THE GARDEN OF RATIONAL DELIGHTS: The Nation as Experiment, Science as Masculinity

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THE GARDEN OF RATIONAL DELIGHTS: The Nation as Experiment, Science as Masculinity

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In *Between Dead-End Streets*, a marvellous Hindi short story — a cautionary tale, really — the Indian novelist Mithileshwar writes about that forlorn space where the cunning of modernity encounters its earnest subject; that which it has promised to transform — from native to citizen, from poor to rich, whatever — but then swiftly, slips away without distributing its largesse; reneging on its promises and leaving behind a trail of bewildered, baffled lamentations.

The 'hero' of the story is the villager Jagesar who, on learning of 'official' plans to build a bitumen road through his village, decides that his days of misery — grinding poverty, exploitative landlords — are over. For, just by the side of the proposed road Jagesar owns a small shed which he plans to convert into a tea stall to service the vehicular traffic which would no doubt ply the new road. In anticipation, he borrows heavily and carries out extensive renovations to the shed, secure in the knowledge that, soon, he would rid himself of this, otherwise extraordinary, burden of debt. "I may not become rich", he tells his friends, "but I will certainly be my own person".

In time, construction on the road begins and with each stockpile of paving material, and with every inch covered by the paving machinery, Jagesar's spirits soar. And then, one day the road is ready for traffic. Jagesar is sitting with some friends outside his refurbished shed — his passport to subject-hood — when a Jeep stops in front of them and off-loads its cargo of five men who walk briskly towards him. "Who does this house belong to?", one of them asks:

"My house, sir" Jagesar responds.

"Why did you build your house here ?"

"But sir, this is my ancestral house.... it's been here since my grand-father's time."

"But this is government land. This road is to be inaugurated one week from now.... we have received orders from above that there are to be no houses ten feet to the either side of it."

"What then ?" Jagesar asks in a quivering voice.

"You must dismantle the structure immediately", the official replies, "or we will have to demolish it."

On the day of the inauguration of this most visible marker of modernity — transporting 'well-being' to deprived populations — that the nation-state has

constructed, Jagesar, physically ill and bedridden from the shock of the earlier visit by the representatives of the state, rushes out to his shop site. His son and wife run after him, pleading that he return to his bed. But Jagesar is a man possessed, and he goes straight to his tea-stall. But there, where the shop once stood, there is a pile of rubble. There are Jeeps scurrying about, loud-speakers making announcements, and a crowd has gathered. But to Jagesar, now slumped against his family members, none of the sounds seem distinct and the crowd is just a blur. His person-hood has slipped away, the rubble in front of him proclaiming the occasion.

In Mithileshwar's story, the construction of a *pakka* road through the village comes to represent, in a synecdochical manner, the luscious promises of general well being; the comfort, the good life of the metropolis and the cornucopia of modernity. In his pithy rendering of the fate of the 'non-modern' in its encounters with the cunning of modernity, Mithileshwar writes a chapter on the cultural politics of metaphors in the realm of the post-colonial nation-state; and in this, through a wry turn of historical and sociological sensitivity, he extends the Bakhtinian idea of the chronotope of the road in unexpected and original ways. Through the praxis of ironical rendition — irony here is that gap[1] the writer opens up between the earnest citizen and the imperatives of effective governmentality — the road on which Jagesar's pins his hopes for the future becomes the gash of the ferocious manoeuvres which modernity — in this case, the insurmountable absolutism of the Indian nation-state implementing 'development' — practices on 'non-modern' populations.

Now, I wanted to use the above story towards two specific ends: as an epigraph to another — though non-fictional — account of Indian modernity which has brought strikingly different rewards for quite another set of actors; and to counterpoise Mithileshwar's image of the 'non-modern' straddling the margins of the modern with a 'real life' portrait of a scene of modernity framing the vista of the Indian nation-state. The vital difference between Mithileshwar's *mise en scène* and mine is not only that Jagesar is yet to come to terms with the evanescent promises of modernity, but also that it is his innocence in the realm of capital which proves his undoing. *My* characters, on the other hand, are 'successful' precisely because of a crucial simultaneity in their world-view, that which comprehends the working of the nation-state as also the functioning of capital. Here, below, is this other story about a site towards which the metaphoric road which completely by-passes Jagesar's world could well be said to be headed.

The Doon School, located in the North Indian city of Dehradun in the state of Uttar Pradesh was founded in 1935 through the efforts of S.R. Das, Law member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and a prominent member of the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta. Upon completing his education in England, Das returned to India and became one of the many who took part, an official history of the School tells us, in "the growing search for a national Indian identity" (Singh 1985:11). In December 1927, he wrote to one of his sons, then studying at Cambridge University, of his fund-raising activities for the school which, he said, was "going to be the real, though a very slow solution, of the problem of the nationality of Indians". Das did not live to see his plans come to fruition and upon his death in 1928 responsibility for the project

devolved upon a group of senior officers of the Indian Civil Service, men of Das's acquaintance, who saw it through to completion. In time the School received generous financial and moral support from feudal, industrial and government sources and counted some of the most prominent public figures of the time among its supporters.[2]

The School is one of the many 'way-stations' along the journey of the 'native' personality towards the consciousness of the nation-state, and a little shrine to the greater deity of the 'citizen', where 'conversions' occur to a 'new' way of thinking. And, not unlike "what European imperialism and third-world nationalism have achieved together: the universalization of the nation-state as the most desirable form of political community" (Chakrabarty 1992:19),[3] the School owes its ideological genesis to the skeins of colonial cultural politics and nationalist weavings of an "Indian" imaginary out of the colonial yarn. The 27th of October, 1935, marked both the beginning and the culmination of this collusive project. For it was on this day that, with an "eminent company" of people in attendance, and "with all the publicity from the press [it] could have wished for",[4] Viceroy Willingdon declared the School open.

The organization responsible for the overall administration of the School is the Indian Public Schools Society (I.P.S.S.), a body formed by Das before his death in 1928 and registered by him under the Indian Companies Act of 1860. This was the first of many gestures towards an explicit positioning of the School within the 'modern'/'rational' sectors of society. The synecdochic purpose served by 'industrial' activity as a metaphor for a wider rationality in the analytical endeavours of the 'science' of modernity *par excellence*, economics, has, of course, a long history. Alfred Marshall was to emphatically point out that "normal" action "is taken to be that which may be expected, under certain conditions, from the members of an industrial group" (Marshall 138:vii).

Doon is a fully residential, public (in the contrary English sense of private) school for boys which, notwithstanding official assertions of a 'national' student population, largely draws its clientele from North India. The fees, in comparison to day schools, are high though this does not inhibit the demand for admissions.[5] Research and fieldwork on which this paper is based was carried out during 1989 to 1991, and in each of those years more names were added to the waiting list for admissions than the School expected to accommodate in the foreseeable future.

The Doon School constitutes an important site of construction of the 'modern' Indian citizen. Its engagement with society was, and continued to be, through a confessional science of personality. In this paper, I want to focus upon one aspect of the citizenship project at the Doon: the projection of the School as the space of the scientific / rational man; and the attempt by those associated with it to place its daily life within the matrices of a mental and social space consciously created out of the mortar of the 'scientific attitude', "understood as the application of 'epistemological' thinking to acquired knowledge" (Lefebvre 1991:4).[6]

Rational Individuals, Industrial Groups

In October 1990 the Headmaster of the Doon School addressed a special school assembly upon his return from a conference of Headmasters of European public schools in Geneva. He had assembled the students to deliver a lecture on, as he saw it, the reasons for German and Swiss 'superiority' over Indians, as had become obvious to him on this, his latest, trip overseas. As the boys and the staff stood in patient silence the Headmaster explained that the reason for German and Swiss superiority (a term not further defined but used, rather, as an omnibus, for a range of ineffable traits) was their 'scientific' attitude to life and secondly, and as a consequence of the former, their punctuality. The Headmaster, a Physics teacher by training, suggested that India could only hope to emulate the West by planning for a future tempered by the exactitude of a scientific imagination and the cadenced movement of punctual habits. The Swiss, he concluded, are an advanced people:

> Because not only are they a scientific people but also because their trains and planes operate strictly according to schedule.... not like us....

Almost sixty years ago the ghost of the irrational, un-scientific native had pursued the founders of the Doon school with just as much vigour and had occupied their thinking with great tenacity. 'Rationality' was an attribute specifically denied the latter by the British who had commandeered that nineteenth century ontological space which conducted its business in vectors of 'objectivity', 'scientificity' and 'this worldly' consciousness for themselves. The *ability* to lead a life of the mind was what set, so the thinking went, the English apart from their subject races. The Doon school represented both an acceptance of this doctrine and an attempt to overcome it. The efforts of the School's founders were also informed by the philosophical underpinning of the age of capital and the ostensible requirements for participation in its enterprise. Hence, the establishment of the School should be seen both as a *general* endeavour concerned with a science of the individual — a 'method' for understanding social predicament and a tool for improving society — and as the collective action of what the economist Alfred Marshall referred to as "the members of an industrial group".

