

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME X

MAHARASHTRA

PART VI (3)

SHIRVALI VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

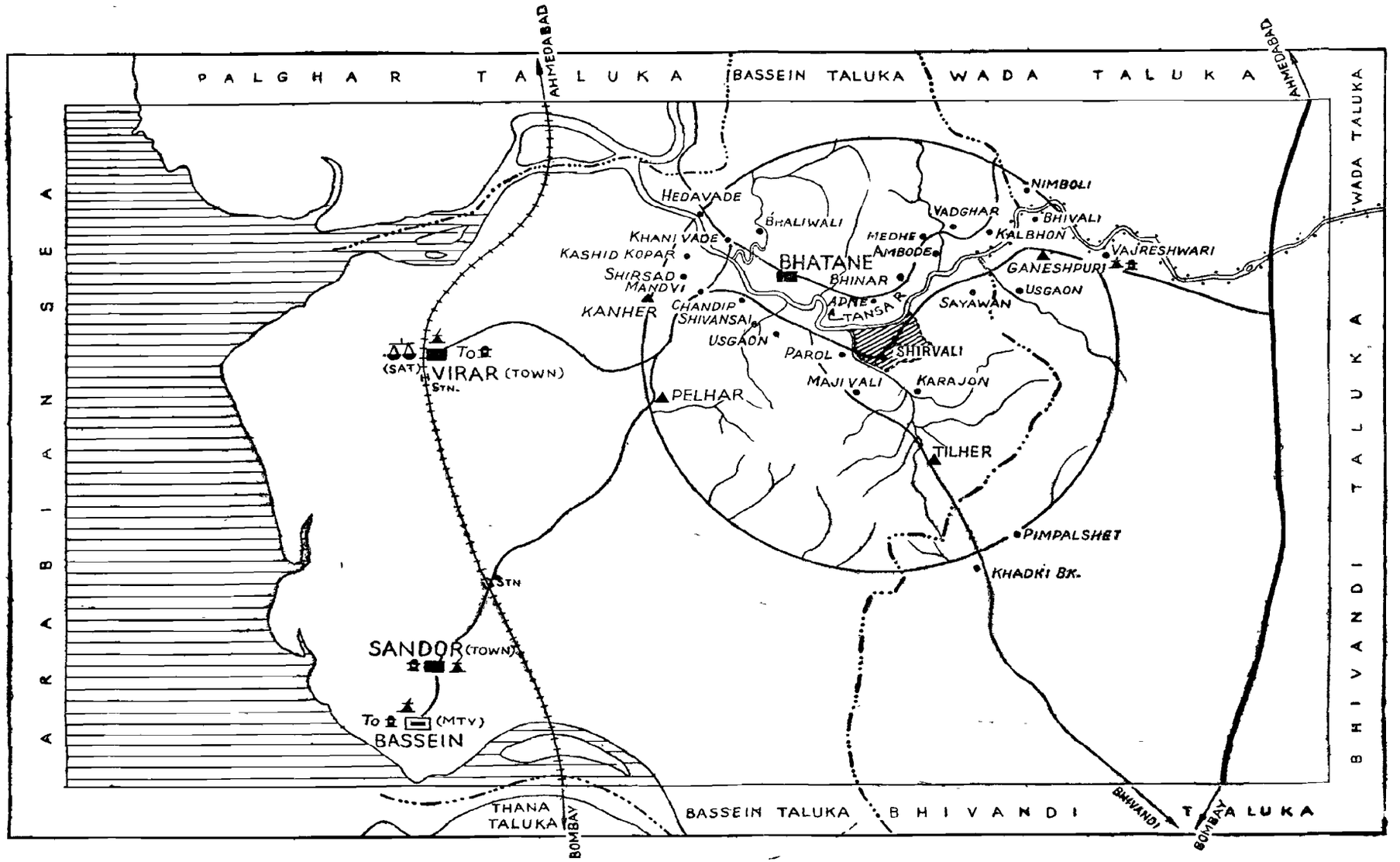
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ENVIRONMENT OF THE VILLAGE

