

**SCHOOLING WOMEN: DEBATES ON EDUCATION IN
THE UNITED PROVINCES (1854-1930)**

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in fulfilment of the requirements for
the Award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PREETI



**Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067**

2016

Date: 21-07-2016

DECLARATION

I, Preeti hereby declare that this Thesis entitled 'Schooling Women: Debates on Education in the United Provinces (1854-1930)' submitted to the Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in the fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or of any other university and is my original work.



Preeti


CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.



Prof. Vijaya Ramaswamy

(Chairperson)




CHAIRPERSON
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067, INDIA



Prof. Janaki Nair

(Supervisor)



Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067 (India)

CHS, 329 SSS-III, Office Phone : (011) 26704456, 26704457
E-amil : centreforhistoricalstudies@gmail.com

Dedicated

To

Every Single Woman of this World who
struggles to get Educated

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Doctoral Research is a journey of five years which changes your's attitudes, thinking and make you a more refined person. Now is the time to say thanks who a vital played in this journey of five years. The list is endless with many more people to be acknowledged but this too small a place to accommodate all.

Firstly, I would like to say thank to the financers of my research i.e. University Grant Commission (For Junior Research Fellowship for initial two years) and Max Weber Stiftung Institute who financed Transnational Research Group Poverty and Education in India (TRG). TRG had proved an excellent thing of my life. One year stay of my research in London and Germany was funded by TRG and that was a quite necessary for any scholar who is working on Modern Indian History.

I would also like to say thanks to staff members of different libraries and Archives which I used in my research. Central Library at JNU New Delhi, NUEPA and NCERT library in New Delhi, British Library in London, U.K., Wellcome Trust Library in London, Chruch Missionary Society Archives in Birmingham, National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Library and Museum, Central Secretariat Library at New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh Regional Archives at Allahabad, Patiala State Archives, Punjab, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares, National Library at Calcutta, Library at Gottingen University, Germany proved quite essential for my research.

First and foremost, I have no words to say thanks to my Supervisor Prof. Janaki Nair but I can say one thing that I am blessed to have Prof. Nair as my supervisor. During these years of research work in J.N.U., she helped me evolve as a better and refined research scholar. Her queries on every single statement, critical interventions, long discussions on chapters, groups meetings, individual meetings, presentations and her comments and suggestions on many drafts of work made my thesis possible. Her unrelenting support accompanied with love and scolding at time, have make me stronger and better person. Prof. It was who convinced me to visit Europe and

explored untapped resources there for my work. Really, very big thanks to you. In short I just want to say that I was a seed when I came to Jnu but you made me grow into a plant which is ready to take on academic world.

Prof. Rupa Viswantath as my second supervisor provided a new light to thesis. Long sessions of skype meetings and discussions on phone were really constructive for the thesis. Prof. Neeladri Bhattacharya is one who always presented an example of best teacher and personally he always encouraged and motivated me. His suggestions are always wonderful and welcoming.

I owe thanks to Prof. Radhika Singha who asked me in 2009 to translate my Hindi skills (was weakness) into strength and worked on U.P. where I can use my Hindi Skills. Today when I working on United Provinces and using extensively vernacular sources to enrich my research, It is worth mentioning her suggestion which have become reality today.

My heartiest thanks to entire TRG Team, all the Principal Investigators: Prof. Janaki Nair, Prof. Neeladari Bhattacharya, Prof. Andreas Gestrich, Prof. Rupa Viswanath, Prof. Ravi Ahuja, Prof. Sarada Balagopalan, Prof. Janhnvi Phalke, and Prof. Geeta Nambissan, for their comments and suggestions on my working papers in bi-annual TRG meeting throughout my research. My Thanks are due to all my Colleagues in TRG: Arun Kumar, Alva Bonaker, Jana Tschurennev, Smita Gandotra, Saikat Mitra, Sunanadan K.N. , Divya Kanan, Kaustubh Sengupta, Malini Ghosh, Debarati Bagchi, and K.S. Vidya for their critical questions and long discussions over my research work in TRG meetings. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Indra Sen Gupta for her personal and academic support during my stay at London. Directions by Rohan Seth, Sue Evans, Himanshu Chawala, Iris Karaku proved quite essential for administrative work in TRG. MY thesis is the product of team work.

Dr. Nandita Khadria proved to be best editor in the time of need and her scrutinise comments and suggestion, pointing out mistakes made the work more clearer. Not only this, she provided emotional support during time of work load pressure.

Sunayana Maiti and her parents in Calcutta, Pranjali and her parents in Lucknow, Nomita Di at Chandigarh hosted me wonderfully during my archival research. Special thanks to Kate and Prof. Gestrich for hosting me initially in London and providing me with a Home away from Home.

My thanks are due to Sarabjeet and her company which made my archival research fun loving and intellectual discussing. How can I forget Sumeet Mhaskar, Sandip Chatterjee, Gabriela, Rupak, Sheillema, and Anupama for always being there. Zainab and Daksha your tea time discussions benefitted me. Khekali you were like a strong shoulder to lean on. Special Thanks to Prabha and Justin Mathew for editing assistance. Thank you Anil, Manoj and Chingiz for assisting me in technical knowhow.

My teachers specially Dr. Shobhana Warriar, Dr. Archana Ojha, and Dr. Shubhra Sinha inspired me and provided tremendous help in reading my drafts at short notices. Dr. Vinita Malik always gives me words of encouragement. Dr. Parmesh Kumar Sharma, my Supervisor during my B. Ed training as proved as best counsellor, educationist and teacher since and his long telephonic discussion with him on concepts of school enriched me.

My thesis cannot be complete without my gratitude to my Mother and Father who dreamt and live this dream of Ph.D. with me and had always been a source of undying support, care, affection and encouragement. Thanks you for always giving me your unrelenting support. Many many thanks to Suman, Archana, Arun and Deepak for providing lighter and funny movements during stressful times.

Last but not the least, very special thanks to my best friend Sunil and his family for their untiring zeal and motivation which saw me through the hard times that I went through during writing this work. Sunil, I just have to say this is for you and just for you.

Preeti

CONTENT

Title	Page No.
Introduction	1-19
Chapter -1	20-68
State Policies: Mapping the Field of Women's Education	
1. Schooling for boys: Indigenous and Colonial	
1.1 Indigenous Schools and their Nature	
1.2 Transition from Indigenous to Colonial Government Schooling	
1.3 The Beneficiaries of the Colonial Policies of Education	
2. Indigenous and Government Schooling for women	
2.1 Indigenous Education to Women	
2.2 Government schooling for women	
3. Local Elite and Colonial Policy	
4. People's Attitudes towards Women's Education	
5. Curriculum	
5.1 Syllabi	
5.2 Textbooks and the Language of Study	
5.3 The Medium of Instruction	
Chapter- 2	69-122
Schooling Women: The Aegis of the State	
1. Interventions by Hindu and Muslim Reformers	
1.1 Muslim Reformers and Women's Education	
1.2 Hindu Reformers: Arya Samaj and Women's Education	
2. The Role of Women Missionaries: Education of Indian Women	
2.1 Mission Schools and Women's Education	
2.2 'Harvest is good, but the labourers are few': Rural Mission to Educate women	
2.3 Mission Education: Reaction to Caste and Religion	
3. Indian Women's Initiatives for Female Education	
Chapter- 3	123-170
'Moralizing' Women, Recasting Patriarchy	
1. Moral Instruction	

1.1 Transition from Religious Instruction into Moral Instruction	
1.2 Discourse on the Nature of Moral Instruction	
2. Literature: A Purveyor of Morality or Immorality?	
3. Morality Inside and Outside the School	
3.1 Class, Caste and Womanly Virtue	
3.2 Arya Samaj and the Modernisation of Hindu Morality	
4. Children of Prostitutes and the ‘threat’ to Morality	
Chapter- 4	171-212
Education as ‘Modernising’ or Recasting the Home	
1. Defining ‘Hygiene’ and Health in Education	
2. Girls’ Schools and Hygiene	
3. Caste, Poverty and the Question of Hygiene	
4. Modernizing the Home through Training Midwives	
4.1 Caste and Midwife Training	
4.2. Teaching Hygiene for Home	
Chapter- 5	213-248
Skilling in Education: Women at Work	
1. Women’s Entry into Teaching	
1.1 Training Women Teachers	
1.2 Caste in the Recruitment of Teachers	
1.3 Employment, Qualifications and Courses of Study	
2. Women and School Inspection	
3. Learning Skills for the Market	
Conclusion	249-255
Bibliography	256-272

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Mr. Rama Charana, an advocate of the Chief Court of Oudh, of United Provinces, Daliganj, Lucknow gave evidence to the Indian Statutory Commission in 1930 and claimed that, according to the Wetherill Report of 1927, whereas the literacy rate among high-class Hindus was 4.5 percent it was only 0.5 percent among depressed classes. It argued that this disparity was not just due to the prejudices of upper castes which forbade any equality but also because of lack of representation of 'depressed classes' in the local bodies and legislature. He deplored the efforts made by local bodies for spreading education among depressed classes. He quoted that while the government provided 80 lac rupees to local bodies to be spent on the education of 'depressed classes' only a little more than a lakh was spent. He told the Commission that the members of local boards were usually higher caste Hindus and 'never raised their single finger against this unequal distribution.'¹ But at the same time, there was consciousness among lower caste and untouchable communities that had resulted in a demand for education. Rama Charana opined that the development of education of these people could be ensured only with their representation in local bodies. The thoughts of Rama Charana were not only true for 'depressed class' i.e. lower caste and untouchable but truer in the context of the situation of women generally and especially the women of lower castes and untouchables in United Provinces. This thesis will map out the politics of colonial authorities, reformers, missionaries and elite women on the issues of women's education in the United Provinces and try to connect it with a low rate of education among rural and untouchable women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The colonial knowledge of India was shaped by dominant Indian castes and classes as those groups interpreted sources of knowledge. Present knowledge system in India continues to be based on the interests and politics of those groups. In the interpretation of Hindu Shastras and culture, dominant castes played a crucial role in dialogue with colonial authorities. Similarly, influential groups in Islam imprinted their culture in

¹*Indian Statutory Commission Volume XVI, Selection from Memoranda & Oral Evidences by Non-Officials (Part-I)*, London: Majesty Stationary officer, 1930. He had been the president of Adi Dharma Conference for the year 1928, p. 347.

society through sharing their knowledge with colonial state. Indian law, culture, customs and even our knowledge of caste is a reflection of the dominant caste's needs, interests, and thinking.² Therefore, knowledge of caste and gender has been Brahminical, which was enforced on lower castes through various mechanisms. Lower-castes also imitated those notions of patriarchy and caste which was followed by upper castes in India to 'Sanskritise'³ or define themselves in hierarchical rituals maintained by brahminical order.

In India, caste and gender are interlinked. Woman is a prominent component in the society maintaining caste system through marriage and reproduction. It ensures 'purity' or non-mixing of the blood of two castes or groups. Hence, it helped patriarchy to control the sexuality of women on one hand and maintain the caste system of society on the other. Women's virginity and their sexuality is a divisive factor in determining their subordination to patriarchy which in turn is hierarchised according to castes. Whereas high caste women were asked to follow 'pativrata dharma' and Brahminical religion, the lower caste women were understood to be of laxer sexual morals.⁴ In the early twentieth century United Provinces witnessed the emergence of lower caste leadership which started imitating the same ideal for their women as those practiced by upper-castes. Charu Gupta has revealed in her work that, in the 1920s, many untouchable and lower caste men began restricting the freedom of their women and keeping them in seclusion. Lower caste and Untouchable *Sabhas* and Associations started to make provisions to deny women's access to outside world.⁵ She further elaborated that many Untouchable and lower caste leaders passed resolutions regarding observance of *purdah*, forbidding them visiting bazaars, attending fairs, selling grass, not to work as daily labours and not to sell fruits on peddle in streets (and sell only in shops). Many steps were taken to ensure their seclusion in-house, denying their labour for upper caste households. For instance, *chamar* midwives were asked not to work for upper caste households and if they

²Bernard Cohn, *The Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Princeton: Princeton University, 1996.

³The term is used by M. N. Srinivas for upward mobility of castes. For details, see in M. N. Srinivas's book *India: Social Structure*, Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1980.

⁴Uma Chakravarti, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Calcutta: Stree, 2003.

⁵Charu Gupta, *The Gender of Caste: Representing Dalits in Print*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2015, and also see in Shekhar Bandhopadhyaya's work *Caste, Culture and Hegemony: The Social Dominance in Colonial Bengal*, Delhi: Sage Publication, 2004.

worked, must be paid the higher amount. They opposed Widow Remarriage and *Sarda Act* (Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929). The lower caste men started imitation of upper caste patriarchy and made efforts to make their women like that of upper caste, who were kept inside the house for taking care of house and children.⁶ In other words, they were asked to follow 'pativrata dharma' virtues and ideals of a good mother.

It is interesting to know why these ideals influenced Indians largely. They borrowed these ideas from the Victorians. In Victorian England, distinctive genders-roles of their society were the markers of the advancement of the civilization. The society was measured according to the progress of women's role. It was argued by British '...The more 'enobled' the position of women in a society, the higher its civilization.' According to this measure, India was far behind to Britain. This moral degeneration was represented by the zenana and veil. Indian women were seen as 'suffused with an unhealthy sexuality and disabling passivity.' British conceived that Indian men were unable to handle their households. Therefore, British tried to protect and 'rescued' Indian women through their legislations and proclaimed their 'masculine' character and moral superiority over Indian men.⁷

The nineteenth-century reformers picked up this criticism and began to reform women to assert the superiority of their cultures. Reform movements were part of a larger project in which education of women had been a key component as it helped to raise women's status to criticise colonial superiority. These reforms movements worked two-fold- firstly to encounter the critique of colonialism of Indian civilisation and secondly to control the sexuality of women for maintaining the caste structure. One needs to remember that these movements had been limited to upper caste elite women. Women were central points of these reforms as nineteenth-century European-centric progress was measured by the position of women in the society.⁸

⁶Gupta, *The Gender of Caste: Representing Dalits in Print*, pp. 160-64.

⁷Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars: Women Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 94.

⁸Maitryee Chaudhuri, *Indian Women Movement: Reforms and Revival*, Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1992.

In the nineteenth century, women's education became a field where norms of caste, patriarchy, and gender roles were inculcated and reshaped. This field was shared by colonial rulers, reformers, missionaries, and elite women too. All these actors participated and exercised their ideology to influence women's education. Although here were significant differences in their ideologies they shared in common the aim of educating upper caste and elite women. Though Missionaries and later on Untouchable themselves made efforts to educate lower caste women, missionary efforts were the result of a failure to attract upper caste women.

Women's education was a field in which colonial officials were least interested, but other actors played an important role; of course, all had their vested interests. The caste factor had been an important issue in the formation of knowledge and an equally vital factor in its efforts to impart it. For reformers, it was one of the instruments to control the women's sexuality. The Reforming class decided 'what to teach' 'how to teach' 'when to teach.' This class comprised of English educated upper-caste and middle-class. Although some of them were not very famous, many were connected to education and made efforts to reform the grass roots. On the other hand, missionaries used education as a source of establishing their religion and imposing their culture over Indians. Missionaries used it to inculcate English culture among women and convert the religion of women and their families. Mission boarding schools taught Protestant morals, discipline, time management, dressing sense (usage of stocking, frocks, socks, towels, lack of jewellery, hygiene, etc.). They focused on such education which would make them 'modern' according to Victorian ideals, i.e., educated wives, and mothers of their children, helpmate, but at the same time could maintain caste structure and traditional gender roles of society. Paul Freire, pointed out the role of education for emancipation and liberation from the oppression.⁹ Women Missionaries used education to urge women to 'think', become 'independent,' get 'financially self-dependency' etc. As Rupa Viswanath pointed out, independent thinking was important to the process of conversion according to Christian ethics.¹⁰

⁹Paul Freire, *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, (first published in 1970), 2010.

¹⁰ Rupa Viswanath, 'Hard lessons: Poverty, Caste and Education in Colonial South India', presented paper in Transnational Research Group Workshop, India Habitat Centre, Delhi, 26th November, 2014.

The colonial government did not emphasise the question of women's education as it did in the case of boys' education. However, it was not just the question of colonial government involvement, but native people themselves who were responsible for discouraging women's education. There were so many examples where schools were closed down due to lack of attendance. Women's education in the U.P. was an extensive project. People did not allow their girls to be sent to schools without *dholi* (palanquins). The cost of *dholis* and *kahars* (who carried them) or conveyance was sometimes higher than the tuition cost. Due to *purdah*, lack of female teachers, lack of religious education, unsuitability of curriculum, prejudices on the question of respectability, discouragement to writing were the questions which explained the lack of desires among parents to educate their daughters. After 1857, colonial government did not intervene in the question of women explicitly. The thesis will see the relationship between education and social change

In the 1860s, Education for women was limited to learning to skills which could make them capable of life everyday live according to their duties, rituals and good deeds. Chotai Tiwari wrote a book for women in 1864 which he claimed to be the first book. The book began with alphabets, word formations and afterwards he moved to rituals, songs, names of things of everyday usages which were considered important to be known by every girl. He extensively explained the different songs and rituals which were performed on the occasions of festivals, fairs, seasons, birth of boy and girls, marriage, and other ceremonies. He was writing in for the education of girls which can make them useful for her marital home. This book was different from other texts as it linked education with not just literary skills but knowledge of rituals and practices.¹¹

In the 1860s, the education was meant to make women efficient in day-to-day lives while 1870s texts focus more on literary skills rather than practical lives of women. That explained why there was continuous demand among the parents to oppose subjects like history, geography and science for women as it was claimed that there was no use for them. Likewise the early twentieth century education system witnessed emergence of skills oriented professions which enabled women to step out for self-

¹¹Chotai Tiwari, *Balabodh- Striyon ke Padne ki Pehli Pustak*, Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1864, p. 10.

reliant. Thesis will show how the changes in the society affected the women's schooling.

Thesis is using 'woman' and 'girl' interchangeably. One needs to understand that in colonial india till 1929 (Child Marriage Restraint Act) there was a very 'fluid line' between girl and woman. There was no separation between 'girl child' and woman as Ishita Pande pointed out about legal discourse of age of consent. She problematise the figure of 'child-wife' through the age of consent discourse.¹² One cannot say after marriage girl could become 'woman' who was still medically and biologically girl. It is very complicate idea but here the important thing to see is that in the education sphere in the colonial era, girls mostly attended schools before marriage. Although zenana schooling and home instruction was provided even after marriage. But I am not looking at the marriage insitution for determanant factor of difference between 'girl' and 'woman', therefore thesis is using both terminologies.

'Woman' itself is a very heterogeneous category. When we say women, we have to emphasize which group, caste, class of woman we are talking about. In the thesis, I am using term untouchable to emphasise on the existence of 'untouchability' which existed in India. Although the term 'untouchability' itself has undergone many changes but changes in term could not change the social and cultural status of people. Colonial records used the word 'depressed classes', 'backward communities' and after 1935, 'scheduled castes', and indigenous words such as aachut, etc., were used. Of course, independent India and its Constitutionabolisheduntouchability in India, but terms like Dalits emerged which show the existence of exploitation and segregation by castes.

But I would like to ask that can the changes in terminology change the traditional connotation of being low caste? My research period is till 1930, when terms like depressed classes/castes, untouchables were used, for homogeneity, I will use the term 'untouchable' unless specific source quoted different term. Another important thing was that the colonial records used the term lower caste and lower class synonymously.

¹²Ishita Pande, 'Coming of Age: Law, Sex and Childhood in Late Colonial India', *Gender and History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, April 2012, pp. 205-230.

Wherever I am quoting from the colonial record, reader would read it as caste. But for the author, caste and class are not synonymous to each other; a class cannot change the status of caste and cannot provide the privileges of caste.

The study is about Hindu women's schooling education in the United Provinces between 1854 and 1930 with the objective of its comparison with other communities. I would give special attention to the question of untouchable and lower caste women and rural women. Until 1854 girls' education was largely in the hands of Missionaries and individuals (upper caste indigenous elite). In the year 1854, girls' education was initiated in the United Province by the Government. Colonial officials observed in 1854 that '...schools for female has included among those to which Grants in aid may be given; we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor- General in Council has declared, in communication to the Government of Bengal, that government ought to give to native female Education in India its frank and cordial support...'¹³ The Wood's Despatch thus included girls' schools among those who got grants-in-aid from the government.¹⁴

The present work is confined to the years from 1854 to 1930, when the formalisation of girls' education was being mapped out, institutionalized and debated as well. It endeavours to examine the governmental initiatives, particularly those aimed at the poor and marginalized communities, private and missionary efforts and early nationalist efforts, the reach of religious institutions and at some of the nascent efforts of women themselves to assist in the development and growth of women's education more generally.

Statements about the underdevelopment of women's education are frequently noticed about this area, United Provinces, despite being a hub of nationalist activities, reform movements and print culture. Lack of research on the education of United Provinces as compared to other provinces of India contributes largely to its selection for the present thesis. Dynamics of caste, class and race shaped the women's education of the

¹³James Johnston, *The Despatch of 1854 on the General Education of India*, Reprinted by the General Council On Education in India, Edinburgh: John Marclaren & Sons, 1880, p. 35.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

United Provinces which not only prevented low caste and untouchable women from access to education but also defined the nature of schooling which was accessed by the low caste untouchable and rural women.

In this research, the focus will be laid on the question of women's education, its development throughout the period and its impact on related spheres such as modernisation, morality, individualization and socialization in a socio-political and economic environment of the United Provinces. It is exploring the role of colonial officials, reformers, missionaries and upper-caste middle-class urban-centric women in negotiating the low caste and underprivileged women's education. These negotiations can be noticed through various issues of debates and discourses on the objective of education, curriculum, co-education, compulsory education and other aspects of women's education. There was contestation among various actors who played an important role in the policy making for women's education. For instance, Arya Samajis were writing against zenana mission's efforts to educate women. Government's negligence policy towards women's education led to the emergence of non-governmental agencies in the field of women's education. Those non-governmental agencies such as indigenous elite, missionaries preferred their own way of educating women who were shaped by their agendas and ideological stands on education.

Review of Existed Literature: Situating The Research

Historical works on education in colonial India can be separated into three identifiable strands on the basis of how they perceive the nature of colonial education. Historians of the first group include historian such as Nita Kumar see education as the conduit of modernization and social mobility. The second strand included Alok Mukherjee and Gauri Viswanathan views it as the means of 'cultural hegemonic control' during the colonial period. A third strand consists of historians such as Sabhyasachi Bhattacharya and Aparna Basu who sees the question of education as a site of struggle between colonizers and nationalists, while another strand views education as the site of struggle between the traditionally dominant classes (literati) and new classes wherein the former struggles to regain its position while the state yearns to

disseminate education to the latter represented by hitherto downtrodden and weaker sections.

Historians have worked a lot on the institutional development of colonial education, the influence of ideologies, and education's relation with nationalism. Gauri Viswanathan sees education as 'the medium of ideological dominance', although she bases her understanding largely on the literary curriculum of nineteenth century. The colonial state introduced English literary education, but not the British education system. Through English literature, the colonial state wanted to erase the history of colonialist expropriation, material exploitation and class and race oppression.¹⁵

There are others such as Alok Mukherjee¹⁶ who see education as source of 'alternative hegemony', since he says that the colonial state and the native people both fulfilled their own agendas through colonial education, for their own political, social, cultural and economic benefits and as a way of dominating other social groups. Colonial hegemony was achieved through the introduction of English literature, through the language curriculum, texts, and examinations, all of which were predicated on the moral, cultural, religious and intellectual superiority of Europe and England. The people of India accepted these elements largely without question in order to fulfill their own expectations. Similarly Charles Trevelyan has shown that there was a demand for English education among the Indian people even before T.B. Macaulay's minute¹⁷ by citing the letters of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, The establishment of Hindu College, Calcutta, and the opening of new private schools occurred at the people's expense. According to him, people understood the utility of English education. But his attitude towards English education was very favorable as he was a colonial officer and a relative of Macaulay.¹⁸

¹⁵Gauri Viswanathan, *Mask of Conquest: Literary Curriculum in Nineteenth Century*, London: Oxford University Press, 1989.

¹⁶Alok K. Mukherjee, *The Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009.

¹⁷Charles E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838, pp. 65-71.

¹⁸Ibid.

Krishna Kumar¹⁹ has looked at the overall problem of education from a broader perspective, as a realm that was shaped by colonial social, political and economic policies. He sees education as having fulfilled a political agenda during colonial rule. Nita Kumar has talked about modernization and social change that occurred as a consequence of education in the Banaras region. According to her, education had a transformatory value, and affected people intellectually, socially, psychologically and emotionally. But she also emphasizes that the notion of modernity is very complex in India, since there were an equal number of people who maintained traditional rituals through indigenous efforts of education.

At the same time with the modern institutions people were also establishing indigenous schools.²⁰ Sabhyasachi Bhattacharya looks on education as a 'contested terrain' between the colonial power and its subjects, between nationalists and colonizers, as well as hegemonised, subaltern, traditional and modern groups.²¹

There are some other historians like Aparna Basu and others, who see education as a prime reason for the growth of Indian Nationalism. According to her, education led to a heightened consciousness about colonial rule among the people, who began to feel the need for organized resistance. In the last decade of the 19th century, the colonial authorities also responded to this threat, as in the policies of Lord Curzon.²² However, colonial writers themselves had different views on the matter: H.R. James, for instance, denied this link, and said that it was not education which created disaffection among the people, but the weakness of the government. According to him 'political disaffection' was due to political causes, not education. Education enabled the disaffected to express their views more effectively, and the role of the uncontrolled press was crucial to its existence.²³

¹⁹Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1991.

²⁰ Kumar, Nita; *Politics of Gender, community and Modernity: Essays on Education in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²¹Sabhyasachi Bhattacharya, *The contested Terrain: Perspective on Education of India*, New Delhi: Oriental Longman, 1998.

²²Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India (1898-1920)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974.

²³ H.R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India (1797 to 1910)*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911.

James argued that it was the imperfections of the colonial system of education which had led to the creation of critics and enemies of the British which could be remedied through the inclusion of moral and religious tenets in education. These types of imperfection were also talked about by Arthur Mayhew. According to him, policies were made by some but the application of them was quite different from their intentions. Policy was predicated on western culture and history, to the neglect of oriental culture and history. The result was a substitution, and not a synthesis, of India's own system of education. Colonial rulers largely ignored Indian institutions such as caste, family, religion and the sphere of the domestic (and women in particular).²⁴

On the question of women's education, many scholars have worked on it during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century in various regions. These scholars explained entrenched notions which undermined the progress of female education during the nineteenth century. Many scholars such as Rosalind O' Hanlon²⁵, Tanika Sarkar²⁶ and J. Devika have explained through discussions of the autobiographies of women of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. As J. Devika has pointed out, Victorian ideals, which were against women's education claimed that 'such an exercise of the mind's energy would de-feminize women, in fact, shrink their wombs,' because women were biologically unstable and unable to receive rational thoughts.²⁷ She explained that women in Kerala, themselves dismissed this viewpoint through their writings in various journals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. She argued that many of the first generation feminists (till 1920) were active propagators of domestic ideals for women. They were demanding expansion of women's space without challenging the 'quite essential qualities of womanliness.'²⁸

²⁴ Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India- a study of British Education Policy in India, (1835-1920), of its Bearing on National life and Problems in India today*, London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926.

²⁵ Rosalind O' Hanlon, *A Comparison between Women and Men: TarabaiShinde and the Critique of Gender Relations in Colonial India*, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1994.

²⁶ Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

²⁷ J. Devika, *Herself: Early Writings on Gender by Malayalee Women (1898-1938), translated from the Malayalam*, Kolkata: Stree, 2005, pp. x- xi.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

A similar point comes through in the autobiography of Rashesundari Devi. In the case of Rashesundari, reading of sacred texts used to be a secret and silent affair for a long time. Education of women was not seen by reformers as a 'self-absorbed, self-centred activity.' It was seen as a basis for a companionate marriage and to train the women for the familial affairs.²⁹ At the same time, due to the expansion of education among men and the rise of the middleclass, a new model of womanhood emerged. It was a fusion of older traditional Brahminical concept of *pativrata* (self-sacrifice and devotion to husband), with Victorian emphasis on women as 'enlightened mothers and companion to men'. While J. Devika pointed out that some saw women's education as leading to the 'de-feminization of women,' there were other perspectives on education as well. The reform movement of the early nineteenth century had taken the form of legislation and banning social evils, but in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a shift in the focus to the gradual removal of evils by recasting and reshaping Indian women mind through education.³⁰

Against this adverse socio-cultural environment of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, this work is about women's education in the United Provinces. One thing that needs to be remembered is that the women mentioned above and notion about them are of the middle-class women, as most writings on education are silent on the question of the education of rural and non-elite women. The works of these scholars take into account the middle-class women and neglect the learning among the poor class or low caste women. This work will show caste and class differentiation in the field of women's education. It is explored through missionary accounts of their assessment and contribution to the field of women's education.

History of education in the United Provinces has been relatively unexplored. Although Nita Kumar³¹ discussed the education of middle-class men and dedicated one chapter to women's education after the 1920s through autobiographical analysis.

²⁹Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, p. 109.

³⁰Indrani Sen, 'D'evoted Wife/Sensuous Bibi: Colonial Constructions of the Indian Woman (1860-1900)', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2008, p. 15.

³¹Nita Kumar, *Lessons From Schools: The History of Education in Banaras*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2000.

Charu Gupta³² and Shobhna Nijhawan³³ explored women in a larger context in the history of the United Provinces. Education is an incidental part of work which is focused on larger questions such as sexuality, masculine domination, their role in nationalism through analysis of contemporary journals and literature of the United Provinces. Most of these scholars have worked on urban-centric upper-caste and middle-class women. In her recent work, Charu Gupta has also explored the socio-cultural history of 'Dalits' in early twentieth century United Provinces through interlinking Gender and Caste.³⁴ But even she did not focus on the role of education in the creation of identities and consciousness among untouchables.

The history of rural and untouchable women is comparatively unexplored. In this work, I am trying to find out reasons for this archival silence. This work will make an effort to identify the causes of this silence and evoke a debate thereof. This silence does not mean that there was no education among rural and untouchable women. Their education was different from the conventional schooling of colonial India. The thesis argued that this archival silence was due to the indifferent attitude of the people who took responsibility to educate women of United Provinces. The colonial state, reformers and later on elite women focused and limited their efforts to educate middle class and upper caste women. Reformers were mostly from urban areas, middle-class and upper-caste people. This indigenous elite wrote for immediate needs of their groups of people. The colonial government treated women's education in 'step motherly' treatment. It provided the female schooling with financial aid only if the efforts were initiated by the natives. The policy was to aid female schooling if efforts were coming from Natives themselves. Efforts were made by middle class and upper caste men, urban-centric women and they concentrated on educating the women belonging to their identities (group, caste, religion) rather than to think of rural and untouchable women's education.

³²Charu Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community: Women, Muslim, and the Hindu Public in Colonial India*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

³³Shobhna Nijhawan, *Periodical literature in Colonial North India: Women and Girls in the Hindi Public Sphere*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

³⁴ Gupta, *The Gender of Caste: Representing Dalits in Print*.

As per Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, it was necessary to follow the rules and regulations made by Government to get aid from it. It monitored the curriculum of the schools. The latter had to accept the examination and the inspection system of the Government. Reformers were unhappy with the curriculum prescribed by the Government which forced them to open schools for their community as it was a general notion that education for girls and boys should be different. Colonial schooling did not prescribe the separate curriculum for boys and girls. The difference kept in adding and curtailing some optional subjects, and lenient examination and inspection system. It led reformers in evolving new 'alternate pedagogy' for women. This 'alternate pedagogy' was to write books, texts, domestic manuals, tracts for the women to 'appropriate' them to the socio-cultural norms.

The nineteenth century was the period when print media became very active. Different castes founded their own press and the writings therein were relevant to the women of the corresponding caste. This thesis aims to re-examine the assessment of lower caste, untouchable and rural women to be found in the literature by the 'lesser known reformers.' Interestingly, missionaries (especially zenana missionaries) dealt with the education of rural and untouchable women. The latter was expected to be literate to be Baptized. Although zenana missions wanted to educate upper caste women too as prompted by their agenda, slowly they moved to lower caste and untouchable women as they failed to educate upper caste women.

In these discourses of women's education, caste played a very significant role in segregation and denial of access to education for the untouchable women. Caste became the determining factor in policy making, morality, hygiene, or profession. The colonial state, reformers, missionaries and women themselves could not overcome caste stereotyping and were influenced by it. While upper caste middle-class centric women struggled much to get elementary education, it was an issue beyond the imagination of rural and untouchable women to get education. Likewise, it seems that socio-cultural conditions of the rural mass could not cultivate in them any interest for education. Firstly, the curriculum was not developed with the objective of satisfying their agricultural needs. On the contrary, the education that they were provided with was leading their immediate male descendants to quit their hereditary profession.

Literary education hardly benefited them. Secondly, rural women of upper caste and class were in closed zenana and they had no time for education.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that zenana missions invested energy to educate poor rural and untouchable women. Reading, writing and singing became a boon to them which gave them the experience of education. Converted women could draw benefits from it. However, it cannot be denied that it somehow broadened the mind of women and led them to the acceptance of Western hygiene and medicine whatsoever.

The above discussion prompts to correlate schooling and education. The fact that schools being institutions to promote education makes it relevant to verify and examine its role in doing so. As the scope of education is broader than that of schooling, the inclusion and exclusion of different domains and mediums of education in schools come under inquiry. Consequently, this thesis will also endeavour to inquire these inclusions and exclusions. The ratio between population and literacy eclipses the efficiency of schooling, and thus it encourages the use of other mediums such as stage shows and plays with the aim to educate. Woman Indian Association's journal 'Stree Dharma' is an excellent example to quote. Hence, while studying the role of schooling in education it becomes inevitably necessary to examine not only the presence of different domains and mediums therein but also their absence as well.

Schooling as Process of Learning

The concept of schooling changes when one attempts to analyse education of rural and untouchable women. It was far beyond the narrow understanding of school which was limited to closed space of the classroom, examination, text book, inspection, etc. Neither was the rural, untouchable women provided with the infrastructure of colonial schooling, nor was they interested in getting it as it was not able to fulfil their 'needs'. The impracticality of the formal curriculum rendered schooling more or less ineffective.

Schooling become institutionalized and systematised under the four wall system of education under colonial rule. In the indigenous system of education, a school was a place where learning was imparted. It could be home, *chaupal*, under the shadow of a

tree, temple, Mosque, *Gurdwara*, Church where a teacher taught a group of pupils.³⁵ Similarly, schooling of rural and untouchable women carried this heritage. Their education was held in the home via zenana missionaries, one room- one teacher schools, with various grades of pupils (sometimes mother and daughters were taught together). One needs to reformulate the concept of schooling itself to understand the schooling of special groups of people. There was not a graded system of class room, textbooks and physical infrastructure of schools such as a playground, desks, and clock, etc., unlike other government schools. This thesis is not only exploring formal curriculum (colonial concept of schooling) and schools, but zenana schools (Home Instruction and one teacher one room school) and reformers' schools (such as Arya Samaj) and elite women's contribution to their education will be analysed through their understanding of women's schooling and kind of education 'to be given to women'.

Schooling here means a process by which women were prepared for handling their roles in the society. It is not just limited to school building of four walls, certain age or formation of specific knowledge. I am looking at schooling as a mechanism through which women's role in society changed and transformed and which in turn changed their behaviours and attitudes towards society, family and other fields of life. Women's education was started to reform the society, and later on, it culminated in demanding political rights such as the right to vote. Education defined their new roles in public spaces, although limited to upper-caste women. But education also changed the attitude of lower caste and 'untouchable' men and women. It enforced women to entry into newly organized sectors such midwifery and nursing with the help of the concept of hygiene. Midwifery was lower caste women's field, but efforts were made to enter some poor high caste women.

There was already a flourishing system of education in pre colonial times. British introduced their own system upon it and made changes according to their ideologies,

³⁵In the indigenous system of education, schools used to hold in the shade of tree, religious places like Temple, Mosque, Gurudwara, Church or common community places such as *chaupal*, or sometimes at home too. One teacher used to teach various grades or age of pupils together. William Adam (who had surveyed the indigenous schools of Bengal in 1830s) called them Schools. Likewise, schooling of rural and untouchable women, due to access of the resources and social prejudices, it was either Home based or one room one teacher school where various grades of people used to study together.

needs, and circumstances. British resumed this endowment system to appropriate more revenue. More Muslims were inclined to *awqaf* (endowments) to preserve some of their holdings belonging to their descendants. British government suspected these charitable endowments when the beneficiaries were related to the donor, and these were provided to prevent paying of tax. British government controlled and regulated these *awqaf* through new rules and regulations. It led decline of the indigenous education system. Many Ustans used to teach them at home who were also supported by these *awqaf*. Girls used to study Quran along with their brothers, when the girls grew older, ustans used to teach them in the houses. Their learning was limited to memorizing Quran. For women to know writing was considered dangerous as this power will disrupt men's live. It was very rare among the Sharif women to know how to write, although there were examples of learning how to read. This taboo was based on anxiety as Gail Minault pointed out, girls might write letters to forbidden persons or eligible partner for marriage, and that would violate the rules of *purdah* and harm the family honour. The protection of family honour was given more importance rather than the development of girls' mind through education.³⁶

Very few girls/women began their study and continued it until the age of 12 or 13. Then marriage intervened in their studies and in most of the cases they stopped their study.³⁷ Ages of scholars varied from age 5 to 15 and in some of the schools, it was 19 years. For example, there were 41 scholars presented in Hatras schools. 9 were *purdah-nashin*. Ten could write names and count, 6 knew the vowels, 10 were adult, and teacher was an old pundit. In some cases, teachers were mother or wife of Toolaihalqabandi teacher such as Hussuyara School. Mother was assisted by the younger son. In the Masani School, the teacher was *Hulkabundi* teacher's wife. In the Masani School, five scholars were too old and could not appear in the school during the inspection.³⁸

In colonial times, mostly schools were a sort of mud hut, with a *verandah*, mats to sit on, had girls of different ages, sometimes mothers with their children, used books and

³⁶Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, pp. 22-4.

³⁷*Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, pp. 85-86.

³⁸*Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 38.

kept slates on the ground or lap, with no usage of chair or tables, with one chair for the teacher.³⁹ School building belongs to either teacher's husband or father. In some cases, it was given by *Zamindar* and sometimes it was rented out. In many of the cases, women teachers were assisted by their husband or son or father. These men helped to persuade people to send their girls to schools. If the male teacher taught girl scholars, the land of school building belonged to teacher himself.⁴⁰ Sometimes building was rented out or borrowed for the teaching.⁴¹

The first chapter deals with policy making on women's education in the United Provinces. I discuss the pre-colonial system of the education system for boys and girls and how the new educational policies of Government were influenced by the pre-colonial system. Chapter one argues that it was not just the colonial government efforts, but a lack of desire of education among parents also came into the way of the success of women education of United Provinces during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The second chapter deals with the non-governmental actors of education which influenced women's education. I explore the efforts made by Hindu and Muslim socio-religious reformers, Missionaries and Elite women. The chapter will see the aims and politics of these actors of educations why and how they participated in the field of women's education.

The third chapter deals with the question of morality for women as reflected in the formal curriculum, as well as norms of morality which were fashioned outside the classroom. Strict norms of new moralities for elite women and lower, untouchable and rural women were being forged. Through writing different kind of texts which were based on religion was prescribed for women of reformer's caste, kins and groups as formal schooling could not provide moral instruction which could be linked with religion.

³⁹ 'Report of Miss Harris, Fyzabad', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. VIII, January 1885, No. LIII, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, pp. 39-45.

⁴¹ *Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 87.

The fourth chapter is an attempt to explore the relationship between education and hygiene and how home were modernized through hygiene. The question of poverty, hygiene, Western notions of hygiene is analysed. Women became an agent to modernize the nation through modernizing the home.

The fifth chapter will show how education resulted in the emergence of the different profession for women such as teaching, midwifery, inspectresses and related to vocational training. These professions provided women with new opportunities to leave the Home and earn for themselves.

Therefore, the thesis will map out the developments of women's education throughout research period, various ideologies which influenced it, importance of question of morality and hygiene for women, and how it could help in changing the women's attitudes towards their lives.

CHAPTER-1

STATE POLICIES: MAPPING

THE FIELD OF WOMEN'S

EDUCATION

Chapter 1

State Policies: Mapping the Field of Women's Education

As colonial rule penetrated India by the latter half of the nineteenth century, enormous changes in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres took place. The political instability that manifested itself in the event of 1857, the rise of nationalist politics and the emergence of a new middle class went side by side with the adoption of the educational policy. There were many defining moments in the field of education from 1854 to 1930, such as the Charles Wood Despatch of 1854, the Despatch of 1859, the Indian Education Commission of 1882, Curzon's Educational Reforms in early twentieth century, Gokhale's Compulsory Education Bill, and Government Resolutions of 1913 and 1917. It was also a period when many efforts were made by Missionaries and reformers in India (as individuals or as members of various social, religious and political associations) to educate the masses.

United Provinces had a structured indigenous system of schooling for boys. However, education for women was limited to home instruction and religious learning. Nevertheless, the indigenous systems of education provided the colonial state a base for beginning their new system of education. Colonial rule grafted its knowledge system on indigenous learning and made changes that were administratively suitable and more economically efficient. Even as the colonial Government's interest was to produce a docile bureaucracy for its operations in India, shifts and changes in educational policy reveals its absences and inclusions, its redefinitions and constraints. For instance, although the 1840s was a period of enormous changes in education policies and structure, no efforts were made by the government to educate women. There were some signs of elite women getting their education from natives and poor women from missionaries. However, government schooling for women was negligible. A small section of society considered that men's education would trickle down to women and favoured home instruction for women. Others appreciated girls' schooling in public institutions. Therefore, one can observe that even the limited interest in women's education was marked by significant challenges and responses.

The subject of women's education was handled more liberally (regarding the grant, less rigid inspection and examination (within *pardah*). The state adopted a policy of

relative non- interference as it was a 'delicate' subject (socially sensitive issue and the colonial government was reluctant to interfere, especially after 1857 revolt). On the other hand, the colonial rule's minimal interest in women's education was partly a result of the relative economic marginality of women under colonial rule. Consequently, efforts to educate women were made largely by local elites, caste-leaders, associations, reformers and missionaries and not the colonial authorities.

Policies that affected women's education were exclusively in the hands of men, be they colonial officers or Indian. There were Indian men in the education department on various posts who could influence policymaking. These men came from upper caste and middle class backgrounds. Discussions among them did influence policies which decided the fate of women's education. Both British and Indian administrators blamed each other for the limited success of women's education while women themselves remained unheard until they started representing themselves through associations, societies, etc. However, these women who were vocal also largely neglected the voices of rural, 'untouchable' women belonging to the lower castes.

Against this backdrop, this chapter will address the following questions: What forces were active in educating boys? Were the same forces encouraging women too to be educated? Were they sending their girls to schools or educating them at home? This chapter will map out the attitude of the colonial state and upper caste groups on the demands for education raised by untouchables and lower caste. It also focuses on the role of the local elite in defining and extending women's education. It also enquires about the ways in which people responded to the different kinds of learning given in government schools, and tries to understand the factors that finally led to the establishment of schools for their women.

This chapter is structured in the following way- the first section outlines the government's efforts to educate boys. This section will focus on developments in the United Provinces and the shift from indigenous forms of schooling to new systems of schooling for boys. It enquires into the various groups under colonial rule who benefitted from education and looks at those groups that were excluded from learning at this juncture. Subsequently, I shift my focus to women's schooling in the decade of the 1850's. The 1850's is an important decade in which the first public move to

systematise mass education, as in the Charles Wood's despatch of 1854 was undertaken and more specifically 'female education' was discussed. The focus would be on the schooling of women, whether indigenous or colonial. This chapter will also explore the nascent efforts made by the elite and land owning classes and the upper castes.

Further, it will establish the groups that were interested in the question of female education and participated with the colonial officers in shaping government policy and reforming social structures. The chapter will also try to understand the role of caste and class in these negotiations. The final section will discuss the structure of women's schooling that was introduced in late nineteenth century.

1. Schooling for Boys: Indigenous and Colonial

To make sense of the type of schooling that was developed during the colonial period, one need to first understand the pre-colonial system since the government founded its system on the structure of indigenous schooling and reshaped it according to its needs, ideologies and suitability. The nineteenth century was the period when there was a shift from indigenous education to mass government schooling. Poromesh Acharya has looked at the indigenous systems of schooling and the hegemony of the educator class, i.e. Brahmins, in Bengal.¹ Similarly, Kazi Shahidulla discusses the indigenous schooling system of Bengal and the impact of colonialism and responses of traditionally educated classes in Bengal.² Both scholars have focused on the curriculum of institutions attended by Hindus, i.e. *Tols* and *Pathshalas* and changes that occurred in them due to colonial policies. Harjot Oberoi also dealt with the role of traditional guru under colonialism in the context of Punjab. Oberoi emphasized the decline of the class of educators due to colonial policies and how those members afterwards participated in social, religious and political associations and provided

¹Poromesh Acharya, 'Indigenous Vernacular Education in Pre- British Era: Traditions and Problems', *Economic Political Weekly*, Vol 13, No. 48, 1978. And also Acharya, 'Indigenous Education and Brahminical Hegemony in Bengal', in Nigel Crook (ed.), *Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays of Education, Religion, History and Politics*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 98-112.

²Kazi Shahidullah, 'The Purpose and Impact of Government Policy on Pathshala Gurumohashoys in Nineteenth Century Bengal' in Crook (ed.), *Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia*, pp. 119-133.

leadership.³ William Adam, the Education officer of Bengal who surveyed the indigenous education system of Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century, viewed the existing native institutions as the fittest means to 'raise and improve the character of the people'. This plan was considered 'the simplest, safest, the most popular, the most economical and most effectual' mechanism. The policy was not to supersede but to supply the means for making them more effective.⁴ A similar policy was formulated in Punjab and North Western Provinces. The education officials in the North western Provinces considered the 'rich harvest' offered by indigenous schools that was then used as a base to construct government schooling.⁵

Scholars have not examined the schooling of United Provinces in general and more specifically indigenous schooling and women's education. It is crucial to examine the changes undertaken in the indigenous schooling to understand the formation of government schooling. Indigenous girl's education was limited to home instruction, and on providing domestic skills and religious learning. Indigenous education and its transition to colonial schooling are emphasized here to show the transformations from indigenous schooling to the colonial government schooling for both- girls and boys. Government schools such as *Tahsili* and *Hulkabundi* schools also targeted boy's schooling and neglected the girls' education; however, some village girls did attend the *Hulkabundi* schools with their brothers and male relatives. Colonial officials emphasized on women's' education after Charles Wood's 1854 Despatch, which recommended the 'cordial support' to female schooling, that will be dealt in second section.

1.1 Indigenous Schools and their Nature

There were large numbers of schools for boys although girls sometimes studied with their brothers too. Home instruction was considered more suitable for women. There was also a notion that educated men should handle the responsibility of educating

³Harjot Oberoi, 'Bhais, Babas and Gyanis: Traditional Intellectuals in Nineteenth Century Punjab', *Studies in History*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1980, pp. 33-62.

⁴Henry Stewart Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Mathura, Shahjahanpur for 1850-51*, Agra: Secundra Orphan Press, 1852, p. 7, Reid was Visitor General of Schools of N.W.P., later on he became Director of Public Instruction of North Western Provinces. Henceforth, Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education*.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 7.

women. This section will focus on indigenous schools for boys, as there was a lack of systematic girls' indigenous education.

In the United Provinces, there were schools such as *Koran School*, *Urdu school*, *Arabic school*, *Persian school*, *Sanskrit school*, *Nagari/Hindi school* and *Sarafi/Kaithi/Mahajani schools* (schools for trading and agricultural communities). These schools were based on professional needs of a particular community. In the context of indigenous schools, the term 'school' was used by colonial authorities to refer to any place of instruction where a teacher was entertained, paid either by the master of the house, or his pupils. A teacher could open a school for his own livelihood at his home. Indigenous education reports counted domestic tuition to rich people's children and neighbours' children as schools. Sometimes, schools were organised in religious spaces such as temples, mosques, etc.⁶ In Mathura, Hindi and Persian schools conducted classes mostly in the *verandah* of the private houses or under the shade of trees. Sometimes only two or three boys studied in a school.⁷

The school curriculum and other aspects such as salaries of teachers, organization, and plan of learning spaces had a religious orientation with the exception of schools for professional training. These schools imparted instructions in reading, writing, and arithmetic with religious teaching. There were exceptions such as the *Nagari* schools which taught *Kaithi*, *Mahajani* or *Baniya* accounts to impart professional skills in account keeping and record maintenance. It was a completely decentralized structure. The State did not monitor the system and its role was limited to giving endowments to schools. These institutions were established mainly through private initiatives, with social and community support. Most of the indigenous schools employed one teacher. The number of pupils varied according to the type of instruction, its utility, and its specific location.⁸

⁶Ibid, p. 13.

⁷*The General Report on Public Instruction in North- Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1847-48*, Agra: Secundra Orphan Press, 1848, p. Appendix C, lxxiii-lxxv. Hereafter, *General Report of Public Instruction of N.W.P.*

⁸R. Thornton, *Memoirs on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North Western Provinces of Bengal Presidency*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1850.

In eight districts of United Provinces,⁹ there were around 3000 indigenous schools with 25,000 children studying in them. The residents or the elite landowning classes supported such schools.¹⁰ The ruling classes who supported such schools were either educating their children as a part of religious cause or did so in an attempt to get symbolic capital. This explains why colonial officials tried to take their financial help since there had been already a culture of support of education among the elites. Wherever ruling class support was not available, the intermediate classes supported the education of their children to earn a livelihood. For instance, the Rajah of Mynpoory and his family were quite uneducated and even the landowning proprietor classes such as the *Rajputs* were indifferent towards learning. In Mynpoory, the intermediate classes were more active in education as compared to the higher classes.¹¹

One needs to understand that Indigenous schooling was embedded in the existing structure of caste and on the religious needs of the people. H.S. Reid reported the predominance of upper castes as teachers and scholars. *Brahmins* preferred Sanskrit or Sanskrit - Hindi learning as it would help them in performing their professional religious duties. The object of Sanskrit instruction was to 'make the students practical priests and such works alone were read as conduced to this end.'¹² *Kayasths* groups were connected with script writing or account keeping profession. As there were 846 kayasth teachers (46.4 percent) highest numbers of all classes, *Brahmins* were on second, the numbers amounting to 800 of a total 1821 Hindu indigenous teachers in the eight districts of United Provinces in 1850. In the Hindi and Persian schools, the numbers of *Kayasth* teachers were even more than *Brahmins*. Hindi schools provided for the learning of *Baniya*, *Sarafi*, *Mahajani* characters, and Persian schools provided

⁹There were eight districts on which Reid reported the condition of indigenous education. These districts included Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Mathura, and Shahjahanpur.

¹⁰There was a tradition that elite ruling classes supported the learning and provided the land to teachers, that was the reason that some teachers taught gratuitously. It was more true in case of Sanskrit schools as they taught gratuitously as *jagir* was provided to teacher. In the town of Bareilly, there was Sanskrit *Pathshala*, which received *jagir*, but that was resumed by the Government in 1814. According to Act of 1814, land was resumed and life pension was granted and it was to lapse in 1843. After that, institution was supported by Hindu community by voluntary contribution, in *General Report of Public Instruction of N.W.P. for the year 1847-48*, p. Appendix, xciv.

¹¹*General Report of Public Instruction of N.W.P. for the year 1847-48*, p. Appendix c, lxxxi.

¹²'Report of Collector of Mirzapur', For more details see, *General Report of Public Instruction in N.W.P. for the year 1847-48*, p. Appendix c, xc.

training in Persian, which was used in administration and court. The Collector of Shahjahanpur wrote:

Persian was said to be studied by the Hindoos not from choice but with the object of enabling them to conduct their business or to obtain Government employment. Its popularity was confined chiefly to large towns; and the wealthy zemindars and putwarris encouraged it solely on account of their children. To the masses of people of; its requirement unnecessary, as involving more time and expense than could be afforded conveniently.¹³

Persian schools were expensive and only an elite group of the society who treated Persian teachers as part of the 'domestic establishment' could afford them; the Persian teacher received a higher salary than most teachers of other schools did. That made them distinct from Hindi schools, which were attended not just by trading classes but by agricultural communities as well. Hindi schools taught *Nagari* reading, writing and arithmetic to ordinary children (miscellaneous castes) but taught *Kayethee*, *Mahajunee*, *Bunnyah* characters to children of the respective professions. The Collector of Futtehpore wrote that:

The Kayethee or Mahajunee alphabet was first taught, after which the Bunnyah system of accounts was commenced and gone through, then followed instruction in reading and writing of letters, which furnished the education of Bunnayahs. Village accounts were studied in the villages by the sons of putwarries and *Zamindar*; not a single literary book was read.¹⁴

Hindi schools were just not attended by trading commercial classes, but pupils from other caste groups also. This made them popular, but they provided elementary learning only. Both Persian and Hindi schools provided partially secular and secular instruction respectively.¹⁵ In the district Shahjahanpur during 1847-8, there were 76 Hindi schools of which nine were in Shahjahanpur itself. Among the teachers, 60 were *Kayeth (kayasth)*, four *Thakurs*, four *Pandeys*, two *Kurmis*, two *Naees*, one Muslim, one *Aheer*, one *Lohar*, and one *Tumbole*. Among the 248 pupils, 11 were

¹³*General Report of Public Instruction in N.W.P. for the year 1847-8*, p. appendix c, lxxxiv.

¹⁴*Ibid*, p. appendix c, lxxxv.

¹⁵On the other hand, Kuran, Sanskrit and Arabic schools were providing religious learning and predominated respective religious classes. The total number of schools were 3169 in eight districts on which report was based on the eight districts where total numbers of schools were 3169. There were 11 Arabic, 109 Kuran, 155 Arabic and Persian Schools, 1258 Persian schools, 53 Urdu and Hindi schools, 1119 Hindi schools, 233 Hindi and Sanskrit, 205 Sanskrit, and 20 English and vernacular schools. The number of pupils who attended these schools were, in Arabic 87, Kuran 821, Arabic and Kuran 1284, Persian 8503 and in Urdu 49, Urdu and Hindi 1781, Hindi 10090, Hindi and Sanskrit 2845, Sanskrit 1561, and 956 studied in English and vernacular schools in 1850. Hindi and Persian schools were more popular study in, Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education*.

Kissans, 12 were *Kumhars*, 30 were *Sonars*, seven were *Hulvaees*, 33 were *Kurmis*, two were *Chamars*, 10 were *Aheers*, six were *Thuteras*, one was a *Durzee*, sixty five were *Kulwars*, two were *Lohars*, two were *Jat*, four were *Boorjees*, one *Malee*, two *Joshees*, 13 *Tumbolees*, 11 *Khuttrees*, one *Byragee*, one *Shepherd*, one *Bunjara*, 12 *Mahajans*, 11 *Rohungura*.¹⁶ *Kayasths* attended the Hindi schools in very large numbers.

In Hindi schools, teachers and scholars both were from different classes and castes and that made them temporary or less permanent. As boys were absent during the agricultural seasons, they were closed down during harvests.¹⁷ Schools were not permanent institutions in many cases as we can trace that 42.07 percent of schools established within a year and closed down in the same year. Such interruption had a profound impact on the learning also since lessons learnt in the interval of rest (after the sowing of the crop) were forgotten during the harvest time. Sometimes schools worked for three months, and then closed for the boys to reassemble when their services were not required in the fields.¹⁸ On the other hand, most Persian students (60 percent) did not complete the curriculum of nine years and left the schools after three years.

In Hindi schools, overall, proportion of *Kayasths* formed the largest numbers as teachers, i.e. 46.4 percent of *Kayasth* teachers to 43.9 percent *Brahmins* teachers. But in Agra, Aligarh and Mathura, there were 266 *Brahmin* teachers to 45 *Kayasths*. However, in other districts, there were 12 percent *Brahmins* and 74 percent *Kayasths*. Similarly in the Rohilkhund district, whose population was predominantly Muslim, there were more Muslim teachers than Hindu teachers, i.e. 52.2 to 45.8 percent.¹⁹ Mathura was a predominantly Hindu province while Bareli, Rohilkhund and Shahjahanpur were muslim majority provinces.²⁰

The colonial officials corrected other discrepancies in pay fixation through the homogenisation of the income of teachers. Teachers from Persian Schools worked as

¹⁶ *General Report of Public Instruction in N.W.P. for the year 1847-48*, p. Appendix c, lxxxiv.

¹⁷ Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 17.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 18-27.

private tutors also and were mostly supported by Muslim and *Kayasth* families. They were paid in both cash and kind. On the other hand, members of the *Banya* community and other agricultural classes of smaller income groups attended the Hindi schools and were taught rudiments of reading, writing and multiplication tables. Hindi teachers also came from *Brahmin and Kayasth* castes.²¹ Persian teachers were better paid because Persian was the administrative language till 1837.²² Therefore, measurements of learning and knowledge or the ability of the teacher and the means of pupils who were attending the schools determined the teachers' income.

The age of pupils ranged from five years to well above 30 years²³ and they attended school from three months to up to 20 years. It varied depending on the curriculum, study and school. While the maximum period of study in Persian and Hindi school was 8 to 9 years and a minimum of one year, in the Sanskrit and Arabic school, the study period depended on individual choice of subject and desire of knowledge. Sometimes in the Sanskrit and Arabic schools pupils studied for 10, 15 or 20 years.²⁴ It was a decentralised system. The use of textbooks and the choice of subject depended on the teacher. Almost 224 different books were prescribed in the Persian schools. In a school of eleven boys, eight probably were reading different books. For instance, the Persian school had one primer, 18 books on grammar, 10 books on lexicology, 118 books of epistolary composition, 16 books on prose work, ethical and narrative, 25 books on poetry and compositions, 13 books on morals and religious learning, 6 of history, 4 on arithmetic, 1 on Law, 1 on medicine, and 1 on the arts.²⁵ It created a lot of confusion among colonial officials who tried to solve this problem through homogenising their curricula and prescribing uniform textbooks for government schools.

Schools were based on and attended by communities who were occupationally connected. For instance, Arabic and Persian schools were attended by more Hindu than Muslim children as Persian was the official and administration language in the early nineteenth century. To understand Persian works, one needed to acquire some

²¹*Ibid*, p. 16.

²²*Ibid*, p. 17.

²³*Ibid*, pp. 30-33.

²⁴*Ibid*, p. 31.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 57.

knowledge of Arabic also.²⁶ That was the reason why Hindus attended Arabic and Persian schools. There were a total of 10054 Persian pupils, and 5526 Hindus and 4528 Muslims attended schools. Among Hindus, *Kayasths* dominated with 3639 pupils, followed by *Brahmins* who were 500. In Shahjahanpur and Agra, Muslims outnumbered Hindus in the schools. Whereas in Bareilly, the *Kayasth* pupils alone exceeded the Muslims. Sanskrit and Hindi schools could not attract the Muslims, so they accounted for only 265 scholars of a total of 140001 total scholars. Hindi and Sanskrit schools were attended by 2593 *Brahmins*, 1446 *Rajputs*, 639 *Kayasths*, 3017 *Banyas*, and 3408 miscellaneous castes scholars. There were a large number of miscellaneous caste groups among pupils and teachers primarily belonging to the *Brahmin* and *Kayasth* caste. There were 766 Brahmin teachers, 28 *Rajput*, 633 *Kayasths*, 33 *Banya*, 104 miscellaneous castes and 3 Muslim teachers among 1567 teachers of Hindi-Sanskrit schools.²⁷ Pupils tended to attend Hindi-Sanskrit schools rather than just pure Sanskrit schools. Mostly *Brahmins* acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit and attended Sanskrit school only to qualify for a job of *Pandit*. There were 205 pure Sanskrit schools with 1442 pupils, and 233 Hindi-Sanskrit schools with 2,852; on the other hand there 1121 Hindi schools with 10,160 scholars.²⁸

Sanskrit schools taught grammar, lexicology, astronomy and astrology, puranas, poetry, logic, law, mathematics, and medicine. The first text, *Saraswati*, *Chandrika* or *Kaumadi* were used in Sanskrit schools to teach Grammar followed by the study of Puraṇ Bhagwat. There were specific texts for branches of knowledge: to become a logician, one studied texts such as *Tarka Sangraha*, *Tarka Dipika*, and *Muktamali* and other texts for poetry. The knowledge of law was developed through the use of *Kerat*, *Naishabi*, *Sahitya Darpan* and *Manusanghita* or *Mitakshara*. The Standard texts in medicine were *Nedan*, *Nightantee* and *Sharangdhar*. Works on Astrology, Grammar, and Religious subjects were very popular among pupils and teachers. In the eight districts, 96 Sanskrit books were read in the schools, of which more than 57 percent was read in one school only and 52 percent by only one student.²⁹

²⁶It was mentioned by one of the Visitor General that, 'The Education of the Persian scholar cannot be considered complete, till he had acquired some knowledge of accident of Arabic Grammar, from which all the Persian Grammatical terms, &C., &C., are derived.' *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

²⁷*Ibid*, Appendix.

²⁸*Ibid*, p. 58.

²⁹*Ibid*, pp. 60-62.

One needs to remember that in Mathura, Muslims were 1/12th of the total pupils, and *Brahmins* 5/12th, while in Bareilly, *Brahmins* 8/12th, Muslim 5.5/12th. Colonial officials argued that *Mathura* was a holy land for the Hindus and Bareilly and Shahjahanpore were important places for the Muslim population. Rohilkhand was populated largely by Muslims, and they were an influential part of the community and hence the Muslim teachers exceeded the Hindus (52.2 to 45.8 percent).³⁰ That explained why Bareilly and Shahjahanpur had more Persian schools and Agra, Mainpuri and Mathura had more Hindi schools. As explained above, lesser numbers of *Brahmins* attended school while the *Kayasth* and the Muslim population dominated the Persian schools. There was considerable disparity among the Brahmin and the *Kayasth* pupils. There were 2,242 Brahmin and 671 *Kayasth* pupils in Agra and Mathura while there were 1,098 *Brahmins* to 1,649 *Kayasth* scholars in Bareilly and Shahjahanpur. In other remaining districts, there was no such disparity and *Brahmins* formed a majority of 844 pupils out of 5,704.³¹

1.2 Transition from Indigenous to Colonial Government schooling

Colonial officials saw many defects in the indigenous system and tried to find remedies for them in the Government village schools. The Government Resolution of 9th February 1850 enlisted various measures to correct these defects. A village Government school was established at the head-quarter of every *Tehsildar* in 1850, which later came to be known as the *Hulkabundi* schools. The first change was the introduction of mother tongue or vernacular in the schools as a language. The choices were Hindi and Urdu. Indigenous Hindi schools taught the Alphabet and *Kayasthi* or *Mahajani* characters which were important only for mercantile classes. Efforts were made to discourage separate *Kayasthi* schools, and those languages were begun as subjects in the Government Hindi or Urdu village schools. An order was passed, which made necessary the knowledge of *Nagari* for any *Patwari*.³² Separate textbooks were compiled to teach *Patwari*, *Baniya* and *Mahajani* papers. Efforts were made to discourage the Sanskrit and Persian schools to make the vernacular popular. The first step taken was to remove prejudices against the study of vernacular languages and the notion that Urdu or Hindi could be learnt if one had knowledge of Persian or Sanskrit

³⁰*Ibid*, p. 27.

³¹*Ibid*.

³²*Ibid*, p. 120.

respectively. Colonial officials reversed this, to prove to teachers and pupils that the shortest road to the acquisition of a classical language was through the mastery over their mother tongue.³³ Hindi caught the attention of colonial officials as it was spoken by the agricultural communities. In Rohilkhund, Urdu was more prominent than in the Doab Gangetic region.³⁴

The teachers' salary was defrayed from village expenditure by the Government, treating them as Government servants, giving between 10 and 20 rupees per mensem. Landlords were asked for a voluntary contribution for education. But by 1866, 1% education cess on total revenue was imposed. Prizes to deserving schools, masters and pupils were awarded to enhance their merits. The fees was initially fixed according to pupils' means, but later it was fixed as two *annas* per month uniformly.³⁵

In the Government schools, some new subjects such as geography, history and geometry were introduced. Standard textbooks were compiled and published in both vernaculars i.e. Hindi and Urdu for the schools. The text books such as *Akshar Dipika*, *Ganit Prakash*, *Dharm Singh ka Vrittant* and *Bidyankur* remained popular in the schools throughout the colonial period. The objective of opening such village schools in every *tehsil* was to provide elementary education to the agricultural classes. Schools were meant 'to enable the landholders and cultivators to protect themselves from fraud on the part of *patwari*, by teaching them to read and write, and to comprehend the system under which their rights are recorded, their payment entered, and arrears specified in the *Patwari's* book.'³⁶ The children of the shopkeepers or village-bankers were inclined towards this kind of education because it was useful in their traditional profession. Textbooks such as *Mahajani Sar*, *Baniya Sar*, *MahajaniSar Dipika*, *Kshetra Chandrika*, *Surajpur Ki Kahani*, *Kisanopedesh* and *Gramya Kalpadrum* were related to the skills of account keeping and the measurement of agricultural land. Other textbooks were vernacular primers, manuals on morals, History and Mathematics.³⁷ All these books had two versions; one was

³³*Ibid*, pp. 105-06.

³⁴*Ibid*, p. 107.

³⁵*Ibid*, p. 90.

³⁶*Ibid*, p. 85.

³⁷*Ibid*, pp. 200-216.

Hindi and the other, Urdu. It seems that a clear division was made on the basis of religion, i.e. Hindi for Hindus and Urdu for Muslims.

The Government schools were established for protecting the rights of agricultural communities. Mr. Griffith, DPI, reported in 1865-66 that bulk of the *Hulkabundi* scholars were from the agricultural groups whose time was most precious for their parents that prevented them from attending schools regularly. He complained of scholars' irregular attendance. He reported, '...when the mangoes are ripe, or the crops are being stacked, on no account can they be spared: nay, each family has some cattle, and each family must send a child to look after them'.³⁸ But this was a usual practice in the indigenous schools. Efforts were made to ensure continuous and regular attendance. Attendance registers were introduced in which four types of leave for pupils were mentioned.³⁹ Pupils name was struck off from registers when they exceeded prescribed leave rules and they were readmitted only after paying a fine.

