CHAPTER - 4

Emergence of Formal System of Education for Women in
British Gujarat: 1850-1900

Introduction

The new education system initiated by the British government was intended mainly for men of the upper section of the society for the consolidation of British Empire. For rest of the society, the new education came gradually through private agencies -mainly missionaries and reform based associations. In the case of women education, missionaries and private organization played a significant role in pioneering the formal education system.\(^1\) Women education was an intrinsic part of social reforms. So, the growth and development of women education was largely determined by the extent of participation of the private as well as government agencies in the social issues. This

II

Emergence of the issue of women education:

The issue of women education was primarily brought up by three agencies. These were Christian Missionaries, private organizations and later on the British government. We will discuss the pivotal role played by these organizations in promoting the issue of women education in India.

Christian Missionaries: The issue of women education was raised in the early part of the nineteenth century primarily by the Christian missionaries. As mentioned in the previous chapter; the Christian missionaries in order to get entry into Indian territories activated their campaign to open India for Christian missionaries. After carrying a vigorous campaign, Evangelists were successful in modifying the charter

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2 J.A. Richey, Selections from Educational Records, Pt.2, 1840-1859, Calcutta, 1922
3 Frederick Cooper and Laura Stolen (Eds); ‘Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a bourgeois world’, 1997, pp. 238-262
Act of 1813, which provided entry to Christian missions in India. In this campaign, the propaganda of missionary got wide publicity and drew a large section of the public into active support for missions. One of the points of propaganda was the position of women in India particularly the practice of sati. This point of women’s condition in India played a crucial role in arguments that Britain had a duty to bring Christianity and civilization to its Indian subjects. William Wilberforce, who led the successful Parliamentary campaign to open India to missions in 1813, gave a powerful speech in the House of Commons in which he described ‘the evils of Hindustan’ as ‘family, fireside- evils’, paying particular attention to the ill-treatment of women as evidenced by polygamy and sati, and contrasting this with the equality to which women were entitled in all Christian countries. Through their propaganda they appealed to middle class English women to support in their campaign of emancipating Indian women. Such appeals were generally done by contrasting the British women living in a Christian land and Indian women living in a lead of superstition. One such contrast is

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4 Ibid, p.239
6 Ibid, p.68
7 Ibid, pp.66-70
made in the following contemporary song entitled 'Songs for the little ones at Home'—

'See the heathen mother stand
Where the sacred current flows
With there own maternal hands,
Mid the wave her babe she throws.
Send, oh Send the Bible there,
Let its precepts reach the heart;
She may then her children spare.
Act the tender mother part'.

The middle class English women were mobilized by Christian missionaries in their propaganda against the custom of *Sati* in India. The propaganda generally portrayed English women as the savior of heathen women and thus motivated them to join the campaign. One of the statements made in Christian missionaries register against *Sati*, reflected English women as saviors. It says that, 'let every Christian woman, who reads the following statement, pity the wretched thousands of her sex, who are sacrificed every year in India to a cruel superstition

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8 Quoted in Geraldinne, H. Forbes 'Missionary Women in 19th Century India', in EPW, April 26, 1986, pp.735
and thank God for her own light and privileges, and pray and labor earnestly for the salvation of these her miserable fellow subjects.\(^9\)

Soon large numbers of middle class English women were mobilized in fund-raising activities for the Christian missionaries working against the *sati*. Involving English Women in their movement the missionaries virtually encouraged them to extend their support to civilizing mission, within the British Empire. However, the only objective of missionary activity in India was the spread of education. It was motivated by the belief that intellectual enlightens would lead to rejection of Hindu idolatry, conversion to Christianity and moral reform of society.\(^10\) The only limitation confronted by missionaries in this project was the lack of girl's education. Its solution laid in recruiting qualified women from Britain as teachers, but there was considerable resistance among the male leadership of the missionary societies to the idea of employing single women.\(^11\)

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\(^9\) Missionary Register, June 1813, p.215


However, some of the missionaries such as Baptist missionary William Ward took initiative to appeal directly to the middle class British women. In a series of appeals made to English women from 1817 to 1821, he linked support for female education with Britain's imperial mission to eradicate 'sati'.

Brian Stanley in his book, "The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries" (1940) has brought out the relationship between missions and empire. Intervention of the British women in emancipating Indian women was linked with the consolidation of British Empire. William Ward appealed to British women on such grounds as, 'British women should organize themselves into societies to rescue Indian women from ignorance, and by that means from these funeral piles.'

British women were urged to take on an active, guiding, materialistic role as tutors and guardians of suffering Indian women. The purpose of imparting missionary education to their Indian counterpart was therefore to 'remove ignorance and raise their familial statuses'. Symbols of domesticity and Christian ideals of womanhood were largely interlinked with women education. Images of motherhood, self suffering women

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13 William Ward, opt.cit. p.6

14 Jane Haggis, opt.cit., pp.46-47
and Victorian ideals of womanhood were evoked. Missionary education was thus a means to inculcate these ideals among Indian girls so that their standards could be uplifted that of their western counterpart.

J. Richter in his book on ‘History of Missions in India’, observed that period from 1830 to 1857 could aptly be called as the period of mission schools in India. During this period, missionary enterprise in education grew length and breath of the country. They pioneered in founding the girl’s schools in various parts of the country. To woo girls into mission schools, incentives in the form of gifts and money were provided. Initially these measures helped in attracting girls to schools. However, very soon their number dwindled owing to the proselytisation activities of the missions and fear of getting influenced by the western culture. As a consequence to this missionary education in general and girls education in particular became increasingly unpopular among the masses.

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15 Ibid. pp. 48-50
16 Richter, J., ‘History of Mission in India’, 1908, pp.20-68
17 J.A. Richey, op.cit. Chapter II
Colonists' Program of modernity and nationalist's program of cultural revivalism:

The issue of women education was raised in the colonist' and the nationalists' historical writings. The orientalists like William Jones and H.T. Colebrooke, in the larger context of Indian history, brought into focus the position of Indian women. The orientalist, H.T. Colebrooke, in his study known as 'On the duties of the faithful Hindu widow', discussed in length the custom of sati. On the other hand, William Jones through his writings on Indian culture and customs particularly the custom of sati in *Asiatic Researchers* promoted the ideals of Hindu womanhood in the west. Thus, the writings of early orientalists brought into focus the women's question. It is interesting to note that none of the early orientalist writings questioned women's position or the custom of Sati. The writings of Colebrooke and James Mill indeed romanticized and