SHIRVALI

0 1 2 4 6

SCALE OF MILES

REFERENCES

TALUKA HEAD QUARTER	TELEGRAPH OFFICE . . . To (MTV.)
VILLAGE HAVING POPULATION ABOVE 2000	HIGH SCHOOL . MUNICIPALITY .
" " " 1000 TO 2000	DISTRICT BOUNDARY
" " " BELOW 1000	TALUKA BOUNDARY
UNINHABITED VILLAGE	NATIONAL HIGHWAY
SURVEYED VILLAGE	MOTORABLE ROAD — RAILWAY
BAZZAR . . . POST OFFICE	RIVER WITH NALA

DETAILS ARE SHOWN ONLY WITHIN THE CIRCLE OF 5 MILES RADIUS

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

Central Government Publications

Census Report, Volume X—Maharashtra, is published in the following Parts

I-A and B	..	General Report
I-C	..	Subsidiary Tables
II-A	..	General Population Tables
II-B (i)	..	General Economic Tables—Industrial Classification
II-B (ii)	..	General Economic Tables—Occupational Classification
II-C (i)	..	Social and Cultural Tables
II-C (ii)	..	Migration Tables
III	..	Household Economic Tables
IV	..	Report on Housing and Establishments
V-A	..	Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra—Tables
V-B	..	Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra—Ethnographic Notes
VI (1—35)	..	Village Surveys (35 monographs on 35 selected villages)
VII-A (1—8)	..	Handicrafts in Maharashtra (8 monographs on 8 selected handicrafts)
VII-B	..	Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra
VIII-A	..	Administration Report—Enumeration (For official use only)
VIII-B	..	Administration Report—Tabulation (For official use only)
IX	..	Census Atlas of Maharashtra
X (1—12)	..	Cities of Maharashtra (15 volumes—Four volumes on Greater Bombay and One each on other eleven Cities)

State Government Publications

25 Volumes of District Census Handbooks in English

25 Volumes of District Census Handbooks in Marathi

Alphabetical List of Villages and Towns in Maharashtra in Marathi

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced ' elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions '. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in ' statistical ingenuity ' or ' mathematical manipulation '. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in ' many by-paths ' and ' nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion '.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive : the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more ' normal ' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a ' feel ' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows :—

(*a*) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g , fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(*b*) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(*c*) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an ' extra ', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and footwear ; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organization of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical ' feel ', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of ' just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions ', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the ' consanguinity ' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to ' the most fruitful single source of information about the country '. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation.

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

New Delhi, July 30, 1964.

PREFACE

This Part of the Census Report presents a monograph on village Shirvali of Bassein taluka in Thana district which is one of the 35 villages selected for Socio-Economic Survey in Maharashtra.

The Registrar General, India, in his masterly " Foreword " has outlined the main objects of the Socio-Economic Surveys in selected villages as a part of the 1961 Census programme as also the method followed in selection of villages to be surveyed.

The Maharashtra Census Office could not, however, strictly confine itself to the basis suggested by the Registrar General for selection of villages as in selecting them the primary consideration that weighed with us was that each district should have at least one village selected.

Accordingly 35 villages were selected from all the 25 districts in the State (Greater Bombay district excepted), 15 from different 15 districts and 20 from the remaining 10 districts.

The selected villages roughly fall in the following categories :—

	Category in which the villages fall	No. of villages in the category
1.	Villages in forest and hilly tract	12
2.	Villages in scarcity areas	7
3.	Villages having fertile lands with irrigation facilities	3
4.	Villages with medium type of soil	2
5.	Coastal villages	1
6.	Villages having rail and road facilities	2
7.	Villages isolated from the District Headquarters	1
8.	Villages in the vicinity of the industrial area of commercial centre ..	4
9.	Villages previously surveyed	2
10.	Others	1

The work of conducting the preliminary survey was entrusted to the Block Development Officers or other Officers available for the work from the Community Development Organization of the State Government.