Initially, people's attitude towards these schools was not favourable. Many *Mahajans* and *Banyas* thought that it was enough that their children learnt multiplication tables by rote and were able to sign their name in *Mahajani* rather than learn *Nagari*. Papers were kept in the *Kayasthi* character, *Patwari* and the *Zamindar* felt learning of *Nagari* was useless as for them 'to read *Nagari* is to read Sanskrit'.⁴⁰ These classes did not want to pay fees as they felt that the Government education was useless. Sometimes they sent their children in the hope that their fees would be evaded and when they were asked for tuition fees, they removed their children from schools. These classes confirmed the idea that:

We not only asked to send our children to the school established by Government, but to pay two anas per mensem for each boy. We have nothing to say to Urdu or the *Nagari* character; our likings and our duties call for knowledge of Persian, or of *Mahajani*, or of *Kayasthi*. Government very liberally pay the teacher ten rupees per mensem; what can be wanted with my two anas.⁴¹

As the above statement shows, people were not ready to send their children to government schools. If some people were sending their children to school, they did

³⁸Report of the North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken before the Committee and Memorial Addressed to the Education Commission, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884, p. 24. Hereafter *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*.

³⁹In the register, * was showed as present, (B- Bimari) showed Non attendance from sickness, (R- Rukshat) meant non-attendance with leave, (G- Ghairhazir be Izazat) showed non-attendance without leave in Reid, *Report on Indigenous Education*, Appendix.

⁴⁰*Ibid*, p. 86.

⁴¹*Ibid*, p. 88.

not wish to pay for it. There was a deficit of 528 rupees on the part of the government in 1851.⁴² People's participation in the discourse of colonial education was linked to their experience and knowledge of indigenous learning. Local people preferred indigenous education as compared to colonial education since the latter lacked religious instruction and could not fulfil the requirements of hereditary calling. Even in the late nineteenth century, some people preferred indigenous schools to the extent that they still exist. Nothing much has changed from the starting of village schools at the head-quarters of every *tehsil* (called *tehsili* school) in 1850 to 1882. However, there was a greater appreciation of learning. J. Nesfield, Director of Public Instruction of United Provinces, gave evidence to the Indian Education Commission of 1882 that some people accepted the Government education as it was provided entirely at government expense whereas the expenses of indigenous education were borne by the communities who patronised it. Except for *Baniyas* who still preferred *Kaithi* schools, all classes of people attended the government schools either by 'compulsion or by an illusion.' People from other castes were forced to attend the school by the influential neighbours (or by local officials) since a good attendance was mandatory to open a government school. Often, people attended schools in the hope of getting a government job. All the low and mixed castes were aloof from Government schools. Even if they attended such schools, their attendance was temporary and uncertain.⁴³

As a result of colonial policies, indigenous schools started declining in the decade of 1860s. In 1854, indigenous schools numbered 2,936 with 25000 scholars in eight selected districts. In 1859, the number increased to 6,646 schools with 65,583 scholars throughout the provinces, but in the year 1864, they declined to 5,367 schools with 52,689 scholars and in 1870, they were only 4,531 schools with 53,765 scholars. The colonial officials gave credit to the success of *Hulkabundi* and *Tahsil* schools since many indigenous schools petitioned for a government inspection. Teachers were induced to prescribe Government school books.⁴⁴ Here one needs to remember that petition for government inspection and prescription of government school books meant applying for a grant-in-aid and the subsequent conversion of the indigenous school into a government school. Many such schools might have transitioned into a

⁴²*Ibid*, p. 91.

⁴³Evidence of J. C. Nesfield, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 255.

⁴⁴*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 31.

government school in order to get the grant from the Government. Government schools were in competition with indigenous schools which decreased in number while the government schools increased. There were 1465 boys in tahsili schools in April 1851 that rose in 1854 to 4,688.⁴⁵ Similarly, the total number of *hulkabundi* schools in 1854 was 758 and were attended by 17,000 scholars.⁴⁶

Now, it will be interesting to observe the ways through which these schools were supported. Initially, the Government had asked land-owning groups to contribute voluntarily to support the school education. But, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces in 1866, Colvin, recommended to introduce one percent education cess on the total revenue. At that time, revenue was calculated as '50 percent of the net assets of the land.' In 1866, according to the new settlement, it was raised to 55 percent, and that included one percent cess. Later, the one percent education cess became a compulsory tax instead of a voluntary contribution. It was the reason the colonial government had looked to these classes and made changes in the education system according to their interest. This led to the shaping of the curricula according to the needs of these classes'.⁴⁷

1.3 The Beneficiaries of the Colonial Policies of Education

The primary function of the introduction of English education in India was to cut down the economic costs of the empire by introducing Indians in subordinate posts and training native revenue officers to ensure efficient and timely revenue payment.⁴⁸ It also intended to create a taste for British goods among them and thereby producing a loyal class of Indians⁴⁹ in the name of a moral and intellectual progress of the

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p. 17.

⁴⁶*Ibid*, p. 31.

⁴⁷*Ibid*, p. 28.

⁴⁸In 1833, the Company was in the midst of a grave financial crisis. Governor General William Bentinck's principal problems was the high pay of English Officers. He therefore, considered employing Indian subordinates in the judicial and revenue offices. Revenue extraction was the main source of income of the Company, so he wanted to train native revenue officers in a more efficient way. This objective guided the design of curricula which included such subjects as Geography, Arithmetic, and Geometry. See Aparna Basu, *Essays in the Indian History of Education*, New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 1982, pp. 7-9.

⁴⁹Introduction of English education in India was aimed at reshaping India in England's image since Macaulay's minute. It was also true that English educated classes were quite loyal to British during 1857 revolt. For instance George Campbell appreciated the English educated class in the year 1853, that: 'the classes most advanced in English education, and who talk like newspapers, are not yet those from whom we have anything to fear; but on the contrary they are those who have gained everything

Indian people at large.⁵⁰ In the United Provinces, most importantly, the colonial education policy focused more on creating an efficient Indian educated workforce to collect revenue⁵¹ and on protecting the rights of agricultural classes so that they could read and understand *patwarees* papers and obviate any errors added by these men. The education of agriculturist classes was encouraged to ensure a better flow of revenue.⁵² In the United Provinces, castes such as *Brahmins*, *Banias*, *Mahajans*, *Patwaris* and *Kayasths* and some agriculturist classes were attending indigenous schools in larger numbers in comparison to other groups, although the *Rajputs* and the Muslims also took interest government education. These groups largely benefitted from educational institutions. The Government adopted the policy to deal with those groups only in tahsili schools or *Hulkabundi*⁵³ (Government schooling) as they were considered as the 'most intelligent of all the classes.'⁵⁴

In the year 1851, *Tahsil* schools were established in the headquarters of every Tahsildar. Similarly, *Hulkabundi* (circle of villages) schools were established for the creation of elementary skills among agricultural communities under the supervision of James Thomason (Lieutenant Governor of North Western Provinces).⁵⁵ Whether schools were *Hulkabundi* or *Tehsili* (which were explained in the last section), these

by our rule, and whom neither interest nor inclination leads to deeds of daring involving any personal risk.' For more details, see Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of Raj*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 47-49.

⁵⁰Preeti, 'Schooling Society: Education in Punjab in the latter half of Nineteenth Century', Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2011, p. 44.

⁵¹As Manu Goswami has argued, geography, surveying, mensuration, arithmetic were important subjects in the reconstitution of local knowledge. Introduction of these new subjects was linked to the colonial interest in revenue collection, since a sound knowledge of Indian land settlement was imperative to improve revenues. See, Manu Goswami, *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Spaces*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, pp. 132-153.

⁵²Colonial state emphasized the education of agriculturist classes while these classes kept themselves aloof from education as they wished to invest the time of their son in the field and not in the schools. Subject such as geography, history, Science did not suit their needs. See *Provincial Committee of N.W.P of 1882*.

⁵³Similarly *Hulkabundi* schools were established keeping in mind the needs of those classes. The *Hulkabundi* or primary vernacular schools originated in 1851 as an experiment made by Mr. Alexander, the Collector of Muttra. The Plan was- 'A Paragana being chosen, it was ascertained how many children of a school going age it numbered, what revenue it paid, and what expense it could therefore bear. A cluster of village, some four or five, was then marked out, and the most central of the villages fixed upon as the site of the school.' Aid varied to different district but *Zamindars* contributed one percent of their land revenue to education. Mr. Alexander's idea was followed by other collectors, in 1853, Agra, Bareilly, Etah, Mainpuri, Muttra, and Shahjahanpur. By the end of year 1854, there were 17,000 boys receiving education in *Hulkabundi* schools. The teachers pay varied from rupees 3 to 7. Reading, writing, arithmetic, mensuration, and geography were taught. See, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 18.

⁵⁴*Ibid*, p. 16.

⁵⁵Tim Allender, 'Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India', *Paedagoica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 45: 6, 2006, P. 733.

were opened for the benefit of agricultural classes (rich and landowning classes) and As Manu Goswami has argued, geography, surveying, mensuration, arithmetic were important subjects in the reconstitution of local knowledge. Introduction of these new subjects was linked to the colonial interest in revenue collection, since a sound knowledge of Indian land settlement was imperative to improve revenues. Subjects like science were introduced to encourage the pupils to ask questions, and develop observational skills. History was introduced to contrast the colony's history with European history, or differentiate Indian and European knowledge. Geography and mapping created a new colonial spatial knowledge which was also a systematic critique of Hindu and *Puranic* understandings of space-time.⁵⁶ Castes that were active in indigenous education such as *Brahmins*, *Kayasths* and *Banyas*. Efforts were made to popularise these *tahsili* and *hulkabundi* schools among these groups. While *Hulkabundi* schools remained village schools for elementary education and *tehsili* schools proved to be institutions of middle and higher education for boys. Subjects such as *mensuration*, *surveying*, *arithmetic*, etc were given importance in the curricula of these schools.

Colonial education system did not mean just English education; it meant a change in the whole structure which involved changes in curricula, physical space of schools, fee structure, the financial matters of school, teacher-pupil relationship, etc. There was difficulty in keeping up the attendance. Since pupils stayed near their schools, they went home even before school ended. When villagers were tired of school, the attendance decreased, and the staff had to be transferred to another village school. In many cases if the son of the chief resident studied and was unable to continue further, it created a negative impression in other villages towards education. After ten years, when new children of new *Zamindars* were required to be educated, the school was again reopened in its old quarter. Nesfield noted that some of the influential natives started to open schools under European influence. But he has given the example of the native patronising indigenous schools. He said that:

The Maharajah of Balrampur, in the Gonda district, 'once established ten village schools on his estates, but he closed them after three or four years. The taluqdar of Baragaon, in the Sitapur district (the later Mirza Abbas Beg), once aided in the support of a large vernacular school at that place, but he withdrew his aid, as he officially informed me, on discovering that most of the ex-students, who had attended the school for several years, had forgotten what they learnt a few

⁵⁶Goswami, *Producing India*, pp. 132-153.

years after leaving. These are the only vernacular schools within my knowledge that have ever been established in Oudh by private and non-missionary enterprise.⁵⁷

J.C. Nesfield, The Director of Public Instruction of North Western Provinces during 1890s, explained the inclination of some classes and castes towards education and the indifference to education by others in the following manner. He argued that people of India sought education for two reasons- one, some castes valued education to learn their hereditary professions, and two, because the study and practice of religion was considered necessary. Among Hindus, *Baniyas*, *Kshattris*, *Brahmins*, *Kayasths* and *Khattris*, education was valued because it was important to carry their professions such as trade, banking, money-lending (for *baniyas*). *Brahmins* valued education because it helped them to become *Purohits* (family priests), *Kathaks* (reciters of *Purans*), or *Jyothisis* (astrologers); *Kayasths* sought education in order to adopt their hereditary professions of writers, *muharrir*, *patwaris* and *mukhtars*; *Chattris* (*Kshatriyass*) valued education as they were landowners and it helped them in the management of their estates. Among Muslims too, those men received education who sought professions such as *muharrirs*, *hakims*, *maulvis* or religious teachers. Interest in religion and demand of hereditary professions were the only motives for attending schools. That explained why some classes took interest in the institutional education while others such as low castes did not. Nesfield wrote about the low inclination towards the education of these low and mixed castes thus:

The parents cannot afford to sacrifice for the sake of a primary education the petty earnings which their children can sometimes make in the field or bazaars; and the children themselves are much too ill fed in body to feel any anxiety about food to the mind. These low and mixed castes have been illiterate from the beginning of their existence, and until some radical improvement takes place in their condition, and until the requirements of native life becomes very different from what they are, I think they are destined to remain so. These castes constitute the great bulk of the Indian population. The demand for primary education in this country is therefore (as I think) very limited. It is limited, in fact, to a certain class of Muhammadans and to the four or five Hindu castes which stand at the upper grade of the social scale, and even among these there is a considerable proportion who have from time immemorial sunk to the level of Sudras, and who as labourers, coolies, or petty tenants have as little desire or need for education as low-caste men.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Evidence of J. C. Nesfield to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, pp. 255-56. J.C. Nesfield was Inspector of schools of Oudh. He worked four years as Professor in Mofussil College in Bengal, and one and half year in Presidency College, Calcutta. He was Director of Public Instruction in British Burmah for two years and afterwards three years Director of Public Instruction in Oudh. One and a half year, he worked as Principal of Government College, Benares, in North-Western Provinces and he was a member of the Benares District Educational Committee. He inspected the schools in Oudh for three years. He had been also connected with higher and primary educational work in England before coming to India.

⁵⁸*Ibid*, p. 255.

He stated that only *Mehtars* and beef-butchers were excluded from learning. *Mehtars* were 'repulsive' to both Hindus and Muslims whereas the beef-butchers were hateful to Hindus due to their profession of cow-slaughtering. Nesfield gave evidence to the Indian Education Commission in 1882 that all other low caste Hindus such as *pasis*, *chamars* etc. were allowed to access the government schools. He found instances of the employment of *pasis* and *kurmis* as school masters in the Government schools. He appreciated the various mixture of ranks and classes in the schools of India and more especially in Oudh.⁵⁹ But it was not a new thing. The indigenous system of education too had some members of low castes. But their learning was not religious in nature. Low caste people were entitled to secular knowledge only.

Similarly, Babu Tota Ram stated to the Indian Education Commission that there were very few classes and castes who were interested in the government education. Cultivators or peasants of lowest means and subsistence did not have any interest in educating their boys. While some well to do cultivators and owners of large estates generally secured primary education for the purpose of keeping record of land and also for keeping and checking accounts. *Baniyas* were content with instructions of reading, writing and arithmetic tables and formulae as it was important for money lending transactions. In the villages, sons of village *pundits*, *patwaris* and *baniyas* attended village schools, but did not continue too long as they looked out for their technical and professional training.⁶⁰ It also shows that people attended school for its practical utility. If Government *Halkabundi* village schooling was not able to provide them, they wished to go for private (professional) training too. He blamed the

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰Evidence of Tota Ram to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 333. Tota Ram had studied in Indigenous village school of Aligarh for learning Hindi, and completed Hindi study in the Government *Hulkabundi* school. To learn Persian, he studied in a *maktab*. For higher education in Sanskrit, he attended Sanskrit *pathshala*. He was appointed as a head master of the Fatehgarh High school under the management of a Committee consisting of Native and European gentlemen. He also appointed in 1872 in Queen's College as Junior teacher. He passed High Court pleadership examination and left the education department in September 1874. He, with the assistance of Lala Cheda Lal, established a Sanskrit *pathshala* at Aligarh. He had worked as manager of private Anglo-Vernacular school, and also as a Secretary. He was supporter of Hindi language. He with Lala Madho Pershad, a *Rais* of the Aligarh District started Anglo-Hindi newspaper called *Bharat Bandhu* in 1877 with a aim to improve Sanskrit and Hindi language. He established a 'Bhasha Samvardhini Sabha' or Bhasha Improvement Society, Aligarh in 1878. The object of society was to improve and enrich the Hindi literature, and encourage original works and translations of valuable books in Hindi. He established a 'Boarding house' at Aligarh for boys who wanted to study at local high school and Anglo Muhammadan Oriental college, at cheaper rate. He was also member of managing committee of the Muhammadan-Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

defective nature of village schools which could not attract people towards education. Artisans and Labourers kept themselves aloof from education of any kind. They did not prefer school education as they lived on daily earnings. Their sons helped them in their work and also earned for the family. Some classes deprived themselves of education due to traditional prejudices. Babu Tota Ram stated that:

There are people even now in these provinces who, at the happening of a chance calamity on the entrance of their sons to a school, attribute the calamity to such entrance, and give up the idea of ever educating their sons, saying 'Parhna hamaren chajta nahen' (Reading does not agree with our family); and thereby prefer to remain in ignorance and darkness. Low-class people, such as sweepers, &c., a mere touch of whose body is considered pollution, are totally excluded from instruction. Their exclusion is not due to their apathy for learning, but to the religious and social prejudices of the people belonging to the higher classes whom they serve. The result is that the primary instruction is sought for by particular classes only, such as traders, landholders, and people who depend on penmanship for their livelihood.⁶¹

The above statement explains that it was not just the lower castes' negligence towards education but there was a kind of pressure from higher castes which forcibly prevented their participation in educational institutions. Influential people did not approve of learning among the lowest classes or masses. They were against it as most of them felt it to be an insult if 'dhobis and chamars residing in their village' were being educated. The lower classes of villagers were 'owned' by *Thakurs* or upper castes, and did not enjoy the freedom of decision making. They were enjoying less liberty in the villages than cities. Upper castes were apprehensive about the spread of education among lower castes and classes and vowed that it 'will directly weaken any interfere with their rank and position in society.'⁶² Inspector of first circle wrote in 1872-73, that children of 'untouchable' castes did attend *Hulkabundi* schools, but their presence was very objectionable to local gentlemen. The Inspector reported the presence of 19 sons of butchers in all the *Hulkabundi* schools of the first circle. He further cited personal experiences thus: 'I remember once telling a Native friend that one of the pillars of state under the haughtiest of the kings of England was the son of a butcher. He said it was a *mushkil bat*, and proceeded to tell the story of Aurangzeb and the weaver's sons in the Delhi School.'⁶³ It was unacceptable for people even to hear that low caste children could mingle with children from the upper castes and classes for education.

⁶¹*Ibid*, p. 333.

⁶²*Ibid*.

⁶³*Progress of Education in the North Western Provinces for the year 1872-3*, Allahabad: North-Western Provinces' Government Press, 1873, p. 81, Hereafter, *Progress of Education in N.W.P.*

On the other hand, the government was maintaining a policy of admitting anyone who was willing to attend school without any distinctions of caste or creed. There were adverse feelings among different classes regarding mixing in the school especially with the 'untouchables'. Although there was the desire for education among 'untouchable' castes who were categorised and condemned due to their menial or predatory habits, they were not allowed to be educated. The government had the benevolent attitude to support those desires and educate them. Since 1858 when a *Mahar* boy was refused admission in a school in Bombay, the Government of India ordered the admission of boys of all castes into the Government schools and forbade any exclusion on the ground of caste in 1858. It was mentioned that:

The Educational institutions of Government are intended by us to be open to all classes, and we cannot depart from a principle. Which is essentially sound, and the maintenance of which is of the first importance. It is not impossible that, in some cases, the enforcement of the principles may be followed by the withdrawal of a portions of the scholars, but with regard to the assumed unwillingness of the wealthier classes to contribute to the establishment of such schools, it is sufficient to remark that those persons who object to its practical enforcement will be at liberty to withhold their contributions, and to apply their funds, if they think fit, to the formation of a school on a different basis.⁶⁴

In the name of subscriptions, influential local classes therefore tried to pressurise the Government to not admit boys of lower castes. It did not mean that the Government was not under any pressure and always refused the financial help of wealthier classes. Establishment of 'separate schools' for the lower castes was used as a remedy. But it was a financial burden on local boards to open separate schools thereby making the plan unsuccessful. Provisions were made to establish board schools for them 'on application and certain conditions for boys of any caste or trade which cannot without difficulty be accommodated in the ordinary public school.' But it was anticipated that the untouchables would not use this unless care was taken by a philanthropist or missionary agency.

Mr. A. Thomason reported to the Director of Public Instruction in the year 1868 that although some attempts were made to spread education among the lower strata of society, it did not really happen. Only Middle and upper classes had shown desire for learning and '...the lower world refused learning even it (learning) brought to their doors.' Then he explained the meaning of 'upper and lower', meant not 'rich or poor'

⁶⁴'Despatches to India, 6th April to 12th May 1858', E/4 851, India Office record, Public and Judiciary Department, Education, No. 58/1858, Proceeding no. 17-19, British Library, London, Pp. 598-601.

like in Europe. In India, it was quite different. He gave an example that, a well to do *Kurmi* landowner will be 'nichquam' or 'low fellow' and a *Brahmin*, who had hardly anything to wear or eat would be *Maharaj* or noble. The Government schools could manage to reach out to them and assimilate them, although the ratio of lower castes who attended the schools were comparatively smaller to that of the upper castes. He further explained that a large proportion of village school scholars, 'far from being the sons of wealthy mahajans or farmers, are the sons of labourers or of cotters who cultivate their fields with their hands.' That was also the reason for low attendance since the parents often kept their boys at home to assist them. At the harvest season and during the time of irrigation, the daily attendance fell from 10 to 12 percent. The poverty of parents forced them not to send children to schools.⁶⁵

It had not changed even as late as 1914, when the Piggot Committee on Primary Education (1914) recommended that teachers should be instructed to encourage the attendance of boys of the 'depressed classes' and provide 'decent treatment' to them. The Committee ordered boards to start special schools under a suitable master where 'a particular section or group, e.g. of the depressed classes, applies for a school, guarantees the attendance of an adequate number of boys and offers (if it can) to provide reasonable accommodation, even though it maybe below the regular stand, the board should start a special school under a suitable master.'⁶⁶ The government made provision to give grants to private schools started by those communities.⁶⁷

2. Indigenous and Government Schooling for Women

While men of upper classes and castes who were interested in education could access it, lower caste men were excluded. On the other hand, access of lower caste women to schools was inconceivable since even the Government education department did not make any effort in this direction. Government efforts at educating women were limited to the upper castes. However, the upper caste/class or 'respectable people' did not want to send their girls to schools and preferred home instruction. Colonial records used the term 'respectable people' for high class and upper caste people who

⁶⁵*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 30.

⁶⁶*Report of the Committee on Comparative Backwardness of Vernacular Primary Education in the United Provinces, President T.C. Piggot, No. 161/XV of 1914, Preliminary Resolution, Educational Department, Nainital: 1914*, pp. 15-16. Hereafter *Piggot Committee of 1914*.

⁶⁷*Piggot Committee of 1914*, p. 24.

were not sending their girls to schools due to their notion of respectability. While upper caste/class people were reluctant to send boys to schools due to unsuitability of curriculum which was not linked with their hereditary callings, the neglect towards women's education was linked to questions of morality, sexuality, respectability, and domestic happiness. They preferred home instruction because according to popular belief, sending girls to schools would 'disgrace' young women. That explained why High caste people were more interested in home instruction or zenana schooling rather than sending girls to public Institutions in the initial years of the introduction of government schooling. There were instances where people in towns very 'rarely' objected to zenana instruction⁶⁸ though Christian religious indoctrination were through zenana teaching which was always criticised by upper castes. They preferred home instruction because there was already a tradition among them to educate women in the home though this indigenous education system which was limited to elite and upper caste groups of people. It is important to look closer into the elements of this education system to understand the underlying nuances.

2.1 Indigenous Education of Women

The indigenous education system available for women was not as well structured as that was available for the boys. It was informal and was provided by senior members of family as well as semi- professional teachers such as *Panditayani*.⁶⁹ Nita Kumar has pointed out that formal training (singing and dancing) and informal training (crafts, midwifery, and housework) were also imparted to women in pre-colonial United Provinces. The knowledge of scriptures and *Sastras* were also transmitted informally and orally.⁷⁰ But under colonial rule, this kind of indigenous learning changed its character and public institutions were opened up for girls. Entry of women in public institutions such as a school for learning and zenana classes changed the elitist character of education and opened up the door of mass schooling. Though many attempts were made to educate only high caste and upper class women, there were instances of lower caste women going to school too.

⁶⁸Evidence of Mrs. Etherington to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, pp. 189-190. Mrs. Etherington had been Inspectress of Government Schools of North Western Provinces and Oudh.

⁶⁹Charu Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community: Women, Muslim, and the Hindu Public in Colonial India*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001, p. 162.

⁷⁰Nita Kumar, *Lessons From Schools: The History of Education in Banaras*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2000, p. 153.

Although there were instances of female education reported in the H.S. Reid's report on Indigenous Education, it was purely religious in nature and there is no evidence of 'any scientific or secular' instruction provided.⁷¹ Mrs. Etherington, Inspectress of the third circle of United Provinces, gave evidence to the Hunter Commission that there were some women who were taught reading at home by male relatives or Pandits. The Inspectress wrote that there was no real indigenous female education system. There were some schools where a *Pandit* or *Maulvi* collected some girls together and taught them gratuitously with the hope that 'government will take up the school and support it and pay the man who had organised it with the ultimate object of gaining a livelihood'. Etherington found that some girls could read more or less fluently, and were able to do simple sums in arithmetic and the rest knew nothing. Very few could recognise the first five or ten letters of the alphabet which were memorised by rote learning.⁷² Some of the native gentry and princes arranged private tutors, mostly elderly pundits, for some women members of the house, especially widows. The teaching consisted of reading and writing of the vernacular.⁷³

Sayyid Iqbal Ali, sub-ordinate Judge of *Gonda, Oudh in 1882* reported to the Indian Education Commission in 1882 that, there were no regular indigenous schools in Oudh for the education of girls. Although he accepted the fact that old maulvis used to teach girls of respectable classes and after becoming *purdah-nashin*, those women were often taught by their male or female relatives. Sayyid Iqbal Ali himself hired a maulvi for his own daughter. This home instruction was commenced with teaching the alphabets following which they were introduced to the *Kuran* that led to the beginning of some religious Urdu or Persian book. There were Muslim women who could read and write Urdu or Persian well. These women were obviously from *Taluqdar* families of 'Ranees and Thakranees' who were well versed in reading and writing Hindi. Many Muslim women in Bilgram town were able to read and write

⁷¹Reid, *Report on the Indigenous Education*, p. 30.

⁷²Evidence of Mrs. Etherington to Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 190.

⁷³Evidence of Rev. John Hewlett to Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*. He was part of London Missionary Society. He taught and took charge of two schools of L.M.S. in Almora. In 1868, he was Superintendent of the central schools of London Missionary Society at Benares, and after 1877. He also worked as superintendent of L.M.S. in Mirzapur and Dudhi. He was a member of the Government Local Education Committee at Mirzapur. At the time of evidence, he was Principal of society's High School at Benares.

English too. There was a woman in Bilgram who possessed some knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and English and was well versed in Urdu.⁷⁴ Indigenous education for women was very elitist and religious in nature. Shiv Prasad confirmed the statement before the Indian Education Commission that often *Panditanis* and *Purohitanis* i.e. family priestesses or caste priestesses, taught Hindi reading and writing to Hindu women. Women read religious books, such as *Ramayana*, *Brijbilas*, *Sursagar*, *Daulila* etc.⁷⁵ Greater focus was given on reading and writing with religious instruction.

Similarly, Saiyed Ahmad Khan stated in 1882 that it would be a mistake to understand that Muslim ladies of 'respectable' families were ignorant. He confirmed that some kind of indigenous education existed among them. Respectable Muslim ladies studied religious moral books in Urdu, Persian, and in some cases, Arabic too. He reported that there were some women among his relations who could speak and understand Arabic, read, write and teach Persian books on morality and compose verses in their language. It was not a new or rare thing. He blamed poverty of the Muslims for the decline of female education. Well-to-do and respectable families employed tutoresses called *Ustani* or *Mullanis* to get their girls instructed in *Kuran* and other elementary books in Urdu. There were cases where fathers and brothers or relatives taught their women to write letters in Urdu, sometimes instructed lessons from Persian books. He knew two girls who could write letters in English as their brother taught them to read and write a telegraphic message. At the same time, he accepted the fact that there was no satisfactory progress of education among Muslim

⁷⁴Evidence of Sayyid Iqbal Ali to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 226. He was officiating Subordinate Judge of Gonda, Oudh. In 1870, he was appointed as a member of the District Educational Committee of Partabgarh. He had been a member of District Educational Committee at Gonda. He had been a correspondent for Oudh Educational Gazette. He was appointed in 1873 and 1875 as examiner in Urdu and Persian for the Oudh Zilla School. He wrote a book for the use of girls and he also had been a member of the Aligarh Muhammadan Oriental College Committee since 1875, Joint-Secretary of Partabgarh Reading Club, and Vice President of the *Anjuman-i-Rafa* of Gonda (a literary society in Oudh). He had knowledge of Oudh educational affairs.

⁷⁵Evidence of Shiv/Siva Prasad to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 323. Raja Siva Prasad opened an Anglo-Vernacular school at Simla with a boarding-house attached to it. He established several vernacular schools for boys and girls in different States. Mr. Thomason, the contemporary Lieutenant Governor of N.W.P. was pleased to see his scheme and asked Mr. H. S. Reid from Moradabad to evaluate his system, and introduced his books in the village schools. His scheme was experimented in Benares just before mutiny. He had worked for twenty two years as an Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction, for Benares and Allahabad division, 3rd circle, and afterwards of Agra and Jhansie, the second circle.

women and the government could not introduce any measures to induce respectable people to send their daughters to government schools.⁷⁶

2.2 Government Schooling for Women

Government efforts in the field of women's education were very limited in comparison to men's education even after Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 (that insisted on the need for women education). The colonial policy vis a vis women's education was to encourage 'native efforts' rather than to take direct responsibility during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Government encouraged private initiatives by providing grants-in-aid as stated in the Charles Wood's Despatch, '...we have already observed for females are included among those to which grant-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction.'⁷⁷ The policy aimed at encouraging people's efforts by providing them aid. In this section, an attempt will be made to describe the Government policy towards women's education and people's reactions or supports for it.

In the 1850s, some earnest local people devoted their energies to educating women and started separate schools for them. In 1858, 56 new native female schools were established in Agra and Muttra Districts.⁷⁸ The Zillah visitor and Deputy Inspector of Schools, Pandit Gopal Singh, started a female education movement in Agra District and established ninety-seven female schools in the city and district of Agra from July to November 1856 with an average 20 pupils at each school. Schools were under male teachers, except for one, and were paid from public money and opened for inspection of the Education Department. This example was later followed in the districts of Muttra (Mathura), and Mynpoory, although numbers were not as many as in Agra.⁷⁹ It must be remembered that those schools were maintained by public funds and parents who belonged mostly to agricultural classes were not willing to pay for teachers.

⁷⁶Evidence of Saiyed Ahmed Khan to the Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. 1882*, pp. 299-300.

⁷⁷James Johnston, *The Despatch of 1854 on the General Education of India*, rept. by the General Council On Education in India, Edinburgh: John Marclaren & sons, 1880, p. 35.

⁷⁸File no. IOR/E/4/852, Proceeding no. 81 of 1858, 16th June, India Office Records, North Western Provinces, Public Judicial Department, Education, British Library, London, p. 359.

⁷⁹File no. IOR/E/4/852, Proceeding no. 69, India Office Record, Public Judicial Department, North Western Province, Education, 3rd April, No. 84 of 1858, BL, London, p. 567.

Hindus attended schools predominantly from the *Brahmin* families. The age of some girls exceeded twenty years and others ranged from six years onward. The parents of pupils selected the teachers. Committees of respectable native gentlemen were formed to supervise schools. In January 1857, the number of girls' schools rose to 288, with attendance of 4,927 girls. The Government provided 8,000 rupees for female schools in the district, towards meeting the expenditure of 13,200 rupees per annum for 200 schools, and the balance was taken from *Hulkabundi* cess and other sources.⁸⁰ In the school of Mynporee city, approximately 32 Mohammedan girls of 'respectable parentage' studied.⁸¹ The point to note is that the opening and success of these schools explicitly proved the parents' attitudes towards the education of their daughters since 'respectable' parents were not keen to provide money or pay fees for their education. It was being reported after inspection on the working of these schools in the year of 1858:

...the attendance of pupils was only 12 out of 25 entered; he declares the apparent hopelessness of increasing the number of pupils beyond a nominal 23 or in reality half that number. He states that at his examination the best out of the 12 pupils were there who read in two books in the Native languages with tolerable facility, but they had no very clear idea of the signification of the individual words, nor of the general meaning of the passage read. Two out of the three also wrote the alphabet had nothing more. They were unable to combine two letters together even. The other girls were *extremely dictation of multiplication*, (not clear in primary source: emphasise mine) or the simple rule of arithmetic, all were totally ignorant. The Mistress states that there is no hope of her increasing the number of the pupils as both she and her family have already done their utmost to induce people to send their children.⁸²

With this unsatisfactory and alarming situation, these female schools were seen in 1858 as 'failure of a Government project.' A monthly allowance to girls who attended the school was proposed. The government provided funds to the number of pupils who were on the registers rather than the real number who attended, but ultimately ordered to stop this expensive system.⁸³ These schools were unsuccessful.

Simultaneously there were native efforts to establish schools at their own expense. In 1858, there were twenty-five Vernacular schools for girls founded at an expenditure of rupees 1200 per annum by the Rajah of Benares. The Lieutenant Governor appreciated his efforts to encourage other landlords in the Benares division to open

⁸⁰Satya Prakash Mishra, *Dastavez: Allahabad 1829-1933*, Allahabad: Allahabad Museum, 2004, p. 154.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²File no. IOR/E/4/852, Proceeding no. 69, 3rd April, No. 84 of 1854, Public Judicial Department, North-Western Provinces, BL, London, pp. 553-55.

⁸³*Ibid.*

schools.⁸⁴The Landlord class always supported the cause of education whether it was *Hulkabundi* schools for boys or separate schools for women. They established schools in villages which were attended by girls and boys of upper caste and high class people.

3. Local Elite and Colonial Policy

The Colonial Government depended on the local *Zamindars* and influential people to encourage and support women's education financially as well as socially. It was considered that local committees could do their work in a better way if local landholders supported the cause. It was suggested that if some care could be taken, most of the *Zamindars* would accept education for their daughters as they had started to send their boys to *Hulkabundi* schools. Its effect would be highly beneficial for the native society.⁸⁵ Similarly, Mrs. Graves, Inspectress, remarked during inspection of schools of the second circle that 'As a rule, schools flourish in those places where there is any one, be it the Magistrate or his wife, or any European, the *Zamindar* of the Village, or the Deputy Inspector, to take a personal interest in them.'⁸⁶The officiating Inspector of the Second Circle reported to the Director of Public Instruction in 1866-67 that when the *Zamindars* took no interest or actively disfavoured the school, they failed. The Inspector visited more than 100 schools in the years, and *Zamindars* showed interest everywhere and supported him. At times, they petitioned for a female school in their village and offered their female relatives to be trained as mistress.⁸⁷

Schools in Agra, Mynpoory (Mainpuri), Aligarh, and Cawnpore, were flourishing due to local support. Villages that had predominance of *Jat* community in the Agra district had flourished with girls' schools due to the direction of departmental officers. In Mainpuri, the *Rajputs* had come forward to open schools. *Rajputs* also opened schools in Cawnpore and Aligarh. Agra had 51 schools, Mainpuri 38, Aligarh 32, and

⁸⁴*Ibid*, p. 567.

⁸⁵*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1866-67*, p. 37.

⁸⁶*Ibid*, p. 59.

⁸⁷*Ibid*, p. 37.

Cawnpore had 30 schools. Next was Muttra or Mathura, which had 14 schools in 1874-75.⁸⁸

The Colonial Government appreciated the personal efforts made by education officials. In various districts, local people took responsibility for the expansion of women's education in their districts. The officials of the Education Department worked at both official and personal levels for the cause of women's education. For example, the Inspectress during the inspection of *Aligarh* Schools gave special credit to the Sub-Deputy Inspectors: Tota Ram and Jewa Ram for their successful efforts. Tara Dutt, Deputy Inspector of Aligarh, had shown his personal interest in women's education.⁸⁹ It was a policy to give aid according to 'varying circumstances of personal energy and local aptitudes'. For example, the *Jat* Villages of Agra district were promising fields of girls' schools as the departmental officers encouraged. *Rajputs* were an active community in the Mainpuri, Cawnpore and Aligarh districts. Therefore, Agra had 51 schools, Mainpuri 38, Aligarh 32, Cawnpore 30, and Muttra had 14 schools, while in all other districts the numbers were less than 10.⁹⁰

The Deputy Inspector of Etawah commented in 1869-70 that girls' schools only existed chiefly due to the voluntary efforts of individuals who worked towards the cause. He also accepted that there was a beginning of 'real' desire for female education among educated natives.⁹¹ Educated men were discontented with the ignorant behaviour of their women. A native lawyer told the Deputy Inspector that women themselves resisted the improvement of households due to them being ignorant. Such educated men preferred educated women for companionship.⁹² The Deputy Inspector of Etawah knew several educated men who taught their wives and girls privately but did not want to send them to schools. There were many pundits in Etawah who were writing books for girls and treatises on female education.⁹³

In the beginning, *Hulkabundi* teachers were induced to teach girls in the *Hulkabundi* schools, so that these women could work as teachers and handle the newly established

⁸⁸ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, p. 55.

⁸⁹ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 69.

⁹⁰ *Piggot Committee of 1914*, p. 55.

⁹¹ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, pp. 51-52.

⁹² *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 35.

⁹³ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, pp. 51-52.

female schools afterwards. The Deputy Inspector of Cawnpore proposed giving four *annas* a month for each girl pupil to *Hulkabundi* or *Tehseelee/tehsili* teachers. *Hulkabundi* schools were primarily for boys. However, in villages, girls also studied with boys in these schools. It was a great measure to cut down expenses but problems of examination on Inspector visits were expected.⁹⁴ Some girls did attend the *Hulkabundi* schools. For instance in Jaloun, the Inspector found girls and boys being taught together, an older girl who was the daughter of a *Zamindar*, and two other girls who were daughters of the teacher. All three passed and did well in dictation, Hindi, arithmetic, and geography as also started to read and write Urdu.⁹⁵

Similarly, there were 32 Government schools in the six districts of Meerut, Bulandshahr, Allygurh, Bareilly, Badaon, and Shahjehanpore, with 314 children during 1862-63, and 169 girls attended *Hulkabundi* schools. From total girls of 483, only 29 girls were Muslim. The Hindu girls were chiefly the daughters of *Brahmins*, *Thakurs*, and *Buniahs*.⁹⁶ Pundit Chinta Muni, the Deputy Inspector of Zillah Cawnpore, was a *Kanoujea Brahmin* who had wide social connections and position which drew great respect from the *Zamindars*. That helped him to open female schools, and the students were without exception, girls of the highest castes.⁹⁷

Pundit Bansi Dhar, Member of the *Satya Sabha* of Agra, established thirty schools for 673 girls. The Government provided only Rs. 4 per mensem while the total cost of educating each girl was Rs. 20 for boarders and Rs. 6 for day-pupils. The total cost of educating each girl was Rs. 11 approximately.⁹⁸ The local subscription was important. That was the reason it was necessary to get financial help from *Zamindars* or local influential people. One reason was financial subscription, and the other was to get other parents' support for the cause.

Among influential Muslims, Sheikh Ahmad Bakhsh Khan Bahadoor established a school for 32 girls at Kote in Futtehpoore district in the 1870s. He employed a woman from Benares Normal School at Rs. 15-0-0 per mensem. The subordinate Judge of

⁹⁴*Ibid*, p. 52.

⁹⁵*Ibid*.

⁹⁶*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, pp. 33-34.

⁹⁷*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, pp. 52-53.

⁹⁸*Ibid*, p. 77.

Futtehpore, Moulvi Qazi Vajihullah, who worked in the Education Department, allowed his wife to manage a school of 15 girls at home and appointed a teacher at Rs. 8 per mensem for a school of 11 girls in Abu Nagar, about a mile away. The Gopeegunj School, in Mirzapur district, was supported entirely by Moonshee Gunga Prashad, Principal of Sudder Ameen of Maharajah of Benares, at the expense of Rs. 25 per mensem and attended by 18 girls.⁹⁹ Through opening of female schools, one could secure employment for their female relatives or wife or near ones. In these cases, a male member also got employment as an assistant to a female teacher. That would be discussed in chapter four in detail.

Many of the upper caste girls attended the *Hulkabundi* schools as parents were induced by local authorities or influential people. But at times, the numbers were only on paper.¹⁰⁰ Most girls were from 'respectable', i.e. upper caste and upper-class families, though poor. Educational authorities which established schools with the help of local zemindars or colonial educational authorities paid attention to their surroundings whether it was their region, caste or people. It was very risky to open a school and invest money as well as energy. After 1866, one had to prove that a sufficient numbers of pupils attended schools, and there was enough local subscription to apply for a grant from the government. The Government policy was to fund for girls' schools whether those functioned in *Hulkabundi* schools or in a separate building in order to provide benefits to the agricultural classes. Those funds depended on the wishes of the local board.¹⁰¹

In Moradabad, Mr. Carnac, the Judge gave support to education. Both Muslim and Hindu gentry were interested in the cause. Maulvie Shah Ali and Chowbe Kedar Nath gave valuable aid. Mr. Carnac remarked that 'there is an inclination to educate native girls on the part of some of leading gentry of this town is already evident, and I venture to hope that it is based on some more solid foundation than the common tendency to Natives to adopt half-heartedly any schemes that appear to be in favour with the Government or the local authorities.'¹⁰² In Bareilly, The Deputy Collector, Sheikh Khyr-ud-deen established 12 schools for 320 Muslim girls, where, as was

⁹⁹Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1870-71, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰⁰Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1866-67, p. 37.

¹⁰¹Ibid, p. 36.

¹⁰²Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70, p. 79.

reported, reading, writing, arithmetic, needle work, embroidery on net and knitting were taught.¹⁰³

The Government was unwilling to pay for girls' schools and bear their expenses. In the year 1872-73, the Collector of Third Circle, Mr. Simpson reported that 'It is impossible for the Government to extend its expenditure, even at the rate of Rs. 4 a year for every girl who is brought to school, beyond certain limits. It had taken initiatives and shown what was possible to do, and for any large extension of system may fairly look to local influence and energy to carry on the work that has been commenced.'¹⁰⁴

Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari, a resident of the United Provinces, complained to the Indian Education Commission of 1882 that the Government should not only establish schools and colleges for the education of men, 'one-half nation', but some speedy measures should be adopted for the benefits of the 'other half', where women clearly were the 'other half'. He further said that the Government did not adopt any systematic plan for giving education to women and that the establishment of only a few schools could not achieve this objective.¹⁰⁵

Mrs. Etherington, the late Inspectress of Government Girls schools of North Western Provinces gave evidence to the Indian Education Commission of 1882 thus: 'Up to the present time female education in the North-Western Provinces has not received any systematic or liberal encouragement from the Government.'¹⁰⁶ She further stated that the Government must encourage an extension of primary education to girls by every means. She gave evidence that it was very difficult for both the people of India and Europe to believe that Government was 'really desirous of promoting female education'.¹⁰⁷

It seemed that there had been a shift from no schooling to a desire of schooling for girls but people were not ready to invest their own money for this cause. This

¹⁰³ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1870-71*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰⁴ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁵ 'Note by Professor Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari', in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 463.

¹⁰⁶ Evidence of Mrs. Etherington to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 191.

situation existed until the 1880s when reformers came forward to open schools for their own communities 'to reform their homes'. The Intelligentsia of the United Provinces continued to complain about the negligence of colonial authorities regarding women's education. For instance, Babu Harish Chandra¹⁰⁸, an eminent Hindi poet, writer and educationist deeply regretted the attitude of the authorities in the field of female education. He accepted that people did not wish to educate their women in public schools, but he claimed that the removal of ignorance from the people's minds was the duty of the Government. He urged the Government not to close those schools which were attended by only a few pupils since they were encouraging the public to follow it.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, Professor Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari submitted his views to the Indian Education Commission stating that '...wherever society is in so backward state that it would not provide for itself any proper institution for education, Government should undertake the task, should give the education gratis, and defray all the necessary expenses.'¹¹⁰

The resolution of 7th May, 1913 on the backwardness of vernacular primary education in the United Provinces recommended that 'It is advisable that Government, while not shrinking from its responsibilities in promoting female education, and not hesitating to take the initiative in areas where development would be otherwise indefinitely postponed, should follow and aid private enterprise rather than embark on delicate experiments with the risk of running counter to prejudices, the extent and strength of which it is difficult to gauge.'¹¹¹

The Board helped and encouraged all kinds of arrangements that would provide teaching. The Board could establish a school in any town or village, and could appoint a qualified mistress if a committee or a group of parents came forward to provide temporary accommodation and guarantee an attendance of at least 20 girls. A

¹⁰⁸Babu Harish Chandra was a resident of Benares, a Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu poet. He started Hindi Journal called 'Kavi vachan Sudha', and established a school for elementary education in Benares. He was member of Benares Educational Committee and propagator of the Hindi Movement in the United Provinces.

¹⁰⁹Evidence of Babu Harish Chandra to Indian Education Commission of 1882, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 208.

¹¹⁰Evidence of Professor Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 463.

¹¹¹*Piggot Committee of 1914*, p. 25.

permanent building would be erected only if the school succeeded for at least three years. The aid was determined by the local Government and the Boards.¹¹²

At the 1917 Conference, the colonial education department officials urged the government to take up the responsibility of women's education. However, it did not materialize. In this conference, officials discussed the problem of backwardness of female education in the United Provinces. Excessive control of administration, unsuitability of the curricula and a lack of adequate financial support were identified as the main causes of this backwardness. But the real obstacle was identified as 'the attitude of the people' and the 'apathy and indifference' of a vast majority of parents who were unwilling to allow their daughters to remain sufficiently long in school for them to derive any benefit. Parents also seemed averse to allowing their daughters to become teachers.¹¹³ It was further stated in this resolution that:

...the Lieutenant Governor has had to abandon the hope that the function of Government would be to follow, support and encourage the movements of private individuals or associations towards establishing female schools. It will manifestly be necessary for the Government to take the initiative and to risk the probable mistakes. A more active programme of governmental institutions will, therefore, be developed and introduced as funds permit.¹¹⁴

Once more, officials were ready to blame people's attitudes for the backwardness of female education. In contrast, the people of the United Provinces blamed the state's lack of commitment to female education in the United Provinces. Not all colonial officials were afraid to admit that the Government had conveniently inverted their reasons for educating the boys. In Allahabad, Sir James Meston (colonial education officer of United Provinces) accepted in a speech on female education that the government took the lead on male education and had induced the public to follow it. But, on the matter of women's education, the Government looked to the public to lead and were ready to follow and help. He also accepted that in the matter of boys and men, both the officials and the non-officials had an intimate knowledge of 'what they want, what they are driving at, what education they can take, and what education will be useful to them.' He confessed that in the field of girls' education, their knowledge

¹¹²*Ibid*, p. 26.

¹¹³ 'Resolution on Female Education of United Provinces in the year 1915', File no 378/1916, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, p. 4.

¹¹⁴*Ibid*, p. 6.

was defective.¹¹⁵ It would be better to reflect on the kind of education Indians wished to give their daughters and wives.

4. People's Attitude towards Women's Education

It is true that many prejudices came in the way of women's education in the United Provinces. Many men did not hesitate to spell out their reasons for denying women education. Others such as Pundit Ram Narayan Mishr stated in the *Saraswati Monthly Magazine* that the people of India did not understand the value of female education. He cited the example of a school-going girl who became a widow and was not allowed to continue her education since it was considered as a stigma (*manhush*). He also talked about those parents who brought their daughters to schools for admission but insisted that they should be taught only reading and not writing. Certain parents wished their daughters to learn everything except arithmetic.¹¹⁶ Simultaneously, there were also notions that literacy among women would lead to their untimely widowhood.¹¹⁷ Still women's education was valued and was getting appreciation in the middle-class families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In the United Provinces, there were two types of influential male opinion on women's education. On the one hand were those who thought that providing an education for girls was a 'splendid thing', but would not allow their little daughters to go to school. Others wrote opinions on the relative benefits of female education in newspapers and magazines but never lifted a finger to advance it. The second type included those who wished to educate their girls if somebody else was ready to pay the cost of their education.¹¹⁸ These views establish that the attitude of men towards the education of women was a major roadblock. Some middle-class men encouraged women's education only because it helped women to run homes more efficiently.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ Pundit Ram Narayan Mishr, 'Sanyukt Prant Mein Stri- Shiksha ki Aawashtha', in Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, (ed.), *Saraswati Sachitr Masik Patrika*, (Monthly Hindi Magazine), Prayag: Indian Press, 1912, p. 221.

¹¹⁷ Tanika Sarkar also pointed out that this notion was also prevalent in the late nineteenth century Bengal. For more details, see Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001, p. 96.

¹¹⁸ 'Resolution on Female Education of United Provinces in the year 1916', File no 378/1916, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, p. 4.

Principal Sanjiva Rao referred to the work of Mrs. Besant, in Benares in his memorial to the Education Commission and said:

The education of women had not progressed, not because the nation had been indifferent to education, but because in the hearts of all true Indian women there was a feeling, a prejudice against the system of education that had hitherto been given to boys. True nationalists were more among them than among men, and it was that conservative spirit among them that had preserved the heart of India. The reason for prejudice against education was not that the people did not like their women to be educated, but that they felt that the difficulties which would be brought about by education in social and domestic problems would be of such an enormous character that very few had the courage to face them.¹¹⁹

The education of women had its own peculiar difficulties which resulted in its limited success as compared to men's education. Little progress was made in this field due to social prejudices against inter-caste mixing, of women turning into 'memsahibs' due to English teaching, of the entry of missionary women into the homes through Zana Missions and of Christian proselytisation through education. There were also issues pertaining to early marriage, *purdah* system and a lack of female teachers and inspecting staff.¹²⁰ The education officials complained that parents allowed their children to do as they wished. By sending their children to school, people thought that they were doing a favour to the Government or helping the interest of the native official who opened school for girls. For people, sending their girls into school or 'to lend their daughter's names' to enter into the school attendance was a favour towards the influential person who wished for the success of the school. This feeling turned into rewards when the teacher became popular and sensible. This continued until the girls got married and learnt reading, writing and ciphering.¹²¹

Mrs. Graves reported her observations during inspection of these conditions in the year 1872-73, thus:

...although female education has not progressed so rapidly as might be desired, yet there are many hopeful and encouraging signs. In the first place, there are stronger indications of a desire for knowledge. The circumstances I have referred to above of girls refusing to take any books as prizes offered to them, and asking for such books as they had not previously read, is a proof of this, as well as the willingness shown in many instances by women on leaving school to pay for the books that had been lent them rather than part with them. There is also a decided improvement in the modes of reading. At first, I seldom went into a school where the girls had not been taught to read like parrots. Of late in the majority of schools I have found girls read

¹¹⁹Cited in the Resolution, *Ibid*, p. 11.

¹²⁰*Proceedings of Education in the Home Department for the year 1877*, Calcutta: Superintendent Printing, 1877, p. 93.

¹²¹*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874- 75*, p. 56.

intelligently and even little spell their words instead of repeating line after line without perhaps even knowing a single syllable.¹²²

Her observation indicated that there were some schools where girls were keen on studying. The keenness and willingness of the girls to pay for books proved their desire for knowledge. But these schools were exceptions. Progress had been made in the field of women's education, but it did not mean that people were ready to pay for their daughter's education.¹²³ Schools were maintained whether by one percent education cess or donations from indigenous elites or subscriptions.

A group of 'enlightened' Indians or educational authorities thought that men should first be educated and the men at home could subsequently educate their women. As stated by Sayyid Iqbal Ali, the Officiating Subordinate Judge of Gonda, Oudh in 1882, Female education in Oudh depended on the spread of education of males. He assumed that '...in Asia, where hundreds of thousands of people believe that man was first created in this world, the male should receive instruction first.'¹²⁴

Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan too argued in the same way. He urged that the government should concentrate its efforts to make steps for the education and enlightenment of Muslim boys. Educated and enlightened men would in effect work for the enlightenment of Muslim women. Those enlightened fathers, brothers, and husbands would naturally educate their female relations. The spread of education would be ensured through this method of filtering the benefits down to women.¹²⁵ Shiv Prasad, Deputy Inspector of female school in Benares and Allahabad region viewed the problem in the same way and declared in 1882, 'My motto is, first educate men and then leave them to provide for the education of their women.'¹²⁶

The society of the United Provinces had caste prejudices, *purdah* system (seclusion by veil) and early marriages which hampered the success of female education. Tota Ram argued that more girls went to schools where there was no *purdah* system or the

¹²²Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1872-73, p. 88.

¹²³Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1869-70, p. 50.

¹²⁴Evidence of Sayyid Iqbal Ali to the Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 226.

¹²⁵Evidence of Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan to Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, pp. 299-300.

¹²⁶Evidence of Shiv Prasad to Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, pp. 323-24.

privacy of women as it was in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. 'Respectable people' preferred home instruction which was characteristic of indigenous education rather than sending them to school. Though the middle-class started appreciating the benefits of education, very few sent their daughters to the public school. Parents did not have confidence in the public schools. Some 'enlightened' people allowed their girls to go to school only until they were married. Therefore, the idea of home schooling girls by male members was preferred. Female education expectedly spread more in cities and towns where the *Purdah* system was not strictly observed. For example, in some of the villages of Aligarh District where there were no girls' schools, girls attended *Hulkabundi* schools and studied with their male relatives.¹²⁷

At the same time, there were people like Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari who supported the view that boys and girls should be taught at the same time. He suggested that '....boys' education will never produce beneficial results till an active effort is made to communicate knowledge to the females of the province. In my humble opinion, simultaneous action should be taken for educating boys and girls of Oudh. It should be borne in mind that light and darkness can never light together.' His urge was to educate girls and boys simultaneously to make the family and nation regenerated and prosperous.¹²⁸ India could regain the same position of ancient times only when its women 'share the pleasure of intellect with their husbands'.¹²⁹

The formidable force of colonial policies, the attitudes of Indian men (indigenous elite) and social prejudices were not the only factors responsible for the limited success of female education. There was little agreement on the content of the curriculum for girls' schools, a severe shortage of female teachers, and other structural limits to the spread of female education.

5. Curriculum

In the formation of curriculum of girls' schools, there were two aims: 1. '...making the education of girls equal to boys in every respect, so that they may be able to attain all

¹²⁷Evidence of Tota Ram to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 341.

¹²⁸Evidence of Raj Sarvadhikari to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 464

¹²⁹*Ibid.*

the educational distinction open to men, 2. Aims of fitting girls for home and married life, while giving them at the same time a liberal education.’¹³⁰ The curriculum making process of girls schools roamed around these two aims throughout colonial period and immediate need based attentions was paid on time to time that made changes in the curricula. There were continuous tensions and debates on the question of ‘appropriate’ curricula for women among colonial education officials and people of United Provinces. The main cause of the people’s indifferent attitude towards the education of girls was a ‘lack of faith in the suitability of the system of education’.¹³¹

One of the great objections made by the people of United Provinces and India generally regarding the instruction of girls was the unsuitability of the curriculum which was seen as of no practical use.¹³² There were lots of complaints to the Indian Education Commission of 1882, regarding the unsuitability of subjects and mediums of instruction.¹³³ The Government curricula was appropriated for girls of the labouring classes, but the high caste people were not agreeing to send their girls to these schools where there would be a common curriculum for both boys and girls.¹³⁴ One needs to remember that a primary education for women, whether in government, aided or unaided schools, was limited to rudimentary learning. Professor Sarvadhikari noticed that about one-half of the girls studied only reading and copying easy words and writing numbers up to 100. One-third could read easy sentences and copy the same and occasionally learnt addition and subtraction. One fourth of the girls were able to read a dozen pages of a very simple book and performed writing to dictation and displayed a limited ability to multiply and divide in simple arithmetic. Very few only had the ability of reading and writing with fluency and working on compound rules.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ ‘Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary of the Indian Statutory Commission’, *Indian Statutory Commission: Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1929, p. 173.

¹³¹ *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 188.

¹³² *Problems in Education- V, Women and Education*, Paris: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1953, p. 108.

¹³³ *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, Calcutta: Superintendent Press, 1883, p. 533.

¹³⁴ Evidence of Professor Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari to the Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 464.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 463.

The curriculum for girls in the government schools was not very different from the boys, but the system of inspection or examination was kept lenient for them. People wanted to keep their daughters and sisters away from education because it was not a question of 'domestic happiness' but it had cultural and religious importance.¹³⁶ Moolchand Bhatt wrote in the Hindi magazine, *Saraswati*, suggesting that it was necessary to give health Education, knowledge of domestic economy, cooking, knitting and history and geography including normal reading and writing to women. According to him, this kind of education was a means of making the household joyful.¹³⁷

How did the syllabus of study, the textbooks and the examination or inspection system affect and shape women's education?

5.1 Syllabi

Many attempts were made to provide homogeneity to the syllabi, but women's education itself was at a nascent stage. Therefore, there were many variations in women's education from place to place based on local circumstances, types of schools and the standard of qualification of the teachers themselves. Local prejudices, community rules and the parents' decisions determined what women ought to learn. Syllabi were also influenced by the needs of different social communities. In the poor households, girls were required to assist their parents in the household and field works, whereas the elite women were behind the *purdah* or were married off at an early age. These reasons kept them out of schools and even if they could attend schools, it was only for a very short time as compared to boys. The educational officials expected that if some schools flourished, they would create demand for more schools and encouraged people to open schools themselves. Simultaneously it was a practical need to impart them some useful knowledge within the limited years of the study.¹³⁸ There was a shift from religious learning towards more practical knowledge and the question remained about making knowledge more 'useful' for women. But the

¹³⁶P. J. Hartog, *History of Rural Education in U. P.*, Simla: Central Publication Branch (Government of India), 1929, p. 188.

¹³⁷Moolchand Bhatt, "Striyo ki Shiksha kaisi Honi Chahiye?" In Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, (Ed), *Saraswati Sachitr Masik Patrika*, (Monthly Hindi Magazine), Part- 18, Vol. 1, January- June, Prayag: Indian Press, 1917, pp. 66-68.

¹³⁸*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 45.

curriculum of boys' schools was aimed at training the people to staff the lower echelons of Government.¹³⁹

There were some subjects such as Physical education and hygiene which were introduced due to need of time during the 1880s. Initially these measures were driven by a fear of contagious epidemics but immoral activities among the students also forced colonial authorities to introduce these subjects into schools. Physical education included the moral, physical, and intellectual development of the child, as well as basic hygiene. Subjects like sanitation, health and hygiene were also taught to girls through their regular textbooks.

A scheme of the syllabus was introduced for the first time in 1862. There were three classes in the lower primary. There were two divisions in the first class. The 1st division taught the alphabets, writing and reading of letters and numbers. The 2nd division taught *Balbodh* or some such primer, and practiced the writing of simple words and numbers. Multiplication tables were taught by the rote method. The second class taught *Dharam Singh ka vrittant*, writing from copies and dictation, the first four rules of arithmetic, money, the weight tables, its simple, practical exercises and the map of the district. The third class was taught the text *Bama Manoranjan* (stories for women by Babu Siva Prasad) and *Vidyankur*. Writing from copies and dictation, the rule of three, and practical *bazaar* computation; map of *Hindustan* and Asia was also taught to them.¹⁴⁰ It was desirable that second and third class girls would invest one or two hours every day to practice sewing, spinning, knitting and mending clothes, if there was a qualified mistress. Some possibilities were seen of introducing manual employment such as calico-printing, plain embroidery etc., as a means of recreation and to transform their leisure hours into some usefulness.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹In the late nineteenth century, maps were drawn and lands were measured for land settlements in the North Western Provinces. *Putwarees* recorded land rights of people. State policy was to improve the existing indigenous schools so that *Zamindars* and *Ryuts* were able to read, write and understand *Putwarees* papers and checked whether they were accurately drawn up. They wished to give such kind of education which could protect the rights of agriculturist classes, in Thornton, *Memoirs on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North Western Provinces of Bengal Presidency*, pp. 8-12.

¹⁴⁰*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 21.

¹⁴¹*Ibid*, p. 22A.

There were a few changes made in the scheme of studies in the year 1869-70. The girl students in Class II began reading the same books as those read by Class III earlier and the studies in the lower classes were the same as those of the old Class II. Class II girls were reading *Dharm Singh ka Vrittant* and working sums in the first four rules of arithmetic earlier. Now according to the new schemes, they were reading part of 'Vidyankur' and 'Bama Manoranjan', History of India, Geography of Asia and Arithmetic- advanced till Rule of Three.¹⁴² *Guldasta Akhlaq*, *Tashrih-ul-Harroof*, *Mirat-ul-arus* and *Hokaik-ul-Moujudat* were prescribed especially for Muslim girls. Girls from advanced classes were expected to read the *Guldasta Akhlaq* or the vernacular, easy sentences from dictation, sums in multiplication, and were supposed to know the map of the North-Western Provinces. Girls who were in the highest classes were expected to read fluently from *Mirat-ul-arus* or a newspaper, or from any ordinary book, to write correctly from dictation, and to do sums in Rule of three along with a knowledge of the map of India.¹⁴³ Not all schools had the fourth class. For example during 1872, there were fourth classes in some of the schools of Meerut, Boolundshuhur, Saharanpur and Dehra districts. Girls in the Saharanpur school during 1872 numbered 40 in one school and 28 in another school. Many of the pupils in the 5th class could read *Dharm Singh* and do first four rules of arithmetic. 4th class girls could read books such as *VidyaAnkur*, *Hokaik-ul-Moujudat*, *Guldastah Akhlaq* and *Mirat-ul-Arus*.¹⁴⁴ Some readers such as *Vidyankur or Guldasta Akhlaq*, *Balbodh*, *Itithas-timir Nashak*, and *Dharm Singh ka vrittant* were similar for girls and boys. But there were some specific texts such as *Stri Shiksha (for Hindu girls)* and *Mirat-ul-Arus (for Muslim girls)* which was prescribed only in the girls' schools.

Several schools taught needle-work as part of the curricula. In the Mendoo School, girls made beads ornaments while girls of Suleempore School progressed in grass basket making.¹⁴⁵ Not all girls learnt sewing, knitting or other manual exercises. Only a few girls in the school learnt these skills. It might have depended on the standard of learning or seniority of scholars.¹⁴⁶ Even in some parts of Agra District, such as of Pergunnah Bah and Futtiahabad, rural populations were ready to welcome schools for

¹⁴² *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 55.

¹⁴³ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1871-72*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁴ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁵ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 39-45

girls. However, schools were elementary and girls remained in the schools for short time only for reading, writing and ciphering, and learning needle and bead-work.¹⁴⁷ In the school at Bas Risal, all sixteen girls learnt basket making and knitting work. The teaching of these manual skills also depended on the skills of teachers who were female.¹⁴⁸ But there was great indifference to the introduction of these skills.¹⁴⁹ In 1908, sewing was made compulsory and a special reader was introduced for girls.¹⁵⁰ But only missionary schools were quite successful in teaching these skills to poorer classes and converted Christians who could use those skills for market usage. That would be discussed in fifth chapter.

There was no differentiation between rural and urban school curricula. Curricula were kept common with the support of the Aligarh Committee, Rural Education Committee and the support of Mr. Justice Piggott Committee in 1913. The Sub-committee on Female Education which met on June 16th, 1913 considered arithmetic as an obstacle to girls' education. As a result, it was suggested that 'H.C.F. and L.C.M.' be omitted from primary school level and 'Compound Interest, Discount, and Extraction of Square Root and Mensuration' from the middle school level. 'Sewing' was approved and included in the curriculum of both the primary and the middle schools. Sewing was made the subject of examination including use and management of 'Singer's Sewing Machine' at the 4th standard in the Upper Primary level. The introduction of a simple primer on Hygiene in class IV was also recommended along with simple instructions in nursing, first aid in case of injuries and household hygiene. Cookery was introduced as an optional subject. Physical exercise in the form of indigenous games in the lower classes and rounders or badminton in the upper primary and middle schools were also recommended to be introduced.¹⁵¹

Sir John Meston and his Sub-committee suggested some improvements in the girls school curricula in 1914. It recommended the prescription of a single set of an improved reader prepared by a special text committee appointed by the Director of Public Instruction. Simplification of the curricula of arithmetic up to class IV and the

¹⁴⁷ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁸ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, pp. 39-45.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁰ Hartog, *History of Rural Education in U. P.*, p. 186.

¹⁵¹ 'Report of the Sub-committee on Female Education', File no. 258, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, 1921, p. 6.

addition of cookery as an optional subject in all the primary classes was suggested. Some interesting games were also suggested. The Principles of Hygiene were taught in the middle section. There were some suggestions regarding the establishment of a library in each primary school with simple readers, story books, Hindu or Muslim sacred books, descriptive lessons in Geography, manners and customs of the country for home use. On the question of religious instruction, regular teachers were not compelled to provide religious instruction, which depended on the wishes of parents outside schools hours.¹⁵² Clearly, the Primary school syllabus among various girls' schools was not homogenous, and varied according to the nature of schools (aided/unaided/Government), strength of classroom and teachers too. But every school taught reading, writing, and arithmetic to the girls.

Besides social prejudices, poverty was also a factor which came in the way of female education. There was no economic incentive to educate the girls. Parents also had to spend on the girls' marriages, which was another concern.¹⁵³ Upper caste people preferred home instruction for girls, which included training in the family traditions, family or community ceremonies, songs, customs, religious matters and domestic affairs such as cooking and sewing. Schools hardly provided practical education to them.¹⁵⁴ Home duties and the early marriage of girl students made it very difficult for them to attend schools regularly.

The Inquiry Commission of 1919 recommended many provisions which connected girls' education to new demands for labour in the market. The commission recommended that the syllabus of the vocational schools must include making of jellies, jams, chutneys, curry- powder and oil. It accepted that cooking, plain sewing, embroidery, lace making, spinning, weaving or basket making as part of the curriculum in schools. One needs to remember that missionary schools were teaching these subjects to their converted girls and these skills were used for market purposes in the early twentieth century. There was a growing demand for women as skilled and unskilled labour (such as the demand in leather industry of Cawnpore). A new field of employment for women emerged in teaching and nursing which resulted in the new

¹⁵²*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 87.

¹⁵³Hartog, *History of Rural Education in U. P.*, p. 187.

¹⁵⁴Hartog, *History of Rural Education in U.P.*, p. 188-189.

demand for changes in the curriculum,¹⁵⁵ which will be explored in detail in the fifth chapter.

