

SOME ASPECTS OF WOMANHOOD OF HADAUTI, RAJASTHAN (1850-1975)

Ph.D. THESIS (HISTORY)

submitted to

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FEBRUARY 2013



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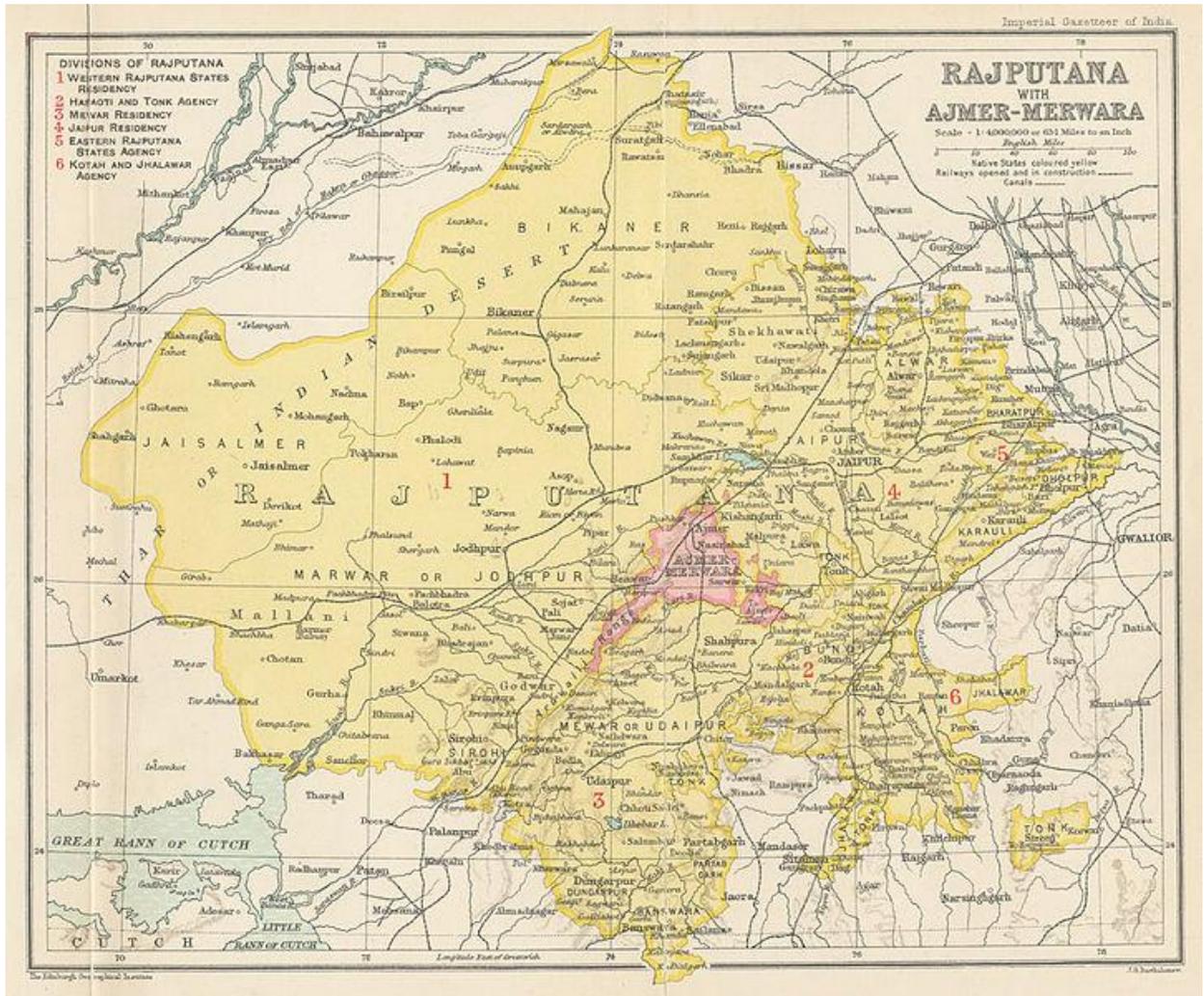
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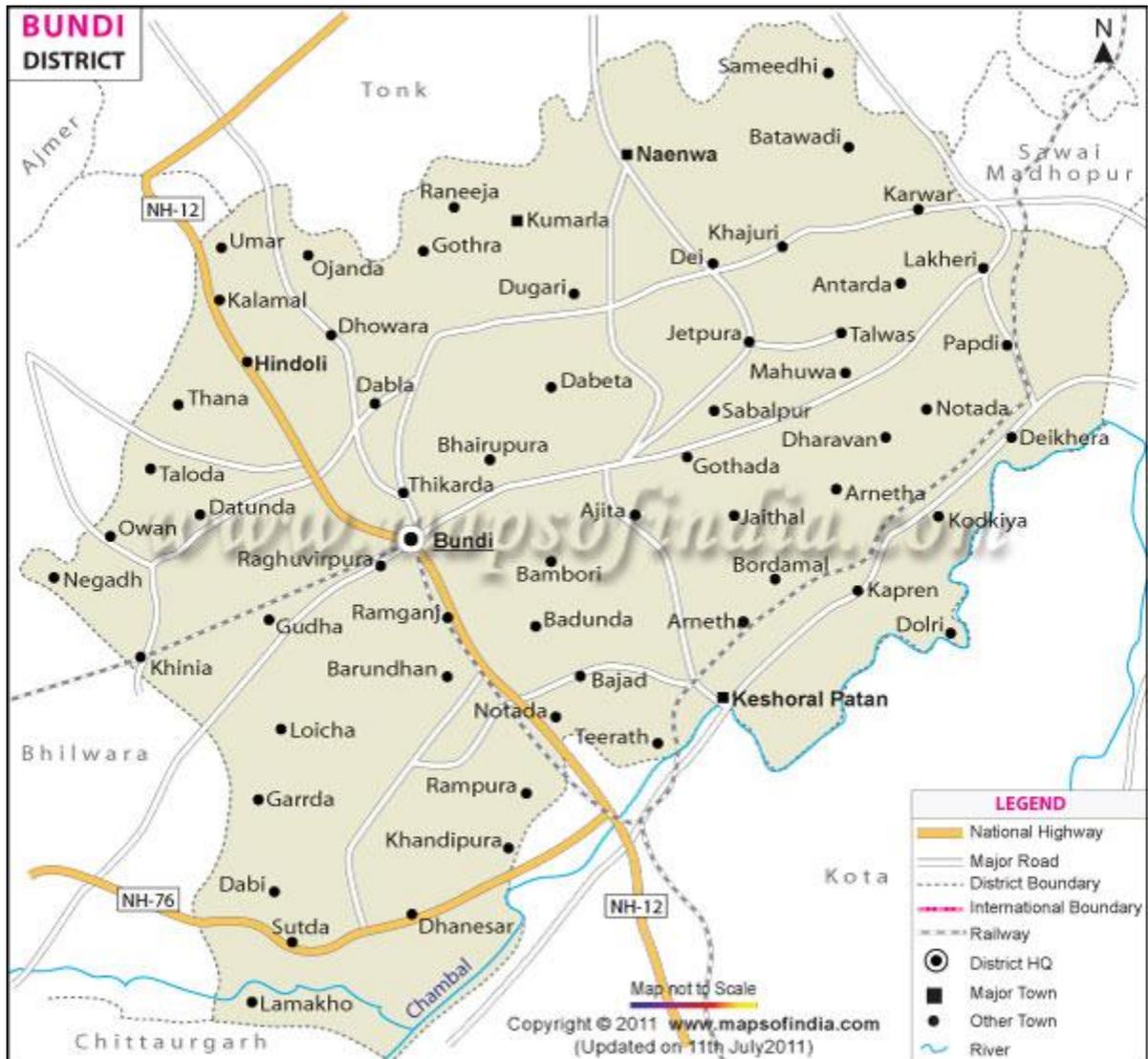
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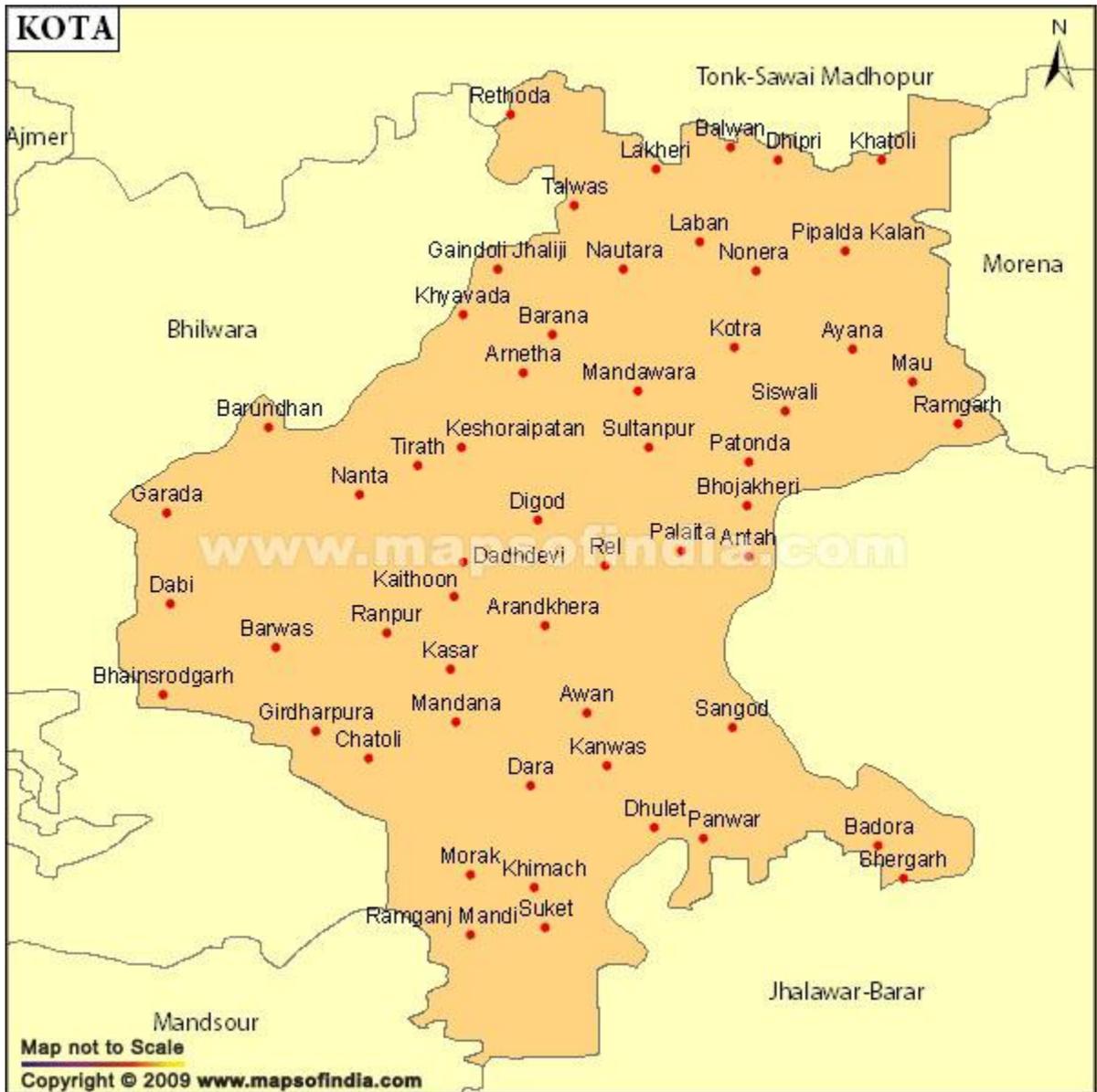
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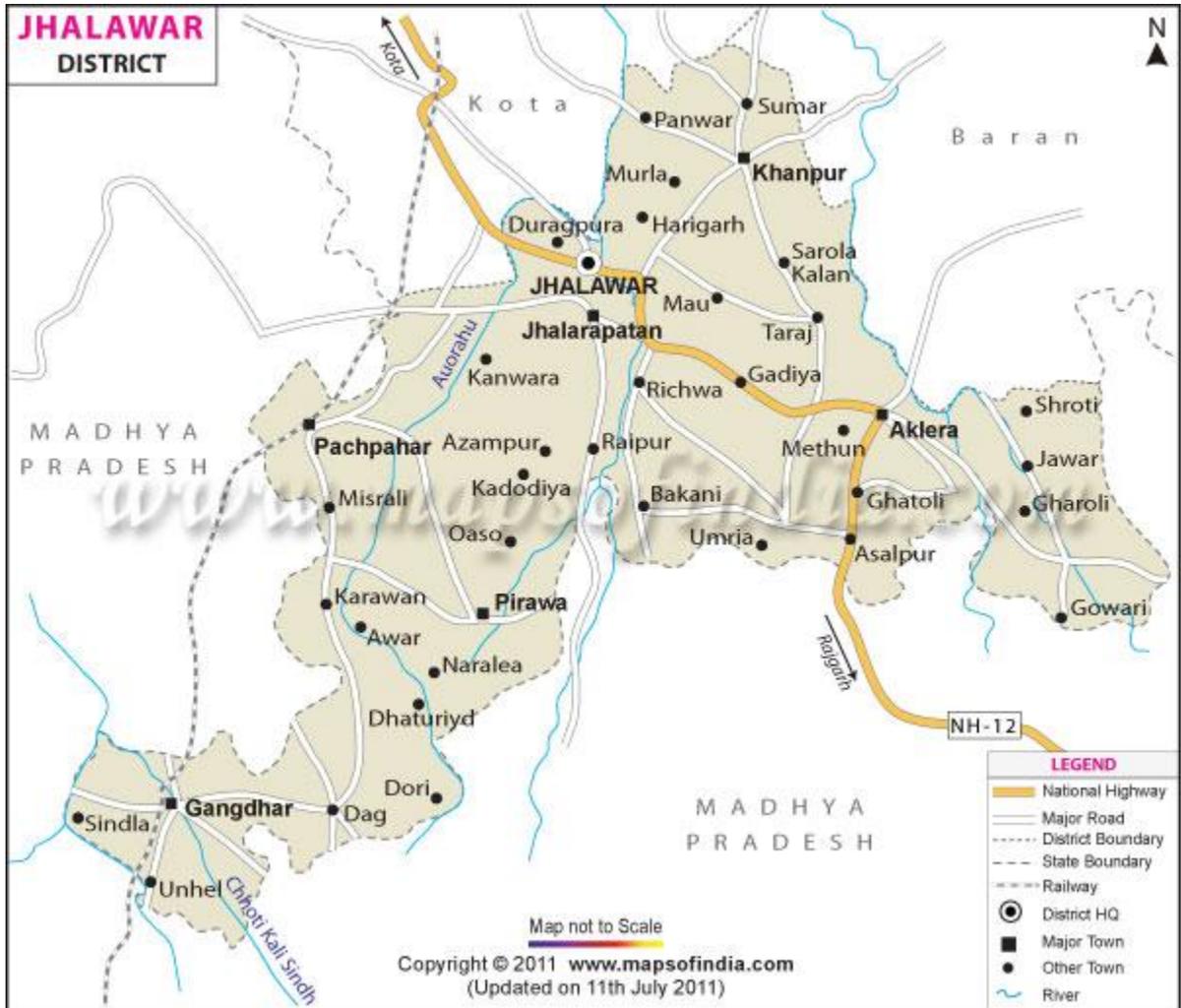
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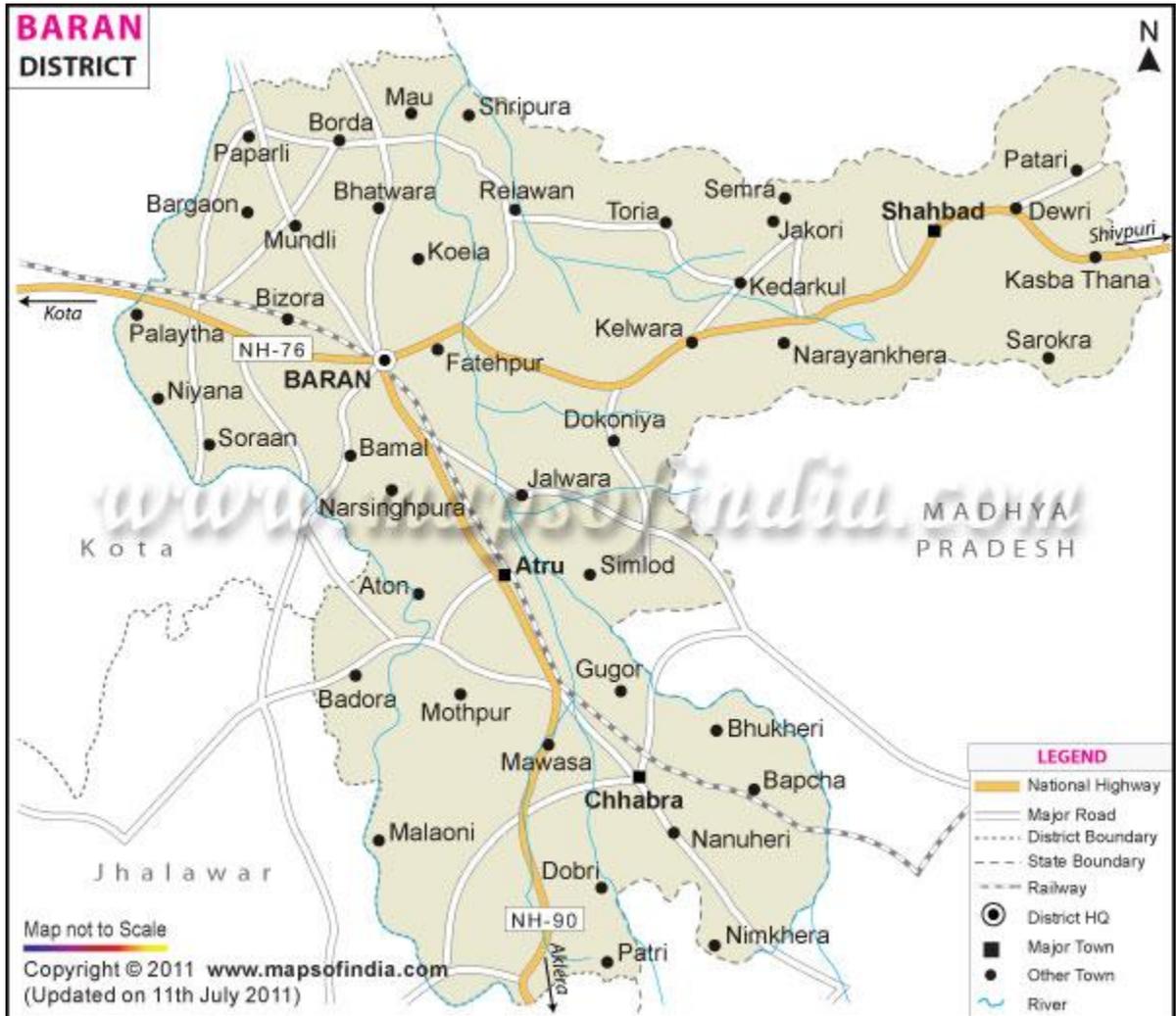
Map of Rajputana with Ajmer-Merwara











Preface

The present study began with the thought of covering the region of Hadauti that has generally remained on the peripheries of all kinds. Although there are a few works covering seventeenth and eighteenth century Kota.¹ There is hardly a work covering the entire reign of Hadauti especially from a woman's point of view. Reading through some of the interesting works on women's history while doing my post-graduation the seeds were sown for this research.² To study any aspect of womanhood an understanding of certain key term associated with gender studies is important. The foremost happens to be 'feminism' which is not like other *isms* that have been theorized and brought into practice; instead it is continuously evolving concept therefore a very complex subject. 'Feminism' has been defined:

As an awareness of patriarchal control, exploitation and oppression at the material and ideological levels of women's labor, fertility and sexuality, in the family, at work place and in society in general, and conscious action by women and men to transform the present situation.³

This inclusive definition opens up role for those clearly set the table for those (not just women) who correlate themselves as 'feminists', any one finding a flaw in the

¹ Norbert Peabody, *Hindu Kingship and Polity in Colonial India*, U.K., Cambridge University Press, 2003; Sethia Madhu Tandon, *Rajput Polity: Warriors, Peasants and Merchants (1700-1800)*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2003.

² Kosambi, Meera, *Crossing Thresholds: Feminist Essays in Social History*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, 2007; Maithreyi Krishanraj, *History through Gender Lens*, Kirit Shah & Meherjyoti Shah eds., *Historiography Past & Present*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2005; Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, New Delhi, Foundation Books, 1998; Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Chronicle Books, 2005 etc.

³ Kamla Bhasin and Nighat Said Khan, *Feminism and its Relevance in South-Asia*, 2009, New Delhi Women Unlimited, 3.

prescribed 'conventional' nomenclature designed for men and women, disagreeing to accept it can broadly be clubbed into as feminists.

The present study tries to investigate the patriarchal relations between men and women of Hadauti. Whether the 'change' visible in British India had the capacity to penetrate the hinterlands of the Hadauti region is a question of interest? How Hadauti people were aware about the freedom struggles in British India and what were their issues during transition? Were Hadauti women involved in the 'freedom struggle'? Evolution of a society is a slow process with various stages and levels. This study tries identifying the nature of 'transition' in the Hadauti region especially touching the lives of women in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Re-writing history from women's perceptive was the need of the hour in the post-Independent India as Maithreyi Krishnaraj puts it: 'Women live in an already gendered society and as gendered beings the truth that they tell is from their experience of gendered beings in a gendered society.'⁴ She also warns the women researchers not to investigate only women because gender study is not just about women it is about both; as sex is biological but gender is 'man-made device' and so is patriarchy.⁵

What becomes clear from the variety of women's studies is that all the main institutions in society are patriarchal in nature let that be family, religion, media or even law.⁶ The entire web of social construct systematically represents its roots to be deep within us as if we are born natural with it. It is completely paradoxical in practice not

⁴ Maithreyi Krishnaraj, 'Research in women studies- need for a critical appraisal', p. 3012, *Economic and Political Weekly*, July, 9, 2005.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3013.

⁶ Bhasin, Kamla, *What is Patriarchy*, New Delhi, Women Unlimited, 2009, 9.

just for women but also for men; terming 'anatomy as destiny' is bizarre yet a reality exists in all its forms around us.⁷

The present study is about the women of Hadauti region of Rajasthan; an inspiration borne out from curiosity to explore historically the lesser known region with a gender perceptive. Gender does not mean to focus simply on the status, condition of women instead there is an attempt to understand the workings of 'patriarchy' without which gender study is incomplete.

For a history student the utmost challenge is to be able to place women in the historical time frame to see some pattern. Historiography with inter-disciplinary approach provides a better opportunity to harness the research for a sensitive issue such as gender. It can be understood only by getting down to its history and by revealing the causes behind biases and prejudices. Therefore, a time period of 125 years from 1850 to 1975 was chosen to some aspects of womanhood in the region. It helped in drawing the map of Hadauti in Rajasthan at the micro-level while at the macro-level sketching its structure in the sub continental context.

The modern historiography has seen a constant evolution with emphasis of studies at the regional levels. Most of the historical works on India especially in the princely states were uncritical focuses on the ruling class gaining accolades from the rulers. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in two volumes is one of the earliest extensive works on Rajasthan romanticizing the feudal pasts. Two regional epics

⁷ Kosambi, Meera, *Crossing Thresholds: Feminist Essays in Social History*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, 2007, 129.

in the historiography of Rajasthan, namely *Vamsh-Bhaskar* by Surya Mal Mishran and *Veer-Vinod* by Shyamaldas emerged as landmarks in the history writing of Rajasthan.⁸

Change began to be visible in the works of G.S. Ojha, Dashrath Sharma and Mathura Lal Sharma.⁹ Mostly these works were the political history of the region. With G.D.Sharma's *Rajput Polity* engaging into the detailed analysis of the Rajput clan brotherhood in the Marwar region¹⁰ offered a new dimension to the Rajput-Mughal relationship by breaking away from the conventional notion of unrestricted clan structure represented by Tod. The work tried to reveal the fact that the hierarchal process within the Rajputs was prevalent even before the Mughals. Many other crucial works on the specific issues in the regional histories were of S. Nurul Hasan, Satish Chandra, Dilbagh Singh and S.P. Gupta.¹¹ B. D. Chattopadhyaya's work went into the details of analyzing the formation of the sub-clans, the territorial units and legitimization of their rights to rule, defining 'the historical process as a range of interactions emphasizing the element of interdependence.'¹²

⁸ Surya Mal Mishran, *Vamsh-Bhaskar*, Jodhpur, v.s. 1956; Shyamaldas, *Veer-Vinod*, Delhi, 1986 (reprint)

⁹ G.S. Ojha, *Rajputana ka Itihas*, Ajmer, 1937; Dashrat Sharma, *The Early Chahman Dynasty*, Delhi, 1992 (reprint); M.L. Sharma, *Kota Rajya ka Itihas*, I, II, Kota, 1939.

¹⁰ S.P. Gupta, *The Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1986

¹¹ S. Nurul Hasan, S.P.Gupta and K.N. Hasan, "The Pattern of Agricultural Production in the Territories of Amber", in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1967; S. Nurul Hasan and S.P. Gupta, "Prices of Foodgrains in the Territories of Amber", in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1967; Satish Chandra, "Some Aspects of Indian Village Society in Northern India during the Eighteenth Century", in *Indian Historical Review*, I, 1974; S.P. Gupta, *The Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1986 and Dilbagh Singh, *State Landlords and Peasants*. Delhi, 1990.

¹² B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Origins of Rajputs" and "Political Process and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India" in *Making of Early Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1994.

There have been other works analyzing the Rajput polity in the context of other warrior tribes and also in relationship with different authorities emerging time to time.¹³ Eminent scholars have also tried to analyze 'transition' in the eighteenth century. C.A. Bayly tried defocusing the effect of transitioning powers from the Mughals to the local powers which were gaining their stronghold within the region politically as well as economically.¹⁴

Recently Madhu Tandon Sethia has tried to understand the Rajput Polity of the Hadas of the Hadauti region. She describes them to be credibly autonomous who never attempted like the Jats and Sikhs to challenge the imperial authority. They never attempted to declare their independence from the Mughals. Marathas used to extract heavy money from the Hadas. She examines the sources of revenue of the Hadas and explores the relationship between the merchant class and rulers in relation to the peasantry.¹⁵ Norbert Peabody added another dimension to study the region of Hadauti in his book 'Hindu Kingship and Polity in Colonial India'. He focused on the Vallabhcharya cult and how the priestly class influenced some very important decisions of the ruler and how there were different chain of events working parallel with the politics of the state.¹⁶

Most of the works have focused on the political, economic and social aspects of Rajasthan, very few paying attention to women. Santosh Yadav has exceptionally

¹³ For other interesting works in the field of Rajput polity refer to D. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of Military Labour Market in Hindustan 1450-1850*, Cambridge, 1990; Ziegler, "Rajput Loyalties During the Mughal Period" J. F. Richards, ed., *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, Delhi, 1998.

¹⁴ C.A. Bayly, *Indian Society and Making of the British Empire, The New Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1998; C.A. Bayly, *Rulers Townsmen and Bazars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, New Delhi, 1998.

¹⁵ Madhu Tandon Sethia, *Rajput Polity: Warriors, Peasants and Merchants (1700-1800)*, New Delhi, 2003

¹⁶ Norbert Peabody, *Hindu Kingship*, op. cit., 2003.

focused on the position of women in the nineteenth and twentieth century Rajasthan.¹⁷ She has brought some interesting facts to light respecting women of Rajasthan including Hadauti. She tries identifying the problems of women in not just with feudalism but also with the British rule which equally ignored the importance of reforms for the women of Rajasthan. Ira Das, Ram Pande, V. Vashishth and R.P. Vyas have also highlighted the condition of women of Rajasthan.¹⁸

The present study is a small step in focusing on the condition of women of the Hadauti region by questioning the role of the state in respecting women's upliftment. It was found relevant to analyze the relation between the native states and the imperial power that helped highlighting some of key women issues. As the political establishments never wanted to disrupt the established equations the 'change' was only possible when the people became aware of their rights. The limited role of enlightened men and women who raised their voice against the injustice and prejudice has also been attempted.

The study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter "Situating Hadauti in Space and Time" forms a historical introduction of the region. How did the Hadas enter the region, established a principality and gave the region its name is discussed. The dual policy by the British in handling the princely states consequently hampering the growth

¹⁷ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1987; Santosh Yadav, *Rajasthan mein Das pratha ka badalta swaroop*, 1977, Tenth Session, Rajasthan History Congress, Udaipur Session.

¹⁸ Das, Ira, 'Sati: A Heinous System of Women Oppression', *Shodhak*, Vol.17, Pt. A, Sr. No. 49, 1988; Das, Ira, 'Female Infanticide in Rajputana', *Shodhak*, Vol. 18, Pt. A, Sr. No. 52, 1989; Pande, Ram, 'Foreign Travellers on Social conditions in Rajasthan', *Shodhak*, Vol.6, Pt. B, Sr. No. 17, 1977; Vashishtha, V.K., 'Evolution of the Social Policy of the British Government in the State of Rajputana during the Nineteenth Century', 1975, *Rajasthan History Congress*, Eighth Session, Ajmer; Vyas, R.P., 'The Walterkrit Rajputra Hitkarni Sabha and its Impact', 1975, *Rajasthan History Congress*, Eighth Session, Ajmer.

of the region has been looked into in reaction to progressive states of Baroda, Mysore and Travancore. The rulers were weak and insecure, hence too submissive to the British that they failed in taking any position to initiate reforms. While the British for their own interests never insisted hard on the implementation of reforms. They left the princely states on the whims of the rulers who accepted or silently refused the advice of the political agents according to their suitability.

The second chapter looks at the complex issue of “The Individual in Society” Caste system is a bitter reality of Indian society governing the public life. It has also given power to the few of the upper crust who then have used, misused and abused their power to exploit the larger section of the society through existing ‘hierarchy.’ Three sources have proved to be useful to study the castes in Rajputana. A report by Munshi Raibahadur Hardayal titled ‘Report- Mardumshumari Rajmarwar’ of 1891. It is interesting to grasp the hidden prejudice that Munshi Hardayal carried for castes and communities other than of the Rajputs and Brahmins.¹⁹ Second is Census of 1901 Report by A.D. Bannerman. Bannerman’s approach is totally different from Hardayal’s.²⁰ The recent study by Shyamlal provides a completely different dimension in understanding of the caste hierarchy. His approach of understanding the social order ‘from the below’ have marked new standards in history writing.²¹

No matter what caste a woman belongs to, her status is secondary in most of the cases.

¹⁹ Hardayal, Munshi Raibahadur, ‘Report Mardumshumari Rajmarwar 1891 c. Marwar Census Report 1891’: *Rajasthan ki jaityo Ka Itihas evam Ritirivaz*, Jodhpur, Maharaja Mansingh Pustak Prakash Shodh Kendra, 2010.

²⁰ A.D. Bannerman (Capt.), *Census of India, Rajputana*, Vol. XXV Part-I, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1902.

²¹ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: Special Reference to Rajasthan*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2008.

The third chapter "Contextualizing Sexuality" studies men, power, authority and wickedness to 'demonize' women in all possible manners from sati to witch-hunting, from female infanticide to widow-hood. Men used all resources at their command to control the sexuality of the sexuality of women. Their inability to control their own sexual drive has forced them to dominate women for perpetual subjugation. Sexuality of women has been used by men to even generate and accumulate wealth for their mean ends.

Folk songs of the region have been analyzed to understand the patriarchal system by which men and women are habituated to a male dominant world view. Children listening and singing these folk songs grow up subsuming the gender stereotypes in their personality.

But women's own perception and of society is studied in the fourth chapter entitled 'Women's Shared Spaces'. There are occasions such as festivals and marriages when women get together and share their experiences. Within the domain woman carve out spaces for their catharsis. This chapter uses the non-archival sources to get a peep into women's world in the given restrictions.

The fifth chapter takes us to the 'change' that starts affecting the educated section of Hadauti including women. The 'Images of Women' are discussed in the back drop of transition into 'modernity' of the Hadauti. Here we encounter Rampyari Shastri, a spinster and a principal in the Girls' School, becoming the victim of petty politics just because she was raising her voice to uplift the backward classes and women of Kota. She had to struggle for her survival in exile in her later days. We also get to a child widow Beni Gupta who decided not to remarry and pursued her studies to become a teacher and a principal in various schools and colleges in Rajasthan. Lastly, we have Shakuntala

Sharma a.k.a. Renu from a high class Brahmin family who decided to remain a spinster as the man she loved someone and could not marry. On the family's disapproving her choice she refused to accept any one else as her partner. All the three were feminists in their own ways. They stood for what they believed was 'right' for them without giving in to the social pressure and taboos. All of them questioned construct of dividing men and women.

The sixth chapter reviews 'Modernity and Hadauti Women,' using various data available in the census records to study. It tries to study the real status of nineteenth and twentieth century women in 'modernizing' Hadauti. It also questions the term 'modernity' in relation to the region of Hadauti.

The road to modernization for women was not easy. The women's struggles even in the metropolis throw sufficient light. The Hadauti women experienced road blocks of domination through feudalism and the British autocracy. It helps in understanding the Hadauti women in comparison with the women of the metropolitan cities of Bombay, Pune, Hyderabad, Baroda and Calcutta.

The thesis ends with 'Conclusion' that carries the findings of the study. A transition toward modernization is incomplete if seen through women's perception. Women of Hadauti realized the importance of Independence much later when compared to the advanced states of Maharashtra or Bengal. One of the reasons observed is the lack of awareness and possession of power in the hands of few which kept the women of the region on the back foot, hence slow transition of the region.

I owe deep gratitude to all those who had been with me and my work since the time I thought of pursuing doctoral thesis. To begin with my parents who encouraged me all through my work. My mother who believed in my decision and my father whose

nervousness gave me the strong reason to go ahead in my research and prove them wrong when he had thought that there was no women's history in Hadauti. I feel myself to be blessed to have Dr. Rajkumar Hans as my mentor. He helped to bring out the better of me from the most complicated and difficult situations. Where I thought I got stuck he believed I could walk. I still remember he said to me once during one of our discussions "it is good that you feel lost, now you would work to find your way out; it means you are evolving." I am grateful for his 'silent presence' that gave me space to work without putting into words he had ensured me whenever I would be stuck, he would be there to guide my way out from the dark. A deep gratitude to ICHR for accepting my research proposal and granting me scholarship that helped me in carrying my research smoothly.

I miss Hemi on this day who otherwise would have been with me but destiny played its game and took her away from me forever. I know she would have been very pleased and excited to know that I am able to complete my work.

In the Kota Archives from where I began my data collection I would like to thank Mr. Mathur who arranged Bastas for me. Late Mr. Dhannalal Suman of Hadauti Shodh Pratishthan, Kota was reasonably considerate and helpful in letting me visit the library and records which were otherwise unavailable in the archives. The help that I got in the Bikaner Archives and National Archives is commendable as the staff helped me find relevant records that were needed for my writing. My thanks to the archivists.

Many people who helped me in the field work Ms. Usha niece of Ms. Beni Gupta helped me to go through some of the works that had been worked on her. Ms. Shraddha, niece of late Shakuntla Sharma, gave me copies of her writings and a personal diary which immensely helped me in reconstructing her life experience. Ex-police officer Mr.

Chandra Singh who shared his experience of working with the Kanjar caste of Jhalawar; his insight on the subject helped me to know the caste hierarchy of the region in much easier way. Last but not the least the entire Sharma family who made our visit in Bikaner so much easier and homely, the extended family that they had become during those days cannot be described in any words. My sincere thanks to all of them.

Thanks to all my friends who helped me in my field work. Sapna and Madan proved to be my personal diaries keeping note and tracks of our visits to Jhalawar, Bundi and Baran. Without them I would have messed up everything. Other than them there are many those whom I would like to thank for helping me unconditionally. Rashmi for discussing my work on the short tea-breaks that we used to take during our university visits, Shiromani for believing that whatever I am doing is the best, Lekshmy for becoming excited about my work as if it is hers', Geetika, Mugdha, Kamna di for being there with me as blessing. And many who always wished me good in their thoughts and prayers, I owe my gratitude.

Becoming a mother my priorities changed. My aunt in Baroda has been very warm and affectionate in accepting our stay with them; their support helped me during crucial phase of my thesis. I am grateful to them from the bottom of my heart.

There are two most important men in my life who need special mention Sanjeev and my two year old son Janamejaya. The two entered my life when I had been in research. Though a pleasant distraction, my doctoral thesis would not have been complete without them. My son who was ready to give share of time that otherwise was his and final Sanjeev's 24x7 care and support encouraged me to finish my work while he was ready to take care of Janamejaya.

Chapter 1

Situating Hadauti in Space and Time

I

The modern Indian historiography has constantly evolved in the recent times. Scholars have frequently questioned the reasons behind the fall of British Empire in India. But in the larger context it is more relevant to understand the reason behind their much longer stay in India. In order to consolidate their rule in the early nineteenth century the East India Company had used the erstwhile princely states as a ladder.²² When the princes interacted with the East India Company it also created an area of conflicting values and principles while building communion with them. It is important to focus on the role of native princes which acted like a buttress for the East India Company and also it is essential to get into the basic structural difference of governance between the two. According to the Census of 1931 the population of India was 340 million, including 80 million governed by the princes of native Indian States. It means that around two-fifth of the nation was in the princely states.²³ For reciprocal advantages various treaties were signed between culturally different rulers. It provided the native rulers with autonomy to continue their dominance over their

²² Robin Jeffery ed., *People, Princes And Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 1.

²³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Rajputana*, 1908; *Census of India*, 1931, Government of India and also refer to Sukhvir Singh Gahlot and Banshi Dhar, *Castes and Tribes of Rajasthan*, Jodhpur, Jain Brothers, 1989, pp. 27-83.

respective states and in return they were to support British sovereignty in India.²⁴ It is essential to get into the detail of what kind of political formation was prevalent in India prior to the British rule and what made the rulers to support the British which enhanced their stay in India? What were the reasons for the British to stay for reasonably longer time than any of their predecessor rulers? How both the British and the native states tried to influence each other? Why nationalism was not initiated as state nationalism and had to wait for agitations to start from the British Indian states?

As an Arab proverb goes: 'I against my brother; I and my brother against my cousin; I, my brother and my cousin against the outsider' it means that all political struggles are nothing less than meager struggle for power. It has the tendency to keep enemy at the position of ally and sometimes even higher. It points to the symbols hidden in the process of economic and political relations of the social order. Before the arrival of the British, there were small kingdoms or chiefdoms their geographical location maneuver their political expansion. The East India Company waged wars against these regional rulers while concretizing their base in the Indian sub-continent. The process of succession of the East India Company was more or less similar to the rise of rulers in the past. With the British becoming the sole authority of the civil and military power in India and

²⁴ K. L. Sharma, *Caste, Feudalism and Peasantry: The Social Formation of Shekhawati*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1998, 207.

introduced a steady bureaucracy which was completely new for Indian rulers, helped the British procure a position with much less opposition.²⁵

The intention of East India Company for India was clearly visible in the attitude of Lord Wellesley who worked through the system of subsidiary alliances which helped in structuring the 'princely India.' In the seven years of Wellesley as Governor-General, Aitchison is believed to have recorded about 100 treaties. This only shows the eagerness of the British to establish their stronghold over Indian States. Through these treaties a *jagirdar* or a chieftain or a feudal lord was raised to a position of ruler or it had the capacity to diminish the position of a ruler too. It thus becomes interesting to see roles of the native rulers of Hadauti in the wake of the new emerging power. In the course of time the rulers time and again changed places and profited from the available opportunity just to keep their position strong. There is an element of power visible in the relationship between the four major institutions of social order, viz. economic, political, kinship and rituals. The East India Company and the princes of the regional states were in relationship of what Cohen calls relationships of power between individual and groups. He describes them to be 'manipulative, technical, instrumental, as people involved tend to use each other as means to ends and not ends in themselves.'²⁶

²⁵ Robin Jeffery, *People, princes*, p. 5.

²⁶ Abner Cohen, "Political Anthropology: The Analysis of the Symbolism of Power Relations", *MAN: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. I, March 1969, 217.

The British had made two different worlds within one nation with separate judicial system and laws through categorically grouping the princely states under 'indirect rule'. But practically, native states India was under 'direct rule'.²⁷ The number of princely states might vary from 562 to 578²⁸ Indian states, estates, *jagirs* and other land holdings differentiated on the basis of their size, location, power and authority, social structure and culture. Lord William Bentick the Governor-General of India in 1832, thought it to be the appropriate time to establish a separate administrative unit so as to deal with matters related with the Rajputana states. We find him declaring to place the Rajputana states under a political agency headed by the Agent to the Governor General (A.G.G.) for the states of Rajputana and a separate Commissioner for Ajmer.²⁹ During the time of Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, the Doctrine of Lapse in 1848 gave powers to the Company to take over a number of native states where the ruler had died without a male heir. Even if the rulers had not appreciated the Doctrine they had to accept the British suzerainty as it was the only way to strengthen their authority over their kingdoms. By the 1840s most of the major states found themselves under the direct rule of British suzerains. The policy of subsidiary

²⁷ Manu Bhagvan, *Soverign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2003, 2.

²⁸ K.L. Sharma, *Caste, Feudalism and Peasantry*, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 1998 mentions about Raghuvir Singh's classification of Princely States as 562 and Shanti Dhawan's as 571, 45-46. Also see Raghuvir Singh, *Poorva-Adhunik Rajasthan, 1527-1947*, Udaipur, Rajasthan Vishwavidyapeeth, 1951 and his *Indian States and the New Regime*, Bombay, D.B. Taraporwala, 1938, 3-7.