Two types of questionnaire were used for collection of preliminary data *viz.*, the Household Statement which was utilised for listing all the households in the village and collection of information on certain basic items required for selection of representative households for further detailed study as regards occupational pattern and other economic aspects and the Household Schedule which contains questions on various social, cultural and economical aspects of the households. These questionnaires are printed in the Report on Kunkeri Village—Part VI (1).

On receipt of the preliminary survey reports from the Block Development Officers or the Officers appointed for the purpose, the Research Investigators in this Organization prepared the draft reports, after visiting the villages, on the basis of their findings and personal contact with the villagers and their own observations.

The preliminary work relating to the Survey was carried out by Shri B. R. Ghumkar, Block Development Officer, Bassein and further investigation and drafting of the final report was done by Shri N. M. Wagle, Retired Deputy Collector. The views expressed in this Report and the conclusions drawn are those of the Author and do not in any way reflect the views of the Government.

We are very much indebted to Shri B. A. Kulkarni, Superintendent of Census Operations, Maharashtra and to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Handicrafts and Social Studies, in the Registrar General's Office, New Delhi, for their guidance and advice during all the stages of the preparation of the village monographs.

The maps and graphs appearing in the monograph are prepared by Shri S. Y. Pradhan, draughtsman. We are grateful to the Directorate of Publicity, Government of Maharashtra, in allowing Shri S. M. Yadao, their staff Photographer to take photographs published in this monograph. His excellent photographs have no doubt enriched the publication. Shri K. K. Akolkar, Statistical Assistant, rendered valuable assistance in collation of statistical data and their analysis.

Our thanks are due to the villagers for their ungrudging co-operation and patience in giving the required information but for which the reporting would not have been possible.

We have also to thank Shri S. A. Sapre, Manager, Government Central Press, Bombay, for bringing out the report in short time.

BOMBAY :
5th August 1966.