The philosophy of the market — of the industrial society — can be seen as one entwined with the ontology of the scientific gaze: redeeming science which would rescue the native from the primitivism of the barter economy and introduce him, the male object, to the anonymous, 'neutral', strictly and precisely accountable world of the modern market. By the opening decades of the nineteenth century, science as an ethos, a way of thinking about and organizing one's life already possessed a long and respectable history in European thought. In 1621 Francis Bacon published his *Novum Organum* in which he expounded the "dream-method of a positivist" whereby understanding could proceed "by a true scale of successive steps, without breach and interruption, from particular to lesser axioms, thence to the intermediate (rising one above the other), and lastly to the most general" (Bajaj 1988:30); and Thomas Hobbes' outline for "science as society" was there for all to see in his *Leviathan*.[7]

The forging of a connection between the 'scientific attitude' and 'members of an industrial group' came somewhat later. One of the most ardent, and eloquent,

advocates of the idea was the English economist, Alfred Marshall.[8] For Marshall, 'economic evolution' implied a movement towards the industrialized state. This was a movement away from 'savagery', a condition where humans exist "under the dominion of custom and impulse; scarcely ever striking out new lines for themselves; never forecasting the distant future.... governed by the fancy of the moment...." (Marshall 1938:vii), to the industrial society; the analysis of this latter rational state was, quite obviously then, a scientific activity itself. The continuing reiteration by economists from the time of Marshall till now, that their subject is a science, and indeed its increasing epistemological alignment with the 'proper' science of physics and the exact world of mathematics, owes something to this view.

The School's earliest connection with the realms of rationality may be traced to the tenets of its founder's religious faith. For the leading light behind the drive to establish 'an Indian public school', S.R. Das, was himself the product of, and an active participant in, the social and cultural world of the socio-religious movement known as the Brahmo Samaj which had its hey-day in the late nineteenth century. The Samaj itself was the confident child of the so called Bengal renaissance, "inferior no doubt to its Italian prototype, but still allegedly constituting a transition from medieval to modern India under British rule" (Sarkar 1985:vi). The Brahmos, as David Kopf has suggested in a largely hagiographic account of the movement, "not only appropriated [Western] science and reason in a very special and positive way, but also deified them" (Kopf 1979:44). There were several ways in which the "deification of science, humanity, and reason" (Kopf 1979:42) was elaborated in the lives of the faithful; while some found that the scientific principles could most fruitfully be applied to the realm of spiritual speculation, others combined their Brahmo religiosity with outstanding careers as professional scientists.[9]

An important strain in the endeavour was also the close association many Brahmos formed with the world of commerce and industry. In this way they forged a fruitful partnership between 'useful' and 'productive' work — which had an important place in the Brahmo pantheon of scientism — and the world of colonial capitalist and comprador activity. Notwithstanding this, however, some of the most prominent Brahmos, in ironic contrast to their public outpourings of sympathy for the 'downtrodden' and their predilection for 'useful' work, were products of, and continued to maintain during their lifetime, remarkably feudal lifestyles.[10]

It was from this social and cultural milieu that S.R. Das came, and it was to this he turned for both intellectual inspiration for his school and for financial support for its foundation. His diaries indicate his intimate association both with the world of commerce — supposedly fired by the rationality of the free trade doctrine and the modern impulses of the market place — and with an assorted collection of feudal elements whose very existence the liberal free trader was expected to undermine. Apart from membership on the board of directors of several companies, Das was also actively involved in the share market and held shares in some thirty-six different companies (Srivastava 1993a).

The elaboration of the 'scientific attitude' at the School was directed towards, broadly, two areas which were, sometimes explicitly though more often in an implicit manner, seen to constitute the being of the 'modern' citizen. The first was personal

discipline. The idea of discipline at the School was, from the very beginning, enunciated within the framework of a very specific ontology: "[this].... discipline [is] not one based on fear, not one that existed by violent repression, but.... [one].... that relied on the development of the boys' own self control".[11] The other designated realm of scientific scrutiny, the gaze of the rational eye, was the world of cultural and social cognition. I do not have the space here to dwell upon the latter aspect of the School's disciplinary mosaic and will have to be content with quoting the words of Headmaster Martyn (1948-66) as a summary of the 'scientific' method of culture which animated the School.

In an edition of the Doon School Weekly, a popular forum for debates on 'national identity', Martyn noted with extraordinary confidence that "Indian culture seems to me to be vast, unwieldy and diffuse";[12] that this 'diffuseness' was not suitable as 'spiritual' ornamentation of a 'modern' nation. The "problem" of Indian culture (its 'appropriateness'), Martyn, an Englishman who had 'stayed on', noted, "concerns all those of us who are connected with education":

> It needs to be edited, clipped, trimmed, reduced to manageable proportions.

The Ichnography of the Industrial Estate

Before proceeding to a discussion of the minutiae of the 'experiment' of personal discipline at Doon — the elaboration of the scientific world view and its insertion into the various crevices of school life — it will be useful to survey the domain which, according to Lord Willingdon's opening day speech, was to provide the setting where young boys would be enabled to "become useful citizens of their country.... [having].... the chance of developing in conditions which have played a great and precious part in the life of Great Britain."[13]

"In the first instance", Foucault says, "discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space. To achieve this end it employs several techniques" (Foucault 1979:141). One of these may be referred to as the technique of "*enclosure*": "the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself." It is to the materiality of the enclosure of science and discipline, where "the school building was to be the mechanism for training" (Foucault 1979:172), that I now turn. Of importance to the entire project of the 'new' national identity at the Doon School was not just the corpus of activity and words which would animate the setting, but the spatial peculiarities of the setting itself: the precise, utilitarian aesthetics of the architecture, and an understanding of the history of the site to be occupied by the School as part of the history of 'modern' endeavours.

April in the Doon valley where the School is situated is a bearable month. The extreme discomforts of the North Indian summer, though not distant, have not yet arrived, and the surrounding hills display an attractive cover of submontane greenery. It was during such a month of passing weather, balancing precariously at the precipice of summer, that civil servants Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Frank Noyce came to Dehradun to inspect a possible site for S.R. Das's public school. The year was

1933 and they were accompanied on this consecratory journey to give physical shape to a, thus far, imaginative geography of the 'nationalism' project, by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, then Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education. The site which matched both the resources and sentiments of the Indian Public Schools Society, was the former campus of the Forest Research Institute and Forest College (F.R.I.) in the locality of Chandbagh. The Chandbagh estate was located approximately 2 kilometres south of the administrative and business centre of Dehradun, a site marked unmistakably by that most visible of all motifs of the 'rational' life: a clock-tower.

The F.R.I, established in 1906, was[14] a government body devoted to the identification and classification of plants and forest produce. It was also part of the larger nineteenth century enterprise of the 'mapping'. Along with the various 'Surveys' of India it formed a part of an exploratory complex, where the unknown of nature and the unfamiliar of culture could, with the exertions of the 'scientific method', be known and captured. The F.R.I. occupied the conjunctional space on the double helix of 'scientific' knowledge and colonial authority, and employed an impressive array of both designated 'experts' as well as facilities for the task of penetrating the wilderness. Of course, the Institute itself was merely the reification of an historical endeavour whose ambitions were entelichal and whose beginnings stretched back to an era of European history characterized by the most peculiar of epistemological conjunctions. Among the factors which presaged the coming of the nation-state in Europe, Anderson tells us, was "the gradual demotion of the sacred language [Latin] itself" (Anderson 1986:24), such that by the eighteenth century "the fall of Latin exemplified a larger process in which the sacred communities integrated by old sacred languages were gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialized" (p. 25). Now, at the same time, and in connected ways, that the epistemological community of the sacred was coming apart at the seams in Europe, another, the scientific, was in the process of consolidating. And the peculiarity of the situation was that both these worlds, with their vastly differing and opposed cosmogonical predilections, expressed their internal unity through the same language, Latin.