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idealized the images of women burning on husband’s pyre.\textsuperscript{21} In contrast to orientalists’ writings, the utilitarian like James Mill, countered the idealized accounts of the orientalists on Indian women and brought into focus the degrading position of Indian women in the present. In his book, ‘History of British India’, James Mill condemned Hindu customs and practices in strong words by saying, ‘their (Hindu’s) ‘rude’ and ‘backward’ culture for its cultivation of ignorance and its veneration of superstition.’\textsuperscript{22} James Mill was of the opinion that the position of women in a society was an index of that society’s place in civilization.\textsuperscript{23} According to him western society was a representative of standard civilization and western women as representative of ideal womanhood. The later i.e. western women were synonymous with education and advancement in terms of public participation during this period.\textsuperscript{24} On the contrary, Indian women were labeled as backward as they lacked necessary qualifications such as formal education and social participation. The degenerated images of Hindu society and the miserable position of Hindu women as represented in James Mill’s writings were able to influence colonial state’s policy on progress and

\textsuperscript{21} David Kopf, ‘British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance’, 1969, p.149
\textsuperscript{22} James Mill ‘The History of British India’ with notes by H.H.Wilson, 5\textsuperscript{th} edition, 1840, pp.312-13
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, pp.340-45
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, pp.318-20
advancement of Indian society. Female education was now increasingly viewed as an instrument to elevate degenerated Indian society. This was reflected in colonial state's project of modernity and progress. The project of progress and advancement therefore, began to incorporate the issue of women education. The question of women education was evident in nationalists' agenda of consciousness and awakening collectively reflected in the social reform movement. The second half of the nineteenth century in India was particularly significant for the awakening and consciousness of Indian

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25 The colonist's project of modernity and progress largely featured partial industrialization of Indian economy and westernization of Indian society. In the latter i.e. westernization of Indian society, western education was used as an important tool. See, Kumar, Krishna 'Political Agenda of Education Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas', 1991, pp. 30-55

26 The hidden agenda behind the promotion of women education by the British government was to westernize Indian minds. However, this agenda of the colonists' on women education came into clash with nationalists' agenda in the curriculum controversy the discussion of which is carried in the latter part of this chapter. Nevertheless, the project of modernity and progress, created a concern to promote women education among the ruling colonists. However, the education resolution of 1835 was largely based on utilitarian principals. Only men of a selected section of society, which were useful in strengthening the empire, availed the new education. More than half of the Population including women could not access the new education system. Therefore, the new education system was inadequate in westernizing Indian Minds.

By 1850 the ruling elements in the British Empire in India realized the importance of women education. Before that the government had largely adopted non interference stand as far as women education was concerned. However, there was a shift in the stand of government towards women education. This is reflected in official documents concerning education at large. One such document dated 11 April 1850 stated that 'it is the opinion of the Governor-General in council that no single change in the habits of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their female children.' J.A.Richey, Selections from Educational Records, Pt.2, 1840-1859, Calcutta, 1922
culture and India's past. A distinct feature associated with the social reformers as well as the local intelligentsia of this period was the awareness of the historical past. By reveling on the constructed past glory, they tried to counter the colonists criticisms and negative perceptions about Indian society and culture. The consciousness of the 'golden' past which was informed by early orientalists and negative perceptions of India's present by the utilitarian, gave rise to a diversity of 'self-civilizing' social reformative and revivalists. These people particularly revivalists made efforts to elevate Indian society to the level of India's golden past. The revivalists, who were against western education system in India, vehemently opposed westernization of women education. Women education became a central issue to propagate cultural consciousness in the society. The Mahratta, a vernacular newspaper of this period, on the state of female education in Bombay, 1887 stated that, 'our shastras and customs require a girl to qualify herself for a married life and if our schools cannot give them the necessary training they are worse than useless.' Thus, the nationalists' agenda behind women education clearly stated to restore and propagate

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27 Jadunath Sarkar, 'India Through the Ages', 1928, p.84
28 Uma Chakravarti, opt. cit., pp.150-151
29 Ibid, pp.155
30 Mahratta, 13 November 1887
the traditional roles of Indian women. Education and particularly women education therefore became a contested terrain between the colonist’s and nationalist projects of hegemonies.

From the middle of the Nineteenth century, missionary enterprise in education was largely overtaken by the government and the social reformers. The Government schools and schools set by social reformers began to mushroom in various parts of the country.

The condemnation and criticism of Indian culture and customs in the writings of missionaries and utilitarian led to the trend of identity formations by Indians including Indian women’s identity. The Colonists claimed the moral superiority over natives by consistently highlighting the low status of Indian women. Indian men were associated with the low moral qualities that were incapable of protecting their women. Hence, in colonists’ ideology of hegemony, it was regarded as a duty to ‘rescue’ native women from ‘effeminate’ men.\(^\text{31}\) These criticisms were, equally countered by reformists and Indian intelligentsia. They cited references from India’s past in which women enjoyed high social status. In order to bring back the same glory, it was necessary to regenerate Indian society, particularly Hindu society in the model of Vedic Hindu

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society of the past. Similarly, Aryan type woman of the Vedic period was considered to be a model for uplifting the present low status of Indian women. The nationalist historians of this period, R.C. Dutta in 'History of Civilization in Ancient India' assertively established the Vedic woman as the highest symbol of Hindu womanhood. Vedic woman, according to R. C. Dutt, were educated, chose their partners and even contracted second marriages. The Vedic woman model was reiterated in contemporary vernacular literature. Thus, this trend of identity formations gave impetus to women education throughout the country.

III

Evolution of Government Policy on women education as reflected in dispatches and commissions

The emergence of the issue of women education at the policy level took place around 1850. Prior to this the issue of women education was debated among voluntary organizations primarily missionaries and private organizations. However, by 1850 enough awareness was

32 R C Dutt; 'History of Civilization in Ancient India', p.7
33 J.A. Richey, op.cit. pp.112-123
generated by the voluntary organization on the significance of women education. Thus, it became imperative for the British government to initiate a kind of debate to form a policy for women education.

The beginning of government policy on women education was made in Lord Dalhousie’s minute in 1850. In the minute Lord Dalhousie, while appreciating the work of Mr. Bethune in establishing Native Schools for girls in Bengal, recommended financial help to those private agencies engaged in girls’ education. However, this was a small but significant step of the British government in lending support to girl’s education.

The significant step towards women education was taken up by the government was in the educational dispatch of 1854. The Education Dispatch of 1854, known as the Woods Dispatch was a landmark in the direction of female education since it declared the cordial approval for the promotion of female education under the system of grant-in-aid. According to grant-in-aid system government’s funds and scholarships were given to existing girls schools across the British Empire in India.

However, not all schools were covered under government’s aids system.

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34 Lord Dalhousie, on his minute on female education in connection with Bethune’s experiment said that ‘Lord Bethune has earned a right not only to the gratitude of the government but to its frank and cordial support….I recommend that the communications to the Council of Education and to the Court of Directors shall be made forthwith.’ J.A.Richey, opt.cit. pp.113-114

Many schools continued to live under private agencies fund. Further, government did not take responsibility in establishing girl’s schools. However, the dispatch was a modest but significant step towards the promotion of female education in the country as it official announced the importance of female education and promised its ‘frank and cordial support.’