D. V. RANGNEKAR

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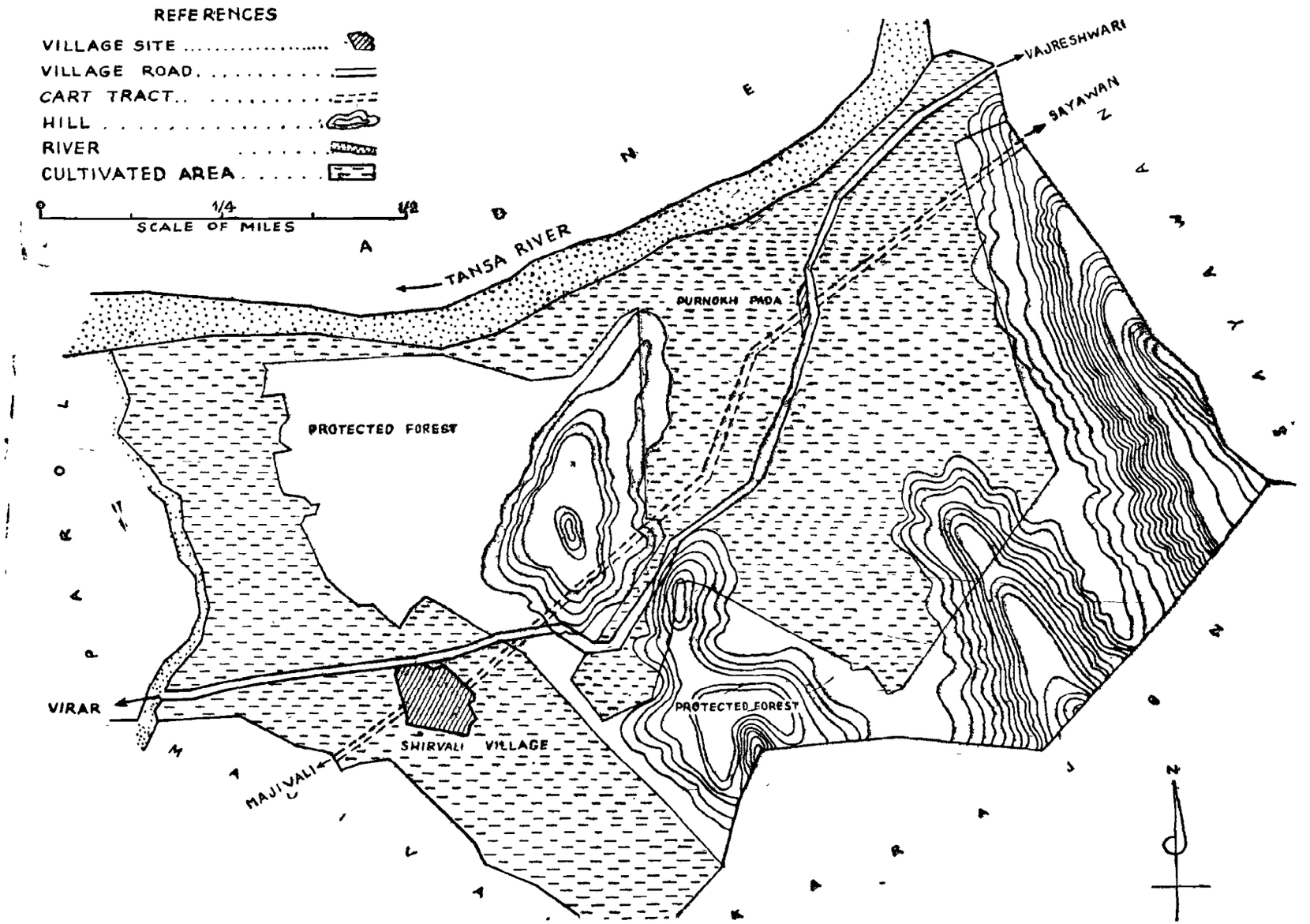
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MAP OF THE VILLAGE

SHIRVALI

TALUKA BASSEIN DISTRICT THANA



CHAPTER I

GENERAL FEATURES

Introduction

Shirvali is situated in the eastern region of Bassein taluka in Thana District. The western part of Bassein taluka is fairly developed owing to the existence of rich coastal garden lands growing plantains and betel leaves and because of the easy access to Bombay provided by the suburban train services. The eastern region where Shirvali is situated does not, however, have garden lands. Nor is it served by the railway. In fact, it abounds in forests and about half of its population is tribal. The principal occupations found are cultivation of rice (mostly grown as a single crop by using rain water), labour in forest coupes and transport of grass and wood to the markets.

Shirvali thus represents the so-called junglepatti (forest tract) of Bassein taluka. It was selected for the survey as it provided scope for studying the life of a Scheduled Tribe—Malhar Koli—living not in isolation from, but in close contact with, other non-tribal groups. Its study also provided an opportunity to observe how far a village situated within a range of thirty miles from Bombay has benefited in the field of education, health, employment and economic well-being as a result of its nearness to the big city of Bombay.

Location

The map on the frontispiece shows the location of the village and its environment. Shirvali is situated in the valley of the Tansa river which flows east to west between two hill ranges to its north and south. The village is situated on the Bassein-Bhivandi Road, 17 miles north-east of Bassein town which is the headquarters of Bassein taluka, 12 miles from Bassein Road Railway Station on the Western Railway, five miles west of the famous temple and hot springs at Vajreshwari and 20 miles west of Bhivandi town which is the headquarters of Bhivandi taluka.

The village is bounded by the Tansa river and Adne village on the north, Karajon village on the east, Karajon and Majivali villages on the south and Parol village on the west.