²⁹ Rima Hooja, *A History of Rajasthan*, New Delhi, Rupa & Co., 2006, 783.

alliance according to William Lee-Warner was 'subordinate isolation' for the princely states between the periods 1820 up to the revolt of 1857.³⁰

Even though the rulers found it hard to revolt against the British yet it became a challenge for the native rulers and the British to control the Indian contingent which revolted in 1857. Therefore, post-1858 one can notice a deliberate 'make-over' in the governance and relationship of the British especially with the native states. They never wanted to face similar kind of agitation against the British governance particularly from the princely states as they were intended to be the support system of the British rule. In 1862 the rulers were given back the right to select their successor and heir along with the rights of adoption of heir.³¹ Despite sheer anger, agitation and protests all over India against the British, the relation between the British and rulers remained mutually cordial. And the reason for such mutual 'respect' was simple: both needed each other's support to be able to continue dominating and exploiting the people.

It is but natural to see the culture and tradition of the ruler of the land directly or indirectly influencing the people of the region. That is why when the British became as rulers of India a direct influence was visible on the ruling elites as well as on the 'educated' segment of Rajputana. The propagation of the idea of 'modern' or 'western' style of education, administration, legal and judiciary system, land revenue and economic structures were enhanced. Stress was also laid on the construction of hospitals, dispensaries, schools, post-offices and

³⁰ Robin Jeffrey, *People, princes*, op. cit., 9.

³¹ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 790.

building of modern roads and railway lines etc. Customs such as widow immolation, child marriage, slavery were discouraged in all the states of Rajputana. Even practice of female infanticide was punishable by law in all the states between the years 1831-1844.³²

Post-1857 immediate effect was seen in the attitude of the British which made them cautious not to undermine the importance of the rulers of the native states, 'the natural leaders of the people'.³³ British began taking reformatory steps with caution. In the year 1870 Lord Mayo, the Governor General, while declaring to enhance modernization kept it optional for states. It meant that the fate of the people of princely states was entirely dependent on the whims of the rulers. There were only some states where reforms were introduced including the adoption of the IPC.³⁴ The dubious dual standards of the native princes got exposed when on one hand they 'pretended' to follow certain reforms prevalent in the British India while on the other they continued to practice feudalism.

The relation of these native states with the British have constantly raised serious questions regarding their attitude towards the people who were dependent on them. This can be seen after Minto's 'non-intervention' policy (1909) which made the rulers stand besides the British government. The rulers were used as a medium to represent the British as the saviors of the states, therefore urged the rulers to hand over the rebels and agitators, described as

³² Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 790.

³³ Robin Jeffrey, *People, princes*, op. cit., 11.

³⁴ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 790.

threat even to them. The Chamber of Princes (1919) which was the result of events following First World War and the formation of League of Nations lost its valor soon as the Princes were more involved with the question of their status rather than their survival.³⁵ British Government seems to have been driven away between the desire of imperial interest as a trading company and the 'zeal of a utilitarian reformer'.³⁶ The tendency of dual standards maintained by the British towards the princely states is the result of this dilemma. As a trader they used the native states as their mode of accumulating wealth and power while as reformers it was their moral responsibility to uplift the dilapidated condition of the native states.

Much before the Government of India Act, 1935 the downfall of the princes was inevitable, argues James Manor. He says that the Act only made the way easier for the British to hand over the powers to the new democratically elected politicians of India. Taking the argument further, he points to the era between 1920s and 1930s when by not forcing the reforms in the native states the Political Department condemned the princes from continuing to be the rulers for the Independent India.³⁷ The British Government on one hand never tried seriously in bringing the positive change in the native states but also condemned

³⁵ Urmila Phadnis, *Towards the Integration of the Indian States, 1919-47*, Bombay, 1968, 24-37; William L. Richter and Barbara N. Ramusack, 'The Chamber and the Consultation: Changing Forms of Princely Association in India', *Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XXXIV, 3 May 1975, pp. 755-76 in Robin Jeffery, op. cit., 9, 28.

³⁶ James Manor, "The Demise of the Princely Order: A Reassessment", in Robin Jeffery, ed., *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian States*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 11.

³⁷ Cited in Edward Thompson, *The Making of the Indian Princes*, Oxford, 1944, 283-87

the princes of not initiating reforms for the people. There were also many imperialists who wanted to continue their rule indefinitely but they had no other way out to continue other than keeping the rulers as their allies. And after the Haripura Session of Congress in 1938 the Political Department allowed the individual congressmen to agitate in some smaller states.³⁸ There was dual policy of the British for the native states who were more concerned to maintain their status as the sole authority of their kingdom and could not perceive the 'change' which redefined the Indian politics post 1947. If only the states would have engaged some of their representatives to form responsible government then probably the picture of the native Indian States would have been different. The leaders then would have agreed to enter the Indian Union, which would not have been agreeable to the native rulers and by 1950s the state revenues went into the central government and the central government officers moved into the states. The huge gap which existed between the administrative and political modernization became the reason behind the fall of the rulers by the mid-twentieth century.³⁹

The princely states which kept themselves aloof and separate from the rest of India regarded them to be first as regional heads as Travencoreans or Mysoreans and later as Indians. Nationalism mostly developed in the British India manifested amongst the service classes who were the first to attain western education. Being small in number they could not much oppose the British

³⁸ James Manor, "The Demise of the Princely Order", op. cit., 12

³⁹ Ibid, 12

authority. It was only under Gandhi when the number of the educated people joining the freedom struggle increased, threat for the British governance. In most of the states, education did not permeated as it should have been, therefore when in states like Travancore, Baroda and Mysore the percentage of the educated people grew the realization of the disadvantages of a princely rule also became visible.⁴⁰ As soon as the idea of modernity penetrated into the minds of the educated men, it became impossible for them to stop and then refuse to accept the princely rule.

The fate of the people in a princely state was on dependent the ruler; if the prince was progressive and able like Rama Varma of Cochin (1895-1914) then people benefitted from his decisions. He was vigorous ruler ready to bring great reforms in land and legislature, demanded best educated men from the British service as his Dewans. His rule even made the governance of the British appear weak and dull.⁴¹ To name some other rulers of the princely states as progressive are Travancore's Tirunal and Gaikwad of Baroda who are seen as the 'modern' rulers, both promoting education as the main element for the growth of the society. The three states of Baroda, Travancore and Mysore became the most literate areas as their rulers decided to spend large amount of their revenue in

⁴⁰ Ibid. 12-14.

⁴¹ Rama Varma's Diary, 23rd November, 1913 cited in Robin Jeffery, *op. cit.*, 16

upgrading the education system, which was far better even than the British Indian provinces.⁴²

The British needed rulers who could be educated as 'good rulers' and for them Rajkumar College, Rajkot and Mayo College, Ajmer were established for this purpose.⁴³ Raja Jai Singh of Alwar, a minor in 1892, was removed from his 'unwholesome' environment and sent to Mayo for his education.⁴⁴ Similar development was seen in the Kota state after the death of Shatrusal on 11th June, 1889. He was an incompetent ruler without an heir but had introduced Uday Singh of *kotda* as his successor and after his coronation he became Umed Singh II.⁴⁵ It is interesting to note how after the death of Shatrusal his three queens played a crucial role in trying to prevent the minor Maharao Umed Singh going to the Mayo College. This was objected by the British government which tried to take over the palace and forced the queens to allow the young prince to go for his further studies. They only allowed on the pretext of them losing their status as the Hada queens of the Kota state which they never wished for, therefore as per

⁴² Robin Jeffery, *op. cit.*, 16-17. Put forth the fate of the three rulers who could not sustain for long like Rama Varma abdicated in frustration and Tirunal died after five years of reign while Gaikwad of Baroda was blamed of being disgraceful in supporting the violent nationalist and was declared ill-efficient ruler.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 17.

⁴⁴ Edward S. Haynes, 'Alwar Bureaucracy versus Traditional Rulership: Raja, Jagirdars and New Administration, 1892-1910', ed. Robin Jeffery, *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 39.

⁴⁵ Jagat Narayan, *Kota ke Maharao: Umed Singh Dvitye evam Unka Samay*, Kota, Neha Vikas Prakashan, 1983, 8-10, 12-13, 15-17.

the chaotic chain of events they thought it to be practical to surrender to the British Government.⁴⁶

It is interesting to see that ambition of the rulers including queens was disliked by the British and was opposed time and again. The British government was able to thwart aspirations of the three queens who were apprehensive and disagreed to send the young prince Umed Singh II to Mayo College to attain western education. Umed Singh was sent to the Mayo College and become the 'perfect' ruler who would be fit to rule, of course with the restricted power. He too tried encouraging education but failed to become innovative and liberal for his citizens.⁴⁷ He can be termed as a 'perfect' model of the native princes as

⁴⁶ In an interesting series of events the queens of the late Maharao played influential role to suggest the name of Udai Singh as the heir of the state. Even after adopting Udai Singh they made sure to sign the pact that would keep his father Maharaja Chhagan Singh of *Kotda* away from interfering in the political decisions of Kota, so that he may not be able to annex the throne. The following series of events which affected the politics of Kota state was governed and planned by the queens of the late Maharao working under the influence of Jugal Kishore the Superintendent of the Kota State. It mentions about the position of the mother of late Maharao Bhattiyani and the three queens, Jadon ji, 'Paatar' Gumanrai and Gaurji. Bhattiyani agreed with the British soon after the demise of Shatrusal while the ambitious queens tried hard before submitting to the political agent of Rajputana and the British government. All the three after absconding from the *garh* palace took refuge in the *Amar Niwas*, the summer retreat of the Hadas. The first one to surrender was 'paatar' Gumanrai. She was bullied down by the other two, when the Political Agent, came to know about it, he wrote a letter to the queens stating that anyone who wishes to come out is free as no one has forced them to retrieve in seclusion. It is their self made fear against the British government, Ibid. 15-17.

⁴⁷ Munshi Shivpratap was designated as the State Inspector in 1893 and by 1902 he was promoted as Director of Education. He found the condition of the state schools highly deplorable and tried reforming it by increasing the number of State schools both for boys and girls. Munshi Shivpratap's tenure 1893-1917 saw progressive movement in this field. Number of schools increased from 20

expected and needed by the British who shall never try to disobey them. To keep the political status high the rulers of respective states were expected a particular kind of behavior by the British, failing it meant diminishing in their stature.

Umed Singh was learned and educated man. He had also understood the importance of education and was well versed with western culture and lifestyle but he did not attempt to act like a ruler was expected to do. He stood by his citizens like the rulers of Cochin, Travancore and Mysore did. Raja Jai Singh of Alwar and Maharao of Kota Umed Singh can be placed on same plinth, both western educated acted puppets of the British authority. Maharaja Jai Singh, Alwar was the result of the experimentation of the British in the princely states where a minor was a ruler. By late 1870s they realized to bring the necessary changes in princely states; the perfect time was the rule of a minor when the Political Agent to the Governor General acted some what like the *de-facto* ruler. Therefore, Alwar which was ruled for years by a minor Maharaja gave the British

to 89, number of students increased from 1116 to 6,146 and average attendance increased from 792 to 4402. Girls' school increased from 1 to 4 and number of students from 31 to 320 and average attendance from 22 to 268. Anglo-vernacular school increased from 1 to 4 and number of students from 119 to 774. Even for teachers training one normal school was started, state budget increased from 9,097 to 60,753. By 1939-40 (last year of Umed Singh) number of schools were 137 out of which 120 were government, 11 (*sahayata prapt*) and 6 (*swikrit*), girls schools were 12 out of which 5 were Anglo-Vernacular, 1 Sanskrit and 119 Vernacular. Boys Vernacular had 1 Intermediate College, 2 High Schools, 1 Middle and 1 Lower Middle School, number of students increased to 14,141 out of which only 8.76 were girls and 91.24% were boys. The state was so slow and showed poor results in girls' education that only one girl named Bhoori was able to clear her middle school examination in 1913-14 and was awarded 50 rupees by Maharao, Ibid. 178-82.

administration time to re-work on the bureaucracy of the State.⁴⁸ It can be seen in the role of the Council which was the face-changer for the state of Alwar and also for Jai Singh who was reduced to nothing. In an attempt to implement certain reforms in the administration, judiciary and finances there was a point when the Council overpowered the State administration. The aspirations of the Council made all kinds of efforts to take over the *jagirdars* who were unaware of the new methods of administration. There was a role reversal in the Alwar State of the Council taking the power to administer reducing the status of Jai Singh, who was detained in the Mayo College. In his absence from the State for his studies the role of the State Council increased so much so that after 1901 the Maharaja could rule with limited powers and taking decisions only for minor and petty issues. The entire life of Jai Singh was spent to restore his position and the positions of the *thakurs* but he failed in doing so. As a result he could not focus on the relevant social and economic reforms necessary for the people and State.⁴⁹ He spent all his life trying to uplift his stature as a ruler and re-inventing the traditional system of *jagirdari* system like any other feudal lord who was more concerned about his status.

Hadauti needs to be understood in its relationship with the British Government. As in other princely states the region of Hadauti was also devoid of opportunities available in the British India. Why the examples of progressive states of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda could not be replicated elsewhere

⁴⁸ Edward Haynes, *Alwar Bureaucracy*, Robin Jeffery, op. cit., 38.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 40, 42, 60.

especially Hadauti is an interesting probe. It is the intrinsic nature of the Hadas of not revolting against the imperial power despite the fact that they were competent enough to grow independently. This has been seen with the Mughals, Pindaris, Marathas and lastly British. They were successful in making wonderful friendly relations with all but found it hard to oppose; the allies in ruling the masses. Who were these Hadas and how did they establish their control over the region? What was their role as the ruler of Hadauti?

II

The region of Hadauti comprises of Bundi, Kota and Jhalawar lying in the south-eastern end of Rajasthan and was known by the name of the rulers, the Hadas. The region has gone through set of changes starting from the pre-historic civilization.⁵⁰ There are huge gaps in the chronology of the rulers for the period between the eighth to thirteenth centuries. And it is only with the rise of the

⁵⁰ For further detail see Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 124, the earliest traces of prehistoric civilizations from the sites around Kota, Jhalawar and Rawatbhata, Alaniya, Chattaneshwar and Kapildhara. The *Badva-Yupa* VS 295 298 CE, the rock-cut temples of Gupta period are in Kholvi, Binnayaga and Hathiagaur of Jhalawar district. An inscription from *Gangadhar* in the Jhalawar district dating 423 CE refers to the Aulikara dynasty that ruled this part of the region. The Bhim Chaunmari inscription from the Kota region records the fight of one Dhruvaswami against the Huns. The Hun coins in copper and silver have been recovered from Juna-khera near Jhalawar and the princely state of Kota. Around sixth century, the Mori dynasty, linked with the Imperial Mauryan dynasty ruled over the south eastern Rajasthan Kota and Chittor. The punch-marked coins found from Jhalarapatan V.S. 746 689 CE mention a chief named Durgagana. A later inscription from the same town of Jhalarapatan talks about the visit of a chief Sankargana and an inscription from Kansua dated VS 795 738 CE mentions about a Brahmin prince Sivagana, a feudatory of King Dhavala of the Mauryan lineage. A Naga family is mentioned in an inscription dated 790 CE from Shergarh on the river Parwan, 145 km south-west of Kota.

Hadas who gained their authority over the region after capturing the local tribes of Bhil and Meena, that we get the clear idea of succession. Hadas are one of the twenty-four Chauhans descendants of Manik Rai, the king of Ajmer who faced the first volley of 'Islamite arms' in Samvat 741 685 CE.⁵¹ Tod mentions about 'thirty-six royal races' in which according to Choond (bard) *Agnikula* are the greatest, as they were created by Brahmins and rest were created by woman.⁵² Tod in his explanatory notes has criticized the priestly class of portraying themselves to be 'co-equal to divinity or even superior to them,' taking the example from *Ramayana* where a deity acted as a mediator to please Brahmin Vashishta to accept king Vishwamitra's friendship. But he does not talk about the patriarchal mindset which puts the *Agnikula* superior to others only because they are born by the Brahmins and rest by woman! Just because their birth is associated with woman they are eligible to lose their superiority. Tod seems to have ignored this issue and got carried away by the arrogance of the priestly class highlighting them ahead of divinity. He also went into the history of the clan of Hadas and traces their migration from Ajmer under the ancestry to one Ajaipal. It is in his context that Tod mentions about him having twenty-four sons from a 'single wife' emphasizing the absence of polygamy.⁵³ This is an insensitive description of women associating a man having twenty-four sons from a single wife as if she is some child producing machine. It only goes on to

⁵¹ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, New Delhi, M.N. Publishers, 1978, 355.

⁵² James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities*, op. cit., 357.

⁵³ Ibid. 358-59.

show their behavior toward their women, who have been reduced to nothing more than child producers and that too only sons. It is equally noteworthy that there were twenty-four sons with no mention about any girl child.

One of the descendants of these twenty-four sons was Manik Rai there is a fable connected with him that he was slain by *Asuras*. The latter actually happened to be an Islamite missionary. And it is believed that he came out of obscurity and re-established in Ajmer.⁵⁴ From here his various progeny settled in different parts of the country including the Haras capturing the region of Kota and Bundi. Hadas are known by *Hada Raj* who was sixth generation down the line from Manik Rai II. One of the descendants of *Hada Raj* was Deva who captured the Bunda Valley from the local Usra Meena led by their chief Jaita Meena in Samvat 1398, 1342 CE.⁵⁵ The capital was called Bundi because it is situated in the Bunda Valley inhabited by the Meena tribe. Samar Singh succeeded Deva and expanded his rule up to the Kota region. Akailgarh and the Mukundarra pass were conquered from the local *Kotia* Bhil tribe. The name Kota thus was retained by Surjan, grandson of Samar Singh.⁵⁶

The expansion of the region began with the expulsion of the Meena tribe from the region of Hadauti by the Hadas in the V.S. 1398, 1342 CE.⁵⁷ The Parmars and the Chahmans desperately acted to get their hold over the territory of the

⁵⁴ Ibid. 359-60.

⁵⁵ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities*, op. cit., 371 Anuraj obtained Asi or Hansi Ishtpal. A son of Anuraj was expelled from Asi Samvat 1081 1025 CE and obtained Aser. He was also the founder of the Hadas.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 360-61.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 372; Surya Mal Mishran dated it as V.S. 1298 *Vamsh-Bhaskar*, Jodhpur, 1899, p.1625.

Meenas in the Bunda Valley. Rao Deva extended the support to the Meena chief against Harraj Dod (Parmar) and succeeded in subjugating the Parmars. He then invited the Meena chief Jaita Meena to marry his two sons Vighra Raj and Indra Duman to two daughters of Golwal Chahman Jas raj. It is believed that they were deceived by Deva who set their camp on fire in which many men of the Meena tribe were treacherously massacred “*bhumiyas sara kut maria dharti ras padi*” (all the bhumiya were butchered and the land started yielding) only shows the intensity of violence involved.⁵⁸

Although the Rajputs resisted any invasion but the feud between the clans made the infiltration easier. There is an interesting event which would throw light on the psychology of the Hada rulers against the Mughal sovereignty. Rao Surjan of Bundi (1554-84)⁵⁹ came in confrontation with Akbar refused to surrender the fort of Ranthambor, besieged in 1569⁶⁰ The negotiations included:-

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- Branding of the horses was not to be done with the Imperial brands.
- Exemption from the *jaziya* tax.
- No matrimonial relations with the Hada princesses.

⁵⁸ N. S. Bhati ed., *Nainsi ri khyat*, Jodhpur, 1974, 79, 87-90, Suryamal Mishran, *Vamsh-Bhaskar*, op. cit., 1611-16.

⁵⁹ Tod mentions some other points of negotiations refer James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities*, op. cit., 383.

⁶⁰ See *Akbarnama II*, 495-96.

⁶¹ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 514.

The separation of Kota from Bundi took place under Shah-Jahan with Madho Singh as its independent ruler in V.S. 1621, 1565 CE.⁶² Slowly with the passage of time the establishment of the Hadas' authority over the region of Kota and Bundi got strengthened. Consequently, by the 19th century even the British perceived Hadauti as the "Country of the Hadas"⁶³ refuting any other claim on the region.⁶⁴ It marked the beginning of their involvement in various kinds of interventions, trade and matrimonial alliances and treaties with chiefs of surrounding areas.

For a Rajput his clan is very important, it is the spine for his standing. The polity and kinship were intertwined in such a way that it strengthened the familial ties.⁶⁵ In order to maintain it, the Hadas made it clear in the terms of negotiations that matrimonial relations with the Mughals would not be allowed. With other Rajput or Hindu rulers the matrimonial alliances had proved to be helpful and fruitful in building the base of the Hadas but with the Mughals it meant demeaning their 'clan.' Rajasthan being a feudal society where the clan was supreme, the genealogical blood-ties worked as the major bond between the members of the clan irrespective of the political hierarchy. The three-layered

⁶² James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities*, op. cit., 409.

⁶³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Rajputana, 1908, 282

⁶⁴ Madhu Tandon Sethia, *Rajput Polity: Warriors, Peasants and Merchants*, Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 2003, 23.

⁶⁵ Rajendra Joshi, 'Feudal Bonds', eds. N.K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi, *Folk, Faith and Feudalism*, Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 1995, 150; Also see Richard G. Fox, *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule: State-Hinterland Relations in Preindustrial India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1971; Bernard Cohn, 'Political Systems in Eighteenth Century India: The Benares Region', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXII, 1962; K.N. Singh, 'The Territorial Basis of Medieval Town and Village in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, India,' *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, LVIII, 1968.

hierarchical division formed the ruling class with the *jagirdars* being the men of *thikanedar* who in turn were the men of the ruler.⁶⁶ The matrimonial relations between different clans brought the two clans into a mutual ambit. The ones accepting the suzerainty of the Mughal or Maratha rulers or were ambitious enough to strengthen their territorial hold developed their political relations through marriages. Barton observes:

The ancient kingships of Rajputana and Central India were based on the feudal system. The result is seen in the great aristocracies of Thakurs and Sirdars which surround the courts of the leading Rajput States and the Maratha States, carved later out of Rajput territory. The ancient feudal baronage adds allegiance, but secure under the aegis of imperial Britain, many of the princes now show an increasing tendency to depreciate the political and moral value of their aristocracies, and there has been a constant encroachment on baronial privilege and jurisdiction.⁶⁷

According to Tod there was a resemblance of *zamindars* of Rajputana with the fiefs of Europe. He further describes that castes played crucial role in the feudal system as it prevented the lower classes from being incorporated in the nobility.⁶⁸ As far as the Rajputana states are concerned it took some time to acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty and establishing cordial relations. But once established, these Rajputana rulers participated in the military and administrative services of the Mughals. The Rajputana rulers showed their

⁶⁶ Rajendra Joshi, *Feudal Bonds*, op. cit., 152.

⁶⁷ K.L. Sharma, *Caste, Feudalism*, op. cit., 48

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 51-52.

loyalty during the time when there used to be fight amongst the Mughal princes for succession.

Similar political relations were maintained with the Marathas and the East India Company. But, this 'loyalty' too was temporary which depended on their ambitious need. Also the fact, that the imperial powers desired peace in their regions forcing them to find tactics which helped them in this regard. History possesses many such examples displaying the ambitiousness of the king/minister and sometimes queens too, this was witnessed when the faujdar of Kota '*Raj Rana*' Zalim Singh Jhala, the *de facto* ruler during the reign of Umaid Singh (1771-1819), faced the Pindari menace. He tried establishing cordial relations with the Pindari leaders Karim Khan and Mir Khan. Mir Khan latter was even allowed to establish his authority in Shergarh. This proved helpful to defuse the danger for a while. On the other hand Jhala sided with the Marathas by paying them a sum of seven lakhs rupees annually. Zalim Singh was smart enough to realize the growing strength of the East India Company. On 26th December, 1817 he became the first to sign the treaty of subsidiary alliance with them accepting the paramountcy of the company by paying sum of Rs. 2,50,000 as *khiraj* annually.⁶⁹

The British were also realizing that just to impose peace in the region is not the solution to the problem of the Indian rulers. It was well understood that Indian rulers were to be brought out from the culture of age-old traditional way

⁶⁹ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 751.

of living.⁷⁰ Both the Pindaris and Marathas by 1818 were left with no option but to accept the terms of the British in the context of Rajasthan. While the Marathas signed various treaties to hand over different princely states of Rajputana to the British, on the other hand the Pindari leader Amir Khan was made the first Nawab of the principality of Tonk in 1817.⁷¹

The East India Company that aspired to rule the entire Indian sub-continent felt the challenge in making the native states accept their authority. Offending the rulers would have meant loosening their base; people too felt secure with the Indian rulers than with any foreigner. This made the British to follow the policy of non-interference which meant that although the rulers could continue using their 'insignia of sovereignty' but they would accept the position of the 'subordinates' to the British.⁷² The signing of the 'Individual treaties' started between 1803 and 1823 with Kishengarh, Karauli and Kota signing it in 1817 while Bundi signed it in 1818. Slowly entire Rajputana signed it; it restricted the rights of the rulers. Thus, all the external disputes and matters were to be settled by the Company, although the internal affairs were still dealt by the native rulers due to the policy of non-interference. Alongside the British took control over the rights of the protection of the rulers and the successors, as well as the rights of succession.

⁷⁰ Robin Jeffrey, *People, Princes*, op. cit., 9.

⁷¹ *Revision of Aitchison treaties*, Basta No. 9/II, F. No. 3C/17, Mahakma khas, English office, RSAK.

⁷² Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 779-80.

Rajputana could not stay unaffected by the chaotic political events of India such as the formation and re-formation of the boundaries of certain political units of a region which defined and re-defined the regional kingdoms. Zalim Singh Jhala's ambition made him sign a secret treaty along with the subsidiary alliance in 1818, which made him and his successors the hereditary holders of the post of *dewan* of the Kota state. Later this led to the confrontation between the rulers of Kota and Zalim Singh's successors. It was only after the intervention of the Political Agent of Hadauti in 1838 during the reign of Maharao Ram Singh II that Madan Singh *dewan* '*Muhasib-Ala*' was made the first ruler of the newly formed Jhalawar State with seventeen *parganas* of Kota.⁷³ British government was quite impressed by the attitude of Zalim Singh who saw and accepted the relevance of subordination to their growing strength. Tod mentions Zalim Singh's capacity to foresee the future when his friends and allies were moving against him for supporting British. And he quotes the Jhala who was trying to pursue the Maharao of Kota Umed Singh:

Maharaj, I cannot doubt you believe what you say; but remember what old Zalim tells you; the day is not distant when only one emblem of power will be recognized throughout India.

Tod seems to have been overwhelmed by the 'prediction' of Zalim Singh as he writes:

For although no absolute conquest or incorporation of Rajpoot territory has taken place, our system of control, and the establishment of our monopoly

⁷³ Ibid., 902-03.

within these limits (not then dreamed of by ourselves), has already verified in part his prediction.⁷⁴

It helped the successors of Zalim Singh to procure a small principality in Jhalrapatan. Later during the reign of Umed Singh II of Kota it will be seen that British will change their side and would return most of the *parganas* back to the Kota State. Umed Singh became the 'ideal' example for the British who acted on their whims and fancy. This kind of support and cooperation was needed by the British to establish their control over India and princes of the native Indian States were the ideal medium for them. With little effort the British were able to gain their dominance over the princes which helped them to expand their rule over other regions of the country.

The pressure on the native states to prove their loyalty has been judged time and again by the British. The revolt of 1857 became the turning point for many native states as well as the British, who were able to realize what Thomas Munroe said in a speech in 1817 regarding his doubt for the policy of 'subsidiary alliance'. He said:

It has been a natural tendency to render the Government of every country in which it exists weak and oppressive; to extinguish all honorable spirit among the higher classes of society, and to degrade and impoverish the whole people. The usual remedy of a bad Government in India is a quiet revolution in the palace or a violent one by rebellion, or foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him indolent, by teaching him to trust to

⁷⁴ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities*, op. cit., 449.

strangers for his security; and cruel and avaricious, by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects.⁷⁵

There were two developments in order to sustain the positions of both the native states and the British one which rose the expectations of the British to administer the princely states and other which Munro perceived the failure in effectively administrating the native states.⁷⁶

The Revolt of 1857 became the face changer for both the British government as well as the native rulers.⁷⁷ The latter were judged according to the position they took during that crucial time. Inquiry was held to know the stand respective states took and even actions were then taken against those found with dubious intentions. Bundi had not co-operated with the British East India Company during the revolt for which reason there was some displeasure for three years.⁷⁸ The Kota Contingent rebelled in 1857; it became quiet aggressive under the leadership of Mehrab Khan and Lala Jai Dayal sparing only Indian men and women. The mutineers rallied anti British calls and murdered Col. Major C.E. Burton, British Political Agent of Hadauti along with his two sons and an English doctor, capturing Maharao Ram Singh II in his own palace, and finally occupied the Kota state. The 'Kota Uprising' was curbed toward the end of March 1858 by Col. Robert after many arrests and both Mehrab Khan and

⁷⁵ Quoted in Edward Thompson, *The Making of the Indian Princes*, op. cit., 22-23.

⁷⁶ Robin Jeffery, *People, Princes*, op. cit., 9.

⁷⁷ Ian Copland, *The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire, 1917-1947*, New Delhi, Foundation Books, 1999.

⁷⁸ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 900.

Lala Jai Dayal were arrested, tried and hanged. The Maharao's rule could be restored only after six months.⁷⁹

After the events of 1857-58 British government was frightened by the series of events which occurred in various states of India for which they were least prepared. There was a deliberate attempt by the British authorities to inculcate the feeling of guilt in the minds of the rulers. The British government started blaming the rulers for being insensitive not to curb the 'menace'. In reaction the British demanded reform from the princely states. The Kota and Bundi rulers were blamed of corruption and lawlessness in the state for which the Political Agent proposed some reforms and measures that were already prevalent in the other native states and British governed India. Subsequently the Mahaja Rana Ram Singh of Bundi and Maharao Ram Singh II of Kota decided to take some actions in reforming their states. Accordingly Kota decided to introduce reforms. For the administrative purpose the state was divided into districts with *Ziledars* as the heads. Office hours were fixed, police system was modernized, law and order was placed under the *kotwal* and bribery was declared as the legal offence.⁸⁰ Maharaj Rana Ram Singh of Bundi signed the 'Extradition Treaty' in 1869 according to which the rulers of Bundi were to hand over the criminals and culprits charged with specific offences. Even salt agreement (1882) was signed to restrict the import and export of the manufactured salt within the city of Bundi, which meant that only the British

⁷⁹ Ibid., 903.

⁸⁰ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 903.

levied salt could be exported. This affected the economy of the state and also of the people who earned their living from it although in return of the treaty the Bundi ruler received a sum of 8, 000 Rs. annually.⁸¹

This tendency of surrendering to the British Imperial authority is visible amongst all the rulers. Following the example of Bundi Kota even Jhalawar rulers adapted the same policy. The fear of losing the stature made the native princes meek and weak to rule their kingdoms. Maharao Raghuvir Singh succeeded Ram Singh in Bundi (1889-1927) while Ram Singh II was succeeded by Chhatar Sal II in Kota (1866-1889) and Maharaj Rana Madan Singh (1838-1845) succeeded Madho Singh in Jhalawar. All these rulers acted according to the diktat of the British. These rulers took some steps in reforming their states but within a prescribed limit. The rulers of Hadauti never showed any keen interest in initiating any reform which might hurt the Imperial authority. Hence the region has lagged way behind than the progressive states of Baroda, Mysore and Travancore. It will be interesting to draw a parallel between these native states with the princely states of Hadauti, it shall help in forming a picture of causes which effected the progress of these princely states.

Many times it has been observed that the British chose the rule of a minor to bring in reforms in a princely state as it was in the case of Sayajirao III (1875-1939) for Baroda,⁸² Umed Singh II (1889-1940) for Kota⁸³ and Zalim Singh II

⁸¹ Ibid. 901

⁸² David Hardiman, 'Baroda: The Structure of a 'Progressive' State,' ed., Robin Jeffrey, *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 114.

(1858-1896) for Jhalawar.⁸⁴ Sayajirao Gaikwad's reign can be divided into four main phases when from 1875 to 1881 Sir T. Madhav Rao ruled the state. Then because of the difference between him and Sayajirao's tutor Elliot, Madhav Rao was dispossessed and from 1881 to 1895 Elliot took the charge. From 1895-1916, Sayajirao was alone in-charge of the state, this was also the phase when he earned disrespect from the British because of his lack of tactics. During the last phase of his reign he had two able Dewans Manubhai Mehta (1916-1926) and V.T. Krishnamachariar (1926-1944). They were able to regain the harmonious relations with the British and during this time Sayajirao spent most of his time away from Baroda.⁸⁵ On the scale of 'good governance' Baroda ranked two. Within the princely states some were termed as 'more progressive' than others, Mysore and Baroda were two such states which stood out in hierarchal classifications.⁸⁶

Udai Singh of *Kotda* was adopted as the successor of the State by Chhatrasal or Shatrusal who died heirless. He was forcefully sent to achieve western education in Mayo College, Ajmer. His is the era of 'progress' for the Kota state. Umed Singh was Sayajirao's contemporary, both more or less saw similar sets of events but the outcome was different for both. During Umed Singh's reign there were many reforms in almost all the spheres.⁸⁷ *Mahakma-*

⁸³ Jagat Narayan, *Kota Ke Maharao*, op. cit., 35-38.

⁸⁴ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 906.

⁸⁵ David Hardiman, *Baroda State*, op. cit., 114.

⁸⁶ Manu Bhagwan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2003, 5.

⁸⁷ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 904.

Khas and *Mahakma-Mal* were established; while the former was the highest judicial and executive authority in the state headed by the ruler himself, the latter was to look after the affairs of the revenues, forest and famines etc. There were various categories of the main land tenures such as *Khalsa*, *Jagir* and *Muafi* lands, in which the quarter of state's land were *Jagir* and *Muafi* lands, the holder of the land was banned succession power, the authority resting with the ruler. As the succession fee, the fief holder had to pay *Nazrana* to the ruler which included horseman and foot soldiers for the service of the state. There was exemption too for a few fief-holders based on service to the country or gallantry etc. Due to the clan culture there were at least thirty-six *jagirdars* who were regarded premier in the state as they were Hada Chauhans who were termed as *Rajvi* and the senior nobles known as *Umrao*. No land revenue was charged for the *maufi* lands that were given in charity. For the *Khalsa* lands in the early nineteenth century the tenants paid two-fifth of the produce of land as land revenue to the state.⁸⁸

During the rule of Zalim Singh, the *Dewan-Faujdar*, the land revenue was taken in cash at fixed rates per *bigha* of land. He also abolished all the hereditary rights on tenures and brought the entire *Khalsa* lands under the management of the state. No tenants were removed from their land as long as they paid their revenues. For better administration, Maharao Umaid Singh II divided the state into *Nizammats* under the *nazims*, assisted by the *patwari* who were assisted by the *mozas*, who were further assisted by the *sehnas* or *sahanas*; they collected the

⁸⁸ Ibid. 905

land revenues. Other than these officers there were other functionaries like *lamberdars*, *gaon balai*, who were given *maufi* lands in lieu of their services. The laws were based on the lines of the British India. The *nazims* had civil and criminal powers, although their verdict could be challenged and final word lied with the *faujdar* who enjoyed the powers of jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters.

Maharao Umed Singh II readily accepted the demands of the British authorities and introduced a substantial structural transformation in the administration of revenue and justice. Construction of irrigational reservoirs like Umaidsagar and Sahrid and the management of water supply in the capital city were undertaken in 1920; improved and better seeds for farmers were provided; many veterinary dispensaries were opened; co-operative societies were set up and a co-operative bank was established in 1927. The first High School of the Kota state was opened in 1911 and by December 1940 there were one Intermediate College, two high schools and 109 schools in the state. In 1927 an act prohibiting the marriage of minor children was promulgated.

For Zalim Singh II of Jhalawar who was also a minor the Regency Council carried on the administration on his behalf and in 1896 he was invested with full powers. But Zalim Singh II was a weak ruler who was disposed off and fifteen *parganas* out of seventeen which Jhalawar had received from Kota were returned to Kota during this time.⁸⁹ He was replaced by Bhawani Singh who

⁸⁹ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 905-906.

resigned himself into art and music and nothing much can be associated with him. He too was submissive to the British dictates and did not attempt to rise his voice. The Maharaja High School was established in 1887 and the first girls' school was opened in 1883. This happened when British Regency was in-charge of the administration of the Jhalawar State.

The three cases of the princely states of India mentioned above exemplify a constant exercise of the Imperial authority in maneuvering these kingdoms for the goals of imperial domination. The rulers were supposed to explain the status of their administrations to the officials of the British government. The Political Agents and Residents grounded in the native states were expected to keep their superiors updated about the activities of the states as these administrators also conveyed the policies of the paramount power to the rulers.⁹⁰ It was a machinery of surveillance. The frightened rulers were hesitant going against the British thereby leaving the credit of the 'progressive' movement of their kingdoms to the British.⁹¹ The Imperial system forced the rulers of the princely states to support the Imperial sovereignty.

⁹⁰ Ian Copland, 'The Other Guardians: Ideology and Performance in the Indian Political Service', ed., Robin Jeffery, *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 275-76.

⁹¹ Rajat. K. Ray, 'Mewar: The Breakdown of the Princely Order' ed., Robin Jeffery, *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 205-207. He argues about the state of Mewar which was comparatively backward than the other princely states in India yet it became the source of major rural unrest in Rajputana which threatened the entire structure of the princely authority.

III

Late nineteenth century is a very crucial period for the history of India, more so for the princely states that were unaware of the advancement of time that was about to 'change' their fate forever. Before discussing the transition into 'modern' India it is important to discuss the cause behind the fall of the British raj in India as well as 'traditional' system of domination in princely states.

The double standards of the British of being both repressive as well as liberal enough to 'civilize' the people of India resulted in giving ideas to the educated elite of gaining independence of the foreign rule democratically. Therefore people in British India people were losing their patience with the Raj but the relations with the princes were growing strong as partners.⁹² Thus two different political advancements were visible. On the one hand the Indian National Congress with the idea of democracy was growing in popularity which threatened the British. On the other hand British gave free hand to the Indian rulers to get some leverage to continue their Raj in India.

Not all the princes were blindly following the British ruler. Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV who ruled Mysore from 1902 to 1940 realized the relevance of compulsory reforms in the native states as he could also perceive the end of the rulers in the near future.⁹³ Even political officers could sense the fall of the

⁹² James Manor, "The Demise of the Princely Order", op. cit., 308

⁹³ Ibid. 302

princely order and criticized the policy of *laissez-faire*. R.E.L. Wingate in a secret note of August 1934 questions British policy towards the princely states and writes: 'How are we to save the States?' (Only by giving advice) 'Whether or not it is sought and...compel[ling] its acceptance'. The Political Secretary, Glancy rubbished his view and said: '[it appears that] Wingate has of late been suffering from strain...'⁹⁴ Linlithgow sensed the flaw by 1939 and expressed his view to Zetland: 'I cannot help thinking that we have ourselves to thank... for the pitch at which matters have reached in certain circumstances. The great mistake, I am now disposed to think, lay in the change of policy after Curzon's retirement, which led us to relax our control over individual princes and over happening inside their States... We, and the States, have now... to pay for 30 years of *laissez-faire*'.⁹⁵

The British experimentation with India was full of loops which entangled them and pulled them down. By the time they realized their mistake it was too late, the people under the influence of the Congress were able to sense their rights. While the princely states had become habitual with the policy of non-intervention, which had made them weak and selfish, they kept their desires before the need of their citizen. Rulers of some of the progressive states were less in number than the rulers of the smaller States. They were easy catch both for the British and later for Vallabhbhai Patel and V.P. Menon who tried to pursue them

⁹⁴ Ian Copland, *The Other Guardians*, op. cit., 296-97.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

for parliamentary democracy.⁹⁶ They became the gateway through which the entire princely order was pulled in.

James Manor has gone into the complexity of smaller princely states which were less receptive toward change and feared it. The lack of administration by the British made them to further slow down the process of modernization especially in smaller states as they feared that disturbing the conventional mechanism might intensify the popular unrest of the British India in the princely states. The slow progress in some small princely states tied in their personal relation with the neighboring state. If it was not mutual then it hampered the process of growth.⁹⁷ The three princely states of Hadauti, Bundi, Kota and Jhalawar were seen in many instances fighting and non-co-operative with each other. The Political Agents were instructed to discuss the reform first with the reformist ruler's neighbors. If they thought it to be fine for them and their citizen shall not be affected by it then only the interested ruler could implement it, it slowed down the intensity of the reforms even in a progressive state.⁹⁸

James Manor puts the larger share of blame on the British than on the rulers and points to two factors for the failure, firstly, the structure through which the British dealt with the states and secondly the circumstances in which

⁹⁶ Ian Copland, *The Other Guardians*, op. cit., 310.

⁹⁷ James Manor, *The Demise*, op. cit., 311.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

the British found them to be in relation with the rulers.⁹⁹ During the gravest challenge between 1930 and 1940 even the Political Department needed reform; the officers were ill-informed, ill-equipped and incapable to manage the adverse situation of the princely states.¹⁰⁰ The Political Department was short of manpower were forced to implement reforms in the states; besides their regular duties it became difficult for them to focus on reform. Between 1940 and 1945 these agents were busy to gain the support of various states for their contribution in the Second World War that the concern for reforms became the secondary issue for them.¹⁰¹

After signing of Instrument of Accession there were series of events in which the Congress leaders, British Government and princely India kept changing places with argument and counter argument, filled with both trust and distrust. The British Government and the Congress were able to sense the formation of the newly elected Government but the role and involvement of the rulers was unclear. One thing was sure that the princes never wished to be part of the new India as they tried in all possibility to avoid joining the Union. Even some of the officers in British Government expressed their sympathy toward the princely states and wished for a formation of a third dominion.¹⁰² Role of Vallabhbhai Patel and V. P. Menon has been questioned in influencing the rulers especially of the smaller states to join the Union by threat and blackmail. Even

⁹⁹ James Manor, *The Demise*, op. cit., 311.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Copland, *The Other Guardian*, 286-89.