5.2 Textbooks and the Language of Study

Books taught in the government schools were the same for the boys and the girls of the same grade with a few exceptions. There were different texts for optional subjects and special subjects such as sewing for girls. It was a general feeling that, 'Good and suitable books were needed.' It was a demand among people that books for Hindu girls must be in simple Hindi and not in Urdu or the mixed language. Until 1882, books were written in the mixed language for Hindu girls too. In the schools for Muslim girls, Urdu books were used. Mrs. Etherington, Inspectress opined that 'simple books conveying instruction about common objects of nature, as fruits, flowers, animals, the seasons, etc. and instruction regarding material and methods of simple manufactures, all matters about which Hindu girls are generally very ignorant, are much needed.'¹⁵⁶

Pandit Din Dayal Tiwari named several books as suitable for women like *Hitopadesh*, written by Pandit Tara Dutt, Deputy Inspector of School of *Kumaun* region; the *Stri Sikhsha*, by Pandit Ramjashan, of the Benares College; *Ritratnakar*, by Pandit Ram Parshad and the *Mirat-ul-urus* written by *Maulvi Nazir Ahmad*.¹⁵⁷ Besides these, Mrs. Gill compiled a book on mental arithmetic in Hindi for the use of the Native Christian girls in schools connected with the American Mission at Lucknow.

There were many common textbooks prescribed for boys and girls such as '*Hitopedesh*' (Pandit Tara Dutt), '*Vidyaankur*', '*Itihas Timir Nashak*', '*Bhasa Bhaskar*', and '*Gutka*' of Babu Siva Prasad for reading and writing. In the 1870s, *Bhasa Bhaskar* and *Gutka* by Babu Siva Prasad were introduced for reading and grammar in the Upper classes. Besides this, the commentary and vocabulary to Babu Siva Prasad's work were already taught in the schools.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵*Village Education in India: The Report of a Commission of Inquiry*, Humphery Milford: Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. 73-74.

¹⁵⁶*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 106.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, pp. 79-80.

Itihahas Timir Nashak was the only book of History prescribed. Many Hindu women faced difficulty in understanding it as it comprised large numbers of Arabic and Persian words.¹⁵⁹ It was a view among the educational authorities that Indian women did not take much interest in geography, like boys.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, *Kumaun* and *Gurhwal* pupils had problems studying sanskritised Hindi. Besides these, Pandit Ram Jasan's Fourth Hindi Reader, and Geography, History and Natural Sciences were common texts for boys as well as girls. These texts were used for upper primary level.¹⁶¹

There were some specific textbooks which were meant only for women. A lot of texts/manuals/magazines and other literature were written for women as there was a dissatisfaction among people regarding the curriculum of the formal school. These textbooks will be analysed in other chapters under different themes. One needs to remember that people who had written textbooks were connected with education and were members of educational committees or reformers of various societies. There was not a single text which was written by colonial officials or was a translation of any European work for girls while on the other hand, there were many texts which were translated from European work for boys. It seems the question of female education and 'what ought to be taught' was left largely to Indians themselves. Although attempts were made to make it more homogenised, indigenous wishes and desires were also kept in mind.

As a result, many Indians were engaged in writing text books, such as Ram Prasad Tiwari who wrote '*Sutaap Bodh*' (1871), Babu Kali Charan, (Head Clerk of Director of Public Instruction and connected with Rohelkhand Literary Society) who wrote '*Stri Bhusan*' (1870), Ram Lal (Mudrish of school of Humeerpur district) who wrote '*Ath Vanita Prakashini*' (1871), and Munshi Dwarka Prasad Attar who wrote '*Stri Hitopadesh*' (1911). All these were written for the specific needs of schools for girls. These texts published under the direction of the Director of Public Instruction. These texts were used by the Government Girls' schools. Besides these, Mission schools and Arya Samaj schools had some specific texts. For example, Pandit Jasram wrote *Stri Shiksha Subodhini*, Part-1 and Part-II, (1869) for native female schools patronized by

¹⁵⁹ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁶⁰ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 56.

¹⁶¹ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, pp. 59-60.

the Maharajah of Viziagram of Benares. The Christian Vernacular Education Society produced texts for zenana missions namely *Zenana Reading Book*, *Ratna Mala or Striyon ke Grih Sambandhi Karm aur Balako ke Ucchit riti Shiksha Nirmitt Pustak* (1869) and Arya Pratinidhi sabha of Bareilly produced a book for women titled *Stri Shiksha* by Pandit Shiv Kumar (1927). These books were written keeping in mind the special needs of girls including domestic duties, religion and sexuality of women. Apart from these texts, various socio-religious sects and societies also wrote texts for their women although sometimes they were intended for the pleasure of reading and learning outside schools. For instance, there was a feeling among some upper caste communities of Bareilly that 'there is no book properly suited to the taste and requirements of the women of this part of India if an exception is made in favour of *Bamamanoranjana*'¹⁶². *Tuttu (Tatva) Bodhni* Society of Bareilly (debating club) prepared some suitable books for women. This society was formed under the patronage of Maharaja and presidency of Raja Deva Narayan Singh to improve the social behaviour and moral habits, customs and manners of women. Special attention was given to female education.¹⁶³

5.3 The Medium of Instruction

All government vernacular schools or aided schools taught in the mother tongue of the pupils. Mission schools taught English but not as a medium of instruction.¹⁶⁴ Mission schools taught the vernacular through the medium of the Roman characters and vernacular both.¹⁶⁵

It was accepted that Hindu girls would study in the medium of Hindi and Muslim girls in Urdu script. If the classrooms were mixed, then the teacher explained both these kinds of readers to the Hindu and Muslim girls. Efforts were taken by the Education Department to introduce simple verses and stories of 'native production' although not written primarily for the education department, for the four lower classes (standards). Translations from English and reading lessons were not considered much important as they were not understood or cared for by people. Question and answer pedagogy was

¹⁶²Bama Manorajan was book of stories for women written by Siva Prasad, the Joint Inspector of female schools of North western provinces.

¹⁶³*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 33.

¹⁶⁴*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1870-71*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁵*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 106.

emphasized as there was a lack of this in the classrooms. It was employed due to a lacunae in training to frame questions.¹⁶⁶ Scholars from some institutions faced the problem as they were puzzled by Hindi. In *Kumaun* and *Garhwal*, it was a demand that texts should be written from their language not in Hindi as it was not their language.¹⁶⁷ The Piggot committee also suggested while the readers for the lower primary could be common readers to be used for both Urdu and Hindi speaking scholars, it was necessary to introduce a diversion in the language used in the Urdu and Hindi readers at the upper primary level.¹⁶⁸

But on the other hand, schools established by reformers and societies prescribed languages of their own community. They prescribed their own language and participated in the Hindi-Urdu language controversy and propagated their language according to their religion. For instance, the *Sat Sabha* of Agra had twenty schools with four hundred girls instructed in their mother tongue. These schools were superintended by Pundit Bansidhar. The *Sat Sabha* was very active in the improvement of the Hindi movement. They preferred to teach Hindi to their female scholars. Dehra, Saharanpore, and Mynpoory districts had schools under the management of the American Presbyterian Mission. They were aided schools and taught English and Vernacular both.¹⁶⁹ Similar trends were seen among Muslims reformers who propagated Urdu language.

Conclusion:

The chapter explored the intersectionality of caste and women in terms of access to education. Both women and the untouchables irrespective of gender shared the same kind of experience in terms of lack of access to education in the indigenous system of education. But colonial period witnessed efforts made to educate upper caste women. While lower caste people's education had to wait till 1920 when the 'Untouchable' and other low caste group leaders themselves started to educate their own men and women. The chapter showed that although there was no systematic indigenous schooling for girls as there was for boys, there was skill oriented learning system limited to the elite classes and castes. Following the establishment of colonial rule,

¹⁶⁶ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁶⁷ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-5*, p. 61.

¹⁶⁸ *Piggot Committee of 1914*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁹ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 53.

women's education in the United Provinces gradually got off to a start and went through a variety of transformations in response largely to the demands of certain groups of society but also due to a lack of interest in certain subjects and texts. Invention of a tradition of education as much as the colonial construction of the architecture of education is another point coming out through the evidence provided in the chapter.

Above all, the education of lower caste children met with major resistance from the upper classes and castes even though colonial policies largely benefitted these elite groups. Yet, there were other actors who participated in the process and undertook measures for the education of lower caste and rural women, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2
SCHOOLING WOMEN: THE
AEGIS OF THE STATE

Chapter 2

Schooling Women: the Aegis of the State

The Colonial Government was not the only agency which undertook the education of women in the United Provinces. By the early 20th century, there were many contending organisations that participated in the debates and discussions about women's schooling. Some of them were running institutions themselves. The cultural nationalists since late nineteenth century had talked of female education as a necessity for the development of the country and in response to the colonial critique of Indian civilizations. Colonial rule was in its early phases justified on the grounds of a civilisational index which ranked the relationship between genders in each society. According to this measure, India was far behind Britain. Indian women were degraded by their men as compared to 'modest' Victorian women. This moral degeneration was represented by the zenana and veil. Indian women were seen as 'suffused with an unhealthy sexuality and disabling passivity.'¹ Through this the British not only showed their superiority but also claimed the incapability of Indian men to handle their households. Thus on one hand, they 'rescued' these 'unfortunate creature' or women and on the other hand they proclaimed their own 'masculine' character and moral superiority over Indian men.² It resulted in realisation of masculinity among Indian men and this forced Indian reformers to define gender role and recast patriarchy, family values and womanhood. This was in part achieved by imparting values through the education which was a hybrid, drawing both from colonial modernity and invented Indian traditions. The most interesting aspect of nineteenth century was that it sought legitimacy by referring to various religious texts and traditions (like the Hindus referred to *Brahminical* texts where as the Muslims to *Shariat* or religious laws). Besides, some other characteristic of these reformers were that their focus was mainly on upper caste/class or *Sharif* women and they largely ignored the women of lower caste, an important segment of the marginalised Indian society. It was only in the 1920s that the movements like the *Adi-Hindu/Dharma* emerged to transform lives of the untouchables, and attempts were made not only to

¹Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of Raj: The New Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 94.

²*Ibid*, p. 94.

ameliorate the conditions of untouchables in general but also the education of their women in particular.

Apart from the reformers, the missionaries were also at the forefront and they found a new platform for conversion of the Indian population by espousing female education. The reformers and missionaries were quite active in the late nineteenth century and by twentieth century the elite Indian women also entered the fray and espoused women's education. The case of the United Provinces in the 19th and early 20th centuries is illustrative of this trend. The elite women participated in the public sphere whereas due to emergence of the middle class socio-religious movements (Hindu and Muslim), anti-caste movement (Adi-dharma), and missionary women's activities, a steady incursion was witnessed into Indian homes (through zenana missions and the mission schools). This kind of intrusion created a complex scenario in which many negotiation and conflict occurred, all eager to influence Indian women according to their ideologies. Some elite, upper caste women did try to raise their (own) voice but were severely restricted by caste and class obligations.

The education of women was central theme of nation, reforming families, castes, societies, as well as men themselves. Decisions about curriculum and institutional structures were taken care of in keeping the various system of belief in mind. This made female education not only an important but hotly debated issue throughout colonial rule which had to respond to the demands of specific groups. Missionaries, for instance, were thus compelled to open separate school for lower caste/class girls and the zenana schooling ran parallel to it. Though the mission's primary aim was to convert, yet they played an important role in making lower caste women literate, as this was not possible in schools run either by the government or the reformers. In the early 20th century, although elite and upper caste women began to set up institutions and claimed to understand the problems of Indian women but they rarely included the demands of untouchable and rural women in their programme.

This chapter traces the role of those outside the state who influenced the field of women's education in the United Provinces. The first section discusses the intervention of socio-religious reformers in establishing schools for women of their own communities, or castes. It was based on the assumption that the colonial rule was

unable to provide suitable and appropriate education to their women. On one hand, they criticised the curriculum of government schooling and used it as a tool to critique colonial rule while, on the other hand, it was necessary for them to inculcate their own moralities and control of the sexuality of women in order to maintain the social hierarchy while reforming patriarchy. This was true of both Hindu and Muslim reforms and their approaches.

In contrast, the Christian missionaries' approach was different and they made other kind of contribution to female education. The relative failure of missionaries to attract upper castes/classes pushed them to educate the low-caste women. zenana schooling on the other hand targeted those who were unwilling or unable to leave their homes for and was similar to indigenous home instruction. The provision of elementary instruction to women was thus increasingly delinked from the goal of actual conversion.

The third section's focus will be on the efforts of Indian elite women, particularly in the 20th century, who determined the 'appropriate' knowledge which should be imparted to women. They negotiated with the colonial officials and demanded educational reforms, through different organisations and conferences. For the first time at pan Indian level, they raised their voices demanding new kinds of education but here too, the needs of lower caste and untouchable women were not taken into account.

1. Interventions by Hindu and Muslim Reformers

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the United Provinces witnessed a number of reform movements initiated by organisations like Arya samaj, Brahma Samaj, and various other associations and societies based on caste and sect. It was largely a response to critiques of Indian society and civilization launched by the British colonizers to justify their oppression. There was also a change in the relation between religion and society due to interaction between indigenous population and Christianity under colonial rule. One of the results of this interaction was emergence of Social religious reforms. Thus such changes impacted Hinduism as well as Islam. The indigenous reformers not only debated with the Christian missionaries and

prevented Christian missions from succeeding, but meanwhile also adopted the organizational forms and technologies of the West. Going through the texts and religious laws, reinterpreting and reprinting them was an important mechanism of this religious revival resulting in eradication of the superstitious customs. In this context, both Hinduism and Islam did respond to the threat of Christianity in their own specific ways. Women remained central to these reforms.

The writings of reformers' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reveal that through social and religious reforms, they tried to combat the backwardness of their respective communities. Education and women's rights therefore became the focus of reform writings.³

Many of the new reform movements particularly in the late nineteenth century also used education as a mean of providing alternatives to the policies and programs of the colonial rulers. What emerged in the nineteenth century as a consequence of the colonial encounter was a form of cultural nationalism which both drew on and resisted the dominant colonial culture. This was most visible in the field of education, when a wide range of social and religious movement's pioneered educational programs and systems that were neither purely indigenous nor English, but something of a hybrid. The challenges posed by the proclaimed superiority of European scientific knowledge and disciplines were sometimes countered with the claim to a renewed and revived religious ethic, to produce interesting new hybrids which were the ground of the nationalist identity that was taking shape in the late nineteenth century.

Women reforms were the central point of many caste associations and Samajs. Education was most important tool by which the improvement of the conditions of their *jati*, nation and religion could occur. In the late nineteenth century, responses to colonial rule in the form of social, religious and political movements were many and varied. These reform movements had a few common characteristics, for their focus on high caste women, their emphasis on the *Shastras* as source of religious sanction,

³Gail Minault, 'Sayyid Mumtaz Ali' and Tahzib un- Niswan: Women's Right in Islam and Women's Journalism in Urdu', in Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar (ed.), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India, Vol. II*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007, pp. 70-71.

while recasting religion as the final arbiter, and using women as the ground on which to reinterpret history.⁴ The reform and revival movements of the 19th century were greatly influenced by ideas of western ideas of enlightenment, and notion of society modernity.⁵ Maitryee Chaudhuri has pointed out that both reform and revival in India was ‘ideological prisoner of the colonial experience. Nationalism and dominant women’s reform attempted are logical products of colonial hegemony.’⁶

These reforms/reform movements used education as tool to refined, reorganised, recast and regenerate women. In the process, norms of high caste and lower caste women were distinguished. At the same time, government efforts could not succeed due to lack of people’s interest. In 1882, there were no Indian (Hindu or Muslim) women either in the High or in middle schools established by the Government, while there were 310 Government institutions for primary instruction having 656 pupils at upper divisions and 8,488 at lower divisions (totalling to 8,488) in the United Provinces. There were 4,668 Hindus women, 2,852 Muslim women, 332 European and Eurasian, 1,266 Native Christian, and 26 women from other groups in it. As far as the statistical data is related to schools are concerned, there were 13 high schools, attended by 74 scholars at higher and 274 scholars at middle level. All were either European or Eurasian (267) and native Christian women (81). All high school and middle schools were aided and some of which were missionary schools.⁷

In the year 1877-78, the Director of Public Instruction confirmed that there was little desire on the part of parents to teach their daughters, reading; even fewer wished to teach, writing. The DPI also accepted that native girl schools were most promising in those areas where there were missionary ladies to superintend.⁸ For successful schools, it was necessary to build yearning for an education among the parents as well as the people of the area. Besides it also had to be matched by the government

⁴ Maitryee Chaudhuri, *The Indian Women’s Movement: Reform and Revival*, Delhi: Palm leaf publication, 2011, p. 14.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 15.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 52.

⁷ *Report of the North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidences taken before the Committee and Memorial Addressed to the Education Commission*, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884, p. 104, Hereafter, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*.

⁸ *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 106.

funding, mission lady's willingness to superintend and inspect and, eagerness to learn by the women themselves.

In Oudh too, the same problems occurred in female education. Being the as the part of North-Western Provinces, it also faced problems, including the lack of teachers and difficulties in the inspection. In Oudh, school mistress and scholars themselves objected to be seen by male inspectors. They objected not only to his being seen but his voices being heard. Inspectors could not examine those schools. The other problem was that girls could not come to schools without a *dholi* (palanquin), and an inspector wrote that money spent on *kahars* (people who handled *dholi*) was greater than the amount spent on tuition. Money spent of *dholies* and *kahars* was considered wasted and regretted. It was common practice in Lucknow and Fyzabad and the situation was that if *dholies* were withdrawn, school would collapse. But still it was assumed that some progress could be made.⁹ In Oudh, most of the girls in schools belonged to higher and middle class groups. Mr. Browning, the Inspector while giving details of occupation of scholars' parents, he reported that, two scholars were from *Talukdars* families, 195 from *Zamindars*, including *Lambardars*, *Pattidars*, *Thikadar*, etc., 10 from *Patwaris* and *Kannungos*, 284 cultivators families, 127 from Government servants, 180 from Private servants, 103 from classes of professional men, such as *pandits*, *maulvis*, *hakims*, writers, etc., 208 scholars from trading classes such as bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, etc., and 156 scholars from artisans and manufactures, such as smiths, carpenters, weavers etc. and 94 form others groups.¹⁰

In this section, an attempt is made to explore why and how did desire of teaching girls emerged among the Hindus and Muslims? How was it linked with emerging cultural nationalism or to encounter British ideology or Christian missions? How was the politics of religion of revival and reform connected with education of women?

1.1 Muslim Reformers and Women's Education

There were some districts in which Muslim women attended schools in large numbers in comparison to the Hindu women. For instance, Humeerpore district had five

⁹*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁰*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 34.

schools; all were attended by Muslim women.¹¹ In the Badaon district, there were 36 female schools and one Christian school attended by 174 Hindus and 222 Muslim women. In Badaon, Muslim girl's schools were more successful to those of the Hindus.¹² The Secretary of Badaon, Mr. Roberts reported in 1872 that, 'Hindus of the upper caste do not object to send their girls to school; but that in the case of Mahomedan, hardly any 'Sharif-ul-koum' permits his daughters to be taught.' It was noticed that girls who were attending schools at that time did not belong to 'respectable' (upper class) elite Muslim population. Sometimes when their schools did not succeed, it was reopened exclusively for the Hindu community. In year 1871, around 224 schools were opened in Muslim predominant villages, but they could not succeed and closed during 1873-74, and replaced by schools in villages exclusively Hindu.¹³

Mrs. Graves, the Inspectress, while reporting about the schools in Allahabad during 1869-70, realised that parents objected to their daughters being taught to read. They knew nothing about arithmetic.¹⁴ Again in the year 1874-5, in other locations such as Pilibhit, Muslim parents objected to writing being taught to their daughters although school was attended by 57 girls.¹⁵ Similarly in the year 1874-5, Mrs. Etherington, the Inspectress reporting on the Allahabad girl schools for Muslim girls observed that they were taught in Urdu medium only in one school out of the total seven schools. Girls were able to read but arithmetic and writing were neglected. Many girls left the schools after learning to read. The Inspectress remarked that, 'Mahomedans, as a rule, do not care to have their children taught writing, arithmetic, or geography. This is true, and is a sad proof of the prejudices of a large section of this important class.'¹⁶ But this was not the practice in all schools which were attended by the Muslim girls. For instance, Bareilly had twelve schools under the management of *Sheikh-ud-deen*, the Deputy Collector. All 320 women attending these schools were Muslim. Girls were found to be accomplished in reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework,

¹¹ *Report on the Progress of Education in the North Western Provinces for the year 1870-71*, Allahabad: North Western Provinces' Government Press, 1871, p. 53. Hereafter *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P.*

¹² *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 12.

¹³ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, p. 70.

¹⁴ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 58.

¹⁵ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, p. 58.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 73.

embroidery on net and knitting. The Inspectress reported that girls had improved in reading, writing and arithmetic and that some head girls were even doing long divisions.¹⁷ The parents' objection to writing and arithmetic was not uniform in all schools attended by Muslim girls.

By 1870s and 1880s, a trend of revival and reform was seen among the Muslims of the upper class. During 1870s, members of the Muslim community, while analysing their backwardness in various fields in comparison to other communities, found that the main cause was the 'discriminatory policies of British.' Muslim traditional elite started feeling threatened by the Hindu trader, moneylender and professional groups who occupied leading government jobs. Reformers like Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan realised it and invested their energy in reforming and modernising Muslim society.¹⁸ His strategy was to establish a cordial relationship with the British, for which, he defended the British rule in India. At this British were also finding support from Muslim community.¹⁹ Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan promoted English education among Muslim men of Western United Provinces and formed a Scientific Society (1864), and started an Urdu journal 'Tahzibal-akhlaq' (1870) and the Anglo-Muhammaden Oriental College (1875) in Aligarh.

On the question of women's education, Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan viewed women should be educated at home not in schools. His thought was similar to other reformers of this time that the 'women were inherently inferior to men, physically and intellectually.' He compared them to birds in the cage, which could not fly. Further, women were regarded rationally deficient and hence needs to be caged. He advocated *pardah* in order to protect their modesty. Even the other Muslim reformers supported women's education like Sir Saiyed on similar lines during the nineteenth century. They advocated home education for women as it would 'unveil women's mind- if not their faces- break down their isolation, and combat superstitions and bad customs that were the main cause of Muslim moral and cultural decline.'²⁰

¹⁷Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1870-71, pp. 53-54.

¹⁸Chaudhuri, *The Indian Women's Movement*, p. 91.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 93.

²⁰Minault, *Secluded scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform Movement in Colonial India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 30-31.

Sir Saiyed was not a supporter of western education for Muslim girls and criticised *Parsis* who sent their daughters to western educational institutions. He advocated education of girls at home due to the practice of *purdah* by the Muslim elites. Through the curriculum, he hoped to impart instruction to women on religious principles, rearing of children and respect of elders. His view was to let first the boys be educated before females.²¹ Apart from Sir Saiyed, at the same time there were people like Mumtaz Ali, a scholar of the school of Deoband, who learnt little English, and made efforts for Muslim women's education and their rights in India during 1870s. He also agreed that the education of young men should be given first priority and 'the education of women has to be adjusted to the ration and distribution of male education.' He found well supervised private schools better than the Government schools for females.²²

Cultural defence of culture was the primary motive of these various reforms. The early Muslim religious leaders answered the arguments of Christian by debating them on theological issues. Later, they also responded to missionary's attacks on questions of social ethics such as *purdah*, polygamy, and issue of divorce in Islam. Aligarh and Deoband school, both made arguments in defence of *Shari'at* as the guarantor of women's rights and attacked the Christian's critique. The trend of writing exclusive books for middle class Muslim women emerged in the late nineteenth century and some of them were prescribed in the schools, too. The Deobandi's school's best writing on women was Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawai's *Bhishti Zewar*. It was a standard guide book for religious and home life of Muslim bride. It was an attempt to eradicate non-Islamic customs in the house and Islamize personal lives of the Muslims. In fact it became a very popular text of the middle class Muslim homes. Besides Maulana Ashraf, Sayyid Ahmad Dehlawi also wrote a number of works on women including a didactic tale against wasting time, *Rahat Zamani ki Mazedar kahani* in 1910 and a guide to letter writing style- *Insha-i-Hadi un-Nissa ma Tahrir un Nissa* in 1910. There were some other writers too who defended Muslim culture by urging women's education such as Maulwi Nazir Ahamad. Some of his novels such *Mir'at-ul-arus* (1869) and *Banat-un-Na'as* (1872) were very famous. *Mir'at-ul-arus*

²¹Chaudhuri, *The Indian Women's Movement*, p. 95.

²²*Ibid*, p. 97.

became textbooks for Muslim girls in North-Western Provinces. It was also translated into English as 'The Bride's Mirror' by G. E. Ward (1903). Another important writer was the Altaf Husain Hali, who had written *Majalis-un-Nissa* (1874), advocating women's education in dialogue form. *Majalis* was also adopted as a text book in vernacular girls' schools of North Western Provinces. Begum of Bhopal also wrote texts such as *Tahzib-un-niswan wa Tarbiyat un Niswan*.²³

The earliest association among Muslim was the *Anjuman-i-Punjab* of Lahore, founded in 1865 by G.W. Leitner in Punjab. In U.P., the most important association was 'The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference' of Aligarh. Prior to it, there was a Scientific Society established in the 1860 to translate texts. It also established institute's press which published Aligarh Institute Gazette and *Tahzib-ul-akhlaq* (the Muslim social reformer). The Aligarh movement remained an educational and cultural body till foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1886, Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan founded the 'The All India Muhammadan Educational Conference' in response to the founding of the congress. Being a political organization, it had political goal of uniting all Muslims but 'to keep them out of nationalist activity, in the interest of both of educational advancement and of wooing government patronage.'²⁴

The education of women was also a growing concern among the Sharif Muslim men of the late nineteenth century. Even families who facilitated education of their girls at home felt the need for trained teachers. Due to the decline of indigenous schooling and emergence of an English system of education, *Ustani*s who were indigenous teachers were considered an 'endangered species'. In late nineteenth century, working for a salary outside the home was regarded as unacceptable proposition for the *Sharif* women. As the indigenous forms of patronage disappeared, the role of traditional *Ustani* also disappeared.²⁵ The lack of traditional *Ustani*s also enforced the Sharif Muslim to consider vernacular schools as an alternative. But *purdah* posed impediment to sustain it.

²³Minault, 'Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and Tahzib un-Niswan', in Sarkar & Sarkar, (ed.) *Women and Social Reform in modern India, Vol. II*, pp. 90-91.

²⁴Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 188.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 29.

Christian missionary schools were other alternatives but Muslims were reluctant to use this alternative too. The educated Muslim men, such as the Alumni of Aligarh University, started demanding educated brides, wives and began favouring education for the Muslim women. Many alumni of Aligarh Muslim University started writing about value of education of women. The *Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam* of Lahore, an educational and social service organisation started primary schools for women in the 1880s and 90s and discussed the importance of normal schools to train the teachers.²⁶

The All India Muhammadan Educational Conferences accepted that Muslims were educationally backward but the question of women's education was discussed for the first time in the third session of the conference which was held in Lahore in 1888. It was proposed that 'Muslim (community) should open schools for Muslim girls (zenana Maktab) at which Islamic religion and the lives of the great people of the faith are taught in an appropriate way.' More focus was given to this subject only in the 1891, when conference at Aligarh was held. Aligarh's professor of Law, Karamat Hussain, proposed a resolution on this subject. He stated that it was most essential for women to be educated for the progress of community (progress) and they should get religious, intellectual and moral training so that they could raise future generation efficiently.²⁷

Karamat Hussain was very active in urging All India Muhammadan Conference to think of women's education. In 1896, a section for women's education was established with an aim to establish normal schools for women. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali was the first secretary of the section of Women's Education but later in 1902, this section was handed over to Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, who opened a school at Aligarh in 1906 and began a journal too.²⁸

Karamat Hussain also founded Crosthwaite School for girls in Allahabad (named after Charles Crosthwaite- the lieutenant governor of U.P. in 1892-5). He was law

²⁶Minault, 'Shaikh Abdullah, Begum Abdullah, and Sharif Education for Girls at Aligarh', in Imtiaz Ahmad, *Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India*, Delhi: Manohar, 1983, pp. 212-14.

²⁷Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 191.

²⁸*Ibid*, pp. 190-91.

professor at Aligarh in 1890 and important activist of women's education in Muhammadan Educational Conferences.²⁹ The Crosthwaite School had scholars not only from the communities of Hindus, Christians but also a few Muslims. The Government of U.P., eventually provided grant to support it. He was liked by John Hewett, the then Lieutenant-governor of U. P for his intellect and educational service. He had been also Indian member of secretary of state's council in London.³⁰

With the help of the Awadh Taluqdar, Sir Muhammad Ali who was the Raja of Mahmudabad, Karamat Hussain founded a school exclusively for Muslim girls in Lucknow in 1912; later on it became the Muslim girls' college of Lucknow (Karamat Hussain Girls College). This school was moved to a building across the Gomati River in Lucknow and prescribed the Government curriculum while adhering to the observance of *pardah*.³¹ According to Karamat Hussain, sending girls to school was superior to instructing them at home, because, 'a school can afford better teachers and broader curricular offerings than any home instruction.' Reading, writing, mathematics and a basic knowledge of the world was important along with practical subject such as health and cleanliness, household accounting and management, cooking, sewing, child care, gardening, and exercises for bodily health. He confirmed the idea that 'if the women of the country were backward, the men of that community can never advance.'³² He advocated a separate curriculum for women to fit them into their domestic duties. This vision also echoed Victorian views of the domesticity without directing imitating them.³³

Similarly, Shaikh Abdullah also contributed to the movement of Muslim women's education. He founded the Aligarh Girls' School in 1906 and took great efforts to educate Muslim girls. He also founded journals like *Tahzib* (1908) and *Khatun* (1904). Other important journal was *Ismat* of Rashidul Khairi in 1908, which played important role in spreading women's education.³⁴ Begum Abdullah, wife of Shaikh Abdullah wrote many articles in the Urdu journal which she edited, calling the need

²⁹*Ibid*, pp. 219-21.

³⁰*Ibid*, p. 221.

³¹*Ibid*, p. 224.

³²*Ibid*, p. 225.

³³*Ibid*, p. 226.

³⁴Minault, 'Sayyid Mumtaz 'Ali and Tahzib un Niswan', Sarkar & Sarkar, *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93.

for contributions to start a school which would provide better education than home instruction, and be better supervised. The goal was to bring enlightenment to *sharif* women who in turn would enlighten the children and women folk of their families. They were urged to open schools in their *Muhallas* (locality) for the lower classes. This was part of a broader 'downward filtration' theory to which Government was wedded.³⁵

Shaikh Abdullah received a grant from the Begum of Bhopal, and later on, also from the government, of an amount of rupees 15,000 and monthly grant of rupees 250. Begum Abdulla also taught at the school and it was opened in a hired house in October 1906. The curriculum of the school included reading and writing of Urdu, basic arithmetic, needlework, and the Quran. Three closed palanquins (*dholis*) were also hired to carry the girls to schools. The school building was walled on all sides so that *purdah* girls could not have any problem.³⁶ Strict *purdah* was observed. On the eve of inauguration of boarding house, in 1914, ladies conference for Muslim women was founded. On the question of teaching English, Begum Abdullah emphasized to impart primary education in Urdu, and English was only for those girls who wished to pursue their higher education.³⁷ In 1925, it became intermediate college (Women's College) under the affiliation of Aligarh Muslim University, and began degree classes in 1937. By 1937 there were about 250 students. Many of the students from college later started their own schools; many served as government Inspectress, and taught at College level. Some of the pupils included Abdullah's own daughter, Rashid Jahan, who went on to complete education in medical degree.³⁸

Another important educationist was, Saiyad Mumtaz Ali who founded the weekly newspaper called *Tahzib-un-Niswan* (The Women's Reformer) in Lahore in 1898 with his wife Muhammadi Begum. It contained new ideas related to housekeeping, child bearing, women's right in Islam, and the need of education for future mothers etc. Saiyad Mumtaz Ali was a social reformer and wrote a treatise on women's right, called '*Huquq un- Niswan*' in 1898 which was torn up by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan and

³⁵ Minuault, 'Sheikh Abdullah and Begum Abdullah', in Imtiaz Ahmad, *Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India*, p. 217.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 221.

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 227-28.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 230.

was published only after Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan's death. This text was divided into five parts i.e. '1. The various reasons why people say that men are superior to women, 2. Women's education, 3. *Purda*, 4. Marriage customs, 5. Relations between husband and wife.' He examined the *Quranic* and *Hadith* commentary to discuss them and it was very revolutionary in nature at that time.³⁹

Saiyed Mumtaz Ali's wife Muhammadi Begum who took up Urdu journalism not only edited *Tahzib-un-Niswan* but in addition wrote articles in journals, novels, books of etiquette, house-keeping manuals and cookbooks, etc. Her novel *Safiya Begam*, was about the evils of marrying off a daughter without her consent and *Sharif Beti*, was a story of woman who opened a school at home. *Khanadari* was a manual of modern housekeeping consisting topics such 'household cleanliness, the proper purchasing and preparation of food, the need to keep drinking water pure, the use of ice, the rules of nutrition and child care, the care of clothing and bedding, hospitality to guests, the preparation of pan, among other subjects'. *Adab-i-Mulaqat* was etiquette text dealt with etiquettes or behaviours at social gatherings.⁴⁰

After 1880s the government also paid attention to the education of Muslim girls and this was matched with to the community efforts to educate their girls. With the turn of the century, the craving for the education of young Muslim girls began to grow and the community themselves participated in the process of making education available, through numerous petition and demand. In the year 1925-26, even curricular changes were proposed: the chief Inspectress of girls' schools recommended for making provision for education of Muslim girls in Model schools. It was also demanded that Urdu should be taught in Government model girl's schools. In these schools only Hindi was taught and therefore it attracted only Hindu girls. The issue of language thus, at Model Schools was also regarded responsible for lack of female Muslim teachers. The demand of education among Muslim women folk increased by 1920, new facilities such as the addition of Urdu section to existing Model Girls' school and the opening up of new branch schools was proposed by the chief Inspectress of girls'

³⁹Minault, 'Sayyid Mumtaz 'Ali and Tahzib un-Niswan', in Sarkar & Sarkar (ed.), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, pp. 70-84.

⁴⁰Minault, 'Sayyid Mumtaz 'Ali and Tahzib un-Niswan: Women's Rights in Islam and Women's Journalism in Urdu', Sarkar & Sarkar (ed.), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, pp. 84-85.

school.⁴¹ However the plan of opening Urdu section in the existing Model girls' schools could only be implemented where there were government buildings, large enough 'to accommodate additional classes.' Although many girls school taught both vernacular (Hindi and Urdu) together but very few teachers were capable of it. In Deoband, district Saharanpur there was an upper primary school with two Hindi speaking teachers, but at the same time there was no provision for teaching Urdu in school for the Muslim girls. Similarly there was no school for Muslim girls in Mainpuri. Although there was a proposal to establish separate schools for untouchable women and Muslim girls but still new section for Muslim girls was suggested.⁴² The Government accepted the proposal of Chief Inspectress and provided grants in 1925 for opening new section in existing girls' schools of Etah and Fyazabad.

Even in Gorakhpur, many Muslim felt that their daughters were being neglected. Till 1925, only Hindi was taught and there was no space for larger classes or additional section or separate schools for their women. It reflects that by 1920s, Muslim men had started to associate themselves with Urdu language and began to demand education for their women. In fact the late nineteenth century was period when Muslim men were not sending their girls to school and preferred home instruction or dispersion of education through educated men, but early twentieth century witnessed the growing demand for schooling of Muslim women and that was possibly more likely linked to identity politics among Hindu and Muslims and Hindi-Urdu politics.⁴³

1.2 Hindu Reformers: Arya Samaj and Women's Education

The Arya Samaj's efforts towards female education were influenced by the needs of upper caste. The Arya Samaj's schools for female education were influenced by the fear of Christian proselytisation and by the perceived inclination of women towards western culture.⁴⁴ They had financial support of commercial and trading classes. The course of study emphasised on religious and domestic education and middle class values, rather than preparing women for employment. The creation of 'modernised' educated housewives and the preparation of women for marriage was the project of

⁴¹File no. 997/1925, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, 1925, p. 1.

⁴² *Ibid*, pp.1-2.

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 1-5.

⁴⁴Chaudhuri, *The Indian Women's Movement*, pp. 29-30.

Arya Samaj. Educating upper caste and middle class women was their priority. In this scenario, the lower castes girls' education was channelized by either missions or schools especially for lower caste pupils.⁴⁵

The Arya Samaj was established in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Later on, it spread to other parts of India. The education system of Arya Samaj began primarily after the death of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, although there were some unsuccessful attempts at the establishment of *pathsalas* by him during his lifetime. The Samaj's educational program became a means of paying tribute to Swami by many of his followers after his death.

Arya Samaji based their education system on the weakness and defects of colonial Government schooling. The educational institutions of the British were emptied of religious knowledge, and were replete with Western literature. It therefore alienated most Indian children, and made them strangers to their own religion and literature. Arya Samaji perceived that the curriculum of the colonial government school lacked religious and moral instruction.⁴⁶ Swami Dayanand had seen the need for moral and religious education as the foundation on which character could be built up.⁴⁷ The education of Arya Samaji kept the best things of British system and altered what was not suitable for India. The concept of school was to teach new knowledge of the anglicized world along with the Vedic truth. These schools were Anglo-Vedic, in which not only English and Western arts and Science were taught, but they also imparted the teaching of the Hindi and the Hindi literature, and the compulsory study of Sanskrit and the Vedas.⁴⁸

These schools appealed to some of those sections of the people who felt their needs were not being fulfilled in the government controlled schools. Government schools did not provide direct religious instruction. The religious instruction was considered as an important component of curricula especially in the indigenous schools. It was imparted through language and literature, especially Sanskrit. In India, language,

⁴⁵Ibid, p. 57.

⁴⁶Kumari Saraswati S. Pandit, *A Critical Study of the Contribution of The Arya Samaj to Indian Education*, Published Thesis, New Delhi: Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 1974, p. 132-133.

⁴⁷K. C. Vyas, *The Development of National Education in India*, Bombay: Vora & co., Publishing house, 1954, p. 61.

⁴⁸'Proceedings of D.A.V. College Management Committee (1886-1890)', File No. 1 A, S. No. 35, Institutional Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, pp. 16-22.

morality, and religion were interconnected to each other. Swami Dayanand emphasized on the character formation of the child for which he regarded the study of the Vedas, important. Good habits and manners were inculcated through instruction, textbooks, rules and regulation at the boarding houses.

On the issue of the scheme of studies, it maintained more or less the same subjects which prevailed in Government controlled schools, but the medium of instruction for all subjects was Hindi till middle school level. This was to honour Swami Dayanand's refusal to tolerate a foreign language, although he favoured Hindi or *Arya Bhasha* more than the other vernaculars. It was also the period when people wanted to learn English since they wished to be employed in government institutions but Swami Dayanand was strongly convinced that instruction through a foreign language was harmful. Ram Rattan recalled that Dayanand '...laid emphasis on Hindi being made the medium of instruction. He felt as most educationists have begun to feel today, that the foreign language as a medium of instruction was a handicap, a dead weight, which retarded the growth of the Indian boy's mind'.⁴⁹ He believed that a sound educational system was one that made the student feel proud of his country, his language, his country's past and her glory and that was the reason behind Hindi and Sanskrit being kept compulsory. The knowledge of Sanskrit was needed to read the Vedas, and hence in primary classes Hindi was a compulsory subject and knowledge of it was considered a precondition for learning of Sanskrit. Nevertheless, despite of Dayanand's preferences, the medium of instruction of education to the boys of upper class was English for all the subjects. The school kept in mind the contemporary scenario, in which they saw the necessity of English at the higher levels.

Kenneth Jones argued that the Aryas offered an answer to the most acute dilemmas of occupational mobility and cultural adjustment through their scheme of English language education. English was chosen by them for adjustment with needs of the time and of the people, Hindi for communication with the masses, Sanskrit and the works of Dayanand for moral upliftment and science for the material progress.⁵⁰ The use of English was restricted. Other important subjects included were Geography,

⁴⁹Quoted in Vyas, *Development of National Education*, p. 62.

⁵⁰Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab*, Delhi: Manohar, 1976, p. 72.

Arithmetic, History, Physical Science, sanitation (optional) along with languages (Urdu, Hindi till primary level, Sanskrit began from Upper Primary level and English began from the Middle school level).⁵¹ The school recognized the utility of subjects like Geography, History and Arithmetic. D.A.V. didn't have its own infrastructure and was completely dependent on the higher education at Government institutions. For this reason, the DAV schools could not remain autonomous from mainstream colonial education. These subjects were important for students to compete with those from other schools, and thereby maintaining a standard for the school. They retained some elements of the indigenous education system such as the importance of Sanskrit learning, religious tenets of education, and mobilization of finance for the school to some extent.

The low position of women in society and the European criticism forced the social and religious reformers to keep women at the centre of reforms in the nineteenth century. At a time when men were getting a colonial British education which was changing their beliefs, attitudes and taste played important role⁵², the reformers argued for a form of companionate marriage, saying that an educated man needed an educated wife. They argued that if women remained illiterate, they would indulge in foolish talk and unnecessary squabbles which will destroy the harmony of the family, and encourage the men to look for companionship outside the house. Education for women was advocated primarily as a means to bridge the mental gap between husbands and wives, mothers and sons. It became necessary for women to adapt their lives and attitudes to the men's requirements.⁵³ The concern was not only to encourage women's education, but prevent conversion to Christianity, especially since, the education of women was largely in the hands of Christian missionaries and indigenous authorities during the nineteenth century.

⁵¹*Tribune*, 15th September 1888, and see also 'Proceedings of D.A.V. College Management Committee (1886-90)', pp. 18-22. The place of Sanskrit in the curriculum was an issue of contention among Arya Samajis. In the D.A.V. Society Annual meeting of 31st March 1889, Lala Ram, a representative of Arya Samaj, Jhelum, proposed a scheme of Sanskrit, Hindi and Vedic Studies for the school. This proposal was seconded by the Pandit Guru Datta of Lahore, but it was defeated when put to vote. Also see, Kenneth Samson Ombongi, 'Eclecticism and Expediency: Evolution of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Society Education Movement in Colonial North India (1886-1936)', Unpublished Thesis, New Delhi: University of Jawaharlal Nehru, 1996, p. 29.

⁵²*Punchal Pundita*, 15th April, 1898, pp. 20-22. *Punchal Pundita* was a monthly magazine in which most articles were written by the students and members of Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur.

⁵³Madhu Kishwar, 'Arya Samaj and Women's Education Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar', *Review of Women Studies*, April 26, 1986, p. 7.

It was accepted by the Arya Samajis that girls' schooling span was for a shorter period in comparison to the boys. In this circumstances a curriculum was suggested which could prepare girls for future life afterwards marriage. They were not equipped for any profession outside the home other than teaching. They were not expected to learn foreign language.⁵⁴ As stated in the preceding paragraphs, Dayananad Saraswati's focus was on women of upper and middle class families or *dwiz* (twice born) and his text, *Satyarth Prakash* motherhood was considered as 'prime function of woman, devotion to husband her prime duty, the management of his household her prime responsibility.'⁵⁵

Schooling of females was thus a contentious issue among Arya Samajis, although Dayanand Saraswati had believed in equal rights for women in realm of education. He believed that there should be both official and caste rules to ensure that people couldn't keep their boys and girls at their house after age of five and eight respectively and (had to) should be punished if they did so.⁵⁶ But at the same time he strongly disagreed with co-education, and believed that females should be taught by females only, and male by males. After the death of Dayanand Saraswati, some efforts were made to bestow education to females, but they were limited to the primary and special kind of instruction. The Samajis felt that Hindu girls needed a special kind of education that would enable them to adapt themselves to the new demands made by the educated men of the family without losing their cultural moorings. At one level, the Arya Samaj posed a challenge to the process of westernization; at the same time it was also deeply influenced by the ideology of the rulers.

Female education was considered more crucial than the education of boys by Arya Samajis. According to Arya Samajis, 'female education is of paramount necessity, for no home can be Arya Smajis in the true sense, unless the females are cultured and know the beauties of the Vedic religion. Through ignorance our females often oppose us at the time of Sanskrit and other religious ceremonies, and make the home a

⁵⁴Indu Banga, 'Socio-Religious Reform and Patriarchy', in Kiran Pawar, (ed.) *Women in Indian History: Social Economic, Political and Cultural Perspectives*, New Delhi: Visions & Venture, 1996, p. 248.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, p. 250.

⁵⁶Dayanand Saraswati, *Om Satyarth Prakash*, Arya Sahitya Prachar Trust, p. 27.

miserable then through the perpetual tug-of-war of ideas.⁵⁷ They also believed in the notion that one can educate a family by educating a girl because she will become a mistress of home and rear the children and thereby protecting their culture.⁵⁸ Thus this idea of education of daughters became instrumental in making race civilized, i.e. mainly religious, and patriotic.

Women's education, nevertheless, was largely neglected as reflected in voices raised by the female pupils of *Arya Kanya Pathshalas* during twentieth century in the United Provinces. A pupil named, Shakuntala, of *Arya Kanya Pathshala* in *Meerut* gave a speech on 16th Annual day of Meerut Arya Samaj, which was published later and in it she complained against the insufficient efforts taken by United Provinces Arya Samajis to promote women's education.⁵⁹ She started her lecture with an appreciation of Dayanand Saraswati for his promotion of *Arya Dharma* which saved many Hindus from conversion into Islam and Christianity. She appreciated Dayanand's love for the Sanskrit language and his personal sacrifice for the expansion of Arya Samaj, emphasising that the children who used to read prayers of Jesus Christ before the age of 10, those were discussing religion in the *Bal-Sabha* (children's society) that were established.⁶⁰

She suggested to men in the audience that they should take measures to educate women and thereby to elevate them from its awful condition, and prove themselves 'true Arya'. She claimed that men cannot be 'True Arya' if their women remained uneducated.⁶¹ She further requested that:

Bhatrajano aap bhi matao ko sushikshit karo tab bharat varsh ki santan survir, sushikshit, dharmatma uttpann hogi. Thode hi kaal mein aapka desh sudhar javega au rush mahrishi mahatma uddyesya bhi purn ho javega. Hey Pakspati bhaiyo! Kya yeh nyay ki baat hai ki ladko ke vaste toh college par college banaye chale jate ho jin college mein sivaye gulam aur chakriya banana ke aur kuch bhi nahin padhaya jata aur jinse kisi prakar ka labh nahin dikh padta, Punjab walo ne toh ek college bana hi liya hai. Pachimottar desh me bhi maar maar ho rahi hai prantu kanyo ke vast ek choti si paathshala bi nahin banayi jati. Yeh pakspaat nahin toh aur kya hai? Aanth mein meri prathana yeh hai ki aap kanyo ke padhane ka yatan karo nahin toh ish desh ki durdasha kabhi dur nahin hogi. Aage aap jane aap eka kaam hai. Main

⁵⁷Devi Chand, *Om Report of the Educational Work by the Arya Samaj in India*, Amritsar: George Press, 1925, p. 8. Devi Chand was Principal of D.A.V. High School, Hoshiarpur, Punjab.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹*Om Chetavani, artharth Arya Kanya Pathshala Merrut ki ek Putri ka Vyakyan jo Arya Samaj Meerut ke 16th varshikotashav ko hua, translated, by Ramchand Verma, Mathura: Bhusan Press, Vikramsamvat 1952.*

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 6.

*aapki putrid kathor sabdo ke liye aap se shama mangti hu jaise balak apni mata pita se khane ko bhi mangta hai aur kathor vachan ki kehta hai aisa hi mujh ko samjho.*⁶²

(Is it justified that colleges are built for boys where nothing is taught apart from that required for producing slaves and servants and no benefits can be seen in it. Punjab has at least established a girls' college, but despite an urgent need, not even a primary school is established for girls in the N.W. Provinces. This is plain partiality. Finally, I urge you to make sincere efforts to educate girls. Otherwise this country will be doomed. This is your responsibility and you know the best.)

Likewise a girl student, Ved Kunwar, of *Arya Kanya Pathshala*, Meerut also described the attitude of Arya Samaj in context of women and their education. She claimed that Samajis in place of taking concrete effort, only talk about the women's education. The girls delivered inspiring lectures which were well heard in various parts of country, cities and villages but there was no implementation of these ideas.⁶³ Members of Arya Samajs emphasized on the Sanskrit education and teaching of religion to improve India but no arrangements was made for this. Even people who delivered speeches related to promoting Sanskrit Education, their own children were taking education in English and Urdu. In fact there was no coherence in their words and deeds as Arya Samajis spoke and acted differently.⁶⁴

The Arya Samaj retained differences in the performances of rituals (*sanskars*) for the women. She claimed that rituals regarding *garbdharan* (pregnancy), birth, and marriage, *brhamcharya* (celibacy) and education were not observed. Even there was no *Gurukul* (residential school) for girls.⁶⁵ She further said that, *Jab tak striyan dharmata na hogi tab tak purush bhi kadapi nahin ban sakte. Aaj-kal ki tarah aadha titar aadha bater hi rahenge. Na grihast mein santi ka vaash hoga. Sada devasur sangram bana rahege. En sab baato ke janane par bhi aap log stri shiksha ka kuch prabhand nahin karte.*⁶⁶

⁶²*Ibid*, pp. 7-8.

⁶³*Om Chota Muh Badi Baat artharth Ek vyakhaan jisko Arya Kanya Pathshala Meerut ki ek putri ne Arya Samaj Meerut ke 17 Varshikotasav par diya*, translated by Ramchand Verma, Mathura: Bhushan Press, Vikram Samvat, 1952, p. 1.

⁶⁴*Ibid*, p. 2.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁶*Ibid*, p. 6.

(If women are not virtuous, men too cannot be. They would be a hybrid of east and west, just like they are now-a-days. There would not even be peace at home either and it will always be a battleground. Despite knowing it all that you all know about all these, you do not take steps towards women's education.)

She claimed that the attitudes of people were bias. Samajis were in fact indifferent towards opening new schools for girls. If some virtuous men opened the school, often school suffered due to lack of funding and people did not send their daughters to schools. There was lack of community support in managing the schools.⁶⁷ She talked about the western influence on the societies, too. She said that:

*Hamari samjo mein kuch aadmi aise bhi utpann ho gaye hai jo aryavart ki stri jati ko Europe desh ki striyo ke rang- dhang par lana chahte hai. Yeh chahte hai ki ish desh ki striyan ko bhi vilayat ki striyon ki tarah puran swantantrata (aazadi) di jave. Veh chahte hai ki hamari istriyan gehna na pehne rangeen kapda na pehne, mej kursi laga kar baithe, thandi sadko ko sair kare, swayam jahan chahe chali jave, unko angreji padhai jave, parda ya sharam lihaz sab tod diya jave. Matlab yeh hai ki ish desh ki striyan mem sahib ban jave, prantu ae mere bujurago, ish baat ko bhali prakar se jaan lo ki jo log aisa chahte hai veh ish desh ke param satru hai. Un logo ko nayi roshni aur Europe ke bahari aur jhute rang-thang ne andha kar rakha hai. Jo log vilayat ho aaye hai, ve vahan ki zehari tip-tap par mohat ho rahe hai. Prantu such jaan lena ki unke hriday ki dono phut gayi hai.*⁶⁸

(There are people in our country who would like to shape Indian women according to European ways. They want that Indian women should enjoy freedom like the western women. They want that Indian women do not wear any jewellery or colourful clothes, sit on chairs and take walks on the road, go wherever they wish, be taught in English, and brought out of traditional and modest ways- all leading to their becoming 'mem sahib' (western woman). But let me tell you people who want this to happen are stark enemies of country. They are blinded by the superficial glitters of the western world. And foreign returned people are attracted to their poisonous culture. In reality, these people have become heartless.)

Likewise this girl, Arya Samajis views was based on revival of Indian culture and opposition to the western culture influence. They criticised Christian missionaries and zenana missions which influenced Indian society and propagated conversion. Even this girl (a pupil at Arya Samaj school) did not want and wished to stay under the patriarchal norms. She talked about the equality in the education but criticised the

⁶⁷*Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁸*Ibid*, p. 8.

liberty to move on their own will, elimination of *purdah*, shyness, not wearing of colourful clothes and ornament.

Many of the zenana missionaries criticised High caste Hindus for their resistance to Christianity. zenana Missions were often critical of upper caste people for not letting them convert others. As reflected in their writings, the Arya Samajis were against these zenana missions, and portrayed Hindu women as losing their morals due to the zenana Missionaries. There was always an ideological tussle between the Arya Samajis and the missions. There were rumours that Hindu widows were converting into Christianity and Islam and were eloping with Muslim servants, *Hawkers*, *Hakims* and *Ekka* pullers etc.⁶⁹

The Arya Samaj was in favour of women's education, but they were reluctant to provide equal rights and status to women. Moreover, their efforts to educate women were motivated by the need to check conversion to Islam and Christianity. Arya Samajis opened their branches in different provinces of United Provinces and organised *sabhas* to propagate women's education specially the widows. The Arya Samaji branch of Agra established a society called *Vidwa Hitakarini Sabha*, on 5 June, 1909, for the welfare of widows. It wanted to establish a separate school for women to excel in teaching, handicrafts and medicine, and could practice these skills. Along with these, schools aimed to teach Vedas to them. The *Sabha* also tried to make some arrangements to teach handcraft skills to those widows who could not come out of the home, or illiterate. They established a widow school on 31 December, 1909 at Agra. But the school faced the same problems as the others, due to the reluctance of parents to send their daughters without a *purdah*, without a vehicle and due to the lack of a female teacher etc.⁷⁰

Most importantly, the annual report of *Vidwa Hitakarini Sabha* urged its members to donate for the cause because 'various religions' (Christianity and Islam) were changing the minds of widows. Simultaneously, it accepted that widows were suffering in the Hindu religion and other religion's tolerance, humanity, anti-caste and unity were praised and other Aryans were asked to follow that.⁷¹ The Vice minister of

⁶⁹Pandit Shiv Sharma Ji, *Stri Shiksha*, King Press: Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U.P., Bareilly, 1927.

⁷⁰*Report of Vidwa Hitkarini Sabha*, Agra: Rajput Anglo-Oriental Press, 1910, p. 1.

⁷¹*Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

sabha, Niranjan Singh Verma, mentioned that, many widows had become shameless, and converted to Islam and Christianity. This type of act was expressed through the idiom ‘loot of mangoes in storm’ among the Hindus. It was mentioned that: *Jin Deviyo ke udder se Arjun sarikhe Gau Brahmino ke rakshak uttpann hote they haye (kehthe hue kaleja phata hai) aaj ve deviyein Gau bhakshak santan ko uttpann karne wali banayi jati hai.*⁷² (Indian women who used to give birth to heroes like Arjun and to saviours of Brahmins and cows- are, regrettably, now being converted into mothers of beef-eaters.)

For the Arya Samajis, providing amenities for education and building Homes for the Widows became more important as it was a mechanism to control morality and check conversion to other religion. In other words by providing food and clothing the Arya Samajis not only tried to address their daily problems but also provided them physical as well as emotional support. Thus they aimed at providing satisfaction within Hindu religion and maintaining morality of the society. These widows were also imparted education so that they could become teachers as teaching was considered an important vocation to make them busy and self sufficient.⁷³ An immense literature was produced to warn Christian women and men who were involved in converting Hindu women. This literature fanned the ideas that the Christian missionaries took the advantage of famines and hunger to convert Hindus. It was in this background, many steps were suggested (such as *shuddi*, *sangthan*, remarriage, and untouchable welfare) to consolidate Hindus against Muslim and Christian missionaries.⁷⁴

Similarly, Missionary women were also critical of the Arya Samajis who prevented them from influencing Hindu women. In Gorakhpur, a Christian woman named, Mrs. Mary Dharmgit, while reporting in the year of 1889 remarked, ‘The spoilers of Hindustan are the Brahmin priests; they fear, when Hindu wives and daughters know God and understand the Scriptures, their hope of gain will be gone, which is true, for since teaching in the zenanas has gone on, many women have left off doing ‘puja’ and

⁷²*Ibid*, p. 11.

⁷³*Ibid*.

⁷⁴ Mahatma Premanand Banprasthi, *Om Issaiyo ki Chalbazi*, Sultanpur (Awadh): Baba Tribhuvannath, 1929, pp. 1-3.

thereby there has been great loss to the Brahmins. God grant that the worship of idols be abolished in this land, and the banner of Christ be raised, and all the heathens flee to Him for protection.’ She further reported that sometimes women’s learning was prevented by the Brahmins and at times in connivance with the old women. The Brahmins, she commented, also warned men that Christianity will ruin their women if they became Christian. She, in addition emphasized that at times people did not listen to them and urged their women to read scriptures as books as they found it to be useful. Due to the helplessness of Brahmins, they also opened their houses to zenana teaching.⁷⁵

Hence, for Arya Samajis, women schooling was a mechanism to protect the Hindu home from foreign influence. They began to provide alternatives to women education which was led by zenana missions. Furthermore they used education as an instrument to save women from conversion. Providing food and shelter to the needy women was an integral part of this mechanism.

2. The Role of Women Missionaries: Education of Indian Women

The missionaries also invested their energies on Indian women’s education. Women missionaries’ efforts to educate women were not only appreciated by the Government of India, but also by the reformers and all India women’s organizations. Some of the women’s organisations emerged during the period under review. In fact zenana instruction succeeded where government or reformers could not reach. They provided a model of education to government and reformers in spite of the fact that they were also continually criticised of their intention to conversion. Although the male missionaries were educating Indian children since late eighteenth century, the women missionaries, usually wives of male missionaries as well as single woman missionaries emerged on the scene only during the second half of the nineteenth century in the United Provinces. It was unlike South India where missionaries were quite active since eighteenth century in the sphere of education. Although Missionary women accompanied their partners, siblings, and relatives, but their numbers were not noteworthy, until the second half of the nineteenth century when female missionary

⁷⁵Report of Mrs. H. Stern, Gorakhpur’, *the Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. x, October 1889, No. lxxli, p. 234.

work expanded. It created demand of 'refined, cultured, and unmarried ladies, who are free from the cares and toils of the home and family duties'. The need was of those women missionaries, who could devote their lives in the 'work of teaching', visiting and taking care of women and children. In this context 1890 was the high point for the recruitment of single women from Britain, as part of the rapid expansion of the missionary movement.⁷⁶

Women's missionary work developed as well through the women's auxiliaries and committees that emerged between 1858-78 among the Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterians and also the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Ladies Association for the support of Zenana work and Bible women, later known as Baptist Zenana Mission (BZM) was founded in 1867; and was connected to the Baptist Missionary Society in 1875. The Ladies Committee of Congregationalist (LMS) was set up later, and Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England was formed in 1878. The Wesleyan Methodist society formed in 1877, and renamed later as Women's Auxiliary. Society for Propagation of Gospel was first to initiate formal female missionaries. The 'Ladies Association for the Promotion of Female Education among the Heathen in connection with the missions of the Society for the Propagation of Gospel' was established in 1866, though it began to pay attention to women's work only after 1902 with the arrival of a new SPG Secretary.⁷⁷

The work of the Church Missionary Society on a wider scale began only after passing of the Charter Bill in 1813. It provided the ground for the establishment of bishoprics in India and after it, works in North India in particular developed rapidly. As mentioned above, the women had worked in the missions from the very early years but usually alongside their husbands. In 1887 an appeal was made by the Church Missionary Society to unmarried women to become missionaries, and the response was overwhelming. A new training school was set up for the women, and by 1901 there were about 326 unmarried women working abroad. In the course of time, two missionary societies were amalgamated into the CMS: the Society for Promoting

⁷⁶Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia*, pp. 31-33.

⁷⁷Ibid, pp. 98-99.

Female Education in China, India and East (known as Female Education Society) in 1889 and the Church England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) in 1957. CMS specialised in sending women to India, China and Japan for Zenana and established schools for women in China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, India, South Africa, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Mauritius.⁷⁸

Initially missionary women were from the upper and middle classes, but after 1890s, women of less privileged families were also recruited and trained in Highbury College on the pretext that, 'God does not commit his work in the world to one class only. He can use persons of all classes.' Factory girls could be trained as a missionary.⁷⁹ In the past, applications of many lady missionaries' had been rejected due to lack of required social, cultural and educational standards, and it was in this backdrop that the CMS established a college at Highbury in London in 1892 to remedy educational gaps for those who wished to join the mission and from 'socially and educationally defective background.' Around 15 percent of the CMS female intake attended Highbury College in London during this period.⁸⁰

This section will focus on the work of the Church missionary society and its women's auxiliary. The most important society which worked for women education was the 'Female Normal School and Instruction Society' which was established in 1861 in Calcutta. An auxiliary of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society of London, which established its centre in Calcutta to expand women's education in India.⁸¹ It aimed to train teachers for (normal) schools (training) and visit to zenana (visitation). This society was interdenominational in nature and co-operated with church missionaries and other orthodox Protestant Mission in establishing and supporting normal and other schools all over India.⁸² It was later amalgamated with Church Missionary Society in 1880 and came to be known as Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. However it continued to publish its magazine, the Indian

⁷⁸ 'Publishers' Note', Church Missionary Society Archive, Section II- Mission to Women, Birmingham, In *The Indian Female Evangelists*, Vol. viii, London, 1886.

⁷⁹ Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁸¹ Arthur Kinnaird, 'Society's Objectives', in Proceeding of a meeting held in 1872, See, *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. VI, July 1881, No. XXXIX, pp. 100-01.

⁸² Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands*, pp. 93-94.

Female Evangelist which was later renamed 'Zenana Bible and Medical Mission Society'.

2.1 Mission schools and Women's Education

European missionaries played an important role in the education sector during the colonial period. They supplied teachers, inspectress, established schools, normal schools orphanages, Widow's Home, and started vocational training for the Indian women. There were several schools which at the outset were maintained by the natives, but the teaching staff and supervision staff were assisted by the missions. The reason was that the educated missionaries were accomplished teacher trainees, and besides there was decline in the number of traditional *ustanis* or teachers. For example, at Benares, in one of the school supported by *Maharaja of Vizianagram*, 500 girls were under the supervision and tutelage of European teachers and all these girls belonged to low classes and were paid for attending the school.

Upper caste parents in United Provinces were reluctant to send their daughters to Government/reformer' schools because they had an alternative to educate their girls in the zenanas by European mistress. In the late nineteenth century, people started appreciating government efforts and established private schools to prevent their women from emerging influence of English culture which was being encouraged by the zenana missionaries.⁸³ Simultaneously reformers were active in opening schools for their community, caste groups' women. The Director of Public Instruction wrote in the report of 1874-75 that European and Eurasian teachers were more preferred compared to native teachers as they readily visited families without any discrimination. Families in Benares, either high or poor liked their presence in their families.⁸⁴ They preferred missionary women due to their ability to instruct at home. If on one hand, among the elites, home instruction was a tradition and more favoured than to send their girls to schools due to *purdah* or prejudices of respectability, on the other hand, home instruction could maintain both the respectability and traditions of the upper castes and elite classes. At the same time, there was also fear of conversion among the Indian who allowed missionaries to enter their homes.

⁸³'Statement by Raja Sheoraj Singh, Kashipur', in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 312.

⁸⁴*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, p. 86.

On the contrary, some of the educated people such as Sarvadhikari denied the contribution of European zenana mission in the promotion of female education during 1882. He called them unqualified and reported to the Indian Education Commission that women missionaries were looked at with suspicion and people understood their intention of spreading Christianity and mixing religion with education. He viewed that European ladies were imperfect even to impart rudimentary basis of knowledge to the native ladies as they lacked the proper knowledge of the vernacular. It was in this setting that he suggested that European missionary women could be good teachers only when they could teach at higher stages.⁸⁵

In context to period under review, one need to analyse these contradictory trends, with some people accepting the importance of missionaries and their ability to teach while others were very critical about the intensions of such instruction. The women missionaries who provided home instruction were moreover forcing Indian women to think, about themselves and independently about their own happiness which was not considered beneficial to the domestic happiness of the upper caste household. Upper caste households were maintained by sacrifices of their women, preservation of their gender roles, dependency on men etc. As Rupa Viswanath has pointed out, independence and free thinking were the precondition to the conversion. Christianity did not convert anybody forcefully, consent and free thinking was necessary for conversion. She has explored this fact in the southern India where missionaries made free the slaves before converting them into Christianity.⁸⁶

As far as the zenana teaching is concerned, it was most popular and effectual means of education among the higher classes because it was given at their home and people did not pay for it. Home instruction had been a culture of the north-western province elite group even earlier. Many missionaries complained that the *Babus* (middle class educated man) wanted to teach their daughters and wives but were not willing to pay for it.⁸⁷ Brahmin and Kayasth groups were also active in educating their women even from the missionary women, even though they knew that these tutors would impart

⁸⁵ 'Evidence of Rajsarvadhikari', in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 465.

⁸⁶ Rupa Viswanath, 'Hard Lessons: Poverty, Caste and Education in Colonial South India', presented paper in TRG Delhi workshop, India Habitat Centre, Delhi, 26th November, 2014.

⁸⁷ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1870-71*, p. 61A.

religious instruction, but at the same time they were very reluctant to pay for it. The preference to zenana schools was due to prejudices associated with sending girls out as it was the question of respectability.

During the period of study, women missionaries maintained different types of schools for different groups of people. They always kept in mind the local conditions and nature of norms and traditions of different religious communities. There were *purdah* schools which provided high walls and facilities of dholie to persuade parents to send their children to the schools. So on one hand if there were *purdah* schools for the elite and middle class, on the other hand, there were other types of schools for the poor children. In fact zenana work, particularly after 1857 became an important feature of Christian missionary works. Married and unmarried women missionaries began to arrive at India and gradually they found their way into zenanas. Besides, another reason responsible for this change was spread of education among Hindu and Muslim men. They were open to teach their women and were not afraid to call the zenana lady to their house.⁸⁸ Some of the Hindu men allowed their entry because they thought women were so inferior that missionary attitude would not impact on their mind.⁸⁹ It was possible as the Indian women were not aware of the ongoing social-religious movements which were making people cautious of the designs of these Christian missionaries.