Physical Aspects

A hill range which is an offshoot of the Tungar hills forms the eastern boundary of the village. A branch of the hill cuts across the village area and splits it into two distinct parts, one towards the east up to the river bank and the other towards the west and south-west up to the boundaries of neighbouring villages. The hills are 1,000 to 1,500 feet high but the village has an average elevation of 250 feet above the sea-level.

The Bassein-Bhivandi Road touching the village site crosses the central hill through a low saddle which is locally known as the Ghat. The Tansa river forms the northern boundary of the village, and the natural slope in from the hills in the south towards the river in the sorth.

Rainfall and Climate

The annual average rainfall at Bassein town is 94·64 inches. Shirvali is situated in the zone having an annual rainfall between 75 and 100 inches. As it is 15 to 20 miles nearer to Sahyadris, the annual precipitation at the village may be somewhat more than the average at Bassein town.

The rainfall is received entirely through the south-west monsoons. The rainy season starts in June and continues to the middle of October. Maximum precipitation is during July.

The climate is moist and humid during the monsoon months. Minimum temperatures occur in January and maximum in May. The climate of the region had been reported as extremely malarious in the post-monsoon period in the 1882 District Gazetteer. But malaria is not prevalent now-a-days.

Soil

The soil is of the reddish type. It is fertile and can grow superior variety of rice. During the monsoon rain water flows from the hill tops to the fields below, and brings with it the red earth from the hillslopes. Water supply is generally adequate and well spread during the monsoon and the lands are, therefore, capable of growing late and superior varieties of rice.

Forest

The hills are fairly covered with timber. They have a thick growth of teak with *Ain* and other *Injaili* or common trees.

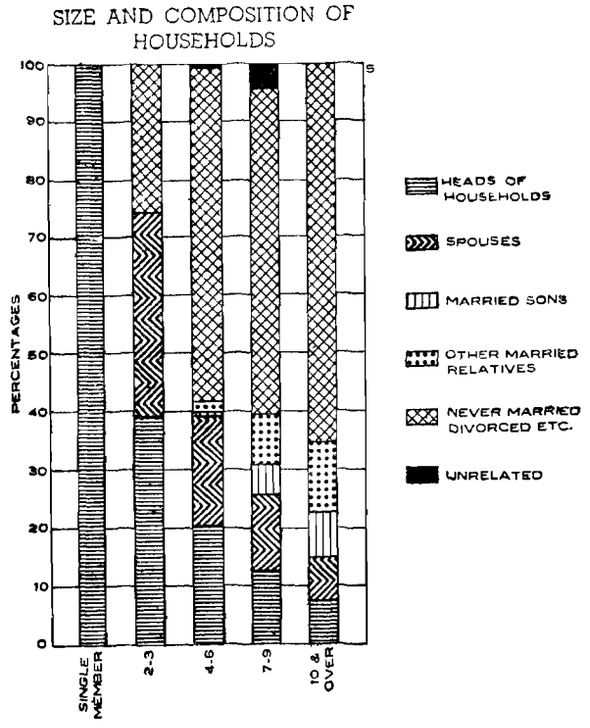
Size and Residential Pattern

In 1961, the village had 102 households as classified below and a population of 500. About half the population is of Malhar Kolis, a Scheduled Tribe in Thana District:—

Community	Number of Households having					
	1 person	2 to 3 persons	4 to 6 persons	7 to 9 persons	10 persons and above	Total
Malhar Koli ..	1	16	30	4	Nil	51
Others ..	2	12	21	13	3	51
Total ..	3	28	51	17	3	102

Out of 102 households, only 3 have ten or more members, which shows that large families are very few, and none among the Malhar Kolis who show a definite tendency towards small size of families. The majority of households, i.e., 59 per cent among the Malhar Kolis and 41 per cent among others consists of 4 to 6 members. The small size families among the Malhar Kolis may be due to their economic and housing conditions or may be attributed to their custom to establish a separate household as soon as a man gets married. Married brothers staying together or a married son staying with his father in a joint family is an exception to the general custom, and this is borne out by the fact that 54 married couples of Malhar Kolis live in 51 households.

