



**Kamini Ray**

WHEN, in 1906, for her father Chandi Charan Sen's memorial service, Kamini chose to write at length on the nature of her relationship with him, she was reinforcing an established tradition among an elite section of Bengali women: from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, a handful of these women had been writing about themselves, their families, and their responses to a changing environment. Over the last century, there is a record of at least fifty autobiographies, journals and autobiographical sketches having been written by Bengali women.<sup>2</sup> Kamini Ray (nee Sen, 1864-1933) who became an early woman poet in the region used *Shraddhiki* (memorial pamphlet) to paint a compellingly honest picture of a father - daughter relationship. Paternal rectitude and at times excessive strictness are matched by a daughter's ambivalent emotions: anger at being dictated to and judged harshly gives way soon to an overwhelming sense of gratitude to a man who had invested much in his eldest child's education.

Before she went to school in Calcutta, Sen spent considerable time

# A Daughter Remembers

**Kamini Ray's *Shraddhiki*<sup>1</sup>**

**Malavika Karlekar**

teaching Kamini. In the evenings he would call his daughter to his side, choose a passage from the Bible and Conway's *Sacred Anthology*, note them down in a copy-book and explain the meaning to her. The next day, Kamini was expected to recite these passages to Sen who also introduced her to history and English literature. During the day, while her lawyer father was away at court, Kamini had to do a certain amount of translation and parsing. A grateful Kamini acknowledged that for her father, knowledge was "the main ingredient of humanity" while ignorance "the spawning ground of superstition and evil". Clearly Sen was not as well off as many other men who chose to educate their daughters; for Kamini commented that she did not know of "anyone else who has spent the amount of time, energy and money that he has on the education of his daughters".<sup>3</sup>

Sen was representative of a growing section of the Bengali middle class which put great value on professionalism, education and social mobility. When Western education came to India at the beginning of the last century, the early recipients were middle class boys and men. Going to school and college became increasingly popular, particularly in the urban areas, and white collar jobs were the preferred ones.

As learning for girls involved a completely different set of responses, and necessitated special arrange-

ments, the issue became an area of considerable debate in the print media, discussion groups and in homes. Questions were raised as to the function of this new education and how it could adapt to other predominant requirements such as feminine seclusion, division of labour within the home and a belief about the different natures of men and women. At the same time, the rejection of social practices such as sati, child marriage and polygamy by social reformers and other concerned individuals brought with it an appreciation of the need to improve the status of women. Ostensibly the issue was about the position of women, but in actual fact it went far beyond. It was not only a question of granting access to a privilege or abolishing derogatory rituals, but involved thinking afresh on the entire ideological and structural foundations of upper caste, middle class Bengali Hindu society.

The stress on women's education was intrinsically related to the emergence of a city-oriented style of life which consciously sought to replace that of the *zamindars* or landowning class. The rural *zamindari* family system flourished in large establishments where at least three generations and a substantial assembly of *prajas* or subjects lived together; a distinct and segregated woman's world had worked out its own patterns of hierarchy and dominance based on age, kinship, and affinal categories. In large part, a life of indulgence, dissipation

and ease characterised the male world. This started changing rapidly with the break-up of feudal estates and the lure of white collar jobs in the Calcutta area.<sup>4</sup> The British who needed clerks and lower officials to help them in the running of their establishments were willingly obliged by the new generation of middle class Bengalis known increasingly as the *bhadralok*, or “gentle folk”. Consisting mainly of the Brahmin, Baidya and Kayastha castes, some prominent members of whom became members of the reformist Brahmo Samaj, the *bhadralok* were by no means an internally cohesive group. Sharp cleavages in opinion were, for instance, brought out in the approach to femininity.<sup>5</sup>