¹⁰¹ James Manor, *The Demise*, op. cit., 312.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 318

Sir Conrad Corfield criticizes the intention of the last Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten to have deceitfully forced the rulers to sign the Instrument which has changed their fate. James Manor discusses the possibilities of why Patel, Menon and Mountbatten have tried forcing their desires on to the princes. The events which were occurring after the decision of the transfer of power to the newly elected government made them to act in such a way. Mountbatten feared disintegration of these princely states which would have had averse affect on them as well as on India at large. The 'change' was inevitable, the gap which has always existed between the princely India and the British India was about to be reduced. And for obvious reasons especially for rulers of these native states to accept the change at its face value was not easy, therefore there were many violations of the treaties signed between the British Government and rulers. All this was done to maintain the integrity of the country.

The process of integration was completed in several stages; initially the ministry of the Government of India allowed all those princely states which had population of one million to formulate into a viable state so as to be able to retain their identity of princely state. By the end of the integration process the Government refuted this policy and ceased it, declaring that no princely state was allowed to retain their 'identity'.

There were five main stages of Integration of various states of Rajputana.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 1134-38.

Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli were the Eastern portion of Rajasthan combined to form *Matsya* Union or the United States of *Matsya* Union with Alwar as its capital. Ruler of Dholpur was made the *Rajpramukh* and Maharaja of Alwar as its *Up- Rajpramukh*.

Kota, Dungarpur and Jhalawar initiated to form a separate union, they also invited Udaipur to be the part of the Rajasthan Union but the Dewan of Udaipur suggested them to get merge into Udaipur which was not accepted by the other rulers. Thus the idea was refuted and a point was made clear to all larger states not the swallow smaller kingdoms. Then the rulers of Kota, Dungarpur, Jhalawar and Banswara including Kushalgarh, Pratapgarh, Lawa, Kishangarh, Tonk and Shahpura decided to form one union. Kota ruler was declared as the *Rajpramukh* with Kota as capital and rulers of Dungarpur and Bundi were the two *Up- Rajpramukhs*. Its constituent assembly had twenty-four elected representatives on the basis of one seat for every one lakh of people. The *Rajpramukh* i.e. the ruler of Kota had the authority to appoint four representatives to safeguard the interests of the land owning *jagirdars* etc.

Later Udaipur too became interested in joining the Rajasthan Union. It was agreed that the Rajasthan Union would be re-constituted to include Udaipur. Therefore in this re-constitution the Maharana of Udaipur was made the *Rajpramukh*, the Maharao of Kota was made as senior *Up-Rajpramukh* and the rulers of both Bundi and Dungarpur together were made the joint junior *Up-*

Rajpramukhs with the capital of this sham Union at Udaipur. In order to compensate the loss of honour for the Maharao of Kota it was decided that at least one session of the legislature would be in the Kota city. It was also said that the units of state forces, departments and other institutions can be retained in the Kota city. Along with this it was also decided that when the union will declare its administrative boundaries, divisions and districts, one division level headquarters under the charge of the commissioner would be based at the Kota city. This union was then known as the Union State of Rajasthan and was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru on the 18th April 1948.

After the formation of *Matsya* union and Union State of Rajasthan there were only four states remaining without any union. These were Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer which according to the States Ministry justified becoming the viable states. Jaisalmer was a special case although it was suitable in becoming the viable state but it was hardly populated and there was not much of its economic importance other than its traditional link up to Indus River. It was also useful in providing traditional trade routes as well migratory animal routes than was either in Bikaner and Jodhpur and therefore it fulfilled the criteria for viable states. Negotiations for merging them got its pace. There were numerous meetings between the Government of India's Ministry of States and the rulers of different princely states to conclude the amalgamation for the State of Rajasthan. Finally these four states agreed to get merged with the Greater Union of Rajasthan which was announced by Sardar Vallabh bhai Patel on the 14th January

1949 at Udaipur in a public meeting. The designation thus after this merger were that the ruler of Udaipur would become the Maharaj *Rajpramukh* for life, the ruler of Jaipur as the *Rajpramukh* for life, rulers of Kota and Jodhpur as the senior *Up-Rajpramukhs* and rulers of Bundi and Dungarpur as the junior *Up-Rajpramukhs* for a period of five years. But the capital was now shifted to Jaipur instead of Udaipur.

The *Matsya* union with the rulers of Karauli, Bharatpur, Alwar and Dholpur too agreed to join the Greater Union of Rajasthan and on the 15th May 1949, the administration of the *Matsya* union was transferred into this new Union of Rajasthan. After all these shifts and transfers there were few other exceptional states such as Sirohi and previously British administered Ajmer-Merwara area and some boundary adjustment was needed for Tonk.

Finally the new state of Rajasthan had Five Territorial divisions with Kota, Jaipur, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Udaipur which were headed by the divisional commissioners. These five territories comprised of total of twenty-four districts, the previously existing states were abolished on 15th October 1949. The new divisions had more than one princely state like the former states of Mewar, Dungarpur, Banswara, Pratapgarh and former Nimbahera pargana of Tonk were part of one unit with Udaipur as their headquarters. From the erstwhile princely states of Bikaner and Jodhpur districts of Barmer, Jalore, Pali and Nagaur were carved out. And Jaisalmer finally became one single district.

For Sirohi it was becoming little difficult to conclude whether to merge with Rajasthan or Bombay. The then Maharani Regent, handed it temporarily to the Government of India to administer on the 8th November 1948. It was then by the Government of India transferred it to the Bombay Government. The states of Gujarat and Rajasthan too kept their proposal of including Sirohi in their states respectively. Based on the recommendations of the Reorganisation Act the Commission decided to transfer parts of Dilwara and Mt. Abu along with some portions of Jhalawar and Tonk into Rajasthan on 1st November 1956. The concluding merger was of Ajmer-Merwara into Rajasthan giving it the present day form.

This process of integration came to its end for the rulers for whom it was entirely a new age where although they would still retain their property and prestige but they could no longer be the heads of their states as they were replaced with the elected representatives. The erstwhile rulers were given some amount for their privy purse the amount of which was later reduced. In December 1971 when the 26th Constitutional Amendment was passed the luxury of privy-purse ceased to exist for the rulers¹⁰⁴. This further reduced them giving the last blow to the anarchy of 'feudalism.'

¹⁰⁴ Rima Hooja, *A History*, op. cit., 1139- 1141.

Chapter 2

The Individual in Society

The institution of caste has historically played a major role in the making of the traditional Hindu society with millions of untouchables who were not even considered as part of the four-fold varna division of the Hindu social order. The eighteenth century village society of Kota could be identified as Dhakar, Jat or Meena village which means that the population of a village was predominately constituted of the low castes than *swarna* Hindus.¹⁰⁵ The untouchables have not only been physically segregated but also been ignored by the scholars. Scholars have generally been working on facets of 'social exclusion' dealing with discrimination of all types related to caste, class, gender, race etc. imposed on the weaker sections by the upper castes.¹⁰⁶

How have the people in Hadauti faced this 'social exclusion'? How women in the lower strata have been further excluded? Probing such questions would help us to draw a comparative status of the women of the higher strata and that of the women from the lower strata. The caste exploitation and domination has been much severe for women than men. Only respite for the low caste woman was her being an equal bread earner of the family which makes her

¹⁰⁵ Madhu Tandon Sethia, *Rajput Polity: Warriors, Peasants and Merchants (1700-1800)*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2003, 79.

¹⁰⁶ B.S. Butola, 'Antinomies of Exclusion', in *Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 11, No. 1, A Journal of Benaras Hindu University, January-June, 2009.

status better than the women from the high castes who mostly was confined to the four walls of domesticity.

Caste and class refer to socio-economic injustices and inequalities imposed by high castes on the low castes. In case of Rajasthan it can be understood in terms of their multi-dimensional functioning, vertical and horizontal layers and levels. They are inter-related and inter-connected in terms of domination and interdependence. Rajasthan was primarily a feudal society governed by the modes of production based on the socio-cultural and material conditions of the people. Feudalism was a social formation as well as mode of production, polity, administration and social relations in Rajasthan.¹⁰⁷ In Dumont's view caste is social like religion with the ideas of pollution and purity, hierarchy and corporations.¹⁰⁸ There are incongruities and anomalies in the social hierarchy divided as Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra with unwritten acceptance and sanction of the people.

Caste hierarchy in Rajasthan is more or less similar to the wider Indian social hierarchy as *dwij* castes, principal agricultural castes, lower castes and untouchables. The basic difference lies in the status of Rajputs who ritualistically stand lower than Brahmins and Vaishyas who observe strict codes which Rajputs tend to skip. But, they being the rulers enjoyed highest status in power. Let it be Brahmin or any business man he was to acknowledge the high status of a

¹⁰⁷ K.L. Sharma, 'Feudalism, Caste and Class in Rajasthan', in eds. N.K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi, *Folk, Faith and Feudalism*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 1995, 165-66

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 168

thikanedar failing in doing so proved disastrous for their survival. Role of a Rajput as landlords empowered them to levy taxes. The family and kinsmen of the ruling house indeed all Rajput families were exempted from these taxes but were imposed on the rest including Brahmins.¹⁰⁹

The artisans and menials were indispensable part of the village and their household strength varied from 8 to 10 in small villages to around 30-40 in larger villages even if there were no Brahmins, *sahas* or *bohras*. For example *mauza* Digonya had peasants of more than one caste; despite small number of owners of the plough, a relatively large number of artisans and menials inhabited. Out of 16 *halpatis*, there were 2 Dhakars, 2 Meenas, 2 Jats, 3 *Pandits*, 2 Rajputs, 4 Patels and 1 *kalawant* (artist) while there were 14 artisan and menial households.¹¹⁰

The 'politics' of dominant and dominated functions fundamentally through the caste prism, 'power' along with caste-class divide have always played significant role. Usually, in a society irrespective of caste the women are subjugated but the moment caste meets class the entire 'balance' of man being dominant and woman being dominated can see a role reversal. Irrespective of gender, social 'power' lies with the upper caste and high class authorizing them with the 'amoral' authority to practise discrimination. The Queens and princesses or even a dancer/singer/slave played an influential role. Although the study does not focus on the royalty but a peep into their lifestyle proved beneficial in understanding the other classes. There has always been a tendency

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 175.

¹¹⁰ Madhu Tandon Sethia, Op. cit., p. 92-93.

of imitating the 'dominant' culture visible around as it enhances the psyche of the people of becoming 'progressive.' Like the rulers tried to grasp the European lifestyle in their quest of upgrading their status in the eyes of colonizers, so did the upper castes following the royalty so on and so forth.

The *zenani dyodi* was the symbol of traditional life of the elite women. There was *zenana*¹¹¹ in the houses of upper castes too. It was a medium through which the patriarchal ideology of seclusion for women was manifest. The women in the *zenana* were dependent on her husband for everything. A kind of hierarchy was present within the women. In the upper caste-class, it was based on her marriage; her *thikana*, family status, her bearing a son and above all whose son would rule.

For the higher caste bearing a son was very important as he was considered to be the carrier of the family name and lineage. The entire hierarchy within the *dyodi* was well known to everyone increasing the chances of animosity and jealousy within the women of the family. A woman's status dependent on her bearing son and for the personal expenditure too they had to rely on their husband's or other men in the family. The queens were allotted *jagirs* and some amount as their pocket expenses was earmarked, Maharao Ramsingh of Kota had given eight villages with the earning of 13,000-14,000 rupees annually; Ranawat Phoolkanwar was given 13 villages in the Kanwas

¹¹¹ See Gail Minault, 'Other Voices, Other Rooms: The View from the Zenana', eds. Manu Bhagvan and Anne Feldhaus, *Speaking Truth to Power: Religion, Caste and the Subaltern Question in India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2008.

tehsil and another queen Jaisalmeri was provided 5 villages. The queen Udaipuri Ranawat of the prince Kishore Singh was given one village as *jagir*. The amount of the money given as pocket expense was given on the basis of their status within the family. In Kota the grandmothers, princesses and rest of the queens of the princes were given 500, 250, 200 and 150 respectively on the monthly basis. This money they used to spend on different events, occasions and celebrations that were performed in the *dyodi*.¹¹² These women who were secluded, dominated by their men because of the power of belonging to the upper caste and ruling class gained the authority of doing the same with the other low and weaker class.

In interesting observation made by Mckin Marriot to Norbert Peabody about little fish eating big ones! Norbert adds to it: "The unexpected subversion of the natural order of things in this reading alerts us to the fact that all structures of domination, no matter how seemingly base or fundamental are susceptible to reconfiguration".¹¹³ In the game of 'politics' nothing is ideal and consistent, the 'change' is fundamental and therefore susceptible of role reversals. Irrespective of caste or gender, 'power' authorized the elite women to suppress and dominate the men and women equally who worked for them. Here, it is not the gender or caste but the class, power that rules!

¹¹² Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1987, 8.

¹¹³ Norbert Peabody, *Hindu Kingship and Polity in Colonial India*, U.K., Cambridge University Press, 2003, 1

Another example of the status overriding the gender comes from newspaper article from *Tarun Rajasthan* (21st, March, 1926) mentioning about *Rani Sahiba ke Daije wale*, meaning the retinue that accompanied the queen after marriage as a part of dowry. It mentions about the *Darogas* who were notorious by temperament carrying the 'royal insignia' that made them act like the masters. It was their free-will to molest loot and destroy no one stopping them; if resisted one had to pay a heavy price. Some who opposed *Darogas* were physically wounded and hospitalized. Through '*Tarun Rajasthan*' appeal was made to the Maharana of Bundi to keep a stern eye and control over them so that people can live peacefully.¹¹⁴

The tendency of growth in humans had made them to adapt to what Mary Louis Pratt call 'transculturation' a way through which the subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture.¹¹⁵ It psychologically makes them look up to the people in power that works as a morale booster for them. Similar observation was made by A.D. Bannerman, In-charge of the Census of 1901 that in order to raise the level of social status the lower middle class tried to imitate the upper class because of which they picked many negative aspects, one of them being banning of widow remarriage:

¹¹⁴ (Newspaper) *Tarun Rajasthan*, dated: 21st, March, 1926, RSAB.

¹¹⁵ Cited in Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds feminist essays in social history*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, 2007, 207.

The prohibition of widow re-marriage which is in force among the orthodox upper and middle classes and which is one of the first customs adopted by sections of the lower middle classes which are striving to raise their social status. With regard to the percentage of widows, when we consider that the betrothal is the more important marriage rite and that a girl betrothed in infancy, whose fiancé dies before the subsequent ceremony—the giving of the bride has taken place, is as much a widow, as if she had entered that condition after years of cohabitation with her husband, we may fairly assume that were it not for the prohibition of widow re-marriage in force among a large number of castes, many of these widows would have contracted second marriages and more children would have been born.¹¹⁶

Various reforms started by the elite, educated upper caste Hindus have contributed in the 'Sanskritization' of the local, regional system of the lower strata.

The traditional Hindu system which is represented by caste system is defended on the religious grounds. Both Ghurye and Irawati Karve have discussed some broad points associated with the Hindu caste system.¹¹⁷ According to Ghurye it constitutes segmental division of the society, hierarchy, restriction on feeding and social intercourse, civil and religious disabilities and

¹¹⁶ A.D. Bannerman, (Capt.) *Census of India, Rajputana*, Vol. XXV Part-I, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1902, 19

¹¹⁷ Cited in Shyamal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: Special Reference to Rajasthan*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2008, 13

privileges of different sections, lack of unrestricted choice of the occupation and restriction on marriage. While according to Irawati Karve castes are endogamous groups restricted to certain limited areas. They have a certain traditional behaviour pattern which is enforced in many cases by a 'caste council' made up of a number of respected elder men in a caste. They live together with other castes without mingling except on certain occasions only. The intercourse between castes is peripheral or tangential; a caste has generally a hereditary occupation, which is, however, not exclusive to it; and castes are arranged in a hierarchal order.

There were further complications in society because of the growth of the occupational groups, inter-caste marriages and advent of the foreigners etc. the structure of the society was no longer based on the Varnas. The criteria developed on numerous castes and sub-castes which were based on birth, hereditary and class privileges, complicating the entire Hindu caste system.¹¹⁸

Ronald Inden speaks of three categories: 'agents', who act purposively and reflectively; 'instruments' through whom agents fulfil their desires and 'patients' who are the recipients of the acts of others, to variously pacified or punished saved, reformed or developed¹¹⁹. The upper class 'agents' presumes it to be their moral authority to govern through 'instruments' - the middle class the lowest impure strata 'patients' of the society in order to maintain their supremacy. All kinds of checks and measures were forced in order to avoid any

¹¹⁸ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement*, op. cit., 13-14.

¹¹⁹ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, op. cit., 16.

kind of contact between the two due to the fear of pollution. When one *pujari* arranged his daughters' marriage with some another *pujari* of a low caste he was removed from the temple of *Sri Ji* in Kota.¹²⁰

From women's point of view the condition was deplorable almost equal to those of the low caste untouchables. The way the princely states were took action against those who indulged in sexual crimes such as rape show their insensitivity toward women. For example, one Brahman of Jhalarapatan was thrown out of the State on the allegation of rape; when he was permitted to return wishing to marry the same girl he was not allowed to do so. The father of the victim was asked to take his daughter to some other village and get her married.¹²¹ In the low castes if there was any crime committed either related to marriage or *chamchori* (rape or sexual molestation), some amount as fine was taken and the matter was considered to be resolved. Even the State of Kota extracted *Chauthan* (tax) on the *nata*. When Jat Pakto took the wife of the brother of Jat Pagat of Nanta in *nata*, the Kota State took 15 Rs as *chauthan* from the 50 Rs. of *nata*.¹²² One cannot miss the indifferent attitude of State toward their female citizens when they were openly exploited. The man was asked to leave the town with his daughter and get 'rid' of her by marrying her to anyone as if she had committed some crime. For the sexual molestation some petty amount was extracted from the culprit but no sympathy and security for the women was shown. In the lower

¹²⁰ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 17.

¹²¹ Ibid., 980.

¹²² Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 18.

castes of farmers and the labourers' *nata*, taking the money in *reet* for the marriage, sexual molestations were common. And for this the State used to charge fine, *Chauthan* and *natakagali*; only legitimizing the crimes.¹²³

Interestingly the fine or tax too was to be paid on the basis of the caste of both the accused and the victim especially in cases of sexual crimes. If the man was of the higher caste and woman of the lower caste then the fine imposed on man was less, if both were of the same caste then it was little more but if the woman was of the high caste and man from the low caste than the amount of the fine was much high. When a gardener Dayaram got wife of Hema gardener of Nanta in *nata*, the *nata* was decided at 30 rupees out of which 6 rupees and 2 *aana* were paid as *natakagali* to the State. In another case daughter of gardener Deva who was sent in *nata* to gardener Dewra for which the panchayat decided the amount of 10 rupees but when a *teli* of Bundi after his wife's death started living with a woman from the gardener caste he was severely punished by the panchayat.¹²⁴ A woman from Kaithun whose husband had left her, was allowed to do a *nata* and was also ordered not to indulge in fight with his ex-husband. There are instances where a person did not pay the desired tax on his punishment this happened when the wife of *ahodi* Uda of Bairani went to Bhairon latter did not pay *natakagali* for this Bhairon was fined to pay 22 rupees and was also made to plough the land.¹²⁵ There was intervention of the State and

¹²³ Ibid., 19.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 19-20.

¹²⁵ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 20.

Panchayats in almost all the decisions of the people belonging to the low castes. Severe punishment were ensure that these people do try to 'evolve' out from their 'primitive' life thereby and polluting the upper class of the society. And for this reason sexuality of women has always been suppressed and controlled so that they do not become the source to 'pollute' the upper strata of the society. The untouchables were not allowed to walk on the public roads and proximity to the higher castes was not less than a crime. The condition of the untouchables was pitiable in Rajasthan:

The conditions of the Bhangis are quite pitiable. Either the upper caste Hindus pour water in their hallow of palms to drink from a safe distance or they have to go to the kheil (a trough) attached with the well, the water of which is normally used by animals and is thoroughly contaminated by the village women by washing their clothes during menstruation and by men washing their dirty hands after going for natural call. It is completely inhuman.¹²⁶

Rulers' intellect, far-sightedness was the sole criteria for his citizens to become the beneficiary of his 'wisdom.' Meera Kosambi has stated the difference between the public as well as the socio-cultural domain in the Colonial India. The public sphere is the domain of political power it is inhabited by Indian as well as British men and dominated by the latter. The socio-cultural domain subsumes social customs and institutions involving the family. This domain is inhabited by

¹²⁶ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement*, op. cit. p. 15

men and women and dominated by former.¹²⁷ The patriarchal construct of the Indian society is governed completely on the gender difference between male and female. Bhasin has aptly explained how society at large interferes into the psyche of a person to transform him/her into a man or a woman. She says:

Each society slowly transforms a male or female into a man or a woman, into masculine and feminine, with different qualities, behaviour patterns, roles, responsibilities, rights and expectations. Unlike sex, which is biological, the gender identities of women and men are psychologically and socially- which means historically and culturally determined.¹²⁸

One of the important sources to understand the power division between the man and the woman is observation. The behavioural pattern of a male and female in a family can help understand Indian society much better. These two 'individuals' one man and another woman collectively make society, but the irony of the gender relationship is that the 'patriarchs' overpower their counterpart and force them to seek 'refuge' within the prescribed demarcated 'thresholds,' believing that this is the 'best' possible arrangement for their womenfolk. Women too have obeyed and behaved as expected by the so-called creators of the societal norms and codes; going against it is considered as an obnoxious act.

¹²⁷ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, op. cit., 7.

¹²⁸ Kamla Bhasin, *Understanding Gender*, New Delhi, Women Unlimited, 2003, 2.

In order to understand the position of woman within the social order, it is important to first perceive the construct of the society in which woman too has a very important role to play.

The term gender relations refers to the relations of power between women and men which are revealed in a range of practices, ideas, representations, including the division of labour, roles and resources between women and men, and the ascribing to them of different abilities, attitudes, desires, personality traits, behavioural patterns and so on. Gender relations are both constituted by and help constitute these practices and ideologies in interaction with other structures of social hierarchy such as class, caste and race. They may be seen as largely socially constructed (rather than biologically determined) and as variables over time and place.¹²⁹

How man and woman see each other in relation to each other and how they see them self with respect to the opposite sex is necessary to understand the gender relations. Because, how a man would see himself with respect to woman would be different how a woman would see herself and also how they see each other in totality therefore, essential to identify it with evolution of the society. Oral tradition of the region can also be taken as a non-conventional source to visualize the socio-cultural aspect of the people. Through it the perception of the society can be grasped, which can prove helpful in evaluating the social construction.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

With the advent of the nineteenth century modern technologies and resources helped in transforming the region punching down the conventional parameters of feudalistic society. The political changes though have contributed in some way to bring certain remarkable social changes but it is important to know whether these 'changes' were benefiting the women of the society or not, and if yes, then how much? The women of the region under study need to be seen in the light of the orthodox Hadauti mindset against personal freedom and individual rights.

In one of the folk songs a girl calls herself a bird who would have to leave the nest and fly, *udd jaongi ri maa pankh lagaa r, chaar dina ki panhudi*¹³⁰ reflecting girls fate getting married, leaving the parental home for strangers' family. This song tells the patriarchal culture that trains the little girls that they are born to be alienated from her natal. It is expected by the Indian women to accept her new home after marriage like it was hers and the new parents like gods. The folk songs consolidate devotion of bride toward her new family: *saansu ji mahra tirth ganga ji ko, susara ji jaanda pariyag, saansu-susara ri seva karu haan ji sayeba*,¹³¹ woman's in-laws are her pilgrimage and it is her duty to take care of them and respect them.

It is equally important to see how different castes and communities deal with gender relations, a broader look into various castes shall prove helpful to draw some sort of picture regarding this. In order to analyze the cultural and

¹³⁰ Chandra Shekhar Bhatt, *Hadauti lok-geet*, Ajmer, Krishna Brothers, 1966, 230.

¹³¹ Chandra Shekhar Bhatt, *Hadauti Ke Lok-Geet*, op. cit., 232.

social differences of various castes Marwar Census Report 1891 and published under the title of 'Report Mardumshumari Raj Marwar' in 1894 became the basis of study.¹³² And along with it the census of India report for Rajputana by A.D. Bannerman, the method of both the works are same for the obvious reasons. All the native states contributed their population related data it was an extensive researched work covering almost all the aspects of Indian states. This kind of survey was also useful for the British to analyse their governance in terms of their progress in uplifting their 'colony.' As far both the report and the census record is considered both had a very different perspective in analyzing the caste and communities of India where on the one hand the report was divided from class A to F. In the A class are the Rajputs with its sub-castes and communities, B class is all about Brahmans. C and D are about the business castes, E is about the low castes and F is about the ones who have settled from outside in India. And the census report were critical about the age old customs and emphasized that the low-out caste who were found providing some kind of space for their women which was missing the upper class of Hindus and some business communities along with the Rajputs. The report also made it clear that the Hinduization of the forest tribes and low caste is in process because of which their women too are getting into the same garb like the upper caste Hindu women. The report by

¹³² Raibahadur Munshi Hardayal, *Report- Mardumshumari Rajmarwar 1891 c. Marwar Census Report 1891: Rajasthan ki jaityo Ka Itihas evam Ritirivaz*, Maharaja Mansingh Pustak Prakash Shodh Kendra, Jodhpur, 2010, 18. To collect the data as census record this report was prepared in 1891 and was published under the title of 'Report Mardumshumari Raj Marwar' in 1894. The report has been divided from class A to F. which means that in the A class is of the Rajput castes and communities. B class is all about Brahmans, C and D are about the business castes. E is about the low castes and F is about the ones who have settled from outside.

Bannerman also made it clear that because of the caste and sub-caste within the Hindu pantheon there is religious hierarchy governing their decision making. Munshi Hardayal's bias toward Rajputs and Brahmins over other caste and communities is clearly noticeable. The lead has been taken by the census collection of Bannerman in compiling the Marwar census of 1891 by Munshi Hardayal but approach towards the subject has made both the readings equally interesting also making it clear how in research being objective is one of the primary requirements.

Table 1:

Distribution of 10,000 of each sex for ages above 4 by decennial periods with the multiple of ten in the centre:

Age	All Rel. M.	All Rel. F.	Hindu M.	Hindu F.	Mus. M.	Mus. F.	Jain M.	Jain F.	Anim. M.	Anim. F.	Chris. M.	Chris. F.
5-15	2,543	2,395	2,522	2,374	2,632	2,498	2,510	2,307	2,802	2,649	3,092	3,157
15-25	2,014	1,965	2,011	1,952	1,884	1,889	2,144	2,129	2,291	2,279	1,949	2,063
25-35	1,813	1,786	1,812	1,793	1,737	1,672	1,623	1,646	2,216	2,056	1,600	1,630
35-45	1,311	1,361	1,325	1,381	1,215	1,248	1,286	1,321	1,291	1,240	1,354	1,095
45-55	841	873	851	885	851	845	942	968	493	611	849	628
55 and above	691	665	610	674	647	701	631	735	237	329	392	323

[Note: All Rel. = All Religion, Mus. = Musalman, Anim. = Animistic, Chris. = Christian, M. Male and F. Female]

Source: A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India, Rajputana-I*, Vol. XXV, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1902, 78.

Taking religions into account, the proportion of women is highest among the Jains who show an average of 1,006 women to every 1,000 men and lowest among the Christians who have a ratio of 709 females to 1,000 males. Next to the Jains come the Animists with a ratio of 935, then the Musalmans with 910, and last the Hindus with 899. For the age group below 5, the followers of all religions, except the Hindus, show a larger proportion of female children than boys. The excess is greatest among the Animists who have a ratio of 1,166 girls to 1,000 boys. Among the Hindus the proportion of female children to boys is 974. In the 5- 10 age groups the Musalmans with 893 female children have the lowest ratio. From 10 to 15 the Christians with a ratio of 509 females are lowest, and next to them come the Hindus with 781. From 15 to 20 the positions of the members of the different religions are unchanged. From 20 onwards the Jains show at each age- period, except at 55 to 60, a preponderance of females the excess being greatest at the period 60+. Among the Animists, at 20 to 25 and from 45 onwards the females exceed the males. The excess is greatest at 60+ for which period the ratio is 1,417 females to 1 000 males. The Musalmans show a higher ratio of women to men at the periods 40 to 45, and 60+. Among the Hindus the proportion of females to males is higher only at the period 60+.¹³³

When Hardayal mentions about that the landless Rajputs or those at lower jobs had different set of rules based on their castes it seems that he demeans their practice. His basis of understanding all the caste and rituals revolved around

¹³³ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 73.

women sexuality. Those allowing widow re-marriage and not observing *pardah* are kept at the lowest level of caste hierarchy. The *pardah* for women and matrimonial relations are based on the status of the Rajput i.e. how much wealth in the form of land he possess. More the land, bigger the status and better for their women and further the matrimonial relations are too carried amongst the wealthy and powerful Rajputs.

Women in high class especially Rajput women have always been protected from the outside world because of the fear of getting polluted. Yet she has also been treated like a commodity which can be exchanged to settle their disputes. There are instances of a girl of one family accepted as a bride and immediately their own daughter or any other eligible girl of the family is given off as a bride to the same family.¹³⁴ This was also the way to calm the anger amongst the two families like the number of men killed in a family was compensated by the opponent by giving away those many girls from their family putting an end to their enmity. Petty issues were sorted by accepting the opium and bigger matters were settled by getting into the matrimonial relations. Such male determined practices portray the insensitive attitude of men toward their women in not considering them worthy enough to have their say in crucial issue such as marriage.

In the upper caste marriages usually are fixed by the men of the family of both girl and boy. Intricate customs and rituals were introduced by the higher

¹³⁴ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 19.

strata complicating social relations between castes and classes. It later turned out to be a threat for them especially for the native Rajputs of Rajasthan because the eligible grooms began marrying outside Rajasthan bringing higher *Tika* (price). It created problem for the families with girls to find them a suitable match who wanted to marry their daughters within the region. This problem was also raised in the Walterkrit Hitkarini Sabha to stop the *Tika* ceremony. Many suggestions were proposed by almost all princely states. One made by Udaipur is interesting to mention:

that there has been no custom of Tika money in last 50 years, but with the opening up of railways a large number of Rajputs living in the other parts of India came into contact with the Rajputs of this province, with the result that the outsiders began to establish their matrimonial relations with the Rajputs here. Generally, the Rajput boys out of temptation for the Tika money got engaged with the Rajput girls living in the other provinces of India, hence girls in Rajputana decreased and this resulted in the gradual progress of the system. The Tika system can be stopped only when the boys are married as far as possible in Rajputana. With a view to implement this policy, it is necessary that it should be clearly laid down in the rules that no engagement should take place before obtaining sanction from the Local Sabha. Besides the Local Sabha should try to prevent the marriage of boys in other provinces; if any Thikanedar desires to get his daughter married through the agency of the Local Sabha, the Sabha

should try to find out a suitable match for her in Rajputana which may lead in putting a stop to the Tika system. The practice of obtaining a sanction before the betrothal ceremony rather than marriage would also prevent the establishment of matrimonial alliance of Rajputs with the non-Rajputs. If any person wants to obtain a certificate for distributing Tyag etc. then it may be given to him by the Local Sabha. But, if he does not desire to do so, no punishment should be awarded to him. On the other he should be made liable to punishment if he performs the betrothal ceremony without the sanction. If anybody obtains the sanction by means of fraud or enters into matrimonial alliance with the non-Rajputs, his issues would not be regarded as his legal heirs but they will be held as "Paswans" (bastard).¹³⁵

Anybody wishing to marry a girl/boy to a non-Rajput would be scared that their children will be called bastards. To overcome this fear immense courage was needed to face the despicable sanctum.

Despite constant pressure to regulate the marital life the new generation of Rajput *thikanedar* and *jagirdars* who were English educated and expected their counterparts to be equally 'educated' brought some change. The inter-state matrimonial relationships gained momentum. A small 'transformed' section within the upper strata of the society was emerging during the late nineteenth century. The apprehension between the 'tradition' and 'modern' is visible in the

¹³⁵ *Walterkrit Rajputra Hitakarini Sabha*, p, 23, RSAB.

rituals and customs of people varying from the highest strata of the society up till the lowest section.

A different caste of *natarayat* Rajputs evolved from relations out of *nata* marriages. Those who were unable to marry at a suitable age and considered old enough to get an unmarried woman would marry a widow, possibly a child-widow. By marrying a widow they were considered out-caste and got the name *natarayat* Rajputs. Anyone marrying a girl from this caste too was pushed into the same slot. A bachelor going for a *nata* marriage was made to marry an infant of six months. In such cases little infants grew up as widow. The girl was made to suffer and compromise for the rest of her life for no fault of her. For a community which marry off their daughters in *nata* were condemned as outcastes suffering the consequences of social ostracization. Many taboos were attached with *nata*; it had to be on Tuesday or Saturday night after everyone was asleep as it was believed that the one who sees the lady shall die in six months. As it was taken to be unnatural form of relation the *nata* couple were to ensure they reach their house at night itself avoiding other peoples' contact. After reaching home the lady had to grind the grains or removed the husk believing to unburden their *nata* on the grinding stones. In both the rituals the woman was expected to compensate for her widowhood.

The concept of *gotra* was also visible in *nata*. The upper caste condemned and demeaned same *gotra* marriages as *nata*. Even in *nata*, the *gotras* of the father and the ex-husband of the widow are avoided. Only after consummation

of *nata*, the family of the girl and her ex-in-laws disassociate from each other. Among them too there were *ekvada* and *dovada* form of marriages, that is, those Rajputs who were ready to take the daughters of the *natarayat* Rajput but did not marry their own daughters to them was *ekvada* marriage. The *ekvada natarayat* Rajputs were opposed in marrying their daughters to the *dovada natarayat* Rajputs had not hesitation in accepting their daughters.¹³⁶ A new distinction of high and low caste at work, *ekvada* considered them self to be superior to the *dovada natarayat* Rajputs.

In other castes like the *Gujar* community the *nata* of the women was prevalent done within the family as the younger brother marrying deceased brother's widow. Outside the family the *nata* was not encouraged. If the *nata* was to be arranged outside the family, the money was given to her in-laws and *nata* was performed from her paternal home for which some amount was given to her parents as well. Once sanctioned the *nata* was performed on the Saturdays.¹³⁷

There are many communities and castes such as *Deswali Mussalman*, *Gadit*, *Kayamkhani* and *Nayak* claiming their origins from the Rajputs. All of them have something common with Rajput culture as they try to avoid the *Mussalman* from outside India in marriages. *Kayamkhanis* tie a *toran* in weddings of the Hindus or Rajputs and after the *nikah*, the rite of seven *pheres* marks the conclusion. *Nayaks* trace their origins from Rajput Chauhan, Rathore,

¹³⁶Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 42- 43.

¹³⁷ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 46, 47.

Sisodiya, Joya, Vahlim, Khilji, Gori and Kazi; marriages takes place within their castes and communities, no divorce for the woman was possible and even the widows could not have *nata*, girls of the family do not have any property right and their sons too cannot be adopted.¹³⁸ As far as the property right of the daughter is concerned unlike main stream Muslims the women have no right over father's property and even in the event of having no sons her son could also not be adopted.

The Shrimalis are Brahmans and they don't marry in their own gotra as also they avoid such relations with their mother's gotra of five generations standing. The engagement or *sagai* happens after the parents of boy and girl decide an auspicious day, the girl's sister or brother who should be younger go to the boy's place along with an uncle and tell his elders that we now give our girl to sift through cow dung (*hum apni ladki aapke yahan gobar chugne dete hai*) and after it is finalised, distribute jaggery among their relatives. Engagement is not a final bond among Shrimalis and can be broken whenever the girl's parents want. The property is divided equally among the boys and nothing is given to the daughters and their husbands or sons, but daughters sons can be adopted by the grandfather i.e. mother's father. The women do not follow *purdah* and are independent to do their household as well as outside work. They

¹³⁸ Ibid., 77.

do not eat with people outside their community. They believe to have food with others their sins are carried on to them.¹³⁹

Sayyids like other Muslims marry in their grandfather's family. They too first fix the marriage and do the engagement after which the *nikah* is followed. In the property division there is right of the daughter, her husband and son. In the Nath community the women do not pierce their ears, only those wishing to follow the life of a hermit go for the piercing ceremony. But their permission to pierce is a must after which they wear men's clothes discarding women's wear. They practice *nata*.¹⁴⁰

The Kalbeliye claim to be from the Rajput clan; they have Solanki, Pawar, Rathore and Bhati as surnames. They either beg or do masonry work. Amongst them are the Kadim Kalbeliye who are said to be the progeny of Naga i.e. son of Arjun from a Nagkanya. Since Arjun did not accept Naga as his son the latter moved to the forest and learnt the art of taming the snakes and curing people with a snake bite which he had learned from his mother. They do not marry or go in nata in their own caste. There is polygamy among the Kalbeliye and can keep as many wives as possible. They avoid the *khamp* of their grandfathers, both paternal and maternal, and sisters both paternal and maternal. They have their *khamps* like- Daiya, Bhati, Solanki, Vaghela, Sisodiya, Rathore, Dewra, Goyal, Pawar, Chauhan and Parihar etc¹⁴¹.

¹³⁹ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 146, 154, 156.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 227, 245-46.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 251.

In the Charan community the marriage is fixed by serving a glass of opium between the family members of both the boy and the girl. It is a symbol confirming the marital alliance after which the girl's family cannot break the marriage though the boy or his family can walk out of the deal. The *Reet* money varies from Rs. 50 to 500 which if the daughter's family is well-off doesn't accept. In case the betrothed boy dies the girl is married to the younger brother and not to the older one. Most of the customs and traditions of the charans are similar to the Rajputs'. The *Asuda* Charan practice polygamy while only the *Jalori* and *Sachori* charans perform *nata* because of which they are thrown out from their caste and are known as the *sove natarayat*. Women follow *pardah* like the Rajputs.¹⁴²

Among the *Bhats* the marriage was fixed after some money with jaggery and coconut was given to the bride's father. Opium is served by girl's father and a cloth is given to the boy's father. *Nata* is done for which the *reet* money varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 120 was given to girl's in-laws and 10 to 20 Rs. was taken by her parents. She had to climb the wall or jump off the fence at midnight and go as she was not permitted to leave from the main door.¹⁴³

In the Kayastha community when a boy is born then there is a custom to bang the copper plate and when the girl is born then they play an instrument called *chhajala*. This is done to define that when the girl is born then it is believed that goddess *laxmi* has arrived and all the miseries shall go, and when the boy is

¹⁴² Munshi Hardayal, *Madumshumari Report*, op. cit., 340-41.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 357.

born it means that prosperity has arrived and his arrival with the copper plates is known as *shadiyaana*. There is partial *purdah* as the women do not usually go out and when they do they have to wear another cloth over their *odhni* known as *dushala*¹⁴⁴.

In the Jain Osawal community the marriage of the girl used to be fixed at 14 years of age but in the *Gorwar* and *Jalore* districts the girls are kept unmarried till the age of 18-20 for the reason that some wealthy businessman might just be ready to pay high price for her even if the man was older image. Nata was not allowed.¹⁴⁵ The Porwal consider girls' as money making machines. On a wealthy businessman agreeing to pay for the marriage, the marriage was performed. The girls who earned Rs. 500 were called *bakri* (goat) and the one who was married with more than Rs. 500 was called *Gheta*. The birth of the girl was celebrated by Porwals while birth of the boy was undesirable. It was said that there were men who lived their entire life in heavy debt because they had the bait of a daughter whom he would marry to a wealthy man, and clear all the debt. Not that every Porwal practiced marrying off their girls for high prices. *Bhomashah* followers did not accept the *reet* money instead they provided all the material facilities to the girl and her husband as *daija*.¹⁴⁶ Among Maheshwari (Mahesari) community the marriage was fixed with giving the girl lot of jewelleries rationalizing it her

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 402-03.

¹⁴⁵ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 415.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 428.

survival after she became widow: “*jo gehna na hoga to randhuve peechhe khayegi kya*”.¹⁴⁷

The *Dholi* caste follow similar customs like the Rajputs, not allowing *nata* of the widows. And where the girl is married once then for next four generations the girl from that family is not accepted by the girl’s family and four *gotras* are avoided for selecting the groom. Their women are too into singing but do not dance, they are considered low in caste by the barbers, washermen as also by the sweepers. It is believed that they were born from a sweeper woman and a Rajput man; their touch was avoided even by Muslim washermen, cobblers and *bambhis*.¹⁴⁸

It is believed that *apsara* rambha was once cursed because of which she was to live on earth for a few years. The children born out of her later became the caste of dancers and singers. There are few castes which are professionally into singing and dancing and are known as *Ramjani, Hurkani, Patar and Bhagtan* among Hindus and *Kanchani* and *Sawant* among Muslims. *Patar* are said to be daughters of *Jagiri* who called themselves to be true Rajputs like *Gehlot, Pawar, Chauhan* and *Bhati* etc. but because of their poverty they employed their womenfolk in singing and dancing. The sons from them were called *jagiri* and girls were known as *patar*.¹⁴⁹ *Jagiri* make their living through *patars* who are basically the daughters and sisters and not the wives and marry them avoiding

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 437.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 367.