Figure below shows the percentage of the size and composition of households by relationship :—



All the heads of the 102 households except one are males, the only exception being a Nav Buddha (Buddhist) widow aged 44 having 2 children. Only three heads of households are unmarried, one of them is aged between 15 to 19, and the other two between 20 to 24.

Out of the three big households of ten or more members, one consists of 20 members and other two of 11 each, all Kunbis by caste and agriculturists by occupation. In order to know the relationship of the different members of such households, the details of two of them have been given below. Similarly the details of the biggest family among Malhar Koli which has 9 members are given below along with the area of land owned by them :—

No.	Relation to the head of the family
1	Head of the family (L. R. B.), Kunbi.
1	Wife.
2	Sons.
1	Daughter (unmarried).
1	Mother.
2	Brothers.
2	Brothers' wives.
5	Two Brothers' sons (2+3).
4	Two brothers' daughters (1+3).
1	Daughter-in-law.
20	

	Acres
Land owned	9
Land taken on lease	22
Total land in possession ..	31

No.	Relation to the head of the family
1	Head of the family (L. A. G.), Kunbi.
1	Wife.
5	Sons.
3	Daughters (unmarried).
1	Daughter-in-law.
11	

	A. g.
Land owned	2 20
Land taken on lease	2 20
Total land in possession ..	5 00

No.	Relation to the head of the family
1	Head of the family (D. N. B.), Malhar Koli.
1	Wife.
4	Sons.
1	Daughter-in-law.
2	Grand-daughters.
9	

	A. g.
Land owned	0 30
Land taken on lease	..
Total land in possession ..	0 30

Table No. 1.1 on the next page shows distribution of households by household size and economic activity for Malhar Kolis and others in the village.

Table No. 1.2 on page 4 shows the distribution of households by religion and occupation.

The total area of the village is 733 acres, out of which about 350 acres are cultivated and most of the remaining area is under forest.

The population resides in two nucleated localities. One of them is the main gaothan (village site) where 87 of the 102 households reside. The other is a hamlet known as Purnokh Pada where 15 Malhar Koli households reside, and which is situated on the Bassein-Bhivandi Road but about half a mile towards the east from the main village site. The main village site and the hamlet are both situated on elevated rocky grounds in the midst of cultivated lands. The hamlet is obviously an overflow of the population from the main village, and its site appears to have been selected to facilitate cultivation of lands separated from the main village because of the intervening hills and the forest.

There are 8 pucca houses, 37 semi-pucca houses and 47 huts. Majority of the houses are detached from each other by a distance ranging from 10 to 100 feet. The village site does not present a picture of being crowded.

Within the village site, the grouping of houses is broadly on caste considerations. Malhar Koli houses form a separate group in the south-east. The four houses belonging to Nav Buddhas (formerly belonging to Scheduled Caste) are separately located in the south-west corner. Houses of Kunbis are found in the north and west of the village site.

All the households residing in the hamlet are of Malhar Kolis. The layout of the houses may be seen in the map on pages 5.

Communications

As has been described, Shirvali is situated on the Bassein-Vajreshwari-Bhivandi metalled road and is served by 13 to and fro daily trips of buses operated by the S. T. Corporation between Bassein Road Station and Vajreshwari or Bhivandi. Revenue and Judicial Courts are at Bassein; and there are a few shops at Vajreshwari which is a pilgrim and tourist centre.

Bassein Road Station can be reached in an hour from Shirvali by bus, and from there anyone can reach the central areas of Bombay by train. Bhivandi which is a well-known centre of trade and industry can be reached in an hour by bus from the village.

Within the village site there are narrow streets which due to the exposed rock have hard and uneven surface.