In this period of the coming together of the sacred and the scientific in unexpected ways, the year 1735 is of great importance with respect to the Forest Research Institute and the Doon School. For that year marks the publication of Carl Linne's *The System of Nature*, "in which the Swedish naturalist laid out a classificatory system designed to categorize all plant forms on the planet, known or unknown to Europeans" (Pratt 1992:15). The Institute in Dehradun was, then, one of the manifestations of the "planetary consciousness" which was embodied in Linne's original project, one of the many such nodes for gathering and transmitting data which contributed to a *Geist* "marked by an orientation toward interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatus of natural history" (Pratt 1992:15). It was to this grid of scientific knowledge — a particular way of viewing, writing, speaking, and classifying — that the F.R.I. belonged, a reification of a discourse which had displaced other, non-European, classificatory systems.

The division of labour at the Institute was between the departments of the Forest Zoologist, the Forest Botanist, the Forest Economist, the Silviculturist, the Chemist, the Biologist, and the Entomologist.[15] The Lecture theatres combined with a range of laboratories and museums to function as expository niches in the authoritative geography of an encyclopaedic enterprise: there was the Timber Display Hall, the Minor Forest Products Museum, Chemistry Laboratories, the Photography Laboratory, the Zoologist's Museum, the Silviculturist's Museum, the Insectary, the Entomologist's Museum and the Biological Laboratory (ibid.). Though the Institute also functioned to assist forest based commercial enterprise (the "Timber Testing Section"), its presence, to paraphrase Victor Turner, in the forest of colonial symbols was one defined by the imperatives of a transcendent enterprise which saw as its axes the methods of the researcher and the ambience of the laboratory.

However, the estate chosen by Noyce and Bhore as the campus of the future Doon school was not just an arrangement of buildings for the dissemination of serious knowledge, it was also a well planted garden. In a pastiche of the edible, the aesthetic and the utilitarian, mango and lichee trees shared the grounds with flowering plants and teak trees. The tennis courts were "pleasantly shaded in the evenings by the row of high *Dilinia Indica*", and the appearance of the grounds had been much improved "by the rows of champa and *Acrocarpus paxinifolicus*".[16] However, the garden was not merely viewed by its Indian occupants as a landscape of gratuitous frolic, a grove of non-utilitarian delights, for such passive identification with the world of nature spoke of a past which it was precisely the task of the new school to disavow towards the construction of a blueprint for a new, radically different future for the citizen of the coming postcolonial nation-state; the garden was, rather, a realm where all pleasures were tempered with the metal of utility:

> The Forest Service planted many different shrubs and trees and these remain for our enjoyment and instruction (*The Doon School Book*:9).

The setting spoke of a new dawn, encompassed by the evocative image of an old dream: the architecture of a new knowledge, scientific knowledge, embossed upon the undulating canvas of a profusion of nature. However, though it was a garden with the power to summon a vision of genesis — with ripening fruits which "are a perpetual temptation to small boys", and "a magnificent tun tree in which nest each year a pair of golden orioles" — it was a profusion carefully managed, an arboretum. It was entirely appropriate, then, that the search for a site for the nurture, no, birth, of a new Indian identity, should find its denouement in a garden with flowers and laboratories: the garden of rational delights.

The men who brought the School into existence led comfortable lives as officials and allies of the colonial government. They exulted as well in the role of indigenous heirs to the 'progressive' thoughts of a seemingly omnipotent West;[17] the tenor they sought to impart to their local institutions of 'progress' owed not a little to that considered appropriate by the English. It is in this context that the building which occupies the centre-stage in the garden of the erstwhile campus of the F.R.I. complements the larger picture of a scientific landscape.

The most enduring impression which Doon's main building (fig. 1) leaves upon the observer is one of serious intent: an intent to deal with the vagaries of a refractory climate and with the imperatives of creating a working space which would faithfully reflect the *nature* of the work done there. The design also expresses a certain frugality of style: a concern with direct thought and action unfettered by the flaccid concerns of diffuse, other-worldly thinking. This aspect of the building can most directly be brought out by comparing it to the central structure of another public school, the Mayo College in Ajmer, Rajasthan. The two buildings belong, chronologically, to the same era, the Mayo building being older by approximately 20 years. Stylistically, however, they stand far apart. The stylistic difference can be interpreted as part of the process of the creation of very specific spaces; here, the identities of those who designed these buildings as well of those for whom the buildings were designed becomes crucial to understanding the nature of the deliberately designed difference.

The Mayo College was established in 1876 as a public school for the scions of the princely houses of North India. Its central building was designed by a British architect, *but* for a native clientele: 'native' as the Orientalist's analytical and culturally defined category. The profusion of marble arches, domes and canopies which adorn the structure (fig. 2), a profusion *designed* by an Englishman, was an act of representation. It sought to represent the 'essence' of 'native life'. The stylistic excesses of building, designated Indo-Saracenic by its builders, were intended to convey some thing of the Orient as perceived by the English. The white marble building embodied a view of native life itself: ornate, other-worldly, profuse, dissolute.

The 'mellow red brick' building which occupies the central space of the Doon School was born of a style whose symbolic intent can be said to be quite different from its counterpart at Mayo College. It is encompassed within a geometry of straight, almost severe lines, unadorned arches and large rectangular windows. It has wide airy corridors, high ceilinged rooms and a small, unobtrusively raised platform on the flat roof upon which the school bell is mounted: it is a place of work, of serious endeavour. It is also, in the austerity and the 'rationality' of its visage, an exercise in self-representation by its original occupants and planners, the English, of 'their' culture: functional, this-worldly, focused, resolute.

The Indians who chose the erstwhile Forest Research Institute campus as the site for their future school did not, of course, design its buildings. It was designed and constructed by the British for both a specific and a general purpose. The specific purpose was the immediate use to which it was to be put: to be the campus of the Forest Research Institute. The general, more diffuse, nature of the enterprise is connected to that sphere of the colonial imagination where the European self was given shape through association with a constellation of objects and activities. The Forest Research Institute was one of the many ideographs of 'difference' embossed upon a colonial techno-scientific landscape: such a landscape proclaimed the difference between the progressive ethos of an efflorescent Occident and the effete charter of oriental existence.

Figure 1

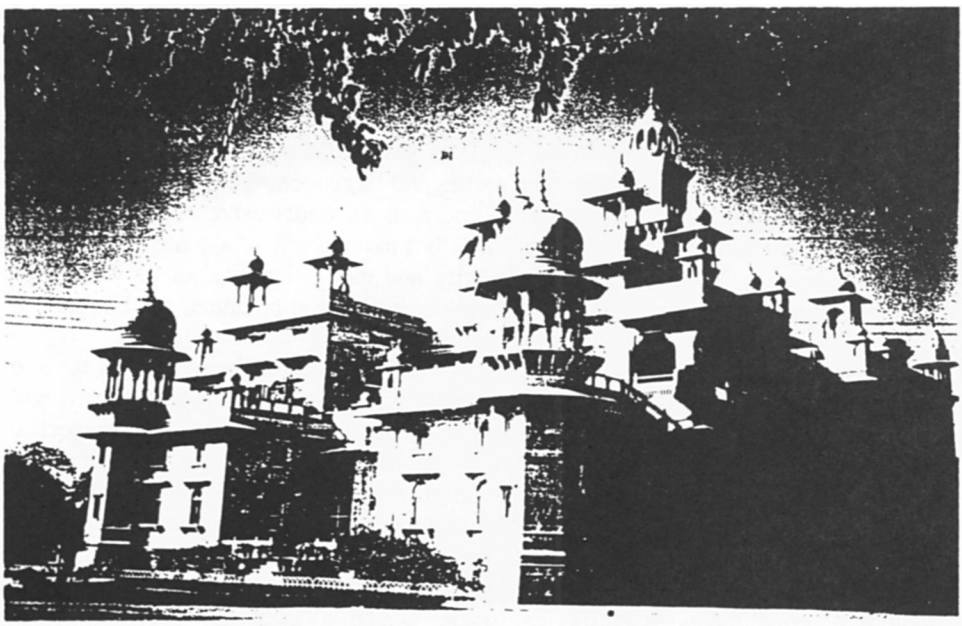

Figure 2

Taking on this genealogical heritage, the theme of the physical and 'intellectual' location of the Doon School in the world of resolute 'manly' activity is a recurrent one. The School's engagement with ideas of masculinity is not, I suggest, concerned with the realm of the physical — sports, bodily toughness and the ability to absorb physical pain. The scene of masculinity into which the School sought to insert its own presence — to be one of its fragments — is one inscribed with the emblems of 'precise' activity, and those of the new knowledges of classification and scrutiny. Such a non-corporeal view of manly action at the School is linked to the historical situation of an intelligentsia — the School's supporters — which saw itself characterized by the English as 'non-scientific', other-worldly and given to speculations of spiritual and 'emotional' nature; embodying, in short, 'feminine' traits.