¹⁴⁹ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit. 377.

their own caste and even marry *gola*. The widow though is not sent in *nata* but the widower *jagiri* can bring a woman from the *gola* caste for which he pays Rs. 100 to her parents. The *jagiri* who wants to make a girl *patar* marries her at a very young age to Ganapati, the Brahmin makes her to take the *pheres* with Ganeshji after which the man who pays the highest price for her is handed over the girl. That night is celebrated with dance and music by the family. After which the woman starts her earning through *kasab* i.e. prostitution. The right on the property is equal with the brothers and sisters, the *patar* can adopt a *jagiri* and the daughter of her brother and no one else. If a widow is found to be with some other man then she is thrown out from the community or if a *patar* agrees to go with a Muslim then too she is considered to be an outcast. It is a rule that the *patar* should not go with a Mussalman even if he pays very high.¹⁵⁰

The *Bhagat* like *jagiris* too send their women into prostitution. The young girl is made to marry a poor *bhagat* to whom already some money is given so that he may not claim his right over her. As the young maiden is not allowed into the profession she is married first; if no *bhagat* agrees for the token marriage she is married to Ganeshji like the *patars* after which she can get into the prostitution. The ones marrying the *bhagat* are not *bhagatans*; they manage their household chores. There is no *nata* for the widows. *Bhagtans* have equal share in the property and can adopt any children from within their families. They do not have problem with the Muslim men, but do not eat anything given by them.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 378.

Kanchanis were the Muslim prostitutes, women follow *pardah*. Young girls of the family were taught singing and dancing and trained into prostitution. They too do not push a maiden into sex before entering the profession, the *kanchans* were dressed like a bride and forced to sleep with an old man of the community. The next day sweets were distributed after which she was allowed to become a prostitute.¹⁵¹

The *Chela* caste believes to be Rathore Rajput prodigy of a *padayat* and Rajput king or a chief.¹⁵² The most popular amongst the helper caste are of the *gola* or the *chakar*. Wherever there were Rajputs there were *golas* and *chakars*. Different *jagirdari thikana* denoted them with different names; at some places they were known as *daroga* some called them *khawas* some *paswans* or *chakar* or even *chela* and *wazir*. Likewise their women were also called *goli*, *dawadi*, *khal*, *saidawadi*, *manas*, *bandaran* and *darogan*. They have Chauhan, Rathore, Sankhla, Pokhran, Pawar, Kachhwaha, Solankhi, Gehlot, Sisodia, Tak, Bhati, Tanwar, Badgujar, Goyal, Gaur, Vagehla, Ida, Sodha, Asayach surnames; all the castes within the Rajputs were found in the *chakars* too.

Keeping *chakar* marked a status symbol for the Rajput chiefs. Even the smallest chief kept *gola* priding himself to be standing on the same pedestal as the high class Rajputs. They took care of the *chakar* and his family, their sons were mostly seen to be wandering uselessly in whose association even the sons of the chiefs tend to get lousy and venture into demeaning acts with the *golis*.

¹⁵¹ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 380.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 556.

The *padayats* and *bandaran* moved the ladder of the status by allowing wearing gold. Their sons and other male members took pride in being related to them. They elevated themselves to Rajputs and did not marry the *chakars* who were not associated with the Rajputs. The *golis* had to fulfil the desire of the chiefs and rulers and entered into relation with them; their sons were not called *gola* but their caste like solankis etc were given to them along with the lands and jagirs. The women who nursed the sons of the rulers were called *daiji* and the sons were called *dhabhai* who grew up amidst everyone as Rajputs.¹⁵³

Status of women and weaker sections is more or less same. They have to be medium of exploitation of varying degrees by the patriarchs of the society. The emancipation issues of the upper caste women and lower caste women may vary but the struggle to attain a respectable life continues.

Upper castes have created a pitfall of hierarchy to come out from it is a challenge. It is not easy to break through this established power structure but change is visible amongst the scholars who are trying to understand the social, economical and political conditions of lower castes.

¹⁵³ Munshi Hardayal, *Mardumshumari Report*, op. cit., 559.

Chapter 3

Contextualizing Sexuality

The nineteenth century India witnessed the consolidation of British power resulting in a steady change in the social life.¹⁵⁴ Prior to the advent of the British the condition of women was not paid any attention. Placed in a low position the women were kept aloof from the public domain for the millennia the defenders of the Hindu law beginning with Manu had constructed women as wives, mothers and homemakers. Denying them selfhood and subjectivity they were put under strict control. Their presumed heightened sexual desires were sufficient construct to pronounce: 'a woman is not fit for independence'. 'Unguarded woman would bring sorrow upon both families'. 'It is the very nature of women to corrupt men here on earth'.¹⁵⁵ For a Rajput preservation of 'brotherhood' was rated as his foremost duty implying protection of his women and children. Protection was understood in two ways: one in which women was important but 'weak' needing protection and second where women were seen as source of shame as they could lure men of any caste for their carnal fulfilment. The burden of honour of family, clan and religion lied on women. It is this latter definition of protection which Rajputs followed in connection with women's

¹⁵⁴ Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Colonial India: Essays on Politics, Medicine, and Historiography*, New Delhi, Chronicle Books, 2005, 12.

¹⁵⁵ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds feminist essays in social history*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, 2007, 129.

everyday life.¹⁵⁶ All social customs and conventions followed norms of patriarchy of the high caste Hindus. Even the colonizers were influenced to recognize the upper caste worldview applicable even to the lower segments which was an utter falsehood. Women were as per Brahmanical ideas for which reason the reforms in the initial stages were selective focusing on the upper caste practices. Evil practices of sati, female infanticide, witch-hunting, polygamy, child-marriage, purdah and widowhood attained attention only because these were *Swarna* problems.¹⁵⁷

Vidyasagar wrote about the evils of polygamy in 1871 highlighting the reasons behind submissive participation of women in the degrading customs:

Women are comparatively weak and due to the tyranny of social custom subordinated to men. Owing to this weakness and domination by men, women have to spend their lives in ignominy and subordination. The dominant males tyrannize over, and exploit them according as they like, and women have helplessly to submit to the same and eke out their existence.¹⁵⁸

Hutton, the British anthropologist, offers a similar view about dominant male Rajput from Rajputana:

¹⁵⁶ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, 'The State, Rajput Identity and Women's Agency in 19th and 20th Century Rajasthan', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January-June, 2000, Sage Publishing, New Delhi, 52.

¹⁵⁷ Uma Narayan, 'Essence of Culture and a Sense of History: A Feminist Critique of Cultural Essentialism', *Hypatia*, Spring 1998, 13, 2; *Platinum Periodicals*, 86.

¹⁵⁸ Geraldine Forbes, op. cit., *Women in Colonial India*, 12.

Rajputana, the most romantic area in the peninsula a land of ruined forts and ancient strongholds famous for its deeds of valour and self-sacrifice crowning rugged heights above old and picturesque towns. Many are the monuments to long and dead warriors, stones carved with a horse-man and his weapons and the heavenly bodies, and still frequent are the stones carved with a single upraised arm indicating the place where a widow burned herself upon her husband's funeral pyre.¹⁵⁹

The early writings by women on social reforms also followed the map of the male reformers. The issues of these movements covered widow oppression, purdah, growing gender gap in education.¹⁶⁰ The elite educated women although posed questions on the elaborated rules which were the main reason for their restricted and bonded life; they were unable to offer a medium of resistance or a coherent vision in order to emancipate women.¹⁶¹ Meera Kosambi could see working Manu ideology in the women's struggle during the Indian National Movement stating that reformer men accepted the ideology of Manu that is why on behalf of women they themselves decided what women wanted because 'a women's understanding is unreliable'.¹⁶² Women in Rajasthan unlike

¹⁵⁹ Maya Unnithan- Kumar, op. cit., *Women's Agency*, 57.

¹⁶⁰ Nivedita Menon, *Gender and Politics in India*, ed., Nivedita Menon, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999, 3

¹⁶¹ Geraldine Forbes, op. cit., *Women in Colonial India*, 13-14.

¹⁶² Meera Kosambi, op. cit., *Crossing Thresholds*, 25.

other women in India were largely invisible in the nationalist politics and subsequently took much longer time to enter the outside world.¹⁶³

The perception of men towards women and vice-versa is an aspect requiring some serious attention. How women view themselves becomes more important. How over millennia women had internalized the patriarchal views is available in Kashibai's autobiography:

We did not mind this. We believed that our being born girl was a sign that God Himself considered us inferior. The only advantage of this belief was that we never felt envy arising from the distinction between superior and inferior. We merely considered ourselves less fortunate.¹⁶⁴

This is interesting and needs little extra attention that 'god himself' considered girls to be inferior than boys, which is a highly bias interpretation of gender difference by the 'patriarchs' of the society. It also created a patterned idealizing of women accepted in a particular way, for a typical Hindu woman there are certain materials required to be part of her personality:

Saris in use were hung over long pegs attached to the walls; the overflow was kept in chest- rather like the chest of the eighteenth century found in old cottages in Cumberland. The dressing-table was a portable box! There was a (bad) looking-glass in the lid, and there were compartments for the oils the women used for their hair,

¹⁶³ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, op. cit., *Women's Agency*, 59.

¹⁶⁴ Meera Kosambi, op. cit., *Crossing Thresholds*, 195.

and for the red powder (*sindur*) with which they painted the parting down the middle of their heads, and with which they put the red dot on their foreheads after *puja*. The line signifies I am a wife: the dot, I am dedicated to my Lord (husband). One woman told me it was to her a daily renewal of her vows of service to her Lord when she placed on her forehead the mark first put there upon her wedding-day... Among the Progressives in these latter days it has lost all meaning, and is only a cosmetic.¹⁶⁵

Indian women mostly were governed by this notion of being subservient and subordinate to their male counterparts. This distinction between the superior and inferior remains more or less same from one region to the other and keep appearing and reappearing in different forms within the patriarchal construct of the Indian society. History writing is 'gender' biased as it is men who get to write history; inclusion and exclusion of events and facts is 'subjective'; they write about women, with male perception.

Feminist historiography has questioned the established methodology. Meera Kosambi locates male domination in the socio-cultural domain that subsumes social customs and institutions involving the family, including marriage, health care, education, literature and related matters.¹⁶⁶ This domain is inhabited by men and women but dominated by the former. Even within the

¹⁶⁵ Antoinette Burton, "The Purdahnashin in Her Setting': Colonial Modernity and the Zenana in Cornelia Sorabji's Memoirs', *Feminist Review*, No. 65, *Reconstructing Femininities: Colonial Intersections of Gender, Race, Religion and Class* (Summer, 2000), 145-158.

¹⁶⁶ Meera Kosambi, op. cit., *Crossing Thresholds*. 7.

'private' domain the power resides with the men as women are expected to follow the authority without questioning it.

The British administrator's attitude toward gender was also based on caste and class similar to the patriarchs of Hindu social order. The distinction between the upper caste Hindu women in keeping her secluded as per the 'traditional' norms was also maintained by the European reformers.¹⁶⁷ British administrators faced a dilemma of legitimising their rule as colonizers without contesting the local hegemony. They reinforced norms and rules written in Hindu/ Brahmanical scriptures meant for woman, as a daughter, wife, mother, sister or a widow.¹⁶⁸ The loyalty of a married woman was judged by her acceptance in mounting the funeral pyre of her husband. The highest in the social hierarchy were the most corrupt and suppressed their women in every possible way.

There were four closely inter related constituents of the patriarchal view of female sexuality. First, women's supposedly uncontrollable sexual desire was assumed to awaken at puberty and had to be harnessed in advance through marriage to a legitimate sphere of sexual activity. Second, a women's consent on the choice of spouse was immaterial. Admittedly because marriages were arranged by families, this choice was denied to both spouses, but the husband's polygamous options and extra-marital sexual freedom remained firmly closed to

¹⁶⁷ Uma Chakravarti, *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai*, New Delhi, Kali for Women, 1998, 47.

¹⁶⁸ Henry Colebrooke, 'On Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow', *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 4, Calcutta, 1799, 215-225.

the wife. Third, as the woman was customarily deemed the legitimate object of sexual gratification for the husband, her consent to sexual intercourse was implicit in the act of marriage itself. Fourth, a woman was regarded as an instrument of procreation and this sacred duty was enforced through rules for mandatory sexual intercourse immediately on the wife's attainment of puberty and at every subsequent fertile period in her reproductive cycle.¹⁶⁹ The female world thus remained confined to household especially for upper-caste high-class women. Her roles constituted reproduction, domestic labour and abiding kinship relations aspects visible all over India uniformly.

Table 1:
Percentage of persons at the useful ages by Divisions and States

Divisions and States	% at age 15-60	% at age 15-45
	Males	Females
Rajputana	61.69	51.12
WESTERN DIVISION	60.72	47.62
Bikaner	60.93	50.41
Jaisalmer	56.49	46.40
Marwar	60.81	46.82
SOUTHERN DIVISION	66.04	57.14
Mewar	67.23	57.94
Banswara and	64.49	55
Kushalgarh	66.44	58.35
Pratabgarh	65.23	59.09
Dungarpur	60.16	52.44
Sirohi		
EASTERN DIVISION	61	51.10
Jaipur	61.57	50.93
Kishangarh	66.08	56.70
Lawa	65.31	58.07
Alwar	56.64	47.01
Bharatpur	58.58	49.21
Dholpur	58.47	48.81
Karauli	59.84	50.68

¹⁶⁹Meera Kosambi, op. cit., *Crossing Thresholds*, 240-41.

Jhalawar	66.10	57.94
Tonk	60.28	53.72
Bundi	66.79	57.77
Kotah	64.22	55.40
Shahpura	67.53	58.56

Source: A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India, Rajputana-I*, Vol. XXV, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1902, p. 79.

The useful age means to be the productive age which was kept between 15 years and 60 years for men and 15 years and 40 years for women. The statistics reveal the huge gap between the male and female primarily as the men tend to have much larger time-period of reproductive age than women giving them an idea of being 'superior' to their spouse or women in general. In almost all the states within Rajputana more or less with similar percentages highest being Marwar and Mewar while lowest being Jhalawar and Tonk.

Women are perceived as a desired object of sex, everything associated with her is analyzed in relation to it. A newspaper article of *Rajasthan*, dated 9th November, 1936 reports about one Brahmin widow Kailash who committed suicide, another Ratan Devi following her suit. Kailash's character was framed, doubted and criticized by the school authorities of Maharani Girls School, Kota in which she was studying in the 4th standard. Her participation in cultural activities of dressing like a *jogin* and dancing was raised as a bogey for sanction. It was seen as a source of deviation from the 'ethical code of conduct of widowhood.' A young child widow was expected to behave like an adult woman simply because she was once married and the stringent rules for widows had to

be adhered too. These child widows were treated as criminals for behaving like normal children deserving punishment.

The question arises as to why such rules were only meant for women and were 'flexible' for men/widower? If a widower was allowed to remarry even if old in case he did not have a male heir then why not the widow permitted the same? She was expected to maintain 'pious' and 'ethical' character in the face of economic hardships. The writings of men in the nineteenth century on such issues were prescriptive rather than sympathetic toward young child-widows. Sushila Devi wrote about a girl aged 9 who was married to an adult male of 40 years. But soon her husband died. Being a widow became everyone's concern as how to safeguard the sanctity of the youthful widow. At the backdrop during the mourning other females discussed the lapses and misdeeds of other widows. The mother of this young widow was disheartened and frustrated with all social constraints attached to her young daughter. In desperation she wished her widowed daughter had died when she was born.¹⁷⁰

The Walterkrit Hitkarini Sabha was formed with the idea of 'reforming' the Rajputs but failed to include women in its agenda. It focused on the lavish expenditure over marriages, but did nothing about banning child marriages, girl education or widow remarriage. Even the marriageable age for boys and girls was amended but that was done with much resistance only after constant pressure by the British government. Though the Sabha discouraged second

¹⁷⁰ Uma Chakravarti, *Rewriting History*, op. cit., 248.

marriage of men during the life of his first wife but also provided relaxation under the following circumstances:¹⁷¹

1. If the first wife suffered from an incurable disease.
2. If, the first wife had no child for six years or there was not a single male child for 12 years.

No widower was permitted to contract a marriage after the age of 45 years if he had a son; a person without a son was allowed to marry till the age of 55.

There was no provision for a widow to remarry. The rule presumed only women to be infertile. When biologically it is the man who is responsible for the birth of the girl, but the patriarchal construct forcefully credits 'true man' for the birth of a boy. That is why Rajputs and other high castes did not permit their woman to remarry.

The 1901 census shows the number of married women higher than married men with exception of Christians and Muslims:¹⁷²

Table 2:
Proportion of Wives to 1,000 Husbands

Divisions	All Religion	Hindu	Musalman	Jain	Animistic	Christian	Cities	Rural Areas
Rajputana	1,046	1,049	996	1,124	1,047	827	949	1,052
Western	1,101	1,102	995	1,245	1,168	734	1,057	1,103
Southern	1,023	1,030	895	1,033	1,032	721	982	1,025
Eastern	1,029	1,032	1,007	1,025	1,009	940	916	1,037

Source: A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India, Rajputana-I*, Vol. XXV, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1902, p.96

¹⁷¹ *Walterkrit Hitkarini Sabha*, RSAB, 27.

¹⁷² Also see Appendix Table No. 2 Showing the Percentage of Married and Widows in the Various States of Rajasthan, 1921 Census; Table No. 4 Table Showing Age and Marital Status in Bundi district, 1961 Census, Table No. 17 Table showing marital status, Kota district, 1971 Census; Table No. 18 Table showing Marital Status of Rural and Urban Population, Kota district, 1971 Census.

There is substantive evidence to show that the Kota State turned the women's issues into revenue generating mechanism. There were taxes like *Chauth, Mal Hasil, Jati War on Nata, Kagli, Punyarth* in temple and tax on buying and selling of boys and girls through a mediator (*dala*).¹⁷³ The attitude of the state toward its women is reflected in actions were that were taken in crimes against woman. For a rape, the punishment for the rapist was just to plough land manually without any external help.¹⁷⁴ One *badhbhuja* was just fined with less than 6 rupees for kidnapping a woman.¹⁷⁵ Men believed that they were born to dominate and women believed they were destined to suffer in silence which made men to take complete authority over women while women reluctantly accepting such suppression.

Men's hold on all resources is such that even women become complicit carriers of the patriarchal constructs. Becoming victims of the male ideas the older women dominate the young girls as men do. These young girls are methodically 'trained' and 'moulded' at homes to fit into the patriarchal construct. It becomes a vicious web of training and perpetuating the patriarchy; both men and women provide a very little scope for 'change'. A popular Hadauti saying *Marad to junjhar banko, khunkh banki sundar*¹⁷⁶ reflect the ascribed gender roles; seeing a man's true worth in the battle-ground and woman's worth in delivering a healthy child. When young children hear this it naturally leaves

¹⁷³ *Kota Basta No. 1, S. No. 28, V.S. 1882, RSAB.*

¹⁷⁴ *Kota Basta No. 1, S. No. 59, F. No. 33/1, V.S. 1897, Bahi Talika, RSAB.*

¹⁷⁵ *Bahi Samvat 1912, Badi Kacheri, Basta No. 403, RSAK.*

¹⁷⁶ *Sivaswaroop, Hadauti Lok-Sahitya ki Sanskritik Chetna, unpublished thesis, 1987, Rajkiya Mahavidyalya, Kota, 93*

an impression on their minds. It becomes part of their personality expecting them to behave in the 'prescribed' fashion.

This tendency gets a sharp relief amongst upper castes of the social hierarchy where a son is seen as the carrier of the heritage of the family. Men are considered 'pure' unlike women who are associated with 'impurity' of many kinds, because of which according to the *Dharamsastras* they need to be governed and protected or else they might just bring ill-luck to the family. The intention of both the British and the Nationalists as the reformers for the 'emancipation' of Indian women seems contradicting. Charu Gupta discusses policy of the British as colonizers in an attempt to understand the colonized they intensified in the policing of sexuality of the colonized, which in turn worked insidiously to maintain the social order. How the imperial archives largely became a place where information was collected, classified, and preserved for political surveillance and to suppress sedition. They observed and recorded things which Indians would have taken for granted, thus leaving behind the preservation of the everyday. Both the British and Nationalists went their ways to justify the control over the weaker section. British also exercised moral surveillance and used apparently "obscene," lascivious, and sexually promiscuous activities prevalent in Indian society to "justify" their rule and impose in part certain mores of Victorian chastity.¹⁷⁷ While the Nationalists

¹⁷⁷ Charu Gupta, "Writing Sex and Sexuality: Archives of Colonial North India", *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 2011, 14-35.

showed their resistance by justifying in legitimizing Hindu social order and culture.

Both the European and Nationalist reformers tried to work in prescribed ways in matters associated with men and women. For both uplifting the status of Indian women became the prime reason for legitimizing their dominance over the weaker sections of the society including women. For example a newspaper article of *Tarun Rajasthan* dated 19.9.1926 mentions about a case of a child widow of Agrawal community who was re-married in the same community. This was objected by some community leaders who sought state intervention. The officers called the girl and the boy and sent the girl to the '*Dasi Khana*'.¹⁷⁸ . In another stray newspaper article dated 24th July, 1944, Kota, there was a case of a Brahmin widow absconding with a *Chamar* man. This was long after widow remarriage was permitted and she was declared an outcast from the community. Was it because widow re-marriage was allowed or because it wasn't permitted that made the couple to take such step? Even if it would have been allowed then too inter-caste marriage was not allowed that too of a Brahmin woman with a *Chamar* man was unimaginable. In some other article in *Rajasthan*, mentions about social activists' Jailal ji and Madhovallabhji, who were thrown out from their castes and were also ordered to leave Bundi, as they had opposed the evil practices of Hindu castes. They in fact, made sure to leave Bundi and go anywhere else, but it is said that the youth was with them supporting their

¹⁷⁸ *Tarun Rajasthan*, 19.9.1926, RSAB.

cause.¹⁷⁹ The women being thrown out from the caste for absconding with a *Chamar* man was never taken up as a cause but those two men who raised their voices against the evil practices of Hindu castes got the support from the youth. These two men who were protesting against the evil practices personally would not have supported that Brahmin lady who married a *Chamar* man, for them unmatched marriage, right age of marriage, dowry, girls education etc. would have been the cause. Extreme of women was not supported by the 'real' men talking freedom of speech and education for women. They expected women to learn to read and write, talk politics but should not practice it completely.

In the newspaper *Raj Kesari*, March 1921 an instance having an 'illegitimate' relationship of the Director of Education with a widow teacher, people were offended by it. Although he was not removed from the post after the inquiry as no proof was found against him, but his landlords asked him to vacate the house.¹⁸⁰ This only shows that people were certainly opposing the idea of widow remarriage. Widows were not treated as humans in fact women were not treated as humans. They should not carry any emotions but a man was free to express his emotions and treat woman likewise and woman should obey him. It clearly shows how the 'change' was unacceptable in the society as even when 'Widow Remarriage Act' had been in force in the British India. In the princely states even while Acts were passed, they were not implemented. But such attitude gave 'birth' to a intellectual section of the society which criticised the

¹⁷⁹ *Rajasthan*, 29th April, 1935, RSAB

¹⁸⁰ Mahakama Khas, English office, Basta No. 5, F. No. 4/9-4, *Miscellaneous Education*, RSAK

conventional mind-set, holding it as a major hindrance in the progress of the society. The *Rajasthan*, dated 18th February, 1935, reported about Marriage Act of Kota being flouted by some castes in which 'Nata' was still accepted and children married at the age of 4; Brahmins and Vaishyas marrying their children at tender age.¹⁸¹

Child marriage was one of the many evil practices followed simply as part of the tradition; any one contesting was disliked by the defenders of the culture. Tarabai Shinde in her *Stree-Purusha-Tulna* sarcastically talks about 'stree-dharma':

What is stri-dharma (a woman's moral duty)? Always obeying her husband's order, conducting herself in accordance with his wishes... worshipping him with a smiling face as if he were a god and being alert in his service, even if he kicks and curses her; keeps mistresses or comes home after drinking, gambling, losing all his money, stealing, kicking someone, betraying someone, robbing a treasure and taking a bribe- this is stri-dharma.¹⁸²

Tarabai Shinde's diatribe in *Stree-Purush-Tulna* can be read in a tragic newspaper article of *Rajasthan* of 18th March, 1935. It talks about a murder of Laxminarayan, daughter of an ex-*Daroga* of Durbar (Deodi), by her husband Gopal. It is reported that he was ill-mannered and used to physically beat his dutiful, obedient and well-behaved wife. Gopal used to harass her to bring

¹⁸¹ *Rajasthan*, 18.2.1935, RSAB

¹⁸² Meera Kosambi, op. cit., *Crossing Thresholds*, 43-44.

money from her father once he even tried to sell her. Her father came to know of this humiliation got her back to his home, refusing to send her back to Gopal. But, some how Gopal succeeded in convincing Laxminarayan to meet but he killed her with an axe. On arrest he confessed that he wanted to kill his father-in-law as well from a very long time. It is interesting to read that the reporter concludes the article by hoping people to understand the drawback of child-marriage or an unmatched marriage?¹⁸³

At a very different level was the construction of Dalit female sexuality by the colonizers in their travel records and other narratives. There seems to be contradictions for them with both attractions as well as repulsions. The British compared the high caste women behind veils with the Dalit women who did laborious work without *purdah* and lived in open air and ate simple food with good health. And yet there was a section of colonizers who portrayed Dalit women with loose moral character as freely available. The colonial perception was based upon the Brahmanical ideology thus institutionalizing the Dalit female sexuality.¹⁸⁴ Similar discrimination on a different level visible amongst the sants in Rajasthan they preferred their women devotees to be *pativratas*. Being a *pativrata* enable her to attain true path of salvation. For a devoted woman would not accept any one else as her second husband similarly one who

¹⁸³ *Rajasthan*, 18.2.1937, RSAB

¹⁸⁴ Charu Gupta, op. cit., *Writing Sex and Sexuality*, 12-35.

is not devoted toward god suffers like a woman who does not get settled with a man.¹⁸⁵

Maithreyi Krishanraj problematizes the agency seen in the feminist historiography raising a serious question whether things happen only to women or women too make things happen?¹⁸⁶ Time and again feminist scholars need to ask this question whether women are always the victim or they can also be party in making other women victim of their suppression and domination. For women too can be the agent of patriarchy without even realising it to be unjust as for them the patriarchal construct is natural and there is no reason to contest it. Feminist scholars identify such women who can be termed as rebel resisting the male domination. Though women from Bhakti movement are seen as rebellious women they too are being criticized to have rebelled 'within the accepted parameters.'¹⁸⁷ Manu and other defenders of Hindu law turned a woman into a 'precious' object requiring to be kept in safe and protected otherwise susceptible to stealth it. The only space provided to her was as a religious ascetic. Her falling in love with God was acceptable as there was no threat of her 'losing' the

¹⁸⁵ *Pativarta pati su kahe, sun ho kant sujan. Meen neer hoye rahi, bicchdat tanju paran. Charandas ne dukh such ki sahbhagini koapne ghar ka dukh bhala, par ghar ka such char. Aise jaane kulvadh, so santvanti naar. Saai mera ek hai, dooja sab veer, Ramcharan dooja na karoo, jo ganga ulte neer. Gang jaman bahe, sahe sees sursaan. Dooja saai na karoo, jo paschim ooge bhaarang. Ramcharan vibhicharini, pati ku daive poothh. Aan dharma sanmukh rahe, bhayi jagat ki jhooth. Ek purshi aanand mein, nisdin rahe sukhayal. Ramcharan vibhicharini, ashat jam behaar.* Omkar Nath Chaturvedi, *Sant Prampara aur Sahitya*, Jaipur Publishing House, Jaipur, 1999, p. 264

¹⁸⁶ Maithreyi Krishanraj, *History through Gender Lens*, eds. Kirit Shah & Meherjyoti Shah, *Historiography Past & Present*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2005, 131.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

'honour'. If not 'ethically codified' there was a fear that she might get wrong ideas to dishonour the family by falling for a real man instead.

One important leap in the reforms was seen in the Bharatpur Reform Act which legalised widow remarriage. The rights and interests on the property of the deceased husband which any widow may have by way of maintenance or by inheritance to him or to his lineal successors or by virtue of any testamentary disposition conferring upon her, and the rights and interests of the widow ceases when she enters into matrimonial alliance and she is determined as dead, then that property goes to next heir of her deceased husband or to whomever the property is entitled to after her death, but in it too there were two provisions:¹⁸⁸

- 1) In case of Muafidars, Sirdars and Jagirdars etc., where a widow holding life interest in her late husband's Muafi or drawing *khanpan* remarries with the Durbar's permission, she will continue to enjoy the same and
- 2) Where a widow is by custom allowed to have a life interest in her husband's estate after *karewa* or remarriage she will continue to enjoy those rights as heretofore but will not be entitled to any rights by way of maintenance or inheritance to any property left by her deceased husband's collaterals.

¹⁸⁸ *Bharatpur Reforms Act of 1926*, F. No. 43/14, p. 2, RSAB

It was a remarkable reform to encourage widow remarriage the mental and physical torture that a widow faced from the family and relatives of her deceased husband because of his property was unfathomable. With the remarriage of the widow the pressure of dividing the property was reduced as she was considered dead as soon as she remarries. And yet the promulgation of this Act was unpopular especially amongst the high caste Hindus who opposed it.

Many cases of exploitation and humiliation of child widows have come to light. *Tarun Rajasthan* reports about Brahmin widows of Kota and Bundi. These widows were criticized for their illegitimate relationships with men of other communities. They were also condemned for conceiving and even aborting. Another report in the same newspaper mentions about a daughter-in-law of one Ghasilal Attar getting pregnant because of one Chaturbhuj Oswal who even had a son later.¹⁸⁹ *Tarun Rajasthan* mentions about Kota's child widow of 14 years of age married in Beawar. She narrated to Kota police that she was daughter of Narayan Oswal, married when she was just 8 years old to a man who was then 25 years old. She had an older brother-in-law named Kishanlal but developed a relation with one Mohanlal aka Mohar Singh Oswal and got pregnant. For this her brother-in-law dumped her at her maternal home and embezzled little property that her deceased husband owned. Her father then took her to Kota from where they were to go to Mathura for her delivery. On their way they met

¹⁸⁹ *Tarun Rajasthan*, dated 4.4.1926, RSAB, 9-10.

an old man named Pandit Shivrul Sharma who agreed to take care of her and the baby.¹⁹⁰ This case shows the dilemma of a young woman who was married to a man twice older becoming widow at a very young age. It was natural for her to get attracted to opposite sex because of which she became pregnant by a man who did not take her responsibility. This led to series of tragic events that made her some kind of object used and thrown by different relatives and eventually abandoned to some stranger by her own father. The story could be equally pathetic of a girl aged 11 who was married to a man aged 25 by her maternal uncle.¹⁹¹

A report in *Navjyoti* mentions about a high number of 72,000 widows in Kota between 17-18 years and living in very poor and inhuman conditions. Forcing them to commit suicide and change their religion to Christianity or Islam.¹⁹² The conversion in Christianity or Islam affirms the practice among the Hindus.

Women have been invaded and sexually violated by the so-called protectors of the social norms. In *Tarun Rajasthan* of 16.5.1921 there is news about a gang kidnapping young women or child widows from Kota, Bundi, Jhalawar and Jodhpur and selling them into British Indian areas.¹⁹³ More such

¹⁹⁰ *Tarun Rajasthan*, dated 13.4.1929, RSAB, 7.

¹⁹¹ *Rajasthan*, 1935, RSAB

¹⁹² *Navjyoti*, 28.1.1937, RSAB

¹⁹³ *Tarun Rajasthan*, dated 16.5.1921, RSAB, 10.

news appeared in the newspapers like the *Rajasthan* of 27.5.1935, *Navin Rajasthan* of 25.5.1937, *Tarun Rajasthan* of 16.5.1927 of Kota/Hadauti females sold in the region. *Tarun Rajasthan* of 31.10.1927 reports about a *jagirdar* Gulab Singhji who was an adopted son of Chhagan Singhji Maharaj Kotda, brother of Maharao of Kota. He raped a Gurjari on the tip of his sword. She cried when she was thrown out of his room after the crime.¹⁹⁴ This case was well criticised for a long time by other newspapers the *Rajasthan* dated 9th November, 1936, questioned the *jagirdar* Gulab Singh and also the entire feudal system.

The print media played important role in exposing the shady side of society, not even sparing the mighty rulers. Were buried in silence as it could not reach places to people easily but with the print media it became possible for everyone to get in touch with the events happening around the world. This became hardly in making people aware of the darker side of society and weak management of the governance. *Tarun Rajasthan* dated 26th July, 1925, reported two men and two women who were into flesh trade and fraud, cheating and theft in the Shahabad region; besides there were other 5-7 groups into such criminal activities. An anonymous citizen made an appeal to the ruler of Shahabad Raja Sahab Avdesh Singhji through this newspaper to take some actions against it.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ *Tarun Rajasthan*, dated 31.10.1927, RSAB, 15.

¹⁹⁵ *Tarun Rajasthan*, 26.07.1925, RSAB.

Widows were under constant surveillance as they were always treated with suspicion, accused with one thing or another and were tracked with stern and strict eye as if they were dangerous criminals. *Rajasthan* of 29th July, 1935 warned people of a widow in Bundi whose husband had died 2-3 years ago and now was accused of attracting students.¹⁹⁶ This was highly humiliating; just because she became a widow and started living normally after 2-3 years of her husband's death doesn't make her characterless? Another article in *Tarun Rajasthan* of 4th April 1926, talked of two Brahmin widows of Bundi who were sexually active aborting many times. One of two was working as cook while other was putting up with a jeweller's family. They were reported to be confident in their 'crimes' and were pulling other women too in their games. They belonged to the Sanadhya Brahmin community and their relatives were the head of a *panchayat* which was seen as the reason behind their confidence. Therefore through *Tarun Rajasthan* an appeal was made to Sanadhya Brahmins to keep track of their women.¹⁹⁷ It is also not clear whether they were criticized because they were sexually active or because they were financially independent working and earned their livelihood.

The perception of men about women can be gleaned from an article about *Kota Rajya ka Mahila Sansar* written by Chhapan lal Gaur Visharad that

¹⁹⁶ *Rajasthan*, 29.07.1935, RSAB

¹⁹⁷ (Newspaper) *Tarun Rajasthan*, 04.04.1926, RSAB.

appeared *Rajasthan*, 20th December, 1935. He divides the women into three parts-

i. wives of farmers ii. wives of businessmen and iii. wives of Government officers. The wife of a farmer is supportive and capable of doing everything by her self from household chores to farming the fields. Child marriage is not prevalent; so children born are healthy; no *purdah* or *ghoonghat* and simple living. He includes wife of mason in this class, who works hard and earns limited therefore unable to spend on luxurious products. Second are the wives of the businessmen i.e. Vaisyas; more than 50% into child marriage even after the passage of Sharda Act. He criticises them as illiterate but fashionable; would not shy talking to the servants but would do *purdah* in front of men of her own family. They need to show everything and they are negligent towards their kids. And the last are the wives of the government officers who are usually outsiders and few who are from Hadauti are similar to the wives of the second category. They would be educated in house management etc. but would not be educated intellectually.¹⁹⁸

What the author of this article is trying to say? Is it that all the women who adapt to change are not intellectually grown? If they are into fashion, are socially active and do not 'support' their husbands financially does the blame

¹⁹⁸ (Newspaper) *Rajasthan*, dated 20.12.1935, RSAB.

should be on the women? Or the author should have questioned the entire patriarchal system which does not mind women becoming child brides or widows. The article finds no problem to burden them to bear the physical and mental strain of producing babies, managing the household chores of husbands and children.

Rajasthan of 18th April, 1938 reports in its *Kota Rajya ka Samachar* page that even though Sharda Act has been passed still the child marriages, unmatched marriages, and buying and selling of girls are in practice.¹⁹⁹ This testifies that declaration of laws was meaningless without implementation and the feudal lords were hardly concerned.

The governance in the princely states comes under a strong suspicion and scrutiny. There were many unemployed youth in the vicinity of Kota city indulging into crime. Educated men were raising questions to the ruler who was busy paying off to the dancers, singers. It was found objectionable by the citizens of the Kota State that for these 'State' entertainers a separate Mahakmakhas office was maintained and the houses of these dancers and singers (prostitutes) were in the common residential areas. The reporter was highlighting an irony where the educated youth was unemployed but the prostitutes were paid. There were two *Khuwaseine* from Kishangarh who had started their business as singers and they were paid more than others as they were also provided with government houses.

¹⁹⁹ (Newspaper) *Rajasthan*, 18.04.1938, RSAB.

Shikram/Shigram was also provided to them. An appeal was made to remove them.²⁰⁰ It seems that the State authority was ambiguous as to what was crucial and important; their entertainers or the girls students whom the Maharani Jadeja wanted to provide the *Shigram* which was opposed by the Maharao.²⁰¹ The constant hammering from the British forced the native rulers to bring very important and necessary reforms for the society but it was for the British Government and not for the people of the State. One such example is from Kota where a boy was bought and sold for twenty rupees the mediator paid fine of fifteen rupees which was not entertained by the British officer who ordered the child to send back to his parents.²⁰²

The figures in the census records are the insight of the society, the absence of women in the population census points to the unbalanced sex ratio.²⁰³ The data available through the census records shows more women are married than men and also more widows than widower.²⁰⁴ The Census figures of 1951 show

²⁰⁰ (Newspaper) *Rajasthan*, dated 19.04.1938, RSAB.

²⁰¹ *Establishment at Her Highnesses expense of a suitable Girls School at Kota*, Basta No. 6, F. No. 4/39, Mahakama Khas- English Office, RSAK.

²⁰² *Kota Basta No. 1, S. N. 39/2*, V.s. 1903, Bahi Talika, NSAD.

²⁰³ See Appendix Table No. 3 Table Showing Registered Births, Deaths and Infant Deaths, Bundi District; Table No. 13 Table Showing the Growth of Population, Kota District from 1901-1971; Table No. 14 Table Showing Tehsil-wise Distribution of Population of Kota district, 1971 Census; Table no. 15 Table Showing Comparison of the Rural and Urban Sex Ratio (tehsil wise), Kota district; 1971 Census; Table No. 28 Table showing total population, Jhalawar district, 1961 Census and Table No. 29 Table Showing Tahsil-wise Distribution of the Rural Population, Jhalawar District, 1961 Census.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix Table no. 2 Table Showing the Percentage of Married and Widows in the Various States of Rajasthan, 1921 Census; Table No. 4 Table

that amongst the girls aged 14 or less, 97 per 1,000 were married and amongst boys 31 per 1,000 boys were married aged 14 or under and seven divorced females or widows per 1,000 who had not attained the age of 14.²⁰⁵

People in the Hindu society have the attitude of naming the child through their names in the belief that they too would get the same attribute like the ideal on whose name the new born is usually named. The names of the females are usually taken from the heroines of the mythology like- *Sita, Savitri, Laxmi, Durga* etc. Some times if a man has too many daughters, he names *Shanti* to express his desire to unwelcome her, indicating that he doesn't want any more girls.²⁰⁶

In the patriarchal social construction the sexuality of the woman has been the sole reason for all round subjugation she was forced into. It has been observed in various recent studies that it has always been the upper castes that suppressed women the most. The evil patriarchal practices were opposed by feminist in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries paving way for other feminist scholars to pose questions against the conventional thinking. Recent studies have focused on various other aspects prevalent especially in Rajasthan in context of

Showing Age and Marital Status in Bundi district, 1961 Census; Table No. 17 Table showing marital status, Kota district, 1971 Census; Table no. 18 Table showing Marital Status of Rural and Urban Population, Kota district, 1971 Census.

²⁰⁵ B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Bundi*, Jaipur, Directorate of District Gazetteers, Government of Rajasthan, 1964, 73.

²⁰⁶ B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jhalawar*, Jaipur, Directorate of District Gazetteer, Rajasthan, 1964, 49.

women. Other than female-infanticide, sati, child-marriages, widowhood, polygamy there was also prevalence of slaves has been examined.²⁰⁷

The first wave of feminism died down soon after independence as most of the important leaders were not united in support of women's rights. Sarojini Naidu wrote about the change that was proposed by the new legislation:

The supreme over-lordship of man and particularly that of the husband is strongly questioned. The women seek to have their own free choice in the selection of partners in life, the right to enter the state of Motherhood when and if they desire, to seek divorce if necessity arises. These are some of the problems upon which the movement is working.²⁰⁸

But in reality only few could imagine complete equality. Contemporary studies which have open up new horizons in historical, social as well as gender studies tend to focus more about women as subaltern. The need to shift the paradigm of studies from the repetitive way of focusing on women studies has been felt. That is why recent scholars have highlighted about Dalit women,

²⁰⁷ Santosh Yadav, *Rajasthan mein Das pratha ka badalta swaroop*, Udaipur session, Rajasthan History Congress, 1977, 74-76; Ram Pande, 'Foreign Travellers on Social conditions in Rajasthan', *Shodhak*, Vol.6, Pt. B, Sr. No. 17, 1977, 80-81; R.P. Vyas, *The Walterkrit Rajputra Hitkarni Sabha and its Impact*, Ajmer Session, Rajasthan History Congress, 1975, 107-08; V.K. Vashishtha, *Evolution of the Social Policy of the British Government in the State of Rajputana during the Nineteenth Century*, Ajmer Session, Rajasthan History Congress, 1975, 95-98; Ira Das, 'Female Infanticide in Rajputana', *Shodhak*, Vol. 18, Pt. A, Sr. No. 52, 1989, 67-69; Ira Das, 'Sati: A Heinous System of Women Oppression', *Shodhak*, Vol.17, Pt. A, Sr. No. 49, 1988, 49-51.