TABLE No. 1.1

Distribution of Households by Community, Size and Economic Activity

Serial No.	Community		Range of household size (members)	No. of house-holds	Industrial sector
(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Malhar Koli	...	1	1	Agricultural labour
2	„	..	2-3	2	Agriculture
3	„	..	2-3	14	Agricultural labour
4	„	..	4-6	5	Agriculture
5	„	..	4-6	25	Agricultural labour
6	„	..	7-9	2	Agriculture
7	„	..	7-9	2	Agricultural labour
8	Others	..	1	2	Other than agriculture
9	„	..	2-3	4	Other than agriculture
10	„	..	2-3	5	Agriculture
11	„	..	2-3	3	Agricultural labour
12	„	..	4-6	2	Other than agriculture
13	„	..	4-6	14	Agriculture
14	„	..	4-6	5	Agricultural labour
15	„	..	7-9	1	Other than Agriculture
16	„	..	7-9	11	Agriculture
17	„	..	7-9	1	Agricultural labour
18	„	..	10 and above	3	Agriculture

TABLE No. 1.2

The Classification of the Households according to Religion and Principal Occupation

Religion	Total No. of households	Agriculturist	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Craftsmen or labourers not classified elsewhere	Service
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total ..	102	92	4	2	1	3
Hindu ..	97	89	4	..	1	3
Buddhist ..	3	3	..	..	..	..
Muslim ..	2	..	..	2	..	..

The metalled road provides communication between the main village and the hamlet.

There is no Post Office in the village. The nearest Post and Telegraph Office is at Virar Railway Station which is 11 miles away and is connected by a new road link branching from the Bassein Road at Mandvi. A Branch Post Office has recently been opened at Parol which is an adjoining village at a distance of one mile from Shirvali. Letters are delivered in the village only three times a week. Money Orders are also sent and received through this Branch Post Office. Letters are sent and received by the Kunbis. Hardly any letter is sent or received by the Malhar Koli households.

Markets

Bhivandi, Virar and Bassein are the nearby markets. Unlike many other areas in Maharashtra, the junglepatti is not served by a net-work of weekly markets. No weekly bazar is held within a radius of 10 miles from Shirvali. Most of the agricultural produce is, therefore, sold to outside traders when they visit the village to buy it. Forest wood and grass are transported to Bassein Road and Virar Railway Stations. Daily requirements of salt, fish, groceries, etc., are supplied by the four grocery shops in the village.

Important Public Places

A Hanuman temple, another temple of Gavdevi and co-operative society's godown are the only three public places. The Hanuman temple is situated in the main village site and is well looked after and is in good condition. The Gavdevi temple is situated on the hill 200 yards away from the main village site and is in a dilapidated condition. An image of the tiger-god known as 'Waghdev' is carved on a log of wood and is worshipped exclusively by the Malhar Koli households. It is kept in the forest on the hill slope without a roof or enclosure. The co-operative society's godown, constructed in 1962, is situated on the main road in the village. It is being used to store paddy, fertilisers and seed. There is no school or school building in the village. The burning Ghat is on the bank of the Tansa river.