The government’s policy on women education evolved on the basis of many pilot experiment conducted by the government. One such experiment was the establishment of female normal schools. In the educational dispatch of 1868, the secretary of state approves the governments of India’s scheme for the establishment of female normal schools in the three presidencies. The dispatch states that ‘your Excellency in council has determined to give the experiment of female education in India a fair trail by assigning to each of the governments of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, an annual sum of Rs. 12,000 for five years, for the establishment of female normal schools in the three presidency towns.’

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36 Ibid, Appendix to Despatch of 19th July 1854
37 Ibid, No. 17, 12 August 1868, p.210
A significant landmark in the history of female education in India was the Education commission of 1882 or Hunter commission. The limitations of the educational dispatch of 1854 and increase in the number of girl's schools led government to draw a separate policy for women education. The education commission of 1882 was the first comprehensive document dealing exclusively with women education in India.

The commission made twenty seven recommendations for the development of formal system of education for females. Some of the important recommendations of the commission were as follows:

i) Decentralization of the educational funds for the promotion of female education. For this the stipulated funds were allocated to municipal boards and local boards to encourage female education.

ii) Grant-in-aid system was made more extensive and liberal to all classes of female schools viz. Government, non-government, government aided, private schools.

iii) Special Curriculum for the girls' schools.

iv) Provision for the female teachers and training colleges.

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39 Ibid, pp.223-224
40 The Commission recommended that 'as mixed schools, other than infant schools, are not generally suited to the conditions of this country, the attendance of girls at boys schools should not be encouraged, except in places where girls' schools cannot be maintained. P.155
One of the significant outcomes of the commission was increase in the number of agencies for women education. Beside private organizations and government, semi-government agencies like municipal boards and local bodies took charge of propagating women education in India.

IV

Emergence of formal system of education for women in Gujarat

In Gujarat, the formal system of education for women was developed by the following agencies – the Christian missionaries, the Bombay Government, the local boards and municipalities and the social reform based organizations of the region.41

The Christian missionaries were the first to introduce western system of education for girls in Gujarat, long before the British government thought of propagating it. However, there largely existed a chasm between the missionary education and the government and non-government education. The direct, crusading zeal, brought missionaries, always in conflict with non-religious, secular approach to education developed by

British Government.\textsuperscript{42} Despite these differences, mission schools pioneered in laying the foundations of girls' schools of various levels viz. vernacular schools, Anglo-vernacular schools, a new category of educational institutions at the primary and secondary level, and English schools.\textsuperscript{43}

The Charter Act of 1813 granted the permission to the missionaries for the continuation of activities in India. Various missionary organizations set-up mission or charity schools all across the country. The important missionary organizations whose work became prominent in the Bombay presidency were the London Missionary society, the American mission, the church missionary society and the Irish Presbyterian mission. These organizations established schools in various parts of the Presidency.\textsuperscript{44}

The London missionary and Irish Presbyterian mission had selected some towns in Gujarat where they established a number of primary schools. These schools were generally referred as charity schools.\textsuperscript{45}

There were three agencies through which the Christian missionaries worked for promoting female education viz.

1. Girls Day Schools

\textsuperscript{42} See, Robin H.S. Boyd, 'A church History of Gujarat', 1981, pp.20-264
\textsuperscript{43} Desai, Neera, opt.cit. pp.97-98
\textsuperscript{44} S. C. Ghosh; Opp. Cit., p.25
\textsuperscript{45} See, A.G. Fraser 'Village Education in India', 1920
2. Orphanages and Boarding establishments

3. Domestic teaching of women arranged in middle and higher classes families popularly termed as 'Zenana teaching'.

The curriculum in mission schools mainly consisted leanings of three R's-Reading, Writing and Speaking. Along with this, tailoring and even knitting was taught to girls.\(^46\) However, the doctrines of Christianity formed the core subject. The mission schools adopted strategies such as giving money to attract girls to schools. In Gujarat girls were given Rs.15 worth of presents as dowry when they got married and a Bible after leaving the school. Hence, missionaries pioneered in laying the foundation of school education for girls.\(^47\) It is interesting to know that mission schools admitted pupils not only among the low castes of the society but also among higher castes mainly Brahmins.\(^48\)

A review of progress of missionary education in India shows the interplay of imperialist forces i.e. ideologies and strategies. In this way the westernization of Indian mind took place.

\(^{46}\) J.A.Richter, opt. cit., pp.150-151

\(^{47}\) Speech of Hargovindas Dwarkadas Kantawala, Gujarat Education Conference, Oct. 1916

In the third decade of the Nineteenth century, educated and socially aware individuals in terms of women education began to develop a cordial view in support of women education. These individuals, in collaboration with Christian missionaries, founded societies that worked for education. In the previous chapter the discussion on the emergence of private organizations such as Bombay Education Society, Students Literary and Scientific Society and GVS is done. Here we will discuss the role played by these societies in the growth of women education in Gujarat. As we know, Bombay Education Society was the first association in whole of India, which was supported by voluntary contributions. This association in 1827 was rechristened as Bombay Native Education Society.49 The Society did a pioneering work in establishing primary schools for girls in Gujarat particularly in the districts of Surat, Broach, Khaira and Ahmedabad.50 Before the establishment of the Board of Education by the government, the Bombay Native Education society was considered as the principal agency for the spread of education among the people. Schools both for boys and girls established by the society were generally run by school masters who were trained by the Society.

49 The Annual Report of Bombay Education Society, 1827, p.11
50 The Annual Report of Bombay Education Society, 1828, pp.44-45
Another significant society was the Students Literary and scientific Society of Bombay. This Society owed its existence mainly to the Prof. Pattan whom Narmada Shankar, a poet and reformer of Gujarat called the father of female education. The society established many private schools in the Bombay Presidency. These schools were conducted in the morning from seven to nine A.M. in convenient localities in the private premises of some friends. The teachers were students or masters of the Elphinstone Institute, who had volunteered to teach the girl students without remuneration. By 1854, the society was conducting a girl's school with a paid staff.

We have already discussed the role played by GVS in the promotion of Gujarati literary activities. Here, we will discuss its role in the promotion of girls' education in Gujarat.

In Gujarat, the first effort of establishing a school for girls was done (GVS). This society took up the charge of a school in 1849 and developed it into an English medium girl school. Initially, the school was funded by Harkor Shethani, widow of Sheth Hathising, a noted ...
businessman and philanthropist of Ahmedabad. The following tables will help to understand the condition of girls' education in the school.

Table: 1.1 The condition of Girls education in Gujarat Vernacular Girls High School-1849.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Number Of students</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the end of the year 1849</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 1.2 The condition of Girls education in Gujarat Vernacular Girls High School-1850-1855.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Girls (In the girls school)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miss Mary Carpenter; ‘Six Months in India’, 1868, Vol.II, pp.25-35
The figures in the above table shows the dismal state of women education in Gujarat but at the same time these figures points towards the process of formalization of women education in Gujarat.