²⁰⁸ Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Colonial India*, op. cit. 24.

rewriting sexuality by investigating indigenous writings of colonial period stating about 'obscenity' beyond the prescribed gender relations.²⁰⁹ The problem which a person from a weaker section faces because of the division in the social order is entirely different from what an upper caste educated person sees. The approach thus also is different when mentioning about Dalit women, their sexuality and their struggles.

²⁰⁹ Sharmila Rege, 'Real Feminism' and Dalit Women: Scripts of Denial and Accusation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 6, (Feb 5-11, 2000), 492-495; Sharmila Rege, 'Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint of View', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 44, (Oct 31- Nov 6, 1998), WS39-WS46; Charu Gupta, 'Writing Sex and Sexuality: Archives of Colonial North India', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 2011, 12-35.

Chapter 4

Women's shared spaces

To understand the complex web of gender relations the Seharia tribe of Baran has been selected as a case study. Visiting Mamoni village of Baran was quite instructive for the present study. It represents the rural Hadauti as Seharia women offer all aspects of womanhood. The photographs taken offer visual evidence of present day Seharia living conditions that can be seen as representative of the rural life of two hundred years ago. The concept of *andar* and *bahir* of the Nationalists reformers applying to the distinctions to the inner outer world of the social spaces is also visible amongst the Seharis'. Everything inside the threshold of a house is related with women thus spiritual and all that is outside is external therefore profane.²¹⁰ It also is crucial to see what all works were assigned for men and women their occupations shall also help in locating the position of women as subordinates. The data in 1901 Census of Rajputana offers details of different works in which men women were engaged. The table below speaks itself:

Table 1:
Occupations of Females by Selected Sub-orders and Groups

S. No	Group	No. Of actual Workers Male	No. Of actual Workers Female	% of Females to Males
1	Non-cultivating landholders or land-owners	68,616	13,488	19.66
	Cultivating landholders or land-owners	79,878	24,181	30.27
	Unspecified	6,138	1,081	17.61

²¹⁰ Partha Chatterjee, 'Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women: The Contest of India', *American Ethnologists*, Vol. 16, No.4, (Nov., 1989), 622-33.

2	Non-cultivating tenants	103,997	56,025	53.87
	Cultivating tenants	858,501	614,734	71.61
	Other cultivators	777,595	545,556	70.16
	TOTAL	1,894,725	1,255,065	66.24
3	Farm servants	37,005	17,066	46.12
4	Field labourers	126,127	168,765	133.81
5	Taungya or jhum cultivators	1	-	-
	TOTAL	163,133	185,831	113.91
6	Betel, vine and areca-nut growers	837	287	34.29
7	Fruit and vegetable growers	4,772	2,271	47.49
8	Miscellaneous	143	42	29.37
	TOTAL	5,752	2,600	45.20
9	Gas-works : owners, managers and superior staff	5	-	-
10	Gas works: operatives and other subordinates	100	8	8
11	Petroleum dealers	38	1	2.63
12	Pressers of vegetable oil for lighting	425	266	62.59
13	Sellers of vegetable oil for lighting	36	20	55.55
14	Match, candle, torch, lamp, lantern makers and sellers	112	10	8.93
	TOTAL	716	305	42.60
15	Collieries : miners and other subordinates	2,214	1,672	75.52
16	Coal dealers, brokers, company managers	348	706	202.87
17	Hay, grass, and fodder sellers	11,499	15,791	137.32
18	Firewood, charcoal and cow-dung sellers	9,490	13,729	144.67
	TOTAL	23,551	31,898	135.44
19	Carpet weavers	23	10	43.48
20	Felt and pashm workers	95	67	70.53
21	Persons occupied with blankets, woolen cloth and yarn, fur, feathers and natural wool	1,641	857	52.22
22	Wool-carders	429	531	123.78
23	Wool-dyers	140	89	63.57
24	Dealers in woolen goods, fur and feathers	382	169	44.24
	TOTAL	2,710	1,723	63.58
25	Silk-carders, spinners and weavers; makers of silk braid and thread	394	242	61.42
26	Sellers of raw silk, silk cloth, braid and thread	81	33	40.74
27	Silk-dyers	3	1	33.33
	TOTAL	478	276	57.74
28	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing mills owners, managers and superior staff	26	54	207.69
29	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing mills operatives and other subordinates	251	43	17.13
30	Thread glazing and polishing factories owners, managers and superior staff	13	-	-
31	Thread glazing and polishing factories operatives and other subordinates	31	33	106.45
32	Cotton spinning, weaving and other mill owners, managers and Superior staff	12	-	-
33	Cotton spinning, weaving and other mill operatives and other subordinates	155	18	11.61

34	Cotton cleaners, pressers and ginnerers	9,513	7,795	81.94
35	Cotton weavers; hand industry	73,513	36,708	49.93
36	Cotton carpet and rug makers	1,788	776	40.43
37	Cotton carpet and rug sellers	62	12	19.35
38	Cotton spinners, size and yarn-beaters	2,903	56,994	1,959.49
39	Cotton yarn and thread sellers	508	328	64.57
40	Calenderers, fullers and printers	6,623	4,415	66.66
41	Cotton dyers	9,777	6,184	63.25
42	Tape makers	322	172	53.42
43	Tape sellers	4	1	23.0
44	Tent makers	15	-	-
	TOTAL	105,516	113,533	107.60
45	Dealers in raw fibers	153	63	41.18
46	Rope, sacking and net makers	273	155	56.78
47	Rope, sacking and net sellers	130	22	16.92
48	Fiber matting and bag makers	722	237	32.83
49	Fiber matting and bag sellers	124	30	31.45
	TOTAL	1,402	516	38.80
50	Clothing agencies : managers and superior staff	229	-	-
51	Umbrella sellers	13	8	61.54
52	Embroiderers and lace and muslin makers	282	395	140.07
53	Hat, cap and turban-makers, binders and sellers	127	55	43.31
54	Hosiers and haberdashers	1,385	295	21.30
55	Piece-goods dealers	11,719	1,208	10.31
56	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darners	17,143	12,968	75.64
	TOTAL	30,898	12,968	75.64
57	Potters and pot and pipe-bowl makers	50,700	26,445	52.16
58	Sellers of pottery ware	255	64	25.10
59	Grindstone and millstone makers and menders	1,352	382	28.25
60	Grindstone and millstone sellers	136	22	16.18
	TOTAL	52,443	26,913	51.32
61	Bone mills: owners, managers and superior staff	1	-	-
62	Bone mills: operatives and other subordinates	7	-	-
63	Tanneries and leather factories: owners, managers and superior staff	3	-	-
64	Tanneries and leather factories: operatives and other subordinates	31	-	-
65	Leather dyers	21,532	9,173	42.60
66	Shoe, boot and sandal-makers	63,154	22,800	36.10
67	Tanners and curriers	8,015	2,030	25.33
68	Sellers of manufactured leather goods	522	92	17.62
69	Sellers of hides, horns, bristles and bones	2,327	693	29.78
70	Water bag, well bag, bucket and ghee-pot makers	1,418	613	43.23
	TOTAL	97,010	35,401	36.49
71	Priests, ministers, etc.	35,832	10,108	28.21
72	Catechists readers, church and mission service	1,190	52	4.60
73	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, convents, etc	2,750	1,029	37.42
74	Church, temple, burial or burning-ground service, pilgrim conductors, undertakers, etc	9,804	1,572	16.03

75	Circumcisers	44	7	15.91
76	Astrologers, diviners, horoscope makers, etc	1,967	66	3.36
77	Almanac makers and sellers	22	1	4.54
	TOTAL	51,549	12,835	24.90
78	Administrative and inspecting staff (when net returned under general head).	9	-	-
79	Practitioners with diploma, license or certificate	211	16	7.58
80	Practitioners without diploma	1,510	236	15.63
81	Dentists	2	-	-
82	Occultists	3	-	-
83	Vaccinators	149	1	.67
84	Midwives	-	4,992	-
85	Compounders, matrons, nurses in hospital and dispensary services	469	59	12.58
	TOTAL	2,358	5,304	225.41
86	General labour	187,278	195,270	104.51
	TOTAL	187,278	195,270	104.51

Source: (Capt.) A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India, Rajputana*, Vol. XXV Part-I, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1902, 214-216.

It is evident that women were engaged in most tedious and laborious works as general labourers' women outnumbered men 195,270 against 187,278 men. They were employed into low-paid jobs as wool carders, yarn beaters, cow-dung sellers, fodder sellers, embroiders and field labourers.

In the conventional social backdrop we find women centrally located within the family structure. Most of the ceremonies, customs and rituals, were made women-centric and the burden of moral and ethical duties was loaded on their shoulders. They were projected as custodians of family honours and traditions.



A man pulling the bulls towards his home, his family waiting on the other side, Mamoni

The division of labour for men and women is based on notions of power. Man is believed to be fit for hard work as farming for which he earns the pride of honour as the bread earner of the family. For the Seharria tribe farming is the basic source of livelihood in which both man and woman are engaged but even for the hard-working tribe the role of woman is 'under-valued'. Men and women do not cross each others' demarcated lines. Despite harmonious living amongst the members of the tribe, gender divide is easily visible.



A woman waiting for her husband to return home with her children and a basket of fodder for the cattle, Mamoni

The pressures on the Saharia women and other women are similar with a difference of degree and scale. Both do all the work at homes as they also contribute in the economy of the family.



Original dwellings of the Saharia, man and woman of the family make it together

In the past the Saharia women used to make their houses using dried leaves, tree trunks and branches mostly collected by women and then the house

was built by both men and women. The tedious job of collecting the raw material was assigned to the woman.



A house imprinted with mandana on the floor covered with the mixture of red sand and cow dung

Recently, they have been allotted *pucca* houses. The woman ensures that houses are painted with the symbolic art of *mandana*. Earlier, the *mandanas* were created using the earthen colours but now the oil paint is used for longer life.



A chulha outside the house



A fresh painted chulha outside the house

A Seheria woman usually does her work by herself without any help coming from the men of their family. This is expected by the people of her tribe failing which she loses her worth.



Niche made by the seheria women inside the house to keep their belongings



An Ovary a storing area prepared inside the hut



Waking up early in the morning plastering the floor outside the house before every one gets up, painting it with *mandana*, grinding grains and preparing food for everyone is part of a Seharia woman.



Plastered and Painted floor of the house



Stone grinder used by the Seharis women to grind the wheat and grains

Everything from handling the children to husbands' demands, daily household chores and also helping the man with farming and other related work is a daily routine. Even when the day is over for husband who is free to sit and relax the work of a woman does not end. She does the cooking serve it to everyone and have it at the end when every one's over with it, sleep late after doing the utensils and then again getting up first early in morning. Men and

women both feel fine with the entire system that has been prevalent within the tribe; neither the women nor men find anything 'wrong' in it.



A young girl taking care of her sibling

Child marriages are common within the tribe pressurizing young maidens to act mature at a very young age and behave like grown-ups. Young child brides wait for their *gauna* (consummation). *Gauna* is done only after girl attains puberty but the marriage is solemnized when they are kids. In Mamoni almost girls below 18 years were married. If the bride and the groom are of a mature age at the time of the wedding, a second ceremony called *gauna*, is usually performed at once and the marriage is then consummated. But if the bride and

bridegroom are of tender age the *gauna* ceremony is performed after the 1st, 3rd, 5th or 7th year.²¹¹



A young girl adorning herself



Young girls who would also become young brides dressed in modern salwar-suits

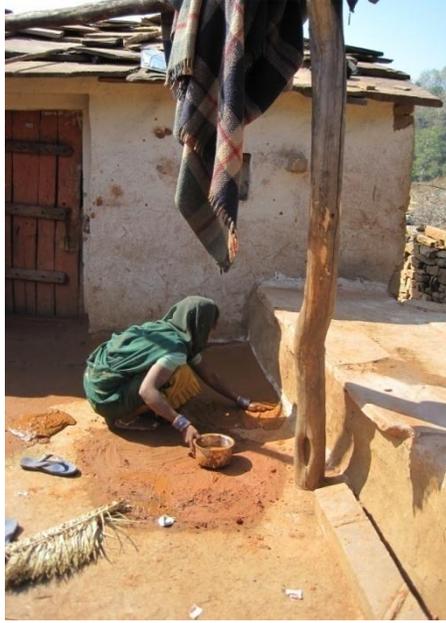
²¹¹ A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India, Rajputana*, op. cit., 86.



A girl returned home after her gauna



A lady preparing plaster mixture with red sand and cow-dung



Another woman applying the plaster on the floor



Young girl waiting preparing to paint her house for her husband's family for gauna



Ladies of the house cleaning the grains for storage



Men of the seharja tribe singing teja ji at the chaupal



The children and older women excluded from the women singing Tejaji on other side



An incomplete basket which is made by both men and women but mostly by women



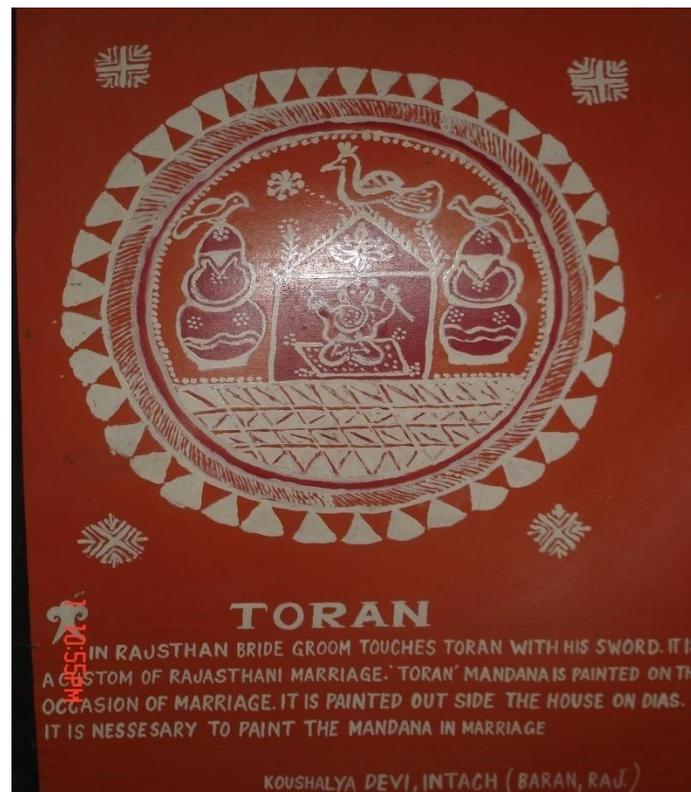
Machan-shed constructed by the Seharis outside their house to sleep



Older women going to sell brooms and baskets made by them

A transformation was witnessed among the forest tribes of Bhils and Grasis in the modern times. They adopted Hindu system of child marriages and widows not allowed to marriage, an observation made in 1901 by Bannerman was seen in the Seharis' too.²¹²

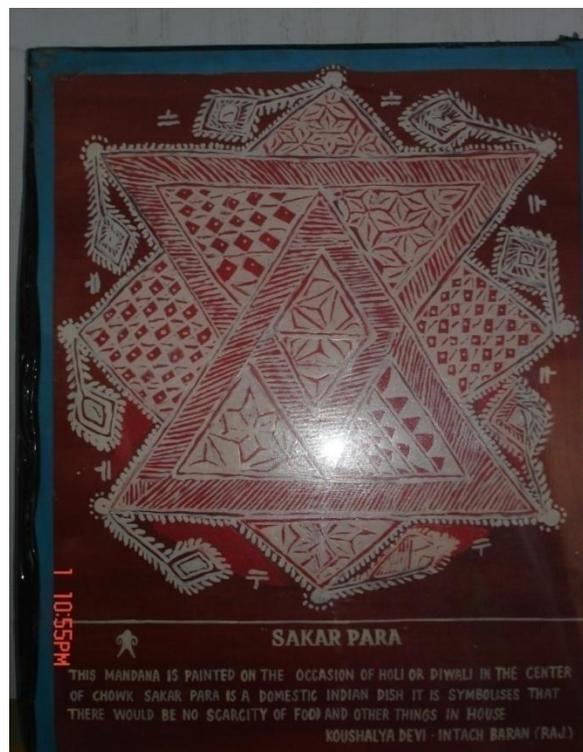
Mandanas made by the Rajasthani women to adorn their houses are now losing their ground even in the rural areas. There are several for the various rituals, seasons and ceremonies; almost for every occasion there is different. Mandanas signify the role of a woman at the centre of her family. Mandana art is inspired by the Tantra that worships different *yantras*; it is believed that the Mandanas invoke positive energy.



'Toran' Mandana painted on the occasion of marriage

²¹² A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India, Rajputana*, op. cit., 130.

Kaushalya Devi of Baran is an expert in Mandana. She teaches the importance of Mandanas to the young girls of Baran. Baran city is now moving away from the modesty of the rural life toward a complexity of an urban city, therefore the importance of *Mandana* is lost on the youth. Still its importance can be seen at the festivals of Dusherra and Diwali. Likewise *Toran mandana* is popularly used during the marriages as there is a custom to touch the Toran at entrance for the groom before entering the house of marriage.



Sakar Para Mandana painted on the occasion of Holi and Diwali

Different *Mandanas* signify different things. The *Sakar Para Mandana* for instance symbolizes the importance food.²¹³

²¹³ In conversation between Shivji Mali and Ann Grodzins Gold asking on importance of grains Shivji Mali says: It is Lord. How could our bodies live without grain? It's like, when we plant a small tree, if we water it then it stays green and grows. In the same way our body needs grain to keep it alive and growing. When a sick man gives up eating grain, then people understand

Culture of folk songs offers insights into gender relationship in the day to day life. Folk songs also provides a window to peep into the images of men and women created through these songs. It signifies the mental make up of the people. The songs become a powerful and accepted medium for women to pour out their feelings and emotions. It cathartic in a sense that a woman is able to relate her challenges with the events of the song.

The *bana-bani* songs at marriage invoke legendary gods Krishna and Ram for the groom and Radha and Sita for the bride. They are very expressive of desire, love and passion; to stimulate the newly wed for consummation of their relation. In one song the groom is coaxed to mount the mare which has been decorated by the women of the house *Babaji ri alya galya kai pharo ji dulha ji*. Likewise the song goes *kakaji ri...mamaji ri...jjaji ri*²¹⁴...this expresses the demarcated spaces for men and women. Men possessed everything related to the outer world while women were to take care of the inner sanctum.

In another song one can clearly see the difference between the work and 'spheres' allocated to men and women of the family where marriage is taking

that he is going to die. There is a saying, "If you've left grain you've left your house" (*ann chhutyā to ghar chhutyā*)... We need so many things like oil and pepper and turmeric for cooking, so how do we get those things? [The answer-by trading grain for them-is so obvious he does not verbalize it.] Grain God is the greatest, and if we have him then we can do weddings, funeral feasts, buy clothes, or complete whatever work we need to do-we can sell grain and do it. We can build a house. But if there is no grain in our stomach then how can we do all those things? You see, if we have a certain amount of grain, we keep what we need for our family and sell the rest in the market, and from that we can buy jewelry, build houses, and have weddings. We can do everything with grain; that's why we say that "grain is the seed of adornment," and that Grain God [annadev] is the greatest god. Ann Grodzins Gold, 'Grains of Truth: Shifting Hierarchies of Food and Grace in Three Rajasthani Tales', *History of Religions*, Vol. 38, No. 2, (Nov., 1998), 150-171

²¹⁴ Atul Kumar Agrawal, *Marriage Songs in Harauti*, op. cit., 21.

place. All the work outside is handled by men and is termed as 'work' rest inside is taken care by the women which is labelled as leisure (*magan*).²¹⁵ In the next song after the marriage is fixed then the boy would get dressed which is called *sapri* this is the time when evil can hurt the groom, which usually would come from the women related to the boy like *dadi*- father's mother, *maiya*- mother of the boy, wives of father's brother -*kaki*, brother's wife -*bhabhi*, *jiji*- sister and father's sister -*bua*, mother's mother- *nani*, mother's brother's wife- *mami* and also the women from the neighbourhood- *pas-parosino*.²¹⁶

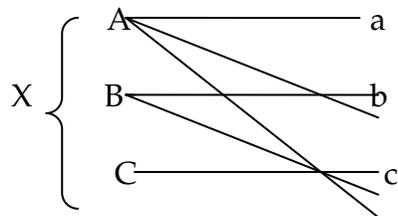
This song is quiet interesting for simple reason that this ceremony of *banori* is celebrated in the evening therefore not many women are able to be part of it, so all those who attend it call themselves as *mha marda* we the brave (here *mha* means me and *marda* means brave but literally it means man i.e. men are brave). The song is full with double meaning and is blunt enough to curse even the husband of the lady who could not make it.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Ibid., 98: *sajjade bane teri ho rahi lagun dadi rani to kamare me ho rahi magan tere babaji barat sajai rahe sajjade bane teri ho rahi lagun. Tere chacha bhaiya ji lagun jhilaye rahe teri chachi bhabhi kamare me ho rahi magun tere chacha bhaiya baarat sajai rahe sajjade bane teri ho rahi lagan. Tere jijaji phupha ji ghorai sajai rahe teri jiji bua kamare me ho rahi magan sajjade bane teri ho rahi lagun. Tere nan ji mama jib hat sajai rahe teri nani mamiya kamare me ho rahi magan sajjade bane teri ho rahi lagun. Hariyale bane teri ho rahi lagun tere mausaji barat sajai rahe tere parausi barat sajai rahe teri mausi to kamre me ho rahi magan teri parausin to kamre me ho rahi magan sajjade bane teri to ho rahi lagan hariyale bane teri to ho rahi lagan.*

²¹⁶ Agarwal, Atul Kumar, *Marriage Songs in Harauti*, op. cit., 100: *bane ki ho rahi laguniya kaise sapri kar solah singar bana sihasan baithe re lag gai dadi ki najariya kaise sapri kar solah singar bana sihasan baithe ri lag gayi maiya ki najariya kaise sapri bane ki jhil rahi laguniya kaise sapri kar solah singar bana sihasan baithe ri lag gai kaki, bhabhi ki najariya lag gai jiji, bua ki najariya kaise sapri bane ki ho rahi ri laguniya kaise sapri kar solah singar bana sihasan baithe ri lag gai nani, mami ki najariya lag gai pas-parausin ki najariya kaise sapri bane ki ho rahi laguniya kaise sapri.*

²¹⁷ *banori mha marda ne khadi re gav ki lugaya ghara me suti rahai re ve gaya rajan ve gaya ji ve gaya kos pachas sar badnami le gaya khadiyan baithya pasbanori mha marda ne khadi re gav ki lugaya ghar me suti rahgi re arac-*

Brahmanical patriarchy started affecting even those communities who were never part of it. Bannerman pointed out in the 1901 Census of India that the process of transculturation began then. The non-swarna caste and communities started following Brahmanical culture in the hope of elevating their status but in return unknowingly began to cage their women. Today, hardly their true self can be seen, their women have started taking purda which was not in vogue in the past, child-marriages started which still exist and most of it is preferred on the *Akha-teej*. Mr. Risley provides a graphic the custom of hypergamy in his '*Castes and Tribes of Bengal*':



Let X represents a caste divided into the three hypergamous groups A, B, and C. Within each group, the capital letters stand for the marriageable men and the small letters for the marriageable women of the group. The horizontal and diagonal lines connecting the capitals with the small letters show what classes of

marac ka bijya ji luga ka ramjhol godya lelyo sayba mhara tis bharya ramjhol banori mha marda khadi re gav ki lugya ghara ma suti rahgi re baga jajyo balma ji lajyo darpu dakh nimu lajyo kagtinaragi dakhnadarbanori mha marda ne khadi re gav ki lugaya ghara me suti rahgi re kali dabi kac ki re ve bhi dhaknadar mhara bhawar ji ki bhaili koi va bhi nakhradar banori mha marda me khadi re gav ki lugaya ghara me suti rahgi re alar-balar ki belri re jipo kalo nag khajyo lhuri syok ne mharo matai janam ko sal banori mha marda ne khadi re gav ki lugaya ghara me suti rahgi re adho phul kanir ko ji adho baga bic mhu baga ki koyli mharo paranyu jana ko reech banori mha marada ne khadi re gav ki lugya suti rahgi re chanda thari chandni re panyu gai talay kato bhagyoprem ko koi ubi jhola khay banori mha marda ne khadi re gav ki lugaya suti rahgi re. Agarwal, Atul Kumar, *Marriage Songs in Harauti*, op. cit., 103.

men and women can intermarry. It will be seen that a man of the A group can marry a woman of his own or of the two lower groups, a man of B can marry into B or C, while a man of C is confined to his own class, and cannot marry a woman from either of the classes above him. Conversely, a woman of the C class can get a husband from A, B, or C, and a woman of the B class from A or B; but a woman of the A class cannot find a husband outside of her own group²¹⁸. The Hindu belief that the girl should always be married into a well-off family while they can marry their son with a poor girl highlights the way they can take full control over the girl. The systematic moulding of both boy and girl provides very little scope for change, but with time in some aspects positive changes are appearing. But the fact remains that a woman feels more or less the same anxiety irrespective of caste and community.

²¹⁸ A.D. Bannerman, *Census of India*, op. cit., 128.

Chapter 5

IMAGES OF WOMEN

The prevailing images for men and women in the form of ideas, symbols, traditions, values, models, etc. have played quite a decisive role in influencing the social order.²¹⁹ Image of a woman is full of contradictions that highlight the disparities existing in the hierarchical division of the social order. In the Indian context kinship and rituals are intricately interwoven. The standards are designed and defined by men of the society. Both kinship and rituals consist of 'symbols and symbolic complexes' attested with meanings as desired by men.²²⁰ As a result Indian society is full of paradoxes. It is common for a man to ill treat his wife and other women of his family while fearing mightiest of mother goddesses (including sati). Although India might have been ruled by a strongest woman as prime-minister Indira Gandhi or it can claim to have its first women president too Pratibha Patil still women are forced to remain meek and subservient. These paradoxes have shaken and disturbed a natural balance.

²¹⁹ Pratibha Jain and Ranjan Mahan, eds. Pratibha Jain and Ranjan Mahan, *Women Images*, Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 1996, 12.

²²⁰ Abner Cohen, 'Political Anthropology: The Analysis of the Symbolism of Power Relations', *MAN: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. I, March 1969, 217.

Kinship systems are resistant toward change, as identities are deeply rooted in the memories which create some sort of image of family and kinship.²²¹ In the recent past (1987) when an eighteen year old Rajput widow Roop Kanwar was burned alive on the funeral pyre with her dead husband it brought to light the age old prejudices and rites which are 'violently' practiced in India.²²² After her death, she was projected as the epitome of virtuous womanhood; an ideal 'perfectionist' who lived and died for her husband, a sacrificing soul.²²³ This is the type of an ideal woman which she expects from herself and people want her to become; she is accustomed to unusual psychological pressure of attaining similar type of perfection. The roles reserved for a woman are purely based on such virtues desires and fancies by men.

Rajasthan is known to be a high sect of sati. In the Jaipur State with the death of Maharaja Ishwari Singh in 1750 one *bhagtan* committed sati and few other women drank poison. In 1803 after the death of Sawai Pratap Singh 12 queens and one Rathore queen committed sati while in 1818 after Maharaja Jagat Singh's death one queen committed sati. In the royal family of Udaipur Maharaj Arisingh his 8 queens and 12 Paswans committed sati in 1773. Bundi State has evidence of Sati as well in 1773 after the death of Maharao Ajitsingh from his one of the 11 queen Sringar Kanwar and one *Khawas* committed Sati and in the Kota

²²¹ Leela Dube, *Women and Kinship: Perspectives on Gender in South and South-East Asia*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2009, 1.

²²² Mala Sen, *Death by Fire: Sati, Dowry Death and Female Infanticide in Modern India*, New Delhi, Penguin Books, 2001, x.

²²³ Ibid.

State when Maharao Bhimsingh died his 2 queens and 5 *Khawas* committed sati in 1720.²²⁴ All the deadly deeds, whether forced or voluntary, have been described as a virtuous acts performed by women of honor who have also been hailed as dedicated wives. Sati then is socially in tested with all sorts of power to bestow blessings to her family members. It is in fact sheer fear which makes them to seek forgiveness after treacherously killing an innocent being as well as in some cases it can also be used to gain monetary profits by constructing huge temple in the name of sati.

The vested interests valorized Sati even in the modern times. The news report following the 'murder' of Roop Kanwar in Deorala on 4th September, 1987 is a burning example. *Rashtrdoot* carried out an editorial on 6th September:

By sacrificing her life, eighteen-year-old woman, Roop Kanwar, had re-enacted the spectacle of sati, a tradition written in golden letters in history of virtuous Rajput women devoted to their husbands. Steeped in the glorious Rajput tradition, this brave girl has moved the common people by following Indian cultural tradition of sati even forty years after Independence.²²⁵

It was portrayed and assumed by the people that sati was a voluntary act, performed with tremendous courage and devotion. Even the learned and educated elite described this heinous act as matter of pride. She was barely eighteen when she was forced to perform sati under the spell of intoxication,

²²⁴ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1987, 167.

²²⁵ Mala Sen, *Death by Fire*, op. cit., 7.

defined as her *Sat* 'purity'. From her example, it is now possible to imagine the situation of a woman in a rigid, conventional society like Rajasthan where in the name of custom heinous and horrendous act was permitted and accepted by all.

In the British India Lord William Bentick had declared Sati as crime in 1829 but the native princely States of Rajasthan did not found it relevant to take stern actions to check it. The Political Agents in Rajasthan tried to suppress the heinous crime of Sati, but did not get success in those bigger and influential states where Sati was committed 'traditionally.' In smaller states of Kota, Bundi and Jhalawar submissive to the British, it became easier for them to check this custom. Jaipur State with the help of the *jagirdars* and other feudal lords this custom of Sati was declared crime by law in 1844. Consequently, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh banned it in 1846; in 1848 Jodhpur and Kota and Udaipur declared sati as crime in 1860. Yet, there are stray examples of it after those declarations in Jodhpur a *thakurani* of the Ghanorao *thikana* in 1856, a Charani in Malani in 1861, two wives of *thakur* Gambhirsingh of Jhalawar in 1863, in Tonk a lady committed sati in 1863. The most adamant of the rulers was the Udaipur Maharana who only after many pressures agreed to support the cause. Other states issued a notice to all the feudal lords and patel of the villages to make note that no sati is committed and if anyone found guilty shall be punished for an instance in Kota, the notice read:

baje gaon tha jiladar patel patwari dase apranchi. Thara talaka ka gaovo mein va thara alakha mein jagirdar udaki hone jyanka gava mein koi agyat mein ladki hoti jeev su mari chh va sati hona dini chh to jyo ya bat karega jihva tika gaon

*mein hosi uh tatha samal hali saja sarkar su sangeen milegi. Taraj-dehi khedi, panvad, harigarh, motpur, beevgarh, sumar, khandi narayanpuri, rakto, laipal, khandpur, mandavar, barsana ki, kekari tal ke, sarkari mukta gaon, prasana munsi padit khanderao miti kati sudi 12 samvat 1918 ka.*²²⁶

The British officers insisted the rulers to punish those who were found guilty of participating in the crime. As a result people who either forced the woman to commit sati or were spectators were punished. The forceful eradication of the practice transformed the structure of sati and by the end of the nineteenth century new versions of sati became visible. The prohibition of the custom made the people to force the women to commit sati by inventing their own reasons. For an instance a woman who was staying away from her husband for a long time was forced to commit sati in Alwar 1861 so that she did not seek her share in the property of the dead husband.

The 'man-made' practices and norms entail disabling effects for women. The status of high caste/class Hindus is evaluated by marrying their girls either in higher class or clan or at least the one who is equal to their status. This gives them restricted choice of groom. Men's perception toward social relation pushes the girls to the edge where they have been sacrificed for no fault of theirs. Colonel Tod and even Southerland agreed that 'tyag' as the prime reason for the fear behind murders of little infants. British officers residing in various states of Rajasthan unanimously agreed and declared *tyag* to be the sole reason for

²²⁶ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 170, 171, 173 and further reference *Kota Record*, Bhandar No. 18, Basta No. 198/2, RSAB.

infanticide, which no doubt is an exaggeration. Shyamladas does not accept this idea instead believes that 'tika' and not 'tyag' was the reason behind murdering their own infant daughters. It was groom's family which started demanding large sums of money in 'tika' which became a serious problem for all. Ojha believes that it is the pressure of the dowry that forced the people to accept such a heinous act.²²⁷ Whatever may be the reason, it was the apprehension of the monetary debt that forced the family of the girl to kill her; mans own desire of wealth made females to suffer.

The British first documented the practice of female infanticide in India in the late eighteenth century especially noticed among the upper castes of north India and reported many areas without even a female child.²²⁸ Meera Kosambi's study of women's place in the public sphere is quite instructive. To her the public sphere is the domain of political power, was inhabited and dominated by Indian as well as British men. The socio-cultural domain subsumes social customs and institutions involving the family including marriage, as well as health care, education and related matters. This domain though inhabited by men and women but always dominated by the former.²²⁹

²²⁷ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 173, 175, 176.

²²⁸ Elisabeth Bumiller, *May you be You be Mother of Hundred Sons: A Journey Among the Women of India*, New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1991, 104 stated few recent examples from newspaper articles In *India Today*, 1986 "Born to Die," revealing an estimate of six thousand female babies were poisoned to death only in Madurai, Tamil Nadu. In October 1988 *India Today* mentioned about a remote village in western Rajasthan, an estimated 150 newborn daughters were put to death, among the area's 10,000 people, there were said to be only 50 young girls.

²²⁹ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds Feminist Essays in Social History*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, 2007, 7.

In the past century laws were enacted to denounce the female infanticide as crime in 1834 in Kota, Bikaner in 1837, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur between 1839 and 1844 and in Alwar in 1857 female infanticide was made illegal and punishable. Yadav has observed that the British played their politics by making *tyag* the reason behind female infanticide as this made their work easy of taking control over the Khalsa lands and other lands donated to the feudal lords by the rulers of the state. This way they were able to increase their revenues as it also enabled them to dominate the state by proving them illiberal.²³⁰ She accuses the English records of portraying it as epidemic which according to her was not the case. If true there would have been stagnation even in the royal families. The degree to which it was practiced is not important but the fact that it was in vogue raises some serious questions regarding Indian social prejudices. In the 1931 Census report it is clearly mentioned that the reason for the lesser percentage of the female ratio vis-à-vis male is not female infanticide but mal-nourishment.²³¹ Even if it was not female infanticide but mal-nourishment the question arises why it was girls and not boys who died in large numbers because of it? This only points to the mindset of Indian people toward their daughters who are ill-treated in comparison to boys. The tendency of suppressing girls for boys and inculcating in them the notions of sacrifice, devotion, submission while boys were fed on with the diet of freedom, bravery and unlimited power. These

²³⁰Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1987, 176-177.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 177.

despicably hostile tendencies later become part of their personalities and become visible in their inter-personal relationships with other family members and then society at large. The highest numbers of crimes against women are reported in India because of this mentality with which both boys and girls are groomed differently in a family.

Table 1

Percentage of total population in Rajasthan, 1881 to 1931

1 State	2 Gender	3 1881	4 1891	5 1901	6 1911	7 1921	8 1931
Alwar	Male	52.77	52.61	52.03	52.25	53.05	52.85
	Female	47.23	47.39	47.75	47.75	46.95	47.15
Banswara	Male	51.44	51.33	49.32	49.42	49.67	49.75
	Female	48.56	48.67	50.68	50.58	50.33	50.75
Bharatpur	Male	54.29	54.32	53.48	54.09	54.86	54.08
	Female	45.71	45.68	46.52	45.91	45.14	45.92
Bikaner	Male	57.69	52.86	52.41	53.00	52.71	53.53
	Female	42.31	47.11	47.59	47.00	47.29	46.47
Bundi	Male	52.26	52.77	51.82	51.76	52.19	52.19
	Female	47.74	47.23	48.18	48.24	47.81	47.81
Dhaulpur	Male	55.41	56.14	54.47	54.80	55.21	55.10
	Female	44.74	43.86	45.53	45.20	44.79	44.90
Dungarpur	Male	52.57	50.22	50.00	49.69	50.32	50.31
	Female	48.43	49.78	50.00	50.31	49.68	49.62
Jaipur	Male	54.02	53.32	52.86	52.56	53.14	52.70
	Female	45.98	46.68	47.14	47.44	46.86	47.30
Jaisalmer	Male	56.52	54.19	53.69	54.92	56.00	55.53
	Female	43.48	45.81	46.31	45.08	44.00	44.47
Jhalawar	Male	54.34	53.20	51.83	51.97	52.32	52.38
	Female	45.66	46.80	48.17	48.03	47.68	47.62

Karauli	Male	54.24	54.00	54.44	54.63	55.07	55.55
	Female	45.76	46.00	45.56	45.37	4.93	44.45
Kishangarh	Male	52.47	51.82	52.19	52.43	52.56	51.89
	Female	47.53	48.18	47.81	47.57	47.44	48.11
Kota	Male	52.48	52.20	51.55	51.69	51.90	51.77
	Female	47.32	47.80	48.45	48.31	48.10	48.23
Marwar	Male	55.36	52.59	52.47	52.26	52.73	52.21
	Female	44.64	47.41	47.53	47.74	47.27	47.79
Mewar	Male	53.54	52.30	52.22	51.85	51.60	51.51
	Female	46.46	47.70	47.78	48.15	48.40	48.49
Pratapgarh	Male	51.85	52.11	50.05	50.61	50.80	56.94
	Female	48.15	47.69	49.95	49.39	49.20	49.06
Sirohi	Male	53.28	52.31	52.35	51.76	51.94	51.58
	Female	46.72	47.69	47.65	48.24	48.06	48.42
Tonk	Male	52.32	52.65	51.51	51.58	51.81	51.80
	Female	47.68	47.35	48.43	48.42	48.19	48.20

Source: Santosh Yadav, *Unnisvi Beesawi Shatabdi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, 1987, 178-79

Table 2

Sex-ratio in Rajasthan from 1881 to 1921

Year	Number of females per 1000 males
1881	852
1891	891
1901	905
1911	909
1921	899

Source: Santosh Yadav, *Unnisvi Beesawi Shatabdi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Jaipur, 1987, 180

The substantial variation in the sex ratio is an obvious fact of women's ill-treatment in the patriarchal society.

In the colonial India it was the two-layered domination for the women. Ronald Inden has used the framework of agency in the context of colonialism in India to discuss people's capacity to act in various ways. Inden speaks of three categories: 'agents', who act purposively and reflectively; 'instruments' through whom agents fulfill their desires and 'patients' who are the recipients of the acts of others, to variously pacified or punished saved, reformed or developed²³². Women in the native princely states of Rajasthan like the women in the colonial India were the third category 'patients,' who were regularly pacified and dominated by the second and the first categories i.e. the Indian men primarily being the 'instruments' and the British government being the 'agents,' who guided the instruments and dominated their acts to govern the 'patients.'

The feudal rank of a princely state or a *thikana* was the main consideration for matrimonial alliances. For all matrimonial transactions the Rajputs help from their loyal domestic servants called *Golas*. The *Golas* were offered as slaves in dowry by few *jagirdars*. The practice came into vogue as Rajput women were confined into *purdah* and were not allowed to move out from their domestic prisons.²³³

²³² Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, op. cit., 16.

²³³ K.L. Sharma, 'Feudalism, Caste And Class In Rajasthan', eds. N.K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi, *Folk, Faith and Feudalism*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 1995, 175.

Feudalism also raised the standards of many castes like Brahmins, barbers, drum-beaters, potters etc. by providing them with land-grants, cesses and taxes.²³⁴ Keeping domestic servants became a common practice for those who raised their status crossing that thin line demarcating class and caste. Even within the slaves a sort of hierarchy is visible. Although the family slaves were not traded but there was a custom to supply some slaves as part of the dowry. Quite often the women were bought and sold slaves. The ones good at singing was known as *Patar* or *Khanazad*; the head was known as *Badaran*. Generally the rulers used to keep a slave girl within their *harem* she was then known as *Goli* who technically married to a *Gola* (male-slave). But as long as the *Goli* was in the *harem* she was not allowed to have any kind of relation with him.²³⁵ The one who was a favorite of the ruler could get be elevated to a position next to the second set of queens and was known as *Pad.dayat*. Close association with a ruler could result in her exalted status to wear some gold raising their position within the community of slaves such special slave was known as *Paswans* or *Khawas*. Getting into the elevated position meant following the *pardah* practice. Such a woman would have luxury of having servants and helpers as well as some *jagir* and *khalsa* lands.²³⁶ On their birthdays or marriages they could be given lavishly.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ For further reading, read Acharya Chatursen, (Novel) *Goli*

²³⁶ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi beesawi shatabdi*, op. Cit., 181.

Although by mid-nineteenth century the British demanded to put an end to this practice. It was not abandoned by the ruling Rajput chiefs and continued well into the twentieth century. Whenever the British Agents wrote to the rulers of the native states they were given to understand that with the passage of time the definition of this tradition would change. The rulers and feudal lords were not ready to accept 'change'. People's dependence on them and helplessness was used for its continuance. Kota and Bundi States issued a notice declaring the custom of *daroga* non-hereditary in 1920. Jodhpur state declared slave tradition illegal in 1926 but the practice dubiously prevailed till the late twentieth century though under the changed definition.²³⁷ Eventually the new generation of rulers and feudal lords by themselves found this custom to be a burden on their pockets. As the traditional system of feudalism lost its valor the income too became limited putting constraints on the practice.