The *bhadralok* took keenly to Western-style education as well as to some re-definition of family roles and functions. A shift to Calcutta meant, in many cases, living in smaller, more compact homes when not unusually, the older generation remained behind in the villages. In marital relationships, and in attitudes towards women, there was growing emulation of the British model of enlightened companionship. In Bengal, while marriages were determined by family and kinship networks according to prescribed sub-caste norms, the notion of companionship in marriage was increasingly seen as essential for the success - as well as survival - of the *bhadralok* caught up in a fast changing environment. Necessary for the cultivated *bhadramahila* (gentle woman)<sup>6</sup> was the spread of education. The establishment of women's educational institutions as well as that of *zenana*<sup>7</sup> or home-centred instruction, either by male guardians or employed women tutors shared the specific yet limited goal of making women adequate life companions for the *bhadralok* and better mothers for the new generation. Education had the



Chowringhee Road, Calcutta at the turn of the century

dual aim of reinforcing the conventional home-oriented stereotype for girls as well as training them for the changing times.

In fact, the *bhadramahila* was, in most senses, modelled on the Victorian prototype of the genteel middle-class woman. In Britain and in other parts of the English-speaking world, this prototype had emerged after considerable debate, much of which was related to the role and extent of education. Arguments focused on the smaller size of the female brain, the proneness of women - and particularly educated women to hysteria - and the view that the body was a closed energy system; hence, if one region was developed, others, in particular the reproductive organs, remained underdeveloped. As growth of both the brain and the uterus were regarded as consuming substantial energy, it was clearly more important to develop a woman's reproductive organs by putting minimal stress on her system. The study of science and mathematics were regarded as more taxing, and hence unsuitable for women. In any case, these were not needed in the evolution of the cultured and well-versed

woman.<sup>8</sup> What was of paramount importance was her ability to be a competent mother and housewife. For this, instruction in literature, some household accounts and hygiene was regarded as ideal.

Thus, the historical roots of prejudice against the expansion of women's education in certain areas lay in a basic conviction that there was something special about a woman's nature, which would be destroyed by excessive exposure to education. The rudiments of reading, writing and a little arithmetic, hygiene, needlework, embroidery and, in Bengal, the vernacular as well as English, were regarded as being more than adequate for them. While concern about the special requirements of women resulted in much public debate on syllabi, textbooks and the place where girls should be educated, it also successfully concealed, in part, a considerable ambivalence towards the entire issue. The education of one's own womenfolk involved a very different set of values from the rationale, for instance, behind agitating for home rule, and later, legislative representation. There was no

guarantee that, if excessively liberated, women would accept either the moral straitjacket imposed on them or the sexual double standard allowed for men.

Between the years 1863 and 1890, the number of girls' schools went up from 95 to 2238 and the number of school-going girls from 2,486 to 78,865.<sup>9</sup> The majority were primary school students. Clearly, a certain amount of deliberation in many homes lay behind this expansion. The Brahmo Samaj,<sup>10</sup> of which Kamini Ray's father was a diligent member, was deeply involved in the issue of women's education. Originally established in 1830 as the Brahmo Sabha by Rammohun Roy, well-known for his campaign against sati, the organisation aimed at restoring to Hinduism an authenticity quite distinct from prevailing practices and social abuses. Rammohun was greatly influenced by Unitarianism which believed that religion meant rational worship combined with social reform and active work among the poor. In 1843, Debendranath Tagore (poet Rabindranath's father) re-named the Brahmo Sabha as the Brahmo Samaj. The first split in the organisation took place in 1866, between the liberals led by Keshub Chunder Sen - who formed the Naba Bidhan (New Dispensation) Brahmo Samaj - and the older generation comprised of Debendranath and his peers. The latter now called their group the Adi (or original) Brahmo Samaj. Briefly, Keshub Chunder and his followers were for a more active social work programme and felt that the Samaj had become too obscurantist. Interestingly enough, when the second split took place in 1878, almost similar charges were levelled against Sen by younger radicals like Dwarakanath Ganguly, Sivanath Sastri, Durga Mohan Das and others. Kamini's father was ob-

viously very close to this group. The progressives then set up the Samadarshi Dal (1874) which formed the nucleus of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj established in 1878.