Therefore, it is the site of knowledge at the School which is the site of gender, and the School makes a conscious attempt to be identified with 'knowledges' of a certain pedigree. When reading the passage below from an early account of the School it will be useful to keep in mind Ludmilla Jordanova's suggestion that "the very terms in which knowledge, nature and science are understood are suffused with gender, partly through the tendency, of ancient origin to personify them, and partly because, as result of personification, we think of the processes by which knowledge is acquired as deeply sexual" (Jordanova 1989:5);

> .... We are very lucky to have with us, and to be able to visit [the account notes], such interesting places as the Forest Research Institute, the Geodetic and Map publication branches of the Survey of India and the Indian Military Academy.... From them come lecturers to the many different school societies.... experts to advise us in their special knowledge, and to them we go to watch them at work and to get ideas on what goes on outside our own sphere of life. We are indeed fortunate to have close at hand people who can advise and help us with such diverse problems as to the trees to plant in our grounds, new exercises to introduce into our physical training, the areas in which to find mineral outcrops, how to control pests attacking our vegetables, and a Department to print maps for us.[18]

Visitors to the School were also quick to appreciate the specificities of the 'landscape' of which the campus was a part, one removed from the mêlée and randomness of the world 'outside':

> The institution is fortunate in its location. It is well out of town – far from the noise, smells, flies and general confusion of the bazaar. It is some distance from the main road connecting Dehra Dun — the railhead — with the military sanatorium at Chakrata nestling the folds of the Himalayas....[19]

The various edificial markings of this landscape — the Archaeological Survey of India, the Vaccine Research Institute at Kasauli in Himachal Pradesh, the Asiatic Society, — were more than places where serious men chartered the course of useful knowledge, skirting the eddies of politics through firm adherence to the neutral

methodology of 'objective' knowledge. They constituted a topography of symbols: symbols of identity, the signifiers of difference between the 'culture' of the rulers and that of the ruled.

It was the world of practical, 'resolute', activity — a world which spoke of the rigourous task of knowing one's *mind* — that the Forest Research Institute, among others, represented. The ordered world of 'scientific' inquiry, with its visible accoutrements — the hospital, the Survey, the Research Institute — was proffered as the essence of occidental *Weltgeist*; the spirit which pervaded both its ontological and metaphysical musings — how the world is and how it ought to be. It was as such that this 'spirit' was, in fact, accepted by the indigenous class which was to establish Doon school as the site for the resolution of the problem of 'Indian-ness'.

The proponents of the School adhered to a view of society where the analytical focus was turned away from the impact of social and historical factors and concentrated, instead, on 'defects' of personality: social and economic stasis as consequences of a lack in the native body and mind, inadequacies of personality. It was this lack, and these inadequacies — one of which was the absence of the scientific temper — that the School set out to remedy. 'Personality' could now be seen as removed from the grasp of history: timeless, transcendent, able at any time to be instantly transformed.

It is only by situating the dialogue of Doon — the dialogue on 'nation building', the debates on the Doon man, the new Indian — within the universe of an ahistoricized present animated by the transubstantiative embrace of science and rationality, that we can fully understand both the potency of its images and its functioning as a class institution. For, the advocacy of the view, that the 'scientific' population is the harbinger of prosperity (in whatever form) and the 'unscientific' and 'irrational' sections are responsible for stasis, establishes a difference, an Otherness, which, through the exaltation of agency, de-centres a view of the entrenched forms of *structural* oppression enacted through class and caste. For the supporters of the Doon School, their own welfare linked to their role as vital cogs in the assemblages of power of the state and society, historical and sociological analyses of 'backwardness' would have been an uncomfortable mode of cognition.

Space of the Laboratory, Experiments of Personality: The Disciplined Citizen

At the heart of science lies the act of experiment: the calibrated movements of its 'apparatus', the never-ending quest of separating 'truth' from falsehood, the immurement of unmanageable multiplicities within the structures of tables and graphs, an ordinal imperative; the post-colonial project of citizenship at Doon School was intimately connected with the idea of the production of the scientific man as a conscious act of the experimental method. Children as young as eleven would, after a period of residence at the School lasting from five to six years, emerge as transformed beings, carrying with them into the wider world, the nation, the methods and habits of scientific thinking and rational actions. The school was to be the scientific, clinical space where, through transformations effected in the individual personality, the

perceived social and economic stasis of a colonized society could be ameliorated through the postulate of "a total fit between the needs of a good society and the needs of modern science" (Nandy 1988:8). The School could identify its task, in consonance with a large body of 'educated' and influential opinion, as one inspired by the punctilios of the laboratory, by the precise etiquette of the scientific technique. In this way both the everyday life and the long term plan of the School could be presented as an 'experiment', and the scientific experiment, in turn, would deliver the scientific, rational man.

The classical age in Europe, Foucault tells us, "discovered the body as the object and target of power.... the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces" (Foucault 1979:136). At the core of the "the great book of Man-the-Machine" Foucault continues, "reigns the notion of 'docility', which joins the analysable body to the manipulable body. A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (p. 136). On one level, the 'discovery' and reification of the body at the Doon School — and its enmeshment in the fine and precise grid of daily routine: rising bell, exercises, breakfast, assembly, classes, lunch, rest period, sports, extracurricular activities, bathing time, evening meal, study time, sleeping time — may be perceived to be congruent to that described by Foucault. However, the similarity is confined to the *mechanism* of its elaboration; in other ways the disciplinary regime within the Doon School differs fundamentally from that which concerns Foucault. This difference is due to the fact that the 'disciplinarians' at the School see it serving different ends to those formulated, as Foucault tells us, by men such as Guibert and Bentham who visualized it as saturating the entire social (or, rather, 'national') body. It is through a very specific regime of techniques of the self — I explain below its specificity with respect to the Indian context — embodying experimental acts within a controlled environment, that the School carries out its project of the construction of the 'scientific', 'rational' citizen bound to an interpretation of the 'ills' of the society in terms of shortcomings of personality.

For six mornings of the week at the Doon School the morning bell announces the first public act of the day, 'P.T.' or Physical training. After *Chota Hazri* (tea and bread) boys proceed to the exercise area, the School oval, to take part in a series of coordinated exercises.

> P.T. was started in 1935 with seventy boys who could easily be divided into two squads and taught by two qualified masters. In 1936 the number increased to 188 boys and help had to be taken from other masters to take the squads [sic] and this lowered the standard of P.T. and discipline.... Leaders training classes [consisting of senior boys].... were started in 1938.... the leaders [being].... examined by some officers from the I.M.A. [the Indian Military Academy[20]] These leaders prove very useful in training other boys and in maintaining good discipline. .... On two days a week the P.T. leaders' class of about 36 boys is conducted by the P.T. master. The class is made up to include, firstly all boys who have taken the School Certificate, and all those who are likely to leave before the

> following year even if they have not taken School Certificate. This ensures that no boy will leave the school in the ordinary course without this essential part of his training.[21]

The passage above depicts a scene from life at the Doon School in 1948. The public spectacle of the callisthenics — the "disciplinary polyphony of exercises" (Foucault 1979:159) — inscribes both the spatial and temporal aspects of the School with the unmistakable gloss of a drama of the industrial age; gradation, combination, precision, ordinality, the testing of skills, honour for the artful, opprobrium for the unskilled.... the cadence of the laboratory and the relentless order, to avoid waste, of the industrial production system:

> In September new boys are taken for elementary training in separate small squads of 6 to 8, with specially selected leaders who have to be endowed with great patience. After a month the new boys have a passing-out test in the presence of the Headmaster, the master in charge of P.T. and the two senior boy leaders. Those considered fit are allowed to join the ordinary classes, and usually 7 or 8 are relegated to a further period of elementary training.[22]

In the intervening forty-four years the minutiae of the School's corporeal calendar have barely changed and even in senior classes some form of physical activity is mandatory.[23] The present headmaster, himself educated at Doon and for many years a master at Gordonstoun school in Scotland, was unequivocal that "despite all the clichés about what sports do to boys," he said,

> .... it's true.... you have to have them, both team games and individual games. You have to have boxing.... I used to say no [to boxing], but I've changed my mind. .... and P.T. is also very important. I like both team games and individual games.... you learn social behaviour through team games.

As in 1948, P.T. leaders are still trained from among the senior boys and examined by the School's resident P.T. instructor. The boys, when presented for examination, perform their routine in white vests, white trousers, and white canvas shoes. Here is the compressed image — contained in the mechanics and visibility of hued actions — which carries both the resonance of laboratorial and industrial activity. The 'tests', unlike the 'P.T' itself which takes place early morning, are held during class hours. During term time the School plays host to a constant stream of visitors, especially parents, who can be seen wandering about exploring the campus. For such visitors, public activities such as the leaders' test constitute fleeting fragments in the life of the School, fragments towards an entelechy of 'modern' life which animates the campus and whose punctilios the School imparts to their wards.