Alongside the slave market the flesh trade too got affected. The trading of the girls and boys and women was wide prevalent in the nineteenth century for which even the state used to levy the tax. Commonly the girls and women from the lower castes were brought from Mathura, Agra, Aligarh, Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar. In the Jaipur, Tonk and Bharatpur States 75, 11 and 77 girls were between 1860 and 1862 brought from Agra, Mathura and other places respectively. From the Kota State the political agent confirmed the selling of 3

²³⁷ Ibid., 183-184.

women for prostitution in Ajmer.²³⁸ Although this practice was banned in Kota in 1831 the state records note levying of *Chauthan* tax on the trading of slaves till 1862. Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bundi and Sirohi declared flesh trade as illegal respectively in 1844, 1847, 1855 and 1861 but it was only on papers. Other native states too passed orders to the *jagirdars* and police heads to keep a check on such practices for the consumption of British officials. The British allowed the rulers to be able to restart the flesh trade during the time of drought of 1868-69, in 1869 another notice was issued where the ruler of the Kota State ordered the feudal lords and others that without the sanction of the State no one should buy and sell girl, boy or women.²³⁹

As far as the condition of the women are concerned there is hardly any difference between the British India and the Native India. Indian patriarchy is deep rooted and deep seated in history, religion and society. The ancient law giver Manu has seen women solely as wives, mothers and homemakers. Women's sexuality is reduced only to procreation. Their 'natural' sexual desires have not only been suppressed but dreaded as 'unguarded woman would bring sorrow upon both families. It is the very nature of women to corrupt men here on earth'.²⁴⁰ Meera Kosambi's interpretation in this respect is quite interesting; to her even the reformers thought and believed that women were incapable of

²³⁸ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit. 184.

²³⁹ Ibid., 185. Also refer to Kota Bhandar No. 1, Samvat 1752, RSAB.

²⁴⁰ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, 25.

deciding what they wanted, because 'a women's understanding is unreliable'.²⁴¹ The man-woman relationship shows that there has been an institutional denial in the free self-expression and empowerment in public sphere. It is not just that women are held back in public sphere but also within the private sphere they are suppressed. This structural and cultural denial of public power eventually became an instrument of exploitation, domestication, suppression and inequality of woman as a gender category. Curbing her creative potential and observing strict codes respecting her gait, gestures, clothing, looks and appearance kept her on a completely different footing than men. Through these mechanism men tried to manage and control women's sexuality.²⁴²

When Rakhmabai resisted her child marriage and faced trial in the court in the mid 1880's wrote in 1885 challenging the Shastric image of women.

If these worthies are to be trusted, we are a set of unclean animals, created by god for the special service and gratification of man who by right divine can treat or maltreat us at his sweet will. Reduced to this state of degradation by the dictum of the Sastra looked down upon for ages by men, we have naturally come to look down upon ourselves.²⁴³

The observation and understanding of Rakhmabai is quite interesting. Women do not carry their own 'image'; they perceive themselves as what men

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² N.K. Singhi, 'Gender Theme: Issues and Perspectives', eds. Pratibha Jain and Rajan Mahajan, *Women Images*, Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 1996, 55-56.

²⁴³ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, op. cit., 25. Also see Sudhir Chandra, *Enslaved Daughters: Colonial Law and Women's Rights*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999.

would want them to look like. A rebel such as Rakhmabai was tough to raise critical questions against such 'man made' norms courageously.²⁴⁴ She went ahead to say that even the 'reformer husbands do not expect their wives to overpower them, their 'sympathy' on the dilapidated condition of womanhood was a foul-cry. The persistent fear was that under western influence Indian women would develop an independent existence instead of submerging their identity in their husbands' that they would become women instead wives. What an exalting observation of transforming wives into women. This has generally been taken as a threat by men to their dominant position which has secured their supremacy over women.

In Hadauti it is difficult to find a Rakhmabai or a Tarabai Shinde the product of fast changing Indian metropolis. Here a popular saying '*Marad to muchhal nain banki sundari*', advocating a true strong man with a moustache and a woman with beautiful eyes. Another saying, '*Marad to junjhar banko, khunkh banki sundari*',²⁴⁵ lionizes a man with a brave warrior and a real woman bearing a healthy child. As if a man without a moustache is incompetent and a woman who is unable to bear a child, probably a son is infertile. Mostly the birth of the girl is not liked but a boy is seen as the carrier of the lineage. The birth of a girl is taken as matter of embarrassment for the family²⁴⁶. The lady who

²⁴⁴ Also see, Sudhir Chandra, *Enslaved Daughters: Colonialism, Law and Women's Right*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998; Rukhmabai: Debate Over Woman's Right to her Person, *Economic and Political Weekly*, November, 2, 1996, 2937-2947.

²⁴⁵ Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya ki Sanskritik Chetna*, unpublished thesis, Kota, Rajkiya Mahavidyalaya, 1987, 83.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 84 *Aji chhori rand hoi chhe*.

delivering a girl child is condemned and abused; even her paternal home is not spared from a curse. This makes the concerned woman depressed and starts blaming herself as a criminal who is guilty of an offence. But if she delivers a boy then entire family is over whelmed with joy; she would be greeted warmly, treated like a queen, everyone would cheerfully informed, sweets distributed, songs sung with dances as if it is a great occasion.

A newlywed is always blessed with *dundho nahao, putan phalo*,²⁴⁷ may you bathe in milk and may you bear sons. The fear for women of being called *banjh* (infertile) make her feel miserable about her existence. She is cursed and her presence too is avoided in many social gathering. Such type of woman is also left by her husband. The woman who is abandoned prays to the family goddess: *De na mai ji mhari ek judalyo mhane, ek judlya ke kaaran mharo kant paraya, sej parai...* And the older women of the family would also say, *Beta jadyo such dekh jyo*,²⁴⁸ meaning that more sons more possibility of living peaceful, prosperous and happy old-age. This is precisely what Tarabai Shinde meant when she wrote in her *Stree-Purusha-Tulna* sarcastically describing about stree-dharma:

What is stri-dharma (a woman's moral duty)? Always obeying her husband's order, conducting herself in accordance with his wishes... worshipping him with a smiling face as if he were a god and being alert in his service, even if he kicks and curses her; keeps mistresses or comes home after drinking, gambling, losing

²⁴⁷ Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya*, op. cit., 83.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 95-96.

all his money, stealing, kicking someone, betraying someone, robbing a treasure and taking a bribe- this is stri-dharma.²⁴⁹

In the male dominant culture whatever a man does gets easy justification a woman just keeps on trying to be in the good books of her husband. If she would leave her husband it would be she who would be cursed and criticized for being incapable of holding on a relation. This is a clear case of 'blaming the victim'. When a woman is three to four months pregnant, a *punasavan* sanskar is celebrated, the name of the sanskar itself denotes for the birth of a boy (*pu* for *purush*).²⁵⁰ It is during this time the sex of the child inside the womb forms; therefore this *sanskar* is followed in hope that a boy be born. During pregnancy family and society seem to be more worried to make her clear that they wish to see a boy not a girl.

In another ceremony known as '*Sangh*' or '*athava*,' which is celebrated when the expected woman reaches eighth month of her pregnancy. In this women's gathering even the paternal family of the lady are invited who come with loads of presents for the in-laws of their daughter. During this ceremony the women gathered usually sings about the physical and emotional changes of the pregnant lady. In the songs by the nine month she is preparing room (*ovariyo*) for her delivery and by tenth month she is singing lullaby (*halariya*). All the

²⁴⁹ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, op. cit., 43-44.

²⁵⁰ Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya*, op. cit., 97.

celebrations is being done that she is going to deliver a baby boy, for which she is treated as a queen.

These songs also manifest the gap between the daughter-in-law and the other family members. The lady in labor pain trusts her mother and not the mother-in-law or sister-in-law. This is the song sung by the wife struggling through her labor cramps and pleading her husband to go and get her mother and *dai* from her paternal home.²⁵¹

This reveals her distrust of her in-laws or can also be taken as a way of telling the family of the girl to bear the expense of the delivery. In Rajasthan a median marriage distance is 20.8 miles which is higher than the figure for any other Indian state.²⁵² Farther the distance of a female lesser access and restricted movement from the resources of help and support for her.²⁵³ In most of the cases she is denied basic facilities and the distance between her paternal and marital homes act as her additional challenge for her survival.

'Jacha' or *'Japa'* as the woman is known who has delivered a child but has not completed her 40 days of seclusion. There are many songs related to the labor pain, how a woman feel and how the husband is even unable to understand his wife's pain and the way she is shy to tell her husband the intensity of that pain.

²⁵¹ *Thanki to dai kadiyan aave, thanki to mata kadiyan aave, mhara piyriya su jaa r dai lao ji, thhe bega javo ji piya. Lal palang pe peeda gheri gheri aave ji, Chandra badan mhaki surat kumlave ji, thhe javo ji piya. Lal palang pe gairi gairi peeda aave, thhaki bhabhi to piya kadiyan aave, mhake piyriya su jaa r bhavaj ne lavo ji piya thhe jayo ji piya.* Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya*, op. cit., 105-06.

²⁵² Janice S. Hyde, 'Women's Village Networks', eds. N.K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi, *Folk, Faith and Feudalism*, Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 1995, 184-185.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 185.

After the child is born celebration only takes place when a boy is born women singing *badhai* (congratulatory) songs.²⁵⁴

Numerous customs and rituals are practiced for and by women especially in upper caste society. Even the distances in the marital alliances are based on the caste. The higher status groups tend to marry their daughters at greater distances compared to lower caste groups.²⁵⁵ The farther a woman is married from her natal home it becomes more difficult to visit her maiden home.

This dimension is felt more during the time of a woman's pregnancy at her marital home. Graphically put a wife is about to deliver a baby and is in labor pain; she doesn't trust anyone from her in-laws family barring her husband, so she pleads to him since everyone is busy in their work like her father-in-law is a *chaudhary* of the village, and the mother-in-law manages the finances, sister-in-law is so strict like a thunder bolt and her husband is an outsider, it is only her husband who would worry about her. Therefore, she asks him to open the delivery room but he too says that 'I would help you, would open the door for you, will praise you, only when you promise to deliver a boy who shall be the carrier of our family name.' The song makes it very clear that

²⁵⁴ *Aaj to nobat baje dasrat ke duar pe, aaj to nagada baje dasrat ke duar pe. Bheetar su sasuji bole lalna jhulaye ke, bahar su sasraji bole dasav lutaye ke, aaj to nobat baje dasrat ke duar pe. Bheetar su bhabhiji bolya charkha chadhaye ke bahar su jeth bolya dhan ne lutaye ke, aaj to nobat baje darat ke duar pe. Bheetra su derani bolya palka bichhaye ke, baare su dewar ji bolya baja bajaye ke, aaj to nobat baje dasrat ke duar pe. Bheetar su bai sa bolya sathiya purai ke, baare su nandoi sa bolya meetaiya mangaye ke.* Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya*, op. cit., 107-108.

²⁵⁵ Janice S. Hyde, *Women's Village Netwroks*, op. cit., 185.

what matters is the family name, and women are supposed just to be the deliverer of their 'progeny.'²⁵⁶

The delivery of a child and subsequent celebration is conditional; the birth of a boy becomes a matter of joy and celebrations. When the lady comes home with 'son' merry songs greet her and gifts are showered upon her.²⁵⁷ The victorious lady delivering the baby is ceremoniously escorted by the ladies of the community and village from the *ovary* outside to her marital home. In the song a stereotype popular relation between *nanand-bhabhi* is shown in which the sister-in-law is jealous of her brother's wife; the former while making faces asks the latter 'the toe ring you are wearing, comes from the jeweler or from *mosala* from your home?' These songs effect different relationships within the family and society.

No songs are sung on a girl's birth. In one song the husband asks her to deliver a boy he would send her to her parents' place with a pack of opium sweets for her to consume and celebrate girl's birth with her maternal family²⁵⁸.

During pregnancy such songs are sung to put her psychological pressure on

²⁵⁶ Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya*, op. cit., 109: *kule oomi kul bau ji vako badan rakho ji kumalye, chyanta mhari kun kare ji. Sasra ji garh ka chaudhary, sasu ji arth bhandari, nandal aaya bijli, nandoi paraya poot. Avera me ovary ji jya mein suta sasu ji ka poot, anghotho marod jagaiya ji, jago nandal ka veer, khali karda ovaro ji, chyanta mhari kun kare ji. Hans hans pech sanwariya ji, vane pulkat bandhi chhe faag, lelo sundar ovaro ji, chyanta thari mhe kara ji. Thhe jo jan davdo ji, dadaji ko bans badhaye, badhai sundar mhe kara ji, chyanta thari mhe kara ji.*

²⁵⁷ *thhal bharya gaj moti leena, upar sakar bajori ji, aage nayan fache parathan beeche aap fadarya ji. Jaye sasu ji ke paglya lagi, nandal muh maskodyo ji, ke mhari bhabhi aap ghadya ke mosala me aaya ji?* Ibid.

²⁵⁸ *jo ghar janami davadi ji, thane daanga piyar khandaye, badhai sundar kun kare ji? Thhake amalya ka laadu bandhaye, badhai thanko baap kare ji, jo thha janami davadi ji.* Sivaswaroop, *Hadauti Lok Sahitya*, op. cit., 112.

woman. This pressure of delivering a boy makes her pray and beg the *Sati mata*. In one song to *Sati* the lady pleads for a son as her husband is ready to get another wife who would give him a son and the entire family would turn against her: *maha mai ji ek jhudalyo dey, ek jhudalyo ke kaaran mharo kant parayo, sej parai, roosyo sab parivar*. Listening to her prayers *Sati mata* blesses her with a son as she says: *ek jhudalyo ka do le gauri, yo le thharo kant, yo le thhari sej, roosyo ghani manaye*.²⁵⁹

The nineteenth-twentieth century women in the metropolis India were going through a transition where the 'literate' and 'educated' women were able to stand, jot down their thoughts, beliefs and accomplishments in memoirs, autobiographies etc. but in Hadauti none has been found to this date. As Meera Kosambi points out, women never were able to judge themselves objectively. She brings in Estelle Jelink who asserts that men usually project a 'self-confident, one dimensional self image' while women often depict a multi dimensional, fragmented, self image, colored by a sense of inadequacy and alienation, of being outsider or other; they feel the need for an authentication to prove their 'self-worth'.²⁶⁰

In the context of this study the above observation about gender differences by Estelle Jelink is interesting as the Hadauti women too have supported their men as wives, but never felt the need to discuss their lives 'separate' as 'individuals.' For them their life without their husbands is

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 121.

²⁶⁰ Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, op. cit., 37.

incomplete and in fact has been nothing. This mindset was not only confined to the rural Hadauti such mentality of the educated upper class is clearly visible through the conservative Anglo-Marathi Weekly 'Native Opinion'. It outlined the parameters of education for females in 1882:

What sort of education our females want, or more accurately, what sort of education men wanted for women. In educating our females our first care must be to try to make them good housewives and good mothers'. Therefore, 'primary education only was necessary. If we want our girls to be useful they must learn to read and write, to keep accounts, to sew and above all to cook well. All this, we think can be taught at home than at public school.²⁶¹

If this was the mindset in the urban India one can expect a tough challenge the women of the smaller and under-developed towns and villages faced. In fact, they could not even reach a point to understand the 'transition' which was coming their way. We see 'silence' with which they accept conventional norms and prejudices. Anandibai Joshee's revelation of the male mindset while going to school at the age of fifteen in a relatively progressive city of Mumbai in the late 1870's is awe-inspiring. She writes:

When people saw me going to school with books in my hands, they had the goodness to put their heads out of the windows just to have a look at me. Some stopped their carriages for the purpose. Others walking in the streets stood laughing, and crying out (derisive remarks) so that I could hear (them)... Passers by whenever they saw me going, gathered around me. Some of them made fun

²⁶¹ Meera Kosambi, op. cit., 157.

and were convulsed with laughter. Others sitting respectably in their verandahs, made ridiculous remarks and did not feel ashamed to throw pebbles at me. The shopkeepers and vendors spat at me, and made gestures too indecent to describe. I leave it to you to imagine what was my condition at such a time, and how I could gladly have burst through the crowd to make home nearer!²⁶²

The spirit and the courage she had to stand against all odds for the larger cause of Indian women are amazing. Think now of these three women; Beni Gupta, a child widow; Rampyari Shastri, a spinster and Shakuntala, a spinster which have been used as examples of female struggles, working against odds to achieve the success in a male dominant society. All of them never felt the need to write their 'success' stories, instead were satisfied in their lives. Even as child-widow, Beni Gupta helped her niece's family as hers and never felt like marrying again. Ram pyari Shastri who was a spinster and died alone in exile in Haridwar her contribution has not been acknowledged in the reforms of Kota and Hadauti. Shakuntla opted to spend rest of her life as spinster, when she was not permitted to marry the man whom she liked.

Shakuntla who faced slurs of society in a very small town of Jhalarapatan where she was born in a Brahmin (pandit) family. She mustered the courage to declare her love for a man but when he could not face the opposition with equal measure and refused to stand by her, she decided to remain single unmarried forever. Shankutla 'Renu', daughter of Pandit Girdhar Sharma 'Navratna' was

²⁶² Meera Kosambi, op. cit., 160.

born in Jhalarapatan on 24th June, 1921. She took her primary education from her uncle *Rajvaidya* Shyamlalji Bhatt, Bharatpur, and completed her higher education under the guidance of her father. She started writing the age of sixteen. She wrote many poems on freedom struggle, bhakti and translated rubai of Hafiz and also wrote on folk songs of Hadauti though unfortunately many of her writings are lost by now. But what has made her case interesting is her strength to stand against her family and society and declare her love for someone and believing him to be her husband and then refusing to marry anyone else. From her writings it appears that there must have been family rejection and she was upset with existing social set up which is expressed in a poem is:²⁶³

*jag jhanjha kaise sahen karoo? Mera jivan jag se nyara jisme asafalta andhiyara!
Ghere mujhko bandhan kara! Kya kahte ho uff tak na karoo? Jag jhanjha kaise
sahen karoo? Jivanpath ati Durant, ghor! Ekanki chalti lakshya ore! Par, jag
aankhe atishey kathor! Yeh bhaar- kahan tak vahan karoo? Jag jhanjha kaise
sahen karoo? Jag itna nishthurtam kyou? Jag bandhan itne nirmam kyou?
Laghu jivan mein gum he gum kyou? Smriti mein yeh- kaise vilag karoo? Jag
jhanjha kaise sahen karoo?*

She questions people's authority in dictating the lives of individual. Although alone this is her decision to live as she wants. Not allowed her ways makes her saying "*Par, jag aankhe atishey kathor!*" In her writings she emerges

²⁶³ Shardhha niece of Shakuntla gave information about her as well as shared her personal diary with me. I met her in Jhalarapatan on 29th November, 2011 at her home. The poems in Shakuntala's diary do not carry any dates.

as mystic and in poem entitled: *deye hai sansar mujhko* her lost love has become her strength as she writes:

Dekhli jag ki amarta! Sun chuki jag ka madir swar! Naap li jag ki agamta kar chuki anubhav anshwar! Hai na iska moh mujhko, dukhad hai na vichhoh mujhko! Choomati hans-hans adhar re! mrityu-apsari bhet, mujhko! Hai sukhad anchal karuntam vilay re, jisme 'aham,' 'mum' mit jahan par ek hota- vishwa jivan- chir visham sam! Ek pyas mita rahi hai, kintu aas jala rahi hai! Pran sambal hai tumahara, pran! Keval pyar mujhko! Deye hai sansar mujhko!

She transcends into another space, from where the 'materialistic' world appears insignificant to her. But sometimes she blames her destiny as reflected in a poem:

jal mere ekanki jivan! Shanti shamshan bhar apne mein, chal bav-vaibhav ke sapne mein, tujhko atmatusshti tapne mein! Ghul mere ekanki jivan!! Jal! Mere ekanki jivan! Liye Samadhi hridaya-asha ki, pyar, prem ki pratyasha ki, antravedan- abhilasha ki- gal mere ekanki jivan! Jal, mere ekanki jivan! Jalne ka vardan tujhe re! galne ka arman tujhe re mitne ka abhiman tujhe re! pryere mere abhishapit jivan! Jal, mere ekanki jivan!

Her book 'Manavi' which she began writing on 20th August, 1941 appears to be autobiographical. This story is about Savita who is a daughter of a saint living in an *asharam*. Her mother is very loving and devoted toward her husband and five children. Savita is the middle child, very affectionate and caring. Like mother she too was devoted her '*dharm*' which she learned from her

parents. She grew up to be an innocent, loving and lovable woman. One day she found her love, Jayendra who was adamant to leave and devote his life for his country. By soliciting forgiveness from her he left forever. Savita had learnt that the duty of a woman is to fall once for a man who would be her husband and dutifully follow his path no matter what happens. A woman must be devoted for she is the '*ardhangini*' one who shares everything with her husband. For Savita, her world was complete with her love whom she worshipped as her lord; she never questioned his absence but never allowed her or anyone from her family to force her to accept anyone else. Her brother Mahendra even asked her to move on as Jayendra would never come back to her. She refused and said that my Love has crossed all the worldly desires, it is not physical, it is spiritual, and does not yearn for anything else other than taking care of my love, wherever he is. He never told her that it was Jayendra who through Mahendra asked her to move on with some one who deserves her. Mahendra was perplexed to see the power of her love which was beyond any mortal to grasp. Her desire for motherhood and her aspiration to do something for the society made her to open up a school for girls. Through her motherly care and affection she spread the warmth amongst the girls and taught them to be devoted toward country and family. She was contented with her life as the school was progressing. But one day she saw Mahendra who had brought Jayendra with him. She was glad to see him. Seeing her passion Jayendra called her *devi* which she refused. She told that she was his wife, that too a disobedient one who was unable to fulfill all the duties. And then

suddenly she fell on the lap of Jayendra. Before both the men could understand she died. They made her 'samadhi' in the school, with her statue. This book was published in 1993; it took almost 52 years to publish. She was not even interested in publishing it but was convinced by people around to do so.

This story runs like an auto-biography of Shakuntla. It seems that her father Pandit Girdharlal was a strict man while her mother could be a typical Indian wife- submissive and dedicated. Shakuntla who grew up seeing her parents living and adoring the conventional marital relationship. The turning point came in her life when she wanted to follow the 'ideal' norms with a person of her choice but which was unacceptable in an orthodox patriarchal family like hers. To resolve the conflict and buy peace for herself she opted to stay spinster all her life.

Savita like Shakuntla comes in the middle of her siblings. Her father also followed strict code of conduct for his family like Shakuntla's father, and her mother too resembled Shakuntla's mother. Shakuntla too loved someone for whom she devoted her entire life without questioning his stand regarding the relationship like Savita who loved Jayendra who left her. Shradha, Shakuntla's niece, confirmed that she had loved someone and had declared him as her husband. Probably being a daughter of a poet who had earned the title of 'Pandit', it was possible for her to exercise her choice in selecting her spouse yet

the opposition from other family members would have put those pressures against her choice. She expresses her anger at the attitude of the society in:

*jal rahi hoon mai nirantar viswa ka abhishap le kar! Main sisakti,
vishwa muktathal hans hans lutata! Marambhedini bhrikuti kar
apni vijay par muskurata! Jee rahi hoon aah! Phir bhi, marm par
aaghat-sahkar!! Gal rahi himvat satat main vishwa ka paritaap le
kar!! Salaj aakansha hriday ki, vishwa mein jag-paap kyouin hain?
Samajh pati main na, kalushit pyar, paawan raag kyouin hain? Chal
rahi hoon shunya antar le –usi aviram- pat par!! Sal rahi hoon main
nirantar prem ka vardaana paa kar.*

And in another poem which is untitled her anger comes bluntly:

*main kaise aankhen band karoo? Chhalna kaise bhooloo jag ka?
Kaise ur-peeda door karoo? Kuchla haan! Jisne pur pyar, chhati
mein kale chhed kiye! Mann me virakti ke bhav bhare, kaise phir
usko pyar karoo? Jalti jab prano ki holi aahut jisme jeevan-umang!
Ho leen chirantan priyatam mein, kaise vismrit se khel karoo?
Chhalna kaise bhooloo jag ka? Kaise ur-peeda ko door karoo?*

‘Viswa’ and ‘Jag’ here mean people around and society in general including her own family who did not allow her to be with her love. The man whom she loved is not discussed; the silence obliterated his identity. As long as

she was young no one in the family would talk about the affair. In a small way things appeared in whispers. Only after she became old and more after she died. And yet the younger generation does not know the complete story of Shakuntla's life.

We find her questioning society in her poems entitled:

*door mujhse tum kab? Pran mere! Hriday dhadkan saath-teri smriti
nirantar! Hridaya mein tav murti karunapuran mannhar!
Prandayak amar- vedan ka madhur swar! Chetana, ullas deta
hriday mein bhar! Pran veena radan karti adrash tera sparsh paa
kar! Neel nabh se gunjrit shuchi, subhag, priy!tera karu swar! Pran!
Anu-anu mein rache tum! Dudh-paani sa ghule tum! Vishwa phir
bhi keh raha haan!tum na mere!! Dur tum mujhse kaho, kab? Pran
mere!*

After reading Manavi and getting inspired by the book one Ms. Geeta Bajaj opened a Girls' School Bal Vidyamandir with 3 students in Jaipur. Presently it's converted into a B. Ed college. Shakuntla had thanked Ms. Bajaj in the acknowledgement for bringing her thought to the world. She also adopted her brother's son Vivek as her '*manas-putra*'. On his early death she took care of his daughters.

Ram Pyari Shastri²⁶⁴ belonged to Payal of Patiala state in Punjab. Payal was their ancestral village where her uncle and father had lived for long. She was born in Gonda of Uttar Pradesh. Her mother died soon after her birth and she lived with her maternal uncles; one of was Police officer while other was GDSP in Punjab. Her father was a Station Master in the Indian Railway who later became a *Sadhu*. She studied from Kanya Mahavidyalya, Jalandhar and graduated from Varanasi (BHU) did her M.A.B.T. and also cleared the exam of *Shastri*. She worked in Kota since 1932 and acquired the domicile in 1935. Apart from being the bonafide resident, she purchased a house and mortgaged a property worth 10,000/-. Her father sold his property and gave the money to her before he died in Kalyan as *Sadhu* in 1941. She was nominated as member and as Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board, Kota, and was also an active member of the Red Cross society.

She was removed from the post of Head-mistress of the Maharani Girls School, Kota, on suspicion that she had been participating in the Congress activities. In reaction to her removal there was an agitation in the Prajamandal and asked the Maharao to reinstate her position. She came under suspicion because she had written a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru asking him to guide her so that she may contribute the freedom struggle. This particular letter was

²⁶⁴ Kota Confidential 50/Kota, RSAB.

intercepted which became the reason enough for her removal, although she was granted permission to enter Kota but was not allowed to get back to her work.

Dr. Beni Gupta was a daughter of Gaurilal Gupta, also known as 'ghadisaj'. He was a watchmaker and was an active member of Praja Mandal and worked for the upliftment of Harijan with Ram Pyari Shastri. Beni was a widow from childhood. She was married at the age of 12 in 1940 and in 1941 she became widow after long illness and death of her husband.²⁶⁵ She had to return to her father's home where he encouraged her to continue her studies under the guidance of Dr. Mathuralal Sharma and Ram Pyari Shastri she restarted her studies. Rampyari taught her the skill to fight as she was then the principal of Maharani School where Beni restarted her studies. After clearing her 10th she started teaching classes and by 1946 while teaching she cleared her 12th exams as well.²⁶⁶ She completed her M.A. in 1951 from Rajasthan University and getting a scholarship from the state got her B. Ed degree from Vidyabhavan, Udaipur. From 1953-1957 she was working as a teacher at Rajamahar Mahavidyalaya, Jodhpur, where she even used to ride a bicycle to commute.²⁶⁷ She got transferred to Kota where she taught B. Ed students in the Janakidevi Bajaj college from 1957-1970. Meanwhile, she also completed her Doctoral degree in History from the Rajasthan University, Jaipur. She shifted to the Mira Bai Girls

²⁶⁵ Seema Nagar, *Dr. Beni Gupta ka Vyaktitava evan Kratitava*, Unpublished M. Phil. Thesis, Kota, Kota Government College, 2008-09, 3-4.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5

²⁶⁷ Seema Nagar, *Dr. Beni Gupta*, op. cit., 6.

College, Udaipur as the Vice-Principal and hostel warden for the girls' hostel in 1970. Working in the Manikya Lal Verma College, Bhilwara as the Principal from 1971-75 she again returned to Kota as the Head of History department at the Government College in 1975 and worked till 1978 when she achieved her D. Lit degree and became the first woman of her times to achieve such an honor in Rajasthan. She returned as the Principal of the Janaki Devi Bajaj Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Kota in 1980 and got retired in 1981.²⁶⁸

These three women portrayed example of women's struggle in the male dominating society. Treating women as victims of oppression places them in a male-defined conceptual framework: oppressed and victimized by standards and values established by men. The true history of women is the history of their ongoing functioning in that male-defined world, on their own terms.²⁶⁹ Women's history presents a challenge to the periodization of traditional history. The periods in which basic changes occur in society and which historians have commonly regarded as turning points for all historical development, are not necessarily the same for men as for women. This is not surprising when we consider that the traditional time frame in history has been derived from political history.²⁷⁰ Women have been longest excluded from political power and

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 7-8

²⁶⁹ Gerda Lerner, 'Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges', *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1/2, autumn, 1975, 5-14.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

assigned an inferior place in the social order thus raising the bar to re-analyze modernization from women perspective.

Chapter 6

Modernity and Hadauti Women

Given the period of our study it is very important to ask what is 'modern', what different aspects define 'modernity' and when and how women fit in becoming 'modern'? As far as the European studies are concerned they had their own standards to understand and periodize history, dividing it into ancient, medieval and modern. But is it correct to understand Indian history through their prism? India and Europe have entirely different histories even though for a long time their intervention in India tends to blur India's image. One needs to keep in mind that transition does not always mean 'progress'; it might lead to a different phase but it is also not unsafe to presume that ancient was followed by medieval and so did modern. It can be true for Europe but not necessarily true for Indians. There is also a need to break the ideologies attached with these phases as ancient being rudimentary, medieval being barbaric while modern means progress. This Euro-centric methodology has also been applied in understanding Indian history which does not justify evolutionary process of India. In order to legitimize their rule in India British colonizers tried magnifying some of the most barbaric social evils. On the other hand the nationalist tried to rationalize such practices. But both the colonizers and nationalists brought out customs and practices followed by the elite, upper class/caste of the society. Both the white and brown elite conjoined in the reformist agenda from which the Indian masses were excluded. The subaltern Group of historians critiqued this

elitist nexus drawing attention to the neglected history of the people.²⁷¹ The present study focuses on the issue of 'modernity' in the context of Hadauti women, trying to bring out both the popular as well as the hidden, unheard and untouched aspects of the Hadauti society.

Soon after the East India Company tasted conquest in Bengal in 1757 its officers felt the need to gain knowledge about the conquered people; their administrators learned Persian and Sanskrit and started publishing it. Alexander Dow, an army officer, translated one of the standard Persian histories into English *The History of Hindustan in 1768-71* and N. B. Halhead compiled and translated the Sanskrit *Dharmashastras as A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits* in 1776. With the involvement of more officials such as, William Jones, H. T. Colebrooke, John Shore, and Francis Gladwin this process of learning Sanskrit and Persian as well as that of publishing texts and commentaries, gathered speed and led to the founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. From then on, a number of research journals emerged such as the *Asiatik Researches* (1788), *the Quarterly Journal* (1821), and *the Journal of the*

²⁷¹ Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, Princeton, N.J., 1995; Gyan Prakash, *Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India*, Cambridge, 1990; Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, Paris, 1963; 'Neel Darpan: The Image of a Peasant Revolt in a Liberal Mirror', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 2, 1974, 1-46; Ranajit Guha, *Subaltern Studies I* Delhi, 1982; Sharmila Rege, Dalit Women talk differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and towards a Dalit Feminist standpoint position, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No.44, (Oct. 31-Nov. 6, 1998), WS39-WS46 and 'Real Feminism' and Dalit Women: Scripts of Denial and Accusation, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 6, (Feb. 5-11, 2000), 492-495; Eleanor Zelliot, *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1992.

Asiatic Society (1832). Orientalist knowledge spread to European universities and scholars with no direct contact with India, Max Muller in London and the Romantics on the continent, saw Europe's origins or childhood in India.²⁷² India was distanced in two ways in the search and discovery of European origins in India. Firstly, India was separated from Europe's present and was made incapable of achieving any 'progress' and secondly, composed of language and texts, India appeared to be unchanging and passive.²⁷³ This ideology made the British to take over the civilizing mission for India especially to the princely states.

For over a century between 1818 and 1947 the princely states of Rajasthan were indirectly ruled by the British. It meant that all the internal matters were dealt by the rulers while matters related to coinage, defense, communication and foreign affairs were managed by the British. It had its own implications when two patriarchies controlled the region it also affected the women and their roles and gender relations.²⁷⁴ The agenda of the social reform of the nineteenth century was more of political encounter between the colonizers and colonized rather being specific about the condition of women. The entire argument was

²⁷²Gyan Prakash, 'Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Apr., 1990), pp. 383-408.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, 'The State, Rajput Identity and Women's Agency in 19th and 20th Century Rajasthan', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January-June, 2000, Sage Publishing, New Delhi, 52. See Appendix, various tables show status of women in nineteenth twentieth century Hadauti and Rajasthan.

based on criticizing the Brahmanical texts which the Hindus follow and become the basis of exploitation of Hindu women.²⁷⁵

Imperialists proceeded and succeeded in their civilising mission through the process of 'othering', by defining the culture of the Orient and its people at an inferior level; thus legitimising western intervention.²⁷⁶ The impact of this colonial perspective placed Rajasthan in a very different category with prevailing practices of child-marriages, sati and female infanticide. Thus the British Empire identified the region of the Rajputs to be 'protected' legitimising colonial rule in the eyes of the colonisers as well as colonised.²⁷⁷ People were apprehensive about the change. But being hostile to modernity does not necessarily mean being opposed to change. For the native states there was coexistence of change and persistence i.e. for the same person, group of persons or movements change could be both progressive and revivalist, reformist and reactionary, secular and communal.²⁷⁸ Native rulers too were hostile toward change although they did not oppose it but also never initiated to bring positive change needed for the society.

²⁷⁵ Partha Chatterjee, 'Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women: The Contest in India', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No. 4, November, 1989, 622-633.

²⁷⁶ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, *The State, Rajput Identity*, op. cit., 56.

²⁷⁷ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, *The State, Rajput Identity*, op. cit., 56.

²⁷⁸ Sudhir Chandra, *The Oppressive Present: Literature and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1994, 3.

The British produced resources that were made available to be used by the state politics, as well as used the resources of the states for the maintenance of empire.²⁷⁹ In order to break the feudal order the British armed force was made available to Rajput princes to subdue rebellious nobility and in return princes committed themselves to act in 'subordinate co-ordination' with the British.²⁸⁰ British played from both the sides in princely India; on the one hand they paralysed the entire mechanism of administration in the states and on the other they started declaring judgements on the rulers' governance. The one whom the British used to find incapable was criticised and took over the administration of that state. Even deciding on whom to adopt or who would be the next 'capable' ruler etc was done by the British for e.g. after the death of Maharao Shatrusal of Kota State, the British took over the political administration and 'trained' Maharao Umed Singh II 'as per their requirement.'²⁸¹ Same was the case with Maharaja Jai Singh of Alwar State who was a minor when he succeeded Maharaja Mungul Singh in 1892. Or to an extent Sayajirao III of Baroda who succeeded Khanderao and Malharao Gaikwad in 1875 and attained his western education.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Robert W. Stern, 'An Approach to Politics in the Princely States', ed. Robin Jeffery, *People, Princes And Paramount Power*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 358.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ See Jagat Narayan, *Kota ke Maharao: Umed Singh Dvitye evam Unka Samay*, Kota, Neha Vikas Prakashan, 1983.

²⁸² Edward S. Haynes, "Alwar Bureaucracy versus Traditional Rulership: Raja, *Jagirdars* and New Administrators, 1892-1910 and David Hardiman, "Baroda: The Structure of a 'Progressive' State", ed., Robin Jeffery, *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1978, 39, 113-14.

Another blow to the feudal order came when the British began to display their policy of discrimination by reducing the authority of the queens as well as of the *thakuranis*. On the event of the sixtieth Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 *Chavadi* Bakhtawar, queen of Maharana Fatehsingh of Udaipur, was honoured with the title of C.I.E. This was opposed by the *Chauhan* grandmother of queen *Chavadi* and also *Rajmata* Rathore but the British Council disregarded their views. It was also criticised by other queens of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur and Kota who were either from the bigger *thikanas* or their State was more powerful yet a queen from a very small *thikana* was honoured.²⁸³ This was enough to hurt the sentiments of the queens of the erstwhile princely states of Rajputana. The rulers and their kin were left with no other option than accepting the 'change' uncontested; it was the only way through which they could have been able to maintain their status within their clan and region.

The effect of it was seen in many queens visiting Europe and accepting the western culture and lifestyle by the twentieth century. All those women who were able to mould themselves with the changing time were accepted not just by the British political officers but even by their wives. These women were becoming examples of 'new progressive Indian women'. Their transformation

²⁸³ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Jaipur, Printwell Publishers, 1987, 69.

was a positive signal even for the British.²⁸⁴ The tendency of 'transculturation',²⁸⁵ to adapt and adopt western lifestyle, was visible in the royal Indian women.²⁸⁶ But unlike other Indian states women in Rajasthan even the royalty had a limited say in political decisions of the State due to patriarchal and religious constraints.²⁸⁷

Prior to the British there was a system that was good enough for the native rulers to administer their State and communicate with each other. Even women of the royal family were tutored like the boys at home and were able to read and write.²⁸⁸ But the common masses were kept away from the education. Captain Beynon mentioned about the knowledge of science, art and literature by the Maharao Ramsingh of Bundi (1821-69). But the Maharao lacked in professing the same for the people in the region. The tendency of keeping them aloof from

²⁸⁴ *Rajmata* of Maharaja Kishansingh of Bharatpur visited England twice in 1910 and 1914 when she also donated 10,828 rupees in the war-fund and 5,000 rupees in the 'Lady Chelmsford Mother and Child Welfare Project'. After her returning to India she worked with the wife of the Political Agent Bannerman in the 'Soldiers Comfort Fund' and donated 6,630 rupees for the same. They used to organise meetings in which the women of the family especially the wives were convinced and asked to allow their husbands to join the army and also encouraged them to donate some money for the war-fund. In 1916 *Rajmata* donated 25,000 rupees to the war fund. By this time wives and woman of the family of the British officers started visiting the *zenana dyodi* of the palace and made friendly relations with the women of the native princely states. *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁸⁵ A term used by Mary Louise Pratt as to how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture.

²⁸⁶ Meera, Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds: Feminist Essays in Social History*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, 2007, 207.

²⁸⁷ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, *The State, Rajput Identity*, op. cit., 60.

²⁸⁸ See Appendix for data available regarding the status of education for women of Hadauti.

the people in general is visible in most of the cases in princely states of Rajputana.

The women of royalty took it as a matter of pride to adapt to the lifestyle of the British but without extending to other women of the region. This tendency was epitomized in the post-Independence Rajasthan where only one woman Gayatri Devi, widow of Jai Singh entered the politics in the initial years after independence.²⁸⁹

On the British civilising mission a larger question emerges what specific women reforms they had in mind when they criticised Hindu scriptures and texts. Or the 'women reforms' as Meera Kosambi said was dominated by male perception, there was hardly any contribution of women in it.²⁹⁰ One needs to be more critical when trying to understand transition of the nineteenth-twentieth century India from a women's point of view. As far as the reforms are concerned it was for women and not by them, which means that women were not part of it. It was decided by men what and how changes should be brought for women; latter only to accept without contestation. The idea of reforms centred around on the upper class/caste women; the women from the lower castes were not even thought about. Elite women were included only because the flow of the time was such which forced the 'patriarchs' to let some 'change' for display. The degree of

²⁸⁹Maya Unnithan-Kumar, *The State, Rajput Identity*, op. cit., 60.

²⁹⁰ For further reading refer Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds*, Op. cit.

change anyways was slow for women in India and hardly any for the low caste women.