In December 1855, the governor personally came to inspect the school. He conducted the examination of the girls. After the completion of the examination, the girls played garba and the prizes were distributed to them.

Gujarat vernacular society established girls' schools in other parts of Gujarat. By 1859, there were nine girls' schools in Gujarat. Out of these three were in Ahmedabad, two in Surat, Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Limdi, Nadiad and Gondal each had one. From 1894 onwards the society along with studies, began to arrange yearly debate competition for girls. The topics of the debates were generally the on going social issues. This was a significant move to generate awareness as well as providing

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55 Budhiprakash, Vol.1, January, 1855
56 Budhiprakash, Vol.1, 7th March, 1854, p.10
57 Ibid, Vol.5, No.1-2, Jan-Feb, 1858
forum to women to participate in public. Following table shows the some of the important topics of the debates.

Table: 1.3 Topics of the Debate held in Gujarat Vernacular Girls School-
1894-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Debate’s Topic</th>
<th>Prize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1894 | Significance of women education  
i) Varieties of women education         | 65 Rs. |
| 1895 | i) Health and Hygiene  
ii) What are the important household works for women | 65 Rs. |
| 1897 | i) The impact of women education in family                                    | 44 Rs. |
| 1898 | i) Impact of child marriage  
ii) Necessity of Higher education for women                                  | 75 Rs. |
| 1900 | i) The custom of mourning in Gujarat – its effects and                         | 75 Rs. |
solutions for eradication.

Source: Budhiprakash, Vol.48, No. 12, Dec. 1901, p.373

From the debate topics given in the table above, it becomes clear that GVS was working towards creating an environment of awareness and consciousness among Gujarati women. Thus, the pioneering work of the girl's education was started under GVS.

**State system of education for women**

From the third decade of nineteenth century, the public instruction or Government education began to develop all across the country. However, public instructions for females had still not formed a subject of concern. This is evident from the general dispatches on education during the first half of the century in which no references to the female education have been made. Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay Presidency, in his Minute on Education (1823) which runs over 83 paragraphs and discussed several questions in detail, did not make any reference to women's education. However, the government had to encounter peculiar difficulties in promoting female education. This was

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58 Maharashtra State Archives, Minutes of Education, Home Department
because the issue of educating girls was intrinsically related to social and religious attitudes of the people.\textsuperscript{59} Hence government policy on female education, till the first half of the Nineteenth century was largely of non-interference.\textsuperscript{60} Nevertheless, the efforts made by missionaries, philanthropists and private organizations, created a sufficient amount of awareness towards female education. The cordial support from the enlightened Indians led government to commence its policy on female education.

As mentioned above, in Bombay Presidency the years from 1823 to 1851, female education practically remained in the hands of missionaries and enlightened people. The state system of education for females developed around 1855-56.\textsuperscript{61} In the province of Gujarat, government schools for girls were started after the educational Despatch of 1855-56. By 1865-66, there were ten schools for girls in Ahmedabad district with 418 students.\textsuperscript{62} In 1876, the number of girls' schools rose to 20 with 1017 pupils.\textsuperscript{63} In the Khaira district in 1877-78, there were 28 town schools, of which two were girls' schools – one vernacular and

\textsuperscript{59} J.A. Richey, opt.cit. pp. 144-45
\textsuperscript{60} W.W. Hunter, Report of the Indian Education Commission, Calcutta, 1884
\textsuperscript{61} Gujarat Shala Patra, No.
\textsuperscript{62} Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.IV, Ahmedabad District, 1879, pp.209-10
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid, p.210
other Anglo-vernacular. In the same year, there were 162 village schools in the district, of which 158 were boys' vernacular schools and 4 were girls' vernacular schools. 64 In 1901, the Khaira district was fourth in the Presidency in the literacy returns. 9.9% of the population was able to read and write – 17.9 males and 0.9 females. 65

In Panchmahals district that was divided into two parts - the British areas and the princely states, the beginning of western education was traced around 1854. 66 The first vernacular school was established in the year 1854 at Godhra. 67 In the year 1856, the number of such schools rose to seven. In the year 1893-94, there were 142 primary schools with 6,746 students on the roll. 68 However the progress of women's education in the district was slow. This was because the district was inhabited by a large number of tribal people who were deeply rooted to tradition and customs. One of the factors responsible for reluctance of the parents to send their daughters was absence of separate educational institutions for girls. In the year 1858-59 there was a small girl’s school at Kalol with 15 pupils. By the year 1878-79 there were 3 girls' schools in the district.

65 Ibid, p.285
66 Ibid, p.286
67 Annual Administrative Report, Panchmahals, 1858-1859.
68 Ibid, pp.107-110
One was in the British area and two were in the princely states of Baria and Lunavada.69

The following table shows the number of literates per 1000 females in British Gujarat

Table: 1.4 The number of women literates in British Gujarat-1881-1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broach</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaira</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchmahals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table illustrates the point that the formal education for women in British Gujarat was growing, though in a very slow pace.

As mentioned earlier the significant landmark in the history of women education was the education commission of 1882 or Hunter

Commission. In this education commission the British government for the first time, came up with a comprehensive policy for women education. Decentralization of state system of education was the most significant aspect of education commission of 1882. As a result of decentralization, semi government agencies came into existence. These were the local boards and municipalities. On the lines of recommendations of Hunter Commission, in Bombay Presidency as well in the province of Gujarat, additional grant of Rs.two was made to the girl's schools for the Needle work.\textsuperscript{70} This was because as per the recommendation of Hunter Commission needle work and domestic economy were emphasized more in the girl's curriculum. A large number of girls' schools came under the management of local bodies and municipal boards. The management of these schools thus, said to be successful than any other region.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{70} W.W.Hunter, opt.cit. pp.155-54
\textsuperscript{71} Alfred Croft, Review of Education in India in 1886, pp.278-293
Social Issues and Women Education:
The promotion of women education was an instrument as well as an avenue of getting freed from traditional society and some of its shackles like customs of child marriage and widowhood. The customs of child marriage and widowhood formed hindrance for growth of formal education in modern schools. Therefore, emancipation of women from existing customs became a necessity for the promotion of female education. From the second half of the nineteenth century, socially sensitive individuals with a nationalistic outlook formed reformist associations which in turn gave rise to various social reform movements. The main agenda of these associations was emancipation of women from age-old customs by the promotion of women education. The consequence of this was that general question related to women issues began to come up. Women’s question was resolved within the

72 In a report to the Bengal Provincial Committee, it was stated by Kristodas Pal, a social reformer, that, ‘the social institutions of the people are in the way of any great advance, and until a change is effected in them, it is hopeless to make female education a complete success.’ Education Commission: Appendix to Education Commission: Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee with evidence taken before the Committee, Memorials to the Education Commission, Calcutta, 1884.
nationalist's framework. The primary objective of women education in the nationalist's framework was to impart the ideals of good wife and mother. It is interesting to note that the Victorian ideals of women and nationalist's ideals of women were more or less similar. Hence Victorian values were attempted to be inculcated in nationalist's program of women education.

