

Women and Labour in Late Colonial India

The Bengal Jute Industry

Samita Sen's history of labouring women in Calcutta in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries considers how social constructions of gender shaped their lives. She demonstrates how – in contrast to the experience of their male counterparts – the long-term trends in the Indian economy devalued women's labour, establishing patterns of urban migration and changing gender equations within the family. She relates these trends to the spread of dowry giving, enforced widowhood and child marriage.

The book provides insight into the trials and tribulations of poor urban women who were often perceived as prostitutes and social pariahs by the middle classes and upper echelons of society. Even trade unions refused to address their problems seriously and women remained on the margins of organised political protest. Eventually, over the course of the period, women workers in the jute industry declined from 25 per cent to two per cent of the workforce.

The study makes a significant contribution to the understanding of Indian social and economic history and to notions of gender construction.

SAMITA SEN is a lecturer in the Department of History, Calcutta University



Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society 3

Editorial Board

C. A. BAYLY

Vera Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History, University of Cambridge; and Fellow of St Catharine's College

RAJNARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR

Fellow of Trinity College and Lecturer in History, University of Cambridge

GORDON JOHNSON

President of Wolfson College, and Director, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society will publish monographs on the history and anthropology of modern India. In addition to its primary scholarly focus, the series will also include work of an interdisciplinary nature which will contribute to contemporary social and cultural debates about Indian history and society. In this way, the series will further the general development of historical and anthropological knowledge and attract a wider readership than that concerned with India alone.

- 1 C. A. Bayly, Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1880 0 521 57085 9 (hardback) 0 521 663601 (paperback)
- 2 Ian Copland, The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire, 1917–1947 0 521 57179 0



Women and Labour in Late Colonial India

The Bengal Jute Industry

Samita Sen





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA http://www.cup.org 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1999

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Plantin 10/12 [CE]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloging in publication data

Sen, Samita.

Women and labour in late colonial India: the Bengal jute industry / Samita Sen.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in Indian history and society: 3) Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 45363 1

- 1. Women Employment India Bengal.
- 2. Women India Bengal Social conditions.
- 3. Women India Bengal Economic conditions.
- 4. Jute industry India Bengal.
- I. Title. II. Series.

HD6190.B46S457 1999

331.4'0954'14 - dc21 98-38080 CIP

ISBN 0521 45363 1 hardback



Contents

List of tables Acknowledgements List of acronyms and abbreviations Glossary Map: Location of jute mills along river Hooghly		viii ix xii xiv xix			
				Introduction	1
			1	Migration, recruitment and labour control	21
			2	'Will the land not be tilled?': women's work in the rural economy	54
			3	'Away from homes': women's work in the mills	89
4	Motherhood, mothercraft and the Maternity Benefit Act	142			
5	In temporary marriages: wives, widows and prostitutes	177			
6	Working-class politics and women's militancy	213			
Se	lect bibliography	248			
Index		264			

vii



Tables

1	Average daily number of persons employed in jute mills of	
	Bengal, 1897–1950	5
2.1	Size of households in three mouzas of Midnapore in 1888	68
2.2	Size of households in Mouza Banpore, District Midnapore,	
	in 1888	69
2.3	Percentage of net cropped area under each crop in some	
	Bihar districts, 1905–12	73
3.1	Timetable of a multiple shift system	97
3.2	Wages for selected occupations in a jute mill in 1896	101
3.3	Rates of wages in the Spinning Department of the Union	
	(North) Mill in 1935	111
3.4	Rates of wages in the Preparing Department of Union	
	(North) Mill in 1935	112
4.1	Maternal mortality rates per hundred births among jute	
	mill workers, 1929–31	151
	Attendance at the Titagarh Health Clinic, 1923–8	164
4.3	Number of women workers receiving maternity benefit in	
	four jute mills in 1934	169
4.4	Estimated cost of free health clinic for 2,725 workers	170

viii



Acknowledgements

An early version of this book was submitted for the fellowship competition (1990) at Trinity College, Cambridge. It has since been rewritten for submission as a Ph.D dissertation (1992) to Cambridge University. In this rather protracted process, the support of many friends and colleagues has been invaluable.