S.M. whose son is a student at Doon lives in the North Indian city of Lucknow. A Brahmin, he is a relatively prosperous businessman and owns cold-storage warehouses used for storing agricultural produce. He is a regular visitor to Doon and described how "some of the teachers there have become good friends, like younger brothers." When visiting the School, he said, he usually stayed with one of the masters whom he had got to know well. During our conversation, S.M. alternated between biographical vignettes from his own life and his views on the Doon School.

He narrated how he had studied Psychology at university, working later at the Planning Commission as a "social researcher". He also described in detail the "methodology" of research he had undertaken whilst employed at the Commission, his conversations peppered with terms such as 'random samples', 'exogenous factors', and 'multivariate surveys'.

I asked S.M. why, when Lucknow itself contained several reputable day-schools, he had sent his sons to Doon. His answer was prefaced with a cautionary tale about his daughters, now in their late teens, and their early school days:

> I noticed a lack of discipline in my children when they were staying at home. I will tell you about one incident: my daughter was woken up early one morning to go to school.... but she didn't get up when she should have. And when she did get up it was getting late for school [sic] so she didn't even go to the toilet — I repeat [said in a tone of considerable consternation] — didn't even go to the toilet. So for three years I put them in [names a private girls school in Lucknow], in their hostel. They improved immediately.
>
> So, I personally surveyed three public schools, Mayo, Sanawar, and Doon. I was greatly impressed by Doon. The [then] Headmaster was from a business background.... and he had greatly impressed me with his management style. I was greatly impressed with the discipline at the School. Every one gets up when they must; this is the difference.... between one sort of people and another....

The difference between the disciplinary regime of the Doon School and that of the world outside as Arthur Foot, Doon's first Headmaster, saw it, can be gleaned from the following words he addressed to a special Founders Day Assembly in 1936: "During his speech the Headmaster said that the idea of discipline was constantly" in his mind, but that,

> .... the discipline they were building up was not one based on fear, not one that existed by violent repression, but a discipline that relied on the development of the boys' own self-control and that depended on their cooperation. .... and when they grew up he hoped that.... [they].... would be able to look straight and unflinchingly at the highest in the land, confident in the power they possessed in having accomplished the primary goal of education — self-discipline and control of a trained body and mind and spirit.[24]

The Gaze of the Citizen

The passage above constitutes one of the fragment from the tract of the School's narrative of Otherness — concerned with establishing the difference between the Doon Indian, the citizen of tomorrow, and those 'out there' — which was elaborated at the School from its earliest days. This Otherness is established through the framework of a space-time dimension which we may, following Mikhail Bakhtin,

call chronotopic. The chronotope in its basic sense is "a way of understanding experience; it is a specific form-shaping ideology for understanding the nature of events and actions" (Morson and Emerson 1990:36). The name chronotope, Bakhtin says, is given "to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (Bakhtin 1990:84). Notwithstanding its initial use in the field of literature, the concept of the chronotope is of wider applicability as a means of expressing ideas about the nature of time and space in specific contexts and what they tell us about the social and historical nature of the 'action' therein; each chronotope is a field of action and constructs its meaning in specific ways, within which "spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" (Bakhtin 1990:84).

So, at Doon the specific characterization of space and the specific arrangement of time also establishes a particular chronotope, the chronotope of the scientific — rational man. But this chronotope, located in a play of unilinear, disciplinary time and a utilitarian, laboratorial space, is itself counterpoised to contrary spaces and contrary times.

The School established the contrary time-space realm through the act of the scientific gaze, 'critical' observation, which *its* population — counted, graded, homogenized, controlled — could train upon the teeming multiplicities outside: where this exteriority is both geographical and cultural. The scattered acts of colonial episteme and praxis introduced, refined, and reiterated by the English through their own scientific complex — the Surveys, the Royal Societies — now passed on to play a role in the elaboration of an internal colonialism. The School became a vantage point — which itself was, of course, scientific and rational through the very specific characterization of its time-space realm — from where 'other' populations could be observed; and through this act of observation a 'difference' could be established.

The following passages, taken from an account of the School written in 1947, most probably by Arthur Foot himself, are important for two reasons: firstly, they establish the process of observation referred to above and, secondly, they situate this process in the 'neutral' space of scientific inquiry: embedded within an industrial hieroglyphic of decimals, percentages and within the language of a 'scientific Geography'. The passages are an embellishment to the overall discourse of the School concerned with the construction of its techno-scientific image.

So, first, the epigraph to the act of observation: a discussion on the teaching of Geography at the School, *The Doon School Book* tells us, "would not be complete without a mention of the special advantages of Dehra Dun as a centre in which to teach Geography." :

> In Dehra Dun itself are the Forest Research Institute and branches of the Survey of India., both of which are regularly visited, with very valuable results, and from both of which speakers come to address the boys on their special subjects (23).

And then, the School as the experimental, utilitarian space, whereby to occupy it is to, simultaneously, observe the outside world. And the observation itself is dictated by everyday existence at the School which unfolds in the play of the several epistemes of 'modern', rational existence; everyday lives in constant cognizance of the imperatives of the scientific ethos, enunciated through a consciousness which is, *inter alia*, histological and anthropological in its being:

> .... for the study and teaching of Geography the Doon School itself has exceptional facilities. The old Forest College planted a number of interesting trees from different parts of the world; the problem of irrigation can be studied on a small scale within the grounds; boys, masters and servants come from all parts of India and outside (23).

From this vantage point, then, a look-out of the techno-scientific age, one may observe the surroundings, the sightings informed by the various epistemologies of this age. When observing the Doon valley, the above account suggests,

> The caves in its hills, the way its rivers disappear and reappear in their beds, the bizarre structure of the Siwaliks, all may rouse interest in its physical build. .... we can.... [also].... compare the differences between life in the mountains and life in the plains. In the Eastern Doon only .5 per cent of the cultivated area is given up to millets, whereas in the hill district.... millets cover 20.6 per cent. .3 per cent only is given up to sugar in the hill district as against 15 per cent in the Eastern Doon (23).

But the narrative of the clinical eye is not just concerned with measuring, specifying and sorting the physical landscape as part of the scientific enterprise; the endeavour may also be extended to include "Human Geography". Of interest are the identities of those presented as constituting the material of this "Human Geography": villagers and 'hillmen', the Other India. By weaving the 'human' element into the narrative of scientific observation, above, the animate and the inanimate become part of the same analysable 'landscape' and the objects of, because different from, the scientific enterprise:

> The Doon [valley] is rich in material for the study of what is called Human Geography. People from the plains, from Garhwal, Nepal and Tibet frequent it, and it is possible to see with one's own eye the different ways people brought up in different conditions, dress and behave. .... The clothes, the houses and the physique of the hillmen are different from the valley dwellers and the wide differences between a village like Deoprayag and one like Tunwala[25] must strike the observant eye, and rouse a desire to know the causes in those who are curious.[26]

The "desire to know" — to observe the Other — was positioned within a method, and a spirit, of clinical examination, removed from the intimacy of empathy and aligned with the idea of distant observation. The ideal of 'distant observation' which is both minute ('scrutiny') and, simultaneously, removed from the 'influence' of the observer ('objectivity') is a scientific ideal *par excellence*, for only such a method (and it is always a 'method', any other term smacks of imprecision and randomness) leads to the "cardinal tenet", as Jordanova calls it, of scientific thinking. The

passages quoted above are infused with the spirit of this tenet, that of systematic generalization; "it is a cardinal tenet of natural philosophical, scientific and medical thinking that it searches for a high degree of generality. The vast majority of writings on sex differences and sexuality were rooted in the search for lawlike statements, which displayed male and female as natural facts" (Jordanova 1989:8).

In the process of 'distant observation' of the 'natural' life which could be found in the vicinity of the School, a difference was established between the observer and the observed; the observer looked out from the place infused with the spirit of science onto a scene — random, unassorted, a 'natural' landscape — which became the object of the scientific method. The 'other' was different — inferior — by virtue of a lack of science and, connected with this, a lack of masculinity.