Zenana schooling, thus, was another way of educating Indian upper caste and elite women (both Hindus and Muslim) who were not allowed to go out of the house for study. The expansion of formal education among men during late nineteenth century resulted in demand for educated wives and mothers. The tradition of home instruction, the question of respectability and seclusion of women among elite sections of society had caused illiteracy among them. Missionary women took advantage of it and started new kinds of schooling which were according to the needs of these classes. Women missionary while understanding the needs of home instruction for this class did not hesitate to teach them in their households. Thus these schools were called Zenana Schooling, as women missionaries were teaching in women's quarter of scholar's

⁸⁸*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. x, No. 110, December, 1902, p. 17

⁸⁹Miss M. Patteson, 'Zenana work', Extracts from a Paper read at the Ladies' Conference, Landour, September, 1902, in *the Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. x, No. 116, June 1903, p. 17.

households. The 'Zenana' is derived from the Persian root term 'zan' or woman. The zenana was a 'Muslim social institution' where specific space was allotted to women members and women visitors of the family. During medieval times, this system was followed by both the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughals and later even, the upper caste Hindus began to follow it by marking segregated space for their women in the house. The Christian mission of Bengal was the first to benefit from this system especially in spreading education among the females as it gave them the opportunity to interact (and access) with upper caste and elite women of the society informally in the household.⁹⁰ It also provided them a better environment for religious teaching and influencing them with Protestant ideals and values.

In the zenanas, most of the pupils were from higher class/castes who were unable to come to the school. These, women were taught, Hindi and Urdu, and little needlework. When they could read, the Bible was given them to study.⁹¹ Sometimes zenanas were inspected by the government Inspectress. In Lucknow during 1882, the Inspectress inspected about 21 zenanas out of 98 Muslim and Hindu houses.⁹² This type of inspection, sometimes, also helped in getting grant or recognition from the government to these zenanas schools. Consequently it helped pupils in getting government jobs.

Initially, it was necessary to employ teachers of Indian origin in mission school, especially those who had embraced Christianity, but the post of supervisors was only for the Christian women of British origin.⁹³ The use of native agency was in fact advantageous as it helped not only in reaching out to the people but also winning their confidence. Miss Healey in 1895, had presented a paper at a Missionary Conference, highlighting aspect of the usage of non-Christian agency in the mission schools. She commented, that even though only Christian teachers should be employed in the mission schools but due to shortage of Christian teachers, non-Christian teachers

⁹⁰G.S. Jayasree, 'The Ways of Faith: Zenana Mission in Trivandrum, 1864-1964', *Economic Political Weekly*, Vol. 41, No. 17, 2005, p. 1670.

⁹¹'Report of Mary Dharmgit, Gorakhpur', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. ix, No. lxii, April 1887, p. 95.

⁹²'Report of Miss Baumann, Lucknow', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. vi, April, 1882, No. xlii, p. 274.

⁹³'Report of Miss Baumann, Lucknow', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. vi, No. xxxviii, April, 1881, pp. 76-79.

should also be employed. It was also observed that the non- Christian teachers were instrumental in drawing together the pupils for the school as the parents trusted these teachers more, while sending their children to schools. Thus if on one hand, Indian origin teachers taught reading, writing, calculation, and performed routine work of the school, and kept the school in order on the other hand the missionary or Christian teacher invested all their energies in explaining and providing Biblical (Bible) instruction to the children.⁹⁴

The study of scripture was the main and common subject of in all mission schools although some secular education was also imparted to them. In most of the Schools not more than three books were taught as they (women) usually got married before they started the fourth book.⁹⁵ Apart from studying scriptures (texts), in addition they learned and sang hymns and *bhajans*. There was also practice of giving financial support to the pupils, for instance, two *annas* per mensem was given to each child. In some schools, there was tradition of giving a set of clothes to a child, whenever she finished reading a book. The pupils of Hindu community received religious instruction and learnt arithmetic, writing, dictation and (singing of *bhajan*) in Hindi, where as the pupils of Muslim community in Urdu.⁹⁶

In the zenana schools, the women were imparted education, mainly in subjects like Hindi or Urdu, with little knowledge of arithmetic, singing of *bhajan* and needle work but in mission schools, the Anglo Indian Girls were taught wide range of subjects such as vernacular language, English, geography, grammar, arithmetic (algebra), elements of science along with non-academic subject and skills such as music, sewing, knitting and other relevant vocation of domestic necessity. In the primary (i.e. first three) classes, instruction was imparted almost entirely through the medium of Urdu, along with knowledge of little English. With promotion to the next class, English was partially introduced as a medium of instruction in some subjects such as geography, arithmetic besides English Grammar, so that in course of time

⁹⁴*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ii, No. 21, July 1895, p. 135.

⁹⁵*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. vi, No. 66, April 1899, p. 85.

⁹⁶Report of Miss Stern, Benares', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. viii, No. liii, January 1885, p. 28

English full fledged become medium of instruction.⁹⁷ Mrs. Roy, wife of the headmaster of one of the C.M.S. High school, taught English to some students and for it they paid fees.⁹⁸ There were also boarding schools for Anglo-Indian girls, where English was taught.⁹⁹ In context to schools for Anglo- Indian girls it is important to note that there were two types of schools- one for the girls of well to do families and other for the girls of poor classes.

Even in terms of medium of instruction there were differences between these schools. Poorer girls were taught in the vernacular medium, while girls of well-to-do families were taught in English medium, and were provided superior food and servants for their care.¹⁰⁰ Along with these subjects, as mentioned above, the mission women also taught needlework and other fancy work to their scholars. Many missionary women regretted investment of their energies in these fancy works as it was time consuming required patience.¹⁰¹

A description of the daily routine, as recorded in contemporary accounts, gives an idea about the working, etiquettes and manners of the mission school. The sign board outside the school clearly mentioned 'School for girls and little boys' when it was kindergarten. While greeting the teacher 'Salaam Miss Sahib' the students use to raise their right hands towards their forehead. The school usually began at ten in the morning when the pupils arrived. The day in the school began with prayer, followed by classes where attendance used to be taken. Between 12 and 1 p.m. the boys were free to play in the period marked as games period. From 1 to 2, the girls did needle work while the boys either did writing work or arithmetic, and at two clock, after a hymn and short prayer, the school closed and children went back home.¹⁰²

Besides Mission schools, orphanages, widow's homes etc., were also established. It also provided basic skills and literary education with knowledge of scriptures. Miss

⁹⁷Miss Keay, 'Native Christian Girls Schools in India', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. viii, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1886, p. 6.

⁹⁸*The Zenana, or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. 2, No. 18, April 1895, p. 84.

⁹⁹Emily Kinnaird, 'Education Versus Instruction', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. xii, July 1892, No. lxxxiii, p. 100.

¹⁰⁰*The Indian Female Evangelists*, Vol. iv, No. xiii, October, 1879, p. 358.

¹⁰¹*The Indian Female Evangelists*, Vol. viii, No. lliv, April 1885, p. 36.

¹⁰²'Mission school for Girls and Boys at Allahabad', *The Zenana; or Woman's work in India*, Vol. iii, No. 33, July, 1896, p. 144

Wahl while reporting about the Widow Home, observed that all women were taught scriptures. Besides religious learning, residents did cooking, grinding, gardening, sewing and spinning for personal usage.¹⁰³ They were taught to be self-reliant and self-sufficient. Missionaries had understood that, it was difficult for converted Christians to find employment as their relatives and others had deserted them. It was necessary to teach them some industrial skills for them to be self-supporting.¹⁰⁴ This compelled the teachers to teach skills such as sewing, spinning and embroidery etc. to the scholars in schools.

An insight into the orphanage gives an idea of its day to day working. For example, at Sultanpur orphanage, the seven o'clock morning prayer, was followed by serving a plate of *suji* or *sago* to children. At eleven o'clock, breakfast, consisting of rice and dal used to be given out. Breakfast was followed by grinding of corn, or spinning raw cotton into thread. The Sultanpur orphanage had four spinning wheels: the task of spinning was assigned according to turn and product (i.e. thread) was sold in the market. They also stitched their clothes, or knitted socks, jackets, caps and boots, made crochet goods which was sold in the market and this helped in providing economic support to the orphanage.¹⁰⁵ At two o'clock a native Christian came to teach them arithmetic and from four to five in the evening they learnt English from Miss Luce. Miss Luce was very keen to teach them geography as she opined that Hindus 'as a rule, have such very uncomfortable ideas about it, i.e. they imagine the Earth is balanced on the horn of a cow, and when an earthquake occurs it tosses it on the other horn, and some think we live on an island surrounded by a sea of milk.' They played games in the evening, and at 6 o'clock they used to be served dinner consisting of chapaties (bread), curried vegetables and meat etc. They went for sleep as it got darked.¹⁰⁶ These activities depict how mission orphanages disciplined the children and encouraged them not to waste time, do hard work, learn self-reliance and of course through Protestant ethics.

¹⁰³ 'Report of Miss Wahl: Our Widows' Home', *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. v., No. 52, February, 1898, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁴ Miss Fallon read a paper on the supply and training of teachers and bible-women, See, 'Extracts from Report of Conference held at Lucknow, December, 28-30, 1897', in *the Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. v, No. 53, March, 1898, p. 68.

¹⁰⁵ 'Report of Miss L.E. Luce, Sultanpur Orphanage', *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. viii, No. 88, February, 1901, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 57-58.

Orphanages and Widow Home were also quite active in raising money through handicraft manufacturing. For instance, thread work, work of lace, crochet and plain needle work done by the girls of Gorakhpur and the Sagra School, Benares, and schools of Muirabad were sent to Indian Christian Exhibition which was being held in Allahabad in 1902.¹⁰⁷ These skills on the one hand helped them to be self-sufficient and on the other hand it helped the institutions financially. Rosemary Seton has argued that such curriculum was evolved to cultivate traits such as cleanliness, discipline, application, and also to civilize and feminise women. Needlework taught to two different types of women. One was class of poor, low caste and converted women, and for them it was means of earning money. Second was for the elite women, for them it was means of 'rescuing themselves both from idolatrous practices and from the evil of having nothing to do.' India had its own traditional embroidery such as chikan-kaari and mirror work which had commercial potential.¹⁰⁸ The issue of developing vocational skills among women would be dealt in the fifth chapter in detail.

Some zenana schools during the period of study were attended by the girls between 5 to 15 age group and often their numbers was around 15 to 20. At times daughter and mother used to study in same class or even lower than her daughter's class. In some of the reports, it was shown that mother did not feel ashamed of being taught with their daughters.¹⁰⁹ Mrs. Etherington, Chief Inspectress of the third circle, reported that 'I have met grandmothers in the zenanas only 25 years of age, and I have seen a woman, and not a very old one, learning to read with her great-grandchild on her lap. Mothers of fourteen years of age are numerous.'¹¹⁰ Zenanas were good examples of learning where the mother, grandmother, and granddaughter studied together.

In most of the cases, girls were taught till they got married. In many parts of the United Provinces, there was this practice that girls were not sent to school once they reached their in-law's house. If husband's house was closed to the school, they were

¹⁰⁷ *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ix, No. 103, May, 1902, p. 102.

¹⁰⁸ Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands*, pp. 121-23.

¹⁰⁹ 'Report of Miss Louise Martson, Lucknow Zenana Mission', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. ix, April, 1887, No. lxii, p. 79.

¹¹⁰ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 73.

allowed to attend it but often after great persuasion.¹¹¹ E. E. Stern wrote in the report of Allahabad that- 'They seldom attend school for more than two or three years. When married very young, according to Hindu custom, they sometimes attend afterwards, but when the final marriage ceremony, takes place, they are removed and are shut up in their husbands' houses.'¹¹² On the occasion of the pupil's marriage, zenana house used to be closed.

2.2 'Harvest is great, but the labourers are few': Rural Mission to Educate women

Rural women were neglected not only by the colonial education officials but even by the reformers till early twentieth century. No sufficient efforts were taken to educate them. B It was Women missionaries, who invested their energies to educate and it was a difficult task for them. Although it was limited in terms of content of knowledge but they tried/worked hard to literate them.

Usually the Saturdays were invested by them for visiting villages and educating villagers as remaining five days were for city work. Since horse-carriages were easily available in the city on Saturdays, it could be solely used for visiting villages. An interesting aspect of the contact between rural folk and the missionaries is their perception of each. For example, the village women were portrayed as 'shy' and hence it was difficult to motivate them whereas the village children were portrayed as troublesome, wild, and often without any clothes.¹¹³ In the villages, where women were seeing white missionary women the first time in their life, they thought they were gentlemen as they wore a hat.¹¹⁴ At times the villagers in general and the rural women in particular, were also terrified of the English women.¹¹⁵

Initially it was a very difficult task for missions to start schools for women in villages where there were no prior efforts even to educate the boys. In Gorakhpur, there was no school for boys in a village with population of 4000 and in this kind of circumstances to educate girls was new and strange idea for the people. There was

¹¹¹*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. viii, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1886, quarterly, p. 38.

¹¹²*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. ix, April, 1887, No. lxii, pp. 95-96.

¹¹³*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. vi, January 1882, No. xli, p. 208.

¹¹⁴'Report of Miss Brett, Benares', *the Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. vi, January 1882, No. xli, p. 233. Miss Brett shared her personal experience when she visited villages.

¹¹⁵*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. i, No. 9, July 1894, p. 151.

always an element of suspicion towards the missionaries. A common fear among the locals in context to opening of the school by them was that the missionaries would steal their girls and send them to the city. At that time, they did not think that missions sought to convert them to Christianity. However it was not easy for girls to attend school as they were busy in their domestic works and fields that stopped them to attend schools.¹¹⁶ Thus, they could initially draw only six girls for schooling. Reading, writing and singing hymn was also part of the curriculum of these schools, and the mission introduced needlework to attract more pupils.¹¹⁷ Thus in spite of difficulty, missionaries did open school in few villages.

Hewlett, a missionary from Lucknow, commented that many parents wished that their children should learn but it was very difficult to maintain their regular attendance for the reason that they belonged to poor family, regularly worked in the field or took care of their siblings in the home. Even in the villages when children repeated scripture lessons and hymns at home, parents were afraid of their conversion and consequently took them out from schools.¹¹⁸ This often led to closing down of school in the rural area.

Miss Smith while reporting about work of villages of Gorakhpur, predominately farming district, stated that six Bible women who visited 128 villages, found people as a rule either busy in the fields or cooking. In order to attract people the Bible women collected local rural women and sang bhajans or hymns.¹¹⁹ R. James, a missionary in Allahabad also wrote that irregularity in village schools were because children took care of their siblings and often helped their parents in their fields. They were slow in reading and writing but very quick in remembering Bible stories.¹²⁰

However, in villages, children were very anxious to get books if they could read.¹²¹ Attraction towards books was so immense in villages that it did not count whether they were about New Testament or any other religious text. Prior to the activities of

¹¹⁶*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. vi, No. 68, June, 1899, p. 118.

¹¹⁷*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. vi, No. 68, June, 1899, pp. 118-19.

¹¹⁸'Report of Mrs. Hewett, Lucknow', *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, vol. 1 No. 6, April 1894, p. 88.

¹¹⁹*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. vi, No. 65, March 1899, p. 68.

¹²⁰*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ix, No. 103, May 1902, p. 102.

¹²¹*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ii, No. 19, May 1895, p. 106.

Missionaries in rural areas, books were rare commodities in the villages, but with the surfacing of the cheap press in late nineteenth century and the accessibility of cheap books with pictures increased for the villagers.

Missionaries at times opened the boys' school even before opening girls' schools in villages. The reason was that it was general desire of villagers that teacher must be a married woman, under the protection of her husband. Thus through boys' school, villagers opened their doors to women too.¹²²

An important aspect of the period under review was the relation between education and marriage which was more evident in urban areas. It's more conspicuous in terms of Anglo-Indian than Indian community. Anglo-Indian parents preferred a high-class education in English medium, but they soon realized that they had problems in getting a good match for them, as English educated girl preferred to get marry those who earned well.¹²³

2.3 Mission Education: Reaction to Caste and Religion

Missionaries were focused more on educating the high caste women since being a good caste woman she could easily find her way into the homes she visited. In other words the high caste women exert greater over others and easily give access to other zenanas with high caste children. Low caste women were not their first choice for education, but when missionary ladies could not succeed in their efforts, they began to teach the low caste women and rural women. Mission reports celebrated any upper caste woman who converted to Christianity. Their effort to establish zenana visits and *pardah* schools were the results of their desire to convert high caste women. But this does not mean that missionaries were always successful in their endeavour to convert. High caste people were well aware of their privileges and value of caste. Losing religion meant for them to lose caste and their status in society.

In fact rather than social status, it was social condition which helped the missionaries in their agenda of conversion. For example, poverty was one of the main reasons

¹²²*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. viii, January 1886, No. lvii, pp. 235-36.

¹²³*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. iv, October No. xiii, 1879, p. 358.

which could transcend the caste and status. It made easy the way of conversion for Christian missionaries. The measures taken during the natural calamities by the missionaries also helped them in their plan. Occasion like, famine relief induced large number of not only poor but upper caste people towards Christianity. During famines, many people converted into Christianity as missions provided food and accommodation both.¹²⁴

Hence relief work also had role in increasing the number of converts. An interesting aspect related to relief work was that it was not norm to give relief without work. They employed needed women to work in their garden, cleaning the compound, and building up the wall, etc. In return, mission fed their children twice a day. During 1898 famine, the Church missionary society started three sewing classes in the compound of Bengali, Alaipura and Harha schools. These sewing classes were for high caste women who used to come to the school to learn stitching coats and jackets. In between the classes gospel was taught to them.

Only poverty compelled *pardah* women came out to the house.¹²⁵ Mission schools taught children cleanliness, order, and dressing properly.¹²⁶ Many times averse behaviour of native community discouraged missionary women to visit 'respectable class' or upper caste and elite women. It enforced them to visit poor and lower class women who listened to them quite attentively. There were so many incidents quoted by missionary ladies that many ladies were expelled by family members or relatives as they feared that their visit would convert them to Christianity.¹²⁷ Caste-system was a barrier for missionary which prevented them to have close relations and other social intercourse with Hindus. Fear of losing caste and social privileges was a crucial factor which prevented people to accept the Christianity in open although sometimes they showed interest.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ *The Zenana; or, Women's Work in India*, Vol. v, No. 51, January, 1898, p. 35.

¹²⁵ *The Zenana; or, Women's Work in India*, Vol. v, No. 52, February, 1898, p. 53.

¹²⁶ *The Zenana; or, Woman's Work in India*, Vol. v, No. 52, February, 1898, p. 56.

¹²⁷ 'Annual Report of Margaret Alfred', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. vi, October, 1882, No. xlv, p. 372.

¹²⁸ *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ix, No. 106, August, 1902, p. 146.

Apart from zenanas and *purdah* schools, bazaar schools were established to meet the needs of poor children. There are several references of these schools meant especially for low-caste children, for instance, at *Moghul or Mughul Sarai*, near *Lucknow*. The Mughul Sarai schools were known as ‘jungle’ because children were ‘wild, unruly little ones’ belonging to low-caste.¹²⁹ Mission records portrayed poor and low caste children as ‘wild’, ‘very dirty’, ‘difficult to keep them order’ and ‘ragged’. On the other hand, High caste children were portrayed as ‘dear, much prettier and better behaved’ but very difficult to get them attend the schools regularly. Simultaneously it was also stated that the poor children, low caste children valued education as they attended school regularly. High caste parents kept their children out of school due to Hindu festivals as high caste people had more festivals than lower castes.¹³⁰

There were four *Purdah* schools for Muslim girls in Lucknow and here many married girls studied. Mothers of younger pupils felt no disgrace to learn side by side with, even in the lower class of their children.¹³¹ In the Bazaar schools, scholars attended school not more than two or three years. Very rarely they attended school after marriage as according to the custom they lived in their husband’s house. In the Bazaar school, they learnt the Hindi Primer, then the Hindi second Book, after-wards Barth’s Bible stories and the testament, Hindi Catechism, the Lord’s Prayer and Ten Commandments, some hymns and *bhajans* to sing.¹³²

Missionaries focused through their pedagogy to cultivate thinking skill among the children. There were many complaints regarding difficulties to get Indian children think.¹³³ They wished to make them capable of thinking. Many missionaries reported mostly women in zenana answered ‘Main kya karun’ (What should I do?), ‘Kaun Janta’ (Who knows?), etc., although some women were very quick to answer. Their answers showed their trust on destiny and unwillingness to think critically and do something. Many Hindu ladies answered on the question of their condition, ‘Yeh

¹²⁹*The Zenana; or Woman’s work in India*, Vol. iv, No. 40, February, 1897, p. 55.

¹³⁰‘Report of Miss Townsend, Benares’, *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. xiii, No. lxxxv, January, 1893, pp. 22-23.

¹³¹‘Report of Lousie Martson, Lucknow, Zenana Mission’, *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. ix, No. lxii, April, 1887, p. 79.

¹³²‘Report of E.E. Stern, Gorakhpur’, *The Indian Female Evangelist*, vol. ix, No. lxii, April, 1887, pp. 95-96.

¹³³‘Report of M. Gault, Benares’, *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. viii, No. liii, January 1885, p. 11.

hamara dastur hai' (This is our custom), from Muslim woman, 'Humari kismat' (our fate), 'Aur kya' (what else?). Many zenana missionaries wrote that first work of zenana project was to teach women to think for herself. While, on the other hand in villages, women gave a quick reply to them.¹³⁴ It was the reason which also enforced reformers to open their schools and teach their women differently what they thought 'appropriate' knowledge.

Missionary reported that Muslim men were not desirous that their wives and daughter should be educated. Many missionaries reported that Muslim does not allow the Bible woman to come near their houses but it was more about their detest against the education of Christian ideals or missionary way of education. As the last section showed, the desire for educating Muslim women was emerging but the process was quite slow. The late nineteenth century, there were reform and revival movements among both Hindu and Muslim communities that made them conscious about Christian missionary's intensions. People had desire to teach the respective religion to their children rather than Christianity. In the beginning, parents did send their children to school, but when they realized their children were being taught Christian scriptures, they withdrew their children from school.¹³⁵

There were some notices published in the press, signed by educated people of Muslim communities against Christian missionaries and their influence in the households. A person named, Mohammad- ab- Quala signed a petition with other Muslims not to allow mission ladies into their houses and prevent Muslim girls from attending their schools. He cleared the misunderstanding of people that mission ladies were not government appointed agents but were the ones who wanted to extend their religion through means of private subscription. It was also a common perception among Hindus and Muslim men that, missionary ladies in lieu of giving instruction to Indian ladies, through their teaching, were encouraging them to go out of the house. They encouraged them, like saying 'Why are you destroying your own lives?', asking them to become Christians, and free. He blamed their behaviour for ruining Indian houses through their efforts to convert and remarked that these converted women sat

¹³⁴*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. viii, No. liv, April 1885, p. 57.

¹³⁵*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. iv, No. 40, February, 1897, p. 55.

in church amongst men, nominally behind a red curtain and were therefore a disgrace to their families. These ladies forgot their own religion and became profound in the Christian religion.¹³⁶

Similarly Mohammad Ali, Ahmed Hussien, M. Abdul Gaffar, Illahi Baksh, and M. Ashraf Ali signed a petition in the year 1895 and argued with religious leaders and law makers that allowing these ladies into their house, was equivalent to sin in Islam because their real objective of coming into houses was the conversion. Their entrance into house 'is in reality digging the root of this true religion Islamism.' According to them, Muslim women should not break *purdah* before a Jewish, Christian or 'blasphemous woman'. It is similar to go in front of the strange man although it was allowed to go if they were Jewish, Christian or blasphemous servant.¹³⁷

A similar trend was seen among the Hindus too. It has already been discussed in length in previous paragraphs that why Arya Samajis were quite against the missionary women and how they perceived their impact on Indian women and overall society. Even missions accepted that there was a change in within Hinduism. The Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, *Radha Swamis* and many other sects were influencing changing Hinduism. Many Arya Samajis sent their preachers to refute Christian doctrines.¹³⁸

At the beginning of early twentieth centuries, many ladies educated by the Arya Samaj began to visit zenanas. It was in reaction to the activities of the missionary women. Unlike the Christian missionaries, they did not teach Bible lesson or gospel. Many women missionaries feared their emergence as it could have led to the closing of Christian missionaries zenanas as people would prefer Arya samajis ladies.¹³⁹

Christian missionaries gave explanation to those who criticised them that as their mission was based on free will, and that is why they chose education as means to

¹³⁶Report of Miss Hibberd, Gorakhpur', mentioned this petition, *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. 2, No. 18, April, 1895, p. 89-90.

¹³⁷Report of Miss Hibberd, Gorakhpur', mentioned this petition, *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. 2, No. 18, April 1895, p. 89.

¹³⁸*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. VI, No. 72, October 1899, p. 176.

¹³⁹*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. X, No. 110, December 1902, p. 19.

change the minds of people. Missions wanted to convince people and let people decide about conversion because they knew the uselessness of conversion without changing the heart which was still inclined worshipping to idols. They argued against Indian religion and appreciated Christian religion. But many of upper caste men did not allow them inside their house as it would lead to leave their caste and religion.¹⁴⁰ It was easier to convert widows rather than other women as they did not have other domestic duties to perform.

To summarize, education worked in different ways for various section of society. For Christian missionaries, while conversion was the common motive for the education to the women of every section of society, for the poorer classes, education worked as a mechanism to make them capable of being employed, and disciplined. Missions reports portrayed them to be 'unmanageable, full of lies, most excitable creatures,' sick with habits of stealing, dirty, etc. Mission schools tried to make them in order first as it was impossible for missionaries to teach them anything.¹⁴¹ Mission schools were sites of inculcation of Protestant ethics, criticism of Indian religions and traditions (that made possible conversion), and adoption of elements of western culture which after became the source of self-reliance and independence.

2. Indian Women's Initiatives for Female Education

By the early twentieth century, Indian women themselves began to intervene in education. They furthered the presence of women outside home and their involvement in the political activities. The early twentieth century witnessed the establishment of various associations at national and international levels. Educational reform was one of the main agendas of these women associations. These associations and conferences represented their own ideas about the 'right kind of education' to colonial officers through petitions. There were emergence of women associations such as *Anjuman*, Women's India Association, National Council of Women in India and All India Women's Conference etc. They provided the stage where women's question was discussed not as social and religious but a political one in the environment of

¹⁴⁰ 'Annual Report of Our Mission at Ghazipur', in *the Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. vii, No. 81, July, 1900, p. 136.

¹⁴¹ 'Report of Mrs. Harris, Ajodya', *The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. ix, No. lxvi, April, 1888, p. 235.

nationalism. Women's question became part of anti-colonial struggle question. Although credit was given to Mahatma Gandhi to bring women into politics but these women's association also had link with nationalism as many scholars pointed out.

Men prepared the first generation of women leaders through their reforms of the nineteenth century. By the 1920s, women started their own organizations to deal with their problems. Their movement was unlike the western feminist movement which was based on sexual antagonism. Through the nationalist ideology, they could participate in the movements which saved them from male criticism. The WIA and AIWC began with women's issue such as education, social and legal reform and some of the problems which were affecting the country. These issues were problems of women.¹⁴²

Mostly women of these organizations were from reformist families. Through fathers, husbands, sons and in-laws, the women leader came into contact with nationalist environment. These women were educated because of their father's interest in female education. There were always the problem balancing nationalist interest and women's issues.¹⁴³ These women did not want to take part in the nationalist movement of Congress as they wished to focus only on women's matters. Many of congress members resigned from AIWC.¹⁴⁴

The earliest organizations for women in the nineteenth century were started by men who belonged to religious reform association. For example, Keshub Chandra Sen, of *Brahmo Samaj* started women's journal and was involved in other educational activities. Other reform women's associations were the 'Bharat Mahila Parishad' (Ladies' Social Conference) of the National Social Conference. It was founded at the third meeting of the Indian National Congress in 1887, to provide a forum for the discussion of social issues but it was not inaugurated until 1905.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴²Geraldine Forbes, 'In Indian Women's Movement: A Struggle for Women's Right or National Liberation?', in Gail Minault, *The Extended Family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*, Delhi: Chanakya Publication, 1981, p. 55.

¹⁴³Geraldine Forbes, 'In Indian Women's Movement', in Minault, *The Extended Family*, pp. 55-57.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid*, p. 60.

¹⁴⁵Geraldine Forbes, *The New Cambridge History of India, Women in Modern India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

These men did invaluable work in educating women but they had their own limitations. They wanted their wives to take part in activities outside home so that wives could assist in nation-building, not through political agitation, but by building institutions to improve the situations arising from social concerns. They regarded the household as the primary focus and fundamental arenas of activity for women.¹⁴⁶

The *Bengali Brahmo Samaj* was one of the earliest societies which worked with women for social change. They encouraged their women to attend religious ceremonies and founded 'Brahmobandhu Sabha' (Brahmo Friend's society) to provide home education for women in 1863. Two years later *Bamabodhini Sabha* (women association), *Bamabodhini Patrika* (women's journal) and the *Brahmika Samaj* (Brahmo Women's group) were founded. By the late nineteenth century women started establishing their organisation to help women of their community.¹⁴⁷

By the end of nineteenth century, women from reformist families formed their organizations for women. Swarnakumari Devi, sister of poet Rabindranath Tagore, organised the *Sakhi Samiti* in 1882 which later on was converted into a craft centre for widows in Bengal. In Poona, Pandita Ramabai Saraswati, founded the *Arya Mahila Samaj*, and set up women's associations in towns of Bombay Presidency. She also started *Sharda Sadan* for education and employment of women, particularly widows. *Gujarati Stree Mandal* was founded in *Ahmedabad* and *Mahila Sewa Samaj* in Mysore in 1913.¹⁴⁸ Sarala Devi Chaudhurani started the *Bharat Stree Mahamandal* in Bengal.

By the first two decades of the twentieth century, many women's journals and associations had emerged, catering to different needs of different groups. For instance, while *Stree Bodh* was a magazine in which *Parsi* women discussed their problems, Saroj Nalini Dutt's *Mahila Samitis*' was concerned with the uplift of *Mofussil* (small

¹⁴⁶Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, p. 68.

¹⁴⁷Forbes, 'From Purdah to Politics: The Social Feminism of the All-India Women's Organizations', in Hanna Papanek & Gail Minault, (ed.) *Separate Worlds: Studies of in South Asia*, Delhi: Chankya Publication, 1882, p. 222.

¹⁴⁸Aparna Basu and Bharti Ray, *Women's Struggle: A History of All-India Women's Conferences in India*, pp. 18-19.

town) women in Bengal.¹⁴⁹ All these were local organisations but at the national level, the All India Muslim Ladies Association was started in 1914, the Women's Indian Association in 1917, National Council of Women in India in 1925, and the All India Women's Conference in 1927. Many of the leaders of women's associations believed that Indian women shared common problems. Yet they spoke from a specific class base, while setting up girls' schools, shelters, and handicrafts training centres to help only women from their own caste or more specifically, upper caste. Thus access to shelters or handicraft works training was limited to high caste women to earn a living as organisers belonged to upper caste.¹⁵⁰

Aparna Basu and Bharti Ray argued that these women's associations were different from British feminist movement. Indian women reformers did not challenged patriarchy. It was not as much the fight against male domination as it was against the forces of superstitions, apathy, and ignorance, which was seen as a problem for both men and women in India.¹⁵¹ During early years, AIWC passed resolutions on different issues which applied either to all women or to specific communities. Both Hindu and Muslim women co-operated to pass these resolutions. Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, and Indian Christian women together co-operated with each other to pass reforms against social evils.¹⁵²

All the associations saw the virtues of education, and wanted to influence Government policy towards women's education. They worked through political petitioning, undertaking voluntary social work, and building local organizations. They opened branches all over India. They demanded women's suffrage, lobbied for women's issues and promoted candidates for elections to the councils and appointments to government commissions.¹⁵³ These associations were based on the idea that women had a special nature which cannot be understood by men. But the leaders firmly claimed that they were not competing with men outside the home but were regaining their role which existed in ancient times. They always made clear that they were not believers of feminist movements in the west, which were based on sex-

¹⁴⁹Forbes, 'From Purdah to Politics', in Hanna & Minault, *Separate Worlds*, p. 222.

¹⁵⁰Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁵¹Basu & Ray, *Women's Struggle*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁵²Basu & Ray, *Women's Struggle*, p. 28.

¹⁵³Forbes, 'The Indian Women's Movement,' in Minault, *The Extended Family*, p. 54.

antagonism.¹⁵⁴ But they claimed that men were unable to understand women's problems, suggest remedies and articulate them. They did not just claim to speak on the behalf of women but justified their presence outside home. For instance, WIA stressed that Indian women had special talents for house-keeping, raising children and nation building. What they did at home, they could do in the government, by tackling most social and some economic problems and share the burden of male activists.¹⁵⁵

Geraldine Forbes therefore concludes that all Indian Women's organizations were supporter of 'social feminism' rather than 'radical feminism'. Though they were supporter of women's right, they also advocated traditional womanhood such as domesticity and maternity. They wanted to change society through their 'unique skills' i.e. domesticity and maternity. Forbes argued that radical feminism fought for equal rights and called unjust and undemocratic the denial of women's participation in public affairs.¹⁵⁶ Separate sphere feminism accepted the sex-segregation of the society in which man and women had different roles to play. They accepted *purdah* although they fought against its strict observance in India and called it un-Islamic. Women's association wished to break rigidity of the customs but not the customs itself.¹⁵⁷ Thus Indian women organizations were indifferent to their British counterparts in term of policies and approaches.

Both the AIWC and WIA attacked *purdah* as an obstacle to women's education. The AIWC passed resolutions and condemned *purdah* and argued it was necessary for women's health and progress to stop it, but they did not passed any resolution to abolish it because *purdah* was very important to retain conservative members. They passed resolution to urge government to provide schools for girls in *purdah*. The organisation maintained observance of *purdah* through providing facilities for *purdah* women.¹⁵⁸

The All India Muslim Ladies Conference was founded on 1st March 1914 as part of a ceremony inaugurating a new hall of Aligarh Girls' School. Aligarh had been the

¹⁵⁴Forbes, 'From Purdah to Politics', in Hanna & Minault, *Separate Worlds*, p. 225.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid*, p. 226.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid*, pp. 238-39.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid*, p. 239.

¹⁵⁸Forbes, 'The Indian Women's Movement', in Minault, *The Extended Family*, p. 67.

centre for educational and political activities of Muslim leaders.¹⁵⁹ ‘The Muhammadan Education Conference’ began a section to promote women’s education in 1890s. It was in response to Muslim educated men’s desire for educated wives. The Secretary of the section, Sheikh Abdullah with the help of his wife opened schools for girls in Aligarh in 1906. Before founding school, he organised an exhibition of women craft at the annual Muhammadan Education Conference and in 1905, started an Urdu journal called ‘Khatun’.¹⁶⁰ Sheikh Abdullah’s wife, Begum Abdullah also believed that women’s education was a key to the reform and advancement of the Muslim community in India. When they started school, they were attacked verbally, physically and were criticised by Urdu press and suffered lack of financial support. Financial problem was solved when Begum of Bhopal supported it and in 1914, British government also sanctioned grant to school. Proper *purdah* arrangements and supervision was ensured after getting grants so that parents could send their daughters to the schools.¹⁶¹

On the occasion of the inauguration of the new building, the prominent women of the Muslim community from all over India were invited to mark the foundation day of ‘Anjuman-E-Khawatin-e-Islam.’ Some of them were wives of professional and educated Muslim elites of India and some were local trustees of Aligarh College and All India Muhammadan Education conference’, some members also came from Bombay and Madras. Begum of Bhopal pointed out in the inaugural speech that government was willing to help but could not do much without initiatives from the people. The Muslims, although they passed resolutions in ‘All India Muhammadan Educational Conference’ but could not make successful efforts until Muslim women themselves spoke out on their own behalf.¹⁶² She encouraged educated women to hold meeting, to make speeches, to write articles and raise funds for schools. Members of *Anjumans* were also asked to pay attention towards starting of schools, training of teachers, religious and moral instruction and arrangements of *purdah*. Begum knew

¹⁵⁹Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan founded Aligarh College in 1875 in Aligarh, ‘All India Muhammadan Educational Conference’ founded in 1886 and Muslim League was being started in 1906, See, Chaudhuri, *The Indian Women’s Movement*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁰Gail Minault, ‘Sisterhood or Separatism? The All India Muslim Ladies Conference and the National Movement’, in Gail Minault (ed.), *The Extended Family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*, Delhi: Chankya Publishing, 1981, p. 87.

¹⁶¹Minault, ‘Sisterhood or Separatism?’ in Minault, *The Extended family*, p. 88.

¹⁶²*Ibid*, p. 89. As the Government had policy, school will be opened where there was local demand and people were willing to support.

that the observance of the *purdah* was necessary to induce parents to send their daughters to the schools. The *Anjuman* was devoted to advancement of education and rights of Muslim women as education would have only helped them to know their rights under Islamic law.

Aims of *Anjuman* were (1) to work for unity and agreement among All Indian women; (2) To support those working for women's education; (3) To insure that both religious education and practical training were included into curriculum; (4) To promote the improvements of home making generally.¹⁶³

The *Anjuman* also passed resolutions regarding age of marriage to 16 as early marriage was detrimental factor to girls' education. In the war year, they passed resolutions in favour of establishing more educational institutions for Muslim girls, speaking for the type of *purdah* prescribed in the Islamic law, *Shariat*. As they pointed out that *purdah* in India is customary and strict so they prescribed a new style *burqa* that made possible women to come out for education.¹⁶⁴

Due to internal conflicts, political turmoil and lack of Aligarh support, conference could not meet again after 1920, Calcutta meeting. Many of the member women later on participated in All India Women's Conference. Many branches became non-functional but Madras branch flourished. Its success was short-lived, not just due to its elitist nature, but because it could not collect and combine different opinions. Nevertheless one cannot deny that it helped in creating a sense of solidarity among Muslim women across India.¹⁶⁵ Its' branches established many schools for Muslim girls.¹⁶⁶

Margaret Cousins began the *Abala Abhivardini Samaj* (Society for Weaker Sex Improvement) to teach weaving, English, and badminton in 1916. Mrs. Dorothy Jinarajadasa, used this as model to establish Women's Indian Association in 1917. She recruited women through Theosophical society branches. Annie Besant became

¹⁶³*Ibid*, p. 91.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid*, pp. 91-94.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid*, p. 102-104.

¹⁶⁶Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*, p. 118.

the first president of it. Women India Association¹⁶⁷ was started on 8th May 1917 supported the agitation of compulsory primary education for girls.¹⁶⁸ Dr. Annie Besant criticised the ongoing government system of school education for girls as it did not teach women Indian culture.¹⁶⁹ This association favoured right kind of sex education, both for boys and girls for the welfare of the society. It was suggested that, 'If young men could be taught to see in every woman a potential mother of his race, and if every girl could be taught to reverence her calling, a great change would be brought about in social relationship.'¹⁷⁰

The National Council of Women in India was founded in 1928 as National Branch of International Council of Women.¹⁷¹ There were similar councils in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Lady Dorab Tata, who was familiar with the International council of women, encouraged Indian councils to affiliate with international women's movement for the welfare of women and children.¹⁷² It was elite in sense that it had branches at national and international level. It transcended all racial and religious ties. They wished to maintained high status of women as it was during ancient times.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷It was aimed '1. To present to women their responsibility as daughters of India. 2. To secure for every girl and boy the right of education through schemes of compulsory primary education including the teaching of religion. 3. To secure the abolition of child-marriages and other social evil. 4. To secure for women right to vote for municipal and legislative councils on the same terms as it was or might be granted to men. 5. To secure adequate representation of women in municipalities, talukas, local boards, legislative councils and Assemblies. 5. To establish equality of rights and opportunities between men and women. 7. To help women to realise that the future of India lies largely in their hands, for as wives and mother they had the task of training, guiding and forming the character of the future of rulers of India. 8. To band women into groups for the purpose of self-development and education and for definite service of others.' See Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*, pp. 120-21.

¹⁶⁸*Women's Indian Association- Madras, India, Golden Jubilee Celebrations- 1917-67*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹Smt Rukmini Devi, *Dr. Annie Besant and the Indian Women's Movement: Souvenir Volume of Indian Women's Association*, p. 35.

¹⁷⁰Lady Emiley Lutyens wrote an article in *Stri Dharma- Official Organ of the Women's Indian Association*, Vol. 10, No. 11, Madras: Adyar Press, 1927, p. 166, In File No, IOR: MSS Eur F 341/182, India Office Records, British Library, London..

¹⁷¹The Aim of National of National Council of Women of India: '1. To promote sympathy of thoughts and unity of purpose among women in India, 2. Work for the removal of disabilities of women, whether legal economic or social and for the promotion of social, civil, moral and educational welfare of women and children, ensuring opportunities for their full and free development. 3. Organize development and co-ordinate that work of its existing councils and branches and such other councils as may hereafter be formed under its auspices or may be accepted by it. 4. Co-ordinate the activities of other national organizations in India, whose aims are in conformity with it. 5. To form a link with national councils in other countries through international councils of women', See Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*, p. 124.

¹⁷²Forbes, 'From Purdah to Politics', 'in Hanna & Minault, *Separate worlds*, p. 224

¹⁷³Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*, p. 125.

All India Women Conferences (AIWC) foundation was linked with Mr. Oaten, DPI of Bengal who made an appeal at the prize giving function of Bethune College, Calcutta. He asked Indian women to 'to tell us with one voice what they want and keep on telling us till they get it.' Director urged women to assert in the field of education as they have already asserted in the politics.¹⁷⁴ AIWC organised women to demand reform in system of education and urged for political participation. Education was considered panacea for all problems. Its aims were: '1. To promote in India the education of both sexes at all stages. 2. To deal with questions affecting the welfare of women and children.'¹⁷⁵

First, All India Women's Conference on Educational Reform was held at Poona from 5 to 8 January 1927. Women interested in the problems of education from all over India came together at Indian Women's University in Bombay. It was strategically chosen, so that on the issue of female education there could be participation of every community and it was difficult to separate both social problems and female education. They also prevented themselves from the politics as it would enlarge the base of association through involving maharanis and officials of princely states, Muslim women, employees of the educational and medical services, the wives of government servants, interested British women. Since they claimed to speak on the behalf of all Indian women, therefore it was necessary to include all the women members of the society.¹⁷⁶

Members from all over India came together and decided to meet on December 1926 or January 1927 at Poona University. Cousin acted as secretary of organising committee. WIA's branches took initiative through its 65 branches in the country. Cousin wished that the women who were connected and related to education such as teachers, inspectress, head of institutions, professional women such as doctors, nurses and secretaries, women wage-earner, social welfare workers and other should attend. Subjects of discussion were primary education, compulsory co-education, formation of alternative course, importance of mother tongue and English, how to involve women into professions such as teaching, medicine, and law etc. Conference also

¹⁷⁴*Ibid*, p. 150.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid*, p. 154.

¹⁷⁶Forbes, 'The Indian Women's Movement', in Minault, *Extended Family*, p. 59.

discussed the inclusion of religious, moral or ethical instructions, fine arts; vocational training etc. It also emphasized on the factors which effected women's education such as early marriage, raising the age of consent, *purdah*, examination, and status of teachers etc.¹⁷⁷

The main object of the first conference was to reform the education and to remove the deficiencies of the system. Poverty, early marriages of girls, *purdah* was unique problems of education of women.¹⁷⁸ In 1928, the All India Fund for Women's Education (AIFWE) was started. Rs. 30000 was raised on the spot of conference for compulsory primary education for girls. In 1929, it was decided to call the conference the All-India Women's Conference and its activities were directed towards education and social needs.¹⁷⁹

Maharani Chimnabai, in her presidential speech at the first All India Women's Conference on Education, pleaded for separate schools for girls and separate curriculum which included personal hygiene, domestic economy, child welfare, music and painting.¹⁸⁰ Conference also favoured to provide proper facilities for *purdah* in the schools. It was recommended that there should be compulsory education for all girls and boys, revision of textbooks, inclusion of vocational and manual training (to teach children dignity of labour and to make them economic self-reliance), and appointment of women as members of committees.¹⁸¹ The need for trained teachers was felt mostly in rural areas. Its importance at the primary level was also being stressed.¹⁸²

Subjects proposed to be discussed were primary education, compulsory co-education, and formation of alternative courses to suit girls who leave school at 14 to 16 years and this was besides the relative importance of the mother tongue and English at the secondary level, and how to attract girls to medicine, law and professions such as teaching. It was proposed to include religious, moral instructions and fine arts as

¹⁷⁷Basu & Ray, *Women's Struggle*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid*, p.33.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid*, p. 23.

¹⁸¹*Ibid*, p. 24.

¹⁸²*Ibid*, p. 31.

compulsory subjects, vocational subjects in the curriculum. Subjects which hampered girls' education in India such as school leaving age, early marriage, age of consent, *pardah*, examination and status of teachers were also debated and resolutions were passed.¹⁸³ Similarly the Educational Conference of 1929 decided that harmful social customs needs to be eradicated for the progress in education. It began with education, followed by social customs which restricted female education such as child marriage and *pardah*. In 1931, Dr. Muttulakshmi Reddy, delivered her presidential address at AIWC annual conference in 1931, gave credit to Christian missionaries for their contribution to the educational uplift of Indian women. She claimed that, they have taken more efforts for the educational cause of women throughout the country than government.¹⁸⁴

By the mid 1930s, the list of the sub-committee included labour, rural reconstruction, indigenous industries, textbooks, opium, and the *Sarda Act*.¹⁸⁵ Although in these conferences main participation was of urban centric middle class and upper caste women but it cannot be denied that voices of women were heard even in the field of education. They began to debate, intervene and discuss 'what kind of education' they wished for themselves and other women of the country. Some women of these associations were also part of legislative councils and participated for the cause their 'own' education which was earlier determined by men folk whether colonial officers or Indian indigenous elites. Although rural and untouchable poor women were still out of the story, but these elite women represented them too.

Conclusion

The process of deciding policy matters related to education for women was not a unilateral process of the colonial Government, but one shaped by the intervention of various agents. Colonial education officers, indigenous elites, missionaries specifically women missionaries, and Indian women discussed and debated issues at different point of time. Within the United Provinces, a different kind of education was sought for women that were based on the particular political and religious orientations

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 18-27.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁸⁵ Forbes, *Woman in Modern India*, p. 80.

of the provisioners. Thus, both the Arya Samaj and the Missionaries had different expectations of schooling for women. These educational sectors emerged in response to a critique of government schooling. By the early twentieth century, women themselves participated in the debates about the appropriate schooling for women, delinked from religious and cultural nationalist goals and ideals, and not necessarily congruent with nationalist ideals either. Women education in United Provinces was a site that saw the participation of many different kinds of forces, and not those of the colonial governmental agencies and processes.

The interesting aspect of these actors except missionaries was they concentrated their energies on the education of upper caste and urban centric women. Untouchable, lower caste and rural women were left out in their efforts. Reformers and elite women's efforts were largely centred on the needs of nationalism in India. Women were provided education in response to critique of colonialism and preservation of culture through prescription of morals. What kind of morals and morality was imparted through education will be examined in next chapter.

CHAPTER 3:
‘MORALIZING’ WOMEN,
RECASTING PATRIARCHY

Chapter 3: 'Moralizing' Women, Recasting Patriarchy

Introduction

With the institutionalization of women's education, the question of religion as the basis of education was subject to a thorough debate among the purveyors of education such as colonial officials, missionaries and others in the United Provinces. Debates raged on the content of curriculum (religious or secular), the usefulness or objectives of learning and the medium of instruction. This chapter will focus on the debate around the major objectives of learning for women which was articulated by the colonial government and the people of the United Provinces, that of making women 'moral' subjects. Not surprisingly, most of the writings on this subject come from the middle class urban Indian men and women. The voices of rural and 'untouchable' women did not reach either the colonial authorities or the native reformers. Only Missionary societies gave importance to educating the rural, low caste and 'untouchable' women. This archival silence and relative non-interference of the government reveals interesting dimensions regarding the politics of education and knowledge given to women, the place of caste in the discussion and the new patriarchal norms that were put in place.

In the colonial period, schooling possessed the potential of introducing women to new ways of thinking about family, caste, and the social order. It also introduced them to new forms of knowledge while simultaneously buttressing notions of patriarchy and caste inequality. It became an important site for the self-definition of the middle classes and for the assertion of cultural nationalism.¹ Women's schooling reproduced and reinforced castes and its norms. The term 'brahminical patriarchy' denotes a set of rules and institutions where caste and gender are linked and shaped by each other. Women played a crucial role in maintaining the boundaries of caste. Patriarchal structure ensured the reproduction of caste system through closed endogamous circles and maintained hierarchy. Uma Chakravarti further explains that codes for women differed according to caste hierarchies. For instance, the high caste women's sexuality was reserved exclusively for higher caste men. Patriarchy controlled reproduction and marriage through enforced laws of *Brahminical* prescriptive texts and endogamous

¹Kumkum Sangari and Suresh Vaid (Ed.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989, pp. 5-9.

marriages. According to Uma Chakravarti, 'Brahminical patriarchy is a mechanism to preserve land, women, and ritual quality within it.' Within this patriarchy, lower caste men's sexuality was understood as a threat to purity of higher castes women. These women were thus guarded and their sexuality controlled. Ironically, the same control was asserted by the lower caste patriarchy on their women in first half of twentieth century in the United Provinces. Dalit (low caste and untouchable) patriarchy imitated upper caste morals for their women and helped in maintaining the caste structure.²

Control over women's sexuality ensured the reproduction of pure blood, an important tool for the maintenance of caste structure. 'Pativarta dharma' was an ideological tool for controlling the biological aspects of women. Schooling played an important role in inculcating values such as 'devotional' and 'pativarta dharma'. When schools could not inculcate these values firmly through formal curriculum, the reformers controlled women's sexuality through dialectic literature, determination of womanly virtues for higher caste and lower castes women. Women of higher castes and lower castes were differentiated in terms of sexual and moral behaviour. The higher caste women were asked to preserve their sexuality only for higher caste men while lower caste women's sexuality was accessible to men of all castes. Therefore women of higher castes were warned not to socialise with lower caste men and women. But it was not only a question of controlling sexuality. The schooling of upper caste women simultaneously helped in maintaining upper caste virtues, religion, domestic happiness, and patriarchal structure. This chapter will explore the ideological control over women's education through different morals, virtues and norms which were inculcated inside and outside the schools.³

The case of the United Provinces presented an example of very poorly developed education for women in the early 20th century. The indigenous elite and upper caste people of the United Provinces questioned the content of curriculum of formal schooling. There were many attempts to create a 'new literature' which could make women more 'moral' according to the suitability of the caste Hindus. There was fear

²See, Charu Gupta, *Caste and Gender: Dalit Women in North India*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2015, and Shekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Caste, Culture and Hegemony: Social Dominance in Colonial Bengal*, New Delhi: Sage, 2004.

³Uma Chakravarty argued that Brahminical patriarchy regulates the women's sexuality and caste played important role in it. See Uma Chakravarty, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Kolkatta: Stree, 1993.

among the elite and upper caste Hindus that explicit matters in the contemporary literature would erode the ideals of 'pativrata' and lead women to ignore caste injunctions and thereby disturb caste hierarchies. The education of women (formal and informal) in the United Provinces was partially shaped by that fear. On the one hand, these upper castes and elites were influenced by progressive ideas of encouraging women's education while them retaining the control over the knowledge given to women. On the other hand, there were also some who were against educating their women for religious reasons.⁴ There was wider acceptance that the curriculum and subjects taught to girls in formal schools were not 'appropriate' for the needs of girls. Subjects such as history, geography and science were considered redundant for girls as their study time (due to early marriage and lack of tradition of study after marriage) and needs (use in the domestic sphere) were different from that of the boys. The lack of religious orientation in the formal curriculum was a constant complaint of the upper caste intelligentsia. An attempt was made by this intelligentsia to work on the weakness of formal curriculum and establish a link between religion and education.

This chapter will address the following questions: What kind of morality was sought to be ensured among the women belonging to the upper castes through education? What indeed was the connection between religion and morality in the colonial education system? How did the discourse of 'morality' of upper caste and middle class urban women differ from morality of 'low caste and untouchable women'? Were similar anxieties expressed about the potential threat to the morality of 'low caste and untouchable women'?

⁴ Some Hindu and Muslim elite wished to keep their daughters in ignorance in order to ensure that they would prove faithful wives and better housekeepers. It was also the notion that God would snatch the happiness of an educated daughter. There was also a fear that missionary education would make them unfit for the house. Missionaries had given many examples of such attitudes that they came across. For instance, Miss Blaze wrote of Etawah during 1880s, she wrote that, 'I was speaking to one of the richest men in this town about the building of a girls' school, which he wishes to have in the same street where his own palace stands, together with many others belonging to him. I asked if he had any daughters who would attend the school, upon which he answered sadly, that some time ago one of his daughters began to learn reading, and almost immediately became a widow. He really seemed to believe that goddess Kali had been offended by his daughter's learning, and had killed her husband out of revenge, so as to bring upon her widowhood, which is here considered the greatest misfortune that can befall a woman. He therefore resolved that no girl of his family should again attempt reading, or attend the school we were planning.' *The Indian Female Evangelist*- Vol. v, October 1880, No. xxxvi, London: James Nisbet &Co., pp. 252-53.

1. Moral Instruction

To understand the question of morality for women, one needs to know the course of the development of moral instruction in colonial schooling. Introduction of moral instruction was linked with the question of 'religion'. Many debates emerged in the late nineteenth century on the question of introduction of religious education in schools (outside or within school hours). Native reformers petitioned educational officials to introduce it. This section will deal with three questions- 1. Why did religious instructions become important in the late nineteenth century? 2. How did the question of religious education translate into moral education? and, 3. What kind of moral instruction was sought?

The Government maintained a policy of religious 'neutrality' and that was explicit in its granting of aid to schools that was explicated in the Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854. The Despatch mentioned that-

The system of grants-in-aid which we propose to establish in India, will be based on entire abstinence from the interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted. Aid will be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district, as compared with others, and the funds at the disposal of Government may render it possible) to all schools which impart a good secular education, provided that they are under adequate local management (by the term 'local management,' we understand one or more persons, such as private patrons, voluntary subscribers, or the trustees of endowments, who will undertake the general superintendence of the school, and be answerable for its performance for some given time); and provided also that their managers consent that the school shall be subject to Government inspection, and agree to any conditions which may be laid down for the regulation of such grants.⁵

The government maintained 'secular' education through the policy of granting-in-aid. To get the grant, a school had to follow 'religious neutrality'; prescribe school textbooks selected by the department of education, open the school for government inspection and examination system, and follow other rules and regulations ordered by the government. The colonial education department fulfilled the requirement of homogeneity and 'secular' education through this mechanism. Similarly the Indian Education Commission of 1882 maintained the policy which was laid down in the Despatch of 1854. It recommended that 'when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction

⁵John Johnston, 'The Despatch of 1854 of General Education in India', (repnt) London: John Maclaren & son. 1880, p. 23.

forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.’⁶

In the 1880s, colonial officials started to pay attention to the question of religious education or moral education. Moral education was introduced in colonial India by the British not merely to create loyalty but to curb the tendencies of indiscipline and produce a sense of duty among the Indian subjects.⁷ The British kept education secular unlike the indigenous systems which were based on religion. Due to the lack of moral and religious instruction it was felt that there was an offensive feeling among the educated masses. Political conspiracies increased during the last decade of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The aggressive role of pupils was seen in the political actions against the colonial state.’⁸ Hence, it is argued that education led to a heightened consciousness about colonial rule among the people who began to feel the need for organized resistance. In the last decade of the 19th century, the colonial authorities also responded to this threat, as evident in the policies of Lord Curzon.⁹ Various remedies were formulated to make the students more loyal and disciplined. The government started to pay specific attention to the issue of moral education after 1880s when it was believed that an anti-colonial feeling was fostered by western education. There were many instances during 1880s when the boys questioned the authority of teachers and headmasters. John C. Nesfield, the officiating Director of Public Instruction, North Western Provinces and Oudh wrote to Secretary to Government of N.W.P. and Oudh in 1892 stating about the incident of a boy who received a ‘slight corporal punishment, a much lighter one in fact than he had deserved for his insolence to the head master’. Later, his father prosecuted the head master in Court for assault. The trial produced an environment that divided the town into opposite factions and affected the functioning of the school. In an example, he wrote about an ‘infamous youth, being displeased with the class master for not

⁶*The Indian Education Commission*, Calcutta: Government Superintendent Printing Press, 1883, p. 596.

⁷Kenneth Ballhatchet, ‘British Rights and Indian Duties: The Case of Sir William Lee- Warner’ in Doniger Wendy, Flaherty O’, Duncan J. and Derret M. (Ed.) *The Concept of Duty in South Asia*, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978.

⁸A. H. Benton, *Indian Moral Instruction and Caste Problems: Solutions*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917, p. 4.

⁹Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India (1898-1920)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974.

allowing him promotion, accused him of an unnatural offence.’ The father prosecuted the master in Court and the whole school was disturbed for a month which resulted in the acquittal of the master. It was reported that the parents hampered and molested teachers in every possible way rather than performing their duty. It was observed that the Indian parents helped their sons in resisting teachers.¹⁰

By 1887, the local government realized that there was ‘The growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline and favourable to irreverence in the rising generation in India.’ The Government noticed evidence of the spread of irreverence in many parts of India. An Inquiry was made to see if this feeling was a result of defects in the system of education, and how far those forces were linked or were particular to that system. It was accepted that there were problems in the education system. Different methods were evolved to strengthen and improved the methods of public instruction.¹¹

The Resolution of 1887 recommended to both the schools and colleges to introduce gymnastics and field exercises as part of the regular course work, and prizes and marks were to be given for efficiency in it. The Resolution also recommended the introduction of different kinds of punishments for breach of discipline, prescription of a good conduct register, establishment of boarding houses and hostels for large schools and colleges, appointment of monitors in higher classes of school for maintaining discipline during out of school hours, taking care of efficient teacher’s training and their appointment and setting up inter-school rules. Another important recommendation was that scholars should be debarred from school if they failed to reach a certain class at a specific age.¹²

It was believed that the provision of sporting activities would inculcate the habit of team work. A system of punishments and rewards were thought to be necessary, as also the inculcation of principles of morality and citizenship through lectures and textbooks. Textbooks and issues of morality were discussed at this time and moral

¹⁰‘Resolution of India in 1888 ‘ and letter From John C. Nesfield, Officiating Director of Public Instruction, N.W.P. and Oudh, to Secretary of N.W.P. and Oudh on 12th August, 1892 regarding ‘Rules relating to Punishments in Zila schools’, in ‘Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges’, File no. 203, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, 1893, p. 79.

¹¹‘Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges, File No. 203, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, 1893, p. 55.

¹²*Ibid*, pp. 54-55.

education was introduced and taught through moral lessons along with other subjects. The colonial 'morality' introduced in the schools encouraged values such as obedience, honesty, co-operation, submissiveness and cleanliness.¹³ Provisions of punishment were also seen as an important component in maintaining the discipline in the school and control of the feeling of 'irreverence' towards authority. Fines were imposed for 'irregular attendance, frequent absence without leave, habitual unpunctuality', 'persistent willful neglect of studies', exclusion from lessons for 'misbehaviour', exclusion from participation in the annual examination for charges of 'absenteeism, idleness, indifference, inattention during lessons, misbehavior' etc.¹⁴ It was proposed by Nesfield that parents should be given the punishment code at the time of admission. Certificates should be signed at the time of admission so that parents cannot 'harass the master with expostulatory or threatening letters or call upon the Inspectors to interfere.' Boys were called to produce medical certificates if they were absent for the reasons of health. Seventy five percent attendances was proposed as a compulsory requirement to be eligible to appear in annual examinations.¹⁵

The most important thing was that it started the debates over the introduction of 'restricted religious instruction' in aided schools and moral text book to remedy the feeling of irreverence among boys.¹⁶ Although moral instruction was already imparted in schools and colleges through regular texts and syllabus (indirect moral instruction) which were part of the curriculum, the 1880s witnessed new debates over religious instruction or 'direct moral instruction'.

¹³Vikas Gupta, 'The World of Education and the Processes of Identity Formation', Unpublished Dissertation, Department of History, Delhi: University of Delhi, 2004, pp. 94-96.

¹⁴Nesfield, the Director of Public Instruction of North Western Provinces and Oudh during 1890s made a draft and sketch of Code of Offences and Punishment in 'Zila' Schools. According to this code- the school teachers were given right to punish on unpunctuality, absence without leave (fine), inattention in study, quarrelling, disobedience, disorderly and imposition. Imposition was done in constructive manners meant to help pupils in their studies. Headmasters could give punishment, on loss of promotion to those of habits of habitual unpunctuality, absence without leave, caning, rustication or flogging in the case of falsehood, insubordination, or insolence towards the class teacher, or inciting others to such conduct; fine those pupils who were absent from a class examination, whether monthly, quarterly, or half-yearly. Inspectors could give punishment in the cases of theft, repeated insubordination or insolence, or inciting others to such conduct, indecency of an immoral kind, false accusations against a class master or against a school-fellow, cheating at an examination, any other serious breach of discipline. Expulsion was decided by the Headmaster. See, 'Nesfield Code of Punishment in Zila School and Colleges', in 'Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges', File No. 203, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, pp. 75-85.

¹⁵*Ibid*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁶*Ibid*, pp. 54-55.

1.1 Transition from Religious instruction to Moral Instruction

Religious instruction was an important component of indigenous education. But colonial education, as mentioned before, did not include it in the curriculum theoretically. Arthur Mayhew argued that the colonial education policy was shaped by an interest in reaping specific economic, political and cultural benefits. It was based on western culture and neglected oriental culture. Education was kept isolated from the religion, but religion was an important part of the lives of Indians. Educational policies ignored questions of caste, family, religion and gender (in the initial stages). In contrast to this, in England, education was also linked with religion, but in India the British did not recognize the needs (religious tenets in education) of Indian communities although they included notions of Christianity in a secular guise. According to Arthur Mayhew, the colonial efforts at making the system uniform and the attempts to prevent feelings of offence from brewing made colonial education in India relatively ‘colorless’.¹⁷

Another reason for delinking religion on the one hand, and introducing ‘moral instruction’ on the other as part of an educational policy was to create good subjects. India was a country where various communities lived together and efficient rule was possible only when harmony was maintained among various communities. The introduction of ‘secular education’ made it possible to control the religious communities of India. In England till 1870, religious instruction was part of the curricula and education was under the church and private enterprises. The state passed a resolution of compulsory education only in the 1870s.¹⁸ In India, however, the policies of the colonial state were different especially after 1857, when maintaining ‘religious neutrality’ towards the people of India was important to avert further rebellions and uprisings. The grant in-aid was provided to those schools which provided secular education.¹⁹ It was not the case at a practical level as Gauri Viswanathan has pointed out since religion was a prominent part of the literary

¹⁷Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India- a study of British Education Policy in India, (1835-1920), of its Bearing on National life and Problems in India today*, London:Faber and Gwyer, 1926.

¹⁸M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal (1793-1837)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 3- 43.

¹⁹M. R. Paranjpe, *A Source Book of Education (1792-1902)*, London: Macmillan & Company, 1938, p. 93.

English curriculum set up by the British in India.²⁰ Gauri Viswanathan's thesis is based on higher education and its curriculum; but at the school level where indigenous people also participated in education on a large scale, the policy of secular knowledge was followed to maintain a balance among various religious denominations. Government's policy of religious neutrality in the school curricula led different communities to see government schooling as 'useless' for their own people.²¹ Various community bodies were speaking in favor of religious instruction for the youth of their own community. On these lines, a resolution was passed in 'the Third Muhammadan Congress' which was held in Lahore in December 1888. In the resolution, all local governments were petitioned to allow the Muslim pupils to get their religious education in government buildings before or after the fixed schools hours. Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan, secretary of 'Muhammadan Congress' forwarded this resolution to the Secretary of State, North Western Provinces, and Oudh. Further, the Secretary to the Government of North Western Provinces wrote to the Director of Public Instruction (DPI) of N.W. Provinces and Oudh to give his opinion. DPI of North-Western Provinces opposed the resolution. He argued that the conduct of boys of Hindu and Muslim religions was very offensive to each other's religion. Since the schoolhouse was filled with boys even before and after the regular schools hours, he felt this provision would *embitter* relations between the two sects. He opposed on the ground that, if permission was granted to Muslim pupils, Hindus or Christians too could demand it. There were so many sects within Hinduism such as *Vaishnava*, *Saivas*, *Arya Samaj*, *Brahmo Samaj* etc. and that it was not possible for the Government to hire teachers for every sect. He suggested that there were numerous mosques where the Muslim boys could attend and parents willing for religious instruction can send their boys in those mosques.²²

The Secretary to the government of North West Provinces and Oudh asked the Chairmen of District Boards to give their views regarding the issue. But the Secretary of State himself observed that, there were varieties of 'nationalities creed' in the United Provinces, and there was feeling of hostility among them.²³ It was admitted

²⁰Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of the Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

²¹*Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*.

²²File No. 296, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, 1890, pp. 1-3.

²³*Ibid*, p. 5.

that this proposal was good in theory but practically it was considered impossible to give effect as it had the ‘danger of offending religious scruples, creating discord between persons of different sects and persuasions, or even inflaming and outraging their feelings.’²⁴

The Etawah Board proposed to introduce religious instructions only in the Etawah Middle School. The Board framed rules whereby teachers from respective religions will teach boys of their own religion for one hour, three times a week. Hindu boys were to be taught ‘Manu Smriti’ and easy pieces of selections from ‘Kuran’ were to be taught to Muslim boys. The Board recommended that only boys of the schools be allowed to attend with registers maintained, periodically examined by the head master of the school. It was kept optional and fully depended on the desire of the student to receive religious instructions. Provision of punishment was kept in the case of disobedience.²⁵ But the DPI still opposed the resolution and argued that it would create more disturbances between the two groups of Muslims i.e. *Shias* and *Sunnis* rather than between Hindus and Muslims.²⁶

While the board in Sultanpur found the rules ‘not desirable’, the Jaunpur Board wished to make provisions of written application from desiring parents and guardians for imparting religious instruction to their children.²⁷ On the other hand, the Gurhwal District Board opined that religious instruction should not be given in schools and colleges whether it was within or beyond school hours and with or without the consent of the children’s parents. The Committee argued that people will consider it the ‘thin edge of the wedge which the Government is introducing’. The Board advised non-sectarian moral teaching.²⁸ Finally these rules were passed with the addition of a clause about the consent of parents and teachers for giving religious instruction. These rules were passed, but were considered that ‘they are almost certain to remain a dead letter.’²⁹

It showed that by the 1890s, religious instruction was imparted to the students of willing parents after or before school hours in school buildings. The issue of religious

²⁴*Ibid*, p. 5.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 7.

²⁶*Ibid*, P. 8.

²⁷*Ibid*, p. 9.

²⁸*Ibid*, pp. 10-11.