My supervisor, Dr R. S. Chandavarkar, has been the prop and mainstay of this project. His own writings on Bombay textile workers have inspired many of the ideas in this book. I doubt these are sufficiently acknowledged in the footnotes. His help extended from encouragement to write and think to a general supervision of my well-being in Cambridge.

Professor T. Raychaudhuri, supervising my work at Oxford, provided many critical insights. Dr Rosalind O'Hanlon read drafts at various stages and offered advice and encouragement. Dr Hilary Standing and Dr Gordon Johnson examined my Ph.D thesis. They gave many valuable suggestions. My teachers in Calcutta University have always taken an interest. I thank Professor Rajat K. Ray for his continuing support of my work. But for Dr Tapati Guha Thakurta's and Dr Hari Vasudevan's initial guidance, this research might well have been impossible. Dr Ranajit Dasgupta has been extremely generous with his time and material.

This book has been enriched by comments and suggestion from many others. I would like to thank my father, Sandip, and my brother, Suhit. They also painstakingly edited various drafts. Dr Joya Chatterjee, Dr Vivek Dhareshwar and Dr Hari Vasudevan helped to give final shape to a recalcitrant manuscript.

Friends in Sachetana provided the initial inspiration for this study. Joyanti, my mother, first induced me to think about 'women'. Professor Nirmala Banerjee's investigations into women's work in Bengal was my starting point. Dr Ratnabali Chatterjee's research on the history of prostitution helped clarify many of my arguments. Professor Jasodhara Bagchi, Bela Bandopadhyay, Rajashri Dasgupta,

ix



x Acknowledgements

Madhusree Dutta and Sutapa Neogi supported this work in uncountable ways.

My fellow 'jute researchers' provide sustained companionship. My work has been enlivened by discussions and, more particularly, arguments with Subho Basu, Arjan de Haan and Parimal Ghosh.

This book, and its author, enjoyed many homes. In Cambridge and in Delhi, Joya, Prakash and Kartik have always shared theirs. In Delhi, Sarbajeet, Subha and Mia have patiently put up with my eccentric demands. In London, Sunip and Ragini, Indira, Shyamal and Rohini, Sunrita, Vipul and Ishan extended the warmest hospitality. Many friends shared the pleasures and pains of this writing. I use this occasion to remember Ali Alavi, Arijit Banerjee, Sudeshna Banerjee, Dwaipayan Bhattacharya, Charu Chakrabarty, Lakshmi Daniel, Damayanti Dutta, Sugato Ghose, Nandini Gooptu, Rama Goyal, Sharmistha Pal, Sucharita Roy, Jayasree Roychoudhury, Somak Raychaudhury and Ajay Skaria.

I thank Laura Cordy for her unfailing assistance with the mysteries of the word processor. Srila Baptista gave invaluable help with the bibliography and the map.

I wish to thank the staff of West Bengal State Archives, National Library, Secretariat Library, the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Commercial Library, Bengal Chamber of Commerce Library, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Chaitanya Library in Calcutta, Joykrishna Library in Uttarpara, the Bally Library, National Archives of India and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in Delhi, Bihar State Archives in Patna, the India Office Library and Records in London, and the Cambridge University Library. Dr Lionel Carter at the Centre of South Asian Studies (Cambridge) and Ms Joan Auld of the Dundee University Library gave invaluable assistance, especially with voluminous private papers. Mr Shakti Roy, Librarian, Ananda Bazar Patrika, gave me permission to delve into their old files. He also made it possible to reproduce the photograph appearing on the cover.

I would also like to thank those who have patiently answered my many queries: Ms Shanti Pasricha, Mr R. Dasgupta, Sri Satyajit Choudhuri, Mr P. S. Thapa of Thomas Duff & Co., Mr D. Gupta of the National Jute Mills, Mr P. Dasgupta and Mr S. Dhara of Fort Gloster Jute Mill, Mr H. Hazra of the Howrah Mills, Mr Surya Sen, Mr C. N. Chakravarty and Mr Sarit Ray of the Indian Jute Mills Association, Mr P. Dasgupta and Mr S. Sengupta of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Ms Subha Dasgupta of the Calcutta Nursing College.

The women workers of Nuddea Jute Mill, Kankinara Jute Mill, Gourepur Jute Mill, Fort Gloster Jute Mill, Howrah Jute Mill and



Acknowledgements

хi

Titagarh Jute Mills indulged my many unreasonable demands on their time. To them I owe many of the fundamental insights that inform this book. I especially thank Sulekha Das of Nuddea Jute Mill who took me around the Naihati-Kankinara mill areas.