The dictionary meaning of the word 'Museum' is as follows: "A room or building for the preservation or exhibition of objects illustrating antiquities, art, natural science etc."[27] But, of course, museums are much more than this. They are also repositories for collections "which embody hierarchies of value, exclusions, [and] rule-governed territories of the self" (Clifford 1993:52). And though the collection of objects in a modern museum expresses an aspect of wider power relations between populations and societies, it is invariably true that "these historical relations of power in the work of acquisition are occulted. The *making* of meaning in museum classification and display is mystified as adequate *representation*" (Clifford 1993:54). In general, the museum 'idea' simultaneously establishes the notions of evolutionary time (with the 'present' being the most evolved) a primitive space (which is on view in the present in (museum) buildings designed exclusively for that purpose, such that the 'modern' present and the 'primitive' past are brought into sharp focus through contiguous location and are clearly distinguishable), and that of scientific observation of the above time-space dimension. Museums are necessary requirements for societies with a conscious view of their place in a 'modern' world, part of a 'rational' ethos. The Museum collection at the Doon School in it early days embodied all these ideas. It elaborated upon the 'Human Geography' within which 'hillmen' and 'valley dwellers' became a part of the observable natural landscape. The Naturalists' Society, whose main object was 'nature study' and for which purpose it organized "frequent expeditions in the neighbourhood", was in charge of the Museum. The majority of the exhibited items were acquired, *The Doon School Book* notes, "from the salvaged exhibits of the museum at Quetta after the earthquake of 1935." And the items exhibited?

> .... a collection of stuffed birds, animals, butterflies and birds' eggs and a collection of armoury and of models and dresses of Baluchistan tribes (34).

I have suggested earlier that my concern with the term 'discipline' is both similar to and quite different from that which engages Foucault. It is similar in as much as the *process* — and the mechanism — through which a disciplinary regime is sought to be established at the Doon School bears a mechanical resemblance to the one under discussion in Foucault's writings. In principle, at least, every single fragment of life at School for the students is supervized: it exists, in the various memos and

orders of regulation, as a system of mathematical calculation; times spent and spaces occupied — who will do what, when and where — are the objects of ceaseless supervision and constant discussion. The supervision — and the scrutiny — exists apart from the conscious activity of those in charge of seeing to its execution: it accompanies the students during their waking hours and sleeps with them — in as much when they must sleep, with whom (no one), where and for how long, constitutes a part of the disciplinary regime of the School. Discipline becomes the unconscious, the tangible intangible, the object of a fetishization which seeks to hallow the territory of the School, both physical and cultural, and distinguish it from others (other schools, other people).

The realm of the disciplinary at the School is open-ended, and nothing exists beyond it or above it, it is co-terminous with existence within its walls as well as, at least for the students, beyond it: on days when they are allowed to go out of the School, to the cinema or the shops, the students are expected to follow a clearly laid out set of rules as to which parts of the city they may visit and the time by which they must return to the School. As well, on their day of outing they are expected to be attired in school uniform. The following description of the disciplinary grid, into which a new student is inserted upon his arrival at the School is worthy, I think, of equal honour with the best of examples that Foucault provides from the vast annals of French history he opens for inspection. Though the description comes from the early years of the School's existence, it provides a broadly accurate picture of the situation as I found it during fieldwork in 1990-91:

> In a boy's early years we try and establish in him habits of punctuality, attention to obligations and honesty. Shortcomings are noticed and recorded in two main ways. In each school period a list is brought around and a boy is marked as late if either he has not arrived absolutely on time, or has forgotten to bring his book, homework, pencil, or other article [sic] that he knows is needed for this lesson. These original entries are marked up by a clerk on a complete school list, by the date of each entry. The Headmaster sees this list daily and sends for the boys who have frequent entries. He is probably quicker to send for whom unpunctuality has been a besetting sin in the past.[28]

So, in a most obvious sense, the School does indeed function within a matrix where:

> The meticulousness of the regulations, the fussiness of the inspections, the supervision of the smallest fragment of life and of the body.... [provide].... a laicized content, an economic or technical rationality for the mystical calculus of the infinitesimal and the infinite (Foucault 1979:141).

However, 'discipline' at Doon School, despite its enmeshment in and elaboration through a play of rules and exhortations which seem contiguous with that excavated by Foucault, is *not* substantially akin to the latter's conception of it; it is not the discipline which Guibert, speaking in late Eighteenth century France, was to say "must be made national" (Foucault 1979:169). For the conception of the disciplinary regime at the School is one bound up with the establishment and articulation of the difference between the scientific and the rational and the unscientific and the

irrational: between those fit to don the mantle of citizenship and those not so endowed.

"You must have noticed", one of the teachers explained to me when I asked him about the system of discipline and punishment at the School, "that we do not rely on coercive punishment, whereby discipline is maintained through a constant threat from above.... that it comes from outside, that someone has to always watch over and the boys can see that someone is indeed watching over their heads." I have suggested above that the scheme of discipline at the School is in the nature of a complete saturation of the field of its survey. In its functioning it unfolds through a system of mutual supervisions and surveillances: "The responsibility for the School's functioning in an orderly manner.... well oiled.... is really distributed up and down the line.... not just the teachers.... even the students, for instance, take part in seeing to it that the School, and that includes the teacher body, functions properly."[29] But — and it is here that I believe that the difference from the Foucauldian perspective arises — the public articulation of the nature of this discipline is, as if refracted through a transmogrifying thought-prism: banal supervision is transformed into transcendent self-discipline; the discipline of the minute and the centimetre, to borrow and paraphrase Foucault, is transformed into the mystique of the soul and the spirit.[30]

Attendance in class, punctuality or lack of it, 'industry', and non-compliance with rules are monitored at the Doon School through a system of culpatory accountancy where red and yellow cards are issued depending on the seriousness of the breach. Red cards are usually issued to boys who are deemed 'idle' or show a marked lack of 'industry' in their work[31] and yellow cards are awarded for serious offences connected with repeated breach of School discipline. These may involve "copying another boy's work, or using dishonest means in answering a test at school." Frequently, yellow cards are also issued to boys apprehended outside the School campus without proper permission. The awarding of the cards is not, however, linked to any overt kind of punishment: corporal punishment is, in fact, forbidden.[32]

It was clear from my conversations with students that many had an acute awareness of the disciplinary mechanism which dictated their existence. This was specially true of boys who came from metropolitan cities and whose families may be characterized under the clumsy rubric of 'Westernized': the liberties allowed them by their parents seemed to be in sharp contrast to the prohibitions placed on them by the School. Indeed, having met several of these parents during the course of my fieldwork, I could characterise very few of them as being inclined towards the kind of 'overdetermination' of their children's lives as seemed to function at the School. As approximately 50% of the 'seats' in the School are reserved for sons and brothers of Old boys of the School, at any time the number of parents with a 'Westernized' background is quite considerable. The Headmaster explained to me that he had, in fact, increased the number of 'reserved seats' in order to attract students from as many different parts of the country as possible.[33]

Now, given that a good number of parents associated with the School see themselves as 'liberal' and anti-authoritarian in the context of child rearing, a useful way of understanding their acquiescence to the rigourous disciplinary regime of the School is through the *symbolic* import of the idea of self-discipline propagated by the

School. Their acquiescence in this regard also provides us with a key to understanding the difference between the disciplinary idea that Foucault speaks of and the one I believe exists at the Doon School in particular and in a postcolonial context in general. For the form of discipline which is represented as animating the functioning of daily life at Doon — self-discipline — is also represented as a regimen of the body which establishes the *difference* between the 'modern' and the 'primitive'; and that between the scientific and its antithesis.

Self-discipline is the characteristic of the 'modern' citizen, 'others' may only function within a concatenation of *imposed* forces and restraints. So, whereas Foucault may say in *Discipline and Punish* that the technique of discipline refined and perfected in the barracks and the class-room slowly and silently breached these walls and mingled with the daily pursuits of the general population, "elaborating procedures for the individual and *collective* coercion of bodies" (p. 169), in the case of Doon we may say something different; that the 'Doon discipline' is, in fact, not meant to coincide with the discipline that is 'required' by the general population. For it is through two very different conceptions of the 'little technology' of form and precision that one of the images of the difference between the Doon citizen and its 'other' is maintained.

Other Selves

The period of my fieldwork in India coincided with the tremendous tumult associated with the so-called Mandal Report on reservations in jobs and educational institutions for the Scheduled and the 'Backward' castes. The streets and other public spaces of several North Indian cities were witness to large-scale demonstrations by upper caste youth against moves by the central government to act upon the Commission's recommendations to increase reservations. During my stay at the School the Mandal issue was a continuing source of discussion among the senior students and the staff. The objects of discussion were both the demonstrators — upper caste like the majority of Doon's students but perceived to be of a different 'cultural' background — and those against whom the demonstrations were aimed, the Scheduled and Backward castes.