²⁹*Ibid*, p. 4.

instruction came up again in 1894 when Nawab Mushtaq Hussain Khan Bahadur of Amroha wrote a pamphlet on religious instruction and sent it to the Government of India. The Nawab's scheme was 'to get religious instruction in the school building and in school hours approved by Government.' It was decided to try the experiment at Amroha and two half hours a week were devoted to a language was given to religious instruction. A report was asked for at the end of six months to see the result. At the end of six months, it was reported that no dispute arose in connection with the religious instructions and that the boys of the religious class were not behind in secular work. Therefore, the Nawab then proposed to have religious instructions in a special private building inside the school compound which was however not accepted and explained that 'where there was a real demand for religious instruction and substantial subscription; Government would consider the question of adding an extra class-room, not to be used exclusively for religious instruction.'³⁰

No action had been taken till Sadr Anjuman-i-Sapriah at Moradabad made a proposal in December 1907 for religious instruction to boys in the school out of school hours (in the boarding house). Fresh enquiries were made about the instructions to be given, to whom, and what the results had been concerning the religious instruction. C. F. De La Fosse, the DPI wrote to Sir John Prescott Hewett, Lieutenant- Governor of U.P. that he found 'occasional but scanty references to the subjects in letters and annual reports. All are to the same effect, namely, that the circular was practically a dead letter.' In Amroha and Shahjahanpur, classes for religious instruction were opened but could not run due to lack of support.³¹

The demand for religious education among Hindu and Muslim communities was rising. Problems of the existing system of education were understood even by the members of different societies and groups. Then the question moved towards 'direct moral instruction' in 1911. L. Stuart, Secretary to the government of United Provinces, gave the example of *Kayastha Pathshala* of Meerut city which was managed by the *Mathur* group of *Kayastha* and was established for the children of their own sub-caste. Their endeavors were to meet the needs of teaching their children

³⁰'Religious Education in Government Schools', File No. 235, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, 1908, p. 2.

³¹*Ibid*, p. 3.

religion, morality and manner. L. Stuart suggested the imparting of 'direct moral instruction'.³²

L.A.S. Porter, Bishop of Lucknow, was asked to give his views on the issue of religious instruction. He gave a speech in the Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh on 7th November, 1911, which was published in the Pioneer, dated 17th November, 1911. He said in his speech:

Some time ago I was talking to a gentleman of high position in government service, of good education and of the highest character. The conversation turned on the nature of a certain religious festival. He was unable to explain what the festival was, and I asked him in jest if he did not know his own religion. His reply startled me. He said he did not. As soon as he was old enough to learn he had been sent to a school and all his time was taken up with ordinary secular studies. When he left school, he obtained a government appointment, and ever since then all his time had been taken up with his official studies and he had never been able to devote any thoughts to religion. Those of you who in the trials and sorrows of life have been accustomed to seek consolation in religion can form your own opinion as to what that gentlemen had lost. But there is worse than this. If we can trust the reports we read in the papers in certain parts of the country, boys fresh from school or college and perhaps still at college or school see nothing degrading in adopting the career of a common felon. On whom nothing does the responsibility for this terrible state of affairs rest? Certainly not on Government. In religious matters Government cannot interfere. The responsibility rests, in my opinion, in the first place, on the various denominational bodies who seem to take no care whatever of the spiritual welfare of the rising generation, and in the second place, the responsibility rests on the parents themselves.³³

He understood the urgency of providing religious and moral instruction by the denominational bodies. Simultaneously, he found that there were problems with the modern education system that was making the youth unaware of their own culture and religion. So through moral and religious instructions, pupils could be made aware of their own religious beliefs. His views also suggested that practicing religion can be taught in school and that religious education should be based on denominational efforts.

L. Stuart, Secretary to the Government of United Provinces, suggested the foundation of committees formed from various sub-caste groups amongst the Hindus, and religious sects amongst the Muslims. They could evolve methods through which they wished to impart religious instructions outside school hours and on school holidays by

³²*Ibid*, 11-12.

³³*Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

the leaders of their own society.³⁴ But the DPI rejected the idea and argued that, 'Hinduism is not a religion but a social system, and Hindus of the same castes have different ceremonies of initiations and different beliefs and religious rites. Within the same caste it was difficult to consider 'what should be taught dogmatically.' It was very difficult for them to agree on one belief.³⁵ Then it was decided to take the views of members of Hindu and Muslim communities. The influential members of both the communities who were either connected with educational institutions, or enjoyed good confidence in their respective communities were asked to participate in an informal conference organized with both communities separately on 6th and 8th April, 1912. The Muslim community members met on 6th April and agreed on the desirability of imparting religious instruction and not just the moral instruction.³⁶ The Hindu members on the other hand discussed this matter on 8th April, 1912 and unanimously decided that moral instruction should be given compulsorily whereas religious instruction should be optional. But they thought that moral instruction should be based on religion and to be given according to the religion of the pupil.³⁷ There was no agreement among communities however as to what kind of religious or moral instruction could be sought for. It was noted by the Secretary of the government of the United Provinces that multiplicity of castes and sects, different ceremonies, different beliefs, and rites would create problems in framing the religious curriculum. Besides, communities did not want to pay for the religious teaching. They were expecting support from the Government.³⁸

Finally on 7th June 1912, J.P. Hewett, Lieutenant Governor of United Provinces, wrote that, 'I think that we have come to an absolute deadlock' and the case was put before the Government of India. Both the communities and the Government of India agreed that religious and moral instruction was desirable. But, the government could not teach these subjects in schools without increasing the school hours which was not acceptable to the Hindu and Muslim communities. There were also differences of opinion on 'what is to be taught, who is to teach it, who is to be taught'. The government was reluctant to increase the burden of provincial funds and wished

³⁴*Ibid*, p. 13-14.

³⁵*Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

³⁶*Ibid*, p. 26.

³⁷*Ibid*, p. 29.

³⁸*Ibid*, p. 33.

instead to adjust or curtail the existing funds or raise the funds through enhancement of fees, or obtained from local sources or private benevolence.³⁹ Neither community were however ready to pay for the religious instruction for the students of their respective religion. Hewett was also absolutely opposed to the idea of a moral textbook. The exercise could not materialize into any practical scheme.⁴⁰ But these correspondences shifted the debate from religious education to moral instruction and the nature of moral instruction to be pursued.

1.2 Discourse on the Nature of Moral Instruction

The reformers and the colonial education officers were simultaneously targeting secular education and lack of religious education as the cause for the spreading of irreverence among pupils. Colonial officers considered these tendencies as a result of the 'emancipatory thought' which came from the European education. However, these tendencies could be controlled through judicious methods of discipline and by sticking with 'religious neutrality'.⁴¹ The Court of Directors argued that the government institutions were funded for the benefit of the whole population irrespective of religion and therefore to be kept purely secular.

It was further believed that teaching morality in schools was an important part of the child's intellectual growth. During the late nineteenth century, it was taken by the colonial educational officers not to introduce textbooks which had an immoral tendency. In the aftermath of 1857, colonial officers were against prescribing books which offended the religious feelings of any community which could lead to unrest. The First Education Commission stated in 1882 that 'complaints have also reached us that sufficient care is not always taken in the selection of text-books to see that they contain no matter which is likely to give offence to any class of pupils, and we accordingly recommend that care be taken to avoid as far as possible the introduction of text-books which are of an aggressive character, or are likely to give unnecessary

³⁹'Papers Relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges', in *Selection from the Records of the Government of India*, Home Department, No. CCLXV, 8, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1890, p. 3. Hereafter, *Papers Related to Discipline and Moral Training from Selections*.

⁴⁰*Ibid*, p. 3.

⁴¹*Ibid*, p. 11.

offence to any section of the community.’⁴² Alfred Croft⁴³, referring to the education commission of 1882 clarified however that while books which were against the religious feelings of other creeds should not be prescribed, books that simply explained the religion of the author, compiler or publisher should not be excluded from the authorized list of government.⁴⁴ Therefore it can be argued that religion and morality, at specific political junctures, shaped the decisions regarding the prescription of textbooks by the colonial state.

Even in prescribing moral textbooks, the feelings of various communities and races were kept in mind. It decided on the ‘natural religion’ rather than to emphasize one community’s religion. The Secretary of the State for India wrote to the Governor General of India on 29th September 1887 that ‘The difficulties attending the adoption by the Government of India of an authorized manual containing lessons on moral subjects, which shall not offend the feelings of the numerous races and creeds of the people of India, are no doubt considerable; but I am of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to face this problem, and not to be content until a serious endeavour has been made to supply what cannot fail to be regarded as a grave defect in the educational system of India.’⁴⁵ In the mindset of the colonial officers, natural religion was the one that was accepted by every community along with general moral traits.

The Education Commission of 1882 recommended the preparation of moral textbooks which would be based on principles of ‘natural religion,’ but could not give effect to it. Many provinces in India were using textbooks which contained moral lessons of various non-sectarian characters explained and illustrated by teachers. The resolution of 1888 recommended a review of the texts and asked authorities to recast them and introduce into the textbooks the extracts from writings of various great writers who had dealt with the question of personal conduct.⁴⁶

⁴²“Memorandum by Alfred Croft on June 25th 1890” cited in *Proceedings of Education in the Punjab for the year 1890*, Lahore: Punjab government Press, 1891, pp. 101-107.

⁴³Alfred Croft was Director of Public Instruction of Bengal during late nineteenth century. The Governor General of council gave him special duty to review the Indian Education Commission for the future guidance of Local government in regards to education. He submitted an extensive report called *Review of Education in India in 1886 with Special Reference to Report of the Indian Education Commission*, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1888.

⁴⁴*Proceedings of Education in the Punjab for the year 1890*, Lahore: Government Printing, 1891, pp. 101-107.

⁴⁵*Papers Related to Discipline and Moral Training from Selections*, p. 11

⁴⁶*Ibid*, p. 15.

Dr. Sunder Lal, an influential person of United Provinces, said in the informal conference of 1911 discussed above, that 'he would divide religion into three elements: 1. Fundamental truths common to all religion, 2. Tenets of the special religion, and 3. Ritual.' In the conference all members were agreed that readers in the primary schools should contain moral lessons of undenominational character. At the primary stage its nature should be general and varied according to the nature of the respective institution. In the secondary schools he urged that moral instruction should be imparted by anecdotes, stories, and moral lessons, upon fundamental principles of all religion. For example, Hindus should study selected passages of the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and similar kinds of work. Morals through the teaching of the vernacular language were considered important as it was a compulsory subject.⁴⁷ Sunder Lal suggested introducing religious education to pupils of ninth and tenth classes. They should be taught fundamental principles of Hinduism which are accepted by all Hindus.⁴⁸ Sunder Lal also gave his opinion on moral instruction in girls' schools. He proposed that it should be similar to the boys in the primary section but in the middle section education should pertain more to religion. It should be based on principles and not on dogmas, and should be compulsory; and in higher section it should be more religious and exclude dogmas and rituals altogether. It was agreed upon in general. It was assumed by all members that 'girls welcome religious education more than boys do, that they take greater advantage of it and that it becomes more a part of their life.' In the case of women, religious instruction was accepted as a necessity by the native population who were involved in education at a policy level.⁴⁹ Through these efforts religion was given coherence and identities among the Hindus. One should also keep in mind that, late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was a phase when sects like Arya Samaj were active in consolidating the Vedic religion.

The Sultanpur board also approved a few moral books in 1912 for classroom use. These included - 1. 'Bisram Sagar' by Babu Raghunath Das, 2. 'Sandhya' by Bholanath, 3. 'Ramayan' of Tulsi Das, For Muhammadans, (Sunnis) 1. 'Siparah Am', 2. "Rah Nijat' (Urdu), 3. 'Nam-i-Haq' (Urdu), 4. 'Muftah-ul-Jinat' (Urdu), 5. 'Adab-

⁴⁷ 'Religious Education in Government Schools', File No. 235/1908, U. P. State Archive, Luknow, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 30.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 30-31.

ul-Waldan' (Urdu), and 6. 'Mala Budh' (Urdu). For Shias- 1. 'Siparah Am', 2. 'Bad Humd' (Urdu), 3. 'Tuhfatul-Awam', (Urdu), 4. 'Amal-us-Salihin' (Urdu).⁵⁰Tulsidas's Ramayan and Sanatan Dharma Series on Religion and Morality were very popular in the United Provinces as moral precepts. Stories of great men (ancient and modern) were taught to the students of age 13 as part of their history course. Two hours a week were devoted to the direct instruction in Dharma and students were asked to write essays on moral subjects. The lessons were based on the Sanskrit and English Readers. The texts related to obedience, mercy, good manners, truthfulness, fruits of good society, industry and generosity, justice, courage, faithfulness, honesty etc; included which were taught through the upper primary general reader. Verses of *Kabir*, *Rahim*, and prescriptive traits of bad and good persons were taught through poems.⁵¹

There were two viewpoints regarding the prescription of moral training texts. One group advocated preparation of moral text-books, and the other group suggested a manual for the guidance of morals for teachers. There was a very firm view that a mere introduction of a moral text would not help inculcate the feeling of reverence and discipline among pupils. This group focused on the inculcation of moral traits during the training of teachers and inspection. C. F. De. La. Fosse, the Director of Public Instruction of United provinces along with the Governor General in Council strongly suggested the provision of efficient training schools and colleges for teachers as one of the most effective means of improving discipline, and of counteracting the tendency to irreverence and contempt of authority instead of just introducing moral texts into the curriculum.⁵² All the inspecting officers and teachers were directed to observe the teaching and discipline of every school which 'exert a right influence on the manner, the conduct and the character of the children.' Special manuals were prepared for that.⁵³

⁵⁰*Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

⁵¹'Papers regarding the Educational Conference Allahabad', February 1911,'in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Department of Education, No. CCCCXLVIII, Department of Education Serial No. 1, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912, pp. 87-89. Hereafter, *Papers Related to Educational Conference*.

⁵²*Papers Related to Discipline and Moral Training from selections* 1890, p. 6.

⁵³*Ibid*, 1890, p. 12.

A 'Manual of Moral Instruction for Teachers' was prepared for Bombay schools. Teachers were asked to commence the lesson with examples of everyday life and then connect it with the text-book lesson. It was emphasized that teachers should create interest among children through instances of human conduct of moral quality.⁵⁴The Manual consisted of lessons regarding obedience to God, the king, parents and teachers, manners, kindness to men and to animals, fairness and justice (moral sense) truthfulness, courage, self-control, work and duty, philanthropy, and sympathy with all men including unselfishness, cheerfulness and contentedness, perseverance, honour and self respect, prudence and modesty, habits and good company, thrift and moderation, due 'appraisal' of moral virtues, conscience, and the principles of right conduct, toleration, and generous appreciation of even opponents, Ideals, patriotism, duty as citizens, the Government, Peace and war, Society and Justice (in the legal sense) Co-operation, practical wisdom and the advantages of education. A manual published in Bombay by the Government Central Press which contained the extracts of textbook called 'Sanathan Dharma: an Elementary Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics', and Sanatana Dharma: an Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics'. Both texts were published by the Boards of Trustees, Central Hindu College, Benares. Extracts from Mahabhartar (Udyogparva and Vanaparva) by Protap Chundra Roy were selected for teach morality. Life of Shankracharya by C.N. Mishra, Annie Besant's writings on Hinduism and J.J. Modi on Zorastrian were included. Otherwise all the extracts were taken from European authored books written on Buddhism, Christianity, and ancient India. Many extracts were taken from Max Muller's writings. Schools were to teach pupils to behave temperately, kindly, justly and develop love towards nature i.e. forest, field, building, carving, picture etc. School tried to enforce young children to think, to reason and do useful service to their work.⁵⁵ It is noticeable that taking care of domestic sphere was nowhere among these traits. That was exclusively meant for women.

In the name of moral training, different actions and concepts of right and wrong were taught. Teachers were asked to rouse and encourage feelings which enforced right conduct among children. Teachers were also given instruction to 'watch and assist the

⁵⁴R.E.E., *Manual for Teachers on Moral Instruction*, Bombay: Government Central Press, preface. The publication year was not mention.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, p. 124.

child in his efforts to do right actions, fostering those efforts day by day until they become confirmed habits, and discouraging, thwarting, and suppressing all opposing tendencies'.⁵⁶ They were considered most effectual mode of establishing a moral environment in the school, and were asked to strengthen the morality of textbooks through teaching. It was recommended that 'at least three fourths of the books shall consist of prose taken from authors of the present country; second, that at least one half of the prose portion shall consist of extracts having a direct bearing on conduct either by way of precept or example; and, third, that a similar principle shall be, as far as possible, kept in view in the poetical selections.'⁵⁷ Managers of schools were urged to ensure that teachers maintained 'a high standard of honesty, truth, and honour in their schools, and that they not only inculcate upon the children the general duty of consideration and respect or others, but also to encourage such training in schools, in matters affecting their daily life, as may help to improve and raise the character of their homes.'⁵⁸

The whole discourse of moral instruction was centered on boys. Boys' feelings of reverence towards authority were remedied through introduction of moral instruction in the school and manuals of moral instruction for teachers. While on the one hand, the importance of moral instruction was accepted by both the colonial officials and the indigenous elites, only latter focused on moral discourse around women. Morality of women had also become an important issue for people of the United Provinces, particularly for the middle class, upper caste and urban men during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The ignorance of mothers and wives was considered as an important cause for the rousing of this feeling of irreverence among boys and men. The education of the father secured reverence from his son but the ignorance of the wife and mother prevented the child from obtaining a high moral standard. Woman as the mother had great power in the Indian households therefore it was considered that her ignorance and superstition due to lack of education is going to be a hurdle in the success of moral education.⁵⁹ Another reason for the spread of irreverence was pointed towards the neglect of education of daughters while giving a preference to the education of boys. It hampered the boys' feeling of respect and sympathy towards his

⁵⁶*Papers Related to Discipline and Moral Training from Selections*, 1890, p. 37.

⁵⁷*Ibid*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸*Ibid*, p. 15.

⁵⁹*Ibid*, p. 25.

own sisters and wife. Men could not receive equal terms in their own community if they were brought up among ignorant sisters and married to ignorant brides.⁶⁰

The thought that schools were injurious to the morality of their women was very common. It was felt particularly by caste Hindus of the United Provinces that western education could only be followed by an imitation of the western culture by women of India which would be harmful to the country. Simultaneously, efforts were made by the reformers to make their women 'moral- devoted and pativrata' through various writings. This was done in order to exert control over their women's sexuality and it sprung from the fear of caste assimilation with other lower castes which will be analyzed in next section.

The Hindu indigenous elite sought moral instruction based on general principles rather than religious instruction for their boys but for their girls, religious instruction was understood to be necessary. Indigenous elites' notion of morality for women was based on religion and its linkages with past. Upper caste indigenous elites evolved an 'alternate pedagogy' through writing didactic literature to compensate for the weaknesses of curriculum of formal schooling. What kinds of morality were sought for boys and girls? It would be explored in the next section.

2. Literature: A Purveyor of Morality or Immorality?

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indigenous upper caste elites were writing and discussing broadly three notions related to women's education. The purpose of didactic writing for women was to teach them anti-colonial cultural nationalism, national awakening, and domestic happiness. These lesser known reformers⁶¹ adopted the alternative pedagogy to instill in women what they thought was 'appropriate.' This didactic literature was specifically written for upper caste women. There was a feeling among these reformers that the formal schooling was not providing an 'appropriate knowledge' that aided domestic happiness. These reformers evolved a new kind of pedagogy which taught women outside the school 'how to behave', 'what to know' and 'how to know' through texts, tracts, pamphlets, novels

⁶⁰*Ibid*, p. 28.

⁶¹I am using the term 'lesser known reformers' who were writing to reform the society but not very widely known. Their agenda was to improve their condition of women of their own sect, caste, or religion.

and songs. The era of commercial printing press started in the United Provinces only in the 1860s. In 1868, the first official year of registration, over 6, 00, 000 printed books were recorded in Hindi and Urdu. The number of printing presses rose from 50 in 1868 to 110 in 1888. These were concentrated in six urban centers:- Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh, Agra, and Kanpur. Eighty percent of the total production of the provinces took place through these presses.⁶² In fact, most of the books written in this period were published in these cities. As these social reformers were mainly from the educated middle class and from the cities, they focused on the problems of their sect/ class/ caste women, ignoring the problems and specificities of rural women and their education.

In the United Provinces, the discourse on education and morality were closely interlinked. Tanika Sarkar has argued that in the nineteenth century, people feared that the education of women would lead to their widowhood and sexual intrigues since a literate woman could write and 'make secret assignments of an illicit nature'.⁶³ This situation slightly changed after the reform movements and the spread of western education among men. The reform movements of early nineteenth century had taken the form of legislating against social evils, but in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a shift in the focus towards the gradual removal of evils by recasting and reshaping Indian women's minds through education. They wanted to change women's conditions through enabling rather than punitive legislation.⁶⁴

Moral instruction was introduced to make men obedient and honest subjects, while moral instruction for women was aimed at making them better, obedient and devoted house wives. Hence, obvious differences could be seen in the curriculum. It was apparently same for the boys and girls, but some changes were made from time to time. One of the main objections made by people of the United Provinces and India generally regarding the instruction of women was the unsuitability of the curriculum, perceived to be of no practical use for them as it lacked religious instruction.⁶⁵ There

⁶²Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007, p. 65.

⁶³Tanika Sarkar, 'Stri Shiksha or Education for women', in Mary E. John (ed.) *Women's Studies in India: A Reader*, Delhi: Penguin Group, 2008, p. 321.

⁶⁴Indrani Sen, 'D'evoted Wife/Sensuous Bibi: Colonial Constructions of the Indian Woman (1860-1900)', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 8, No, 1, 2008, p. 15.

⁶⁵*Problems in Education- V, Women and Education*, Paris: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1953, p. 108.

were a lot of complaints to the Indian Education Commission of 1882, regarding the unsuitability of subjects and the medium of instruction.⁶⁶ The curriculum for girls in the government schools was not very different from the boys, and the system of inspection or examination was kept lenient. However, people of the United Provinces wanted to keep their daughters and sisters away from education because, for them, it was not a question of 'domestic happiness and convenience but also a matter of cultural and religious importance'.⁶⁷

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the didactic literature focused on making women more efficient, obedient and devoted to the family and husband. Their morality was supposed to revolve around their family and home. A woman who was a good and devoted wife (*pativrata*), obedient and good mother, was considered 'moral'. Women's morality was usually defined by the men who wanted to modify them according to their needs and circumstances. In the second half of the nineteenth century, men wanted to educate women for their own benefit and not necessarily for women's emancipation. Shobhna Nijhawan points out that the middle class aspired for employment in the British administration and Indian males were soon educated in English. They were influenced by Victorian ideals of partnership, domesticity and education. They introduced formal education to their females. Their objectives ranged from consolidating anti-colonial opinions and securing political power for themselves. These feelings are also reflected in the literature for women.⁶⁸ Similarly Tanika Sarkar also explains that the first women writers carefully underlined that their education was initiated by their husbands, it was to counter the association of education with widowhood and immorality.⁶⁹ Education of women was not seen as a 'self-absorbed, self-centered activity' by reformers. It was seen as the basis for a companionate marriage and to train the women for familial affairs.⁷⁰ At the same time, due to the expansion of education among men and the rise of a middle class, there was the rise of a new model of womanhood which was a fusion of the older

⁶⁶*Report of the Indian Education commission*, p. 533.

⁶⁷P. J. Hartog, *History of Rural Education in U. P.*, Simla: Central Publication Branch (Government of India), 1929, p. 188.

⁶⁸Shobhna Nijhawan, *Periodical literature in Colonial North India: Women and Girls in the Hindi Public sphere*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 10.

⁶⁹Tanika Sarkar, *Stri Shiksha or Education for Women*, In Mary E. John (Ed.) *Women's Studies in India: A Reader*, Delhi: Penguin Group, 2008, p. 321.

⁷⁰Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation*, p. 109.

traditional *brahminical* value of *pativrata* (self-sacrifice and devotion to husband) combined with a Victorian emphasis upon women as ‘enlightened mothers and companions to men’.

In case of Bengal, Tanika Sarkar has revealed some of these contradictions clearly though the autobiography of Rashsundari Devi. For Rashsundari, the reading of sacred texts used to be a secret and silent affair for a long time to fulfill a long held desire without disturbing the structure of power in the household. Similarly J. Devika has pointed out that the Victorian ideals, which were against women’s education claimed that ‘such an exercise of the mind’s energy would de-feminize women, in fact shrink their wombs’, because women were biologically unstable and unable to receive rational thoughts.⁷¹ She explains that women themselves in Kerala dismissed this viewpoint through their writings in various journals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Yet, she argued that many of the first generation feminists (till 1920) were active propagators of domestic ideals for women. They were demanding an expansion of women’s space without challenging the ‘quintessential qualities of womanliness’.⁷²

A similar trend was seen in the United Provinces. ‘Babu Tota Ram’, an advocate in the High court of N.W.P. during late nineteenth century wrote a book called, ‘*Stri Dharma Bodhini*’. In this book the middle class person such as Tota Ram himself, wanted to educate women in order to make them better obedient companions for men (life partners) who could obey them without questioning, yet serve his parents in a better way and care for children efficiently. He related education with the household. He even declared that the main religion of a woman was to obey her husband, take care of the children, to perform religious duties and behave appropriately. At the same time, he advocated that sons and daughters should be educated equally.⁷³ The same view was expressed by Moolchand Bhatt in the *Saraswati* magazine (didactic literature). He wrote:

Koi jaati tab tak unnati ke shikar par nahin pahunch sakti jab tak uske gharo ki striyo ko gyan nahin hota. Aachi grahini banana ke liye striyo ko aisi shiksha ki awashyakata hai jissey grahasth jivan mein pravesh hone ke pehle hi vey uske bhar vahan karne योग्या हो जाये. Unki shiksha ka laksya yahi hone chahiye ki vey aagyakari istri, aachi mata, and aachi grahini ban

⁷¹J. Devika, *Herself: Early Writings on Gender by Malayalee Women (1898-1938)*, translated from the *Malayalam*, Kolkata: Stree, 2005, pp. x- xi.

⁷² Devika, *Herself: Early Writings on Gender*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁷³Tota Ram, *Stri Dharm Bodhini*, Aligarh: The Bharat Bandhu Press, 1899, p. 94.

*sake, aur auro ke liye aadrash ka kaam de. Mata ke aache ya bure vyavahaar ko dekh kar santan bhi aachi ya buri banti hai. Grahini aachi hone hi se ghar ka pura sukh aanubhav hota hai.*⁷⁴

(No nation can be reach at the peak of progress without educating its women. To shape women as efficient housewives, they ought to be educated in such as way that they are ready to shoulder the burden of family before marriage. The objectives of their education should be to become an obedient wife, a good mother, a good house wife and be a role model for others. Children imbibe good and bad qualities of mother. A good house-wife can make a happy home.)

Similarly, a book (literature for the women) called ‘Adarsh Mata: Pratam Bhag’, written by Hemant kumari Chaudhari⁷⁵ discussed the importance of education in the home affairs, child upbringing and their education, pedagogy of teaching, and the roles and duties of women in the progress of house and society. She made comparisons of educated and uneducated women by using fictional conversations between husband and wife.⁷⁶

Against this background, education was considered important for the ‘appropriate behaviour of women’ in the society. Everyone who wrote for women accepted that there was a decline in the ‘high character’ of women in the contemporary period. Rao Mahabir Prasad Narain Sinha Bahadur wrote a book (literature) for the use of Indian girls with the permission of private Secretary, and in the preface, he accepted that *Stri ke hatho mein do kulo ki maryada hai*. (The dignity of two families i.e. the natal home and marital home is in hands of woman.) But he wrote on contemporary education system that women were taught neither ‘High Character’ nor high education. According to him, every book was full of critique of ‘Karkash, kalahpriya, Aasabhya Banitao’ (harsh (rough), quarrelsome, uncivilized). That is why he accepted the need

⁷⁴Moolchand Bhatt, ‘Striyon ki Shiksha Kaisi Honi Chahiye?’ In Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi , (ed.), *Saraswati Sachitr Masik Patrika*, (Monthly Hindi Magazine), Part- 18, Vol. 1, January- June, Prayag: Indian Press, 1917, p. 67.

⁷⁵Srimati Hemant Kumari Chaudhari, *Adarsh Mata, Pratam Bhag*, Lahore: Punjab Economical, 1911. Hemant Kumari Chaudhari was a Bengali Lady born at Lahore and educated mostly in Upper India but finally in Calcutta. She was daughter of Pandit Navin Chandra Rai, prominent Bengali in the Punjab and member of Brahma Samaj. Her book is based on conversation between husband (School teacher) and his wife (house wife).

⁷⁶Ibid.

to improve the 'character' of women and wrote 'how to improve the character of these Banitao' (women).⁷⁷

3. Morality Inside and Outside the school

Morality was taught to girls in the schools but there was always a demand to introduce such ideas at broader levels. The curriculum was almost similar for girls and boys. An important difference between boys and girls in the lower primary stages was that the girls learnt needle-work and the boys did not, and the drill of the boys differed from the physical exercises of the girls, the games in which the girls took part and the stories told to them were different, except in schools where girls and boys were taught together. Above the lower primary stage the curriculum for boys and for girls showed greater difference. The boys' curriculum was being adapted for girls by the omission of manual training, agriculture, *patwari* papers, science and the relaxation of standards in mathematics; in their place, the practice of needle work and drawing was continued. Some attempts were also made to introduce subjects of domestic economy and hygiene.⁷⁸

It was the general belief that teaching in girls' schools was deficient in the matter of duties and principles of moral conduct before 1880s. Instruction was largely limited to book learning. Mrs. Etherington, former Inspectress of Government Schools of North Western Provinces, reported that 'the common conversation of women is extremely impure, the songs they sing and the stories they hear, read or recited from their religious books, are often of an immoral tendency, and must seriously affect their conduct.' She suggested that schools should use a catechism on cleanliness, health and its preservation, the care and management of children, duty and general principles of morals.⁷⁹

Similarly, Professor Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari of United Provinces pleaded to Hunter Commission that, 'I would entreat the educational officers never to be satisfied by giving the girls a mere smattering of geography and history, or teaching them how to

⁷⁷Rao Mahabir Prasad Narain Sinha Bahadur, *Shri Hari, Banita- Prabodha*, Kashi: Bharatjivan Press, 1894, p. 2. He was from Baraon, Allahabad.

⁷⁸ H. W. Orange, 'Report on the Progress of Education in India in 1909', In Sabhyasachi Bhattacharya, Joseph Bar, Chinna Rao Yagati and B. M. Sankhdher *Development of Women's Education in India: A Collection of Documents (1850-1920)*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001, pp. 352-53.

⁷⁹Evidence of Mrs. Etherington, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 190.

con (sic) a few fables of a story book selected at random from a mass of rubbish. This does more mischief than good, as they are taught in this way to have an access to those abominable books with which the vernacular literature abounds.⁸⁰ The literature taught to girls was considered objectionable due to its seductive threat. Poet Harish Chand suggested to the government during 1880s that *Prem Sagar* must not be put into the hands of 'big girls' (adult). Raja Shiva Prasad gave accounts where women were reading 'amorous and vicious' books such as *Mir Hasan ki Masnavi and Indarsabha* etc; which were seen with disgust by their parents and husbands. He told his personal experiences in a manner in which women moved towards 'astray' after learning to read and write.⁸¹ Similarly, a school master reported in the *Arya Darpan* that all 'wise men' disapproved the unsuitability of teaching books which introduced love matters to children. Love tale such as 'Shakuntala', which was a vernacular textbook for the students of the 5th and 6th classes in government schools. It was considered shameful by teachers themselves to teach such texts in the classroom. It was demanded to the Inspector General of Education for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh to remove it from the list of textbooks and substitute other text such as 'Bama Manoranjan' etc.⁸²

So there was always a feeling of threat among the parents, educationists and husbands (men) that skills of reading and writing should be used to maintain the morals among the society rather than creating immorality. Due to this reason also people discouraged education of their women.

Similarly, some books such as *Vidyankur* and *Timirnasik* which were part of boys curriculum could not improve the moral character of girls. *Vidyankur* was a language textbook for boys and girls both. The conversation between the teacher (*ustad*) and pupil (*shagird*) in it was used as pedagogy. The book contained illustrations of animals to describe them, their biology, where they live, their food, and usefulness. Examples of animals were used to differentiate them with human beings. Comparison was made between the life style of animals and human beings. Villages, cities,

⁸⁰Evidence of Prof. Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari to the Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 465.

⁸¹Evidence of Siva Prasad to the Indian Education Commission, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 313.

⁸²*Arya Darpan*, Received, 28th December, 1878, *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and central Provinces*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1880, p. 1069. Hereafter, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

capitals, and different professions were developed by human beings to help each other. Shiv Prasad gave examples of types of land, grain, different Indian and western technologies, and the process of sowing grains, their preservation, grinding etc. Suddenly he moved to colour combinations, how colours were made, rainbows, sizes, geometry, type of lines, angles, triangle, dialects, languages of animals, and he also focused on languages of people. This text was more about general knowledge and knowing the environment rather than running households.⁸³ Similarly *Itihas Timir Nasak* was a history textbook in school. It was also considered useless for girls. Women's immediate needs were seen as the efficiency in household activities and behaving appropriately. It was suggested that some books which contained lessons in morality, and house management should be introduced. 'Respectable' people preferred to teach their girls in their homes due to the lack of a religious character of the school education. While home instruction focused on providing lessons on principles of morality and house hold duties.⁸⁴

It would be appropriate here to analyze the textbooks of girls' schools for the kind of morality that was provided to them. Ram Prasad Tiwari wrote a school textbook for the girls' school in 1871, named, 'Sutaapbodh' and considered education necessary for a woman to go to her *sasuraal* (marital home). Women were expected to perform duties in their in-law's house which were performed by their mothers in the natal home. An educated girl would be able to handle the domestic chores better, and thereby insured herself and her natal family from abuse. Moreover, an educated woman could gain the love of her husband through education. *Likhe padhe gun sikhe, jo kanya pitu geh! Chadar aati sasural mein, pati so badat neh!*⁸⁵(Educated in her father's house could gain the love of the husband in her marital family.) Educated women created harmony in the marital home and impressed the husband's family mainly by making various eatables and ensuring cleanliness and purity. Educated girls enhanced the virtues such as patience, being soft spoken, cleanliness, and being pure etc. If a girl was not educated, she had to face the taunts of the in-laws because education gave them 'nari-dharm' (feminine virtues) and uneducated girls did not

⁸³Siva Prasad, *Vidyankur*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1877, Siva Prasad was inspector of Second circle of Director of Public Instruction.

⁸⁴Prasad, *Vidyaankur*, p. 208.

⁸⁵Ramprasad Tiwari, *Sutaapbodh*, Allahabad: Government Printing. 1871. This was award winning book and government gave rupees 100 to the author. This book is in sanskritised Hindi and in Doha and Chaupai style. It gave the daily routine to women, p. 12.

have 'nari-dharm'. One textbook also indicated that it was a common thought at that time that if a woman does not have qualities, desirable in women, she ends up grazing up animals (*kahi hai reh pasu rahi charavat, nari dharm ek na aavat*). This textbook which was written targeting the urban middle class women shows that education was used as an incentive to get 'good and prosperous' in-laws family. It was considered that uneducated woman graze the animals. This passage can also be read as a work from which women must be weaned away.⁸⁶

It was, moreover, considered that education increased intelligence and skills. *Vidya padhe ghatat aabhimani, baadat buddi haot drihn gyana*. (Knowledge makes a woman humble, increase intelligence and makes wise.) It was argued that if a woman is educated she could write letters to her husband and describe her feelings without speaking. She could answer a letter which the 'fool' could not read because uneducated women had to seek the help of others in reading letters, which would disclose the secrets of the family. Educated woman also teach her child when he/she started speaking. The child cannot be a fool if the mother was educated. It was believed that a child of an educated mother cannot do immoral work. It was also said that educated women read lots of songs and they understood the right lyrics and music.⁸⁷ It was being said that: *Jis kul mein ek-do striya guni hoti hai wah sara kul uttam ho jata hai aur us se santati bahudha pandit hoti hai isiliye ucchit hai ki sab kaam chod kar ladkiya ladakpan se vriddh awaystha tak padhne padhane mein lagi rahe*.⁸⁸ (The clan that has even a few educated women progresses well and heirs also turn out to be scholars. It is therefore advisable that girls give priority to education from childhood/adolescence onwards.) The need for education for women was celebrated in most of the textbooks as building the capacity of the next generation. Therefore all work and energy had to be devoted to studying and teaching from childhood to adulthood.

Similar thoughts were also expressed in a textbook by Ramlal who was *mudrish* (teacher) of School at Hamirpur District in Allahabad during 1871. He wrote that:

⁸⁶Ram Prasad Tiwari, *Sutaapbodh*, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁷Ram Prasad Tiwar, *Sutaapbodh*, p. 14.

⁸⁸Babu Kali Charan, *Stri Bhushan*, Bareilly: Ruhelkhand Literary Society, 1870, p. 72. He was a Head Clerk in the office of Director of Public Instruction and translated this textbook in Hindi with the permission of Bareilly Society.

Putri ko vishesh kar aavysaya padhana chahiye kyunki usko dusre ghar jana hota hai jo wah padhi likhi hui toh apne madhurta aur gambhirta se saas sasur aadi ghar ke sab logo ko prasann rakhegi aur aap bhi prasanchitt rahegi -Grahisti ka pratek kaam swachta aur saavdhani se kar sakegi- uski chaturai dekh pratek manush ka chitt harshit rahega- Aisi sushil kanya se mata-pita bhi pransha yogya tehrate hai - aur jo kanya murkh hui toh voh aap nana prakar ke kalesh utathi hai -aur apne ma baap ko bhi sakdo galiya dilate hai- aur pratek manush ke chitt ko khed pahunchti hai- Dusre padhi hui stri janam se hi apni santan ko padhne ki tev karati hai- uski santan anayas kuch na kuch padh hi jati hai- prantu murkh striyo ki santan ki shiksha paradin hoti hai- bani toh bani aur na bani toh na bani- kyunki santhan ki dha pir mata ko hoti hai utni pita ko bhi nahin hoti- Phir dusre logo ki kya ginti(?) -Tisre jab stri ka purush udyog ke liye videsh chala jata hai tab virahni kehlati hai -aur priye ke viyog se uska samaya aati katinai se bitata hai- aur sadaiv chitt ko khed rahta hai prantu jo vidwan hoti hai voh apne katin samay ko padhne likhne aur uttam pustak padhne mein mahaj hi kaat dalti aur stri aadharm se bhed hone ke karan uske mann mein kisi prakar ka vicar uttpann nahin hota.⁸⁹

(Specifically girls should be educated because an educated woman would be an asset to the marital home, making her in-laws happy through sweetness and seriousness, and thereby remaining content. She would be able to perform all the domestic tasks with care and cleanliness. Everybody would be happy to see her intelligence. Parents of this kind of girls are appreciated. If the girl is a fool, she herself faces a lot of sorrow and becomes the reason for abuse of her parents and she hurts everyone. But the education of the children of illiterate mothers is dependent on others- sometimes it successful and sometimes not. While on the other hand, literate women teach children from birth, and the child learns naturally. A child's sorrow is felt more by mother than father, why will others feel it? Thirdly, when the husband of a woman goes out of town for business, then she becomes lonely and due to his absence; her time passes too slowly. But if a woman is educated, she spends her time in writing and reading good books and does not deviate from her wifely duties. She knows the difference between *dharm* and *aadharm* and that prevents bad thoughts from arising in her mind.

Textbooks for women were filled with the moral stories, although these stories were not linked with the past like didactic literature which linked the morality with religion and history. The textbooks on morality were based on general principles and were common for girls and boys with the difference that girls were content to be in the domestic sphere. Through stories, women were introduced to the benefits of education for themselves and their family. Munshi Dwarka Prasad Attar, for example, wrote a textbook called *Stri Hitopedesh* in 1911, in which he accepted the importance of education for girls and women. He explained that if there was a tension between

⁸⁹Ramlal, *Ath Vanita Prakashini*, Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1871, pp. 13-14.

husband and wife, women were largely responsible and went further in linking this with education:

...Ish bigaad ki zadh aadhikansh mein striya hi hoti hai, karan yeh ki yeh padi likhi na hone se na aapna dharm janti hai, na aachar vyawar, aur koi koi toh buddhi ki aisi bharst aur vani ki fuhad va swabhav ki nikkami hoti hai (parmatma aisi striyo se bachave) ki baat baat mein tedi aur jab dekho tab ruthi hi rahti hai. Pati bechara dinbhar ka thaka hara ghar mein aata hai lekin inke mizaj hi nahin milte, aur bolti bhi hai ki mano katne ko daudti ho, inke enhi kotauko ko dekhkar pati ka chitt fat jata hai aur veh ant ko apna man kahin aur behlata hai aur dusre sabdo mein muh kal karta hai aur yeh baithi kosti kalpti aur janm bhar rohti hi rahti hai.⁹⁰

(Women are the root cause of this problem, since being illiterate, they do not understand their duties, nor do they behave properly, and some are simply idiots who do not care about what they speak and are actually useless (God save us from such women); are creating nuisance almost all the time; and are annoying. A poor husband who comes back home after toiling all day is neglected by these women, who speak very sharply. This behaviour of the wife hurts the husband badly and forces him to seek solace in illicit relations which ultimately lead to the lifelong suffering of the wife.

He further suggested that if women wanted their welfare and happiness, they should improve their behaviour and develop themselves according to traits of 'Pativarta' of *Shastras*.⁹¹ It was considered that women were the only agents of happiness at home. If a man sought happiness elsewhere, the woman was responsible as she failed in her duties.

It was a propaganda to educate women for the welfare of the society because they were the main agents in handling home and children. It was argued by these reformers that a mother had children, and educated women made the home happy. It is important here to analyze the qualities of the virtuous women.

3.1 Class, Caste and Womanly Virtue

Women in nineteenth century Indian society were defined within a set of binaries such as 'good' (aachi) versus 'bad' (buri), modest (lazzawan) versus immodest (nirlazz) and appropriate (ucchit) versus inappropriate (annuchiit). Simultaneously, a pedagogy was developed to teach upper caste women 'good', 'modest' and

⁹⁰Munshi Dwarka Prasad Attar, *Stri Hitopedesh*, Lucknow: Anglo-Oriental Press, 1911, p. 31.

⁹¹Dwarka Prasad Attar, *Stri Hitopedesh*, p. 31.

‘appropriate’ behaviours in contrast with ‘bad’, ‘immodest’ and ‘inappropriate’ behaviour of lower caste and untouchable women. Words like ‘lazza’, and ‘nirlazz’ were used very frequently. ‘Jisey lazza nahin us se paap bahut hote hai, Stri nirlazz jaise vyanjan bina loch ke’.⁹²(The woman who is not shy or modest (lazza) is sinful. Shameless women are equal to food without starch.) Simultaneously ‘bad’ women were compared and equalized with low caste and ‘untouchable’ women. Sexual accessibility was given a low status in the hierarchy.

The British as well as the indigenous elite had deployed the stereotypes about ‘bad’ women which equated them with lower caste women.⁹³ Textbooks which portrayed the lower caste women as ‘bad’ were issued under the permission of the Director of Public Instruction. This stereotyping was also made explicit in the efforts to control prostitution in the Kumaun region. The report of 1871, for instance, it was stated that women who were involved in prostitution and spreading venereal diseases among British army men, were women of low caste specifically ‘dom’ women. It was imagined that these ‘dom’ (untouchable women) were involved in prostitution as the source of their income because their husbands did not work. They were considered ‘utterly immoral’ by the colonial officers and were seen as easily accessible to the soldiers. Their employment as grass and wood cutters, and coolies employed in the cantonment gave them every opportunity of practicing their illicit trade in the hill areas where there were so many ravines and quiet spots suited to their purpose, and the police were unable to detect every case.⁹⁴ The Cantonment Magistrate of Raneekhet wrote to the Commissioner of Kumaon on 25th August, 1871 wrote that he was informed by ‘respectable’ person that seventy percent of ‘dom’ population were diseased in the province. Colonial officials depicted it as general immorality which was common among both ‘dom’ men and women. The females of this class worked as grass cutters and coolies, cultivators etc. They were called ‘quiet prostitutes’, as it added an extra income to their family.⁹⁵

⁹²Pandit Jasram, *Stri Shiksha Subodhini, part I, Maharajah of Viziangram’s Series of Books for Native Female Schools*, Benares: E.J. Lazarus and Co., 1869, p. 18. Author was part of Queen College of Benares.

⁹³*Proceeding of the Government of North-Western Provinces, in the General Department, for the month of February*, 1872, Allahabad: Government Printing Press, pp. 5-14.

⁹⁴*Proceeding of the Government of N.W.P. for the month of February*, 1872, p. 14.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

Many proverbs of the nineteenth century celebrated this fact. For instance, *Gadhama mare kumhar ka aur dhobin sati hoye*. It was a critique of the sexuality of lower caste and untouchable women. Here the *dhobin* (washerwoman) could have relations with the donkey and when the donkey died, would immolate herself. Most of the low-caste and untouchable women used to be portrayed as sexually accessible.⁹⁶ Prostitution and poverty were linked with each other. Moreover, women of poor classes were also considered easy to harass. Proverbs such as *Garib ki joru sabh ki bhabhi* explained that the wife of poor man is the sister in law of every men. The relationship between a woman and her husband's brother always aroused the suspicion that there was a sexual relationship. The sexuality of poor men's wife was considered accessible to men of the society. Other proverbs such as *Nayi naiyn, bansh ka niharna*, also implied that women of barber caste were stared even by bamboos. Hence it explained that low caste women and 'untouchable' women's sexuality was considered promiscuous not only by the colonial officials but reformers and upper caste middle class urban men. The textbooks of the time help us to explore the binary that was developing between good and bad women. In 1870, Babu Kali Charan, (Head Clerk in the office of Director of Public Instruction) translated a textbook *Stri Bhushan*, into Hindi with the permission of Bareilly Society. He explained *Aao Lakshmi Jaldi karo Ab apni kitab padho issh kalam se aksharo ko pahichano Kitab phado mat Issh sabad ke hijje karo Tum aachi ladki ho Ab jao aur khelo Jab tak hum tumko bhitar na bulaye*.⁹⁷ (Come Lakshmi (name) and quickly read your book, identify the alphabets with this pen, do not tear books, practice these words, you are a good girl, now go and play till we call you inside.) A girl was 'good' if she behaved in this manner.⁹⁸ It was advisable to speak the truth and taking sweet (*meeta*) and not to speak in such a way that subjected you to insult.⁹⁹ (*Meeta aur such bolo, kabhi hath uchhal aur muh mataka kar na bolo jis se tumari thithai suchit ho.*)

In another chapter of the same book, the author gave the example of a girl named 'Kaushlaya' who was also considered a 'good' girl, because she used to go to school

⁹⁶Babu Prabhu Das, *Drishant Kosh- Proverbs, Hindi, Urdu and Persian Collected and alphabetical arranged* Allahabad: Allahabad: Mission Press, 1870. He was a Clerk in the Settlement office of Gorakhpur and Basti, and was Head Master of Gorakhpur Mission School

⁹⁷Charan, *Stri Bhushan*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹Pandit Bansidhar, *Suta Sikshawali, Part II*, Agra: Nurul Iulum, 1865, p. 76. This textbook was published with the permission of Director of Public Instruction for the girls' school.

and studied hard as long as she was in school. She concentrated on her books till she finished her chapter, and played only after that. She was so kind that every girl was pleased to play with her.¹⁰⁰ The writer wanted to stress that a ‘good’ girl always worked hard at her school work and finished her work on time but also enjoyed playing. If the girl was kind, every girl wanted to play with her. In another chapter, through the example of another girl *Parvati*, showed the love towards birds and the importance of their freedom. It was a conversation between two girls, one who wanted to keep the bird in the cage while the other wanted to set it free. She said that *Tumko aisa karna ucchit nahin hai kyunki hum jante hai ki tum bhi pinjare mein band hona aur kheto mein na dhaudna nahin chahogi*. (This is not appropriate for you, you know that you will not want to stay in prison and not run in fields.) Then *Parvati* freed the bird from the cage.¹⁰¹

In this passage the writer is comparing the girl with a bird. Both wanted to fly in the sky. Neither wanted to stay in the cage: the cage and fields were used as metaphors of Dependence and Freedom. This example promoted a love of the environment and animals while it was argued as a matter of freedom for both of them. Simultaneously, it taught the virtues of kindness and selflessness which were considered as prerequisites for a ‘devoted and pativrata wife’. There are many examples in the textbook given by other authors, too, which emphasized on love and sensitivity towards the animals and environment. In the other stories using animal characters, writers demonstrated the difference between ‘moral’ and ‘immoral’, ‘good’ and ‘bad’. Another story was about a young goat who was eaten by an older wolf because he did not adhere to suggestions of his mother and strayed outside the control of the shepherd. The Shepherd was portrayed as kind by other goats and wolves. But the freedom to go outside enjoyed by the young became the cause of his death. Through this and various other stories the writer seemed to show that freedom was good but it should be under the guidance of elders or parents. If we interpret the moral of such stories for the behaviour of girls, it would be that a person (girls) should not do anything without the permission of her parents; otherwise she will be in trouble.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Charan, *Stri Bhushan*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰²*Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

The author one of the textbooks declared that, *Acha bacha woh hai jo apne ma-baap ki aagya manta hai aur jhut nahin bolta.* (A good child never lies and is obedient towards own parents.) *Aachi ladki woh hai jo ma ka kahna manti hai usko aanad deti hai.* (A good girl is always obedient towards her mother and pleases her.) Girls were asked to follow mother, grandmothers and other women in these textbooks. One interesting observation is that some kinds of morals were the same for both girls and boys such as obeying parents, hard work, telling truth, not being greedy, sensitivity towards environment, kindness, and being hygienic. But the difference arose with reference to morals and its application to the family.

In general, it can be observed that the textbooks of that time referred to an ‘Aachi ladki’ (a good girl) as a girl who does not hurt her family. It was explained that to be scolded by your mother is better than to lie. It was, hence said that one should not fear punishment in the way that one fears telling lies. This textbook was for girls’ schools, but most of the animal characters were masculine except the Goat and the fox as mother.¹⁰³

*Tum sab ladkiyo ko ucchit hai ki bade savare prasannta se uth kar apne aankh muh ko dhulao phir kapde ko pahin ma ya dadi ke paas jao jahan badi namrata se baitho aur bina puche mat bolo aur jise puche usey kaho aur veh jis kaam aur khel ko kahe usey karo aur jisey roke usey mat karo kyunki abhi tum aagyan ho isiliye ma ya dadi ke kehne ke annusar bartogi toh sada sukh pati rahogi.*¹⁰⁴

(It is appropriate that all you girls wake up early in morning, clean your face and eyes and after wearing your clothes, go to mother or grandmother, sit politely, not speak without being spoken to; you must say and play whatever they ask you to do, not do that which is forbidden, because you are still ignorant. If you obey your mother and grandmother, you will be always happy.)

For the adult women it was prescribed that they should be ‘pativarta’, ‘pray to god’, ‘Not look at other men with evil eyes’, ‘stay away from lewd women’, ‘do not fight

¹⁰³*Ibid*, pp. 14-17.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid*, p. 75.

with children’, ‘do not allow children to wear jewellery’, ‘take care of cleanliness of children’, ‘develop the good habits and virtues among the children’.¹⁰⁵

Most of the contemporary literature on advice and morality appreciated the hard work and criticised idleness. *Samay ko vryatha na gavayo, sada aise kamo mein lagi raho jin se bhalai ki aasha ho.* (Do not waste time, always pursue meaningful works).¹⁰⁶ Idle women were taunted and literate ones were assumed to be working and praised. It was considered that literate women always does work and does not sit idle. Proverbs such as *Sui tuti, kaside se chute* was a taunt to those women who used the excuse of a broken needle to avoid crochet (knitting). *Sui* (needle) and *kasida* (crochet) both were related to women.¹⁰⁷ It was a very important part of the mission schools’ curriculum. Hard work was prescribed for both the girls and boys, but criticism of laziness and idleness was only for girls as it was to criticize most of the upper caste and middle class women who had servants and did not pay proper attention to the house. Here again, most of the morals for the girls were connected with family welfare and the economic efficiency of the house.

Satire was used to explain which kinds of woman were considered ‘good’. *Nayi jawani, manjha dhila*, compared women to the thread of a kite which is very difficult to control. *Dileri mardo ka gehna hai aur nazakat aurto ka.* (Whole heartedness is jewellery of men and softness of women.) These kinds of proverbs revealed the kind of virtues that emerged for both men and women.

Poor people and poverty itself were treated as if they made society vulnerable. Many examples showed that poor can alleviate their positions through education but there was not a single example of a lower caste person improving their social status through education. This can be seen in proverbs such as *Jahan jaye bhuka, vahi pade sukha.* (Wherever poor goes, there is drought.)¹⁰⁸ Education was imagined in these textbooks as an asset only to alleviate poverty. There were many examples of women who came from a poor background but were educated and appreciated by society. For example:

¹⁰⁵Pandit Taradutt, *Hitopadesh*, Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1899, Taradutt, wrote this Textbook under the permission of Director of Public Instruction for the primary schools, he was Deputy Inspector of Kumaun region.

¹⁰⁶Charan, *Stri Bhushan*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁷Das, *Drishant Kosh*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid*, pp. 76-77.

One poor girl 'Shubdhra' learnt reading and writing and needle work and when she went to her in-laws house, all women in the in-laws' family were impressed by her intelligence and politeness. She was so highly appreciated in the town that even the queen visited her place.¹⁰⁹ This example showed that a poor girl can also get appreciation through education. This education was, however, notably given in schools, but it is described that most of the poor girls also used to learn reading, writing and needle work from their mothers. This training used to be given by the mother to her daughter before marriage. But there were no instances of writers talking about education as a means for overcoming caste prejudices, and caste was explicitly explained in textbooks and encouraged. The Maharajah of *Vizianagram* opened two institutions in Benares, one for young Hindu ladies and other for the poorer high caste girls. With the consent of the Maharajah, a series of textbooks for girls schools was prepared which contained reading, lessons in grammar, geography and arithmetic. The tenth chapter of the book explained that:

Vidya ke padhne se bada laabh hai,
Brahman jati uttam hai,
Kshitiya vaisya se uttam hote hai,
Shudra sab se nich hai¹¹⁰

(There are many benefits of learning, Brahmans caste is supreme, *Kshritiyas* are superior to better than *Vaisyas*, and *Shudra* are the lowest.) While the education was appreciated, the caste hierarchy was simultaneously reiterated through the textbook. Most of the reformers who were writing popular literature and textbooks were from the middle class and upper castes, occupying government jobs such as lawyers, teachers, head masters, head clerks, inspectors or working in the education department, members of legislative assembly and part of various reform movements (such as *Arya Samaj*, *Brahmo Samaj*, *Kayasth Samaj*, or *Agarwal Samaj* etc).

Influences from these positions are reflected in their writings. Through popular literature and textbooks they created a discourse of 'morality of women' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century U.P. One noticeable thing was that all writers were writing in middle class, upper caste and urban settings. That was the reason why the issue of morality of low caste women and rural women came into focus, though

¹⁰⁹ Pandit Bansidhar, *Suta Sikshawali*, pp. 76-77.

¹¹⁰ Pandit Jasram, *Stri Shiksha Subodhin'*, part I, p. 8.

only through inference. Even women who wrote did not challenge the morals of the middle class in urban areas, nor did they go beyond this perspective. It was only in the 1920s (after the Royal Commission on Agriculture of 1917) which gave special attention to agricultural conditions of India that women of a rural setting came into such written discourses. Neither these reformers nor the colonial state had discussed rural women and their education before the 1920s. Similar textbooks (urban and middle class centric) were prescribed in rural schools where the contents of the textbook did not match the circumstance of rural and lower caste women. Textbooks were alien to rural children to connect with their circumstances.

The main objective of educating women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was clearly to maintain cultural and domestic happiness and to provide 'appropriate knowledge' to them. It was not imagined by reformers that education would make them conscious of their roles outside home. By the 1880s, however, women started to come into various professions such as teaching, nursing, compounding etc., and therefore put their education to different uses beyond the home. Even so, as we shall see, the emergence of women in these new professions could not alter the role they played in the domestic spheres.

3.2 Arya Samaj and the Modernisation of Hindu Morality

During the 1920s, contestations were rife among the various religious communities such as Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. There was a lot of writing centered on women. In these writings, women were considered as a repository of 'maryada'. Many pamphlets were written by the Arya Samajis in the form of songs, texts, 'Shers' and 'Gajals' to make the Hindu women aware of differences from Muslims.¹¹¹ Muslims were portrayed as oppressors who eloped with Hindu women, especially widows, and kidnapped Hindu children and converted to their religion. There were informal teachings of women about their safety and for preserving morality which went beyond their schooling. Hindu women visiting Muslim 'pir' and 'maulvies' for healing their sickness were warned against such contact with Muslims. A member of the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, Shiv Sharma, who was anti-Muslim and a propagator of

¹¹¹Charu Gupta also explored anxious nature of Arya Samajis through Shuddi and Sangathan Movement. Gupta, 'Anxious Hindu Masculinities in Colonial North India: Shuddi and Sangathan Movement', *Cross Currents*, December 2011, pp. 441- 456.

‘Gau raksha’ (cow protection), Hindu culture and civilization wrote a text called ‘Stri Shiksha’ which explained that due to lack of education, Hindu women were under the influence of Muslim religious leaders, *pirs*, *maulvies*, and the religion. Women did not believe in the religion and the God of the Muslims but visited Muslim *maulvies* to get children (get supernatural help in conceiving) and some started believing in superstitions to heal their sorrow. The author further gave the example of Sita who stayed in Ravana’s home, but did not adopt his religion. In fact, one can only become a Muslim if one believes in their religious faith, not by following the diet of Muslims.¹¹² Lots of advice was given to Hindu women in many of the texts to make them aware of the ‘Muslim agenda’. It was written that *Yeh shikshayaein isliye kahi gayi hai ki aajkal Musalman log kabar, tajiye, gande, aur manihar, Ghisati, Naukar, Ekke wale aur Hakimo ke jariye Musalman banana lage hai.* (These teachings were given because it was felt that nowadays Muslims are converting Hindu women into Islam through the help of grave, *tajiye*, talisman, bangle sellers, servants, *rikshaw* pullers and Hakims (indigenous ayurvedic doctor)).¹¹³

The caste and class bias of these reformers was amply clear. They considered low caste groups and untouchable groups equivalent to Muslims. Low caste women’s sexuality was questioned to show the ‘maryada’ of high caste women in many examples.¹¹⁴ Examples were cited from the ancient religious texts. The following example, for instance, is from the Mahabharat: *Stri gaon ke Chamarin tak ko bhi, durvakya na kahe, na bina Urjis Maryada ke sath bartav kare.* (Translation: A woman is virtuous if she does not raise her voice on the untouchable women and behaves without losing decorum.)

One should keep in mind that those kind of books which were creating an anti-Muslim feeling were proscribed by the colonial government. This proscribed literature also showed the attitude of the Arya Samaj to the lower castes of Hindus. *Kaharin, Nayan, Dhobin, Pisanhari, Maniharin* and *Bhangan* were considered equivalent to Muslims.¹¹⁵ It was suggested that a lady who lost her way should take the help of only Hindus, the Sewa Samiti, Hindu Sabha or Arya Samaj rather than

¹¹²Pandit Shiv Sharma, *Stri Shiksha*, Bareilly: King Press, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U.P., 1927, pp. 1-5.

¹¹³*Ibid*, p. 7.

¹¹⁴*Ibid*, 1927.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 12.

Muslims. Help can moreover, be taken from Hindu police men or English policemen. It was written in the footnotes of the text *Stri Shiksha* by Shiv Sharma that: *Khwaja Hasan Nijami ne police walo ko bhi keh rakha hai ki vah Hindu Striyo ko Musalman banaye.* (Khwaja Hasan Nijami has even told police men to convert Hindu women to Islam.)¹¹⁶

The widows and their sexuality were perceived as a threat to the Arya Samjis. Hence, they wanted to control them. Arya Samjis believed that Muslim servants, teachers, lawyers, and ‘karindes’ of the village, hawkers, ‘hakims’ and ‘gadi wale’ seduced Hindu widows and eloped with them.¹¹⁷ In general, followers of the Arya Samaj did not support widow re-marriage. However, due to this threat they gave instructions to mothers, fathers and in-laws to help the remarriage of widows and avoid their conversion to Islam and the consequent birth of Muslim children.¹¹⁸

Such instructions not only showed the attitude of Arya Samajis and the social environment of that time, but it also showed that there was always a threat in the minds of those upholding patriarchy regarding the morals of women. Within the patriarchal system a central aim was to control the sexuality of women, but usually, members of this system did not want to interfere in matter of other communities. Therefore, the moral instructions given focused on Hindu women and followed the aim to keep them away from the Muslim community. As part of these efforts a large number of texts/stories were written to make women ‘pativrata’ or devoted to their husbands.

Why did the morality of women become such an important issue? It should be understood in the context of the socio-cultural environment. In the late nineteenth century, Hindus did not want the British to intervene in the private sphere or on the matters of women but in the early twentieth century their main rivals were Muslims and Missionaries. Women remained the central issue for them, and in many instances, Arya Samajis criticized zenana missionaries who were very active in teaching women.

¹¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 7.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*, p. 14.

¹¹⁸Sharma, *Stri Shiksha*, pp. 24-25.

According to them, women were imitating westernization which was considered harmful for the morality of women.

Moreover, there was a popular belief that Missionary women changed the mindsets of Indian girls and made them westernized; they encouraged them to read English literature and influenced their behavior, language and fashion. For instance, in the play written by Pandit Devdatt Sharma, when Srimati, a modern English educated (taught by Missionary lady), received a letter from her fiancé, this was considered 'fine' by the English educated father and missionary women, but 'inappropriate social behaviour' to her mother who had Aryan Samaji influence. Similarly, this literature also showed that love-marriages, kissing before marriage and consumption of food from the same plate were considered western influences and harmful to society.

Many supporters of the Arya Samaj wrote texts and advocated Hindi and Sanskrit, emphasized in ancient texts against the western culture. They were celebrating the opening of the new branches of Arya Samaj at their place which suggests their inclination towards Arya Samaj.¹¹⁹

4. Children of Prostitutes and the 'Threat' to Morality

There were some interesting debates in the United Provinces which revealed schools as spaces of discrimination on the basis of gender, class and caste. For instance, giving education to children of prostitutes was debated upon in 1879 between colonial officials and the intelligentsia of the United Provinces. The history of this debate can be traced from the 1870s when it first surfaced in the Madras Presidency. In the Bellary district of Madras, there was a tradition of 'Basavi' under which girls were married to an idol for the purpose of prostitution. British officials did not intervene in this issue of dancing girls as they were serving a religious purpose, but finally did intervene when they were known to be the cause of spreading sexually transmitted disease among the army men.¹²⁰ Nautch or dancing girls interacted with the British before the arrival of White women on a larger scale after the middle of the nineteenth century. By the end of nineteenth century. their interaction came to an end due to

¹¹⁹ Lakshmi Narayan, *Nari-Shiksha-Darpan: Stri Shiksha ki Aapruv Pustak*, Benares: Lakshmi Pustakalaya, 1932.

¹²⁰ *Proceeding of Government of India of the Education in the Home Department for the year 1878*, Calcutta: Superintendent Printing, 1878, pp. 192-196.

some factors. But dancing girls or courtesans were still powerful until late nineteenth century as is evident in the records.¹²¹ In 1871, many steps were taken to control the 'dom' ('untouchable caste') women of Kumaon region who were involved in 'illicit' relations with British military men. These men had contracted sexually contagious diseases and serious efforts were made by the British to control them. The opening of Lock Hospitals, Dispensaries, and fortnightly tests were some of the measures intended to address this issue.¹²²

Under British colonial rule, prostitution became a crime as it was codified under the law and controlled by the authority, unlike the indigenous society where it was considered a sin.¹²³ The health of British soldiers posted in India and the reformist zeal of socio-political circles in England in the 1860s and 1870s forced the British to take measures for restructuring the system of prostitution and they took some steps to control it.¹²⁴ Specific legislations enacted exclusively to cover prostitutes were the Cantonment Act of 1864 (to be followed by several amended versions in the late 1880s), and the Contagious Diseases Act of 1868. The contagious Act sought to bring the entire profession under strict state supervision and surveillance of disease.¹²⁵ Similarly, there were correspondences between the secretary of State of India and the Madras Officials during the 1870s to put an end to the practice of dancing girls and prostitution. Simultaneously, the question arose as to whether the children of professional prostitutes and dancing girls who were dedicated to temple service should be taught in government or aided schools or not. Following correspondences with other provincial governments, the views of people and officials were taken by the educational authorities.

This issue also raised class and caste differences in the field of women's education. Some objected to the admission of lower caste children in the government institutions but others opposed only the education of prostitutes' children. Further objections were made on the basis of gender. In the United Province, it was unanimously agreed that

¹²¹Sen, *Devoted Wife/Sensuous Bibi*, *IJGS*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2008, p. 4.

¹²²*Proceeding of the Government of North-Western Provinces, in the General Department, for the month of February, 1872*, pp. 5-14.

¹²³Sumanta Benerjee *Dangerous Outcast: The Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1998, p. 144.

¹²⁴*Ibid*, p. 142.

¹²⁵*Ibid*, p. 146.

only the male and not the female children of prostitutes would be admitted. It was believed that female children would contaminate the class room and other 'respectable' people would not send their children to the school. As female education was anyway in poor shape, the admission of these girls would further hamper the progress of female education. People who supported the admission of boys of prostitutes argued that 'Boys of this class will have less knowledge and be subject to less temptation than their sisters, because they are less behind the scenes of their home life.' Their education will change their status and help them to live respectful lives. For instance Pandit Ajudhia Parshad, Ilaqadar of Indarpur in a memorial to government said that - "The sons of prostitutes have been received in government and branch schools and colleges without question, and on equality with other boys; they do not injure the morals of the sons of respectable parents, and their education is sure to produce good results. They will very likely try to put a stop to the disgraceful profession practiced in their families." But he opposed the education of the daughters of prostitutes. He argued that '...they would contaminate their school-fellows, and their entry into Government schools would most injuriously affect the cause of female education at present in its infancy in this country.'¹²⁶ It was argued that the presence of girl child of a prostitute's daughter will affect the other high caste girls' moral in the class room.