In Gujarat, the reformist movements were in the line of Bengal movements. As in Bengal and other places, the reformers were divided into two categories the radicals and the revivalists. The radicals were largely critical of Indian customs and traditions and revivalists were defensive towards Indian culture and Indian tradition. However, both radicals and revivalists had one common objective i.e. both worked towards the emancipation of women from age-old customs and found formal education as a means to uplift women's familial and social status. Prominent radical reformers of Gujarat were Darjaram Mehtaji, Narmad and Karsandas Mulji. Among the revivalist were Goverdhanram Tripathi and Manilal Nathabhai.

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73 Kumkum Sangari and Sudhesh Vaid (eds), 'Recasting Women', 1989, p.224
74 See, Lynn Abrams, 'Ideals of Womanhood in Victorian Britain', 2001
The Social reform movements in Gujarat can broadly be divided into two phases – 1884 to 1980 and onwards. A sea difference is seen in these two phases in terms of approach, attitudes and ideologies. The first phase of the reform movements originated in Surat because of its proximity to Bombay. The second phase originated in Ahmedabad and extended to other areas of Gujarat.

The Surat based reform movement included the radical reformer Durgaram Mehtaji (1809 – 1870) who founded the reform association – Manava Dharma Sabha. This sabha became the main forum for reform oriented activities and intellectual discussions which were concerned with the prominent social issues of the time. The Sabha was the first concrete expression of the emerging social awareness in western India. The Sabha was a fertile ground for young students and intellectuals, who later on became the torch bearers of reformist activities in Gujarat. The main objective of this sabha was to highlight some of the prominent social issues like caste, child marriage and widowhood. The reformist Durgaram crusaded for the widow remarriage. He tried to set an example to others by marrying a widow.

77 Mahipatram Rupram, ‘Durgaram Charitra’, 1879, pp.1-4
The stiff resistance from the caste ridden society made him helpless in his mission.  

Another radical reformer of Surat based reform movement was *Narmada Shankar Lal Shankar Dave* (1833 – 1886) known as *Kavi Narmad*. He took a keen interest in on going issues on women reforms. Narmad came to Surat and joined with *Manav Dharma Sabha*. Poet *Narmad* was a staunch supporter of women education and women's rights. He said that, 'woman is a slave of man is a wrong assumption. It is also wrong to claim that woman has no intelligence.' He urged girls to 'study, study and study' and fervently argued that, 'as a daughter, as a wife and as a mother, a women will shine more if she is educated.' *Narmad* suggested eighteen points to improve the position of women and emphasized on female education.

Similarly *Karsandas Mulji*, was another radical reformer from Surat who was against the child marriage and other customs. Through his periodical *Satyaprakash*, Karsandas crusaded against prevailing customs. One of the customs against whom Karsandas crusaded was

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78 Budhiprakash. Vol.XXIV. No.1. 1877. p.14
82 Ibid, p.720
against Vaishanav priests who were indulged in all sorts of vices. In order to expose their immoral activities Karsandas wrote various assays in satyaprakash criticizing their act. On May 14, 1861, Jayannath Maharaj of Surat vallabh sect filed a libel suit against Karsandas. The case was famously called the Maharaj Libel case of 1861-62. The significance of the case was that many reformers took part in the proceedings of case and supported Karsandas. The immoral activities of the sect were completely exposed. The case strengthened the British legislation system in Gujarat in eradicating traditional customs and practices.

The Surat based social reform movements were mainly initiated by intellectuals who were the products of Sir Elphinstone College. This institution was instrumental in providing progressive ideologies of the west to the young Gujarati students.

Unlike Surat, the reform movements of Ahmedabad were initiated largely by local notables mainly liberal minded British officials, philanthropist and commercial classes such as Jains and Parsis. Due to their endeavor, several reformist organizations were set mainly in the

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83 Mahipatram Rupram, 'Uttam Kapol Karsandas Mulji Chitra', 1887, pp.30-80
84 Maharaja Libel Case (2nd edition, University Press, Bombay), 1879, pp.130-146
85 The Elphinstone College was named after the governor of Bombay Presidency, Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), to commemorate his services in education to the Bombay province. See, Nurullah and Naik, 'History of education in India', pp.99, 272.
city of Ahmedabad. The first reformist organization of Ahmedabad was the Gujarat Vernacular Society. The discussion of GVS, related to its educational activities is already done. To achieve its objectives of promoting Gujarati language and social awareness, GVS began to publish periodicals in Gujarati. The first Gujarati periodical published by GVS was the *Vartman*. In 1854, the society took over the charge of a journal named *Budhiprakash* which became the mouthpiece of GVS. The writings of *Budhiprakash*, made the educated people of Gujarat aware of the social, political, economic development in the country and in Gujarat.  

Another move taken by GVS in the direction of promoting social awareness through literary activities was setting up of an association known as *Vidyabhashak Mandal*. The objective of this Mandal was to encourage its members to write essays and participate in discussions. Therefore, this association became an important forum for leading social reformers and members of Gujarat Vernacular society like Kavi Dalpatram (1820 – 1848) and Mahipatram Rupram (1829 – 1891), to promote their ideas and thoughts on contemporary social issues.

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86 See, the files of Budhiprakash from 1858-1884
87 Budhiprakash, Vol.6, No.4, 1859, p.57
In addition to above mentioned literary activities, GVS also sponsored a library for which Sheth Hemabhai Vakhatchand, a noted philanthropist had donated money.88

Another social reform association of Ahmedabad was Prathana Samaj, founded by Bholanath Sarabhai (1822 – 1886), a Nagar Brahmin by caste. The samaj, in order to fight for the cause of widow remarriage, established Vidhava Vivaholejak Mandali (a widow remarriage association).89 This association pioneered in starting a movement against the custom of widowhood in Gujarat. This association conducted marriages for Men and women in Gujarat who were willing to remarry. Under the aegis of Vidhava Vivaholejak Mandali, the first widow remarriage in Gujarat took place in 1872.90 Therefore, the movement against the custom of widowhood which was a hindrance to the promotion of formal education for women began to take place in Gujarat.