The words most commonly directed towards both the above groups was that they were 'essentially irrational'. What do they understand, one of the students said to me, "about organized thinking, they just react on an impulse." When asked about what he meant by "organized thinking", the student responded that "It has something to do with.... being scientific.... you know, thinking things through, not simply jumping into something." This is why, he continued "these people need to be controlled, essentially, they need to be told that enough is enough." Antagonisms based on class were translated into the language of the 'backwardness of mind' and the inability to grasp the minutiae of 'technology': It was often suggested to me that the violence and 'fundamentalism' to be witnessed 'on the streets' was due to the 'unscientific' attitudes held by the population at large and that a 'rational' attitude implied 'orderly' conduct.

'Respect for the law' is an aspect for self-discipline and, as one teacher put it, "The sort of person who comes out of a school such as this, because rational action has been so deeply ingrained in him, does not need any overt form of control." Arthur Foot, of course, was quite clear about this. He "felt that self-control was a concomitant [sic] to being a responsible and productive citizen and warned the boys against the danger of allowing their tempers to get the better of them."[34] During my stay at the School some of the opinions expressed by the boys in this matter were much more forthright: "We don't want people with spears running this country", as one of the students said to me.

Within the School's boundaries there exist two very distinct, openly acknowledged, populations. We may call these the 'Official' and the 'Unofficial' populations of the School, the former consisting of the student and segments of the staff body,[35] and the latter of the so-called Subordinate Staff, the term used to describe the gardeners, cooks, cleaners, waiters and others involved in maintenance duties on the campus. The Subordinate Staff provide the School's Official population with its most immediate referent of the 'Other' which exists beyond its walls. "From the earliest days", *The Doon School Book* tells us, "the school has sought to instil in boys the desire to serve the community" (p. 63). A sense of *"noblesse oblige"*, as the same account quite unselfconsciously calls it, was sought to be put into practice through activities organized under the Labour Quota System first organized in 1939. The Adult Education Society ("Teaching the servants or organizing their games") and the *Dehat Sabha* ("visiting Tunwala"), operated under the Labour Quota System.[36] The latter now functions under a different nomenclature: Socially Useful Productive Work (S.U.P.W.).[37] As a metaphor for an endeavour of modernity which combines both the imperatives of *noblesse oblige* and the purposeful utilitarianism of 'scientific' activity, the words 'socially useful productive work' seem especially apt; the image of service to society embedded in the lexical metaphors of the industrial world.

The 'servants' and the 'villagers' are the living metaphors of a pre-modernity (and anti-modernity) with which the School, along with other voices in the national-public arena has conducted a dialogue. This is the discourse of the personality, where the problem of backwardness is the problem of effecting a scientific transformation in the body of the 'native'. This discourse, as I have suggested earlier, has been adopted in preference to an analysis based, say, on the relationship between 'backwardness' and structural oppression. Under the Child and Adult Education Scheme of the S.U.P.W. at Doon, instruction is provided on matters of "general hygiene and manual labour." It is within the impulse of this scientism that we may locate the following paragraph with its concern with the passage from antiquity to modernity:

> His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces.... visited the School on the morning of Saturday October 15th. After visiting some of the classes and the library, His Excellency went to the Adult School. Mr. Ashraf explained to him the work that the Adult Education Society was attempting among the School servants, and demonstrated the use of the

sand-trays, charts, diagrams and other devices that have been planned by Sahebzada Saiduzzafar for use in the Adult School.[38]

The view that familiarity with the calculative ethos of the market economy is a prerequisite for 'normal' behaviour, to use Alfred Marshall's terminology, where 'normal' does service for 'logical', 'rational', and 'consistent', is also one influential in constructions of the 'primitive' at the Doon School. The conception of the free market as part of the *logos* of the 'civilized' was, eloquently and succinctly put forward by, among others, the 'philosopher-president', S. Radhakrishnan. In a breathtaking act of doctrinal mediation, linking the wisdom of the 'Book of the Hindus' to the liturgy of the laissez-faire political economists, Radhakrishnan explained the message of the *Bhagwadgita* in the spirit *and* language of Adam Smith. "According to the *Bhagwadgita*", he noted, "one obtains perfection if one does one's duty in the proper spirit of non-attachment.... (and).... happily the world is so arranged that each man's good turns out to be the good of others" (Radhakrishnan 1975:80).[39]

"The servants of the School and their children", a member of the staff wrote in a special edition of the School Weekly produced upon the death of the School's first Headmaster, "were also very dear to Arthur Foot, and he was constantly thinking how to help them in their way of thinking [sic], in their manner of living, and in their general attitude towards life."[40] The servants of the School incurred, it seems, frequent debts from moneylenders and one of the ways in which Arthur Foot expressed his concern for "their way of thinking.... and their manner of living" was to attempt to 'teach' them better money management. In a letter to his mother (how apt for a public school educated Headmaster of a public school!) in England, he described the case of the School hospital sweeper who was discovered to be in debt to a moneylender. Foot wrote that he decided to teach the latter "a lesson" by asking the sweeper to not pay his dues and to go to prison instead. "Banwari [the sweeper]", Foot wrote, "therefore ended up free of debt, with, also an extra allowance during his time away from home as his son had drawn his wages."

The aspect of the above which concerns me is the treatment of the 'servants' on par with the children at the School. The 'discovery' of childhood of which, as Philippe Aries has told us (Aries 1973), schools such as Doon were a part, seems to have been to extended there to classify as 'childish' those adults who did not seem to display an aptitude for 'modern' life. A lack of self-discipline and an unfamiliarity with monetized existence: these are the marks of the 'unscientific', and also those of the child. And, as Aries puts it, "It was recognized that the child was not ready for life, and that he had to be subjected to a special treatment, a sort of quarantine, before he was allowed to join the adults." (p. 412) "We hope", the secretary of the Adult Education Society of Doon School wrote of the 'work' among the servants in 1952,

> .... to have a whole-time trained teacher soon for a more thorough execution of our schemes, we want to start regular P.T. for servants to smarten them up and give them a better feeling for the gift of physical fitness. And we want to build the Panchayat Ghar building anew — a building which would be not merely a pleasant meeting place but which

> would possess significant form architecturally, wherein it might be possible to realise again the whole man, unfractured in his methods of thinking and feeling.[41]

The passage from the primitive stage to that of the civilized is also, here, the passage from childhood to adulthood. This is, perhaps, most clearly reflected, as above, in the nature of the discourse within which the existence of the 'unofficial' population is acknowledged. It is the lexical universe of the parent and the child. Social Work activities, for example, centre around acts of 'teaching': general education and hygiene. Leisure activities, such as servants' sports days are 'organized' for them by the School's students and staff, and sections of the Subordinate Staff are described as 'loyal' while others as 'easily led'. Indeed, the perception of the Subordinate Staff itself of its position in the 'family' of the School seems clear: "I have committed a mistake", one of its members wrote to the Headmaster in 1986, accounting for his involvement in a strike at the School, "so please pardon me. I hope you will forgive me. I have a firm belief in you and hope you will forgive me as you would a child."[42]

The contrast between the realm and the processes of the School and that of the cultural world that differs from it is also sometimes formulated with reference to the primal group which has the initial responsibility for the child: early in the School's history the 'Indian' family itself becomes a metaphor for 'native failings'. The 'other' Indians, characterized by lack of a 'sense of personal responsibility' and used to functioning in an environment of 'instruction' rather than 'organization', are the products of the peculiar ethos of the native family. It should be remembered that though the words below are taken from a book written by an Englishman, Arthur Foot, the glowing preface to it was provided by an Indian, Akbar Hydari, then Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Doon School. "We believe", *The Doon School Book* stated, "that character-training is more a matter of organization than instruction." And that,

> The emphasis [at the School] has always been on the needs of individual boys, and on giving them a sense of personal responsibility. Boys who have been, apparently, well brought up at home, behave well and work well to please their parents, or in order to please their school-masters. This is not a sound foundation for conduct. They must behave well and work well to satisfy their own self-respect and sense of personal responsibility. Often it is boys who have a good record of regular work or conduct who slip up when they have started more difficult work. They are so anxious to achieve a good result that they will use dishonest means. When they are found out they are so anxious about what their parents will think that they will lie most brazenly.[43]

The 'unprocessed' child, straight from the bosom of the family, and the 'irrational' Indian, mired in an 'unscientific' ethos and forever a child, share a cultural territory in the discourse of the School. As a consequence of the above-mentioned strike by the Subordinate Staff, they were required to sign a memorandum agreeing to observe certain rules and conditions laid down and drafted by the School

authorities as a condition for employment at the School. The document, draconian in its scope, reads like a primer for the chastened child: the strikers become truant, undisciplined children, and the Memorandum an expiatory document. The strikers, all adults, are seen to suffer from the 'vices' of children.