One of the major points of difference of this group with Keshub Chunder Sen was over the role of women and the kind of education they should have access to. In the Indian Reform Association of which he was a founder, Keshub did not permit the teaching of geometry, logic, natural science and history to girls. Sivanath Sastri who taught in a school for girls founded by Keshub, argued unsuccessfully with the latter over the right of girls to the same curriculum as was available to boys. Keshub maintained that as a woman's highest duty was to care for her husband and family, a study of science, logic and mathematics would be totally irrelevant for her; in fact he castigated the progressives for their views on women's education which he felt were "highly revolutionary and fraught with grave danger to society". Such an education would only "unsex women" and make them unfit for their future roles.<sup>11</sup> For several years his views continued to provoke members of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj like Chandi Charan Sen, who nonetheless had tremendous respect for Keshub as a spiritual leader and social reformer.

An early step of the Samadarshi Dal was to establish the Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya (Hindu Girls' School) in

collaboration with the visiting Unitarian, Annette Akroyd. The philosophy of the school was to accord girls the same kind of education as was available to boys. Dwarakanath Ganguly argued convincingly in support of his educational practices even as Victorian England grappled with the issue of a separate curriculum for girls. With single-minded devotion, Dwarakanath took on the organisation of the Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya, and its successor, the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya (1876); he not only supervised the running of the classes but also swept and cleaned the school premises after a full day's work. Dissatisfied with the existing textbooks for mathematics, geography and health science, Ganguly wrote alternate tracts for his students.<sup>12</sup> Among others these included the daughters of several members of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Durga Mohan Das' daughter, Sarala, Monomohan Ghosh's sister, Binodmoni, Acharya Jagdish Chandra Bose's sister Swarnaprabha as well as Kadambini Basu - who was later to be Dwarakanath's wife - were beneficiaries of an education based on the belief that women had the same right to all knowledge as did men. As a founder member of the Vidyalaya, and an ardent supporter of girls' education, Durga Mohan Das was very keen that his old friend Chandi Charan Sen, should send his eldest daughter to the school. The following extract deals with Kamini's school years in Calcutta.

### Extract From *Shraddhiki*

From the day of its establishment Durga Mohan *babu*<sup>13</sup> had been persistently writing to my father with one request: I should be sent to the Vidyalaya as soon as possible. My revered father left my two younger sisters and infant brother with my mother in Basanda village and took me to

Calcutta to be admitted as a boarder at the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya. This was the first time that I ventured forth with my father alone on a long journey.<sup>14</sup> The thought that I would be separated from my mother for six months pained me greatly. Both my mother and I were alike; we both wept

bitterly for each other. I did not feel any such emotion for my father.

When I was a young child, my father appeared ashamed to display any tenderness or affection towards me in the presence of his elders or seniors. I, too, did not go anywhere near him. When a virtually unknown father came home, I clung to my paternal grandfather's bosom. As a result, even in the absence of relatives, my father did not find the occasion to call me or fondle me. When, after seven years of regarding my father with animosity and fear, I came under his protection, my enmity was dispelled, it is true; but the deeply entrenched fundamental fear did not go. The manner in which my father displayed affection for my brothers and sisters, and the unhesitating way in which they talked to him and sought his indulgence, was never so in my case.

My father always had a distant and restrained attitude towards me, similar to that of a *guru-shishya* relationship.<sup>15</sup> I cannot ever remember sitting on my father's lap or being kissed by him. Many years later my father took care of my handicapped child for almost two years. Once, writing from Waltair, about the various aggressions of this child, he said "in your childhood I had greatly neglected you. Your child is now receiving payment for that: I am now giving your dues with compound interest!" In reality, my father showed amazing affection, a patience quite out of keeping with his innate nature and a feminine endurance, towards this child.