Another significant association that worked towards widow remarriage was Punar Vivah Utiejak Sabha or Mandali, founded in 1886.91

88 When Seth Hemabhai Vakhatchand donated money to the library, the poet Dalpatram remarked that, ‘this act of Hemabhai is more humanitarian than even building a rest house, because this library would be utilized by thousands of people.’ For detail See, H.Parekh, ‘Gujarat Vernacular Society no Ithas’, opt.cit. p.26
89 Budhiprakash, Vol.5 No.11, 1858, pp.327-329
90 The name of the widow was Jivkorbai who married to Shah Lallubhai Mathurdas. The detail of this marriage is given in chapter six
91 Budhiprakash, Vol.13, No.11, 1866, pp.247-248
reformers like Mahipatram Rupram, Hari Deshmukh, Bholanath Sarabhai, Bechardas Ambaidas, Kavi Dalpatram and Ranchhoddas Chhotalal were the active members of this Sabha. The sabha organized the marriages of widowed men and women. Between the years 1888 to 1908 the sabha organized fifty-two widow remarriages in Gujarat⁹² (see Appendix II). To create favorable social climate, whereby these marriages were better accepted, the sabha, brought out many publication on the subject. So, we can see that the Surat and the Ahmedabad based movements had generated sufficient consciousness and public opinion against the existing social custom of widowhood.⁹³ One cannot absolutely generalize about the absence of widow remarriage in the state. However, in general, there were taboos upon the widow remarriage and widow remarriage was not a common practice.⁹⁴

We will now turn our attention to the subject of child marriage. Here we find an interrelationship between education of girls and child marriage. As we know child marriages prevented formal education conducted in

⁹² Ibid, p.248
⁹³ Ibid, Vol.XXXIV, Jan. 1887, No.1; Vol.3., July 1856, No.7
⁹⁴ Gujarat Shalapatra, Vol.8, No.8, June 1897
schools because school was a public institution. As we know, there existed a gender divide in public and private spheres in the traditional society of India. Many social reformers like Mahipatram Rupram, Dalpatram and Narmad pointed out child marriage as a problem and wrote extensive articles and essays to create public opinion against child marriages. As a result of this awareness, the anti child marriage movement began to take place in Gujarat.

In 1871, an association called Bal Lagna Nishudak Mandali was formed. The association was fully devoted towards the anti child movements. The members of this Mandali were those who had taken the vow of not marrying their sons under sixteen years and maintained the difference of at least five years between the ages of brides and bridegrooms. Gopal Hari Deshmukh was the president and Ambalal Sakarlal Desai and Navalram Laxmiram Pandya were the secretaries of this association. However, this association could not get much achievement in its objective as the social climate was not conducive to accept it.

To broaden the base of the Bal Lagna Nishedhak Mandali, a new association was formed in 1888 known as Gujarat Hindu Sansarik

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95 Ibid, Vol.35, No.9, 1888, pp.1-4
96 Ibid, Vol.36, 1892, pp.13-15
Sudhar Samaj. This association was formed on the lines of National Social conference and Kavi Dalpatram was the secretary of Gujarat Hindu Sansarik Sudhar Samaj.97 The objectives of this Samaj were to abolish child marriage, to put a limit to the marriage expenses and to promote female education. The Samaj arranged talks on the evils of child marriage in different towns of Gujarat.

The Parsi reformer who took up the social issues to the national level and gave wide publicity to the various social evils was Behramji Malbari.98 He was counted among the modern reformers due to the approach adopted towards the problem. His crusade for widow remarriage and anti child marriage and created a debate among the conservative reformers and the modernists. In 1888, Malbari published his views on infant marriage and enforced widowhood in 'Notes', which generated a nationwide debate on these customs.99 These ‘Notes’ marked the beginning of all India reform movements on the issue of child marriage and widow remarriage. The opinions presented in ‘Notes’ against widowhood and infant marriage were different from the conventional views of reforms. The problem of child marriage and

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97 Ibid, Vol. 35, No.9, 1888, p.3
98 Dayaram Gidumal; ‘Behramji M. Malbari-A Biographical Sketch’ , 1892, pp.196-197
99 Ibid, p. 199
widowhood in 'Notes', were viewed from the economic and national points. *Malabari* viewed infant marriages as a source of over population and the institution of widowhood as a social failure. These views on 'Notes' created a powerful influence at the National level. These resulted in the passing of the age of consent Bill that became an act in 1891.

VI

**Association of business community for the promotion of women education**

A special feature of late nineteenth century movement for women education in Gujarat was the tremendous involvement of commercial communities notably *Parsis* and *Jains*. These communities by providing financial assistance contributed to the growth of female education and development of social cultural and political institutions. It may be mentioned here that the particular social and religious slant of the *Parsis* and *Jains* had a major contribution interestingly in the economic and social advancement of the region. The distinctive social and religious characteristics in the communities of *Parsis* and *Jains* helped in facilitating their economic and social advancement as well.
The Parsi's were quick to respond to social reform movement in the western India and the first to westernize in the region of Gujarat and Bombay.\textsuperscript{100} Being a business community, \textit{Parsis} held a strong economic position in this region. With the coming of Europeans, \textit{Parsis} merchants and entrepreneurs established strong business relations with them. \textit{Parsis} men were the first to take up western education when it was introduced in Bombay Presidency around 1826. With the commencement of social reform movements, many western educated Parsi men took up the task of bringing reforms in within the community. Soon the Parsi reform movements became strong and brought significant changes specifically in the position of women. Many women took up the western education.\textsuperscript{101} Few of them received higher education during this period.\textsuperscript{102} Another significant development in the changing position of \textit{Parsi} women was the adoption of western culture.

\textsuperscript{100} Farquhar, J.N.; 'Modern Religious Movements in India', 1967, p.86
\textsuperscript{101} Mr. Sorabjee Shapurjee Bengali, a leading reformer of the period, in Education Commission 1882 had mentioned that, 'in Bombay City nearly all Parsi female children receive primary education without Government assistance and their example is being followed by other portions of the Native community steadily, though slowly.' Education Commission: Evidence taken before the Bombay Provincial Committee and Memorials addressed to the Education Commission, Calcutta, 1884.
\textsuperscript{102} The Stree Bodh, Jubliee No. 1907, pp.1-4
Westernization in women was seen first in the ‘English educated parsis ladies’.