Print media's view was divided on the issue. On the one hand, the *Almorah Akhbar* opposed the education of the daughters of dancing girls but the admission of sons of dancing girls to the government and aided schools was approved, since many men who were sons of dancing girls, had become 'good members of society' through education.¹²⁷ On the other hand *Agra Akhbar* approved the education of children of prostitutes on the ground that would help them to hate the degraded trade of their mother. While the education of sons of dancing girls was being approved to the schools which were opened for respectable classes but being criticized the education of daughters of dancing girls in the same schools as girls of 'respectable' classes.¹²⁸ There were some newspapers such as *Bharat Bandhu* suggested opening up separate

¹²⁶*Proceeding of Government of India of the Education in the Home Department for the year 1879*, p. 322.

¹²⁷*Almorah Akhbar*, 1st April, 1879, Received up to 5th April, pp. 274-75, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

¹²⁸*Agra Akhbar*, received up to 15th March 1879, p. 208, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

schools for dancing girls.¹²⁹ While *Nasimi Agra* suggested that in India, dancing girls had free access to Hindu temples as well as Muslim mosques unlike lower castes. On the occasions of marriage they sat together with other caste groups. Therefore, there were no reasons which will enforce respectable people to object sitting with girls/boys of dancing girls at government schools.¹³⁰

It was a general feeling among intelligentsia that education of children of prostitutes would harm the sexuality of 'respectable' (upper caste and upper class) women and would demoralize them. Brij Nath, pleader of Moradabad, wrote an article on the admission of education of dancing girls in the newspaper *Nairang Mazamin*. He disapproved the admission of both girl and boys of dancing girls. He argued that habits and conduct of the daughters of dancing girls even at the age of nine and ten differed from girls of respectable classes, and their contact will hamper the female education.

Elementary education would polish their language skills, and they will utilize in their trade rather than improve their morals. On the other hand, he argued that after getting an education, the sons of dancing girls would not be able to earn a livelihood. Their education would harm the upper or respectable classes of society as sons of dancing girls would visit the house of their upper-class fellow. Their visits were considered threaten to morals of mothers or daughters of upper castes houses as they might fall in love with them. He wanted to impart to morals of upper caste boys and girls, to prevent the sexuality of upper caste women from the lower caste men too.¹³¹

It was not only the issue of protecting the sexuality of upper caste women but also of maintaining caste and class structure of the society. Education of dancing girls and low castes came together and was equalized to each other. It was not just an issue of providing an education but also the danger of relaxing caste hierarchy and the entry of lower castes into the employment of public service. An newspaper like *Oudh Akhbar* advocated only elementary education to the children of dancing girls and other

¹²⁹*Bharat Bhandhu*, received up to 22nd February, 1879, p. 149, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

¹³⁰*Nasimi Agra*, Tri-Monthly Urdu Newspaper, Received up to 5th September, 1878, pp. 779-80, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

¹³¹*The Nairang Mazamin*, a monthly magazine of Muthura, received up to 15th March, 1879, pp. 247-49, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

members of the low classes. It was argued that if the government provided them high education, they would consider themselves for high appointments in the public services and if government excluded them from appointments at the high posts, they would be dissatisfied. If the government appointed them, it would 'aggrieve the hearts of the higher classes to see men of low-class rule over them.' It would not give them employment but affected upper caste. *Oudh Akhbar* also mentioned that the Government wished to win the 'good will of higher classes' and thus promoted their interests. These higher classes/castes complained to the colonial rule to not extend the education among lower castes. Therefore the editor of *Oudh Akhbar* suggested to provide only primary education to lower castes so that their complaints could be removed and introduce only primary education to remove their complaints¹³² This debate showed the dual standards of morality set by the society. No threat was perceived to the morality of class fellows if sons of prostitutes were admitted to the school while girls were particularly vulnerable to the 'contagion' of non-domestic sexuality.

Wilmot Lane, Commissioner of the Rae Bareilly division wrote to the Secretary of the NWP and Oudh that colonel J. Perkins (Deputy Commissioner), Mr. W. C. Wood (Deputy Commissioner) and Major C. S. Noble (Assistant Commissioner) favored the admission of prostitute's daughters and sons to the schools, while Captain E. E. Grigg (Assistant Commissioner) favored only the admission of boys from that group. He explained that most 'Natives, Officials and Non- Officials' were against the admission of the daughters of prostitutes, though they did not object to the admission of boys, and those who favored admission of children of such women without restriction of sex or age, argued that '...government schools are public institutions open to all comers, and they argued that if sons of *Chamars* and such like are admitted, why should exception be made in this one particular case?'.¹³³

Similarly, Shiv Prasad, who made important contributions in the field of education, wrote to the government of North- Western Provinces and Oudh on 15th March 1879, Benares, that the word 'prostitute' was vague and difficult to define. He gave an

¹³²*Oudh Akhbar*, Received up to 22nd February, 1879, pp. 148-49, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

¹³³*Proceeding of Government of India of the Education in the Home Department for the year 1879*, pp. 323-24.

insightful example of a wealthy man in Benares who had a son by a prostitute, but he had got the son married to the daughter of a Nawab connected with the ex- king of Oudh and the boy moved in the best society. He said that it would be a great pity if the admission of such boys will be forbidden in the public educational institutions. He said that he knew many Muslims who got married to prostitutes and had children by them. He asserted that ‘Many a shah and Nawab in India may be found born of a prostitute. Will it be advisable to close our schools against the sons of a great talukdar in Oudh, or that of a jam in Kattyawar?’¹³⁴

He further said that the Hindus expressed less objection to the admission of low caste boys such as *doms*, *chamars*, *bhars*, *pasis*, *mehters* etc., than to the children of prostitutes, provided they were in good circumstances.¹³⁵ There were instances in the literature of U. P where women were advised to get knowledge from the lower castes and enemies too. The author of the book, ‘Stri Hitoupdesh’, Munshi Dwarka Prasad Attar asked women to take keen interest in learning and Education. If they faced some problems in learning, they should take help of others. He said that:

*Padhne mein jahan na samjhe kisi se puchne mein na lajjaye, apne pati se padhe, putra se puche, ya aur koi apna chota ya nich kul ka bhi ho toh ussey bhi sikhne mein sankoch na kare. Kaha hai ki gunh, vidya, sunder vachan, aur acche aachar nich, balak ya satru se bhi mile toh grahan karna chahiye.*¹³⁶

(If she is not able to understand anything she should ask her husband and her son or anybody younger to her or may be from a person belonging to lower class. There is a saying that one should not hesitate in seeking good values, knowledge and behavior even from a person of lower caste).

In this quotation, the author asks women to take the help of even the lower castes to enhance their learning. Still the use of words like ‘nich’ showed the contempt towards the lower castes. At the same time, there were heated debates about the virtues of not admitting the girl children of prostitutes to the public schools in order to preserve morality. While the prostitutes’ son would not bear the traces of their female

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 332.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 332.

¹³⁶ Prasad Attar, *Stri Hitopedesh*, p. 31.

parentage, and would therefore benefit from education, girls always carried the stigma of their mothers' profession.

There were those who argued for a neutrality in these issues: Shiv Prasad voiced the opinion that such questions should be left entirely to the judgment of the teachers. Teachers as well as head masters should keep away from those boys whose admission could affect the popularity of the institution.¹³⁷ It was finally left to the district and local bodies of education to decide on the basis of circumstances and merit. But this question highlighted the biases which crept into the education of boys and girls in the larger interests of preserving the morality of schooling. Thus a prostitute's son could be admitted but not the daughter, as son unlike daughter, posed no threat to the moral environment of the school.

A similar question emerged and was discussed in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces during the 1930s regarding the rehabilitation and education of 'Naik girls' of Kumaun who were involved in prostitution. The government made a resolution to protect the Naik girls in 1927, but in 1932 it was still debated whether it should be implemented or not. This issue came up because Naik girls were considered a cause of spreading disease among other groups. They became a threat to the morality of the society.¹³⁸ In this discussion, some themes came up. A law was made to protect the girls who were involved in what was considered immoral trafficking. Moreover, the government formulated/passed an act for the upliftment of 'morally depressed' classes but the Act did not come into practice till five years later. In discussions of the Legislative Council, 'socially depressed' and 'morally depressed' classes were compared. It was argued by the members of the Council that if the government could make special provisions for the 'socially depressed classes', then the government could also provide for the moral upliftment through reformatory settlement and education of certain classes such as the Naiks of Kumaun. On the other hand, the government avoided the provision of funds till 1933 on the basis that the people did not take any interest to bring it into practice.

¹³⁷*Proceeding of Government of India of the Education in the Home Department for the year 1879*, p. 332.

¹³⁸'Naik Girl Protection United Provinces', file No, 2878, Proceeding no. 2745-2878, L/PJ/6/2946, 1927, Public and Judiciary Department, British Library, India Office Records, London, 1933.

Members like Babu Bhagwati Sahai Bedar¹³⁹ argued that:

They become prostitutes because 'of the custom prevalent among them and we have no right to abolish it as we have no right to force anybody to change his faith may it be even Bam Marga. So, if we force them to abandon their trade we should give them ample opportunities and time to let them settle in chaste life before they do so, so that they may not suffer and an orthodox Hindu who stands in need of such an institution should either become a Devta or find room for himself elsewhere and give up his orthodox humbug. If we do not do so, I warn this House that the reason which make a prostitute will be used as a means by unscrupulous and immoral people to dissuade household females from chastity and Pativarta Dharma.'¹⁴⁰

He did not want to stop prostitution among the Naik girls because, according to him, it would discourage house wives of upper castes from chastity and pativarta dharma. It was, in fact, argued that if prostitution was abandoned it would create disharmony in the households of upper caste. Bedar further argued that it was better to teach Naik girls singing and dancing as they were a source of entertainment. Their dance and singing would save the money which was spent on the cinema and theatre. It showed the mechanism of indigenous elites to make their own caste women 'moral'. Keeping distance from the prostitutes girls in the classroom was not enough but to let them continue in their profession so that their own high caste women could be moral.

Eventually, the government agreed to give rupees 15000 annually as budget allocation for the reformatory settlement and education of these Naik girls. But this discussion and intervention of upper caste men in the cause reflected the mindset of colonial officers and members of the Legislative Council who were predominately from the upper caste.

Conclusion:

This chapter is not only about religious/moral instruction but also about the effects of other people's presence in the morality of the classroom and school system. Moral

¹³⁹He listed the reasons which made woman a prostitute: 'Firstly, difficulty of finding employment. Secondly, excessive, laborious, and ill-paid work. Then thirdly harsh treatment to girls at home. Fourthly, indecent mode of living among the overcrowded poor; fifthly, the aggregation of people together in large communities and factories whereby the young are brought into contact with demoralized people. Sixthly, example of luxury, immoral literature, and the arts of profligate men and their agents.' He further said that that was true in respect of existing prostitutes. But the case of Naik girls was considered quite different. Public and Judiciary Department, 2745-2878, L/PJ/6/2946, 1927, File No, 2878, United Provinces, Naik Girls, Protection, 1933, BL, London.

¹⁴⁰'Naik Girls, Protection', Public and Judiciary Department, File Nno, 2878, Proceeding no. 2745-2878, L/PJ/6/2946, 1927, Public and Judiciary Department, United Provinces, Naik Girls, Protection, 1933, p. 9, BL, London.

instruction was introduced by the colonial educators to make the Indian subjects obedient and honest. Women in particular were educated in order to make them better and more efficient housewives and mothers. Education was necessary to make women 'modern' according to certain Victorian ideals, provide a good companionship to men while retaining the good traits of the devoted wife or 'pativarta' as it was perceived to have been the case in the Indian past. Furthermore, it was generally the upper caste and middle class people of the United Provinces who wrote on the necessity of imparting morals to women through education. Colonial officers' writings are silent on this question. The colonial policy was to make the education 'secular' or 'neutral', but in the case of women's education however, the content betrayed the strong influence of Brahmanism. The 'appropriate behaviour of women' was determined through the ancient religious texts. Textbooks which were written for women did not go beyond the urban and middle class perspective even if they were studied in rural areas. A caste and class bias is explicitly reflected in them. Voices and perspectives of the marginalised and minority communities such as Muslims, untouchables and lower castes were not taken into account by the colonial education system and its debates. They accepted the need for education for women in general, but it was full of moral tenets which were decided by the moral tone of the upper caste reformers and officers in colonial education offices. Control over the upper caste women's sexuality was the main agenda while low caste women and the women of untouchable castes were seen as embodying 'inappropriate behaviour' in comparison to the upper caste women.

The difference between the morality promoted by the colonial educational officials and the indigenous upper caste elite was based on the link between religion and morality. Colonial school textbooks understood morality as based on the general principle of 'moral' behavior while the indigenous elites who wrote didactic literature for women emphasized on morality that was prescribed in the sacred texts of religion. References of caste were seen in both notions of morality.

The question that emerges from this discussion is how successful the education of women was in realizing the ideals of the new discourse of 'upper caste and middle class morality'? Did Women's education actually affect the home and women themselves? These are questions that will be explored further.

CHAPTER- 4
EDUCATION AS
'MODERNIZING' OR
RECASTING THE HOME

Chapter 4

Education as 'Modernizing' or Recasting the Home

Women's Education in the United Provinces developed at its own pace, on one side, not only did women have moral obligations towards their homes but towards their community and society as well. By the late 18th century the emergence of infectious diseases were recognised by the Government and measures were adopted in the form of establishing 'lock hospitals' in Agra, Mathura and other parts of India.¹ The nineteenth century witnessed revival of indigenous medicines and gradual emergence of western medicine along new public welfare schemes. This new development pressurised colonial authorities to intervene and introduce new Sanitary and Hygiene measure among the people from 1880s onwards. In a significant departure the idea of cleanliness, hygiene and the importance of physical education that was limited to textbooks 1880s now began to be implemented in the society.

The Government believed that teaching domestic and personal hygiene to the Indian pupil would enable him 'to appreciate his duties both to himself, and family and also to his neighbours. Therefore, the Government wished to maintain school hygiene less to take care of pupils' health, and more to inculcate new ideas of hygienic: 'by the constant association of school life with order, cleanliness, good ventilation and general high standard of sanitation, the students may acquire both by practice and percept, a knowledge of value of such surrounding and be the better able to reach and maintain standard in his own home and vicinity.'²

The school curriculum incorporated personal and familial hygiene methods and women's education was also deeply affected by these developments. Women were taught about the importance of maintaining general hygiene of the family, such as new cleaning habits at home, keeping the child hygienic and healthy and precautions to be taken during pregnancy. The woman became the purveyor of cleanliness at home. Her role was to raise a healthy and sterile family which would in turn to leads to a healthy society.

¹ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, pp. 11-12.

² J.A. Turner & B.K. Goldsmith, *The Sanitation in India*, Bombay: The Times of India, 1922, p. 900.

This chapter will examine the uses of education in modernizing the home through instruction in sanitary and hygienic measures. What was the relation between hygiene and education? This chapter elaborates on the importance of the reforms taken by the colonial government to introduce ideas of what measures would ensure family health by focus on women. It will elucidate the role of Christian missionaries, and further the establish connection between caste, poverty, and hygiene. The training of midwifery played an important role in creating consciousness about western hygiene and sanitation in the home, as they had access to the homes of others. But on the other hand, the school as an institution was unable to teach personal hygiene, including measures for ensuring safe pregnancies, and providing hygienic child care as well as the plethora of literature, text, and manuals on domesticity that began to appear. One section of this chapter, therefore, explores the idea about hygiene that were more widely circulated, particularly among young adult females in manuals and texts that were not taught in the schools.

1. Defining ‘Hygiene’ and Health in Education

The history of scientific sanitation may be traced to the end of the nineteenth century. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1859 and completed its report in 1863, recommending the formation of Commissions of Public Health in the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. This step was taken largely in order to diminish the sickness in the army and for the betterment of the general population. The sanitary commissioners who were appointed in the provinces were later on integrated into the vaccination staff.³ In 1888, Lord Dufferin’s Government issued a resolution regarding the local bodies and village unions and their duties in the matter of sanitation. That resulted in the formation of sanitary boards in every province.⁴ In 1908, the government of India made an imperial grant of Rs. 30, 00, 000 annually to the local government. After that, Sanitation Department was created in 1910, which was a part of Home department before,⁵ later on in 1911 Indian Research Fund Association came

³*Indian Sanitary Policy*, 1914, Being a Resolution issued by the Governor General in Council on the 23rd May 1914, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914, p. 1.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid*, p. 3.

into existence. The President of this association was the in charge of the Education Department of the Indian Government.⁶

Before going into the relation between hygiene and education, one needs to understand what is 'Hygiene'? The term hygiene was derived from Hygieia, the name of the daughter of Esculapious, the God of Medicine of the ancient Greeks. Amongst these people, Hygieia was considered to be the Goddess of Health. The word sanitation comes from the Latin Sanitas, which is an attribute of health.⁷

Partick Hehir who worked as a Health Officer in municipalities of princely States for ten years wrote a book on 'Rudiments of Sanitation for Indian Schools' for both boys and girls during the 1880s. It was used as a textbook in schools of Southern India, the Deccan, and in some princely States. It become part of the curriculum for the middle class pupils (pre-matriculation) certificates examinations.⁸ Hehir also dealt with general Hygiene which consisted of issues such as Air, Ventilation, Ventilations of Schools, Water, composition of Water, Quantity of Water Required, Source of Water, How Water is rendered Impure, Physical Characters of Good Water, Purification of Water, Food, Classification of Foods, Nitrogenous, Proteid, or Albuminous Foods, Descripton of Nitrogenous Food, Milk &C., Human Excrement, Sewage, and Liquid Refuse, Dry-Refuse and its Removal, Drains and Drainage, the Houses and its Surroundings, and On light. The other section was on personal hygiene and dealt with questions such as cleanliness and structure of the skins, Exercise, clothing, and Bathing. And then he discussed diseases, injuries and accidents. He gave examples of spread of diseases such as scurvy, small pox, leprosy, plague etc which were limited by dealing with the causes of disease. Efforts to make arrangements for good ventilation, proper food, improved drainage, better sanitary measures were taken in order to remove these diseases. His approach was to 'extinguish the cause; the disease cannot come into existence.'⁹

⁶*Ibid*, p. 12.

⁷Patrick Hehir, *Rudiments of Sanitation for Indian Schools*, (Published under the directions of His Highness the Nizam's Educational Department), Bombay: Education Society Steam Press, Byculla, 1890, p. 7.

⁸Patrick Hehir, 'Sanitation in India', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, NO. 3287, December 29, 1923, P. 1276.

⁹Hehir, *Rudiments of Sanitation for Indian Schools*, pp. 8-11.

Similarly, Charles Banks, Superintendent of Emigration and Protector of Emigrants at the port of Calcutta wrote a manual for the upper schools in 1902. He described that the subject taught 'how to live, where to live, what food to eat and what to avoid, what water is safe to drink and what is dangerous and unfit for use.' He also highlighted the dangers of living in dingy, overcrowded and unhygienic houses. He stressed on the right kinds of clothes, exercises and the dangers of abusing narcotics. In short, this book was meant to teach pupils the rudiments of a sanitary and healthy life. He made a distinction between hygiene and sanitation. Sanitation 'public hygiene' was applied to the means taken to protect the health of the general public and not that of an individual. It dealt with such matters as the construction of the house; the making and cleaning of roads, drains, sewers, latrines, stables, and cattle-sheds; the disposals of all kinds of refuse in towns and villages; the supply of water and prevention of pollution of water and air, and the adulteration of food supplies. Public health also dealt with notification of infectious disease, the measures needed to prevent them from spreading, and the registration of birth and deaths.'¹⁰

But these ideas and sanitary efforts were limited to children of the town and could not reach the rural areas. The *Bharat Bandhu*, an Aligarh complained about the neglect of sanitary arrangements in the interior of the country. The local gentry, including *Zamindars* and *Patwaris*, could be given responsibility to take care of the cleanliness of villages. A good *vaid* or a doctor needed to be appointed in every village that must have medicines.¹¹

The proposed measures for sanitary improvement were completely based on European understandings of sanitation. For instance, Mulraj who wrote the first primer on Practical Hygiene for the use of Indian schools and the general public in the United Provinces.¹² It was about the chief sanitary defects of Indian towns and village and means of remedying those defects. It was an elementary treatise on practical hygiene.

¹⁰Charles Banks, *Manual of Hygiene for use in India, Superintendent of Emigration and Protector of Emigrants at the Port of Calcutta*, London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1902, pp. 1-2. This book was meant for upper class schools in India.

¹¹*Bharat Bhadhu*, Aligarh, Received up to 15th April, 1880, p. 381, See, *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and central Provinces*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1880. Hereafter, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

¹²Mulraj, *A Sanitary Primer being at, Elementary Treatise on Practical Hygiene for use of Indian schools and General Public*, Allahabad: Victoria Press, 1879.

The primer was entirely a compilation based on the 'Manual of Practical Hygiene' by Dr. Parkes. Mulraj's work used European texts on hygiene and public Health. He began his introduction to the primer with how the mortality rate was reduced in England due to work on the development of health policy and sanitation science. The aim of the science of hygiene was to prevent disease, preserve health and prolong life.¹³

Mulraj also discussed the several themes such as Air, Water, Food, Soil, and Excreta etc. Themes were divided into subhead which discussed not only categories and forces in natural life, but also included practical measures. He explained sanitary measures through these themes to pupils so that they could learn theory of Hygiene and practice it in their lives. The tone of the text was prescriptive; it did not necessarily include local examples nor did it discuss local conditions, i.e. the availability of water, at length. He provided theoretical knowledge about usage, practices and preventions to make the surroundings sanitised. Since language of the text was largely scientific, it was meant for elder pupils who were sitting for the matriculation examination.

Percival C. Wren's textbook on the 'Health of Indian High School', was meant for boys of a higher class. The first page established a link between dirt and darkness to disease and death and which was exaggerated by ignorance and superstitions. In the text, he wrote more about the physical attributes of the human being and how to prevent diseases.¹⁴ These texts were mostly meant for higher school boys and related to problems they faced and did not focus on problems related to women such as child care, pregnancy and menstruation as women's education was limited to primary levels and very few women in United Provinces were given the opportunity to pursue middle and higher level of education in the nineteenth century.

Besides these texts, instances of unhygienic conditions of schools and children were reported from time to time. For instance, newspapers such as *The Qaiser-ul-Akhbar*, Allahabad, of 11th April, 1871, reported the lack of latrines and rise in diseases in the

¹³*Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴Percival C. Wren, *A Health Reader for Indian High Schools*, London: Macmillan and Co, 1912. (In India- Calcutta: East Bengal Press).

schools and cited the example of the Normal school and boarding house at Benares who had to go to a latrine situated at the distance of one mile from a school to satisfy the call of nature.¹⁵ Government did not take some concrete steps in 1911 when the 'First All Indian Sanitary Conference' was organised that emphasized on educational hygiene although the lessons of hygiene were already incorporated in the existing readers.

The First All-India Sanitary Conference was held at Bombay on 13th and 14th November 1911, and several papers were read about the difficulties of carrying out measures for the improvement of public health. More focus was paid to ignorance of the people and their resistance to government initiatives. It was repeatedly proclaimed that both the educated and uneducated Indians were apathetic towards and ignorant of sanitation. The blame was not squarely put on the Government.¹⁶ This convention highlighted and emphasized on the relationship between education and sanitation and the role of people's support was needed to make the efforts successful.¹⁷ At the end of the conference it was decided that a sufficient number of the school buildings needed to be constructed it was decided that a sufficient number of the school buildings needed to be constructed on model plan by the Government that should also pay the salaries of the teachers. The schools were proposed to be constructed on a sanitation model, with ventilation and a good playground which in turn would help in propagating sanitary measures.

Once again in the year 1913, a committee was set up in Nainital especially for hygiene and sanitation in Indian Schools and colleges. The Government of India suggested new measures to be taken for hygiene in all schools whether Government, aided, European schools or factory schools. Committee recommended Measures which took in the future construction of schools, as well as for improving existing conditions. Schools were supposed to be designed keeping in mind the provision of proper lighting, ventilations, and adequate individual space per pupils (12 squares feet per pupil in primary and middle schools and 15 square feet for high school).

¹⁵*Qaiser-ul- Akhbhar*, Received up to 15th April, 1880, p. 271, See *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

¹⁶*The First All-India Sanitary Conference held at Bombay on 13th and 14th November 1911*, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912, p. 145.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

Provisions were made to be made for a *verandah*, latrines and urinals, with due attention to the arrangement of playgrounds in towns for play such as *desi kusrat* etc., (which was considered unnecessary in villages). Suggestions for gymnasia, water supply, and appropriate furniture (such as mats in primary schools) were also made.¹⁸ There were separate arrangements made for boarding houses. The Committee also suggested the teaching of hygiene as a school text. And five lessons for class III and 6 for class IV were proposed to be added in the school syllabus.¹⁹

These sanitary measures were undertaken because the Government felt that the current system of education was adversely affecting the health of pupils. For instance, the report on hygiene mentioned that poor lighting in school rooms and the defective printing of textbooks had combined to effect eye-sight of pupils. Necessary arrangements for the supply of water in the school, including well and latrine arrangements were recommended for all primary schools whether day or boarding schools.²⁰ The following certificate was issued which was signed by Inspector after inspecting the school.

“I hereby declare that I have inspected the School building and premises on the and certify that the accommodation provided for each of several classes is sufficient for the maximum number of pupils taught therein, and is properly ventilated and lighted; that the building is maintained in substantial repair; that it is neat and clean; that the latrine arrangements are adequate and satisfactory; that the supply of drinking water is wholesome; and that in all other necessary respects the sanitation is good.’

Station-----
Dated-----
Signature-----

¹⁸ ‘Report of the Committee on Educational Hygiene’, File no 341/1913, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, pp. 1-3.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 9.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 12.

The Committee also recommended the periodical medical inspection of pupils to 'prevent from contagious and infectious diseases, and would frequently lead to the timely treatment of defects, deformities, and diseases, before these had reached an incurable stage.'²¹In 1912, it was found that the school populations of the United Provinces for about 700,000, pupils there were only 16,000 schools. This came to an average of about 330 schools and 15,000 pupils per district. Major Graham, officer at Indian Medical Service found that, under the best possible circumstances, with everything arranged for him, it took at least 18 days to examine scholars, assess quinine doses, &C. For 8,650 scholars in the Aligarh and Meerut districts during his quininization experiment there, i. e. and average 480 scholars daily. That plan was not feasible. Then it was recommended that the district sanitary officer be given the responsibility to inspect all high and middle schools and all boarding houses once a year. But primary schools were inspected only once in two or three years.²² The form of inspection contained remarks made by the inspector on the site.²³

The Government noted that during and after the rains in the United Provinces, there was a reduction in the attendance at schools, due to malaria, so the committee approved the medical inspection of children, and school children were given quinine.²⁴ Similarly the committee opined that the overload of study material affected the health of pupils injuriously. The unhygienic conditions, unsystematic and irregular work throughout the session, and the uneven distribution of the workload especially during examinations, the undue length of continuous instruction, and the burden of home work.²⁵ The number of school working hours was fixed for every class and a five minutes break was given between two periods. Three hours were fixed for preparatory school, hour and half hours for primary schools, and five hours for middle and higher schools.²⁶ Besides this, home lesson hours for the health of pupils were discussed and lower primary and preparatory sections were exempted, and while the upper primary were given one hours, lower middle pupils- one and half hours, upper

²¹*Ibid*, p. 75.

²²*Ibid*, p. 76.

²³*Ibid*, p. 76 Annexe.

²⁴*Ibid*, p. 78.

²⁵*Ibid*, p. 79.

²⁶*Ibid*, p. 80.

middle class pupils were given home work of 2 hours and high section pupils were given home work of 2 to 3 hours.²⁷

Physical exercises were made compulsory for all students. The comfortable clothing such as types of a 'banian' and football 'shorts' were recommended for boys. Physical drill was found suitable for lower sections of school while pupils of higher sections were provided organised system of physical exercises to improve their physiques.²⁸ The committee favoured organised games, such as cricket, football, hockey, rounders, etc., being encouraged in all schools and grants were provided for supply of these apparatus.

Hygiene was taught to pupils not only through the text but through practice it in the schools. Teachers were asked to show what they preach. Teachers were ordered to be 'tidy and clean in their person, clothing, punctual and orderly in their work, and of good moral character.' Teaching of hygiene and its application in everyday lives to teachers was considered most important.²⁹ In order to prevent increasing burden of new text, lessons on hygiene were also incorporated in existing readers.³⁰

After 1913, new and stringent steps were taken to implement some of the recommendation of the Sanitation committee. But the actual implementation in favour of moral and sexual proscriptions rather than focussing centrally on questions of personal and public hygiene. The morality and health was being linked. The pupils were excluded from the school if they came to school in a dirty condition. A Government circular banned the spitting in the public building. Notices were put up in every class room and boarding homes prohibiting spitting. The DPI of U.P. sent a circular to all Inspectors of schools, recommending that school teachers explain the evils of indulging in smoking other drugs such as opium, cocaine, Indian hemp, and alcohol at early age. The question of health was looked at through controlling the morality of pupils. Schools were asked to supervise the sale of hawkers food outside the school. The Committee further recommended the exclusion of married boys from all classes below IX and X as these pupils were more prone to sexual activities.

²⁷*Ibid*, p. 81.

²⁸*Ibid*, p. 82.

²⁹*Ibid*, pp. 81-83.

³⁰*Ibid*, pp. 83-84.

Interestingly, the committee also recommended to take actions to stop the 'self abuse' of pupils, and the sale of pornographic literature and its usage was banned among pupils in day and boarding schools.³¹

In 1914, The Secretary of Government, U.P. ordered to DPI of U.P. to make arrangements for some of the suggestions, including the provision of mats in primary schools, printing of books, and playgrounds for town school.³² He confirmed that bad lighting and badly printed text books were main curses of the Government schools of the provinces. He wanted to make effort to remedying it. S.P. Donnell was Secretary of Government of United Provinces. Further notices were given to Inspector, Inspectress and other officers of United Provinces who were connected to education. Textbooks were printed again and physical exercises were started.³³

2. Girls' Schools and Hygiene

The question of hygiene was introduced in the girls' schools with some modification and differences. Miss Stuart, Chief Inspectress of girls' schools of United Provinces gave evidence to the hygiene committee of United Provinces and commented on contemporary state of girls' school hygiene. On the question of a curricular overload, she recommended 5 minutes breaks and a break for half an hour in the daytime in all schools especially in mission schools where girls used to work for two and half hours continuously and children had proper food before going into schools. Stuart recommended that girls should not be asked to do home lessons as curriculum itself was heavy.³⁴ On the question of physical education she explained to the committee of 1913:

Organized games are only found in a few boarding schools. Drill is carried out in a few boarding schools and also in a few of the larger day schools. The girls have to be continually supervised, or they would not take any exercises at all. They must be spurred on. The teachers cannot be depended on to take an interest in exercises, and these cannot be made compulsory owing to the objections of the parents, who associate with them the idea of the nautch. Singing would be objected to by some parents. The witness thinks the present time premature for taking any further action to encourage physical exercise or drill for girls. Personal encouragement is all that is necessary at present. The witness thinks that if play-grounds on a proper scale were provided, this would make a beginning in the direction of encouraging exercises. The witness does not think that inertia of teachers and scholars is sufficient reason for not undertaking the

³¹*Ibid*, pp. 85-86.

³²*Ibid*, p. 127.

³³*Ibid*, 63-64.

³⁴*Ibid*, p. 102.

provisions of playgrounds, which, in the opinion of the witness recommends swings being provided in playgrounds. Badminton might also be provided in the larger schools, and mistresses should encourage the girls to play this game. Exercises should only be introduced cautiously.³⁵

Therefore, compulsory physical training was not recommended for girls, but teachers were asked to encourage girls to play games during their recreation hours, and in higher schools such organized games as badminton, basket ball, tennis, &c., were recommended, though games were not made compulsory. The Committee sanctioned the provision of swings in the playground.³⁶ The Chief Inspectress further explained to the Committee that in the preparatory and lower primary sections, three hours of schools per day was quite sufficient instead of the existing four hours. She found the existed curriculum too heavy for girls in the upper sections, and suggested extension of one scholastic year in the case of girls. The mission schools did not find favour either, since she found that pupils worked straight on for two and a half hours with a break. Other dissatisfactions were expressed about the fact that latrines were inadequate, and a strong recommendation was made to insist that children ate their breakfast before coming to schools.³⁷

The medical inspection of schools was a problem, since men were not usually preferred and there were more demands for women Medical Inspectors for Hindu and Muslim girls' hostels. Various resolutions to the shortage of female inspectors were suggested: women could be warned of approaching males; the Inspectress could complete sanitary inspection and experts could be called in if there were emergencies. Most objects came from the *parda* schools, but inspections were resented even when it was done by women. Medical inspection in small schools where *parda* was not observed, was not objectionable as Chief Inspectress claimed.³⁸

Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad Varma said in the 'Third All India Sanitary Conference,' 1914, that in the United Provinces there was no regular medical examination, for

³⁵*Ibid*, pp. 102-03.

³⁶*Ibid*, p. 82.

³⁷*Ibid*, pp. 102-03.

³⁸*Ibid*.

which lady doctors were required.³⁹ Similarly, Sharkeshwari Agha who wrote a pamphlet on women's education in United Provinces in 1933 also had the same view regarding medical inspection. She wrote that:

Yearly medical inspection of girls at school should be made compulsory. In towns it should not be difficult to arrange for it, if a system offering honoraria to suitable medical practitioners is adopted. They can also act as medical advisors to schools. For schools situated in rural areas it will be difficult to provide these facilities, but medical men from towns can be induced to pay occasional visits to these schools. Moreover, the possibility of using the medical and sanitary staff of district boards for this purpose should be carefully studied. The practitioners in the indigenous system should also be utilised where necessary. With the help of these two supplementary sources of medical officers for schools it should be possible to devise a suitable system of medical inspection. The arrangement will not be of much use unless adequate facilities for the treatment of ailments detected in the course of inspection are also provided. Following the arrangement existing in England, wherever medical inspection of children is made in India, the school authorities take no interest in the 'follow-up' work. We need not copy English custom in this respect. The school medical officers should treat all ordinary cases and should help parents to secure proper medical help for the more serious ones.⁴⁰

Parents of girls were averse to the introduction of physical education. For good health, both physical education and hygiene were linked together. But likewise boys' normal schools, outline of hygiene was taught in the Normal Schools for girls but while physical education was optional.⁴¹ Moni Mohan Bos wrote a pamphlet, *Female Education in India* in 1924 and suggested that the Government of United Provinces make arrangements for lessons on hygiene and sanitation, treatment of common ailments and accidents, nursing the sick, needlework including cutting and making of Indian garments, physical exercises, culinary art, music and painting, kitchen and flower gardening, etc. All these should be part of girls school curriculum.⁴²

Mrs Constance Pelly from Gorakhpur, who taught in girls' schools several years, suggested that provision should be made for suitable games, particularly team games, such as basket ball and volley ball which were played by many girls of mission schools. She also linked with health and physical education and recommended that properly supervised and conducted games could be helpful in building a good

³⁹*East India (Sanitary) Proceedings of the Third All-India Sanitary conference held at Lucknow in January, 1914, and Resolution of the Government of India on Sanitation in India*, London: Majesty Stationery Office, 1914, p. 94.

⁴⁰Sharkeshwari Agha, *Some Aspects of the Education of Women in the United Provinces*, with a Forward by C.Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor of the Leader, Late Minister of Education, United Provinces, Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1933, pp. 23-24.

⁴¹*The Educational Code of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1917, Allahabad: Superintendent of Government Printing (United Provinces), 1917, p. 58.

⁴²Moni Mohan Bos, *Female Education in India*, with Forewords by Miss Mary Forester and Raja Sir Harnam Singh Aluhwalia, Dehradun: Caxton Printing Bureau, 1924, p. 18.

physique and as well as the character of girls. Lessons on hygiene and sanitation were already included in the curriculum of girls school, but she suggested very special attention should be given to the training of child welfare, i.e, especially in the management of infants from birth upon upwards, from the mental, moral and physical point of view. She wrote 'The child's whole further development depends much upon the training given during its earliest years, but until the future mothers of India are themselves trained and taught it cannot be expected that they should bring up their children intelligently, nor can India take her rightful place among the counties of the world so long as her girls and women are allowed to remain uneducated and underdeveloped.'⁴³

In her pamphlet, Sharkeshwari Agha suggested that education in domestic science was important for women to be trained for home life. In the lower middle stage, domestic science was already compulsory, but it was not emphasised much and the course was not comprehensive enough. For the vernacular schools, there was demand among parents to include physiology, home nursing and care of children, elementary principles of nutrition and dietetics, household management and home decoration in addition to hygiene, sewing and cooking which were parts of the curriculum for girls schools in U.P., since girls in many rural families also took part in the work of the farm and household. She also suggested that women be taught rural civics so that they could understand their socio-cultural environment.⁴⁴ To accommodate such extra subject, pupils could be relieved from some of more literary subjects. For instance, there was little use for history, so it could be combined with civics. The introduction of training in cottage industries and handicrafts could relieve girls from classical language and drawing.⁴⁵

Agha talked about the defects of the teacher training programme. Among the defects she mentioned was complete ignorance of domestic science, and had to be introduced as a subject. While parda was declared 'harmful' to health, women teachers were enjoined to talk about the physical development and health of the child and aspects of

⁴³*Ibid*, p. 72.

⁴⁴Agha, *Some Aspects of the Education of Women in the United Provinces*, p. 10.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, pp.10-11.

child personality. These were facilities that were unavailable in the United Provinces.⁴⁶

Despite these recommendations, physical education and medical inspection were not introduced fully to girl's schools until the 1930. In the Hartog Commission (1929), Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, a member of the legislative council and President of Women Indian Association, wrote a note on condition of women's education. She wrote that:

Physical Education and medical inspection: It is indeed most unfortunate that medical inspection of schools children has not yet found a recognised place in the girls' schools programme. The excuse that no lady doctor is available for that work does not hold good in our Presidency where a sufficient number are unemployed and when the Minister of Education was questioned why it has not yet been introduced in the girls' schools, he pleaded financial difficulty. Its value in the prevention of diseases and arrest of serious and disabling ailments later-on in one's life has not yet been realised to the fullest extent both by school authorities and the public; so also its educative purpose to the pupils and to the community. Through medical inspection, we know that medical and sanitary science will be made applicable to the every day life of the pupils, the findings of medical inspection, the study of the school and the home environments and the advice and warning given both to the parents and teachers will surely go a great way to teach the community on the right method of living and thus would lay the foundation of a healthy manhood and womanhood of the country. Nay more than that, even the assimilation of scientific ideas in such an early impressionable age will surely help in eradication of many of our pernicious social habits and practices as Purdah, early marriage and sanctified vice which have sapped the vigour and vitality of the nation. While Physical culture has been introduced has been introduced as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum of boys' schools, the fact that the needs of girls' schools have been totally ignored in some of the provinces, cannot be passed without comment.⁴⁷

Now the question emerged why hygiene became important for girls. While the introduction of medical inspection and physical education was only reluctantly added, the knowledge of hygiene and sanitation was considered very important for women.

Women were considered as agents who purveyed a sense of hygiene to the home. The education of women could improve the morals as well as the sanitation of the home, allowing children to grow up in a healthy environment.⁴⁸ The importance of hygiene and cleanliness was understood even before the government started to pay attention to

⁴⁶*Ibid*, p. 23.

⁴⁷Hartog Collection, 'Notes and Memoranda on the Growth of Women's Education in India', August 1928-29. Manuscript no EW 221/51 Memorandum on Women's Education by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, European Manuscript, BL, London, pp. 7-8 .

⁴⁸Moni Mohan Bos, *Female Education in India*, pp. 7-8.

hygiene and sanitation in the schools. Ramprasad Tiwari wrote a textbook in 1871, for girls schools and got an award from the Government. He wrote for the girls that-

‘Sunahu puchiyo vachan hamare, Manahu jo hit haoi tumarhe!’
‘Uthi ke vastra pahin jal leke, thaai nishchint shauch vidhi kaikai!!’
‘Hath pavan muh dhovo aacha, Vimal sarir karahu man swachh!’
‘Malin sarir ratn nahin pave, Jo sab rogan ko upjaave!!’
‘Swachh vimal tan rakhat joi, banke kabhu rog nahin hoi!’
‘Malin vasan aaru malin sarir, malin geh upjavat pira!!’
‘Yate malin karm kari duri, hou suta gun vidya puri!’
‘Malin swabhav haot sisu joi, taake naam rakhat sab koi!!’
‘Jo balak ho vimal swabhava, sui pavitra sab ke mann bhava!’
‘Nirmal jal so kari asnana, swachh vastra pahino mann mana!!’
‘Jo tumare ghar bane rasoi, ruche ke sath kahu tum soi!’
‘Soi aahar tu utamm kahlave, Jo apne ghar mein bani aave!!’
‘Par bhojan lakhi janim machlabahu , nahin baatein kahu hoat nibhahu!’⁴⁹

(He is addressing the girls about the benefits of maintaining day to day hygiene. He talks of the relation between clean body and pure mind; how dirty habits leads to diseases; for instance, wearing dirty clothes can contaminate food prepare in the kitchen- putting home made food above that available commercially; above all how a shabbily dress girl is mocked by the society for her dirty habits. He concludes by saying girls education is complete only when she learns these good habits.)

The author was giving instruction for the welfare of girls. He mentioned two important things in this stanza- 1. Cleanliness of body, purity of character (be virtuous) or cleanliness of behaviour. He gave importance to both bodily and soul cleanliness. Not only the body but thoughts should also be clean, only that could make a girl perfect for the home and control her mind from immoral thoughts.

As early as 1899, the Sanitary Commissioner of India had observed that no less than 88 per cent of the total number of women in India between the ages of 15 and 29 were shown in the census of 1891 to be married. A large numbers of still childbirths were ascribed to the youthful age of mothers, the unhealthy sanitary conditions in which they lived, and the physical labour they were called upon to endure during pregnancy. It suggested that marriage should not take place until the body was fully developed. Otherwise, it was impossible for the offspring to be strong and healthy or for the race to be anything but feeble. Early marriage was considered dangerous for the health of

⁴⁹Ramprasad Tiwari, *Sutaprabodh*, Allahabad: Government Printing, 1871, p. 2.

women.⁵⁰ Side by side value of hygiene and health for mother and child was taught to them.

Domestic Economy was a subject which was taught to girls in the place of physical education. Pandit Janardan Joshi, who was Deputy Collector in one of the province in U.P. wrote a book on domestic management for girls. He defined domestic management as an art, which enabled women to manage the home and nourish family while preventing sickness at very low cost.⁵¹ He included themes like *Kasrat* (physical exercises), clothing (according to weather), Insects, nourishment of a children, when to save money, extravagences on marriages, harms of taking loans, how to control the heart and anti-alcohol in domestic economy. Some of the issues of hygiene were included in the primer of the domestic economy itself.

Similarly, Pandit Tara Dutt wrote a textbook in 1899, advising girls to stay tidy and hygienic to be healthy. Healthy children were considered as intelligent as English children.⁵² Hygiene was considered important for the character, intelligent, purity of character but a different perspective comes when we see zenana schools textbooks prescribed for women.

Zenana missionaries prescribed textbooks in their mission schools (1869) which mentioned that *Rog ek aisi buri vastu hai ush ke dwara se hamara sara bal shrin ho jata hai aur hamein hamare kutumbo aur partivasiyo par mano ek dukh aur kalesh ka bhoj kar deta hai.*⁵³ (Disease is a hazardous thing which takes every strength and gives sorrow to our family members.) The zenana mission's textbook showed the prevalent notion among the society that sickness was result of divine anger. For example, small pox erupted due to the unhappiness of *Sitala Mata*, Hulkirog occurred because of witches. The missionaries insisted that nothing could happen without the permission and rule of God, but always work with intelligence and kindness. It was

⁵⁰Charles Banks, *Manual of Hygiene for use in India*, London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1902, pp. 121-22.

⁵¹Pandit Janardan Joshi, *Grih Praband Sastra*, Prayag: Abhudyay Press, 1918, p. 5.

⁵²Pandit Tara Dutt, *Hitopdesh*, Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1899. He worked as Deputy Inspector of Kumaun region Schools.

⁵³*Ratn Mala, artharth Striyo ke Grih Sambandhi Karm aur Balako ko Uchhit Reeti Shiksha Nirmit Pustak*, Allahabad: The Christian Vernacular Education Society (Mission Press), 1869, p. 3. It was used in zenana Schools.

suggested that God does not punish without any reason. If one get sickness it was considered that he/she did anything against God's wish.⁵⁴

While knowledge of domestic cleanliness was considered important for women, it was in order that they might handle domestic households. Some of the women such as Srimati Jyotimayi Thakur and Yasoda Devi wrote on domestic issues, health, and rules that should be known to every woman. The health of women for the home, and for the beauty of character, became important issue in the 1920s especially in urban areas. Srimati Jyotimayi Thakur connected beauty with good health.⁵⁵ According to her, beauty depended on good health, since women who were healthy were considered beautiful while negligence of hard work or laziness was considered main cause of ugliness of body. It was mentioned that Rural women had good physiques because they worked hard while urban women did not. Illness and bad surroundings of living (not airy and sunny) also make women sick. She suggested beauty could be attained through health and for good health, one should work hard physically, and good food, good thoughts, cleanliness of body, heart and character were considered important.⁵⁶ She also focused on kinds of exercise that could make the body healthy.

3. Caste, Poverty and the Question of Hygiene

All European methods of hygiene and sanitation were based on western medicine. Even though the Indians had their own ways of maintaining private and public hygiene standard. Their standards of hygiene and sanitation were linked but rather included the transformation of rituals, ideas of caste hierachies, and class. People were accustomed to Indigenous standards of hygiene, so it was difficult to accept European standard of hygiene. Colonial sanitary measures were limited to urban areas and could not reach to rural areas. Rural areas remained backward in education and averse these improvements. That was one of the reason that forced the education department to make provisions for the education of pupils in rural areas on the question of hygiene.

⁵⁴*Ibid*, p. 5.

⁵⁵Srimati Jyotimayi Thakur, *Navyutiyo ko kya janana chahiye: Navyutiyo ke Jiwan mein Nitya Kaam mein Aanewali Vividh Prakar ki Baateion ki Jaankari ke liye Sarvotam Pustak*, Prayag: Sahitya Mandir, 1934, p. 25.

⁵⁶*Ibid*, pp. 43-47.

B.B. Mukherjee, who was part of co-operation, and rural welfare movement in India, wrote a book and established connections between the sanitation and education. He said that:

It is not merely a case of improvement in rural sanitation as to how to prevent the outbreak of epidemics, as to how to keep down the rate of plague mortality. It is not merely a case of the improvement of the breed of cattle, the milking and working capacity. It is first and last a case of education, education not in the sense of gathering a mass of rural culture, which helps to maintain its innate beauty and simplicity and which helps to withstand this invasion of an urban culture which is quite foreign to its ideal. This education, if properly planned and executed will infuse strength and purity in village life and will bring about a revival of the village community, whose disintegration we are all mourning.⁵⁷

He further suggested that people must themselves have the desire to make effective use of the result and to improve their general education. Education should be fit in with village life. Education for the villages should be which could strive their self-improvement of villages.⁵⁸

Mr. Moti Lal Ghose presented a paper on 'Rural Sanitation in Bengal' in the Second All-India Sanitary conference at Madras, November 11th to 16th, 1912, recognizing that the people who lived in the villages knew as much of the value of the ordinary hygienic rules as other government officials. According to him, the village people did not need to be enlightened on sanitary points. They had sufficient knowledge of what was good and what was bad from a sanitary point of view, so if their habits were insanitary, it was due to the lack of facilities for cleanliness and health. They needed greater improvement of the conditions in which they lived, rather than instruction in the principles of sanitation. They required necessities of life rather than education alone.⁵⁹ Rural areas needed better drainage and purer water supply.⁶⁰ This writing was refreshingly different from the more prescriptive and moralising colonial and early nationalist writings.

Many zenana Missionaries described the conditions of Indian villages for foreign readers, which were 'so different from what we English are accustomed to.' Miss Hooper, the daughter of C.M.S. missionary, Dr. Hooper said in 1894:

⁵⁷B.B. Mukherjee, *Co-operation and Rural Welfare in India*, Calcutta and Simla: Thacker Spink & Co., 1929, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸*Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁹*The Proceedings of the Second All-India Sanitary Conference held at Madras, November 11th to 16th, 1912*, Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1913, p. 92.

⁶⁰*Ibid*, p. 89.

The houses are of mud, mostly flat-roofed, but some thatched. They are built round a courtyard, and instead of a door leading immediately into the latter, one has to pass through a room which is commonly used for a cow or a buffalo, so when the cattle are driven home at night and go to their stables it looks as if they were going to their master's house. This plan will give you an idea of a sample of a houses. I am often afraid the cattle will kick, as one has to pass near their heels, but it is not very often that one is allowed to enter the courtyard, as they do not like stranger to come into the privacy of their homes, and, if cooking, utensils are about, our coming near them would defile them. The streets are narrow and winding, and very numerous; I often lose my way and have to ask my way back. There are often green, stagnant ponds in the villages, which must be very unwholesome. There always a few square open spaces in which one can get a crowd together, and are there are generally two or three nice large trees there. In large villages there is generally a main street, a little wider than the others, where they have a bazaar or market.⁶¹

It was claimed that villages lacked an infrastructure which forced them live in insanitary conditions. The Government could not do much about this. It was not easy even for zenana missionaries (Church of England zenana Missionaries) to go to villages and teach them due to lack of transport system, proper road and other infrastructure, rural parent's superstitions regarding the education of their daughter and usage of women's labour in the fields. These reasons limited the success of education of women in rural areas.

Many of the zenana missionaries faced problems due to orthodox families' caste rigidity and alterantive notions of purity and cleanliness. Upper caste women connected purity and impurity with caste. For the upper caste women, lower castes and poor girls were unhygienic. Miss Matthew's diary of experience in zenana education in Lucknow is revealing a little girl, named Raji from a higher caste, went to a missionary school and could not eat with her fellow pupils who were of lower caste. When she live at boarding school, her mother brought her food everyday which she had under the tree. One day, she had food with her school-fellows. When her mother heard of Raji's conduct, she ran to the school began to beat her severely. She further explained that, 'mother went to Brhamin priests to ask them 'whether the child had lost her caste forever. The priest replied, 'Has the child got her new teeth?' 'NO' said the mother. 'Then we can cleanse her, and when her new teeth come, she will be as pure as ever. But you must pay a good deal of money for the cleansing.' In the diary, Hooper described the 'cruel business.' Of cleanising, which involved the priest burning the child's tongue, only after which, she was allowed to back to school.'⁶²

⁶¹*The Zenana; Or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. I, No. 5, March 1894, pp. 70-71.

⁶²*The Indian Female Evangelist*, vol. viii, April 1885, No. liv, p. 147.

The record of such incidents emphasised that ritual cleansing was considered far more important than physical cleaning. Many missionaries were subjected to notions of impurities since upper caste women thought they will lose their caste and religion if they touched them. Upper caste women were not allowed to take food if it was handled and given to them by missionaries. Miss Cameron, who was working in Allahabad and managing the convert Home for women and children, recorded her experience:

Towards the end of June, an old Brahmin lady was brought to us by her son, who is a Christian. He told us that she wanted to become a Christian. Evidently she was exceedingly poor; a mere skeleton when she arrived, and as to wanting to be a Christian, she never thought of it. She would not let us touch any of her cooking utensils, nor would she eat or drink anything that we gave her. Of all our servants there was only one whose caste would allow him to draw water for her from our well; she even came to the well herself to see if any polluted thing was near it, and having satisfied herself, she drank. The next day she would touch no food but what she herself had cooked. She insisted on bathing every morning. One morning I was told she had fever, and medicine was sent to her, but nothing seemed to do her any good, and I was told that all through her fever, no matter how high her temperature, she would have her morning bath, and she would cook her own food. I sent her to the hospital we have here, and she remained there a long time, nearly distracting the doctor and nurse by her caste prejudices. She returned to us, but still thinking us all unclean, so Miss Poynter has arranged for her to live with her son in the bazaar. She says she wants to be a Christian, but her only object, I think, is to obtain food and clothing. We are praying to be guided about her.⁶³

Similarly, taboos surrounding menstruation made all women unclean for some periods of the month, since women could bath only after menstruation stopped.⁶⁴ After delivery, women were not allowed to take bath for periods varying from 6 to 13 days. That was also considered an unclean period due to discharge.⁶⁵ The mother's milk was not given to the infant for the first two days. It was considered poisonous and unhygienic. Mothers were advised to give the first milk to lamb, as it was considered poisonous.⁶⁶ These kinds of taboos were seen as the main causes of infant mortality. The existing practices were based on three sets of ideas:

Firstly, the religious belief that a woman at the time of child-birth is ceremonially unclean, more defiling in fact than the lowest 'outcaste', secondly, the belief that fresh air, whether warm or cold, is dangerously harmful both for mother and child, being the usual cause of Puerperal fever; and, thirdly, a group of superstitious and old-fashioned theories as to medical treatment

⁶³ *The Zenana; or Woman's work in India*, Vol. I, NO.12, October, 1894, p. 184.

⁶⁴ Yasoda Devi, *Nari Swastya Raksha: Aarogya Vidhan artharth Stri Rog Chikitsa*, Allahabad: Banita Hitaishi Press, 1926, pp. 10-12.

⁶⁵ Dr. A. Lankester, *Lectures on the Responsibility of Men in matters relating to Maternity at the Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition held at Delhi in February 1920*, Simla: Government of India Press, 1924, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁶ Jaidev Prasad, *Om Tatsat Striyo ke Kathin Rogo ki Chikitsa, Pratham Bhag*, Muradabad: Lakshmi Narayan Press, 1924, p. 258.

which naturally differ in various parts, but usually tend towards the extreme depression of the mother's physical strength during the lying-in-period.⁶⁷

In many of parts of United Provinces, Wet nursing was prevalent among the higher castes women. Wet nurses were preferred who were of same caste. It was suggested that:

*Dhaye ko lao jo saman varna ki ho (artharth Brahman ko brahmani, kshtriyo ko kshrayani, vaishyo ko vaishyani, shudro ko shudrani) ho, tatha jawan sushil gunyukat rograhit, sarvogwali, vyasan rahat, aanidhedesh mein prakat hone wali shutatarahit, aashudra karm karne wali ke kul mein prakat ho vatshlayayukt jivit satan wali tatha putrsanathan wali atyananth dudh wali stan aur stanyasampat wali ho. Aaj kal jaat gujjar aadi nich jaat hi sarvtra dhai hoti hai. Tahan stann kehte hai ki na bahut unche na bahut lambe na bahut krish ho na bahut mote. Papal ke patte sridash suthar ho sukhpurvak balak ke pine mein aave aise dhaye ke stann hove.*⁶⁸

(In this passage, Jaidev Prasad, an ayurvedic practitioner is focusing on the right qualities to be taken note while choosing wet nurse. He says, wet nurse should be of same varna (means Brahman for Brahmins, Kshtriya for Kshatriyas, Vaisya for Vaisyas and Shudra for Shudras. she should be young, cultured, healthy, without any bad habits, from good family background, having living children preferably son-affectionate and with breastful of milk. Now-a-days wet-nurses are mostly from low castes like Jaat and Gujjar everywhere. He further gives detailed accounts of the shape of wet-nurse's breasts which according to him, important for breast feeding.)

In some part of United Provinces, women used to give opium to their children to control their behaviour and discipline them as many zenana missionaries reported. Infant used to given small amount of opium first three days even by indigenous dais so that they can sleep well. In many cases, women after delivery were also given alcohol. And vagina was cleaned with alcohol rather than soap.⁶⁹

Mother and child were kept in dark room without fresh air and ventilation. Western medicine considered it a main cause of tuberculososis and other infectious disease that women after delivery prone to. Due to superstitions regarding the outside air, there was always smoke in the room to prevent the mother and child from witchcraft. Dr. A. Lankester, M.D. wrote in the paper which he presented at the Maternity and Child

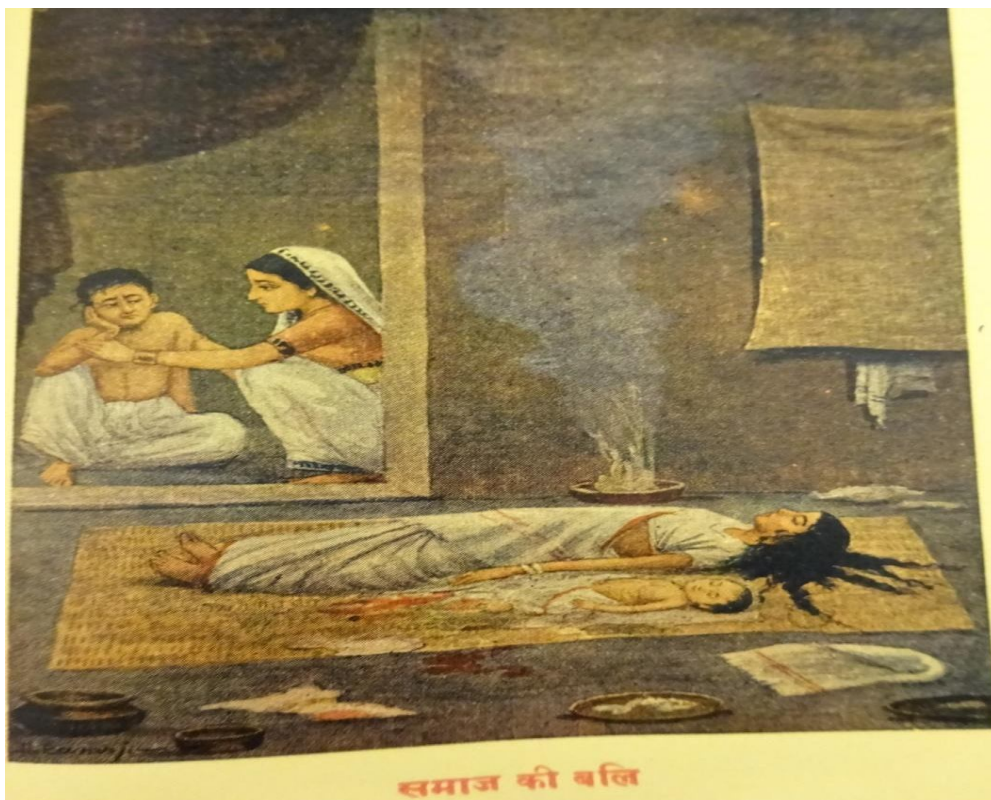
⁶⁷*Ibid*, p. 5

⁶⁸Prasad, *Om Tatsat Striyon ke Katin Rogo ki Chikitsa*, Pratam Bhag, p. 258.

⁶⁹Pandit Dharmanand Ji Sastri, *Stri Rog Vigyanan*, Allahabad: Chand Karyalaya, Allahabad, 1929, p. 265.

Welfare Exhibition held at Delhi, said that, 'It is an accepted canon of midwifery in India that Puerperal fever results from exposure to chill, and so, the most elaborate care is taken to shut out every breath of fresh air, even in hot weather the window the door will be tightly closed, every aperture blocked with dirty clothes, and what air remains is still further vitiated by the use of charcoal fires (in angithis or braziers) in the room throughout the lying-in period. This last practice is believed to have the effect of drying up discharges, but is also, in many places, it is regarded, as a means of protection from evil spirit.'⁷⁰

In the following images, it is shown that how mother and child is sleeping on the earth. There are blood clottings and smoke in room. There are rag clothes on windows.⁷¹ This image is titled as 'samaj ki bali' means sacrifice of society. After delivery in many of cases, women used to have infectious diseases which affected other members of family which is why women after delivery were kept secluded.



⁷⁰Lankester, *Lectures on the Responsibility of Men in Matters Relating to Maternity*, p. 6.

⁷¹Padit Dharmanandji Sastri, *Stri Rog Vigyanam: Stri ke Sab Prakar ke Rogaon Ka Sachitr 'Materia Medica'*, Allahabad: Chand, 1929, p. 305.

These popular beliefs proved resistant to the prescriptions of Governments and educational processes, and there was little impact of the learning on health and sanitation on maternal and child health.

4. Modernizing the Home through Training Midwives

It was not just in school that learning was imparted: women especially were reached even beyond schools. The most important phase of women's lives was childbirth which required to be recast. What to eat and what to avoid at the time of childbirth, how to care for both the newborn and the mother, were themes which were discussed and written about. On the other hand, the Government recognised the high mortality rate among the mother and child was due to the indifferent attitudes of midwives. After the 1880s, the Government, missionaries, as well as Indian reformers and print media, started to target indigenous midwives so that they could be replaced by trained midwives. Midwifery and Nursing were picked up to modernize the Indian home through access to women and winning the confidence of people. How was the modernisation of the home conceptualised via the retraining of midwives?

Social prejudices (*purdah*) and the initial unwillingness to consult a male doctor forced missionaries (initially) to 'heal the women of India'. It forced missionaries (medical missions) and colonial officials after the 1880s, to take steps to heal the pain of women. Special needs of Indian women also led to separate medical facilities for the women who observed *parda*, such as dispensaries and hospitals and created new opportunities of professions, such as nursing and hospital assistants. Maneesha Lal shows that women in *purdah* also used to go men's hospital and dispensaries, but their numbers were small.⁷² It can, however, not be denied that misconceptions of British women and missionaries regarding *purdah* also led to medical missions and the establishment of Dufferin medical aid for women.

As many scholars have argued, British rulers were not particularly interested in the health of the colonial subjects, as the chief concern of the British health policy was the army, followed by the European community. After 1857, the government

⁷²Maneesha Lal, 'The Politics of Gender and Medicine in Colonial India: the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, 1885-1888', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Spring 1994; Vol. 68, No. 1, p. 39.

convened the Royal Commission to enquire into the sanitary state of the Army in India. In 1864, sanitary commissions were established in the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; other provinces followed in 1866-67. Although the Royal Commission reported that native health needed attention because diseases infiltrated in European populations transferred by Indians, who worked, as servants and prostitutes, for instance. In fact, medical issues of the Indian population were given attention only during epidemics of cholera, smallpox, and plague.⁷³ Finally, the medicalization of the body of the Indian women was started with 1860 when venereal diseases threatened the fighting capacity of the army.⁷⁴ Although contagious act was passed in 1868, disease was known and combated as early as late 18th Century.⁷⁵

This way, contagious diseases among the subalterns of the army forced colonial officials to take steps regarding the establishment of dispensaries and lock hospital for the regular check-up of one group of women, i.e. prostitutes. Otherwise, women's health was not an issue of concern in the reform agenda of neither colonial offices nor educated middle-class Indian men. It was the wives of British officials and women missionaries who took initiatives for the care of Indian women. The first fully medically trained women missionary was Dr. Clairia Swain, who had graduated from the Women's Medical College Philadelphia in 1869, began to practice at Bareilly in 1870, while another, Sara C. Seward, opened a dispensary in Allahabad in 1872. Both came to India under the American missionary societies. Other missionary societies, too, send their women as medical professionals.⁷⁶ Many lady missionaries were used to see the 'angle of mercy' by people even of the upper caste. They used to come for help during the sickness of women and children. After getting well, in many cases, they (the women) were baptised.⁷⁷

⁷³*Ibid*, p. 31.

⁷⁴Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Colonial India: Essays on Politics, Medicine, and Historiography*, New Delhi: Chronicle Books, 2005, p. 103.

⁷⁵Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj*, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁶Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia*, California: Praeger, 2013, pp. 149-151.

⁷⁷*The Indian Female Evangelist*, Vol. iv, October 1879, No. xxxii, p. 359. 'The Indian Female Evangelist' was the magazine of Female Normal School and Instruction Society in which women of the various protestant missions worked for training of women's teachers.

4.1 Caste and Midwife Training

Newspaper such as *Anjuman-i-Hind* from Lucknow wrote on 25th January, 1879, while government was making efforts to save lives through opening hospitals, dispensaries, appointment of vaccinators for children, but enough care was not provided to train midwives. Mostly, male civil surgeon assisted European woman during child birth, which was not acceptable in most Indian Homes. Indigenous dais, from low caste, portrayed by the newspapers as ‘quite ignorant’ and without regular training, and responsible for high mortality rate among mother and child birth at birth. Therefore, newspapers urged Government to establish schools for the instruction of midwives, as there were in other parts of India.⁷⁸ Missionaries also portrayed indigenous dais as ‘female quack’ whose practices were based on tradition and superstition. She was treated as ‘ignorant and disinclined to adopt any new fangled western ideas.’ Mission reports were written in such a way as to justify the need for medical women in India, since midwives led to the loss of many lives.⁷⁹ Missionary women claimed that only *zenana* or *purdah* women needed medical help but other masses of women, who could move freely and earn their living but could not go for detailed examination to male doctors for chest complaints or digestive trouble. They could be treated for simple ailments or eye diseases which did not need physical examination.⁸⁰ This strategy, was adopted by medical missionaries to create their own space in India.

In response to the above attitudes, Lady Dufferin started medical aid for Indian women following the order of Queen Victoria in 1885. A prospectus outlined the main objects for Dufferin Fund in 1885. These were, firstly, medical tuition, including the teaching and training of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses, and midwives in India. Secondly, medical relief, including the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, and wards, all of which should be under the female superintendence, for the treatment of women and children. Thirdly, the supply of trained female nurses and

⁷⁸*The Anjuman-i-Hind*, 25th January’, Received up to 1st February, 1879, pp. 86-87 See, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

⁷⁹*The Zenana; or, Woman’s Work in India*, Vol. iii, No. 27, January, 1896, p. 34.

⁸⁰*Ibid*, p. 35.

midwives.⁸¹ While these funds were to elevate the conditions of Indian women, on the other hand, as many scholars have argued, it led to the institutionalization of women's medicine. This Institutionalisation of medicine in India also led to the professionalization of women doctors in Victorian Britain. Antoinette Burton and Maneesha Lal, for example, revealed the politics of medical reform of British women. Similarly Charu Gupta has argued that all efforts were made to marginalise low caste indigenous midwives. Print media, Indian reformers, Government and missionary women as well supported the Dufferin cause and helped in the marginalisation of low caste midwives.⁸² The Dufferin Fund managed opportunities for medical training and distributed patronage to qualified women doctors in the form of hospital posts and dispensary positions. The Fund succeeded in the creation of opportunities for aspiring female physicians through educational scholarships, grant-in-aid and other forms of financial assistance. It did, however, not challenge the racial imperial bureaucracy of British India. British were doctors; Indians were 'hospital assistants' of lower grade. Rukmabai and Ganguli were exceptions of the 19th century who got the degree of a physician.⁸³

Coming to the training and appointment of Indian women for midwifery and nursing, it can be seen as a reaction to the critique of indigenous medicine and superiority of Western medicine. The Dufferin Fund, for instance, consistently attacked dais (midwives) and the medical care they provided. Lady Dufferin complained about 'the ignorant, or the careless, or the vicious dai,' whose treatment regarded as being worse than 'letting nature run its course.' Midwifery in India was a traditional and hereditary occupation run by lower caste and lower class women. They had their way to deliver the child and were found in many villages and cities. To the Dufferin Fund supporters,

⁸¹*The Countess of Dufferin's Fund, Sixth Annual Report of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, for the year 1890*, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1891, p. 8. Hereafter, *Dufferin Report*.