I was describing my journey from Basanda to Calcutta. Let me continue with that. On the way I had got myself into a state of anxiety weeping for my mother. My father tried to distract me by talking to me about a lot of other things. He gave me specific portions from mind-improving books to read, and explained their meaning



Students at Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya

to me. He appeared to be constantly afraid that when I went to school, my habits and inclinations would not measure up to his expectations.

Those few days, my father did not hesitate to warn me as much as possible, about dressing-up, indulging in luxury as well as comment on the ambience and pomp of the outside world. How I should behave in school; how I should respond to my peers when they teased me for devotion to my books and eschewed chatting and playful activities; and how I should keep my own mind firm and composed: my father spoke to me at length on these matters. He took out a notebook and got me to write in it, "My life mission is higher than that of my school companions". My father requested me to keep these words always in mind; his desire for me to have these thoughts imprinted in my mind was not through arrogance or conceit; but rather his intention was to instil in me the idea of life's seriousness and one's duty. Without thinking too much about it, I silently took down the sentence in accordance with his wishes. But the words troubled me like a thorn throughout my childhood

and youth, blighting my happiness. Even today, like a nightmare, the event haunts me fleetingly.

Throughout our riverine journey my father cooked for us as we had not any servant with us. As I hadn't till then got my father's permission to enter the kitchen, I was singularly ignorant about culinary skills. When I came to school I learned to cut and cook vegetables with my friends for the first time.

I will conclude this discourse with a couple more instances of my father's awareness of the need for an appropriate education as well as inputs for character formation. When he returned to Manikgunge after leaving me in Calcutta, my father read the life story of a Jewish girl, Lila Ada. In her daily journal she had noted down about twenty or twenty-two character-building promises; without delay, my father copied these down and sent them to me in a letter. Due to a shortage of time he was not able to note these down himself, and had requested a Brahmo house guest to do so. The same gentleman later translated relevant portions and published them in

Dacca's *Bangabandhu* newspaper. My father sent me a copy of this as well. At this time some Brahmos visited my father from Dacca. Like Keshub Chunder Sen *mahashay*,<sup>16</sup> they were opposed to an English-style boarding school and higher education for girls. They cited the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya as an institution which was imparting inappropriate education; in addition, the students did not show proper respect for the Brahmo Samaj and its preachers, and were even ridiculed. I do not know whether the allegation had any basis or not. However, upon hearing this, my father wrote me a strong letter of chastisement, explaining that Mahatma (great soul) Keshub Chunder and his preachers deserved deep respect and devotion, not ridicule.

I had, in the meantime, come first in the Upper Primary examination of the Presidency Circle. However, instead of receiving a monthly stipend of Rs 2 for two years, I was given a one-time award of Rs 10. Apparently, as students of Dwarakanath Ganguly from the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya had won many scholarships, some inspector had decided upon this arrangement. In his next letter, my father suggested that I should donate this money to the welfare of Brahmo preachers. Sadly, even before I had received his letter, my teacher had bought me two books worth Rs 7, and the remaining Rs 3 I had donated for famine relief. On learning this, my father wrote "I will buy you whatever books you require. You need not spend your own money on them". His enthusiasm for buying me books was matched by that of donating to the preachers' welfare fund. Clearly, he wished to awaken in me a sympathy for the work of preaching as well as a desire to donate and share. At the same time, he did not hesitate to criticise Keshub Chunder's orthodox views on women's education. One day, a year earlier, in

Manikgunge, he reflected "Keshub *babu* says girls need not be taught mathematics, and rather than teach them logic and philosophy it would be more useful to teach them rhetoric. But this is very wrong! Without a study of mathematics and logic the intellect can hardly attain clarity."