In the dominant European discourse, the West gave privacy to the material sphere of life while the East was superior in the spiritual domain. That is why the late nineteenth century reformers argued that instead of imitating the West entirely the approach should be in cultivating and strengthening the material resources while retaining the spiritual domain. It is essential to understand the ideology of the nationalist struggle because it sketched the ground plan for a transition to modernity in the Indian context. It laid a roadmap even for the role of Indian women in the independent India. For the nationalist reformers made it clear that material domain is outside and the spiritual is within our true self. It was proposed as long as Indians would be able to maintain its spiritual distinctiveness without losing its true identity adapting to the modern material world would not be a problem. Their perception toward Indian women in changing time is crucial so to be able to evaluate how the male reformers took the question of women liberation during nationalist struggle. They viewed the distinction between the material and spiritual as profane and pure, stretching it as the outer world and home. Home represented women whereas the outside was dominated by the Europeans. The entire struggle for the nationalist reformers was to keep the colonizers away from encroaching in their inner sanctum. The wave of keeping the inner sanctum pure from the profane

influence of the European life, even though brought change in Indian society but was also condemned and criticized by many men too. Responsibility of nurturing, protecting the spiritual quality of the national culture was forced on the women who were expected to remain uninfluenced by the change in the outside world.²⁹¹

Bengali *bhadramahila* adapted to the change much faster and easily than other women in India. The condition of the women in the princely states of Rajasthan was much challenging than the rest. Apparently quite a lot was being done by the colonizers and the rulers of the States by establishing number of schools and other institutions but hardly anyone bothered if these developments reached the commoners. With the passage of time the number of schools kept increasing but without spreading education to the mass. The A.G.G. of the Rajputana, Col. Lawrence mentions many regional schools all over the native states of Rajputana imparting education in Hindi, Maths and Persian. But pretty slow progress was also noted for the people at large. J.S. Mill wrote to Mrs. Sharlot Manning about his meeting with the native rulers and his gaining an insight how the queens of the princely states are educated enough to administer the state especially those queens who are the care-takers of minor kings. The

²⁹¹ Partha Chatterjee, Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women, *American Ethnologists*, op. cit., 622-633.

queens and the *thakuranis* were independent enough to grant land, concessions and take other decisions for their respective *jagirs*.²⁹²

Those educated either from the Mayo College or Imperial Cadet Core preferred marrying outside in the princely states of Kathiawar, Gujarat, Kuchh, Bhuj, Sailana States.²⁹³ Similarly the *jagirdars* and the other *thikanedars* too married outside Rajasthan. It prompted the families of the rulers to promote English education even for their daughters that helped them to find better and suitable match. Usually education especially of girls was limited to the higher strata of the society. British contacted only those families where both the bride and the groom had achieved English education and were thus thought to be suitable for each other. While for the business communities marriages were more or less based on some business deal. With the importance of money the marriages too were done for the dowry or unmatched marriages became common. The father or brother arranged the marriage of their daughter or sister to someone who was either rich even if older than the girl or was ready to give large sum of money to the girl's family.²⁹⁴ This hints to the unbalanced distribution of the ideas of progress in Rajasthan where the focus was primarily on the royal houses. The policy of the colonial state to abide by the local sentiments respecting a religion-based and limited education for women was

²⁹² Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 69.

²⁹³ Ibid., 71-72. Also see Appendix table 14, showing the Comparison between the Kota State School with other State Schools in Rajasthan 1912-1913.

²⁹⁴ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, 80.

visible.²⁹⁵ It means that the so-called reformers of the Imperial Empire too had no serious intention of uplifting the status of women; instead they used them simply to legitimise their rule over Indian sub-continent.

The Census Reports of 1921 and 1931 highlights the problem of the Rajput girls remaining unmarried.²⁹⁶ These young girls were unmarried because of the British intervention in deciding for the rulers and feudal heads whom to marry. Those left unmarried must not have been English educated. According to the census of 1921 in Rajasthan total number of women was 4,659,493 out of which literate were only 18,851 and English Educated barely 1171. In both capital city of Bundi out of 7,926 women, 211 were literate and only 1 was English educated in the Kota city out of 14,917 women, 523 were literate and 82 English educated in 1921. But for Bundi state as a whole out of 89,433 women, 312 were literate and 7 were English educated while in Kota state out of 303,045 women, 1,891 were literate and 196 were English educated.²⁹⁷ The small numbers of the literate and

²⁹⁵ Kumkum Sangari and Uma Chakravarti, eds., *From Myths to Markets. Essays on Gender*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 1999, xii.

²⁹⁶ Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op.cit., 74.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 100, 101. Also see Appendix for other census records regarding the status of education in Kota, Bundi and Jhalwar refer to Table No. 1 Table Showing the Status of Women's Education in Nineteenth Twentieth Century Rajasthan; Table No. 5 Table showing the Educational Level in Bundi district, 1961 Census; Table No. 6 Educational level in Urban Areas by Age and Sex in Bundi district, 1961; Table No. 7 Educational level in Rural areas by Age and Sex in Bundi district, 1961 Census; Table 8 Scholars in Educational Institutions (Colleges) in Rajasthan; Table 9 Table showing the Education Level in the Bundi district, 1971 Census; Table 20 Comparative Statement of schools showing the number of student and their average daily attendance during the

'English' educated makes it clear about the level of education among women in this part of Rajasthan. But it also points to the social change that was slowly making its appearance even in princely states.

The percentage of literate and English educated middle-class Hadauti women is far behind the middle-class educated Bengali women. Unlike largely British administered Bengal Rajasthan was generally a princely region ruled by the feudal Rajputs and hence there was very slow emergence of modern middle class. The middle-class non Rajput women could appear in politics only recently when reservations were made for women especially after 73rd Amendment in the Constitution which guarantees reservations of 33 per cent of seats for women on local councils at all representative levels in the state.²⁹⁸

It is now too easily understood that the rulers of the Rajput states no doubt opened the schools based on the 'modern' lines but it was not because they wished to bring a positive 'change' but because they were more interested to

year 1915-16 and 1916-17 in Kota; Table 21 Table showing the Educational Standards of Kota district, 1961 Census; Table 22 Table showing teachers in Educational Institutions, Kota district; Table 23 Table showing number of educational institutions, students and teachers for various years, Kota districts; Table 30 Table showing gender-wise division showing the level of education in the Primary, Middle and High Schools in the four districts of Jhalrapatan, Pachpahar, Dag and Gangdhar for four years 1912, 1920, 1930 and 1940; Table 31 Table showing number of Institutions in three years between years 1951-1961, Jhalawar district and Table 32 Table showing students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and other backward communities in Jhalawar schools in 1958-59 and 1959-60.

²⁹⁸ Maya Unnithan-Kumar, *The State, Rajput Identity*, op. cit., 61-62.

come in the 'good books' of the British government. If their efforts and interests were genuine they would have prevailed upon people to see the benefits of girls' education. Instead a sudden jump from the 'traditional' methods of imparting education to the 'modern' system of education there would have been a slow but steady progress by bringing both the methods together then it would have helped people to transit much smoothly. English education was being forced upon people, the mindset of the people toward the English education was hostile and they were not ready to accept it. A letter to the Jodhpur ruler and the judicial member, it says:

... miss sawai ko 600 rupiye diye jate hai... vah padhne wali bahu betiyon se safai karvati hai... yah Kok Sahab (some Kashmiri prime minister) ko raja manati hai... so uska kya angrejo ko toh khushmad pasand hai... vah iski baton mein aa jate hai... miss meshik (first teacher) ne kabhi kaam nahi karvaya... yah hamari kanyaon ko randi bana degi... kya hamari kanyaon ko gaon mein randi bana kar naukari dilvayegi? Yah chhatraon ko tang karti hai... iss raj mahal ke andar har kisam ki dushtai chalti hai... ek vaeishya ghar bana hua hai...nai adhyapikaen iske darr se bhag jati hai... isko dekh kar hamari kanyaen bhi bigadto hai... yah gaon ke ustadnion ko galiya deti hai aur tankha katwane ki dhamki... Maharaj aap to hamari sunte nahi hai... Marwar ki sab kanyaon ko vidhvaon ko bigad kar nashat ho jaane do... tab jagna... ab ham

*apni kanyaon ko school bhejna band kar denge... hamari to
bepadhi ko ghar basane do... padhi likhi hogi to iss bhagtan ki
tarah aath aakhen ho jayegi...*

The Education Department, Jodhpur in response to it asked the Jodhpur Judicial Member not to pay heed to these thoughts and also ordered the schools to take fine of rupees 5 from those students who had and wanted to complain against the schools.²⁹⁹ There has always been intolerance for the girls' over boys for there were scholarships granted to the boys to pursue their studies further. And, emphasis was laid in promoting education amongst boys so that they may be able to earn good enough for their living.³⁰⁰ There is no mention about educating girls or even promoting awareness about girls' education. The condition of girls' education can be understood by the report submitted to the Political Agent Kota, dated 1899, Ajmer about the condition of girls' schools:

Stating about two schools in the city, one in Rampura mohulla with 23 names on rolls and other for the mohameddians with the nominal attendance of 32, were established five years ago and were in adverse condition. The result of these schools has been unsatisfactory which was similar to that in Ajmere, with very few

²⁹⁹ Mahakma khas, Jodhpur, J/14/C/ 1936-37, Part I, Education File, C/3/2/26, January 1932 and 20th October 1936 cited in Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, op. cit., 125. Also refer Appendix for detail.

³⁰⁰ Mahakma khas, English office, Basta No. 5, F. No. 4/9-6, *Education Miscellaneous*, RSAK.

girls attending the schools that too with irregularity; as soon as they commence to make some definite progress they have to leave to get married. In the Rampura School and in the Mohamedan School 11 children respectively can read books of varying degrees of difficulty and a few of them can write a little dictation. No Airthmatic at all is attempted in the Mohamedan School and very little in the other with 3 children reached the stage of multiplication. Unless some determined effort is made by some leading people in Kotah, and by their example and influence the teaching of girls be made fashionable nothing can for many years to come be expected. But if the Raj would import a competitive Pandita from Benaras at the cost of 50/- p.m. and provide a good house (as in Bikaner) the prospect of female education would brighten and in the course of little time much good work might be done. The present system I consider to be fruitless.³⁰¹

A change was visible for the middle class students who were encouraged to carry with their study the Director of Education wrote letters between the year 1907-1912 to the Diwan of Kota for the sanction of the boarding house near the High School so that the normal class students could easily and conveniently

³⁰¹ Mahakma khas, English office, Basta No. 5, F. No. 4/9-6, *Education Miscellaneous*, RSAK.

attend the school.³⁰² An annual report on education for the years 1912-1917, some interesting points worth mentioning:

1911-12: there were 4 girls school and later one more was added and there was a girls' school at Baran in charge of a Kazi Faiz Mohammad but it got closed with his death; was not re-opened. Hindu population demanded girls' school for which Pandita Nand Kanwari was sent to Baran to open girls' school. Her place was filled in by Parvati bai who was the monitor at the Maharani School.

1912-13: of the 72 schools in the state 67 were of boys and 5 were of girls, in the Kota city 9 boys' school and 4 girls school. The status of boys appeared for the Matriculation exams between 1910 and 1913 are shown in the table:

Table 1:

No. of Boys for the matriculation exams

Year	boys for the matriculation exams	No. of Passes					No. of Failures
		I %	II	III	Total		
1910-11	4	0	1	2	3	75	1
1911-12	5	0	2	2	4	80	1
1912-13	9	0	0	5	5	56	4
Total	18	0	3	9	12		6

Source: Mahakama khas, English office, *Annual Reports (1912-17) on Education*, Basta No. 6, F. No. 4/60-2, RSAK.

The Muslim community tried hard for the betterment for the education of their children but Kota State did not paid attention on their demands. The donations once promised for the Mohammedan School was not provided to them

³⁰² Mahakama khas, English office, Basta No. 6, F. No. 4/44, *Opening of a hostel or a boarding house attached to the high school*, RSAK

for a very long time.³⁰³ Hence, Khan Bahadur Mir Madar Ali applied to this department for including the Mohammedan school in the list of the State Schools, the application of which was forwarded to the *Mhakama Khas*, which was rejected on the 14th May, 1913 on the grounds that the State does not want to establish any denominational school. However, it was ordered that one Urdu and one Persian knowing female teacher may be appointed in Her Highness Maharaniji Sahiba's Girls' School, to impart lectures to the students who wish to study these languages.³⁰⁴ It reveals the prejudice ruler had for people belonging to the other communities and castes. It would have been much praiseworthy act, if the school would have been sanctioned for the students of the Muslim community. One needs to keep in mind that people in the nineteenth-twentieth century were adapting to change slowly, as a ruler of the state there should have been some sort of resort for the citizens who wished to accept change.

Nothing much spectacular happened in the field of education between 1913 and 1915 but one interesting thing to note was the scholarship of 5,000/- awarded to the widows studying in the Maharani school granted by the Shri Jadeja ji Sahiba.³⁰⁵ To encourage girls' education the Maharani Sahiba had come

³⁰³ Mahakama khas, English office, *Annual Reports (1912-17) on Education*, Basta No. 6, F. No. 4/60-2, RSAK.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Mahakama khas, English office, *Annual Reports (1912-17) on Education*, Basta No. 6, F. No. 4/60-2, RSAK.

up with the suggestion of starting a girls' school which was started by donating the sum 25,000/-.³⁰⁶

For the 'new woman' although education was important but to administer it through English language was a challenge the central space for these women was still home. There was a fear of displacing and devaluing this pure social space. The *Bhadramahila* were educated through their mother tongue. It helped them to associate themselves through this changing time without disturbing the sanctity of the 'inner sanctum'. But this exposure enabled them to carve out their own space which helped them to achieve freedom.³⁰⁷ As far as the Hadauti women are concerned they could not reach even to that level of attaining personal goal of moving higher in the hierarchy.

An elite Hadauti woman behaved like a Bengali *Bhadramahila* of the nineteenth century. For a Bengali middle-class woman education inculcated in them ideas of virtue which was needed to run the house as per the need of the changing times, self-discipline, hygiene, cleanliness etc. but a low class woman was away from it. She either could hardly study because she was also an earning member which was more important than her own study. In Hadauti not just elite but even the educated upper caste middle-class women did not venture out of the inner space provided to them. They also professed the nationalist ideology of attaining knowledge just to be able to appreciate their husbands and other men

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Partha Chatterjee, Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women, *American Ethnologists*, op. cit., 622-633.

in the family. An educated woman was also a status symbol for a man of mid-nineteenth century, a way to exhibit himself as 'modern'. But the incorporation of education in emancipation of women was absent both by the British as well as Nationalists.³⁰⁸

A Nationalist reformer Dayanand Saraswati tried to awaken the people of Rajasthan by enlightening them to stand against the corrupt rulers and the feudal lords. In north India he visited various Rajputana States of Karauli, Bharatpur, Dhaulpur, Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Shahpura, Kishangarh, Kushalgarh and *thikanas* of Bagru, Dudu, Sardargarh, Achrol, Banera, Royat and also visited Nimbaheda, Haripura, Byawar, Bhilwara, Pali, Naseerabad chhavni, Pushkar and Ajmer-Merwara etc. between 1863 and 1883. He gave speeches and interacted with people to understand the true relation of ruler and citizens and asked the feudal lords to serve the people and not to exploit them and made people aware about their rights and duties especially for their women, guided them to read Manusmriti and professed the 'right kind of marriage'.³⁰⁹

In April 1926 Vanita Ashram was established to shelter around 300 abandoned women between 1928 and 1936. Some were remarried and all of them

³⁰⁸ See Appendix for the Economic level, the livelihood patterns of women of Hadauti refer to Table No. 10 Table showing the number of public servants in various departments in 1951, Bundi district; Table No. 11 Table showing the economic trends livelihood pattern, Bundi district, 1961 Census; Table 12 Table showing workers and non-workers according to main activity classified by sex and age-group in Bundi District, 1971 Census; Table 24 Table Showing Economic Status through Industrial Classification by Sex and Class of Workers in Non-Household Industry, 1961 Census; Table 25 Table showing number of workers male, female in Public Administration, 1961 Census; Table 26 Table showing livelihood pattern, Kota districts, 1971 Census and Table 27 Table showing the livelihood pattern in Kota District and Rajasthan State, 1971 Census.

³⁰⁹ Santosh Yadav, op. cit., p. 134

were trained to become self-employed. To improve the condition of women one 'Sharda' Mahila Arya Pratinidhi Sabha' was established with many women taking responsibilities and opening girls' schools in various states of Rajasthan based on the Vedic ideology.³¹⁰ There were various kinds of reforms attempted by the people in the form of indigenous community organizations which tried to remove evil practices within their community. But mostly the reforms were related to marriage and heavy expenses incurred by the people in it. With the passage of time the feudal lords and other high class Rajputs as well as Charans could not afford lavish marriages.³¹¹ Rules for remarriages were formed for the widower men but not for the widow. Widow Remarriage was not allowed in Brahman, Mahajan a few other communities but a man was allowed to remarry only if the first wife had died or was allowed a second marriage even when the first wife was alive but who failed to bear a child.³¹²

Colonel Walter was the resident of Mewar in 1879-81, 1882-85 and 1886-87 who took the opportunity and established 'Walterkrit Hitakarini Sabha' in 1888 bringing all the princely States together. It was one organization which included

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ The 'Desh Hitaishini Sabha' was formed in 1877 by the Maharana of Udaipur with his 32 feudal lords and other officials. They tried to make some rules for the Kshatriya community who were being exploited with many rites and rituals associated with marriage. It was declared that the total expense incurred on the family should be based on the annual income of the family. Emphasis was laid on to ban giving *tyag* money, and for those who are comfortable to give *tyag* money shall be permitted only to spend 35% from their annual income on the marriage out of which 10% shall be *tyag* and rest 25% must be spend in the other rites and rituals of the marriage.

³¹² Santosh Yadav, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, 138.

the charan and feudal lords of the Rajput community³¹³. It was inspired by the Desh Hitaishini Sabha of Udaipur that was established ten years before in Udaipur. There were many reforms in the Walterkrit Sabha which emphasized controlling unnecessary expenditure on *nukta* (food after death) and more so of *tyag*³¹⁴.

The narrow and limited reforms sought were governed by the emerging financial reality. There was nothing more to it. If they had broader social concerns evolved there would have been other provisions like girls' education, ban on purdah, widow remarriage polygamy etc. The rulers Rajputana although organizing the Hitkarini Sabha were not interested in expanding the horizon of reforms.

The nationalists used various issues related to women as a reason to criticize the role of British in India. The formations of community organizations resulted in pressurizing the rulers to take serious steps to amend the system of marriage. Consequently almost all the states took actions to ban unmatched marriages especially of a maiden with an old man. Bharatpur made the Social Security Act and Kota named it Child marriage Act 1926 setting 15 years for boy and 11 for girls'. Mostly this was the age limit in all the states except Alwar's Social Improvement Act, 1927 where groom was 18 and bride was 13, Jodhpur's Marwar marriage Act, 1930 keeping 16 for the groom and 12 for the bride. Jhalawar named it *Kanun taiyan umar shadi* in 1931 making 18 years for the boy

³¹³ Ibid., 140.

³¹⁴ *Walterkrit Hitkarini Sabha* RSAB.

and 14 years for the girl. Dungarpur's Child and Unmatched Marriage Act, 1935, Shahpura's Child Marriage Prohibition Act, 1939, Udaipur's The Undesirable Marriage Prohibition Act, 1941 and Jaipur State's The Child marriage Restrict Act, 1945 kept the age for the groom to 18 whereas 15, 12, 13 and 14 for the bride respectively.³¹⁵

Continuing the established practice widow remarriage was not permitted even in the twentieth century and had to face stern action. When in Jodhpur state one guru Laxminath went against the social prejudice and married a widow he was killed. In Alwar ban was imposed on the Sanatani Hindus who practiced widow remarriage as the Kota state stopped the widow account. A large number of caste and communities among whom the practice of widow remarriage was prevalent were not stopped but states like Kota, Udaipur, Jaipur and Jodhpur used to levy taxes- *Natalag*, *Natakagli* and *Natachauthan* on the *Nata*, *Garecha*, *Kareva* etc. Jodhpur used to charge one rupee while Kota state had an exorbitant charge of used to charge 5 rupees on every widow remarriage.³¹⁶ Many important aspects were still left untouched but it ignited the spark of women liberation movement which was still a longer way to go. Modernization should not just be understood in terms of the element that marks 'growth' in terms of facilities or technological advancements etc. it is more than this. It has to do with the intellectuality of being sensitive towards other members of the society which contributes equally in maintaining its balance.

³¹⁵ Santosh Yada, *Unnisavi Beesawi Shatabdi*, 151.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

Rajasthan has been identified with evils of Sati, female infanticide, purdah etc. but quite often it is forgotten that these customs were popular amongst the high, upper castes of the society. How far and in what ways the low castes responded to the change is a matter of interest to delve into. There was a wave of reformers; teachers and saints who highlighted the negativities of the social evils. In the nineteenth century they tried to revive some positive facets of the Indian culture that marked 'Hindu reformation movement'. The role of Christian missionaries is very crucial in this regard as they worked against the established Hindu social prejudices. There was Ramkrishna Mission and Arya Samaj which worked in this direction in different parts of the country. Maharaja Bhawani Singh of Jhalawar (1899-1939) became the first among the native rulers to allow Harijans to enter into a state temple as he also appointed them in several posts.³¹⁷ There was a gradual rise of consciousness amongst the untouchables in India leading though to an uneven development in their movement.

The untouchable movement did not begin till late nineteenth century in the princely states although there were small movements which could not transform into a large movement as was the case in the Bombay presidency. The movement remained more or less confined to the urban literate untouchables in the towns of Rajputana. The sole purpose was improving their socio-economic condition with the intention of attaining support from the Congress in the

³¹⁷ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement: Special Reference to Rajasthan*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2008, 2, 4.

national movement; it did not brought any radical change.³¹⁸ There was no notable movement of any kind among the untouchables in the princely India till 1880.³¹⁹ It is only from 1935 onwards when it got some momentum.

Arya Samaj was able to bridge the gap between the learned upper caste Hindus and illiterate low caste Hindus highlighting the idea of oneness in the eyes of God. They established schools in some states of Rajputana for the untouchables like Chamars, Bhangis, Bairwas and others in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Jhalawar, Udaipur and Bandikui. Arya Samaj started schools for untouchable girls in Rajputana without charging fee and also admitted untouchable students in Anglo-Vedic educational institutions.³²⁰ Education provided new ideas and values such as equality among the untouchables.

The purpose of the Arya Samajis was to remove the Islamic influence from the untouchables and hence tried to reform their socio-cultural and economic conditions through the process of 'sanskritization'. This way of work was not contested and opposed even by the high caste upper class Hindus; their approach in the princely states was to impress upon the ruler to implement the idea of equality among the low castes. The contribution of Christian

³¹⁸ In 1935 a number of social activists from few untouchable communities were able to unite on a social platform and create social organizations for e.g. Meghwal Jati Sudhar Mandal in 1935 and Safai Mazdoor Union in 1942, *Ibid.*, 29.

³¹⁹ Awakening among the untouchables began first in 1881-82 when Dayanand Saraswati established Arya Samaj and in 1920 when Vijay Singh 'Pathik' established Rajasthan Seva Sangh and in 1932 established Rajputana Harijan Seva Sangh. The third phase was when various caste-based organizations were formed from 1935, *Ibid.*, 31.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

missionaries and Rajasthan Sewa Sangh is notable as both tried to awaken the social consciousness amongst the untouchables in their own ways.³²¹

The role of Christian missionaries can not be negated in reforming the society in their own manner, Bishop Fortunatus Henri Caumont (1871-1930) extensively worked since 1897 in Rajasthan.³²² He was born to Mosieur Salvat and Madame Pauline Caumont in France, on December, 10, 1871, became priest in 1896 and came to India in 1897 to serve the people of Rajputana. He realized that only women could reach out to them and so, when approached by a band of committed and enthusiastic young women desiring to give themselves to the service of God, he founded the Congregation of the Mission Sisters of Ajmer on April 26, 1911 and took it upon himself to take care of their spiritual growth.

In 1913, Fr. Henri Caumont was made the first Bishop of Ajmer. A great visionary and in every sense a prophet, he saw the need for medical aid, mainly for the tribals and women. He had Sister Mary Soares as Doctor in 1917 and other Sister trained as nurses in order to bring them healing touch of Jesus. Bishop Henri Caumont aim was to liberate women through education and empower them to take their rightful place in society. He first started a school St. Imelda's School for poor girls and by 1913 an orphanage for unwanted and unloved girls was opened. Moved by the plight of women and girls veiled in *purdah* who were denied education, he set up the Sophia School on May 16, 1919

³²¹ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement*, op. cit. 34

³²² (Magazine) *The Mission of a 100 years*, Mission Sisiters House, Mirshali, Ajmer, Rajasthan, 2011, 4.

and for the oppressed and disadvantaged many primary schools and dispensaries in nearby villages were established. He also encouraged the Sisters to care for the *Rawats* and the *Bhils* in distant villages.

In 1911 on laying the foundation of the Mission of Sisters of Ajmer, Bishop Caumont requested the Congregation of St. Mary of the Angels of France for a helper, his own sister Mother Mary Matilda was appointed in February 1911 to collaborate with him.³²³ She was born on December, 13, 1880 in France; their mother too became a nun at the age of 46. The Congregation of the Mission Sisters of Ajmer was established on the April 26th, 1911 in what presently is known as St. Francis Hospital, Ajmer. Mother Mary Tarcisius was inspired by Mary Matilda to work for uplifting the women in Rajputana. She was the first principal of the school meant exclusively for girls named Sophia, which means wisdom.

Mother Mary Matilda was one of the first ladies to work for the education of women in Ajmer. She was honoured with the title, 'The First Lady in the Cause of Women's Education,' and was appointed Girl Guide Commissioner in 1936. Later at the request of the Education Department, she was accepted to be Inspector of Girls' High Schools in Ajmer-Merwara. As the head of the Congregation of the Mission of Sisters of Ajmer Mary Matilda opened houses in the villages with the welfare centre to attend to the medical needs of the poor

³²³ (Magazine) *The Mission of a 100 years*, op. cit., 5.

and also Hindi medium schools to educate the children of the rural and tribal areas.

The Mission of Sisters of Ajmer is an Indian Congregation of Religious Sisters working to uplift the girls and less fortunate people in urban and rural areas.³²⁴ They have constantly been working in helping people overcome their problems let that be in education, shelter, health, women upliftment they have vowed to work for the benefit of the mass. They are spread up to Kerala with institutions spread in almost all the districts of Rajasthan from Ajmer, Jaipur, Kota, Jodhpur, Bikaner and other States of India in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka and Kerala.³²⁵

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a visionary who tried to radicalize the low castes in India by advocating and pleading separate electorate for the Dalits. He was able to realize that there are many reformers who talk about equality but hardly anyone was ready to radically bring about the change in the social order. He was acerbic on Gandhians:

The Mahatma is not an immortal person, nor the Congress assuming that it is not a non-violent force and is not to have an abiding existence. There have been many Mahatmas in India whose sole object was to remove untouchability and to elevate and absorb

³²⁴ (Magazine) *The Mission of a 100 years*, op. cit., 6.

³²⁵ Ibid., 11.

the depressed classes, but every one of them failed in his mission.

Mahatmas have come and gone. But the untouchables have remained as untouchables.³²⁶

He wanted concrete steps in improving the status of the low castes and vehemently questioned the mindset of the upper caste people. The Harijans were awakening now and their educated youth along with some educated urban untouchables and some Hindu social activists worked all across Rajasthan in mobilizing their status within the social hierarchy; their struggle for a respectable life continuous even today. But the role of *Bhagats* and *pirs* in the past was crucial in inculcating in them the feeling of dignity.

Rajasthan possess a rich tradition of popular saints and preachers century like Gogaji, Tejaji, Ramdevji, Devnarayanji, Harbhujji, Santi Peepa and Ramanandi Sampradaya.³²⁷ All of them tried to preach the idea of equality and through spirituality tried breaking the bias of social hierarchy. Rajasthan experienced a wave of bhakti movement in the 14th century in time with magnificent preachers all across the sub-continent, many of whom came from the artisan and untouchable background; Namdev was a *Chhipa*, Sadna a *Kasai*, Raidas a *Chamar*, Dhanna a Jat while Kabir was admired as long as he preached equality between both Hindus and Muslims but was criticized as soon as he

³²⁶ Shyamlal, *Ambedkar and Dalit Movement*, op. cit., 41.

³²⁷ Omkar Nath Chaturvedi, *Sant Prampara aur Sahitya*, Jaipur, Jaipur Publishing House, 1999, xvii.

began highlighting the negativities present in both the religions like the caste system of the Hindus.

Bhakti movement offered the low caste people space in the religious and spiritual life which had been dominated by the upper castes of the society. Jambhoji the founder of the Bishnoi community was a Pawar whose preaching came to be formulated as 29 codes of conduct which his followers had to practice. Similarly even Jasnath a Jat also prescribed codes for his followers. Both preached a simple life by taking care of hygiene, practicing religious rites every day, eating clean and cooked food, not indulging in flesh trade, not harming the nature by cutting and burning trees and protecting animals from getting slaughtered and not indulging in any kind of addiction.³²⁸

Although women faced discrimination in every section of the society yet their condition was better as compared to twice born women. In some of these popular traditions they were allowed to be preachers. The Charandasi had two female preachers Sahjobai and Dayabai. They were probably ordained because they were cousin sisters of Charandas but their acceptance by other followers shows a different treatment.³²⁹ Later two more women poets namely Khushlabai and another Jan Begam also emerged in these Bhakti movement. These early women preachers and poets although followed the established tradition founded by men of their community, their visibility as women is important for Rajasthani saints.

³²⁸ Omkar Nath Chaturvedi, *Sant Prampara*, op. cit., 55, 63.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 173-73.

The tendency of modernizing society can be seen in the preaching of the *sants* of Rajasthan; in their idea of breaking the caste system, refuting unnecessary rituals existing in the Brahmanical Hindu tradition like fasting, idol worship and feeding Brahmins. They advocated dignity of labour by stressing earning their livelihood through hard work. They also stressed the usefulness of discussion and positive thinking for becoming a better person. Even an unlearned girl or a prostitute could find her path of salvation through enlightenment.³³⁰

In the context of Hadauti, 'modernization' was far away from women in general looking from women's perspective the condition was far better for women of the low caste than the women from the upper castes. The latter were subjected to rigorous control while the former participated in the economic activities of their family. Nonetheless, the overall status of women in Hadauti has been poor in almost all aspects from health, education, sex ratio, status of widow and highest number of child marriages etc.³³¹

There is need to differentiate the western perception of modernity from the Indian. The Indian national movement has been dealt from the point of view of the elite urban class whereas the role of the regional preachers and activists in the country side has largely been ignored in the established historiography. The

³³⁰ *Maans bhashe madira peeve, wah to agam agadh. Jo aise karni kare, sundar soi sadh. Sundarsabahi so bhili, ashan kumara. Vaishya firi pativrat liyo, bhayi suhagan naari. Sundar parvrat uddi gaye rui rahi sthir hoi. Baav bajyo ihi bhaati ko, kyoun kari bhaane koi. Ibid., 374.*

³³¹ See Appendix for various data available about men and women divide in Hadauti covering different aspects.

untouchables have their own history which is getting some attention by the contemporary scholars,³³² but even their women are still marginalized in such attempts. They need to be studied with different perception, with empathy and concern.

³³² For detailed study also see Manu Bhagvan and Anne Feldhaus ed., *Claiming Power from Below: Dalits and the Subaltern Questions in India* and *Speaking Truth to Power: Religion, Caste and the Subaltern Question in India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2008; Waman Nimbalkar, 'Caste' translated by Graham Smith, Mulk Raj Anand and Eleanor Zelliot, eds., *An Anthology of Dalit Literature (Poems)*, New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, 1992; Eleanor Zelliot, *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1992; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post Colonial Histories*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993; Rajni Kothari, 'Rise of the Dalits and the Renewed Debate on Caste,' ed. Partha Chatterjee, *State and Politics in India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1997, 439-58.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Situating Hadauti women in the context of modernizing women of the nineteenth-twentieth century India required an understanding of the region. The feudalistic Rajasthan essentially was constitutive of the patriarchal social order of the upper caste Hindus keeping their women servile in the confines of domesticity. After the advent of Europeans Hadauti women experienced a new type of exclusion. The relationship between the rulers and the British affected the progress of the people. The attitude of the British to use the princely states as their bait for their longer stay in India proved disastrous for the social awakening among people. Even if Maharao Umed Singh II of Kota was English 'tutored' who studied in Mayo College utterly failed in modernizing the society. In a way he represents other states of Hadauti of sub-regional level as in several respects he is of the Rajasthan as a whole.

The implications of indirect rule of the British in Hadauti were quite paradoxical. A pattern emerges in the role of the British Political Agents as guardians of those states where they ruled as Regents. The British were busy replacing the rulers of native states with minors who were tutored 'modernization' under their supervision. For Kota it was Umed Singh II who has been projected as 'pioneer in modernising Kota'. Completely submissive to the British, without modernising anything he becomes the symbol of modernity. The

nationalist struggle began in the British ruled India rather than in the princely India. The fear of earning the displeasure of then masters always made the native princes follow a stringent method to suppress and exploit of their own people. Even other wise they hated 'change' especially in the social order, because of which women suffered the most.

The way the princely states were took action against those who indulged in sexual crimes such as rape show their insensitivity toward women. In the low castes if there was any crime committed either related to marriage, rape or sexual molestation tax was levied by them in the form of *Natakagli, Chauthan*. There was intervention of the State and Panchayats in almost all the decisions of the people belonging to the low castes. Severe punishment were ensure that these people do try to 'evolve' out from their 'primitive' life thereby and polluting the upper class of the society. Even while sharing the same destiny at the hands of Indian patriarch women of different castes went through different historical experience. Men of all castes found ways in controlling all resources including the labour of women. The Hindu social order even otherwise ensured marginalisation of lower castes and untouchables especially women. Sexuality of women has always been suppressed and controlled so that they do not become the source to 'pollute' the upper strata of the society. The role of the British and Nationalist reformers was dubious as they largely centred on high castes women. Even the Hadauti upper caste Hindu reformers focused on issues raised by the British to legitimize their domination as progressive reformers. The Census

Report also reveals that the proportion of female children being less was found in the Brahmins more than in any other religion. All type of suppression was posed on the women of the upper castes such as *purdah* and social seclusion from the outside world. Rajputs

For a Rajput preservation of 'brotherhood' was rated as his foremost duty implying protection of his women and children. The burden of honour of family, clan and religion lied on women. It is this latter definition of protection which Rajputs followed in connection with women's everyday life. Even the colonizers were influenced to recognize the upper caste worldview applicable even to the lower segments which was an utter falsehood. Women were as per Brahmanical ideas became the reason of reforms in the initial stages. Evil practices of sati, female infanticide, witch-hunting, polygamy, child-marriage, *purdah* and widowhood attained attention only because these were *Swarna* problems. The Elite educated women although posed questions on the elaborated rules which were the main reason for their restricted and bonded life; they were unable to offer a medium of resistance or a coherent vision in order to emancipate women.

The women's struggle during the Indian National Movement was dictated by the reformer men. Women in Rajasthan unlike other women in India were largely invisible in the nationalist politics and subsequently took much longer time to enter the outside world. The distinction between the superior and inferior remains more or less same from one region to the other and keep appearing and

reappearing in different forms within the patriarchal construct of the Indian society. History writing is 'gender' biased as it is men who get to write history; inclusion and exclusion of events and facts is 'subjective'; they write about women, with male perception. British administrators faced a dilemma of legitimising their rule as colonizers without contesting the local hegemony. They reinforced norms and rules written in Hindu/ Brahmanical scriptures meant for woman, as a daughter, wife, mother, sister or a widow. Despite few steps taken the plight of widows remain pathetic. Widows were either abandoned by their family members, quite a few committing suicide; some were even accused of leading unethical life further isolating them. The question arises as to why such rules were only meant for women and were 'flexible' for men/widower? If a widower was allowed to remarry even if old in case he did not have a male heir then why not the widow permitted the same? She was expected to maintain 'pious' and 'ethical' character in the face of economic hardships. Sushila Devi wrote about a girl aged 9 who was married to an adult male of 40 years. How the concern of the people around changed after her husband died in protecting the sanctity of the youthful widow. It leaves the reader with load of questions regarding the prevalent prejudices of the upper caste Hindus. There was no provision for a widow to remarry. The rule presumed only women to be infertile. When biologically it is the man who is responsible for the birth of the girl, but the patriarchal construct forcefully credits 'true man' for the birth of a boy. That is why Rajputs and other high castes did not permit their woman to remarry.

Both the European and Nationalist reformers tried to work in prescribed ways in matters associated with men and women. For both uplifting the status of Indian women became the prime reason for legitimizing their dominance over the weaker sections of the society including women. Even after inter-caste marriage was permitted a Brahmin widow was declared outcaste from her community as she had absconded with a *Chamar* man. Or when a widow tried remarrying with a man from her same community was opposed by the community members, only shows the rigidity of the upper caste Hindus. A high number of 72,000 Hindu widows in Kota between 17-18 years living in very poor and inhuman conditions forced them to commit suicide and change their religion to Christianity or Islam is a proof of the sad states of Hindu women in Hadauti.

Even in the Colonial writings there seems to be contradictions with both attractions as well as repulsions regarding the Dalit female sexuality. The British compared the high caste women behind veils with the Dalit women who did laborious work without *purdah* and lived in open air and ate simple food with good health. And yet there was a section of colonizers who portrayed Dalit women with loose moral character as freely available. The colonial perception was based upon the Brahmanical ideology thus institutionalizing the Dalit female sexuality. They being raped and molested by the *thikanedars* and *thakurs* exposed their perception towards tribal and dalit women.

The concept of *andar* and *bahir* of the Nationalists reformers implying to the distinctions to the inner and outer worlds is also visible amongst the

Seharias'. To understand the complex web of gender relations the Seharia tribe of Baran has been selected as a case study. It represents the rural Hadauti as Seharia women offering all aspects of womanhood. The photographs taken offer visual evidence of present day Seharia living conditions that can be seen as representative of the rural life of two hundred years ago. It also was crucial to see what all works were assigned for men and women, their occupations helped in locating the position of women as subordinates. For the Seharia tribe farming is the basic source of livelihood in which both man and woman are engaged but even for the hard-working tribe the role of woman is 'under-valued'. Men and women do not cross each others' demarcated lines. Despite harmonious living amongst the members of the tribe, gender divide is easily visible. From plastering the home to managing the need of the family members as well as helping the husband in farming is done by the Seharia women. Child marriage now has become a common practice among the Seharias' it was not the case in the past.

The prevailing images for men and women in the form of ideas, symbols, traditions, values, models, etc. have played quite a decisive role in influencing the social order. Quite often the women were bought and sold slaves. They were exploited as domestic helps such as *Chakars* or also were pushed into prostitutions. In the male dominant culture whatever a man does gets easy justification a woman just keeps on trying to be in the good books of her husband. If she would leave her husband it would be she who would be cursed

and criticized for being incapable of holding on a relation. This is a clear case of 'blaming the victim'.

The nineteenth-twentieth century women in the metropolis India were going through a transition where the 'literate' and 'educated' women were able to stand, jot down their thoughts, beliefs and accomplishments in memoirs, autobiographies etc. but in Hadauti none has been found to this date. The three stories that discussed of Rampyari Shastri, Shakuntla and Beni Gupta too gets clubbed into this category. They although had the temperament of choosing their own path still could not divulge out from the established patriarchal constraints.

In the Colonial India women were able to make their voices heard much before the women of the native states. Nineteenth century colonial India saw many women revolutionaries but their efforts and messages were blocked by the native rulers. The reason was the dual suppression of the rulers and British hampering women's liberation movement in the princely states. It does not mean that women in the native lands were completely untouched by modernization. Whatever reforms touched the women of the princely states were governed the social legislation of the British. The social legislation was limited to abolition of sati, female infanticide, and unmatched marriages as well as Widow Remarriage Act, hardly any issues of lower caste masses. Women of the weaker sections of the society were out the agenda of reforms totally as if they were not woman. Both the white and brown elite conjoined in the reformist agenda from which the

Indian masses were excluded. The subaltern Group of historians critiqued this elitist nexus drawing attention to the neglected history of the people.

Modernizing of the upper caste women was done purposefully to justify British sovereignty over Indians; both the Indian and British reformers used women as bait to demonstrate their 'intellectual morality.' The early feminist writers were able to sense the mockery being done to them by Indian reformers. They knew that the idea of uplifting them was done in order to satisfy the 'chauvinistic' male temperament of the reformers. Beyond focusing on inhuman practices of sati, jauhar, child marriage and female infanticide, popular only in the upper castes neither the British nor the rulers of Hadauti worked seriously on encouraging girls' education. They were least interested in improving lives dalit and tribal communities. Data recorded in Census Reports reveal the sad status of women in education. British by discriminating the authority of the queens of the princely states forced them to adapt to the change. The effect of it was seen in many queens visiting Europe and accepting the western culture and lifestyle by the twentieth century. All those women who were able to mould themselves with the changing time were accepted not just by the British political officers but even by their wives. These women were becoming examples of 'new progressive Indian women'. The women of royalty took it as a matter of pride to adapt to the lifestyle of the British but without extending to other women of the region. The idea of reforms centred around on the upper class/caste women; the women from the lower castes were not even thought about. Elite women were included

only because the flow of the time was such which forced the 'patriarchs' to let some 'change' for display. The degree of change anyways was slow for women in India and hardly any for the low caste women.

The condition of the women in the princely states of Rajasthan was much challenging than the rest. Apparently quite a lot was being done by the colonizers and the rulers of the States by establishing number of schools and other institutions but hardly anyone bothered if these developments reached the commoners. With the passage of time the number of schools kept increasing but without spreading education to the mass. The percentage of literate and English educated middle-class Hadauti women is far behind the middle-class educated Bengali women. Unlike largely British administered Bengal Rajasthan was generally a princely region ruled by the feudal Rajputs and hence there was very slow emergence of modern middle class. The middle-class non Rajput women could appear in politics only recently when reservations were made for women especially after 73rd Amendment in the Constitution which guarantees reservations of 33 per cent of seats for women on local councils at all representative levels in the state.

There are ample examples to substantiate the inadequacy on the part of the rulers to provide better resources and mediums to encourage education amongst the common mass. An elite Hadauti woman behaved like a Bengali *Bhadramahila* of the nineteenth century. For a Bengali middle-class woman

education inculcated in them ideas of virtue which was needed to run the house as per the need of the changing times, self-discipline, hygiene, cleanliness etc. but a low class woman was away from it. She either could hardly study because she was also an earning member which was more important than her own study. An educated woman was also a status symbol for a man of mid-nineteenth century, a way to exhibit himself as 'modern'. But the incorporation of education in emancipation of women was absent both by the British as well as Nationalists. There were various kinds of reforms attempted by the people in the form of indigenous community organizations which tried to remove evil practices within their community. But mostly the reforms were related to marriage and heavy expenses incurred by the people in it. The narrow and limited reforms sought were governed by the emerging financial reality. There was nothing more to it. If they had broader social concerns evolved there would have been other provisions like girls' education, ban on purdah, widow remarriage polygamy etc. The rulers Rajputana although organizing the Hitkarini Sabha were not interested in expanding the horizon of reforms.