In contrast to the increasing westernization in Parsis community, the Jains remained rooted to their culture in spite of modernization in terms of western education among men and women. In the community of Jains, their religion Jainism, had played a major role in molding the way of life especially in four major areas – occupation, food, education and public service. The values stressed in Jainism viz. Ahimsa or non violence, vegetarianism, education and Dana or charity, made a deep impact on its followers. These values had a favorable impact on women of this community. As education was one of the values emphasized in Jainism, it was imparted equally to all. Religion was one of the factors in facilitating the formal system of education to Jain women in the nineteenth century. Another value emphasized in Jainism was social service or philanthropy. This value became a main factor in favoring women oriented reform movements. The leading Jain merchants of

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103 The first Ladies Club in Gujarat was established with the help of educated Parsi women. For detail see Sharda Mehta, ‘Jivan Shambharano’, 1937, pp.24-26
105 For detail see Nagin J. Shah, opt.cit., p.25
106 See, Sujata Menon, opt.cit. pp.33-35
Gujarat spearheaded the philanthropic activities in the social reform movements. Noted philanthropists of Gujarat of this period were — Sheth Hathi Singh Kesarsing, Sir Maganbhai Vakhatchand, Mr. Bechardas Raskari, Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai, Sheth Hemabhai Vakhatchand, Sheth hathising Kesarsing.107 The first girl school started in 1849 under Gujarat Vernacular society's management was financed by Sheth hathising Kesarsing. After his death, his wife Harkar Shethani108 who was the first women philanthropist of Gujarat continued donating money to various girls' schools. In 1850 another rich merchant Maganbhai Karamchand financed two girls school, the reference of which was made in Wood's Education Despatch.109

Most of the philanthropic activities conducted by Gujarati Jain merchant were concentrated in the areas of education and medicine. Large sums of money were donated for the development of infrastructure for private schools, hospitals and educational institutions such as libraries, research centers like Vidhyabhyarak Mandal founded in 1851. The financial assistance of Jain businessmen helped in setting up large

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107 Navalram, Trivedi, ‘Samaj Sudharanu Rekha Darshan’, pp.78-81
108 Miss Mary Carpenter; ‘Six Months in India’, 1868, Vol.II,pp.25-35; Gujarat Shala Patra, March 1867, pp.70-71
109 Selections from the Records of the government of India. Home Department No. IXXVI: A collection of Despatches from the Home Department on the subject of education, 1854-1868, Appendix to Despatch of 19th July 1854
number of private schools. One of the significant impacts of this was that girls' accessibility to schools increased over time. Schools were set up not only in cities but also in small towns. This was largely visible among the girls belonging to Jaina community to whom inhibitions towards schools education gradually vanished, as the community itself was involved in the growth of female education. School education to an extent helped in opening up the avenues for employment in teaching profession to women. However, largely widows, destitute and wives of school teachers went for jobs. Here too, the advantage was taken over by Baniya community of Gujarat in which Jain women were primarily in large number.

Vii

Curriculum Controversy

The western education was largely utilitarian in nature. Curriculum was designed in the direction of utilitarian objectives. Men sought for western education as it provided employment opportunities in various departments of the government. However, the issue of women

education was not linked with the objective of seeking employment. The public opinion in general was against women's employment. Right from the beginning, women education was viewed as an instrument of reform. The missionaries advocated women education with the objective of proselytization. Later on social reformers addressed the issue of women education in the context of the identity crisis of the newly educated middle class. This identity crisis was largely the consequence of colonial system of education. Many of them trying to imitate the life styles of the colonial rulers, found the condition of their own women to be a stumbling block.\textsuperscript{111} The reformers, therefore, along with social reform, took up the cause of women education to uplift their familial standard. Later on, the revivalists advocated cultural nationalism as counter attack against increasing westernization through women education.

So we can see that the issue of women education raised by the revivalists was largely governed by the ideology of cultural nationalism. These revivalists found women education as an instrument for strengthening the values of Indian womanhood. However, none of them

\textsuperscript{111} Mazumdar, V., 'Emergence of women's Question in India and Role of Women Studies' Occasional Paper-1985, No.7, Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi, pp.1-10
addressed the instruments and structures that oppressed women in the society. This was a significant limitation of the revivalists.

The differences in the objectives of women education among colonists and revivalists gave rise to a debate on girl's curriculum in schools in late nineteenth century. These differences over the issue of girls' curriculum were seen at the national and regional level. Commenting on the curriculum of the high school for females in Bombay, in 1887, the vernacular newspaper, the Mahratta stated that, 'the very first question that strikes us at the outset of our inquiry is what is the aim of the course of instruction? If the object be to change the state of the Hindu household after the English model by the instruction give to our girls... We would condemn it most strongly as being dangerous and at the same time an almost impossible feat.”¹¹² At the regional level, here in the province of Gujarat similar type of debate over girls’ curriculum took place.

**Needle Work and Domestic Management:** So, what were the expectations from the modern system of education for females? As mentioned earlier, the formal education for women gained importance based on the needs and requirements of educated youths, social

¹¹² Mahratta, 1887
reformers and Nationalists of the late nineteenth century. However, the
general opinion of the people of this period was that girls' education
should be according to their roles in the society. This view of was
largely interrelated with the sharply defined gender roles in the
society.¹¹³ Men generally were expected to earn money by carrying
family business or in colonial situation try for government jobs. For
women, the expectation was to look after the family and household
activities. The existence of this system for a long time had maintained
the harmony of the family and proved to be beneficial in keeping the
Hindu values and Hindu tradition alive. However, the nature of modern
education was largely utilitarian. It essentially meant to qualify pupil for
jobs. Therefore, equal instructions to boys and girls were largely
retrained. At the same time, need for educating girls on modern lines
was increasingly felt in the society. The resolution to this dichotomy was
found in creating special instructions to girls in modern schools. The
Hunter Commission of 1882, recommended for the separate instruction
in girls schools in which emphasis was given to Needle work and
domestic management.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ David G. Mandelbaum, 'Society in India', p.37
¹¹⁴ W.W.Hunter, op.cit. pp.122-145
In Bombay Presidency and Gujarat province additional grant of Rs. two was given to schools who taught needle work.\textsuperscript{115}

The subsequent result of the special instruction in girls' schools led to generating a lot interest in school education for girls all across the country. Furthermore, the print media made its own significant contribution in creating awareness about girls' education. In Gujarat, the Gujarati periodicals like \textit{Buddhi prakash} and Gujarat Shala Patra, generated awareness among people about women education. In one of the articles of \textit{Buddhiprakash}, the importance of women education was stated. The writer says that "to mange the house and gain new knowledge on home education, have become essential in changing situation for women. In school education women along with above said subject can gain brief knowledge on social science and philosophy."\textsuperscript{116}

(3)

Social reformers like \textit{Dalpatram}, \textit{Navalram}, \textit{Karsandas}, and others, made a powerful plea for women's education. Their objective of women's education was to improve the familial status of women and inculcating the traditional ideals of \textquote{GruhPriya} or \textquote{Gruhlaxshmi}. \textit{Govardhanram Tripati}, a revivalist and renowned novelist of this period,

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, p.134

\textsuperscript{116} Budhiprakash, Vol.46, No.9, Sept.1899
constructed the images of a new woman in his epoch making novel ‘Saraswati Chandra’. The female protagonist of this novel was educated and highly cultured women. She was knowledgeable, wise, humble, possessed the feminine qualities and the one who could understand modern educated partner.\textsuperscript{117} Such virtues of a modern woman of Gujarati society labeled as ‘Gruhpriya’ were expected from the school education. It was believed by reformers like Dalpatram that modern school education for women would also create harmony at the family level by preventing ‘petty quarrels’ and ‘petty obstinacies’\textsuperscript{118} It is interesting and rather problematic to understand such a view of traditionalists wherein the answer to familial problems appears to lie in the adoption of formal education system. The reformer Dalpatram believed that, ‘if a father gives a dowry to his daughter, the changes were that the husband would usurp it, but if education is given to her, no power on earth could deprive her of that wealth.’\textsuperscript{119} It was therefore right to say that girls’ school education was expected to be an extension of girls’ socialization at home. However, there existed significant differences between home education and school education.