My father believed that knowledge was desirable for his daughters from the point of view of improving their faculties as well as enabling them to savour the pure joy of learning. For many years he did not acknowledge the need for them to have a job-oriented education. That his daughters should work, or go into the business of medicine and so on to earn a living, was never his desire. Earlier, he was particularly opposed to medicine. When, in 1882, Durga Mohan Das *mahashay* sent his second daughter to Madras to study medicine, then, despite the repeated request of this very old friend of his and my great enthusiasm, my revered father did not agree to send me along as well. I do not know what he wrote to Durga Mohan *babu*. He wrote to me "my daughters will not get into the business of medicine". In an attempt at consoling me he added, "rather than be healers of the body, they will be healers of the mind, they will stay at home and write mind-improving books".

After writing Maharaj Nandakumar etc.,<sup>17</sup> my father became unpopular with the government. In 1886, instead of a promotion, he was superseded by his juniors. As he felt that he had been unduly punished, he immediately sent in his letter of resignation. Just at this time, the Lady Superintendent of Bethune College, an Englishwoman by the name of Miss Lipscombe got married and left. Miss Chandramukhi Basu, M.A.<sup>18</sup> was temporarily appointed to the post. In order to take the latter's place, my

father's friends, Durga Mohan *babu* and Pandit Maheshchandra Nyayaratna, both members of the Bethune Committee, sent me a special invitation. In order to take up the post, I wrote to my father requesting permission. At that time he was in Krishnanagar and I was in Calcutta. Fearing that a daughter, forever brought up in an ambience of comfort supervised by him, should have to undergo any financial deprivation, he wrote to me, "I have educated you but not in order for you to earn so as to survive. It pains me to think that you will be employed. But I have myself given up my job. I will no longer be able to look after you in the manner in which I have done over all these years; it will also hurt me to see you undergoing any form of privation. That is why I cannot any more object to your taking up a job. At least, with your earnings you will be able to keep at bay privation and need."

Thus, I became a teacher. In the meantime, on the advice of his friends and requests of my mother, my father withdrew his resignation. Soon after, the government gave him a promotion. Four years later, in 1890, his second daughter's extreme eagerness, my desire and Durga Mohan *babu*'s approval - these three strengths combined to dispel my father's fear and doubts regarding medicine. And despite his unwillingness, he gave my sister Jamini<sup>19</sup> permission to join medical college. In the future, he never had to regret his decision. My other sister Premkusum B.A., after passing her examination, taught at Bethune College, Brahmo Balika Vidyalaya and Crossthwaite Girls School in Allahabad for some years.

---

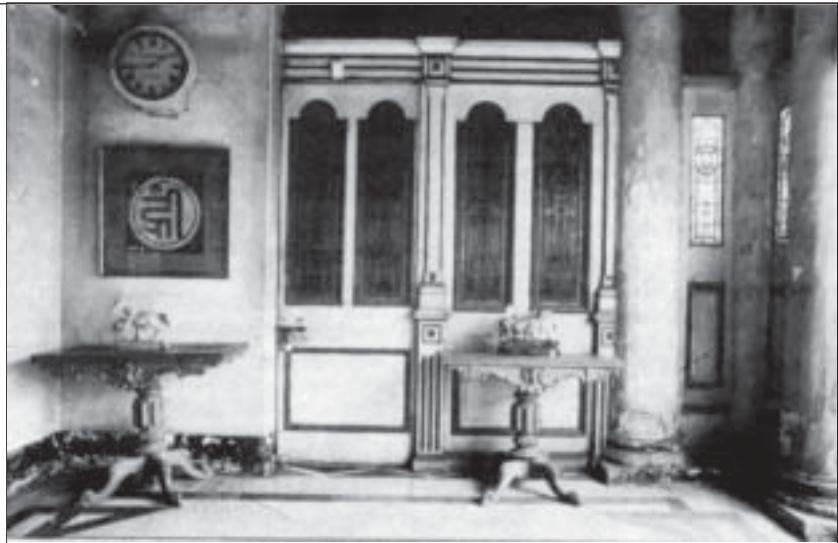
Chandi Charan may have had some inkling of his daughter's growing proclivities to protest and challenge in 1882, Kamini led a movement

in Bethune School and College: in favour of the Ilbert Bill which allowed Indian judges to try cases involving the British, including its women.