The untouchable movement did not begin till late nineteenth century in the princely states although there were small movements which could not transform into a large movement as was the case in the Bombay presidency. It is only from 1935 onwards when it got some momentum. Works of the Christian missionaries in Rajputana highlights the fact that change was possible if pursued with compassion and commitment. With sheer determination and consistence

the Christian missionaries posed a great challenge to the traditional Hindu social elite. Even though the British tried not to alienate the upper caste Hindus, some untouchables were able to get employment in the Railways and other departments, thanks to the missionary role. It helped them to improve their socio-economic conditions.

Percentage of scheduled castes and tribes is very high compared to the upper castes Hindus pushing the scope of historical research to focus on the marginalised women in Hadauti. There are gaps in the present work because of unavailability of concrete evidence. The present endeavour has opened possibility of pursuing it further with new enthusiasm and rigour. The women of Hadauti to the upper caste women about whom one gets comparatively more data. There is a possibility of incorporating diverse material regarding Dalit and tribal women, understanding women from below with different challenges.

Appendix

Table 1

Status of Women's Education in Nineteenth Twentieth Century Rajasthan

State	School	Student (girls)
Alwar	10	296
Jaipur	9	695
Bikaner	1	157
Bharatpur	3	105
Udaipur	1	125
Jodhpur	1	49
Karauli	1	12
Kota	4	111
Jhalawar	1	27
Tonk	5	75

Source: Yadav, Santosh, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, 1987, 123

Table 2

Percentage of Married Women and Widows in Rajasthan, 1921 Census

S.no	States	Total married women	Married women till 15 years	From the married women till 15 years total married women	Total number of widows	Number of Widows till age 15	Within widows number of widows till 15 years
1	Alwar	46.3	4.49	9.67	16.63	0.12	0.72
2	Bikaner	44.15	6.05	13.72	20.51	0.33	1.62
3	Banswara	39.35	3.11	7.91	14.01	0.09	0.68
4	Bharatpur	48.47	5.54	11.43	18.66	0.19	1.01
5	Bundi	46.78	5.20	11.12	19.12	0.18	0.98
6	Dhaulpur	30.66	4.28	13.95	12.36	0.15	1.26
7	Dungarpur	49.62	4.68	4.95	13.63	0.08	0.61
8	Jodhpur	42.95	5.63	13.17	20.69	0.27	1.35
9	Jaipur	49.02	6.03	12.29	19.22	0.22	1.13
10	Jhalawar	48.66	9.41	19.35	22.28	0.44	1.99
11	Kota	45.16	4.52	2.71	18.23	0.22	1.21
12	Kishangarh	20.44	3.55	17.39	9.02	0.21	2.35
13	Udaipur	49.52	6.54	13.21	19.79	0.23	1.29
14	Jaisalmer	35.49	4.62	13.02	25.91	0.38	1.49
15	Pratapgarh	43.69	5.70	13.05	18.88	0.21	1.14
16	Karauli	47.73	6.04	12.65	18.06	0.12	0.70
17	Shahpura	50.91	8.72	17.12	20.11	0.16	0.82
18	Sirohi	40.77	4.07	11.52	16.75	0.20	1.19
19	Tonk	47.05	6.67	14.18	29.28	0.23	0.70
20	Ajmer-Merwara	75.1	2.37	3.15	18.00	0.24	1.35

Source: Yadav, Santosh, *Unnisavi aur Beeswi Shatabadi mein Striyon ki Stithi*, Jaipur, 1987, 157-58.

Table 3

Registered Births, Deaths and Infant Deaths, Bundi District

Year	Births male	Births female	Births total	Deaths male	Deaths female	Deaths total	Infant deaths male	Infant deaths female	Infant deaths total
1970	488	393	881	176	102	278	9	4	13
1971	491	463	954	203	145	348	54	33	87
1972	525	492	1,017	311	221	532	45	33	78
1973	477	460	937	273	188	461	38	35	73
1974	416	360	776	207	144	351	12	4	16
1975	648	591	1,239	330	149	479	27	12	39
1976	636	611	1,247	257	136	393	27	10	37
1977	1,762	1,626	3,388	725	629	1,354	111	87	198

Source: Sankhyikiya Rooprekha, volumes for 1975 and 1977

Table 4
Age and Marital Status in Bundi District, 1961 Census
Part I

Age-Group	Total Rural Urban	Total population persons	Total population male	Total population female	Never married male	Never married female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All ages	T	338,010	178,193	159,817	84,771	61,071
	R	286,271	150,907	135,364	71,740	51,505
	U	51,739	27,286	24,253	13,031	9,566
0-9	R	89,922	45,882	44,040	45,882	44,040
	U	15,977	8,407	7,570	8,407	7,570
10-14	R	30,946	17,135	13,811	14,298	6,754
	U	5,231	2,960	2,271	2,071	1,598
15-19	R	21,780	11,397	10,383	5,705	381
	U	3,970	2,190	1,780	1,441	250
20-24	R	24,398	11,981	12,417	2,355	56
	U	4,347	2,054	2,293	521	48
25-29	R	25,697	13,796	11,901	1,153	20
	U	4,328	2,172	2,156	194	17
30-34	R	21,100	11,571	9,529	590	7
	U	3,853	1,984	1,869	87	12
35-39	R	15,539	8,193	7,346	342	7
	U	3,114	1,670	1,444	64	16
40-44	R	15,991	8,371	7,620	421	12
	U	3,036	1,619	1,417	103	7
45-49	R	11,184	6,192	4,992	248	3
	U	2,143	1,249	894	33	9
50-54	R	12,414	7,147	5,267	267	3
	U	2,271	1,255	1,016	40	7
55-59	R	5,195	3,036	2,159	99	-
	U	984	579	405	17	2
60-64	R	6,780	3,596	3,184	105	3
	U	1,337	601	736	22	3
65-69	R	1,780	925	855	33	-
	U	413	215	198	7	1
70+	R	3,147	1,511	1,636	83	2
	U	679	315	364	12	2
Age not stated	R	398	174	224	159	217
	U	56	16	16	12	24

Part II

Married male	Married female	Widowed male	Widowed female	Divorced or separated males	Divorced or separated female	Unspecified status male	Unspecified status female
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
85,206	82,347	7,768	16,221	397	115	51	63
72,089	70,208	6,661	13,479	378	112	39	60
13,117	12,139	1,107	2,742	19	3	12	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2,751	6,971	39	64	37	17	10	5
880	669	5	4	3	-	1	-
5,614	9,950	67	45	8	3	3	4
742	1,522	3	8	1	-	3	-
9,403	12,210	185	131	38	9	-	11
1,498	2,220	30	21	2	2	3	2
12,213	11,607	347	253	76	18	7	3
1,928	2,087	45	52	3	-	2	-
10,523	8,906	415	596	42	11	1	9
1,849	1,735	47	122	1	-	-	-
7,340	6,568	465	753	43	11	3	7
1,553	1,278	51	149	1	-	1	1
7,146	5,955	767	1,626	33	20	4	7
1,381	1,120	131	289	4	1	-	-
5,194	3,354	715	1,624	32	8	3	3
1,082	605	131	280	1	-	2	-
5,725	2,691	1,129	2,562	25	6	1	5
1,042	488	171	521	2	-	-	-
2,305	973	619	1,182	13	2	-	2
428	156	134	247	-	-	-	-
2,459	680	1,021	2,492	11	6	-	3
424	154	154	579	1	-	-	-
604	167	281	688	5	-	2	-
139	31	69	166	-	-	-	-
809	171	611	1,462	7	1	1	-
167	60	136	302	-	-	-	-
3	5	-	1	8	-	4	1
4	14	-	2	-	-	-	-

Source: Census of India 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Bundi District, p. 147.

Table 5
Educational Level in Bundi District, 1961 Census
Part I

Age-Group	Total population	Male population	Female population	Illiterate male	Illiterate female
All Ages	338,010	178,193	159,817	144,400	153,556
0-4	55,636	28,353	27,283	28,353	27,283
5-9	50,263	25,936	24,327	21,909	23,089
10-14	36,177	20,095	16,082	12,510	14,551
15-19	25,750	13,587	12,163	9,657	11,324
20-24	28,745	14,035	14,710	10,421	13,878
25-29	30,025	15,968	14,057	12,432	13,483
30-34	24,953	13,555	11,398	10,862	10,993
35-44	37,680	19,853	17,327	15,947	17,353
45-59	34,191	19,458	14,733	16,078	14,481
60 +	14,136	7,163	6,973	6,042	6,857
Age not stated	454	190	264	189	264

Source: Census of India 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Bundi District, p.150

Part II

Literate without educational level male	Literate without educational level female	Primary or junior basic male	Primary or junior basic female	Matriculation and above male	Matriculation and above female
25,778	4,880	5,558	1,172	2,457	209
-	-	-	-	-	-
3,240	1,009	787	299	-	-
5,652	1,119	1,921	405	12	7
2,470	578	1,045	184	415	77
2,330	621	502	145	782	66
2,597	455	416	84	523	35
2,172	344	279	50	251	11
3,230	408	381	55	295	11
3,036	233	196	17	148	2
1,051	113	40	3	30	s-
-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Census of India 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Bundi District, p.150

Part III

University degree or post-graduate degree other than technical degree male	University degree or post-graduate degree other than technical degree female	Engineering male	Engineering female	Medicine male	Medicine female	Agriculture male	Agriculture female
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
250	25	8	-	19	-	3	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	12	2	-	1	-	1	-
39	8	3	-	3	-	1	-
56	1	1	-	2	-	1	-
39	-	2	-	5	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Part IV

Equal to degree or post-graduate

Veterinary and dairying male	Veterinary and dairying female	Technology male	Technology female	Teaching male	Teaching female	Others male	Others female
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
-	-	-	-	13	1	1	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-
-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Census of India, 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Bundi District, p. 151

Table 7
Educational Level in Rural Areas by Age and Sex in Bundi District, 1961 Census
Part I

Age-Group	Total population persons	Total population male	total population female	Illiterate male	Illiterate female
All Ages	286,271	150,907	135,364	130,068	133,299
0-4	47,273	23,972	23,301	23,972	23,301
5-9	42,649	21,910	20,739	19,361	20,322
10-14	30,946	17,135	13,811	11,883	13,255
15-19	21,780	11,397	10,383	9,181	10,115
20-24	24,398	11,981	12,417	9,803	12,135
25-29	25,697	13,796	11,901	11,532	11,715
30-34	21,100	11,571	9,529	9,932	9,405
35-44	31,530	16,564	14,966	14,339	14,854
45-59	28,793	16,375	12,418	14,470	12,349
60 +	11,707	6,032	5,675	5,423	5,644
Age not stated	398	174	224	173	224

Part II

Literate (without educational level) male	Literate (without educational level) female	Primary or junior basic male	Primary or junior basic females	Matriculation and above male	Matriculation and above female
17,198	1,730	2,952	318	689	17
-	-	-	-	-	-
2,101	346	448	71	-	-
4,063	450	1,189	106	1	-
1,640	208	493	51	83	9
1,656	234	256	43	266	5
1,852	159	212	26	200	1
1,460	113	124	10	55	1
2,011	123	159	8	55	1
1,819	66	60	3	26	-
596	31	11	-	2	-
-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Census of India, 1961, Rajasthan District Census Handbook, Bundi District, p. 152.

Table 8
Scholars in Educational Institutions (Colleges) In Rajasthan

Part I

Year	General education boys	General education girls	Professional education boys	Professional education girls	Special education boys	Special education girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1961-62	257	19	-	-	-	-
1962-63	203	24	-	-	-	-
1963-64	193	34	-	-	-	-
1964-65	228	37	127	-	-	-
1965-66	256	34	147	71	-	-
1966-67	431	119	-	-	-	-
1967-68	284	75	-	-	-	-
1968-69*	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969-70	405	104	-	-	-	-
1970-71*	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971-72	447	72	-	52	-	-
1972-73	633	84	-	92	-	-
1973-74	595	100	100	125	-	-
1974-75	594	117	-	173	-	-
1975-76	507	108	-	145	-	-
1976-77	507	122	-	66	-	-

* = Not Available

Part II

Higher secondary boys	Higher secondary girls	High boys	High girls	Junior higher secondary boys	Junior higher secondary girls
8	9	10	11	12	13
593	6	1,087	383	360	-
750	6	1,070	389	191	3
888	14	1,221	394	128	3
1,016	13	1,370	376	-	-
1,243	19	1,551	467	-	-
1,310	14	2,782	623	-	-
1,362	9	2,937	1,045	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
1,358	10	2,951	772	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-
5,307	827	-	-	-	-
4,474	729	-	-	-	-
3,590	742	-	-	-	-
4,107	764	-	-	-	-
4,754	1,211	-	-	-	-
4,875	1,172	-	-	-	-

Part III

Senior Basic boys	Senior Basic girls	Middle Boys	Middle Girls	Junior basic boys	Junior basic girls	Primary boys	Primary girls
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
-	-	5,474	971	2,752	641	11,655	2,034
-	-	5,772	1,156	3,045	824	12,258	2,095
-	-	6,486	1,344	7,226	1,366	6,989	1,760
-	-	6,803	1,423	3,064	989	12,370	2,682
-	-	7,040	1,440	3,002	607	12,555	3,089
-	-	6,723	1,744	-	-	15,752	3,798
-	-	6,922	1,589	-	-	16,897	4,040
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	7,402	2,058	-	-	16,581	4,025
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	7,339	2,453	-	-	16,301	4,116
-	-	9,763	3,114	-	-	16,714	4,226
-	-	13,029	3,960	-	-	15,754	4,254
-	-	14,909	4,324	-	-	16,726	4,461
-	-	15,294	4,296	-	-	18,238	5,144
-	-	16,149	4,467	-	-	19,153	5,799

Part IV

Professional boys	Professional girls	Schools special boys	Schools special girls	Total boys	Total girls
22	23	24	25	26	27
117	-	900	29	23,195	4,083
116	-	547	12	23,953	4,509
130	-	996	36	24,257	4,051
-	-	541	75	25,519	5,595
-	-	1,071	148	26,865	5,875
-	-	921	613	27,919	6,911
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	35	74	28,732	7,043
-	-	-	-	-	-
375	40	-	-	29,769	7,560
109	30	-	-	31,693	8,275
-	-	-	-	33,068	9,181
359	47	-	-	36,695	9,886
-	-	-	-	38,793	10,904
77	35	-	-	40,761	11,661

Source: Statistical Abstract, Rajasthan, yearly volumes

Table 9

Education Level in the Bundi District, 1971 Census

Total Population	Persons	Male	Female
Total	449,021	238,158	210,863
Rural	385,473	203,501	179,972
Urban	65,548	34,657	30,891
Literate and educated persons			
Total	71,885	58,306	13,579
Rural	44,730	39,352	5,378
Urban	27,155	18,954	8,201
Illiterate and uneducated persons			
Total	377,136	179,852	192,284
Rural	338,743	164,149	174,594
Urban	38,393	15,703	22,690

Source: Census 1971, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Bundi District, District Primary Census Abstract, pp. 2-3.

Table 10
Number of Public Servants in Various Departments in 1951, Bundi District

Service	Males	Females	Total
1. Police	439	5	444
2. Services of the state	738	12	750
3. Services of Indian and foreign States	2	1	2
4. Municipal and other local (non village) service	179	58	237
5. Village officials and servants including village watchmen	302	7	309
Total	1,660	82	1,742

Source: *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Bundi*, Jaipur, Directorate of District Gazetteer, Rajasthan, 1964, 170

Table 11
Economic Trends Livelihood Pattern, Bundi District, 1961 Census

Category	Male	Female	Total
A. Workers	107,000	51,469	158,469
Cultivators	67,255	40,563	107,818
agricultural labourers	6,740	3,948	10,688
mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantation, orchards and allied activities	3,205	539	3,744
household industry	10,244	2,104	12,348
manufacturing other than household industry	4,192	469	4,661
Construction	1,700	371	2,071
trade and commerce	3,517	393	3,910
transport, storage and communication	1,094	3	1,097
other services	8,980	3,079	12,059
B. Non-Workers	71,266	108,348	179,614

Source: Census of India, 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Bundi District, pp. 10-11.

Table 12
Number of Workers and Non-Workers According To Main Activity Classified By Sex and Age-Group in Bundi District, 1971 Census

Part I

Age-Group	Total Male population	Total Female population	Total workers male	Total workers female	Cultivation male	Cultivation female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	238,158	210,863	130,982	17,748	79,468	8,152
0-14	103,006	91,690	9,386	2,064	3,414	758
15-19	19,643	16,214	13,391	2,039	7,725	894
20-24	16,479	16,537	14,945	2,189	8,596	1,014
25-29	17,763	17,258	17,237	2,281	10,372	1,113
30-39	31,514	27,698	30,854	3,990	19,431	1,968
40-49	22,915	18,732	22,279	2,763	14,141	1,271
50-59	15,466	12,402	14,383	1,668	9,682	821
60 +	11,366	10,322	8,506	754	6,106	313
Age not stated	6	10	1	-	1	-

Part II

Agricultural labourers male	Agricultural laboureres female	Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities male	Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities female	Mining and quarrying male	Mining and quarrying female
8	9	10	11	12	13
12,222	5,063	,313	813	1,216	266
1,126	452	3,887	561	85	29
1,852	668	1,501	76	164	38
1,794	612	597	18	191	32
1,708	657	492	23	207	54
2,670	1,133	706	47	300	61
1,632	813	465	41	184	36
939	493	360	26	60	13
501	235	305	21	25	3
-	-	-	-	-	-

Part III

Household industry male	Household industry female	Other than household industry male	Other than household industry female	Construction male	Construction female	Trade & commerce male	Trade & commerce female
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
4,744	588	4,713	296	3,175	503	4,585	176
215	48	141	10	66	39	72	7
406	67	371	27	247	66	323	5
518	72	560	33	529	101	625	13
504	73	541	23	609	85	560	7
1,113	136	1,058	64	877	126	1,028	33
917	104	1,201	66	523	58	945	53
678	58	670	55	214	18	626	36
393	30	171	18	110	10	406	23
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Part IV

Transport, storage and communications male	Transport, storage and communications female	Other services male	Other services female	Non-workers male	Non-workers female
22	23	24	25	26	27
1,343	214	11,203	1,677	107,176	193,115
23	16	357	144	93,620	89,626
72	32	730	166	6,252	14,175
154	41	1,381	253	1,534	14,348
207	36	2,037	210	526	14,977
452	49	3,219	373	660	23,708
279	29	1,992	293	636	15,969
118	9	1,036	139	1,083	10,734
38	2	451	99	2,860	9,568
-	-	-	-	5	10

Source: Census of India 1971, Rajasthan, Part II-B (i), Economic Tables, pp. 30-31

Table 13
Growth of Population, Kota District from 1901-1971

Year	Population male	Population female	Population persons
1901	238,232	223,977	462,209
1911	277,491	260,115	537,606
1921	271,366	251,283	522,649
1931	291,033	270,877	561,910
1941	331,397	304,521	635,918
1951	347,268	322,792	670,060
1961	447,181	401,208	848,389
1971	607,116	536,754	11, 43, 870

Source: Census of India, 1971, Series 19, Rajasthan, Part II-A, General Population Tables, p. 100

Table 14
Tehsil-Wise Distribution of Population of Kota District, 1971 Census

Tehsil	Population persons	Population males	Population females	Towns *	Villages **
Pipalda	97,753	51,229	46,524	1	226
Digod	75,887	39,734	36,153	-	165
Mangrol	98,244	51,283	46,961	-	158
Baran	84,422	44,675	39,747	1	101
Kishanganj	60,767	32,051	28,716	-	199
Shahabad	48,400	25,639	22,761	-	236
Ladpura	284,834	155,196	129,638	1	179
Ramganj Mandi	89,517	47,087	42,430	1	165
Sangod	93,802	49,331	44,471	-	226
Atru	70,745	37,269	33,476	-	130
Chhipa Barod	75,498	39,788	35,710	1	179
Chhabra	64,001	33,834	30,167	1	192

Source: of India 1971, Series 18, Rajasthan, Parts X-A & X-B, District Census Handbook, Kota District, pp. 2 & 4.

Note source for * & ** are same for villages refer to ibid, p. xvi.

Table 15
Comparison of the Rural and Urban Sex Ratio, Kota District, 1971 Census

Tahsil	Total	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4
Pipalda	908	908	928
Digod	910	910	-
Mangrol	916	916	-
Baran	890	900	871
Kishanganj	896	896	-
Shahabad	888	888	-
Ladpura	835	897	816
Ramganj Mandi	901	905	873
Sangod	901	901	-
Atru	898	898	-
Chhipa Barod	898	902	865
Chhabra	892	887	920

Source: District Census Handbook, Kota District (1971), p. (v).

Note: Source for (*) Census of India, 1971, Series 18, Rajasthan, Part II-A, General Population Tables, p. (v).

Table 16
Inhabited Villages and Total Population, 1971 Census

Size of villages	No. of inhabited villages	Population males	Population females
Population with less than 200	620	37,987	33,380
200-499	767	132,185	119,096
500-999	372	130,712	118,553
1000-1999	97	66,122	59,751
2000-4999	44	67,150	60,567
5000-9999	4	17,050	15,548
10,000 and above	1	5,589	5,129

Source: Census of India, 1971, Series 18, Rajasthan, Part II-A, General Population Tables, 125-129.

Table 17
Marital Status, Kota District, 1971 Census

Civil status	Total	Male	Female
Total population	8,48,389	4,47,181	4,01,208
Never married	3,63,863	2,12,979	1,50,884
Married	4,21,982	2,13,877	2,08,105
Widowed	60,538	19,060	41,478
Divorced or separated	1,526	1,093	433
Unspecified status	480	172	308

Source: Census 1971, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Kota District, 2, 4.

Table 18
Marital Status of Rural and Urban Population, Kota District, 1971 Census
Part I

Age	Total Rural Urban	Total population persons	Total population male	Total population female	Never married male	Never married female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All ages	Total	449,021	238,158	210,863	114,163	82,298
	Rural	383,473	203,501	179,972	95,622	69,149
	Urban	65,548	34,657	30,891	18,541	13,149

Part II

Married male	Married female	Widowed male	Widowed female	Divorced or separated male	Divorced or separated female	Unspecified status male	Unspecified status female
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
115,735	112,048	7,890	16,337	320	175	50	5
100,689	97,043	6,840	13,630	320	150	30	-
15,046	15,005	1,050	2,707	-	25	20	5

Source: Office of the Director, Census Operations, Rajasthan, Jaipur (figures provisional)

Table 19
Chart Comparing Kota State School With Other State Schools (1912-13)

Name of the School	No. of Boys sent up	No. of Boys passed	% of passes
Darbar High School, Jodhpur	15	14	93.33
Sardar High School, Bharatpur	12	10	83.33
Herbert High School, Kotah	9	5	56.55
Maharana's High School, Udaipur	13	6	46.15
Darbar High School, Dholpur	9	3	33.33
Maharaja's High School, Jaipur	73	14	19.18

Source: Mahakama Khas- English office (1912-1917), Basta No. 6, F.No. 4/60-2, Annual Reports on Education, RSAK.

Table 20
Comparative Statement of Schools Showing the Number of Student and Their
Average Daily Attendance during the Year 1915-16 and 1916-17 in Kota

Name of School	Avg. No. of Students in one year	Avg. No. of Students on roll 1915-16	Avg. No. of Students on roll 1916-17	Differences increase	Differences decrease	Avg. daily attendance 1915-16	Avg. daily attendance 1916-17	Differences increase	Differences decrease
Baran Girls School	54	55	64	-	1	48	29	-	19
Gopalnath Girls School	67	64	65	1	-	38	41	3	-
S.M.S. Girls School	211	200	198	-	2	152	117	-	15
Tipta Girls School	78	71	72	1	-	50	47	-	5
Total	410	390	389	2	3	268	232	3	39

Source: Mahakama Khas- English office (1912-1917), Basta No. 6, F.No. 4/60-2, Annual Reports on Education, RSAK

Table 21
Educational Standards of Kota district, 1961 Census

	Male	Female
Total urban population	86,831	73,249
Illiterate	39,021	54,027
Literate (without educational level)	32,725	15,731
Primary or junior basic	5,671	1,862
Matriculation or higher secondary	7,209	1,225
Technical diploma not equal to degree	154	3
University degree or post-graduate degree other than technical degree	1,455	293
Technical degree or diploma equal to degree or post-graduate degree	436	14
Total rural population	3,60,350	3,27,959
Illiterate	277,875	315,832
Literate (without educational level)	68,574	10,354
Primary or junior basic	10,965	1,670
Matriculation and above	2,936	130

Source: Census of India 1961, Rajasthan District Census Handbook, Kota District, p. 2

Table 22
Number of Teachers in Educational Institutions, Kota District
Part I (Colleges)

Year	General education male	General education female	Professional education male	Professional education female	Special education male	Special education female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1961-62	24	-	-	-	-	-
1962-63	27	-	-	-	-	-
1963-64	27	-	-	-	-	-
1964-65	25	-	10	-	-	-
1965-66	30	1	14	7	-	-
1966-67	30	2	-	-	-	-
1967-68	29	-	-	-	-	-
1968-69*	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969-70	30	3	-	-	14	-
1070-71*	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971-72	33	-	3	6	-	-
1972-73	33	-	3	6	-	-
1973-74	30	4	6	4	-	-
1974-75	28	4	6	2	-	-
1975-76	31	3	6	2	-	-
1976-77	35	4	5	-	-	-

Part II (Schools)

Higher secondary & secondary males	Higher secondary & secondary females	Senior basic and middle male	Senior basic and middles female
8	9	10	11
100	21	271	16
106	16	296	20
107	15	314	27
117	14	333	24
115	15	332	26
175	29	324	36
196	41	327	34
-	-	-	-
251	34	366	54
-	-	-	-
306	40	389	73
285	41	527	94
277	42	699	140
271	43	755	149
295	64	774	136
316	64	782	125

Part III (Schools)

Junior basic male	Junior basic female	Primary male	Primary female	Professional education male	Professional education female
12	13	14	15	16	17
118	16	394	41	9	-
115	27	465	38	9	-
111	32	476	44	10	-
111	30	491	53	-	-
111	15	513	59	-	-

-	-	641	85	-	-
-	-	655	37	-	-
-	-	696	92	-	-
-	-	699	90	11	-
-	-	679	92	12	-
-	-	592	88	-	-
-	-	573	112	17	-
-	-	578	111	7	-
-	-	554	159	8	-

Part IV (Schools)

Special education male	Special education female	Total male	Total female
18	19	20	21
3	-	919	94
3	-	1,021	101
4	-	1,049	118
7	-	1,094	121
10	-	1,125	123
11	-	1,195	151
10	-	1,217	114
8	-	1,329	183
-	-	1,441	209
-	-	1,539	233
-	-	1,604	278
-	-	1,650	310
-	-	1,691	316
-	-	1,698	353

Source: Statistical Abstract, Rajasthan, yearly volume.

Table 23
Number of Educational Institutions, Students and Teachers, Kota Districts

Type of institutions	Year	No. of Institutions	No. of students boys	No. of students girls	No. of teachers male	No. of teachers female
Higher secondary schools	1967-68	15	7,037	2,456	651	79
	1969-70	15	7,833	2,775	761	139
	1971-72*	46	17,278	5,099	892	174
	1972-73*	46	15,694	4,845	873	184
	1973-74*	55	16,163	7,586	854	341
High schools	1967-68	16	6,218	346	-	-
	1969-70	21	7,941	1,660	-	-
	1971-72*	-	-	-	-	-
	1972-73*	-	-	-	-	-
	1973-74*	-	-	-	-	-
Middle schools	1967-68	85	20,484	7,583	847	246
	1969-70	85	20,099	7,139	862	216
	1971-72*	91	20,331	7,690	892	256
	1972-73*	124	26,250	9,191	1,108	260
	1973-74*	215	36,044	11,372	1,477	387
Primary	1967-68	892	49,825	15,370	1,968	256

schools	1969-70	910	54,389	20,216	1,995	400
	1971-72*	939	56,349	18,117	2,035	412
	1972-73*	895	56,987	18,952	2,028	342
	1973-74*	842	50,436	17,298	1,691	382

Source: Statistical Abstract, Rajasthan, yearly volume for various years

Note: * includes secondary level schools also.

Table 24
Economic Status through Industrial Classification by Sex and Class of Workers in
Non-Household Industry, 1961 Census

S. No. Industrial Division	Total workers		Employers		Employees		Single workers		Family workers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing & hunting	2,943	426	110	17	388	8	1,853	196	592	205
2. Mining and quarrying	262	113	5	4	53	7	1,200	99	4	3
3. Manufacturing	4,192	469	272	9	2,361	208	1,146	178	413	74
4. Construction	1,700	371	78	9	937	171	671	181	14	10
5. Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	100	-	1	-	99	-	-	-	-	-
6. Trade & Commerce	3,517	393	666	40	542	53	1,743	221	566	79
7. Transport, Storage and Communications	1,094	3	115	-	814	2	135	1	30	-
8. Services	8,647	3,059	481	74	4,622	988	2,917	1,856	627	141
9. Activities not adequately described	233	20	62	-	75	4	79	9	17	7

Source: Census of India, 1961, Volume XIV, Rajasthan, Part II-B (i), General Economic Tables, pp. 278-82

Table 25
Number of Workers Male, Female in Public Administration, 1961 Census

Category	Male	Female	Total
Central Government	2,244	3	2,247
State Government	716	9	725
Local Bodies	37	1	38
Quasi Government	11	-	11
Village Officials	621	56	677
Government officials not else where classified	17	-	17
Total	3,646	69	3,715

Source: Census 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Kota District, pp. 170-171 (statistics were not collected in 1971, so the table is based on the 1961 census.)

Table 26
Livelihood Pattern, Kota Districts, 1971 Census

Category	Male	Female	Total
A. Workers	130,982	17,748	148,730
Cultivators	79,468	8,152	87,620
Agricultural Labourers	12,222	5,063	17,285
Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantation, Orchards and allied activities	8,313	813	9,126
Mining and Quarrying	1,216	266	1,482
Household industry	4,744	588	5,332
Other than Household Industry	4,173	296	5,009
Construction	3,175	503	3,678
Trade and Commerce	4,585	176	4,761
Transport, Storage and Communication	1,343	214	1,557
10. Other services	11,203	1,677	12,880
B. Non-Workers	107,176	193,115	300,291

Source: census of India, 1971, Rajasthan, Series-18, Part II-A, General Population Tables, pp. 136-139.

Table 27
Livelihood Pattern in Kota District and Rajasthan State, 1971 Census
A. Kota District

Work category	Total workers	Males	Females
1. Total workers	3,53,442	3,17,684	35,758
i. cultivators	1,67,016	1,56,726	10,290
ii. Agricultural laborers	54,291	40,765	13,526
iii. livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities	9,240	8,719	521
iv. mining and quarrying	5,154	3,753	1,401
v. manufacturing processing, servicing and repairs	13,346	11,338	2,008
a) Household Industry	22,993	21,765	1,228
b) other than household industry			
vi. Construction	7,349	6,629	720
vii. trade and commerce	21,009	20,193	816
viii. transport, storage and communications	13,934	13,351	583
ix. other services	39,110	34,445	4,665
2. Non-workers	7,90,428	2,89,432	5,00,996

Source: Census of 1971, Series 18, Rajasthan, Part II-A, General Population Tables, pp. 142-45

B. Rajasthan State

Work category	Total workers	Males	Females
1.Total workers	80,48,859	70,24,655	10,24,204
i. cultivators	52,25,296	45,70,690	6,54,606
ii. agricultural laborers	7,49,116	5,36,103	2,13,013
iii. livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities	2,05,823	1,71,979	33,844
iv. mining and quarrying	36,050	31,967	4,093
v. manufacturing processing, servicing and repairs			
a) Household Industry	2,76,227	2,45,773	30,454
b) other than household industry	2,57,607	2,44,655	12,952
vi. Construction	99,784	93,891	5,893
vii. trade and commerce	58,306	3,51,032	7,274
viii. transport, storage and communications	1,60,348	1,58,020	2,328
ix. other services	6,80,302	6,20,555	59,747
2. Non-workers	1,77,16,947	64,59,728	1,12,57,219

Source: Census of 1971, Series 18, Rajasthan, Part II-A, General Population Tables, pp. 4-7

Table 28
Total Population, Jhalawar District, 1961 Census

Unit	Area (sq. miles)	Population males	Population females	Total
District	2,289	2,54,382	2,36,253	4,90,635
Jhalawar sub-division	1,282	1,41,488	1,32,583	2,74,071
Dag tahsil	251	21,638	20,712	42,350
Gangadhar tahsil	185	18,979	18,412	37,121
Jhalarapatan tahsil	270	36,231	33,052	69,283
Panchpahar tahsil	177	21,927	20,245	42,172
Pirawa tahsil	399	42,713	40,432	83,145
Aklera sub-division	1,007	1,12,894	1,03,670	2,16,564
Aklera tahsil	239	26,630	24,162	50,792
Bakani tahsil	216	24,148	22,164	46,312
Khanpur tahsil	329	35,836	33,139	68,975
Manoharthana tahsil	223	26,280	24,205	50,485

Source: B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jhalawar*, Jaipur, Directorate of District Gazetteer, Rajasthan, 1964, 36

Table 29
Tahsil-Wise Distribution of the Rural Population, Jhalawar District, 1961 Census

Tahsil	No. of villages	Population male	Population female	Total
Dag	118	21,638	20,712	42,350
Gangadhar	114	18,142	18,142	37,121
Jhalarapatan	204	23,170	21,820	45,530
Pachpahar	102	17,995	16,937	34,932
Pirawa	212	39,560	37,059	76,619
Aklera	222	26,630	24,162	50,792
Bakani	213	24,148	22,164	46,312
Khanpur	204	35,836	33,139	68,975
Manoharthana	190	26,280	24,205	50,485

Source: B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jhalawar*, Jaipur, 1964, 38-39

Table 30
Level of Education in Jhalrapatan, Pachpahar, Dag and Gangdhar

Year	Primary boys	Primary girls	Middle boys	Middle girls	High boys	High girls	Total attendance
1912	26	5	-	-	1	-	1,427
1920	33	6	4	1	1	-	2,276
1930	16	4	5	1	1	-	1,611
1940	31	3	5	2	1	-	3,641

Source: B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jhalawar*, Jaipur, Directorate of District Gazetteer, Rajasthan, 1964, 248

Table 31
Number of Institutions in Three Years between Years 1951-1961, Jhalawar District

Type of Institutions	1951-52 Boys	1951-52 Girls	1955-56 Boys	1955-56 Girls	1960-61 Boys	1960-61 Girls
Degree College	-	-	-	-	1	-
Inter College	1	-	1	-	-	-
M.P.H.S.School	-	-	-	-	-	-
Higher Secondary School	-	-	-	-	4	-
High School	3	-	4	1	4	1
Middle School	14	-	16	-	26	6
Primary School	118	-	185	-	316	1

Source: B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jhalawar*, Jaipur, , 1964, 249.

Table 32
Students Belonging To the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Communities in Jhalawar Schools in 1958-59 and 1959-60

Type of Schools	1958 Boys	1958 Girls	1958 Total	1959 Boys	1959 Girls	1959 Total
High and Higher Secondary Schools	358	8	366	337	4	341
Middle Schools	895	47	942	1,069	17	1,086
Primary School	3,131	76	3,207	4,464	114	4,578
Total	4,384	131	4,515	5,870	135	6,005

Source: B.N. Dhoundiyal, *Rajasthan District Gazetteer, Jhalawar*, Jaipur, 1964, 252.

Glossary

<i>Agnikula</i>	Also known as <i>Agnivansha</i> . They are descended from the Vedic fire. One of the three lineages into which Kshatriyas are divided other two being <i>Suryavanshi</i> (descendant from the Sun god) and <i>Chandravanshi</i> (descendant from the Moon god).
<i>Ahudi/Aghori</i>	Mendicant
<i>Badaran</i>	A title conferred on a woman in service of the chief
<i>Badhbhuja</i>	One who sells salted peanut
<i>Bana-bani</i>	Bridegroom and bride
<i>Begar</i>	Forced labour
<i>Bhagtan (F.)</i>	Caste into dancing and prostitution
<i>Bhopa</i>	A folklore singer
<i>Bigha</i>	Unit of measurement of a land
<i>Bunkar</i>	A weaver
<i>Chamchori</i>	Sexual molestation
<i>Chaudhary</i>	A title awarded indicating the ownership of ancestral land
<i>Daroga</i>	An officer posted in the state service
<i>Dashrat</i>	Father of king (lord) Ram

<i>Chamar</i>	A menial caste involved in leather work
<i>Chaudhary</i>	An honorific term to denote an intermediary right holder between the state and peasants
<i>Chauthan</i>	Tax levied on flesh trade
<i>Cheepa</i>	A calico painter
<i>Chhori</i>	Girl
<i>Daroga</i>	Caste in personal service of the upper caste
<i>Dewan</i>	Chief Minister, highest authority after King
<i>Dhobi</i>	A washer-man
<i>Dholi</i>	Drum-beater
<i>Dwij</i>	Twice born
<i>Faujdar</i>	Administrator of a <i>sarkar</i> (a smaller division of a province, a <i>sarkar</i> was further divided into pargana)
<i>Gaon-balai</i>	Village functionary
<i>Garh</i>	Fort
<i>Gola (M.)</i>	Bonded slave
<i>Goli (F.)</i>	Bonded slave
<i>Halpati</i>	Owner of a plough unit
<i>Kasab</i>	Prostitution
<i>Jagir</i>	Feudal life estate

<i>Jagirdar</i>	Recipient of the Jagir
<i>Jagirdari</i>	A feudal system of land ownership
<i>Jagiri</i>	Mediators of putting <i>Bhagatans</i> into prostitution
<i>Jaziya/Jiziya</i>	Tax levied on the non-Muslim citizens
<i>Junjhar</i>	Brave warrior
<i>Kalawant</i>	Artist
<i>Khamp</i>	A subdivision or branch of a clan
<i>Khanazad</i>	Woman into singing
<i>Khawas</i>	An honorific title given to an officer by the chief
<i>Kheda</i>	The agricultural land situated at some distance from the village
<i>Khetrupal</i>	Personification of an ancestor as a deity
<i>Khiraj</i>	Protection money paid to the British to keep Marathas away
<i>Kumhar</i>	The potter
<i>Khalsa</i>	Land tenure
<i>Khunk</i>	Womb
<i>Khuwas</i>	Admired and adorned by the chief but did not stay in the <i>zenani deodhi</i> .
<i>Kotwal</i>	Leader of a fort or Chief police officer

<i>Lambardar</i>	State functionary keeping agricultural accounts
<i>Luhar</i>	Iron-smith
<i>Mahakma-khas</i>	The highest judicial and executive authority in the state headed by the ruler himself
<i>Mahakma-mal</i>	Managed the affairs of the revenues, forest and famines etc
<i>Mali</i>	A caste of expert cultivators and gardeners
<i>Mandana</i>	A wall-painting
<i>Moza</i>	Assisted patwari and patel in revenue collection
<i>Marad/Marda</i>	Man
<i>Muafi</i>	Land given in charity
<i>Nai</i>	A barber
<i>Nata</i>	A form of matrimonial relation
<i>Natakjali</i>	Tax levied on Nata
<i>Nazrana</i>	Succession fee
<i>Nizamat</i>	A municipality division
<i>Nizam</i>	Head of <i>Nizamat</i>
<i>Patar</i>	Caste into singing and prostitution/ service of the chiefs
<i>Pad.dayat</i>	A raised position of a Goli in <i>harem</i>
<i>Pargana</i>	Administrative unit or a revenue unit

<i>Paswan</i>	A title given to a companion of the chief
<i>Patel</i>	A leader of the peasants or the village headmen
<i>Patwari</i>	Also known a Patel is a state functionary in revenue collection system
<i>Pujari</i>	The one in service of a Temple
<i>Purdah</i>	Veil
<i>Rajvi</i>	Thirth-six premier <i>jagirdars</i> in Hadauti, they belonged to the Hada clan
<i>Rajpramukh</i>	Highest title accorded to the rulers of Rajasthan during the time of integration
<i>Rand</i>	Abuse for women
<i>Reet</i>	Customary money given by the groom's family to the bride's family
<i>Sahas/bohras</i>	Business community
<i>Sirdar</i>	Feudal head
<i>Sehnas/ Sahanas</i>	Assisted <i>Mozas</i>
<i>Sri Ji</i>	Lord Krishna
<i>Swarna</i>	Pure
<i>Teli</i>	Oil presser
<i>Thakur</i>	Lord of an estate

<i>Thakurani</i>	Wife of <i>Thakur</i>
<i>Thikana</i>	Estate of the <i>Thakur</i>
<i>Tika</i>	Customary money given by the bride's family to the groom's family in marriage
<i>Tyag</i>	Money distributed to the Charan, Bhats and Dholis etc. during marriage by the groom's family.
<i>Umrao</i>	Senior nobles
<i>Up-Rajpramukh</i>	Subordinate of <i>Rajpramukh</i>
<i>Zamindars</i>	An aristocrat who held enormous tract of land and had control over his peasants from whom taxes were levied mostly for the military purposes.
<i>Zenani-deodhi</i>	The women's apartment
<i>Ziledar</i>	Head of a district

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