> We will do the work assigned to each of us [the Memorandum reads] honestly and conscientiously and will be punctual at all times.... [we will not allow].... any outsiders (non-employees) to enter the campus at any time to guide or misguide us.[44]

During the year of the strike (1986), G.R., himself an Old Boy, told me, in the manner of a concerned patriarch:

> The servants are a problem.... they just demand things, they get drunk, beat up someone's wife.... when they were on strike [and had been taken away to jail].... I told them that they had been misled....

The disciplinary regime at the School ('self-discipline'), formulated in a space of science and rationality, serves to distinguish *its* cultural and intellectual world from the realm of 'Other' populations. These latter function under the mechanism of a 'primitive' supervisory principle: force and coercion. The 'discipline' of the Doon School — constituting the disciplinary requirements of the liberal nation-state — establishes the difference between it and its antithetical population; and this regime is not the one which 'must be made national'. For the dialogue of postcoloniality and the nation-state in the Indian case finds its succour through a negative double; the Other of the citizen marked by 'lacks' and 'absences'. The 'primitive' discipline is reserved for this shadowy figure: the embarrassing member of the family occasionally brought into public view as a warning to 'all of us' of regressivity; the primitive discipline is reserved for 'unscientific' and therefore the 'feminine', and, of course, for the 'childish'.

NOTES

1. My idea of the textual practice of 'gaps' and 'voids' borrows, though initially used in a different context, from the concept of the so called Creole continuum. Just as "through a complex of 'lects'", the Caribbean writer "dismantles many received views of the structure of [the English] language" (Ashcroft et al. 1989:45), Mithileshwar "dismantles" the dogmas of 'development' and some forms of 'modernity' through the very use of their dominant symbols in his stories. I hope to develop this argument — part of a future work into how anthropological practice might 'rescue' cultural studies from some of its superficialities — in further articles.

2. The list of those associated with the Doon School reads like an encyclopaedia of Indian feudal, industrial and 'intellectual' interests. What is of greater interest, however, is the diverse, and often publicly antagonistic range of opinions, which afforded the School their 'protection'. It functions in the knowledge that it has its 'defenders' in *all* shades of political and cultural opinion in India, and in all the crucial interstices of colonial — and post-colonial — life.

3. It should be made clear that I have no wish to engage in the kind of "monolithic" evaluations of 'nationalism' and 'modernity' that Aijaz Ahmad (1992) quite effectively critiques. I am concerned, rather, in the same spirit as Mithileshwar, to provide a critique of a particular kind of post-colonial nation-state.

4. *The Times of India* October 28 1935.

5. Admissions take place through a system of tests, though approximately fifty per cent of 'seats' each year are reserved for sons and brothers of 'Old Boys'.

6. The various issues surrounding modernity, postcoloniality in the context of the Doon School have been more fully explored in Srivastava 1993a.

7. For a discussion of these and other issues concerned with the work of Bacon, Descarte and Hobbes, see Vishwanathan's article in Nandy 1988.

8. Herbert Spencer should, of course, be given chronological priority in any such discussion, having been both a part of and an influential contributor to "a specific moment in the history of natural science and of the ideology of science; and.... a specific moment in the technology and organization of an industrial society" (Spencer 1969, from the Introduction by Donald Macrae). Indeed, Marshall himself formally acknowledged the Spencer's influence upon his work. However, for my purposes here, it is Alfred Marshall who provided the most directed exegesis on the rationality of the "business-like" classes.

9. For an interesting discussion in this context, see Nandy 1980.

10. The most outstanding examples of this were, of course, Rammohun Roy and the Tagores who "combined zamindari [revenue farming] with money-lending and business enterprise" (Sarkar 1985:11 "Rammohun Roy and the Break with the Past"). Rabindranath Tagore was, as Kopf (1979) puts it, "the privileged and poetically gifted son of a prominent Brahmo zamindar, who [liked to] drift along the rivers of up-country Bengal in a houseboat, cursing 'the organized selfishness of Calcutta city life'" (196).

11. *The Doon School Weekly* 31st October 1936.

12. *The Doon School Weekly* 31st May 1947

13. *The Times of India* 28th October 1935

14. We should, of course, speak in the present tense since the F.R.I. is a functioning organization of the central government. However, I use the past tense in this discussion since the Institute which was the original occupant of the Chandbagh estate belonged to a historically specific configuration of colonial representations and post-colonial desires.

15. *The Doon School Weekly* Saturday, 8th May 1943.

16. Foot 1948. This is an early official history of the School written, mainly, by the then Headmaster, Arthur Foot.

17. In another article I have analysed the process of emergence of a techno-scientific intelligentsia during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in North India and its connection with the Doon School. There my focus was on the so called canal colonies of the Punjab region. See Srivastava 1993b.

18. Foot 1948:7.

19. *The Times of India* 28th October 1935.

20. The Academy is located in Dehradun, not far from the School campus itself.

21. Foot 1948:34-36.

22. Foot 1948:35.

23. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the majority of English public schools where by the 1960s compulsion in the sphere of physical activity had come to be regarded as a disturbing anachronism; see Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy 1978.

24. *The Doon School Weekly* October 31st 1936.

25. Tunwala is a Harijan village near Dehradun 'adopted' by the Doon School in 1938, and where, for several years, through a School society called the *Dehat Sabha*, Doon students carried out 'rural development' work.

26. Foot 1948:23.

27. *The Cassell Concise English Dictionary*. (London, 1989).

28. The Judaeo-Christian 'heritage' of some of the terms in the quoted passage may be due to the fact that the writer, Arthur Foot, was a product of the English public school system. Images drawn from that religious tradition occur repeatedly in the pages of the above account: "If a boy has neglected to do his homework he will be given a green slip of paper simply bearing his name, his lapse and what he must do to make up for it." (Foot 1948:15).

29. Comment made by a teacher. This opinion was also repeatedly expressed, in different language and on different occasions, by many of the School's senior students.

30. "For the disciplined man.... no detail is unimportant.... Characteristic is the great hymn to the 'little things' and to their eternal importance, sung by Jean Baptist de La Salle, in his *Traite sur les obligations des frères de Écoles chrétiennes*. The mystique of the everyday is joined here with the discipline of the minute" (Foucault 1979:140).

31. The report cards concerned with academic progress contain "three columns under each subject, one for industry, one for achievement, and one for efficiency" (Foot 1948:42).

32. ".... from 1935 onwards there was a very definite rule that if a teacher hits a student and the student reports the matter to the Headmaster, the teacher is asked to leave.... I remember one incident when I was at school and a boy was hit by a housemaster who was, consequently, asked to leave the school, but the boy's father came to the school and said; 'let it go this time', it won't happen again." (Interview with S.S., student at the Doon School 1963-68).

33. This was stated in the context of a concern expressed by him that the student population at the School was increasingly taking on a regional character as the majority of the admissions in recent years had been boys of north Indian origin. This is of considerable concern to a school which prides itself on its cosmopolitan, 'national', image.

34. Foot 1948:60.

35. The staff body is not a homogeneous one and there exists an implicit hierarchy within it which does not always have to do with seniority. Some members of the staff may enjoy a more privileged position due to 'cultural' reasons: they have themselves studied in a public school (Doon has several Old Boys on its staff), and constitute the pool from where headmasters of other public schools are drawn. During my stay at the School one of the Housemasters, formerly a Rhodes scholar, was selected as Headmaster of the well known Lawrence School, Lovedale, in the state of Tamil Nadu.

36. Service to the poor and less fortunate, however, was not allowed to get in the way of considerable comforts to the self. The following is the menu ordered by Jack Gibson, then Housemaster at the School, for the boys of his house for an end of term dinner in

1939 (or 'Golden Night', as it is referred to at the School): Tomato Soup, Fish and Mustard Sauce, *Samosas*, Roast Goose and Apple Sauce, Peas and Potatoes, Chicken Curry and *Pullau*, Cheese Souffle, *Pakoris*, Christmas Pudding with Whipped Cream and Fruit Salad (Foot 1948:43).

37. S.U.P.W., pioneered at the Doon School in the form of the Labour Quota system, has now become a formal part of, the curriculum of the Secondary Board of Central Education in India. This is often pointed out at the School as further proof of its contribution to the national education system.

38. "His Excellency's visit": *The Doon School Weekly,* 29th October 1938.

39. Radhakrishnan was careful to differentiate the 'higher' and more 'civilized' Hindus from those "professing crude beliefs.... which the civilization has not had time to eradicate" (p. 40); the market ethic, in his discussion, belongs to the former.

40. *The Doon School Weekly,* 6th October 1968.

41. "Work Among the Servants", *The Doon School Weekly* 4th June 1952.

42. The original letter is in Hindi and is contained in an official file concerned with strike.

43. Foot 1948:12.

44. "Memorandum of Agreement". I obtained a copy of this during my stay at the School.

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