Despite his overall liberal attitude towards women's education, Chandi Charan had definite reservations about the study of medicine and women's employment. While Kamini does not go into any details of what lay behind her father's views, he was later persuaded to allow another daughter to train to be a doctor. Interestingly, Kamini did in part fulfill her father's wishes by becoming one of the earliest women poets in the region. At the age of twenty-five, she published *Alo o Chhaya (Light and Shade)* a volume of poetry and continued writing till her death in 1933. She married widower Kedarnath Ray at the relatively late age of thirty. Both she and her sister Jamini then, were among the first few successful and established women professionals in the country. *Shraddhiki* remains as a poignant testimony of the challenges involved in the emergence of such pioneers.

## Endnotes

1. *Shraddhiki* was an eulogy in the form of a biographical sketch read out at the time of Chandi Charan Sen's memorial service. It was published in 1913 by a certain Sudhir Sen, B.A., possibly a close relative of Chandi Charan. Here, I have tried to keep my translation as 'true' to the original Bengali text as possible. At places, long sentences have been broken up into two or more short ones so as to ensure clarity and precision in English. The extract reproduced here is from pages 39 to 44 of the 45-page pamphlet. Such eulogies - some of which were subsequently printed - were (and continue to be) an integral part of the Brahmo Samaj memorial service.
2. Bengal was a pioneer in the introduction of Western education; vernacular learning was already well-established in the region. The first girls' school run on English lines was started in 1819 by the Female Juvenile Society, a part of the Baptist Mission. See J.C. Bagal, *Women's Education in Bengal* (Calcutta: Ananda Publications, 1956) for a detailed description of early beginnings.
3. *Shraddhiki*, p. 16.
4. The writing of autobiographies by women is an area of growing interest for a range of disciplines. See, for instance Chitra Deb, *Antahpurer Atmakatha* (Autobiography of the Inner Quarters) (Calcutta: Ananda Publishers, 1984); Malavika Karlekar, *Voices from Within - Early Personal Narratives of Bengali Women* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991); J. Braxton, *Black Women Writing Autobiography* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Personal Narratives Group (ed), *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); (C. Stivers, "Reflections on the Role of Personal Narrative in Social Science", *SIGNS*, Vol.18, no.2, Winter.
5. In his influential *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1968), page 13 onwards, J.H. Broomfield has dealt with the term *bhadralok* at some length. To him, they were the "gentle folk", a distinct status group comprising the landed gentry, professionals and government ser-
6. In *The Changing Role of Women in Bengal 1849-1905* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) Meredith Borthwick has identified the *bhadramahilas* as the mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of the growing category of the *bhadralok*. See also Chitra Deb, *Antahpurer Atmakatha*; Srabashi Ghosh, 'Daimalir Karagar Bhanger Gaan' (Daimali's Song of Prison Destruction) (*Sharadiya Annsthup*, 1985); Malavika Karlekar, *Voices from Within - Early Personal Narratives of Bengali Women* and Ghulam Murshid, *Reluctant Debutante: Response of Bengali Women to Modernisation, 1849-1905* for descriptions of the lives, attitudes and writings of these women.
7. In Appendix Two, Murshid describes *zenana* education in detail.
8. Edward Clarke's *Sex in Education* (1873) dealt with the purported harmful effects of learning on the reproduction functions of women. In "Sex Differences and Cognitive



The interior of a well-to-do Bengali home at the turn of the century

Abilities: A Sterile Field of Enquiry", Dorothy Griffiths and Esther Saraga have given a comprehensive overview of Nineteenth Century Western views on women's abilities and related these to contemporary research. Their article is included in *Sex-Role Stereotyping*, edited by Oonagh Hartnett *et al.*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1979.