Kakoli Sinha and Subhayan Ganguly, who have assisted my research, have my very special gratitude.

The research and the writing of this book were aided by financial grants from various sources. I wish to thank Oxford University, the Manjusree Birla Trust, the State Bank of India and the Cambridge Commonwealth Fund, Cambridge, for their assistance. I thank, especially, the Master and Fellows of Trinity College (Cambridge) for their generosity during my time as a graduate student and then as a fellow.

I thank Professor Amiya Bagchi and Dr Nirmal Chandra for their assistance in making this project possible. I remember with gratitude Dr Anil Seal's help and support during my stay in Trinity. Professor Goutam Chattopadhyay and Dr Manju Chattopadhyay have always given of their time, experience and affection.

To fully thank my mother, Joyanti, and my brothers, Suhit and Seshadri, would take too long. My father and I shared this interest in labour which was his particular field of expertise first as a 'personnel man' and later as a 'labour lawyer'. I dedicate this book to his memory.



Acronyms and abbreviations

BCCI Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry

BCMU Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union **BJWU** Bengal Jute Workers Union

BP Benthall Papers

BPI Bolshevik Party of India Bihar State Archives, Patna **BSA**

CID Criminal Investigation Department

Comm. Comm. Commerce Department Commerce Branch

CPI Communist Party of India

CSAS Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge

DIG Deputy Inspector General of Police

DUL **Dundee University Library** EPWEconomic and Political Weekly

FA Report on the Working of the Factories Act in

Bengal

HPC Home Political Confidential

IBIntelligence Bureau

Indian Economic and Social History Review *IESHR* **IFC**

Indian Factory Commission, 1891

IFLC Indian Factory Labour Commission, Morison,

1908

IJMA Indian Jute Mills Association

IJMAR Report of the Indian Jute Mills Association IOL Indian Office Library and Records, London JAMWI Journal of the Association of Medical Women of India

Judicial Department Judl.

Labour Enquiry Commission, Calcutta, 1896 **LEC** Labour Investigation Committee, An Enquiry into LIC

Conditions of Labour in the Jute Mill Industry in

India, Calcutta, 1946

MRD Manager's Report to the Directors NA National Archives of India, Delhi

xii



Acronyms and abbreviations

xiii

RCLI Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India,

London, 1931

TDP Thomas Duff & Co. Papers

UP Uttar Pradesh (formerly United Provinces)
WBSA West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta



Glossary

Months:

Vaishakh

Phalgun

Chaitra

Taistha May-June Ashar June-July Sravana July-August Bhadra August-September Aswin September-October October-November Kartik November-December Agrahayan Poush December-January Magh January-February

abarjana garbage abru veil

aghani main winter rice crop in

Bihar

April-May

akhara gymnasium; society for physical

culture; Baishnab centre

February-March

March-April

andar women's quarters in the house anna one-sixteenth of the rupee

anna cooked rice

antahpur inner apartments of the house

anturgha delivery room

arkathis recruiting agents for tea gardens

atta coarse flour ayurveda herbal medicine

baboo (also babu) Bengali clerk in European managed

business

badli temporary worker

xiv



Cambridge University Press

0521453631 - Women and Labour in Late Colonial India: The Bengal Jute Industry

- Samita Sen Frontmatter More information

bhadoi

Glossary xv

badmash rogue

bahinji respectful form of address for sister bairagi (also vairagi) a Baishnab; a caste; a mendicant

bairer outside

baper bari married woman's natal home

barababu Head Clerk basti (also bustee) slum bazar market beshya a prostitute

bhadralok lit. gentleman, respectable men of the

middle class

autumn crop

bhadramahila lit. gentlewoman, respectable women

of the middle class

bhaga job-sharing
bhita home
bibaha marriage
bidhaba widow

bidhabasrama shelter home for widows bighas one-third of an acre

bihao marriage

biri tobacco wrapped in tobacco leaf, like a

cigarette

bishakta poisonous

burga cloak with veil covering entire body

chapati hand-made bread charka spinning wheel chaudhuri recruiter; supervisor

chawls slums cheerah flattened rice

chhotolok lower classes; manual worker

chullahs open oven
churi marriage
coolie (also cooly) worker
dai midwife
dalal agent