⁸²See, Antoinette Burton, 'Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India,' 1874-1885, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Jul. 1996), pp. 375-76; Maneesha Lal, 'The Politics of Gender and Medicine in Colonial India: the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, 1885-1888', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Spring 1994; 68, 1, p. 39; Charu Gupta, *The Gender of Caste: Representing Dalits in Print*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2015, pp. 43-51.

⁸³Antoinette Burton, 'Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India,' 1874-1885, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Jul. 1996), pp. 375-76.

even to the natives, the Dai became the 'ubiquitous negative symbol' against enlightened Western medical attendance.⁸⁴

To ensure the health of people in general and women specifically, the Government in the nineteenth century tried to make efforts to introduce compulsory vaccination of children and training midwifery and nurses so that women could be cured.⁸⁵ While some people appreciated these efforts but there were some who opposed them due to their caste prejudices. A newspaper, *Dabir-i-Hind* of Allahabad reported on 1st November 1879, Compulsory vaccination was useful but compulsion was objected as it was considered opposed to toleration policy of Government. Some people did not like to present their children to Vaccinators (who were mostly from lower castes) and take certificate from them. Newspaper reported this question as against the 'dignity of the respectable classes' which was being harmed by coming into contact with vaccination. For Hindus, *Sitala* as goddess of small pox and for them compulsory vaccination was an interference to their religious customs. Newspaper advocated Government should make efforts to remove the differences of caste and religion by force if government really interested in saving lives. Government should focus its efforts to prevent women from becoming prostitutes who were spreading venereal disease in the society.⁸⁶ While *Arya Mitra*, a newspaper of Benares considered those people 'ignorant' who were against vaccination. Government should not prevent itself to stop this evil.⁸⁷

Dais in India and especially in the United Provinces belonged to 'untouchable castes'. The initial policy of the Dufferin Fund was 'to train up midwives of a superior class' and 'to endeavour to impart a certain amount of practical knowledge to the indigenous midwives (dais).' It was very hard to get upper caste women for this profession due to caste issues or perceptions of the degraded status of this profession in minds of upper caste people. But, on the other hand, indigenous dais themselves did not want to join the training classes although handsome scholarship offered to them. Reading and writing were a precondition to train the midwives so that they should be capable of

⁸⁴Lal, 'Dufferin Fund', p. 48.

⁸⁵Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison, *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, London: Routledge, 2009.

⁸⁶*Dabir-i-Hind*, Allahabad, Received up to 1st November, 1879, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*, p. 854.

⁸⁷*Arya Mitra*, Benares, March, 1880, pp. 241-42, See *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

understanding lectures and studying simple textbooks. Highly trained midwives were small in number related to the high demand for this profession. Trained midwives used to receive relatively large salaries and charged high fees.⁸⁸ The fear of losing their customers in the training period of 2 years was so strong among the indigenous dais as within that period new indigenous dais would get all her customers. It prevented them taking scholarships and attending classes. Some dais were considered themselves proficient and regarded the teaching as an insult while others opposed the all European principles and obstructed the lady doctors, who wanted to improve their knowledge, in every possible way. The Dufferin committee of Lucknow reported in 1903 that:

The profession of dai is a hereditary one. Each woman as a rule has a Muhalla in which she practices. On her retirement or death her practice passes to her daughter-in-law and not to her daughter. This is due to the fact the dai's son when married brings his wife into the mother's house. An intelligent dai with a good connection is not easily induced to give it up and go into a hospital for two years. She naturally feels that by the time she returns her practice will have passed into other hands. There is a considerable demand for trained dais in the city and district. Each branch dispensary has a woman of this class attached to it and when not engaged in dispensary work they attend cases in the city. In filling these vacancies, all the women we can train will easily be absorbed and a distinct want filled. Suitable houses have been provided for the dais and they seem contented with the arrangements made for their comfort.⁸⁹

The reports also mentioned that training should be given to midwives of 'superior class.' It was reported 'dais alluded not to belong to the indigenous class, but are of higher castes. I have tried to get the former to join the hospital, but up to this time have been unsuccessful, for various reasons. Patients of good caste refuse to take medicine and food from the hands of dais as most of these latter belong to the 'Chamar' caste.'⁹⁰ One should also remember that these 'low caste dais' (*chamar*) were the only women who were involved in birthing the child before the introduction of these reforms. Dufferin Fund officials saw every problem in indigenous dais. Caste prejudices were so strong among people that this was the reason which prevented higher caste women to adopt this profession. Women who adopted the training for this profession were either low caste or native Christian, Eurasian, Armenian and Muslim women.⁹¹ In the year 1889, among 16 students admitted for the training in the United Provinces, only two were Hindus (from *Chamar* caste), three Muslim ladies, six

⁸⁸ *Dufferin Report for the year 1912*, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁹ *Dufferin Report for the year 1903*, p. 33.

⁹⁰ *Dufferin Report for the year 1910*, p. 72.

⁹¹ *Dufferin Report for the year 1890*, p. 222.

ladies from the Eurasian background, one Armenian lady, and rest were from the native Christian community.⁹²

The Dufferin Fund was for upper-caste and middle-class urban people. It could not help rural people as dispensaries and hospitals were not accessible for them due to distance. Even the training of the Dai could not affect the rural population's understanding of hygiene during delivery. In fact, poorer classes did not have the resources to afford the service of a dai. Thomas A. Wise, physician (M.D.), gave a lecture on Indian midwifery in which he described 'the poorer classes often merely go aside when labour commences, a few pains complete it, and the only assistance which they require is a piece of a broken pot to divide the umbilical cord after it had been tied. It was being removed, the infants is wrapped in a piece of rag, the mother cleans the mud floor of the hut, walks down to the neighboring streams, and after she has washed and bathed, returns to her domestic occupation as if nothing particular had occurred.'⁹³

He further talked about the conditions of rural women and their way of birthing. He gave an example of Agra, saying that 'a class of women are in the habit of walking several miles to graze their cattle, and thus at a distance they are sometimes delivered in this easy manner. They wrap their offspring in a piece of cloth, bathe, and return in the evening several miles on foot, driving their cattle before them. Next day they continue their usual occupation. They suffer much in after years from such premature exertion; as also from their early marriages, as they often become mothers before they reach their twelfth year.'⁹⁴

In the United Provinces training of midwives and nurses was started in April 1889. There were two sections of seven learners each. Section A taught the entire subject of midwifery, surgical dressing, the compounding of medicine and nursing, both surgical and medical. The class received training and lectures delivered by Dr. Mc Conaghey twice and by Dr. Ohdedar three times a week. Dr. Maclaren gave a complete course of lectures on medical nursing during his three months' tenure of office. Section B

⁹²*Ibid*, p. 222.

⁹³Thomas A. Wise, 'Notes on Indian Midwifery', reprinted from the monthly *Journal of Medical Science*, April, 1854, p. 1.

⁹⁴*Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

consisted of women who were not able to read and write so that the teachers found it difficult to teach them the theoretical part of midwifery. They were, therefore, chiefly taught the signs and symptoms of pregnancy, the management of natural labour, the symptoms, and treatment of abortion, the method of detecting abnormal presentation, the first help in cases of flooding, the application of bandages and splints and surgical dressing.⁹⁵

All the learners had to work in the hospital. Moreover, besides the regular lectures, the practical instruction was given in the wards. They nursed the patients of female wards and performed the work of compounding, dispensing and dressing. Some of the learners used to attend the classes of both sections and had long courses of instruction. They also used to go out in the city and civil stations to attend cases of labour. Learners were also sent out in the city to care for the zenana ladies of the city. Compounding and dressing in the female department of the hospital were done entirely done by these pupils.⁹⁶

On the course of instruction of midwifery, many books were published which gave the same kinds of instruction that were prevalent in Europe. These books focused on the anatomy of the pelvis, preparation for labour, germs, troubles, both pre-natal and post-natal, the care of the mother, care of the baby, feeding of the baby and baby's ailments and also some recipes that were taught to midwives in Europe. G.T. Birdwood, for example, wrote a textbook on midwifery.⁹⁷ He was Professor of Midwifery at Kings George Medical College, Lucknow, and Principal at Agra Medical College. His book demonstrates important aspects of midwifery that should be known to midwives according to G.T. Birdwood. It described requisites for the confinement, what to do in the first stage of labour, how to conduct second and third stage of labour, how to revive an asphyxiated child, external and internal pelvimetry, mechanisms of labour, how to use forceps, how to use midwifery and gynaecology instruments and how to handle critical situations.⁹⁸

⁹⁵*Dufferin Report for the year 1890*, p. 221.

⁹⁶*Ibid*, pp. 222- 223.

⁹⁷G.T. Birdwood, *Practical Midwifery for Students, Nurses and Practitioners*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Government palace, 1916.

⁹⁸*Ibid*.

The teaching which was first in oral form, soon took the shape of short and simple primers to convey ideas in the colloquial language to the pupils. Midwifery practice manuals were in the various vernaculars for the use of dais. In many places, reading and writing had been taught to enable the pupils to use these books. Yet sanitation methods were taught largely through memorising methods.⁹⁹ R. Piggot, who contributed to the Dufferin cause of medical relief, also wrote a handbook for the dais.¹⁰⁰ R. Piggot wrote to remind the dai that she was such an important person on whom that hundreds of lives depended on her. The message was that a dai could save many lives and, hence, should 'recognise the danger that may occur before and after the event, and know how to treat them, and what to do when symptoms arise.' If a dai could recognize the danger on time, she would be able to call for the help of doctor or hospital and save the lives of mother and child.¹⁰¹

A lot of instructions were given to dais. The most important of these pertained to cleanliness, since there were so many complaints regarding their unhygienic and filthy ways of work. They were taught to have clean nails, clean clothes and no bangles and rings during work. In large part such measures were driven by the germ theory of Europe. Dirt was an important cause of spreading germs and germs, in turn, spreading diseases. Hence, the rings of dais were seen as potential sources of spreading germs. In actual tests, some rings of dais were examined under the microscope and germs of septicaemia were found. Moreover, the value of disinfectant was taught to the dais, which was entirely new to them.¹⁰² Instructions were given to take a bath at least once in day and use disinfect before and after work. According to Piggot, Indian dais were recognized as of being low caste by the dirt and their dirty clothes. Stereotypes related to dirt and low status of caste were not new. To counter such stereotypes, she argued that being poor cannot be considered the excuse of being dirty.¹⁰³ The dais were provided with a box that contained the necessary things to conduct a confinement properly. They were, moreover, instructed to disinfect the box by boiling the contents

⁹⁹*Dufferin Report for the year 1912*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁰⁰R. Piggot, *What Every Dai ought to know: A Handbook for Dais*, Hyderabad Sind: Blavatsky Press. (Year is not mention).

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, p. 3.

¹⁰²*Ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁰³*Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

of the box, such as scissors, bowls and rags, in boiling water for ten minutes after every use.¹⁰⁴

The problem that the work of the Dufferin Fund was limited to urban-centric middle class and upper castes, a point that has already been noted by Maneesha Lal and Geraldine Forbes. Rural areas were still untouched by these reforms. The Dufferin report of the year 1912 described hospitals and dispensaries that would be gradually introduced into villages if they were found desirable by the local government. Till 1912, nothing was done for the village dais. This was also a result of the nature and scope of the Dufferin reforms in the cities. In the village 'chamar' dais reigned supreme. It was proposed in the Dufferin committees that headmen of each village would select a woman for three month training.¹⁰⁵ As mentioned above, it was difficult to induce city trained dais to go to the villages and start private practices.¹⁰⁶ As the hospitals were in the cities, preference was given to recruitment in the city hospital and dispensaries. Many suggestions were made time to time to solve this problem, including one which was suggested to send one of the city dais during her training to the village to officiate as the permanent village dai until she has received her years' training and diploma.¹⁰⁷

The members of the Association of Medical Aid of the Dufferin Fund believed that it was a waste of energy to train indigenous dais since they clung to their own practices even after training. Many of the Dufferin reports criticised the methods opted by the indigenous dais. Even trained dais adopted their traditional methods of hygiene. In the training course, dais were taught to use soap instead of mud. But when they went into the field of delivery, they started using mud to clean their hands before delivery rather than soap as people prefer mud rather than soap. However, due to the caste prejudices and lack of other upper-caste women to come for this profession, they had to depend on the indigenous dais.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Dufferin Report for the year 1910*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ *Dufferin Report for the year 1912*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 79-80.

In 1902, Victoria Memorial Scholarship fund was begun, to promote the indigenous dais. But in 1914, the government recognised educated nurse and midwives under Dufferin scheme could contribute to promoting personal and domestic hygiene as they had access to the homes of the people.¹⁰⁹ But it could not attract midwives and again in 1912, Lady Curzon was of the idea 'to get hold of as many as possible of the indigenous midwives and induce them to attend classes at Dufferin Hospitals, or at the female divisions of ordinary hospital or dispensaries for the purpose of acquiring some empirical knowledge.'¹¹⁰

This issue was discussed among education and medical officials of the United Provinces in 1917, who concluded in the end, '...any attempt to educate or improve the qualifications of hereditary dais or of their daughters is hopeless and simply a waste of money, and that the true policy in the interest of the women in this country is to increase, as far as possible, the number of thoroughly trained dais of the class of Victoria Memorial dais, now trained and educated in the Dufferin hospitals, and to get municipalities to employ such dais after they have qualified.'¹¹¹ They could also be given scholarships if funds could be raised, without affecting the work done by indigenous dais.¹¹² It seems to have been the reason why again the training of indigenous dais came into discussion although all steps were done to train midwives of 'superior class'. It was, however, increasingly realised that training cannot change the reproduction of division of labour and caste prejudices attached with the profession of midwifery. Again, education of the children of indigenous dais using scholarships, for instance, was discussed. Again in the year 1918, the Dufferin report accepted that masses are ignorant and there were many prejudices which were considered responsible for high levels of mortality among women and children in the province. Local government for the encouragement of midwives sanctioned payment of a stipend of Rs. 15 to each dai for six months. In which local government paid Rs. 5 and rest Rs.10 was paid by local boards.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹'Indian Sanitation', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2. No. 2802, (September 12, 1914), p. 477.

¹¹⁰*Dufferin Report for the year 1912*, pp. 79-80.

¹¹¹'Education of the Children of Indigenous Dais by Means of Scholarships, etc.', File no. 195/1917, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, p. 28.

¹¹²*Ibid*, p. 29.

¹¹³*Dufferin Report for the year 1928*, p. 92.

In order to make health programme successful, health schools were established in different parts of India under the scheme of 'The Lady Chemsford All-India League'. In U.P., one Health Schools was established in Lucknow. In the beginning of the year 1929, there were four students in the Health visitor class. The Provincial Training Centre For midwives of Lucknow was shifted to Allahabad in 1929.¹¹⁴ In 1929, New maternity and Child Welfare Centres were opened at district headquarters of the provinces. Many were opened in rural areas. In the year 1929, there were 100 midwives who were under taining.¹¹⁵

4.2 Teaching Hygiene for Home

The training of Dais alone could not improve the scenario of maternal health. The Dufferin Fund could not do much to change the mind set of indigenous people. In fact, after training, dais had to re-adapt their own old practices as their patients disapproved their 'improved' methods that were taught in training classes. Hence, trained dais were unpopular due to their methods, which included that they washed their hands with soap and water instead of mud and water.¹¹⁶ In the public sphere, many writers spoke on the necessity of educating the men and women of India to demand modern methods. This was, however, limited to educated urban people.¹¹⁷

It was not just training of midwives but means were evolved to teach women the value of hygiene. Texts were written to make educated class of women and men, who could know the hygiene and health during pregnancy, so that they could question inappropriate behaviour of midwives. Doctor G.N. Mukherjee wrote a book 'Garbh Raksha Arthath Hidayat Nama: Daiyan-e- Hind', in Bengali, which was translated by Babu Abinash Chand Vishwash into Urdu, and later on in 1887 it was also translated into Hindi. This book was not only for instructing dais, but also for women and men who, he believed, should know the small things of pregnancy and delivery and care of children. It was written in a question and answer style, following the process from pregnancy to delivery, what to do in these phases, how to treat certain diseases of the mother, how to take care of children and how to treat diseases of a child at home. The

¹¹⁴*Dufferin report for the year 1929*, p. 112.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 118.

¹¹⁶*Dufferin Report for the year 1890*, p. 71.

¹¹⁷*Dufferin Report for the year 1917*, p. 100.

author was convinced that men and women should know the basic precautions in order to save women's lives.¹¹⁸ Geraldine Forbes argued that an educated urban-centric middle class were influenced by the Western methods and medicine and had already adopted them.¹¹⁹ This can be seen as the reason that these educated classes, even women, used the same degrading words as the British, such as 'ignorant' to describe indigenous dais.

These efforts did not mean they were successful in changing the mindset of people. On the other hand, there were also view among Indian that Hakim and 'native physicians' were better than European doctors who were quite good in surgery, but were not good physician. *The Oudh Akhbar* of 26th September urged that Government should encourage the native system of medicine before removing prejudices about of western medicine. One or two classes for the instruction of native system of medicine should be opened in every medical school, and each village dispensary should be given under the charge of a hakim or native doctor according to wishes of village inhabitants.¹²⁰

Side by side Ayurvedic and Yunani medicine was also developed. In response to western medicine, Ayurvedic and Yunani medicine also developed. Lots of literature was written who make women aware regarding indigenous forms of medicine which were useful during pregnancy, child care, disease in private parts of women etc. One needs to note that women's health issues which was not dealt by the school hygiene primers and other health programmes was handled by Ayurvedic and Yunani practitioners outside the school. In the United Provinces, Hindu reformers groups in the late nineteenth century started to propagate ayurvedic medicine at the one hand and on the other hand began educating women in the personal and family hygiene. Education of women became important for reformers because there was tendency of Indian women to go Muslim religious charismatic men in order to cure children diseases. Therefore, many texts were written to aware women from the superstitions and effect of Muslims on Hindu households.

¹¹⁸ Dr. G.N. Mukherjee, *Garbh Raksha artharth Hidayat Nama: Daiyan Hind*, translated by Babu Abinashchand Visiwahas in Urdu and Pandit Ram Prasad translated it into Hindi, Delhi: Hindi Press, 1887.

¹¹⁹ Forbes, *Women in colonial India*, pp. 79-80.

¹²⁰ *Oudh Akhbhar*, Oudh, Received up to 27th September, 1879, p. 753, in, *Selections from Vernacular Newspapers*.

In United Provinces, there was lots of literature written on reproduction health, conjugal health, and mother-child health and most importantly for advice manuals for education of young women to take care of health and family members in late nineteenth century. These manuals supported indigenous medicine and were critical about the western medicine and assert national identities through establishing link between Ayurveda and Indian ancient heritage. It was not just to provide its space indigenous medicine what was being marginalised due to hegemonies of western medicine. Print was used to propagate and make famous the Ayurveda. Charu Gupta has pointed out, Ayurveda become as a 'self assertion of identity, celebration of ancient heritage, claim of scientific knowledge, criticised western medicine.'¹²¹

Pandit Jaggannath Sharma, a Vaidya in the Ayurvedic hospital at Allahabad, wrote an book, *Aarogya Darpan*, in 1888, claimed that cleanliness was best precaution to prevent diseases, which was agreed among practitioner of Ayurveda, Allopathy, and Yunani.¹²² He emphasized on making good drainage system of house, airy, sun-shine ground of house, plantation of flower or *Tulsi* on the ground of the house for good air. He suggested whitewash of the house with *Chunna* especially eating places and bedrooms, wearing clean clothes, and not to consume food in the kitchen.¹²³

He pointed out importance of knowledge about health for women as they take care of house hold, family members and children as they started believing in superstitions due to their ignorance. He said that, *dhatari siksha* (education to take care of infants), protection of womb, child care and behaviour of women and men (*stri- purush vyvhar*) etc was useful for them. He explained the ignorance among women in the following way:

Aaj kal striyao ke ati prachand hone ka kya ikhtiyar hai ki bina mahamaya ki aagya ghar ke mard kuch kar toh sake. Jahan balak bimar hua aur unke swami ji bole ki lao kisi satvaidya ya doctor ko dikhaye tahan jhat ghudak utho ki kuch janat bhujat ho? Kal gisitiya ki maai aayi rahi so dekh lihesh hai. Phir kya puchna hai? Odh chadriya tyaar ho gayi. Hamare desh ki striyo ki aisa tona- tamar ka drihn vishwas pad gaya hai ki jahan dekho aache- aache ghar ki striyan baloko ko bagal mein dabaye aur hath mein thodi si bandanhi ki seenk liye mahajit ke darwaje

¹²¹Charu Gupta, 'Procreation and Pleasure: Writings of a Woman Ayurvedaic Practitioner in Colonial North India', *Studies in History*, Vol. 21, No. 17, 2005, pp. 17-44.

¹²²Pandit Jaggannath Sharma, *Aarogya Darpan, Pratham Khand*, Allahabad: Prayag Press, 1888, p. 65. He was Ayurvedic Practitioner at Ayurvedic Hospital at Allahabad.

¹²³*Ibid*, pp. 65-66.

khadi hai. Prayh dekhne mein aata hai ki bade savare sadko par sadak batorane wale Halalkhore aadi hath mein jhadu liye ladko ko jhar rahe hai. Bade aashcharya ki baat hai ki angrej aur bengaliyo ke aise khoobsurat aur saaf ladke jinko dhaiyan godo mein liye sadko ko tehlaya karti hai ki jinko aache aur bure log sab dekhte hai. Unke liye na kahin tona na tamar aur hamare ish desh walo ke ladke jinka naak beh rahi hai. Makhi Bhinn bhinnay rahi hai, badan mein maila kuchaila kurti pada hai. Tel chabho ke chithaado ki taahbiz gale mein gunthi hai lehsun aur hing ke durgandh deh se naikal rahi hai, ghar ke bahar nahin aane pate. Paranch tona uney roj lagta ha.¹²⁴

(In the above passage, the author talks about how women in the contemporary society were ignorant about child care and at the same time foolish in their choice of superstitions over medical care. Here the author attributes this ignorance to adverse influence of Islamic practices on the Hindu women of U.P. To strengthen his points, he gives examples of children of British or Bengali couples who were kept well dressed and clean as compared to the children of even upper caste U.P. families who were dressed shabbily and deliberately presented as 'dirty' and unattractive due to superstitions.)

On the other, these Ayurvedic Vaidyas also warning Indian women not to influence with Muslim priest or other people where Indian women were going in seeking cure. He is making point regarding high influence of women in the household and taking care of child. If they were not educated in hygiene, cleanliness and health, they started believing on anybody who asked to cure. In the United Provinces, consciously but ignorantly mother keep their children dirty as clean children would be possessed by evil eyes.

On the other hand, it was also the Arya Samajis agenda to keep women from Muslim influence. All these Vaidyas were writing in Hindi, supporting Hindu nationalism, and advocating knowledge of ancient Indian medicine.¹²⁵ He further criticised Muslims and their influence on Indian mother. He commented that:

Ab dekhiye ek toh aati kaal tak balak ka muh dahpkar goad mein daba rakhne se bimari hoti hai. Dusre: tone ke bhay se ladko ko ish kadar maila kuchala banaye rahti hai jisey aakasmal ek na ek rog uttpann ho rahta hai. Tisre: Gau masahari garmi sujaak wale sekadon musulmano ke muh ki bhaap aur thoone ki jiski bocharein balak ki ma ke muh tak jati hai, ki jisey rog hone ka sambhav vaidya, doctor, hakim sabhi keh sakte hai. Chaute: halalkor aadi nicho ke kapde, jhadu aur tokare ki durghandi. Panchave: mata ka teen baje ratri se uth ganga jamuna ke nahana, ekadaashi, mangal aur ethvaar ka varth amal aur ruksh pardarto ka june kanjun

¹²⁴ Pandit Jaggannath Sharma, *Aarogya Darpan, Pratham Khand*, pp. 77-78.

¹²⁵ Gupta, 'Procreation and Pleasure: Writing of a Woman Ayurvedic Practitioner', *SIH*, p. 29

*bhojan, chate: bina jane bhuje sehund ke paate ka aark tak pila dena, eityaadi hum kahan tak kahe hajaro aanachaar hai.*¹²⁶

(In the above passage, the author is criticising the orthodox practices prevalent in both Hindu and Muslim communities which are detrimental to the health of the child. For example, keeping the child covered by a dirty cloth in lap continuously over a long period of time (to cast off an evil eye), or the unhygienic ways followed in Muslim superstitious practices of 'jadu tona'; holy-dips taken by young mothers early morning in river Ganga-Yamuna in the cold seasons; or giving young children medicines made out of unknown herbs- all contributes to unhygienic child-care and ill health of children.)

The above quotation suggests the harmful effects of dirty surroundings, and of preventing children from being seen by others. He was cautioning mothers regarding diseases spread by proximity, bad breath, and generally dwelt on the impact of the mother health on child's health. Everything he said was creating consciousness among parents especially mother who handled child. But he focus was on boy (*balak*). No reference was coming up for girl.¹²⁷ He further went on to the importance of breast feeding.¹²⁸

It is worth mentioning female Ayurveda practitioners of United Provinces who focused to cure women directly (meant not just from writing books but providing medicinal help too). Charu Gupta argued that male *vaidyas* ignored the health of the women, created the space for women indigenous medicine practitioner. In Allahabad, United Provinces, Yashoda Devi was very famous female Ayurveda practitioner who was unique and famous in comparison to their male colleagues. She was one, who wrote more than 24 books, published seven books on medicine and edited three

¹²⁶Sharma, *Aarogya Darpan, Pratham Khand*, p. 79.

¹²⁷There were/are prejudices regarding boy child and girl child in the United Provinces. Question of casting evil eyes was/is taken more serious for boy child rather than girl. Practice of male child preference was/is very common in U.P. There was no tradition of celebration on the birth of girl but boys' birth was celebrated with great pump and show. Women sung five songs on the morning of the occasion. Besides this, there were/are lots of rituals which were related to boys but not with girls. For more details, See, Chotai Tiwari, *Balabodh- Striyon ke Padne ki Pehli Pustak*, Lucknow: Nawal kishor, 1864, p. 10.

¹²⁸Sharma, *Aarogya Darpan Pratham Khand*, pp. Pp. 87-88.

journals on indigenous medicine.¹²⁹ She extensively wrote on different fields which impacted women's health such as cooking, domestic sphere, conjugal relations, sexual- relations, mothering, child caring, pregnancy, maternity, preparing girls for taking care home, and diseases etc. He opened her press and publishing house. Most importantly her approach was women to women interaction and usage of letter writing skills to prescribed medicine. Patients used to send her letters for medicine and curing diseases which were kept secret.¹³⁰

She wrote a book *Grihini Kartavya Sastra: Aarogya Sastra artharth Paakshastra*, made connection between health and food in the introduction. She emphasized on the learning of cooking by girls so that they could be appreciated and take care of health of family. She argued that food made human healthy or unhealthy as food intake everyday provides nutrition and secure body. She wrote:

Stri ki chaturai rasoi mein hi dekhi jati hai. Vivah hokar jab nayi bahu pati ke ghar mein aati hai jab pehle usey bhojan banana ki pariksha deni padti hai. Ush din sab ghar wale nayi bahu ke hi hath ki banai rasoi jimte hai aur khushi manate hai. Yadi rasoi banana mein bahu nipun hui toh pransanha usi din se hone lagti hai. Yadi bhojn banana mein usne apni chaturai ka parichaye na diya, rasoi aachi na bani toh usi din se uska naam fuhad rakh diya jata hai. Yhi nahin ki fuhad banker hi uska picha chut jave kintu mata ke liye bhi striyan Kuvakya kehne lagti hai aur mata ko bhi fuhad samjhne lagti hai baat baat par tane marme lagti hai sabhi ussey aaprasann rahte hai.¹³¹

(Cleverness/efficiency of women is seen in the kitchen. After marriage when a bride comes to her husband's home, she has to give a test of cooking; every person in the family eats the food prepared by the new bride and celebrates. If woman is good in cooking then she gets praised since the first day. If she does not cook well and show her efficiency in kitchen, she is named a fool. It is not only she is who called a fool but her mother is also called a fool. She has to listen to taunts every time and everyone is unhappy with her.)

She went on saying that, bride could do knitting, stitching and weaving, and passed elite English and Sanskrit exam but these skills were not very helpful as cooking. Servants did not make good food. They did not make food with cleanliness and

¹²⁹Gupta, 'Procreation and Pleasure: Writings of a Woman Ayurvedic Practitioner', *SIH*, Appendix, pp. 39-40.

¹³⁰Yashoda Devi, *Grihini Kartavya Sastra, Aarogya Sastra artharth Paakshastra, Dusra Bhag*, Allahabad: Banita Hitaishi Yantralaya, 1924.

¹³¹Srimati Yashoda Devi, *Grihini Kartavya Sastra, Aarogya Sastra artharth Paakshastra, Pratham Bhag*, Allahabad: Banita Hitaishi Yantralaya (Press), p. 1924, p. 3.

according to weather and caused sickness in the family. Therefore Housewives should know cooking according to seasons, nature of family, members and diseases. She established relation between good and healthy food with health family. He elaborated that if medicines given by foolish person increased disease, the food prepared by woman who did not knowledge of cooking also become cause of disease. She requested every human to read and buy a copy of this book for their daughters and women.¹³²

She gave daily routine which housewives should follow that 'Get up 4.30, after getting up fresh, clean up hands with clean soil, clean the tooth with neem stem or coal, clean the dirt of tongue. She also gave the prescription to make toothpaste through edibles. Then asked to sweep the floor and make the bed. If there is servant in the home, let him/her do and if you are in rush then make it yourself. She gave an example that:

*Makhiyan bhin bhiya karti hai, bartan jhute pade rahte hai. Jab kahari aati hai safai hoti hai. Kaise dukh ki baat hai dekho Rupa? Apne kaam mein aalasya kabhi na karna chahiye jo kaam tum kar sakti hai usey naukar ke bharose par pada rahne dena aur ussey hani uthana lazza ki baat hai. Sada ek se din kisi ke nahin rahte yadi do chaar din naukar na aave toh swayam kar lena parantu uski rah baithte na rahna.*¹³³

(The flies, utensils remain dirty and unclean. Only when the maid comes they are cleaned. See Rupa (name of a woman) it is disappointing. (You) should not show laziness in your work. The work that can be done by ourselves, to leave that for servants and suffer on that account is- shameful. Everyday may not be a smooth one. If a servant is absent for a few days you should not just sit back waiting for her/him but complete the chores yourself.)

She gave the examples that Draupadi and Damyanti who were queens, and yet used to cook food according to seasons and in tune with the nature of the family. In the second part of same book, she gave the way to make dishes. She explained to kinds of dishes to reduce impotency, lack of periods and weakness. She prescribed ways curing disease of secret organs, and sex organs. She gave the ingredients for regularity of menstruations and medicines for the breast diseases. Yashoda Devi had 16 years of

¹³²Ibid, pp. 3-5.

¹³³Devi, Grihini Kartavya Sastra, Partham Bhag, p. 65.

experience to cure women disease. In her hospitals, there was arrangement for the accommodation. Ladies used to ask through letters. If women were illiterate, they can still write to her through the help of men or relatives. She asked to write the answers of the questionnaire in which she provided. Age and health and marriage age, about periods were asked. But on the third number, question of caste was asked. This was also same for the men. She cured women's health issues through knowledge about men and women's health.

In her other book, *Nari Swastya Raksha*, he discussed the women's sexual and organ deficiencies and treatment for them. She provided medicines for problems of white discharge among women, irregular periods, and nutritional medicines for pregnancy, nutritious syrup and powder for health of children. She further elaborated the precautions during sex, menstruations, cleanliness of sexual organs, what to eat, follow the rules during sex, and how to prevent from vaginal infection and sickness.¹³⁴

These were things which were important to maintain personal as well as family hygiene and school was unable to teach. But these discourses exhibited how women were being disciplined and transformed in order to become better and hygienic wives and mother.

Conclusion:

European hygiene and sanitation systems, which were just coming into being in the metropolitan centres, rarely reach the mass of Indian people. By adopting however the pedagogic approach alone, in the absence of material transformations which would enable the measures of sanitation to take actual root and shape, such programmes were doomed to failure. Educational authorities hope that the focus on elementary teaching of hygiene would bring about significant change in people's lives and habits. Women were seen as more resistant to new norms of hygienic since they would come into conflict with social and religious customs to which they were tied. That was seen

¹³⁴Yashoda Devi, *Nari Swastya Raksha: Aarogya Vidhan artharth Stri Rog Chikitsa*, Allahabad: Banita Hitaishi Press, 1926. She wrote this book to secure women health, way to be healthy, and cure women diseases.

as a hurdle on the oath to sanitary improvement. Nevertheless women were taught to be hygienic and healthy as they were caretakers of house and children, and were used as the conduit for modernising the home.

Rural women were however, completely ignored in these educational efforts. Work such as Mulraj's manual of Hygiene in United Provinces were introduced at middle level classes which largely sidelined women who were getting only primary education largely, although they were taught rudimentary hygiene at the primary level too. There were no school texts which dealt with hygiene and sanitation for which women were primarily responsible, which led to burgeoning body of work that was addressed to women beyond schooling, or targeted smaller professional groups such as dais. Hence the hygiene of family, child care and pregnancy were taught to them beyond schooling through different texts written by Ayurveda practitioners.

CHAPTER 5
SKILLING IN EDUCATION:
WOMEN AT WORK

Chapter 5

Skilling in Education: Women at Work

The education of women resulted in the emergence of new and unexpected spheres of work for women. The late nineteenth century opened up new fields where women asserted their presence outside the home. It translated the idea of 'better wives and better mothers' into career-oriented women. Education, whether literary, vocational or technical, empowered women that resulted in individual identity, financial independence and relative self-reliance.

The demand for the education of the women by the women, which emerged largely due to social and cultural prejudices that segregated the male and female spheres, created new opportunities and professions which were formerly dominated by the men in society, such as teachers, inspectors, headmistress. Parents were averse to sending their girls to school if male teachers taught them, and if they were inspected by male inspectors, and administered by the male headmaster. Therefore, the late nineteenth century opened up the opportunities for women to work as teachers, inspectors and headmistresses. It positively helped women to come out of the home and proved themselves as professionals. Simultaneously there were still some skills which were being defined as female, such needle work, sewing and embroidery which were deemed useful for women in their domestic duties.

Women's education and teachers' education were one of those aspects which was interlinked. Colonial records, Missionaries' records of education and reformers' texts and women's association's files are full of complaints highlighting that the absence of female teachers was the main cause which hampered women's education in the United Provinces. The Woods' Despatch made a provision to teach and train the existing indigenous 'school masters' by establishing model schools and normal schools in the presidencies.¹ Nevertheless no attempt was made either to use indigenous women teachers or *ustanis* or to incorporate them into the new system.

¹James Johnston, *The Despatch of 1854, on General Education in India, rept. by the 'General Council on Education in India*, Edinburgh: John Marclaren & Sons, 1880, p. 28.

However, the provision for training of the school mistresses for girls' schools was not made until 1860, when the Government began establishing schools for girls in larger manner. It was thus the beginning of their training too. Likewise, the need for Inspectresses, Superintendents, and Head Mistresses also emerged as women's education in the United Provinces and all over the India progressed and expanded.

This chapter will explore the translation of women's education into various dimension of career-making, self-reliance, economic independence and most important their presence outside the home. This aspect was not thought about either by the policy makers or the reformers when they set off to reflect on women's education. This chapter will focus on emerging professions that were related to only to school education. The chapter will chart out the negotiations which were made by women to create a space for themselves. The researcher will also analyse other aspects of education besides literary education, i.e. training, skills, vocational learning, etc. It's important to note that literary foundation was quite necessary even in these spheres. This chapter will seek to answer the following questions: What was the curriculum of these skill- oriented courses for women? Did these new fields of employment help women to gain a foothold in the professional world and therefore build their persona outside the home beyond being 'good mothers and better wives'?

1. Women's Entry into Teaching

Professional teaching by women and the education of women went hand in hand. Very few girls/women continued their education until the age of 12 or 13. Marriage intervened in their studies and, in most of cases, it stopped their study.² There were prejudices about parda, caste, and religion, about who were appropriate to teach girls. Young, male teachers for instance, were considered inappropriate. In this environment, growth of women's education and teacher's education faced the same hurdles. Mary Carpenter visited India many times during the 1860s and wrote on the state of female education in India. She observed that the efforts to educate females were made by the local people, but there were no Normal Female Schools (teacher

²*Report on the Progress of Education in the North Western Provinces for the year 1874-5*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1874, pp. 85-86. Henceforth, *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P.*

training school). She recommended to the Secretary of State for India that conditions of female education could be improved only by the introduction of female teachers and the establishment of female normal schools.³ The lack of female teachers and Female Normal schools were one of the most important factors which retarded the progress of female education in the United Province in particular and all over India in general.

The establishment of training schools also faced specific problems. It was very hard to get women who were able and willing to be trained, other than widows, since women were married off at a young age.⁴ Mary Carpenter wrote that:

It is so contrary to the social customs of the Hindus to have girls taught by men after a very early age, and so evidently improper in itself considered, that mothers decidedly prefer female teachers, even if these are of an inferior quality, or of another religion; and owing to the removal of the young girls at so early an age from schools taught by men, very little progress can be made from generation to generation until suitable schools, taught by female teachers, are provided.⁵

She recommended that the Government should establish one good Normal School at their expense. Native, European, and Eurasian ladies who were English educated should receive good training. She suggested preparing female teachers from “the material” which existed in India. She further recommended that, a lady superintendent, who will be responsible to the government for the entire management of the institution, could be obtained from England on the salary of rupees 200 per month.⁶

For the success of the girls’ school, female teachers therefore had to be employed. Although supplemented by the recruitment of old male teachers in girls’ schools, the demand for female education created the demand for women teachers. In the 1860s, many times it reported that ‘women who were formerly persuaded that it was a disgrace to become teachers are now coming forward for employment.’ It raised some

³ *Proceeding of Education in the Home Department for the year 1877*, Calcutta: Superintendent Printing, pp. 98-99.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 93.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 101.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 94.

questions: Why they were going for employment? Was it only due to change in the attitude of people towards the female education or any practical measures adopted by Government? The Government ordered that new schools will be opened only on grant-in-aid principles. To be eligible, one had to open the school and bear at least half or one-third expense.⁷ It has already been explored in the first chapter, that many elites, whether *Zamindars* or reformers, took much interest in women's education. They were opening private schools for their community as has been discussed in the second chapter. In this context it becomes necessary to turn our attention to examine the development and expansion of teacher training programmes.

1.1 Training Women Teachers

In the North Western Provinces, first, normal schools for men were established in June 1855. During 1856 and 1857, normal schools were also opened up at Meerut and Benares. The event of 1857 affected the opening of normal school temporarily but later it resumed and continued till 1860, increasing the number of trainees to 565. In Oudh, first, a normal school for men was established in 1864 with ten trainees. A stipend of rupees 6 per *mensem* (month) was given to trainees.⁸ Training female teachers and establishment of normal schools for women was started only around 1859-60 when a scheme for getting female teachers was adopted in United Provinces. Under that scheme, all the *Hulkabundi* teachers were told to spend some hours instructing grown up female of the male teacher's house. If that female could collect few girls to teach, they were given a rupee or two a month: just as male teacher received incentives after proper qualification obtained in schools, women too were given a separate salary.⁹ The experiment of preparing widows for the teaching profession was adopted in a few places. Women were sent to work as teachers for many reasons: it was a respectable job, women could earn for the family, and employment as teachers reduced the dependence of women on their relatives. Twenty such women were under the training in the six of the Girls' Schools in 1862. Poor

⁷Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1866-67, p. 36.

⁸Report of the North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorial Addressed to the Education Commission, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884, p. 26, Hereafter, *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*.

⁹Report on the Progress of Education in the N. W. P. for the year 1862-63, p. 38.

women who had made satisfactory progress were receiving Rs. 2 a month as a subsistence allowance.¹⁰

During 1862, there were some examples of mother or wife of Hulkabundi teacher teaching in girls' schools. For instance, at Hussuyara School the teacher was mother of Hulkabundi teacher and she was assisted by a younger son in this work where as in the school at Masani, the teacher was *Hulkabundi* teacher's wife. In the school at Masani, in 1862, five pupils were too old and could not appear in the school during the inspection.¹¹ In the school at Karanbas in 1862, thirty-three girls, aged from 6 to 12, and six adult widows were pupils. Each widow got one rupee monthly allowances. If they wished to become teachers, it was further increased to rupees 2. After being trained or prepared, they could be appointed in towns where the relatives of their deceased husband lived, and advocated to open schools there. These women had influence in their villages, and relatives were indeed happy and be relieved of expenses of these widow women. Similarly, the Ramghat school had forty-one girls, and three adult widows who were preparing to be teachers.¹²

By 1859, some women had established their schools and began working as teachers. School buildings belonging either to the teacher's husband or her father were in use, and in some cases the place was provided by the *Zamindar or Patwari*, at other times, it was rented out. In many of the cases, woman teachers were assisted by their husbands, sons or fathers. These men helped to persuade people to send their girls to schools.¹³ They encouraged women in their homes to start schools, since assistant of women teachers also received a salary. That helped them financially and gave them the much coveted government employment.¹⁴ According to grant-in-aid rules, one could apply for the grants if the Inspectress/Inspector was satisfied with the condition of the school. As there was initially a dearth of female teachers, the Government generously provided grants on more lenient ground than to boys' schools.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid*, p. 39.

¹³*Ibid*, pp. 39-45.

¹⁴*Ibid*, p. 44.

The report of 1861-62 confirmed the idea that many families in Etah district had elderly men teaching their 'married or grown up girls' in a private house, as they hoped to get employment for their girls.¹⁵ There was greater appreciation of the education of women by 1860s. A few teachers were procured to teach the girls till 1863. However the problem was that the girls were required to assist their parents in the domestic work and field work and this also kept them away from schools. Those girls who attended school could spare very little time for reading. But the educational officials felt that if some schools flourished, it would create a demand for more schools, and encourage people to open schools themselves.¹⁶

This movement of appointment of women teachers was accelerated under the Inspectorship of Thakur Kalyan Singh (Deputy Inspector of Female Schools of 2nd circle) under the direction of Mr. Reid (Lieutenant Governor of North-Western Provinces) in 1863. They resumed the movement to train Indian women who were related to teachers as schoolmistresses. It was much successful attempt this time as 17 new schools were soon established, and many of the girls attended *Hulkabundi* schools so that later on they could manage their own schools and play role of teachers.¹⁷

He confirmed that many *Hulkabundi* teachers had begun to train their female relatives so that they could qualify as school-mistresses. They intended to work with them as their assistants to improve their own financial positions. Thakur Kalyan Singh looked forward to spread female education through opening up schools for high and influential families. In this plan, girls school could stand 'next (*status*) if not equal to those of boys, as girls are generally possessed of better memory and less selfishness than of the boys.' Girls' schooling was however not understood as equal learning to that of boys. For instance, Algebra was considered very tough for women. Thakur Kalyan Singh, who reported that some women teachers were 'lazy', admitted that others were enterprising, and 'one has even carried her studies into algebra.' He

¹⁵Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-2, p. 29.

¹⁶Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1863-64, p. 45.

¹⁷Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-62, p. 29.

accepted ability of Hindu girls to teach.¹⁸ Thakur Kalyan Singh further suggested that English women be appointed to organise Normal classes at all chief stations. Teachers trained at those classes could teach in village schools.¹⁹

Najm-ul-Akhbar, a newspaper of Meerut reported that the Deputy Inspector of Bulandshahr revised the plan to ensure the appointment of women teachers for the stability of female schooling in 1863. He wrote that ‘if widows are instructed, the schools will become gradually settled institutions’. The Deputy Inspector called it principally an excellent plan (*nihayat hi munasib*). This plan was implemented in three districts Aligarh, Meerut and Bulandshahr.²⁰

These women had received elementary instruction from their husbands and fathers. That made it easy for them and they required only a few months training. However, most women wanted to work nearer their own homes and preferred not to venture further away.²¹ This at times created difficulty in training the ‘right sorts’ of candidates. Mrs. Graves, Inspectress, had difficulty in getting ‘right sort’ of candidates for the normal schools. She wrote in 1872 that newly married women or young mother were not willing to come to normal school and young widows could attend the normal classes only if somebody from her relation worked in the schools as staff member. Therefore, only wives of village schools teachers were among the most accessible class of teachers.²² Mrs Graves, preferred young ladies to be sent to normal schools because it was difficult to train the older women.

In the meantime, many socially and economically dominant people, who were connected with the education department, opened schools and employed women teachers. Sometimes they encouraged their wives to manage the schools. Many times women were employed in private schools and aided schools managed exclusively by the elites. The Gopeegunj School, of Mirzapur District in 1870, was maintained

¹⁸*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1863-64*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 29.

²⁰*Ibid*, p. 49.

²¹*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, p. 93.

²²*Ibid*, p. 94.

entirely by Moonshee Gungaprasahd, main Sudder Ameen of Maharajah of Benares, at an expense of Rs. 25 per mensem, and was attended by 18 girls. He employed female teachers for his school.²³ In the Futtehpoore District, at *Kote*, girls' schools were established by Sheikh Ahmad Bakhsh Khan Bahadoor. He employed a woman from Benares Normal School on salary of Rs. 15-0-0 per mensem, and she taught 32 girls in the school. The Subordinate Judge of Futtehpoore, Moulvie Qazi Vajihullah, who worked in the Education Department, allowed his wife to manage a school of 15 girls at home and appointed a teacher on salary of Rs. 8 per mensem for a school of 11 girls in Abu Nagar, about a mile away in 1871.

But the demand of 'right sort' of candidates remained high, therefore the Education Department was recommended in 1871 to *Hulkabundi* teacher to teach their wives and daughters. At the same time, in the year 1869-70, a father made an application through the Deputy Inspector to provide a stipendiary allowance to his daughter so that she could reside in Agra and attend normal classes. Afterwards, endeavours were made to provide training for married couples in the normal school system.²⁴ If on one hand the Hindu women were keen to become teachers where as on the other hand, there was lack of interest to attend training institutions among Muslim women. They did not go to training institutions in sufficient numbers. In some places, as Mrs. Etherington, Inspectress reported in 1874-5, *Zamindar of Benares* requested trained teachers to come to their village and open school. There was lack of Muslim teachers who could teach Urdu. Muslim teachers were needed as very few attended normal schools.²⁵ It was also the reason behind the lack of interest among Muslim community to send their daughters to schools.

Overall, these schemes were not very successful. There were four normal schools for girls until the year 1872. They were in Aligurh, Agra, and Benares, and one newly opened in Moradabad.²⁶ The paucity of female teachers was evident even in the early twentieth century, since the Government approved the re-employment of

²³ *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1870-71*, pp. 60-62A (appendix).

²⁴ *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 52.

²⁵ *Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1874-5*, p. 66.

²⁶ *Report on the Progress of Education in the North-Western Provinces for 1872-3*, p. 93.

superannuated male teachers in girls' schools in 1908 and renewed that every five years until 1922.²⁷ Old male teachers used to teach in the girls' schools as people were against their daughters being taught by a young male teacher. At the same time, the government began encouraging women to take up teaching. Simultaneously there was repeated demand to encourage schoolmasters to teach their wives. Again, in the year 1907, a proposal was made to encourage schoolmasters to teach their wives. All inspectors of schools unanimously agreed to accept this scheme as a trial. This scheme was not quite successful as the Director of Public Instruction commented that the vast majority of teachers did not allow their wives to serve as teachers despite the offer of inducements in 1908. During 1870s, willingness of many of *Hulkabundi* teachers was recorded but all through early twentieth century, they did not show any interest in the scheme. The DPI reported that, only some teachers in the Bundelkhand division, and a larger number in the Naini Tal district showed their willingness to teach their wives and to allow them to serve as a schoolmistress. The Director of Public Instruction recommended the scheme experimentally. It was also suggested that '(1) near female relations, especially widows, under the care of teachers be not excluded from the scheme (2) that inspections and examinations be conducted exclusively by ladies; and (3) successful candidates be appointed at places where their husbands or near relatives are employed.'²⁸

The government produced female teachers through the provision of incentives, such as scholarships and rewards. However, these scholarships and rewards were given on the condition that the recipient showed her willingness to serve as a teacher or as a governess by giving consent in written form following which the department decided whether it was satisfied with her teaching abilities or not. Scholarship could be withdrawn in case of an unfavourable inspectress' report regarding the recipient's progress in her studies. Arrangements for travelling allowances²⁹ and strict

²⁷'Employment in Girls' Schools of Superannuated Male Teachers', File no. 69/1908, Education Department, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, 1908.

²⁸File no 332A- 22/1908, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, 1908, p. 1.

²⁹Third class railway fare (single) for the scholarship holders accompanied by their guardian and one anna per mile for road journey of more than five miles was given if scholarship holders were required to present themselves for the examination and inspection at place convenient to Inspectress. File no. 332A-22/1908, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, p. 1.

observance of *pardah* for the examination and when inspection occurred were made possible.³⁰

The government not only created the new profession of teaching, but also provided concessions to women time to time. For instance, in the year 1911, the practice of granting special maternity leave to school mistresses began in the education department of India in order to popularize teaching among Indian women. The secretary of the state for India approved of this measure, leaving it to the wishes of local government to implement it. The Secretary and Education Department of the United Provinces also approved and sanctioned the leave classified as 'hospital leave' under Article 288 of the Civil Service Regulations, granting full pay to school mistress during the child birth. The secretary of the state of India recommended that leave with full pay should be given up to two months or in exceptional cases, three months to those who presented a medical certificate. Those who were not able to provide medical certificates were given full pay leave only for one month and further leave on half pay.³¹ The Director of Public Instruction of United Provinces consulted a Chief Inspectress and sanctioned leave with full pay for three-month if schoolmistresses provided medical certificates and one month's leave on full pay or further leave on half pay in cases where no such medical certificate could be obtained, since very few female teachers consulted a qualified medical practitioner.³²

In spite of above mentioned efforts, the Muslim women lagged behind in attending training institutions. In the year 1925-26, the chief inspector of girls' schools recommended provisions for the education of Muslim girls in Model schools. It was demanded by the Muslim intelligentsia that Urdu should be taught in the Government model girls schools as they usually taught only Hindi, which attracted only Hindu girls. By 1920, there was a perceptible demand for education among Muslim women,

³⁰File no 332A- 22/1908, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, 1908, p. 2.

³¹'Proposal to Grant Special Leave to School Mistresses to Meet the Exigencies of the Childbirth', File no 24/1911, Education Department, U. P. State Archive, Lucknow, 1911, p. 1 & p. 43.

³²*Ibid*, p. 15.

as new facilities, such as the addition of an Urdu section to existing Model Girls' schools and the opening up of new branch schools was proposed.³³

Such plans could come into practice only where government buildings were large enough 'to accommodate additional classes.' Although many girls schools offered both Hindi and Urdu as subject, but there were very few teachers who were capable to teach it. For example, in Deoband, District Saharanpur, there was an upper primary school in 1925 with two Hindi speaking teachers, but there was no provision for teaching Urdu. Similarly there were no Muslim girls in Mainpuri School. Although there was a proposal to establish separate schools for untouchable women and Muslim girls, but only new sections for Muslim girls was suggested.³⁴

Even in the Gorakhpur, many Muslims felt that their daughters were being neglected. Until 1925, only Hindi was taught, and there was no space for larger classes or additional section or separate schools for Muslim. While working themselves with Urdu language, they demanded education for their daughters and women. Although the question of Hindi-Urdu in the education was given importance even when *Hulakbundi* schools were started as what we have seen in first chapter, but this question became more politicised in the early twentieth century.³⁵ In the late nineteenth century, Muslim men were not sending their girls to school and preferred home instruction or dispersion/filtration of education through educated men. But by the early twentieth century, there was greater demand for schooling outside the home, and in Urdu which have been linked to the emergence of a sharper identity politics among Hindu and Muslim, leading to the language divide between Hindi and Urdu.³⁶ In Badaun, a separate Muslim Model School was closed during the time of non-cooperation movement and was transferred to Shahjahnpur. The request of the

³³ File no. 997/1925, Education Department, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, 1925, p. 1.

³⁴ File no. 997/1925, Education Department, U. P. State Archive, Lucknow, pp.1-2.

³⁵For language politics in North India, see, Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harischandra and Nineteenth Century Benares*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997; Farina Mir, *The Social Spaces of Languages: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*, California: University of California Press, 2010; Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power: Language-Learning among the Muslim of Pakistan and North India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

³⁶File no. 997/1925, Education department, U. P. State Archive, Lucknow, pp. 1-5.

Muslim community for its reopening was put forward through a petition along with the request to add a new section of Urdu in the Hindu school. In response to the petition it was stated that there was no possibility of adding a new section in the existing Hindu school, though the additions were suggested at Kasgunj or Etah. The Chief Inspectress recommended opening a new section at Fyzabad girls' school, which was accepted and approved by the Education Department in 1925.³⁷

1.2 Caste in the Recruitment of Teachers

Colonial officials' maintained caste prejudices while framing the policy of teacher training. The indigenous elite played an important role in exerting pressure on them. The Government knew that the training of upper caste young women would be a beneficial investment in the long run where as training low caste women will not be helpful in the recruitment of upper caste girls. In fact during nineteenth-century the focus of women education was on elite and upper caste women. Two important aspect to be noted in context to the decision to employ suitable candidates for training was that, firstly, they could either be high caste candidates or, secondly, Woman of 'decent/respectable character' who could influence other people. These criteria were important, as high caste people would not send their daughter to any low caste teacher or one who was not a person of 'decent character', although records did not mention these criteria for the education of boys. The Government took care not to inter-mix castes in the schools. The question of 'respectability', 'upper caste', 'decent character', 'old', and preferably 'widows' as teachers were linked with the maintenance of caste order and hierarchy.

Shiv Prasad, an educationist, and Inspector while speaking about the recruitment of the female teachers to the Hunter Commission in 1882, emphasised on the maintenance of caste hierarchy: 'Generally, I selected them (female teacher) from the Brahman or other high castes, and those who were known to the villagers and towns' people and enjoyed their confidence.'³⁸The people wished to train upper caste and

³⁷*Ibid*, p. 5.

³⁸Evidence of Babu Siva Prasad to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 324.

'respectable' women as teachers and preferably widows and old women. Even in 1882, Tota Ram suggested that elderly women, who had knowledge of Hindi, could impart primary education to girls. Native women were reluctant to get government appointment, but they were given permission to open girls' schools in their houses. Likewise others, Tota Ram also preferred teaching of girls from 'respectable families in their respective houses and under the direct supervision of their mothers or other female guardians.' He confirmed that process of imparting education specially when it was given by European women must be supervised by parents.³⁹ Similarly, Sarvadhikari criticised zenana missionary ladies as they mixed up instruction and religion. He recommended that Indian ladies should go to high caste houses to teach women as they would not mix up religion and instruction. He favoured opening up normal schools for women throughout the country to train high caste women. According to him, only Elderly *Brahmin*, and *Chattri (Kshatriyas)* or other high caste widows could qualify to be zenana teachers. He rejected the idea of taking teaching as a profession to women other than those from higher castes and respected families.⁴⁰ He denied the contribution of European zenana mission in the promotion of female education and called them unqualified. European zenana was looked with distrust and people thought their main objective was to spread the principles of their religion. Their education was seen as suspicious.⁴¹ He questioned their abilities as they were not good with vernacular knowledge. As mentioned earlier the people were averse to sending their daughters for education as they mixed religion with instruction. He suggested that the government should subsidise zenana missions only when they imparted secular education.⁴²

Babu Priyanath Mitter, opened a Normal School for Women, in Ourai, a village, some 13 miles from the city of Futtehpore in 1865. The place was selected keeping in mind the wishes of the respectable residents of the quarter. Babu Priyanath Mitter opined that women pupil teachers would be able to study more quietly in the village than in

³⁹Evidence of Tota Ram to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 341.

⁴⁰*Ibid*, pp. 364-65.

⁴¹Evidence of Raj Sarvadhikari to the Indian Education Commission, in *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 465.

⁴²*Ibid*.

the city where pupils would be 'exposed to the gaze, and perhaps derision, of the vulgar.' Only those pupils were chosen who were from respectable families, were of high caste, and of 'gentle character'.⁴³ Pupils were of high caste, but often belonged to poor agricultural families or others financially in need. Most women who joined were *Brahmin* or *Thakur*, but largely widows. Nandy was a *Brahmin* widow of village Nairaini, from the agricultural profession, who earned a stipend of Rupees. 3 while Rukmani Kuwar, also a *Brahmin*, was married, and belonged to a *Zamindar* family. Others included Govindi, a *Brahmin* widow of village Ourai, Luchmi Kawar, a *Thakur* widow from Sidhoura village and service family. Besides, Sithah Kuwar and Nidhiya were also *Brahmin* widows belonging to village *Bhasroul* and were from agricultural families. Most candidates were between 20 years to 40 years, and enjoyed stipends between 3 and 4 rupees.⁴⁴

In 1869-70, however, there were complaints that suitable women (of course from respectable or high classes) were not coming to normal schools. There were lots of vacancies emerging in village girls' schools, but the salary was not enough to encourage them to accept such posts. Inspectress wrote that, '...two of their class-fellows obtained the headmistress-ships of the Allygurh and Muttra Normal Schools respectively, the remaining ones are unwilling to go out for anything under Rs. 15 or 20 per month. An offer of an appointment at Ajmere of the monthly value of Rs. 20 declined by all of them.'⁴⁵ This clearly shows that they were more bothered about distance from home than salary.

Major Fisher, the secretary of Kumaon, Director of Public Instruction in 1875, wrote on the prejudices in Almora and suggested that 'education of females must commence in the upper and not the lower crusts of society to spread amongst a conservative people.'⁴⁶ He wrote that female education in Kumaon will not progress 'until a normal school send out *native ladies of good families* as teachers and visitors to the homes of

⁴³ *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1865-66*, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 36.

⁴⁵ *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 56

⁴⁶ M. Kempson, *Reports of the Local Educational Committees for 1873-74*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1874, p. 55.

the agricultural community.’ To make it clear he explained that, in these questions confusion between ‘caste’ and ‘class’ frequently occurred. He said that ‘when the children of a rich *Bunniah*, for example, are taught their letters by a poor Brahman, they suffer no contamination ‘by contact with the lowest strata of society.’ The male teachers employed were old Pundits, whom the girls may laugh at, but the association with whom is no manner of degradation, so long as the parents approve of their moral character. Almost all the girls who came to school were of the Brahman caste, and no low-caste children were tolerated either by the teachers or parents. He suggested that the only way to educate and train the low-caste children would be in special schools.⁴⁷ Here he emphasised on two aspects: firstly, the moral character of teachers and secondly, expansion of female education among the upper caste without taking care of the class (poverty) of the person. He also suggested that the authorities of education department should understand native viewpoints. A British gentleman would never send his daughter to any Ragged School of London, in the same way it should not be expected from a native gentleman that he would send his daughter to be taught by an old male teacher of lower strata of society.

1.3 Employment, Qualifications and Courses of Study

Although being from upper caste/class and ‘decent character’ was the qualification to become a teacher, there were other criteria also which determined training of teachers. Low salary and variations, the meagre stipend, possibilities of recruitment outside their native place, and the duration of the training period were some of the other reasons which determined the reluctance of people to join the training institute.

At times the women belonging to respectable families, who were involved in teaching at their homes, wanted employment. Often they started a small school and taught the girls of their family and friends. They also admitted girls of their neighbourhood in order to gain recognition by the Government or municipality. For the government they were most suitable candidates. It was reported that, ‘there are young women brought up in Government or aided schools who would be the very ones for a training school if one could get them at the age of 17 or 18, but they marry and do not need

⁴⁷*Ibid*, p. 55.

employment, or if they do, they also begin by starting private schools.’ Therefore, Normal Schools of Government got only those women who did not have any prior education. Only widows and poor women attended normal schools, largely for monetary purposes.⁴⁸

Normal schools also used to teach reading and writing since reports mentioned that there were some pupil teachers who did not have such basic skills. In 1872-73, an Inspectress refused to admit any pupil who could not read and write and could not stay in the school for a certain period of time. It was to stress that pupil should have taken her school education properly.⁴⁹ There were some stipendiaries who could not even recognize letter and write them.⁵⁰ Some women went back their home if they could not make progress and Women could not be kept against their will.⁵¹ By 1874-5, reading and writing became the minimum qualification for pupil teachers for attending the Government Normal School.⁵²

The Aligarh Normal school during 1871-72, had only 20 pupils. In the whole year, there were 14 admissions and 13 withdrawals. There were many important reasons behind the withdrawal. The prospect of an appointment outside their village/city, the expectation that they should have an elementary knowledge of the subject, and even the modest stipend were some of the reasons. Some women were ready to go further if they were given higher salaries but Inspectress was reluctant to send any incompetent teachers. While Head mistress and Assistant teachers were both competent, there was a huge disparity in their salaries. The Head mistress was given Rs.30 per month, on the other hand; assistant teacher was given only Rs. 6 per month.⁵³ Similarly Banno Khanam, Mistress in Benares, Khundiyyar Tola got a salary of rupees 8; Manjan, Mistress in Kala Goli, Benares got the salary of rupees 8; Gunga Kuwar in Mirzapur town school got the salary of rupees 6 and Munki in the Benares city school got the

⁴⁸*Report on the Progress of Education of N.W.P. for the year 1874-75*, pp. 66-67.

⁴⁹Commented by C.A. Elliot, Secretary to Government, See *Report on the Progress of Education of N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 18 annexe

⁵⁰*Ibid*, p. 85.

⁵¹*Ibid*, pp. 85-86.

⁵²*Report on the Progress of Education of N.W.P. for the year, 1874-75*, pp. 65-66.

⁵³*Report on the Progress of Education of N.W.P. for the year, 1873-74*, p. 86.

salary of rupees 6.⁵⁴ In 1873, the inspectress recommended a revision of the salary. The government approved three grades of salary for the teachers: Rs. 10, Rs. 8 and Rs. 6. The government wished to enforce the system of paying for results and accordingly salaries too.⁵⁵ The Education reports stated that stipends to pupil women teachers and salary of women teachers should be increased to such an extent 'to attract a fairly large sized class.'⁵⁶

Above all, the teachers' salary was not uniform. It varied according to the qualification of teachers and local conditions of the schools. In 1872-3 Anudee, mistress of the Normal school of Moradabad was paid rupees 15; Mohnee, village school teacher, of Aligarh, was paid rupees 7; Basantee, the teacher at Khurja (Bulandhsahar), was paid rupees 10, Sunder teacher at Jewar (Bulanshahur) got rupees 10.⁵⁷ Sunder was the wife of *Hulkabundi* teacher near Hattrass, who went back to her village after training where the Deputy Inspector was supposed to open a school soon.⁵⁸

On the other hand the average salary of *Hulkabundi* male teachers in the 1st and 2nd classes was Rs. 7-8-0, and in the 3rd class, Rs. 6-8-0, and second teacher or assistant teacher in the 1st classes was Rs. 5. The actual rate of salary varied from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12 for the male teachers.⁵⁹ It seems there was not much difference in the salaries of male and female teacher but male teachers also benefitted from different works connected to schools which supplemented their income and made their salary higher. Sometimes, '...the salary is supplemented by the fees of the pupils, which are paid in cash or in kind; or allowances for the performances of other duties such as supervision of the post office, teaching in the girls schools or in a school for adults or looking after the village library.' Simultaneously male teachers also earned through gifts, food, clothing given by their pupils and providing home tuitions. While women

⁵⁴*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1872-73*, p. 95.

⁵⁵*Report on the Progress of Education of N.W.P. for the year, 1873-74*, p. 68.

⁵⁶Sharkeshwari Agha, *Some Aspects of the Education in the United Provinces, with a forward by C.Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor of the Leader, Later Minister of Education*, United Provinces, Allahabad: The Indian Press, p. 17.

⁵⁷*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1872-3*, p. 93.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 141, Appendix-C.

teachers did not earn supplementary income as they neither accepted gifts nor performed other duties due to their domestic work.⁶⁰

Besides, women teacher needed more salary than male teachers as they needed accommodation and servants or companion to work independently.⁶¹ In 1930, Statutory Commission report recommended that women should get more salary than men, and special provisions should be made for accommodation.⁶² In the 1929, the average monthly salary of boys and girls primary school teachers was 18-8-0. Trained teachers were given rupees 17 but untrained was given 12. In United Provinces during 1927, about 25.9 percent women teachers were trained and at primary level only 13 percent women teachers were trained.⁶³

The above reasons explain that why there were demand for increase in the salaries of women teachers. They were much in demand but their availability was limited. Variation in salary also depended on factors like local circumstances, regional availability of teachers, trained/untrained, qualifications, social prejudices and type of school (government or aided schools), etc. Mrs. DeMello, Inspectress reported to the DPI in 1873 that there were applications from Mynpoory and Banda for the training of teachers. Due to less salary, women were unwilling to go far from home. While female teachers were in demand, they could not be sent to strange villages. Although they were qualified, parents often would not welcome those they did not know personally.⁶⁴ There was a problem of training the good teachers; if they underwent training somehow, they were often unable to read and write and were considered 'incapable of learning,' and if they were able to learn, they preferred an appointment in their district and were reluctant to go out for employment.⁶⁵ In Ajmer, a small stipend was offered to the wives of village teachers who agreed to qualify themselves

⁶⁰'Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission', *Indian Statutory Commission: Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1929, p. 64 & 173.

⁶¹*Indian Statutory Commission: Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, p. 180.

⁶²Agha, *Some Aspects of the Education of Women in United Provinces*, pp. 17-18.

⁶³*Indian Statutory Commission: Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, p. 64.

⁶⁴*Report on the Progress of Education of N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 83.