9. These figures are from Murshid, page 43.
10. See David Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); and Sivanath Sastri, *A History of the Brahmo Samaj*, 2 volumes (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1911) for accounts of the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj, tensions within it and the world view of important figures associated with it. All three Samajes were strongly influenced by Protestantism. Hence the importance of the role of preachers, memorial services and the eschewing of idols.
11. Quoted on p. 239 of Sivanath Sastri's *A History of the Brahmo Samaj*, Volume 1.
12. Dwarakanath Ganguly's crusade is described in some detail in David Kopf's *The Brahmo*

*Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern India Mind* pp. 123-8; Also Prabhatchandra Gangopadhyay's *Banglar Nari Jagaran (Women's Awakening in Bengal)* (Calcutta: Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 1945), pp. 65-66 describes Ganguly's activities in his school. By 1876, collaboration with Annette Akroyd had come to an end: she appeared disillusioned with the Bengalis and their mode of functioning. While distance in time and historical age make it difficult to analyse reasons for her withdrawal, it is nonetheless clear that a part of it must have been caused by the deep cultural divide which separated not only men from women but also a woman of the Empire from colonised men. Borthwick discusses Akroyd's disenchantment on the basis of the Akroyd-Beveridge papers, as well as some issues of the *Bamabodhini Patrika*, a popular journal for women of the time. Annette married Henry Beveridge, a member of the Indian Civil Service in 1876.

In 1878 the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya had amalgamated with the Bethune School established through the efforts of the *bhadrakal* in 1849. College-level classes were added in

13. An honorific suffix often used after a *bhadrakal* man's name.
14. In those days, much of Bengal, particularly present-day Bangladesh, was connected by river routes.
15. A preceptor-student relationship.
16. Another honorific suffix for *bhadrakal* men.
17. Clearly, in addition to his legal practice, Chandi Charan Sen also wrote political novels and satires.
18. Together with Kadambini Ganguly (who became one of the two earliest women doctors in British India) Chandramukhi Basu passed her B.A. from Bethune College in 1883. They were the first woman graduates of the University of Calcutta. Chandramukhi went on to become the first Bengali woman to pass her M.A. and then a teacher at Bethune College.
19. Jamini completed her medical education in 1897 and two years later, went to work in Nepal. She remained single and later in life went to Great Britain for further studies in medicine. □

## Women Bhakt Poets

Available in an attractive hardbound edition with laminated jacket. Contains accounts of the life and work of Mirabai, Andal, Avvaiyar, Muktabai, Janabai, Bahinabai, Lal Ded, Toral, Loyal and other and translations of their poetry, many appearing for the first time in English.

120 pages, profusely illustrated.

Price: Rs 100 + Rs 15 registered postage.

Overseas Price: US\$ 20 + US\$ 5 postage.

Send advance payment to the **Manushi** address.

**Makes A Beautiful Gift**

## MANUSHI Bound Volumes

**Handsomely Bound in Maroon Leather in  
SIX Volumes**

**Price for India, Nepal and Bangladesh :**

Vol. I : Nos 1 to 19 (1979 to 1983) :	Rs. 300
Vol. II : Nos 20 to 37 (1984 to 1986) :	Rs. 225
Vol. III : Nos 38 to 49 (1987 to 1988) :	Rs. 200
Vol. IV : Nos 50 to 61 (1989 to 1990) :	Rs. 200
Vol. V : Nos 62 to 73 (1991 to 1992) :	Rs. 200
Vol. VI : Nos 74 to 85 (1993 to 1994) :	Rs. 200

**Postage : Rs. 20 per volume**

**US and Europe : US \$ 60 per volume  
(includes airmail postage)**

Send payment by cheque, draft or MO in the name of  
**Manushi Trust** to :  
Manushi, C-202, Lajpat Nagar I, New Delhi 110024.