\textsuperscript{117} See Sonal Shukla, ‘Goverdhanram’s women’s’ October 31, 1987, pp.63-69
\textsuperscript{118} Dalpatram Dayabhai, ‘Dalpatkavya’, Vol.1, 1879, pp.66-67
\textsuperscript{119} Mantilal, Nabhoobhai; ‘Sudarshan Gadyavalli’, pp.438, 446-47
School as a public domain provided relatively larger exposure to the outside world. The general awareness about the happenings and events taking place in the society and world at large came from school education. Accessibility to literary books, journals, periodicals was more in school education. Most of the literature found in journal, books and periodicals centered on the issues of social reforms and related issues. Hence this kind of environment in the school system of education was the cause of awareness and consciousness among formally educated women. These women were not only literate but were aware and conscious of their social situations. Chapter six of this study will discuss the emergence of educated women of late nineteenth century Gujarat.

Beside on-going social reforms and school-education, the print media generated a climate of awareness and consciousness among women. A magazine that in a modest manner revolutionized the outlook of educated women was *Streebodh*. This was the first women magazine of whole of India. The magazine was found in 1857 by the efforts of Kaikhusro Naoroji Kahraj (1842-1904). Others significant reformers who contributed in founding this magazine were Karsandas Mulji (1832-1871) Narabhai Haridas (1832-1889), Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai (1832-1890),

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and Dosabhai Framji Cama. The magazine was basically devoted to the spread of education among women. By asserting the need of education among women, the magazine generally talked about ideals of new women. In this sense, streebodh presented the ongoing thinking about women education. However, the magazine also published certain articles that critically questioned the basic attitudes of the society towards women. To mention some of them: Lagan Kem Karvo (why to marry); Auroto ni Sharm (Shyness of the women); Stri Atele Shu (Shy woman is like this) The overall text of these articles subsequently suggested that women began to question the system of male dominance through a modest manner.

121 The Stree Bodh Golden Jubilee, 1907, pp.1-7
Emergence of Teacher Training Institutions:

The women education emerged as a parallel system of education. This was because the needs and requirements of women education system differed from general education system. The provisions such as special grant and fees, separate curriculum and books, and separate schools and staff became a necessity for the promotion of women education during this period. However, these incentives on one hand facilitated the growth of women education in India and in Gujarat and on the other hand led to shortage of trained female teachers and other staff. As a consequence to strong realization on the part of the government and private organizations was felt to establish training schools for women. With the efforts of private organizations two training colleges for women, one in Poona (1870) and other in Ahmedabad (1871) were established. The Ahmedabad training college was called the Mahalaxshmi Female Teacher Training College. This institution came up mainly through the efforts of Miss marry Carpenter (1807-77). It is important to know about Miss Carpenter as she was the force behind the establishment of Mahalaxshmi Female Training college in Ahmedabad.
Miss Carpenter educationalist from Bristol. She was concerned about the failure of the British Government to provide for female education. Legislation had been passed in 1854, but there were no training academics for women teachers. In her second visit to Ahmedabad she along with prominent social reformers, worked for establishing ‘Teacher training college.’ The Mahalaxshmi Female teacher training college was largely financed by Mr. Bechardas and started functioning by six ladies. Miss Collett, the principal of this college, while giving evidence to the education commission, 1882, mentioned that majority of women attending their college were begin trained for employment. In the educational department “Respectable widows” were also admitted. However, both the training institutions of Ahmedabad and Poona made little progress in terms of training women teachers in the beginning. From 1871-1812 the Mahalaxshmi Training College could produce only thirty eight women teachers.

The following table shows the slow progress of training schools for women in Bombay Presidency:

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122 Government of India, Home Department, Aug. 14, 1867, No. 8-10
123 Naik Chitralekha; ‘Education of women in the province of Bombay’, p. 132
124 S. Narulla and Naik, op. cit. p. 391
Table: 1.5 The slow progress of training schools for women in Bombay Presidency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of schools for women</th>
<th>No. of women</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859-60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869-70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879-80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Report on Public Instruction in Bombay Presidency for the years mentioned
Conclusion

The period from 1850-1900 was significant for the institutionalizing of female education. The chief agencies involved in the beginning were the Christian Missionaries, private organizations and the British Government. The issue and concern for women education was raised first by Christian missionaries whose main objective was proselytization. The British government took up the issue of women education in the context of modernity and progress. Later on reformists particularly revivalists addressed the issue of women education in the context of identity crisis of educated youths and to counter the increasing westernization in the society.

It was the Private enterprise that vigorously strived to translate the process female education into a movement. Rich Philanthropists, social reformers and social reform associations integrated the issue of women education into their sphere of activities. Women education was taken as a measure to uplift the familial status of Indian women. Therefore, without lending too much on Government support, these agencies established several schools for girls. These schools were largely conducted and financed by indigenous Philanthropists and industrialist.
However, British Government did not take the direct initiative to spread female education. With the introduction of local self government principles in 1882, the government support to female education underwent a change. Now, the bulk of female education came to be established and conducted by Local Government bodies like District School Board in rural areas and Municipalities in Urban areas.

The broader objectives of women education of this period was to improve the familial status and to eradicate customs of child marriage and women hood which were hindrance to the progress of women education. These objectives of women education were largely laced with traditional and social values. The promoters of women education particularly revivalists supported the cause of women’s education on the grounds that women’s education would help to strengthen the hold of indigenous culture through the institution of family. The revivalists thus introduced a new concept into women education – women as the custodian of traditional cultural values.

The female educational enterprise of Nineteenth century was limited in its objectives and extent. The general objective was to educated women on modern ways of looking after household. School was merely an extension of home education to girls. Secondly, education was not
linked with employment. However, the idea of seeking employment was generally associated with widows, destitute women and wives of husbands who were in teaching professions. Thirdly, the beneficiaries of modern education were the upper class women. It was partly due to the social reform organizations which were limited to the upper castes and communities. Also, the late rise of social reform movements among depressed classes, that the new education remained inaccessible to the women of lower castes and communities. By the late Nineteenth century the literacy rate among women began to rise moderately. It was during this period the emergence of educated women on modern lines took place discussion of which will be done in chapter six
Photographs:

Victorian Embroidery
Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth and Lady Sharda Mehta after their graduation in 1901.
The Alexandra Native Girls' English Institution.

(The first English school for Indian girls started in Bombay by Mr. Maneckji Cursetji)
Mr. Kaikhusro N.Kabraji, editor of the Stree Bodh.