dayabhaga Bengal school of Hindu law of inheri-

tance

dhenki manual rice-pounder

dhopanis laundresses

durwans gatekeeper, security man, armed

retainers



Cambridge University Press

0521453631 - Women and Labour in Late Colonial India: The Bengal Jute Industry

- Samita Sen Frontmatter

More information

xvi Glossary

garbhadan (also gauna) consummation ceremony

ghari clock
ghats river front
ghee (also ghi) clarified butter
gherao surround in protest

goonda ruffian griha home

gurkha ethnic group from Nepal; security

guards

hartal strike

hasuli heavy bangle, usually of silver

hat local market haathi elephant

Holi spring festival of colours itar lower classes (derogatory)

izzat honour

jalacharaniya castes who can serve brahmins water

jamadar sweeper or guard jandrel aggressive and assertive

jangi militant

jhara token issued to women workers to

leave the mill for nursing

jharoonis sweepers

jhum slash and burn cultivation kabuli pathan moneylender

kal machine

kaliyuga the last age of sin before doom ac-

cording to Hindu mythology

kaprawallis hawkers of cloth

khabo eat khatbo work

khichuri simple preparation of rice and lentils

khoraki subsistence allowance

khoyee fluffed rice kshata sore

kukri sharp knife

kulakalanka disgrace of the exogamous kin group kulin highest grade among brahmins

kutcha mud huts

lakhs hundred thousand

Lakshmi Hindu goddess of wealth; ideal house-

wife



Cambridge University Press

0521453631 - Women and Labour in Late Colonial India: The Bengal Jute Industry

- Samita Sen Frontmatter More information

Glossary xvii

laraku militant lathi stick ma (also maiji, mairam, mataji) mother

madrasis (also madrassis) lit. of Madras, used for people south of

Orissa

magh (also magi) lit. woman (derogatory)

mahajan moneylender maro attack mattha butter milk

maunds unit of weight varying from about 15

to 45 kilograms

meheraru woman; wife

melas fairs
mistri workman
mooree puffed rice

moorkhe fluffed rice with jaggery

mota Shia marriage

nika second or subsequent marriages for

Muslim women

paithoo marriage palkhi palanquin

panchayat self-governing institution

panibharin women who fetch water for wages

panwallis betel-leaf sellers

parakiya extra-marital sexual relationship

pat widow remarriage

pies lowest denomination in Indian cur-

rency (Re. 0.08)

pucca built of brick pujas worship; festival

punkha fan

purdah lit. curtain; custom of secluding

women

rabi spring crop
rarh widow; prostitute
sadar district headquarters

sadi marriage

sagai remarriage; engagement

sahib boss; generally referring to British in

colonial India

samasya problem samsar household



More information

Cambridge University Press 0521453631 - Women and Labour in Late Colonial India: The Bengal Jute Industry - Samita Sen Frontmatter

xviii Glossary

sanga (also sangat) marriage; widow remarriage

sardar (also sirdar) lit. headman, chief; jobber in jute mills sati (also suttee) lit. chaste wife; the practice of immo-

lating widows on the funeral pyre of

their dead husband

seer 0.75 of a kilogram, approximately

shakti power sowatin co-wife

streedhan marriage portion of daughter, usually

in form of ornaments

sugrihini ideal housewife sumata ideal mother

swadeshibabu middle-class nationalist or Congress

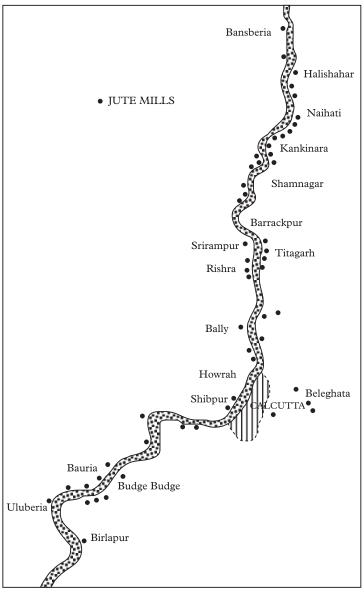
activist

thana police station

vaisya commercial caste; prostitute

varna caste verandah balcony zamindars landlord





Location of jute mills along river Hooghly