⁶⁵*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70*, p. 70.

under the instruction of their husbands. There was some success, but they were reluctant to join employment in the distant villages.⁶⁶

It was difficult to get competent female teachers for the Government school in comparison to aided or subscription schools, as the latter offered a higher salaries.⁶⁷ The salary of teachers decided on by the Chief inspectress was based on qualifications, and there were differences according to the regions. The Chief Inspectress explained that due to local variations where teachers agreed to work at a lower salary and it seemed unnecessary to raise their pay.⁶⁸ For example, if a teacher was trained and could teach upper primary, her salary was fixed at 15 rupees. If the teacher was trained and middle class educated in vernacular, she was given a salary of 25-30 rupees. If she only passed lower primary class, she was given ten to twelve rupees. The male *pundits* who were old and incapable, teaching in Dehradun and Sambhal (Moradabad), were given 15 rupees. In Kairana (Muzaffarnagar), a teacher who studied till class III was given a salary of ten rupees. As there was a great scarcity of teachers in the hills, teachers were given good payment there.

In Almora, for example, teachers who passed vernacular final and were trained got 30-35 rupees, and those very capable and preparing for vernacular final got a salary of about 30 rupees. While in the Bijnor, a teacher who had passed vernacular final was appointed at the salary of twelve rupees. In Pauri (Garhwal), a vernacular middle with training and experience got 25 rupees and was promised to be promoted to 30 rupees.⁶⁹

Although there was shortage of teachers but all stipendiaries of normal school did not get employment at the place of their choice. Often influential people got appointment at their native town. For teachers working in difficult areas, implied getting double salary but still they preferred working in their native place at less salary. According to

⁶⁶ 'Report of Lady Superintendent of Benares', in *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1870-71*, p. 34.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 30-31A appendix.

⁶⁸ 'Model Girls Schools in the United Provinces', File no. 177/1912, Education Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, p. 16.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 17.

one of the report, trained scholars were reluctant to go outside because, 'Some are too old; some have a home full of children to look after; some have sufficient knowledge already to do the work likely to be required of them; some are trained already; and some will not enter upon anything so contrary to native custom, but prefer to pay a Pandit from their own small pay to give them lessons at home, rather than venture to the normal school.'⁷⁰ Hence, there were different reasons which determined the recruitment of women as teachers in the schools.

In many cases, women's appointments were also not welcomed because there were some old male teachers who were already teaching in schools. These male teachers had influence over villagers which the new teacher could not trounce. Colonial officers were sometimes afraid of replacing the older teacher with women, due to the hold that the existing teachers had over both school and pupils.⁷¹ Decisions of appointment of women into girls' schools were 'guided by circumstances' as old male teachers also taught in the girls schools. Appointment of women teacher was preferred only when parents objected to sending their daughters to study under male teacher. If women teachers were available, a new school was opened. A policy was made in 1873, to open a school where Deputy Inspector either could find a woman who is ready to train or where people were ready to accept a strange woman as teachers.⁷²

In some female schools, prospective teachers also studied and received stipends. Subjects such as reading, writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Natural Science, History, grammar, needle work, and singing were taught, and these were subjects usually taught in the female schools.⁷³ The Normal school taught their scholars textbooks such as History of India, *Vidyankur*, *Bamamanorunjun*, Geography of Asia, Arithmetic-rule of three fractions.⁷⁴

⁷⁰*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 85.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1873-74*, p. 85.

⁷³*Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1870-71*, pp. 62A appendix

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 34, This is based on inspection of Allygurh Normal school, visited by Inspectress.

Mission normal schools also taught similar syllabus. The Sagra Normal school at Benares was very well known, and sent teachers to all other parts of the United Provinces. As a rule, the normal school included both methods of teaching and also the content of subject. Mrs Barr, CMS missionary, reported that the syllabus was very similar to that of the Government schools. In addition to subjects such as English, Indian History, grammar, Arithmetic, spelling, reading, diction, composition, Urdu and Hindi, the Study of scripture was important.⁷⁵ The school was opened to erase the 'superstitions' of the people and provide them secular education, unlike the other government institution.⁷⁶ Allahabad had a similar institution called 'The lady Muir Memorial' school for training of higher class teachers. This institutions further trained the girls of Benares Normal School or similar schools in religious instruction.⁷⁷

Compared to normal school for women, the normal school for men taught ordinary reading, writing, and ciphering, the History of India, General Geography, map drawing, mensuration and surveying and a teacher's manual to junior class. The senior class studied 'mensuration of solids, algebra to the end of simple equations, Euclid, book I, II, and III, with easy deduction, and more extensive course of Persian or Hindi literature (which was compulsory)'.⁷⁸ They were taught a more extensive course of study in comparison to girls. Also men were admitted to the training schools only after receiving primary education.

In 1917, Education Code of United Provinces approved some addition in the syllabus of normal schools. Government normal schools for women now included subjects such as school management, methods of teaching, simple lessons on the nature of children and their discipline, outlines of hygiene, sewing and cutting, kindergarten work, care of school premises, the vernacular language, and optional subjects such as

⁷⁵ 'Report of Mrs. Barr on Normal School, Sagra, Benares', the Indian Female Evangelist, Vol. X, London: James Nisbet & co., 1890, p. 33

⁷⁶ *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. 2, No. 16, February 1895, p. 53.

⁷⁷ 'Report of J.P. Ellwood, Sagra, Benares', in *the Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ix, No. 103, May, 1902, p. 99.

⁷⁸ *Provincial Committee of N.W.P. of 1882*, p. 26.

cooking and physical exercises.⁷⁹ The Code gave recommended that a normal school could have only six pupil teachers for training and who had passed the primary examination. Preference was given to young widows and ‘to such teachers who wish to benefit from training.’ Many times, Inspectress and local management of schools decided who could join according to their performance in the examination. Each scholar received a stipend of rupees 6 a month with travelling allowance of joining and leaving the school after finishing course. Guardians who accompanied the pupil teacher were also given travelling allowance.⁸⁰

Thus in the United Provinces during 1930-31, there were 29 primary training classes, mostly attached to government vernacular schools, three Government Normal schools, seven training classes preparing girls for the Vernacular Teachers’ Certificate examination, four English Teachers’ Certificate classes attached to aided secondary institutions and one graduate training class. The total enrollment in the different grades of training was 403, and the total output of trained teachers of all grades was 143.⁸¹ The increasing numbers of training institutions illustrate the development of women’s education and demand of trained teachers.

2. Women and School Inspection

The school inspection was a procedure to ensure not only efficient teaching and study, but also encouraged teachers to attend normal school training. The appointment of Indian women as Inspectresses was another work opportunity. The need for female Inspectresses rose from the unsatisfactory state of inspection of female schools, where male Inspectors were prohibited. The appointment of European women to these jobs was hampered since women did not usually travel alone, and when they arrived newly from Europe, they did not speak vernacular languages. Mr. Griffith (Benares Circle’s Officer) recommended in 1866 that ‘...the government might enable the lady inspector to travel about with her husband if she is married – the husband assisting the Deputy Inspectors in the examination of the boys’. He also suggested ‘...that printed

⁷⁹*The Educational Code of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1917*, Allahabad: Superintendent of Government Printing (United Provinces), p. 58.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 59.

⁸¹ Agha, *Some Aspects of the Education of Women in the United Provinces*, p. 15.

questions be handed over to the inspectress, so that “her duty will simply be to visit the girls’ schools, to count how many are present, to note their cleanliness and discipline, to examine them in needlework where they learn, and to see them write with their own hands, unassisted, and to answer the above-mentioned questions.”⁸² We see, later on, in many reports that Inspectresses, mostly Europeans, were assisted by their husbands. In 1921, in the United Provinces, the proposal was made to recruit Indian female inspector with the intention of making female education more popular. Even women from other provinces were encouraged to participate in this effort.⁸³

Mr. Graves, Inspector, remarked in 1872 that much progress of female schools could be expected if an efficient method of supervision is evolved. Girls did not attend schools due to lack of teachers commitment towards their work. He found work of *Khadimas* (ladies who called scholars from their home and were mostly well known to parents and locality), and *palkis* (*dholis*- a conveyance to carry parda girls) useless without teachers’ commitment to their work. Not simply improvement in pay, but supervision was considered necessary to make teacher’s work. On the other hand, Mr. Graves appreciated the *zenana* system of missionaries and wished to take the assistance of mission ladies in supervision and examination. He wanted to adopt the *zenana* system where women could be inspected by women. As a man, he felt unable to give suggestions to the work of female schools, suggesting the involvement of either Indian or Christian women.⁸⁴ Therefore, women’s involvement in inspection was the outcome of the inability of males to inspect girls’ schools. There was a fear that if women did not inspect the schools, *pardah-nashin* girls of these classes would not come to school. The practice of *parda* was, in fact, an important reason for the appointment of women inspector. In many cases male inspectors were not allowed to inspect the schools, in other cases, fictitious data was provided during inspection. It happened, for instance, that repeatedly the same girl, (who observed *parda*,) was sent to different schools which were about to be inspected and, therefore, the inspection

⁸²*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the Year 1866-67*, p. 39.

⁸³‘Report of the Sub-Committee on Female Education’, File no. 258, Uttar Pradesh State Archive, Lucknow, 1921, p. 8.

⁸⁴*Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1872-3*, p. 82.

was not meaningful. The numbers of girls in schools was important to obtain grant-in-aid from the government.

The *Sat Sabha* schools in Agra, which were receiving a grant-in-aid is example of such fraud practice. The inspectress, Mrs. Graves, reported that: 'The Deputy Inspector of Agra, who accompanied me on my visits to the school, but who was not allowed to enter the school rooms, stated that at one of the schools some girls came in immediately after me, and that he was told by one of the by-standers that these girls had been passed on from a school previously examined. I myself, however, did not recognize them.'⁸⁵ In these situations, where Inspectress was visiting the school, school management presented fictitious data. It became very important to have Inspectress and from time to time efficient inspection for the development of women's education.

The Inspectress did not merely examine, but also prepared a timetable for the vernaculars schools in their circles.⁸⁶ The Inspectress also used to take the exams for the award of primary vernacular teacher's certificate for women.⁸⁷ Moreover, classes were tested in all the subject of instruction by Inspectress, partly oral and written. Inspection filled the details of the classification of the school, the number of girls, and the merits and demerits of teaching in school book.⁸⁸ Besides this, Inspectress reported about moral training and conduct of the pupils, hygiene, and order of the school premises and furniture. For discipline, Inspectress ensured initiative of management of the school to cultivate the habits of punctuality, good manners, and language, cleanliness and neatness, obedience to duty and respect for other among pupils.⁸⁹ Certificates signed by the Inspectress were given to successful scholars after the examination.

⁸⁵ 'Letter of Inspectress of Female School to Director of Public Instruction', *Proceedings of the Government of the N.W.P. in the General Department for the Month of February 1872*, p. 67.

⁸⁶ *The Educational Code of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 46.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 59.

⁸⁸ *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P for the year 1873-74*, pp. 70-71.

⁸⁹ File no. 84 A, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow, September 1898, p. 19.

Pundit Hurgyan Singh, the secretary of Bulandhshar, reported to the Director of Public Instruction that due to the appointment of first native Inspectress, named Mussumaat Khushhal Kuanr in 1874, in the Bulundhshar, district schools flourished.⁹⁰ Kuanr used to go out and inspect every girls' schools in the district. Hurgyan Singh remarked that, 'I am glad to state that her appointment has done a great deal of good towards the education of the girls.'⁹¹ He further emphasised on the effect of the appointment of Inspectress on learning and teaching. To quote:

A large collection of specimens of handwriting and needle-work was exhibited by the girls of the different schools in the agricultural show held at Boolundhuhur on 5th February last; the specimens were admired by all the European and native gentlemen that attended the show, and pecuniary rewards and prizes, amounting to Rs. 85, were awarded to 18 girls. Out of the 18 girls who got prizes, there were eight of the *Ramghat* Girls Schools alone. One girl, named Gungea, exhibited a map of India which she prepared by needle on a large piece of cloth; the map was done up admirably well, and the girl received a prize of Rs. 10 for it. Some of the girls exhibited first rate specimens of needle-work of beads and fancy punkhas, which attracted the notice of the European ladies who honoured the show by their presence.⁹²

In 1924, there were nine Inspectresses of schools besides the Chief Inspectress in the United Provinces. The Director of Public Instruction stressed on the special need of inspection of girls' school in cases where the teachers lived in seclusion so that visit of Inspectresses can work as a stimulus for the development of the school. The Director did not feel the necessity to increase the numbers of Inspectress while he suggested that if girls' schools become stronger and more efficient, inspection would take less time, leaving more time for new and struggling institutions.⁹³ On average, 117 schools were to be inspected by each inspectress. In 1924, it was noted that some schools, especially model schools which trained teachers, needed frequent inspection. Some schools were located at the Inspectress' headquarters, while most were in other districts of the headquarter. It was difficult for the inspectress to devote much of her time to schools, as this would imply spending more than 150 days on tour. There were other difficulties too which decreased the number of days of actual inspection,

⁹⁰M. Kempson, *Reports of the Local Educational Committee for 1873-74*, p. 5.

⁹¹*Ibid*, p. 5.

⁹²*Ibid*, p. 5.

⁹³'Report of the Economy Committee of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh', File no. IOR/Q/SCS/26, India Office Records, British library, Allahabad: Government Superintendent Press, 1924, p. 111.

'Firstly, journeys are made by train, often the timing are very awkward and in some places frequent night journeys are necessary. Secondly, the problem of finding conveyance is constant and often those available mean much fatigue, e.g. where a journey of 15 or 20 miles is made in a hired ekka or bailgari. Thirdly, the inspectresses stay at inspection *dak bungalows* and tours are frequently interrupted by unforeseen difficulties in getting accommodation in these.'⁹⁴ In fact these were the reasons to keep all the schools which did not observe *parda* and other schools which were inaccessible to the Inspectress under the care of deputy inspector. In spite of the mentioned difficulties, women inspectors were still desirable because it was stated that:

1. The better class of women teachers prefer to be under the control of a woman; the type of woman who is willing to take up teaching is gradually improving a most important matter (and this improvement would be checked were the prospect of working under women decreased.) 2. The inspectresses take great personal interest in their teachers; they do much to guide and encourage them and consequently the character of the school and its appeal to the public is very largely determined by their influence on it. Personal influence of this kind could not be exercised by a man in this way. 3. The inspectress keep an eye on young widows and girls who are likely to become teachers and induce them to join schools or training classes; as they come into close contact with them they can inspire the confidence necessary to induce girls and women of this kind to venture on leaving their home. 4. Besides inspecting schools the inspectresses also examine women who are studying privately in order to become teachers; very few of these would appear before men.⁹⁵

The above quotation claims that education of the 'better class of women' or 'respectable women' was very important for colonial officials. The practice of *parda* remained an important issue in context to the infrastructure of the school, the examination system and the appointment of various teaching posts, etc. In the year 1913, Government provided concessions to school mistress and female members of the inspecting staff as they were very significant posts. Many of the Inspectresses were of British origin, often missionaries or wives of British education officers, who were usually Inspector themselves. They were provided conveyance allowances of Rs. 30 per mensem where there were more than 30 schools under the headquarters.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 115.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 115-16.

⁹⁶ 'Concession to School Mistress and Female Members of the Inspecting Staff', File no. 454/1913, Education U.P. State Archive, p. 20, & Correspondence from Secretary to Government, United Provinces, to Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Nainital, No. 1734, 11th September, 1914, p. 30.

Director of Public Instruction also revised new pension scheme for Inspectress and school mistress and this made the profession more attractive. The Director of Public Instruction in 1914, recommended that 'an Inspectress should be privileged to earn at the age of 45 one half of the pension to which she would ultimately be entitled on retirement after completing full service, provided that the inspectress joined service before twenty seven years of age.' The Inspectress who joined after age of 27, they had to serve eighteen years to get privileges of pension and on the other hand, who joined after 27 years and wished to retire at the age of 45, proportionate reduction was made from their pension. And for the Inspectresses who were earlier mistress, their previous service was counted and twenty five years of service was required to get full pension.⁹⁷

3. Learning Skills for the Market

While the education of women was skill oriented throughout the colonial period, it was usually skills that were exclusively for home. By the 1880s, new skills were included in school curricula to enable poorer women to find employment in various occupations. Some vocational training was given to women as part of the school curriculum even in government schools. Famine relief work, orphanages, and widows' homes maintained by missionaries, were quite active in educating women and girls in skills for the market.

While the government was somewhat active in opening up technical schools or industrial schools for boys but it was quite negligent towards women. Needle work was part of the curriculum although it was largely due to the influence of women missionaries who started needle work to attract women to education.⁹⁸ There were some skills which were taught by mission schools. These skills, on one hand, were helpful in raising the women's self-reliance and, on the other hand, were financially helpful to the institutions. Rosemary Seton has argued that such curricula were

⁹⁷'Concession to School Mistress and Female Members of the Inspecting staff', File no. 454/1913, Education Department, U.P. State Archive, Lucknow p. 30.

⁹⁸Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Land: British Missionary Women in Asia*, California: Praeger, 2013, pp. 121-23.

evolved to cultivate traits such as cleanliness, discipline and application and to civilize and feminize women. Needlework was taught to two different kinds of women. One group consisted of those who were poor, low caste and converted women, as a means of earning money. Secondly, for elite women, it was a means of 'rescuing (them) both from idolatrous practices and from the evil of having nothing to do.' India had its traditionalist embroidery such as chikan and mirror work which had been practiced largely by men for production for the market. Many zenanas were opened in the hope of teaching fancy work or play the harmonium.⁹⁹

Miss Abbott, of the American Marathi Mission at the Bombay Missionary Conference, presented a paper in 1901, on 'The progress of women during the last decade', and focused on emerging industries for women. The famines generally brought large numbers of people to missions for help. Although they depended on outside help, different ways for self-support were envisioned. It led to the emergence of different cottage industries in India which were handled by missions and their women. Many craft industries such as rug-weaving, embroidery in silk and linen, drawn thread work, woven sarees, gardening, plain sewing, basket-weaving, chair-making, chick making, embroidery of shoes, rope-making, bead work, lace making, etc. emerged. The plain sewing, needle work and crochet were common subjects taught in mission girls' schools. While the lace-making was very popular in South where as, needle work was common in girls' schools of North India.¹⁰⁰ These works exhibitd and sold in the market to raise money for the institutions. Miss Abbott pointed out, that these industries were exclusive for men earlier, but women also began to participate in them. Women were neither competing with men nor for self-support, but these helped to keep them away from the gossip of the street or the verandah. These industries skills were to help women build self-respect, aid them financially and to prevent them from selling their soul for food.¹⁰¹

Famines became the reason for the establishment of vocational learning and vocational training institutes in India. In the south, CEZMS started lace industry in

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. x, No. 118, August 1903, p. 145.

¹⁰¹*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. xi, No. 121, November, 1903, p. 147.

village Khammameett, due to the poverty of wage labouring class who were outcaste people.¹⁰² The lack of food and indeed of work during famines made even many Christian women beg for work. Missions were more interested in teaching Christian women to earn a livelihood rather than handing out money. It was Miss Smith, CZEMS missionary, who began teaching lace-making to the poorest women. By 1923, nearly 150 women had learnt knit lace and make thread handkerchief. After the famines, many women went back to their usual jobs and gave up the lace making. But some continued it at home and got paid per piece. In the lace-making school, women were also provided scriptural lessons. It was envisaged by missionaries as a way of preventing orphans and widows from moral dangers during famines, and so that they could earn an honest living.¹⁰³

There was a similar trend in the North India and the United Provinces. During famines, many people got converted as missions provided both food and accommodation.¹⁰⁴ Relief work increased the number of converts. Then norm was not to give relief without work. Missionaries employed women to work in the garden, cleaning the compound, and building up the wall, etc. In return, their children were fed twice a day. Orphanages and Widow' Home were the main centres of vocational training, although some of the schools and relief projects also taught these skills. One has to keep in mind that, women in orphanages and Widows' Home were mostly converted Christians. As they provided boarding and lodging facilities to residents, many poor Hindus and Muslims availed these facilities and later on converted. In other words, missions taught these vocational skills to Indian Christians who were converted. In 1898, the Church Missionary Society started a famine relief program and opened up three sewing classes compound of in Bengali, Alaipura and Harha schools. These sewing classes were for poor high caste women as mentioned above, thus ,only poverty compelled the *pardanashin* women to leave their homes.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²Miss Florence Smith, 'The Beginning of the C.E.Z.M.S. Lace industry, Khammameett, South India', Letter sent to Secretary of C.E.Z.M.S. Chancery lane, London, 1924, pp. 1-3, Pamphlet, Church Missionary Society Archive, Birmingham.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. v, No. 51, January, 1898, p. 35.

¹⁰⁵*The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. v, No. 52, February, 1898, p. 53.

There is also evidence of respectable poor Muhammad families of Lucknow where the women of the family were adding extra income through embroidery and sewing after 1890. zenana missionaries had taught them these skills. In situation of famine, these conditions became worst, and government provided support along with relief work. These skills helped to minimise poverty among poor families.¹⁰⁶ Similarly in Lucknow, some poor purdah women (higher class/caste but poor) earned their living by embroidering caps, etc. though they did not get good payment. Miss Marston, a member of Sepia Committee, zenana Missionary of Lucknow proposed the opening of industrial school. Although the proposal was approved by the government but could not comply till 1897. The Government famine relief fund was for a limited time, after that relief period, women used these skills to earn their livelihood.¹⁰⁷

In the Sultanpur orphanage, experiments were made in 1900 with silk worms of Oudh so that the silk industry could be started. In 1900 Castor oil plants were planted on which silk-worms fed. Children of Sultanpur orphanages used to spin raw cotton on spinning wheels and were encouraged to spin silk as well during the annual six week holidays; children did needlework for themselves and knitted garments and laces which were sold in the hill areas.¹⁰⁸ Sultanpur orphanage taught spinning to girls. The girls spun yarn not only for their own clothes but also for the market. At Sultanpur orphanage, residents after breakfast either grounded corn, or spun raw cotton into thread. Mission had four spinning wheels; they spun according to their turn. The thread was sold in the market. The orphanage benefitted from making clothes, jackets, caps, and boots, crochet, and knitted socks which were sold in the market.¹⁰⁹ Mission orphanages disciplined and simultaneously encouraged women not to waste time, work hard, become self-reliant and of course introduce the Protestant work ethics.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ 'Report of Miss Martson, Lucknow', *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. iv, No. 42, April, 1897, p. 86.

¹⁰⁷ *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. iv., No. 48, October, 1897, p. 180.

¹⁰⁸ *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ix, No. 100, February, 1902, p. 57.

¹⁰⁹ 'Report of Miss L.E. Luce, Sultanpur Orphanage', *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. viii, No. 88, February, 1901, p. 57.

¹¹⁰ 'Report of Miss L.E. Luce Sultanpur Orphanage', *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. vii, No. 81, July 1901, p. 137.

In the Girls Orphanage of *Gorakhpur*, there were fifty-three residents (twenty-nine were daughters of widows or extremely poor parents, and sixteen were boarders) of whom three were self-supporting as teachers and fourteen partly as they were doing the cooking and general domestic work.¹¹¹ Likewise, all thirty-two boys at the orphanage at *Gorakhpur* were entirely self-supporting. They were involved in an apprenticeship, domestic services, in a printing press and in the carpentry shop.¹¹²

Girls of the Benaras Orphanage, similarly embroidered leaves on white linen beds spreads, made blouse strips, pillow strips and tray cloths which were sold to visitors.¹¹³ Similarly in *Gorakhpur* in 1907, women were employed in drawn thread work which was taught by Mrs. Pemberton. Eighty women were employed, and many could support themselves. It helped families of cultivators when bad harvest could not give them a livelihood.¹¹⁴ Some women of *Gorakhpur* supplemented their husband's earning during hard times.¹¹⁵

In fact, the Girls' Orphanage at Benares taught their girls sewing for an hour and a half. The elder girls did the finer kinds of work such as 'drawn thread, Mountmellick, embroidering names or initials, hemstitching, handkerchiefs, crochet, net-lace work and fine plain sewing. The younger children in the lower division learned to hem, stitch, mark, make button-holes, knit, and sew their clothing.'¹¹⁶ Some of the work of drawn thread made by upper division scholars was sent to England for sale and the money earned was used for the development of the mission. When some of the girls

¹¹¹ 'Annual Letter of Rev. J.N. Carpenter, *Gorakhpur*', *Extracts from the Annual Letter of the Missionaries for the year, 1905, Part IX, United Provinces, and British Columbia*, London: Church Missionary House, 1906, p. 496.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 492.

¹¹³ 'Annual letters of Miss E. Bedford, Girls Orphanage, Benares', *Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1907, Part VII, United Provinces and Uganda*, London: Church Missionary House, 1908, p. 313.

¹¹⁴ 'Annual letters of The Rev. J. F. Pemberton, *Gorakhpur*,' *Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1908, part V, Central Provinces and Rajputana, United Provinces, and Uganda*, London: Church Missionary House, 1909, p. 270.

¹¹⁵ 'Annual Letters of Miss M.S. Lawson, *Gorakhpur*', *Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1908, part V, Central Provinces and Rajputana, United Provinces, and Uganda*, London: Church Missionary House, 1909, p. 273.

¹¹⁶ 'Annual Letter of Miss E. Bedford, Girls' Orphanage, Benares', *Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1900, Part x, Bengal and North-West Provinces*, London: Church Missionary House, 1901, pp. 415-16.

were not able to teach, they earned money by vocation like needlework. Some scholars earned money during holidays.¹¹⁷

Many mission schools participated in exhibitions and sent their scholars' work in the exhibitions. In 1902, the Indian Christian Exhibition was being organised in Allahabad, where girls of Gorakhpur mission school sent thread work, girls of Sagra School, Benares, and schools of Muirabad¹¹⁸ sent work on lace, crochet, and plain needlework.¹¹⁹

The Agra Girls High school in 1903, used to provide domestic training to their scholars. School organised 'Domestic Arts Prizes Competition' in which participants had to 'cut out and make various garments fit themselves, and also to undergo tests in cooking and mending, etc.' School taught these subjects regularly in the school throughout the year. 120 Secundra Orphanage (also established after 1861 famine) was Co-Ed orphanage, both girls and boys lived. It supported destitute children and helped them to become self-employees. Weaving (dari/carpet, cloth making) and carpentry was taught to boys. The weaving shop (1898) and carpentry workshop (1901) were established under school management. 121 Their workshop received four prizes in Lucknow Exhibitions for Christian industries. 122 While boys were provided training into printing, bookbinding, carpentry, cloth weaving and carpet weaving, etc.

¹¹⁷ *Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1900, part x, Bengal and North-West Provinces*, London: Church Missionary House, 1901, p. 416.

¹¹⁸ After Mutiny, many Christians from Secundra came to Allahabad and settled there. Sir William Muir asked Government to grant piece of lands for Christians and Church for them. The majority of the residents were employed in government offices and connected with Government printing press as they were well educated. They opened a school for villagers too, in *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. viii, No. 96, 1901, p. 201.

¹¹⁹ *The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India*, Vol. ix, No. 103, May, 1902, p. 102.

¹²⁰ 'Annual Letter of Miss K.C. Wright, Girls High School, Agra', *Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1902, Part VII, United Provinces of India*, London: Church Missionary House, 1903, p. 304.

¹²¹ 'Annual Letter of E. T. Pegg, Orphanage Secundra', *Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1902, Part VII, United Provinces of India*, London: Church Missionary House, 1903, pp. 313-15.

¹²² 'Annual Letter of E. T. Pegg, Orphanage Secundra', *Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1902, Part VII, United provinces of India*, London: Church Missionary House, 1903, p. 315.

along with reading, writing, arithmetic and spiritual training,¹²³ a separate mistress was appointed to teach skills of lace manufacture to girls. It showed how missionaries themselves were reinstating division of labour. In U.P. *chikankari* (local embroidery) and tailoring had been a male profession but the mission school started and fixed feminization of labour division.

The reason to bring women into tailoring profession was that if women knew sewing, they did not have to go outside. It was mentioned by Ram Prasad Tiwari in the textbook for girls' school during 1871 that: *Darzi bahuda kam milat, dine yhu dune daam, jo hai so nahin karta hai, man maane ka kaam, hoat bahut sanjog aash, milta na darzi koi, vastra bina vich swajan mein, bhang pratishtha hoi, kaam pare sileghu, jo jaanhunge aap, bhali pratishtha hoyegi, gun sikhe nahin paap.*¹²⁴

(Mostly we get very few tailors, and we usually give double money for their service. They do not satisfactorily do what we ask them to do. Many times, we do not get any tailor. Due to our lack of clothes, we are insulted by our dear ones. When there is a need, you help yourself. You can prevent insult and there is no sin in learning any skill.)

Women were thereby saved from insult in public festivals. To have the sewing skill was an honoured quality. Likewise, textbooks in zenana schools in Allahabad during 1869, valued this skill, as expressed in this passage:

*Harek stri ko sine pirone ki vidya mein thoda bahut avasya karke nipun hona chahiye aur issh baat ke liye Europe vasiyo mein yeh kahavat prasiddh hai ki samay par ka ek tanka nau tanke ko bachta hai... England ki bahut maein apni aisi thi jo apne ladkiyo ke pahine odhne ke kapde ko suyiyoo se silane ki santi apne aap see leti hai, silai ke vratha uthane ko bachati hai. Isiliye bharat ki maein ko bhi aisa hi karna chahiye.*¹²⁵

¹²³Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries for the year 1902, Part VII, United Provinces of India, London: Chruch Missionary House, 1903, p. 315.

¹²⁴Ram Prasad Tiwari, *Sutaprabodh*, Allahabad: Government Printing, 1871, p. 5.

¹²⁵Zenana Reading Book- *Ratn Mala artharth Striyaon ke Grih Sambandhi Karm aur Baloko ke Ucchit riti shiksha Nirmit Pustak, First Edition, (2000 copies)*, Allahabad: The Christian Vernacular Education society, Mission Press, 1869, pp. 40-41.

(Every woman should be an expert in the arts of knitting and sewing to some extent. For this, there is a saying among Europeans that a stitch at the right time prevents a hundred stitches. In England, many mothers stitch the cloths for their daughters themselves and save the expense of sewing. That's why Indian mothers should also do this.)

As discussed above, home duties and early marriage made it very difficult for girls to attend schools regularly. The curriculum was modified so that within limited period women could also be taught vocational skills. Inquiries of the Commission, 1919 recommended that the making of jellies, jams, chutneys, curry powder and oil should be included in the curriculum of vocational schools. The Commission acknowledged that cooking, plain sewing, embroidery, lace making, spinning, weaving or basket making should be part of the curriculum in schools but it in addition recommended connecting girls' education to new demands of labour in the market. Large towns had growing demand of skilled and unskilled female labour for e.g. demand for leather workers grew in Cawnpore. Females were already employed in the realm of teaching and nursing. Now the emergence of new sectors of employment for women resulted in changes to the curriculum.¹²⁶

Indian man and woman also began to think on missionary lines. They had accepted the value of skill-oriented education which could be used to increase financial conditions of the home. Lala Kannomal wrote a book called 'Mahila Sudhar', of which chapter was published in *Aadarsh Mahila*, *Saraswati*, and *Shree Sarda magazine*. He envisaged that the government should opt for vocational education which would help to elevate the conditions of women. He favoured an education which included arithmetic, geography, medicine and health protection, history of ideal Hindu women, rules of the post office, telegraph, railways, cooking, and sewing for women. Although, for earning, he emphasised sewing and cooking, he also suggested that there should be a shop or workshop within the school. In this workshop, things made by girls of the schools could be sold, and the earning of the workshop could be

¹²⁶*Village Education in India: The Report of a Commission of Inquiry*, Humphery Milford: Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. 73-74.

invested in the schools. According to him, schools should primarily teach skill oriented work.¹²⁷ He suggested the establishment of *Mahila Shiksha Sanstha*, which can ensure the salary of educated teachers so that they can be sent to Hindu homes for teaching similar to the zenana mission.¹²⁸

Lala Kannomal envisioned an art building for women, so that they could do the following work: handloom, weaving, embroidery, (gotakinari, bel-boot, jardoji), sewing vests, socks, towels, hats, handkerchief, making of soap, oil, ink, toys, dari or carpet, home decoration, carpentry, drawing, watch making, spectacles making, cleaning jewellery, covering books (jild), printing, preparation of medicine for home use, chikan karri, jewellery making, Hindi typing, making of fan from date trees or tadh, making of spices for *paan*, basket making and peet (bronze work), etc. His idea was that all these things could be sold in the workshop. These works were traditionally the indigenous small cottage industrious occupations, which can provide earning options not only for poor women but for the *parda* women, too. According to Lala Kannomal, women not only earn their livelihood this way but elevate their conditions of their *jati* too.¹²⁹ The economic and social status of the country could be improved if women participated in the economy.

Although needle work was taught to the upper classes girls in government schools where a teacher was available, some special skills were also taught to them. In the Mendoo School, girls made bead ornaments while girls of Suleempore School progressed in grass baskets.¹³⁰ In the school at Bas Risal, all sixteen girls learnt basket and knitting work. This kind of work also depended on the skills of teachers. These manual skills were not taught where men were teachers but only in schools which had female teachers.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Lala Kannomal, *Mahila Sudhar*, Agra: Mahavir Grant, 1923, pp. 5-8.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 7-8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

¹³⁰ *Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1862-63*, p. 38.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 39-45.

Conclusion:

When educators made the curricula for women's schools in the late nineteenth century, it was largely aimed at making them 'better wives and better mother', 'reformed social being', or in order to 'civilize and make them Christian'. However, education also ended in unexpected opportunities for women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Skills given to them in school were useful in earning money for the family. Not only did learning of skills at times made women self-reliant, in addition they produced new forms of consciousness among women about their social, economic and political roles. As far as literary education is concerned, it made woman conscious about issues such as 'how to be moral', 'how to be hygienic', etc., but skill based education taught them how to handle moments of crises. It could not change the caste based norms. Only poverty reinforced high caste women to go beyond the strictures of caste and claim a space outside but dominance of the caste structure remained even in the gradual changing scenario.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

The practices of exclusion and discrimination on the question of caste continue to dominate everyday life in India. The school classroom, and the education system in general, is no exception to this rule. After the Mandal commission (1990), the Right to Education (2009) created a situation in India whereby lower caste children got the right to education. But the access to this right and the capacity to exercise the right are two different things. The knowledge system in modern education itself has reproduced caste hierarchies in the form of ‘empirical shudras’ and ‘theoretical brahmins’¹ in a new division of labour. The social, cultural and economic capital of an individual or a family has usually determined the accessibility to common resources which Right to Education may not readdress. In this regard, colonial U.P. has been the classic example where in theory, there was no discrimination in terms of access to education provided by the government. However, at the practical level the upper castes placed various barriers to the entry of lower caste and untouchable men and women in accessing education. Besides, the fee structure and practices of untouchability placed major hurdles for the education of the socially marginalised groups.

The Indian feminists have only very recently begun taking the questions of caste and gender seriously unlike the former times when caste and class were used synonymously.² It also explains why most work on women remained limited to upper caste and middle class women who participated in the nation making and knowledge production process. As a result, the untouchable and lower caste women were excluded from both the processes.

This thesis has explored the relation between caste and gender in the sphere of education in colonial U.P. as well as the politics of upper castes in keeping the untouchables and lower castes at the margins. The education system, instead of

¹Gopal Guru, ‘How Egalitarians are the Social Sciences in India’, *Economic Political Weekly*, December, 14, 2002, pp. 5003-09.

²Sharmila Rege, *Writing Caste/Writing Gender: Reading Dalit Women’s Testimonies*, New Delhi: Zubaan, an imprint of Kali for Women, 2006, pp. 1-9, and also see, Guru, ‘Dalit Women Talk Differently’, *Economic Political Weekly*, October 14-21, 1995, pp. 2548-2550 and Rege, ‘Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of ‘Difference’ and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position’, *Economic Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 44, 1998, pp. WS39-WS46.

breaking caste based inequalities and rural-urban binaries, was used to reproduce the social hierarchies of caste. Colonial U.P. is a good example in this regard, whereby education for women has been the site of reinvented caste, patriarchy, religion, and race.

Whilst the discourse around education has remained limited to upper caste/class women as educators, the need for educating ‘untouchable’ and rural women was taken into account as early as 1920s. For all the educators, whether the colonial government, social reformers, missionaries or elites women, the primary concern was to educate upper class and caste Hindu women. Eventually, all of them argued, this would trickle down to the lower caste and untouchable women. The educators’ agenda reflected their ideologies which could be seen in the kind of education they imparted. Women’s education reflected the culture, norms, prejudices, and contemporary environment.

At first, the colonial state was least interested in women’s education. While there were efforts of *Hulkabundi* and *Tehsili* schools for boys in 1851 onwards³, women’s education was given attention only after Charles Wood Dispatch of the 1854. But whatever efforts were made to educate Indian women after 1854, were unsuccessful due to a lack of parents’ interest on the part of the parents. Due to social and cultural prejudices, upper class and elite parents preferred home instruction which was quite apparent in the number of evidence presented before the Indian Education Commission 1882. These efforts were unsuccessful due to the gap between government and people in terms of ‘what women need to be taught’. The curriculum became the site around which the unwillingness of parents to send their girls to school was revealed. This was evident in the complaints they put forward about the ‘unsuitability of curricula’ in preparing women for the home and the society.

The colonial Government also had policies to establish schools where there were local people (*Zamindars*) or any other influential people to support the schools socially and financially. The government had the understanding that girls’ schools flourished where local people supported the cause as they had good will among the local areas. On the other hand, the colonial government also produced the policy to support

³ See, Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education: The Politics of Schooling in Colonial Punjab*, New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2006, pp. 54-58.

female schools on the grant-in-aid. It made it necessary to take support from local landowning classes who had been traditionally supporting the cause of education, and could provide one-third funds which was necessary for getting the grant-in-aid. This question was considered quite 'delicate', so the colonial government wanted to keep itself away from taking direct measures.

The need to educate women in the United Provinces was felt by groups of people, either those who were connected with the Education department or the local elites. Local educational authorities invested their energies in encouraging women's education at personal and department levels. They could convince the parents to send their girls to schools established by them. These groups participated in women's schooling not only through writing extensively on benefits of education for women but also by writing textbooks for girls' schools. We hardly get textbooks for women written by colonial officers, but most textbooks were written by these groups which have been used in the thesis. Interestingly, all these people belonged to upper caste and urban areas.

Besides these local elites were other actors who took interest in women's education. Among the local elites, one was the traditional landowning group and the other was the educated literati who showed interest in women's education. The landowning class invested their energies in education as there was the indigenous tradition to support education as well as for gaining cultural capital. On the other hand, the educated literati male group participated in the sphere of women's education as they needed educated wives for companionship. This educated group was influenced by the Victorian model of womanhood.

The elite groups among Indians played an important role in the education policy to become the voice of the society. A parallel field of 'instruction' emerged in the didactic literature which promoted caste and 'pativrata' values. One could therefore say that they participated in the colonial policy making process, as well as in the creation of an environment in which caste, religion and gender norms were assimilated into education. As these groups belonged to the upper caste, they brought their caste values into the textbooks prescribed in the schools. They wrote extensively

on morals which women ought to have and attain qualifications to become ‘good wives and better mothers’.

By the 1870s there was a shift from no schooling to a desire of schooling for girls but people were not ready to invest their own money for this cause. It was considered by local members in the educational committees that, there was a beginning of ‘real’ desire for female education among educated people.⁴ This condition changes slightly after 1880s, when various reformers came into the field of women’s education and opened schools for their own communities ‘to reform their homes’. This thesis has explored the politics of these reformers who got involved in educating their women primarily because they wanted to prevent women from being converted to other religions. For instance, Arya Samajis efforts were inspired by the fear of Hindu women getting attached to Islam and Christianity. Similar efforts were made by the Muslim reformers in order to preserve the religious boundaries. Their education system was hybrid, drawing both from colonial modernity and invented Indian traditions. They reinvented religious texts and traditions to respond on the one hand to colonial and missionaries critique of Indian women’s conditions, and on the other hand, reinforced gender roles, patriarchy and caste norms. Since these reformers largely belonged to the middle class and upper caste community, they centred their activities in the cities where they were involved in educating women from their caste, religion and class backgrounds.

The Christian missions were the major actors in the field of women’s education. They initially invested their energies to educate upper caste women but after 1880s they directed their energies also towards rural, untouchable and lower caste women in the United Provinces. Their efforts in education were mainly aimed at converting Indian women. Through ‘medical mission’ and zenana schooling, women missionaries could reach Indian homes and influence Indian culture. When they could reach upper caste and class homes (zenanas) that threatened religious groups of society and forced them to save their women. They opened up orphanages, widow homes, and schools and provided visits to zenanas as well.

⁴ Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1869-70, Allahabad: Government Press, 1870, pp. 51-2.

Indian women joined the hands of reformers and colonial government much later at pan Indian level by 1910s. Their efforts were largely limited to influencing colonial policies through discussing in the conferences; raised their voices to educational authorities, political petitioning, undertaking social work, and building local organizations. But they could not represent the voices of all kinds of women as they primarily belonged to elite, upper caste, and reformers families. The elite women who started making efforts to educate Indian women could not represent the voices of untouchable and rural women. The education of untouchable and lower caste women was looked after by the lower caste leaders in northern region after 1920s when the Arya Samajis efforts failed to educate lower caste people.⁵ This has been documented in the testimonials of untouchable and lower castes community members before the Statutory Commission in 1930. It also documents the fact that lower caste groups were demanding voting rights and criticised upper castes and policy makers in the legislative councils who discouraged the education of lower caste and untouchable groups.⁶ By the early 1920s, lower caste leaders also started to advance their political aspirations as their numbers became important.⁷

All these actors were agreed on the question of unsuitability of curriculum in Government schools. In the 1860s, the education of women was increasingly linked to learning rituals and practices which would enable them to perform their roles in family and society as laid down by the U.P. literati.⁸ The Government introduced curricula which included subjects like history, geography, science which were seen as 'improper and inappropriate' by local communities. This explained the indifference to women's education from the parents' side. Cultural nationalist efforts in the 1880s brought about new experiments with education, by way of a critique of colonial modernity. A hybrid kind of education system was introduced for both women and men. They were, on the one hand, responding to the British critique of Indian

⁵Mark Juergensmeyer, *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement against Untouchability in 20th Century Punjab*, Berkeley: California Press, 1982.

⁶See Memorandum and Evidence of Rama Charna of Oudh, Munshi Hari Tamta, a member of District Board and Municipal board, Almorah and chairman of union of Industrial Work, Bhagat Mulluram-member of District Board of Adi-Hindu Mahasabha of Cawnpur, Babu Ram Prasad Ahir of Oudh, and Babu Raja Ram, from Kahar Sudharak Mahasabha, For more details, see, *Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. Xvi, Selections from Memoranda and Oral Evidence by Non-officials, Part-I*, London: Majesty Stationary Office, 1930.

⁷Juergenmeyer, *Religion as Social Vision*, p. 22.

⁸Chotai Tiwari, *Balabodh- Striyon ke Padne ki Pehli Pustak*, Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1864.

women's condition in the society; but on the other hand, they perpetuated and reinforced caste and gender hierarchies. In this political environment women's education as a method of enhancing social mobility saw lower caste leaders being to encourage women's education but also, like upper caste men, maintain and reinforce the 'pativrata dharma' values.⁹ This thesis could not fully explore the Adi-dharma movement in the United Provinces, although it has explained the caste, class, and rural-urban politics in the foundational stages of women's education in U. P.

Therefore, at the broader level, the curriculum of girls' schools was influenced by divergent ideologies of the actors involved. While reformers wanted to preserve religion, prevent conversion, introduce new modernity into homes and a new set of gender and caste norms through curriculum, the missionaries on the other hand used women's schooling as a mechanism to convert and produce new moral subjects. The colonial state produced new forms of subjectivity through introducing formal schooling for women and criticised lack of people's interest, superstitions, prejudices, and considered home as the primary concern for Indian women. But for the elite women, schooling became a site where questions of patriarchy, equality in access to education were discussed, and opened the door where women could represent their needs.

All of these objectives of curriculum and education led to unexpected consequences such as skilling, financial independence and increased confidence among women. These qualifications of 'moral' and 'hygienic' mothers and wives, later on resulted in the emergence of professional training and career opportunities for women. From this development, both upper and lower caste women could benefit even when this was not the intended purpose of women's education at this stage.

Overall, the meagre efforts made towards the education of women in the 1850s, eventually came to fruition as late as the 1930s, when the number of agencies engaged in education grew, many women were also helped to go out of their homes and earn for themselves, partly benefitting from 'separate spheres' but also challenging some male dominated professions such as teaching and inspectorships. Education, both

⁹Charu Gupta, *The Gender of Caste: Representing Dalit in Print*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2015.

within the school and beyond the school, had unintended consequences, since they helped women to think for themselves and about their lives beyond the home. They developed new attitudes towards hygiene, health, maternity, and overall towards their children as well. This developed the consciousness of untouchable men and women which provided a step towards greater levels of education among lower caste and untouchable communities and rural women. How this consciousness resulted the progress of society can be researched further.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

Printed Records: Government of India/ United Provinces

‘Despatches to India, 6 April to 12 May 1858’, E/4 851, India Office Record, Public and Judiciary Department, Education, No. 58/1858, Proceeding no. 17-19, pp. 598-601, British library, London, United Kingdom.

‘Evidences to Statutory commission, Indian Statutory Commission Volume- XVI’, in *Selection from Memoranda & Oral Evidences by Non-Officials (Part-I)*, London: Majesty Stationary officer, 1930.

‘Papers Regarding the Educational Conference Allahabad’, February 1911,’ in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Department of Education, No. CCCCXLVIII, Department of Education Serial No. 1, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912.

‘Papers Relating to Discipline and Moral Training in Schools and Colleges’, in *Selection from the Records of the Government of India*, Home Department, No. CCLXV, 8, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1890.

‘The Despatch of 1854 of General Education in India’, reprinted, John Johnston, ‘General Council on Education in India, London: John Maclaren & son. 1880.

Alfred Croft, ‘*Review of Education in India in 1886 with Special Reference to Report of the Indian Education Commission*’, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1888.

Hartog Collection, ‘Notes and Memoranda on the Growth of Women’s Education in India’, August 1928-29, Manuscript No. EW 221/51.

Indian Sanitary Policy, 1914, being a Resolution issued by the Governor General in Council on the 23 May 1914, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914.

M. Kempson, *Reports of the Local Educational Committees for 1873-76*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1874.

Problems in Education- V, Women and Education, Paris: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1953.

Proceeding of Education in the Home Department for the year 1870-90, Calcutta: Superintendent Printing (selected years).

Proceedings of the Third All-India Sanitary Conference held at Lucknow in January, 1914, and Resolution of the Government of India on Sanitation in India, London: Majesty Stationery Office, 1914.

Reid, Henry, *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools, in Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Mathura, Shahjahanpur, for 1851-52*, Agra: The Secundra Orphan Press, 1853.

Report of the Committee on Comparative Backwardness of Vernacular Primary Education in the United Provinces, President T.C. Piggot, No. 161/ XV of 1914, Preliminary Resolution, Educational Department, Nainital: Government of India, 1914.

Report of the Economy Committee of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad: Government Superintendent Press, 1924.

Report of the Indian Education Commission, Calcutta: Superintendent Press, 1883.

Report of the North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken before the Committee and Memorial Addressed to the Education Commission, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884.

Report on the Progress of Education in the North Western Provinces for the year 1860-1930, Allahabad: North Western Provinces' Government Press, 1873(selected years).

The Countess of Dufferin' Fund, Annual Report of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, for the year 1886-1930, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India. (Selected Years)

The Educational Code of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1917, Allahabad: Superintendent of Government Printing (United Provinces), 1917.

The First All-India Sanitary Conference held at Bombay on 13th and 14th November 1911, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912.

The General Report on Public Instruction in North- Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1847-50, Agra: Secundra Orphan Press, 1848. (Selected Years)

The Proceedings of the Second All-India Sanitary Conference held at Madras, 11 November 11 to 16 November, 1912, Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1913.

Thornton, R., *Memoirs on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North Western Provinces of Bengal Presidency, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1850.*

Institutional Papers

'Proceedings of D.A.V. College Management Committee (1886-1890)', File No. 1-A, S. No. 35, Institutional papers, NMML, New Delhi.

Church of England and Zenana Mission Society

Newspapers

Tribune, 1880-1900 (selected years)

Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces, National Archive of India, New Delhi. (1870-1900) (selected years).

Magazines (selected years)

Punchal Pundita (1898-1900), a monthly magazine of Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullundur.

The Indian Female Evangelist, monthly, 1860-80 (selected years) in Church Missionary Society Archive, Birmingham, United Kingdom.

The Zenana; or Woman's Work in India, monthly magazine of Church of England, Zenana Mission Society

Stri Dharma: Official organ of Women Association of India (1917-20) (selected years)

Saraswati (1910-20) (selected years)

British Library: London

India Office Record (selected files on Education 1854-1930)

Public and Judicial Department (selected Proceedings of North Western Provinces (1860-1930)

Education Department of United Provinces (selected files 1860-1930)

General Department (Selected files 1860-1930)

European Manuscripts

Private Papers Educational Authorities and European Women

Wellcome Trust and Library: London

Sanitary Department Commission and Annual Reports (1868-1900) Selected Years

Private Papers (European Women)

National Archives of India: New Delhi

Home Department and Education Department Proceedings (1860-1900) Selected Files

General Department (1860-1930) Selected Files

Uttar Pradesh Archive: Lucknow

Education Department 1860 -1930 (selected files)

Cadbury Research Centre: Birmingham

Pamphlets of Church of Zenana England Mission Society, 1910-1930 (selected years)

Extracts from the Annual letters of the Missionaries, for the year, 1900-07, Part IX, United Provinces, and British Columbia, London: Church Missionary House (Selected years).

Regional Archives of Uttar Pradesh: Allahabad

Education Department (1860-1900) selected files

Unpublished Thesis:

Gupta, Vikas, 'The World of Education and the Processes of Identity Formation', an Unpublished Dissertation, Department of History, Delhi: University of Delhi, 2004.

Kumari, Saraswati and Pandit, S., *A Critical Study of the Contribution of The Arya Samaj to Indian Education*, Published Thesis, New Delhi: Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 1974.

Preeti, 'Schooling Society: Education in Punjab in the latter half of Nineteenth Century', an Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation, submitted at Centre for Historical Studies (CHS), Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2011.

Kenneth Samson Ombongi, 'Eclecticism and Expediency: Evolution of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Society Education Movement in Colonial North India (1886-1936)', Unpublished Thesis, New Delhi: University of Jawaharlal Nehru, 1996.

Primary Sources: English and Vernacular

Agha, Sharkeshwari, *Some Aspects of the Education of Women in the United Provinces, with a Forward by C.Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor of the Leader, Late Minister of Education*, United Provinces, Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1933.

Attar, Munshi Dwarka Prasad, *Stri Hitopedesh*, Lucknow: Anglo-Oriental Press, 1911.

Banks, Charles, *Manual of Hygiene for use in India, Superintendent of Emigration and Protector of Emigrants at the Port of Calcutta, Municipal Corporation of Calcutta*, London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1902.

Banprasthi, Mahatma Premanand, *Om Issaiyo ki Chalbazi*, Sultanpur (Awadh): Baba Tribhuvannath Press, 1929.

Bansidhar, Pandit, *Suta Sikshawali, Part II*, Agra: Nurul Ilum, 1865.

Benton, A. H., *Indian Moral Instruction and Caste Problems: Solutions*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917.

Bhatt, Moolchand, 'Striyo ki Shiksha kaisi Honi Chahiye?' in Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (ed.), *Saraswati Sachitr Masik Patrika* (Monthly Hindi Magazine), Part- 18, Vol. 1, January- June, Prayag: Indian Press, 1917.

Birdwood, G.T., *Practical Midwifery for students, Nurses and practitioners*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1916.

Bos, Moni Mohan, *Female Education in India, with Forewords by Miss Mary Forester and Raja Sir Harnam Singh Aluhwalia*, Dehradun: Caxton Printing Bureau, 1924.

Chand, Devi, *Om Report of the Educational Work by the Arya Samaj in India*, Amritsar: George Press, 1925.

Charan, Babu Kali, *Stri Bhushan*, Bareilly: Ruhelkhand Literary Society, 1870.

Chaudhari, Srimati Hemantkumari, *Adarsh Mata, Pratam Bhag*, Lahore: Punjab Economical, 1911.

Das, Babu Prabhu, *Drishant Kosh: Provesbs, Hindi, Urdu and Persian Collected and Alphabetical Arranged by, Clerk in the Settlement Office of Gorakhpur and Basti, and late Head Master of Gorakhpur Mission School*, Allahabad: Allahabad: Mission Press, 1870.

Devi, Yashoda, *Grihini Kartavya Sastra, Aarogya Sastra artharth Paakshastra, Dusra Bhag*, Allahabad: Banita Hitaishi Yantralaya, 1924.

Devi, Yashoda, *Nari Swastya Raksha, Aarogya Vidhan artharth Stri Rog Chikitsa*, Allahabad: Banita Hitaishi Press, 1926.

Hartog, P. J., *History of Rural Education in U. P.*, Simla: Central Publication Branch, Government of India, 1929.

Hehir, Patrick, 'Sanitation in India', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3287, 29 December 1923.

———, *Rudiments of Sanitation for Indian Schools*, Bombay: Education Society Steam Press, Byculla, 1890.

'Indian Sanitation', *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2. No. 2802, 12 September 1914.

James, H.R., *Education and Statesmanship in India (1797 to 1910)*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911.

Jasram, Pandit, *Stri Shiksha Subodhini, Part I, Maharajah of Viziangram's Series of Books for Native Female Schools*, Benares: E.J. Lazarus and Co., 1869.

Joshi, Pandit Janardan, *Grih Praband Sastra*, Prayag: Abhudyay Press, 1918.

Kannomal, Lala, *Mahila Sudhar*, Agra: Mahavir Grant, 1923.

Lankester, A. *Lectures on the Responsibility of Men in matters relating to Maternity at the Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition held at Delhi in February 1920*, Simla: Government of India Press, 1924.

Mayhew, Arthur, *The Education of India- a study of British Education Policy in India (1835-1920), of its Bearing on National life and Problems in India today*, London: Faber and Gwyer 1926.

Milford, Humphery, *Village Education in India: The Report of a Commission of Inquiry*, Oxford University Press, 1920.

Mishr, Pundit Ram Narayan, 'Sayunkt Prant Mein Stri- Shikshaki Aawashtha', in Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (ed.), *Saraswati Sachitr Masik Patrika*, (Monthly Hindi Magazine), Prayag: Indian Press, 1912.

Mukherjee, B. B., *Co-operation and Rural Welfare in India*, Calcutta and Simla: Thacker Spink & Co., 1929.

Mukherjee, G.N., *Garbh Raksha artharth Hidayat Nama: Daiyan Hind*, translated by Babu Abinashchand Visiwahas in Urdu and trans. In Hindi by Pandit Ram Prasad, Delhi: Hindi Press, 1887.

Mulraj, *A Sanitary Primer being at, Elementary Treatise on Practical Hygiene for use of Indian schools and General Public*, Allahabad: Victoria Press, 1879.

Narayan, Lakshmi, *Nari-Shiksha-Darpan: Stri Shiksha ki Aapruv Pustak*, Benares: Lakshmi Pustakalaya, 1932.

Om Chetavani, artharth Arya Kanya Pathshala Merrut ki ek putri ka Vyakyan, jo Arya Samaj Meerut ke 16th Varshikotashav ko hua jisko Doctor Ramchand Verma ne Sarva Sadaharan ke hitarth mein Chapwaya. Mathura: Bhushan Press, Vikramsamvat 1952.

Om Chota Muh Badi Baat artharth Ek Vyakhaan jisko Arya Kanya Pathshala Meerut ki Ek Putri ne Arya Samaj Meerut ke 17 Varshikotasav par diya aur Doctor Ramchand Verma ne sarva Sadharamik Hitarth mein Chapvaya, . Mathura: Bhushan Press, Vikram Samvat, 1952.

Paranjpe, M.R., *A Source Book of Education (1792-1902)*, London: Macmillan & Company, 1938.

Piggot, R., *What Every Dai ought to know: A Handbook for Dais*, Hyderabad Sind: Blavatsky Press. (Year is not mention).

Prasad, Jaidev *Om Tatsat Striyo ke Katin Rogo ki Chikitsa, Pratham Bhag*, Muradabad: Lakshmi Narayan Press, 1924.

Prasad, Rao Mahabir and Bahadur, Narain Sinha, *Shri Hari, Banita- Prabodha*, Kashi: Bharatjivan Press, 1894.

Prasad, Siva, *Vidyaankur*, Allahabad: Government Press, 1877.

R.E.E., Manual for Teachers on Moral Instruction, Bombay: Government Central Press. (Publishing year not mentioned)

Ram, Tota, *Stri Dharm Bodhini*, Aligarh: The Bharat Bandhu Press, 1899.

Ramlal, *Ath Vanita Prakashini*, Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1871.

Ratn mala, artharth Striyo ke Grih Sambandhi Karm aur Balako ko Uchhit Reeti Shiksha Nirmitt Pustak, Allahabad: The Christian Vernacular Education Society (Mission Press), 1869.

Sastri, Pandit Dharmanand Ji, *Stri Rog Vigyanan*, Allahabad: Chand Karyalaya, 1929.
Sharma, Pandit Shiv, *Stri Shiksha*, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U.P., Bareilly: King Press, 1927.

Sharma, Pandit Jaggannath, *Aarogya Darpan, Pratham Khand*, Allahabad: Prayag Press, 1888.

Taradutt, Pandit, *Hitopdesh*, Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1899.

Thakur, Srimati Jyotimayi, *Navyuvtiyo ko kya Janana Chahiye: Navyutiyo ke jivan mein Nitya kaam mein Aanewali Vividh Prakar ki Baateion ki jaankari ke liye Sarvotam pustak*, Prayag: Sahitya Mandir, 1934.

Tiwari, Chotai, *Balabodh- Striyon ke Padne ki Pehli Pustak*, Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1864.

Tiwari, Ramprasad, *Sutaapbodh*, Allahabad: Government Printing. 1871.

Trevelyan, Charles E., *On the Education of the People of India*, London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838.

Turner, J.A. & Goldsmith, B.K., *The Sanitation in India*, Bombay: The Times of India, 1922,

Wise, Thomas A., 'Notes on Indian Midwifery', reprinted from the monthly Journal of *Medical Science*, April, 1854.

Women's Indian Association- Madras, India, Golden Jubilee Celebrations- 1917-67. Smt. Rukmini Devi, Dr. Annie Besant and the Indian Women's Movement: Souvenir Volume of Indian Women's Association.

Wren C. Percival, *A Health Reader for Indian High Schools*, London: Macmillan and Co, 1912. (In India Calcutta: East Bengal Press)

Secondary Sources

Acharaya, Poromesh 'Indigenous Education and Brahminical Hegemony in Bengal', in Nigel Crook (ed.), *Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays of Education, Religion, History and Politics*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

———, 'Indigenous Vernacular Education in Pre- British Era: Traditions and Problems', *Economic Political Weekly*, Vol. 13, No. 48, 1978.

Allender, Tim, 'Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India', *Paedagoga Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 45: 6, 2006.

Ballhatchet, Kenneth, 'British Rights and Indian Duties: The case of Sir William Lee-Warner' in Doniger Wendy, Flaherty O', in Duncan J. and Derret M (ed.), *The Concept of Duty in South Asia*, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978.

———, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, pp. 11-12.

Bandyopadhyay, Shekhar, *Caste and Culture and Hegemony: social Dominance in Colonial Bengal*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2004.

Banga, Indu, 'Socio-Religious Reform and Patriarchy', in Kiran Pawar, (ed.), *Women in Indian History: Social Economic, Political and Cultural Perspectives*, New Delhi: Visions & Venture, 1996.

Basu, Aparna, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India (1898-1920)*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1974.

———, *Essays in the Indian History of Education*, New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 1982.

Basu, Aparna and Ray, Bharati, *Women's Struggle: A History of the All India Women's Conference 1927-2002*, Delhi: Manohar Publication, 2003.

Benerjee, Sumanta, *Dangerous Outcast: The Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1998.

Bhattacharya, Sabhyasachi *The contested Terrain: Perspective on Education of India*, New Delhi: Oriental Longman, 1998.

———,(et al.), *Development of Women's Education in India: A Collection of Documents (1850-1920)*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001.

Burton, Antoinette, 'Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India, 1874-1885', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, July, 1996.

Chakravarti, Uma, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Calcutta: Stree, 2003.
Chaudhuri, Maitrayee, *The Indian Women's Movement: Reform and Revival*, Delhi: Palm leaf Publication, 2011.

Cohn, Bernard, *The Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Princeton: Princeton University, 1996.

Crook, Nigel. (ed.) *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on Education, Religion, History, and Politics*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Constable, Philip, 'Sitting on the School Verandah: The Ideology and Practice of Untouchable Educational Protest in late Nineteenth Century Western India', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, December 2000, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 383-422.

Dalmia, Vasudha, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harischandra and Nineteenth Century Benares*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Devika, J., *Herself: Early Writings on Gender by Malayalee Women (1898-1938)*, translated from the Malayalam, Kolkata: Stree, 2005.

Forbes, Geraldine, *Women in Colonial India: Essays on Politics, Medicine, and Historiography*, New Delhi: Chronicle Books, 2005.

———, 'The Indian Women's Movement: A struggle for Women's Rights or National Liberation?' in Gail Minault, *The Extended family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*, Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1981.

———, 'From Purdah to Politics: The Social Feminism of the All-India Women's Organizations', in Hanna Papanek & Gail Minault (ed.), *Separate Worlds: Studies of Purdah in South Asia*, Delhi: Chankya Publications, 1982.

———, *The New Cambridge History of India, Women in Modern India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Freire, Paul, *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, New York: the Continuum International Publishing group, 2010, first published in 1970.

Geetha, V, *Theories of Patriarchy*, Kolkatta: Stree, 1981.

Goswami, Manu, *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

Minault, Gail, *The Extended family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*, Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1981.

———, 'Shaikh Abdullah, Begum Abdullah, and Sharif Education for girls at Aligarh', in Ahmad, Imtiaz, *Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India*, Delhi: Manohar, 1983.

———, 'Mumtaz 'Ali Sayyid and Tahzib un-Niswan: Women's Rights in Islam and Women's Journalism in Urdu', in Tanika Sarkar and Sumit Sarkar (ed.), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India Vol- II*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007.

———, *Secluded Scholars: Women Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Gupta, Charu, 'Anxious Hindu Masculinities in Colonial North India: Shuddi and Sangathan Movement', *Cross Currents*, December, 2011.

———, 'Procreation and Pleasure: Writings of a Woman Ayurvedic Practitioner in Colonial North India', *Studies in History*, Vol. 21, No. 17, 2005.

———, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community: Women, Muslim, and the Hindu Public in Colonial India*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

———, *The Gender of Caste: Representing Dalits in Print*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2015

Guru, Gopal, 'Dalit Women Talk Differently', *Economic Political Weekly*, October 14-21, 1995, pp. 2548-2550.

———, 'How Egalitarians are the Social Sciences in India', *Economic Political Weekly*, December, 14, 2002, pp. 5003-09.

Kishwar, Madhu, 'Arya Samaj and Women's Education Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar', *Review of Women Studies*, April 26, 1986.

Kumar, Krishna, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1991.

Kumar, Nita, *Lessons From Schools: The History of Education in Banaras*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2000.

———, *Politics of Gender, community and Modernity: Essays on Education in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Laird, M. A., *Missionaries and Education in Bengal (1793-1837)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Lal, Maneesha, 'The Politics of Gender and Medicine in Colonial India: the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, 1885-1888', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, spring 1994; 68, 1.

Hanlon, Rosalind O', *A Comparison between Women and Men: Tarabai Shinde and the Critique of Gender Relations in Colonial India*, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Jones, Kenneth, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness of 19th century Punjab*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2007.

Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement against Untouchability in 20th Century Punjab*, Berkeley: California Press, 1982.

Metcalf, Thomas, *Ideologies of Raj*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Mir, Farina, *The Social Spaces of Languages: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*, California: University of California Press, 2010.

Mishra, Satya Prakash, *Dastavez: Allahabad 1829-1933*, Allahabad: Allahabad Museum, 2004.

Mujkherjee, Alok K., *The Gift of English: English Education and the Formation of Alternative Hegemonies in India*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009.

Nijhawan, Shobhna, *Periodical literature in Colonial North India: Women and Girls in the Hindi Public sphere*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Oberoi, Harjot, 'Bhais, Babas and Gyanis: Traditional Intellectuals in Nineteenth Century Punjab', *Studies in History*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1980.

Papanek, Hanna & Minault, Gail (ed.), *Separate Worlds: Studies of Purdah in South Asia*, Delhi: Chankya, 1982.

Pande, Ishita, 'Coming of Age: Law, Sex and Childhood in Late Colonial India', *Gender and History*, Vol. 24, No. 1, April 2012, pp. 205-230.

Pati, Biswamoy and Harrison, Mark, *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, London: Routledge, 2009.

Rahman, Tariq, *Language, Ideology and Power: Language-Learning among the Muslim of Pakistan and North India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Rege, Sharmila, *Writing Caste/Writing Gender: Reading Dalit Women's Testimonies*, New Delhi: Zubaan, an imprint of Kali for Women, 2006 .

———, 'Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position', *Economic Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 44, 1998, pp. WS39-WS46.

Sangari, Kumkum and Vaid, Suresh (ed.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989

Saraswati, Dayanand, *Om Satyarth Prakash*, Arya Sahitya Prachar Trust.

Sarkar, Tanika, 'Stri Shiksha or Education for women', in Mary E. John (ed.) *Women's Studies in India: A Reader*, Delhi: Penguin Group, 2008.

Sarkar, Tanika, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

Sehrawat, Samiksha, *colonial Medicine care in North India: Gender, State and Society, 1840-1920*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Sen, Indrani, 'Devoted Wife/Sensuous Bibi: Colonial Constructions of the Indian Woman (1860-1900)', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 8, No, 1, 2008.

Seton, Rosemary, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia*, California: Praegar, 2013.

Shahidullah, Kazi, *The Purpose and Impact of Government Policy on Pathshala Gurumohashoys in Nineteenth Century Bengal' in Crook (ed.), Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia.*

Srinivas, M. N., *India: Social Structure*, Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1980.

Stark, Ulrike, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007.

Viswanathan, Gauri, *Masks of the Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

Viswanath, Rupa, *The Pariah Problem: Caste, Religion, and the Social in Modern India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Vyas, K.C., *The Development of National Education in India*, Bombay: Vora & Co., Publishing House, 1954.