interview, Rama Bhattacharya, retired principal, Bipan Bihari Chakravarty Girls' High School, August, September 1988; visit to school, August 1986.
 - 51 A survey that I have made which I wish to write up separately, but which reveals, in-a nutshell, that female teachers are preferably free—either widowed or unmarried or otherwise obliged to leave family life—and married to their jobs, either before or after marriage to a man.
 - 52 V/26/862/4, United Provinces Committee on Primary Education 1913 (IOL); V/26/860/11, Report by the NW Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee 1884 (IOL).
 - 53 *Shubhabhinandan Patra*, December 14, 1986.
 - 54 *Smt Satyavati Devi Abhinandan Grahtha* (Varanasi, nd), pp 9-10; see also *Satyalok*, Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Gopi Radha School (Varanasi, 1987).
 - 55 For a lucid statement on the need for more careful attention to women's subjectivity, see Chandra Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses' in *Feminist Review*, No 30 (Autumn 1988): 61-88, which I had occasion to read after the first drafts of the present paper had been written.
 - 56 For which there were sufficient calls, V/26/862:4 (IOL); Sampurnanand, "Striyon ki Madhyamik Shiksha" in *Kamala* 2, No 2 (May 1940): 115-19; 'Adhunik Bharatiya Striyon ki Dasha' in *Khatri Hitaishi*, November 1938: 7-8; 'Stri Shiksha aur Samaj' in *ibid*, November 1939: 5-6; Ramnath Suman, *Kanya* (Kashi, 1943); Ramswarup Kaushal, *Saheli* (Delhi, 1936).
 - 57 Education, File 48, 1914.
 - 58 The concept of hidden curriculum is currently very engagingly used in sociology-of-the-curriculum literature; for a recent interesting application to India, see Raka Ray, 'The Contested Terrain of Reproduction: Class and Gender in Schooling in India' in *British Journal of Socology of Education* 9, No 4 (1988): 387-401.
 - 59 Another dimension, that of sexism in textbooks, and whether the schools founded and administered by women presented any different images of femininity than male schools is something I include in my forthcoming book on education.

DALMIA CEMENT (BHARAT) LTD.

PO. DALMIAPURAM, DISTT. TIRUCHIRAPALLI, TAMIL NADU

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 sub-section (2) of section 22 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 Flrs),
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. Gopalaswamy } Whole time Directors
Sh. S.K. Misra }
Dr. M. Satyanarayana
Raja J. Rameshwar Rao
Sh. Nilratan Khaitan
Sh. D. Maitra
Sh. K.K. Varshney (Nominee of IFCI)
Sh. P.C. Gupta (Nominee of UTI)
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/Annum
 - (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/
(DC. JAIN)
Company Secretary