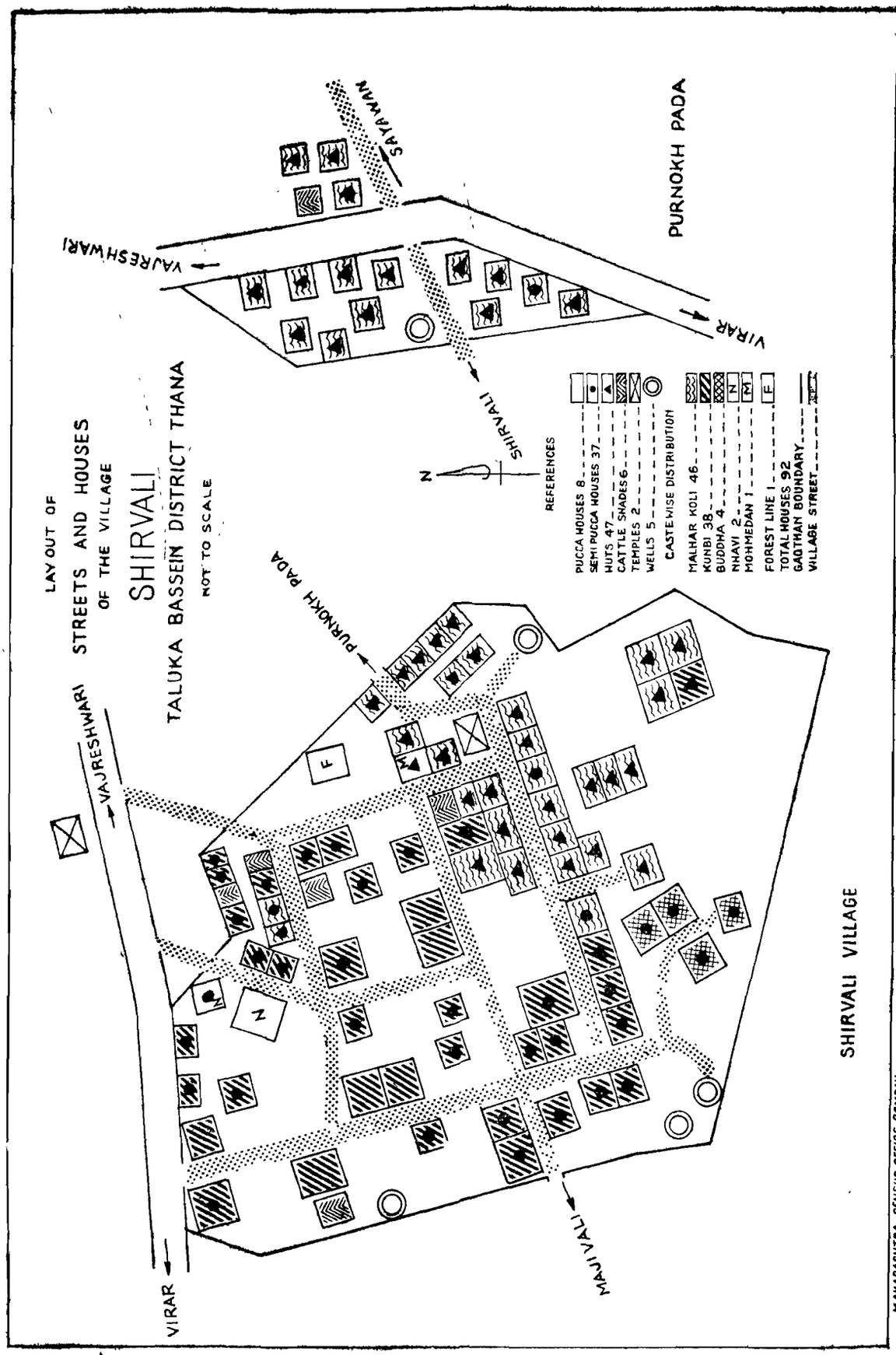
Sources of Drinking Water

There are five drinking water wells, four in the main village site and one in the hamlet. Their location may be seen in the map on page No. 5. Two wells are built by private individuals and three by the District Local Board. One of the wells situated near the houses of Nav-Buddhas is exclusively used by those households. The well situated in the hamlet is similarly used by the Malhar Koli households exclusively. All the five wells have sufficient water throughout the year. They are all draw wells, but none of them has any pulley or *rahat* fixed.

Welfare and Administrative Institutions

There is a group Gram Panchayat which besides Shirvali covers the adjoining village Majivali and has its office at Majivali. Neither the Sarpanch nor the Secretary resides at Shirvali.

There used to be a Talati (village accountant) working under the Revenue Department for a group (saza) of nine villages including Shirvali. The functions of the Secretary of the Gram Panchayat and the Talati have now been integrated, and the official appointed to the combined post works under the Gram Panchayat. There is a Police Patil and an inferior village servant called Kotwal assisting both the Talati and the Police Patil. The Circle Inspector working under the Mamlatdar of Bassein is in charge of a group of 31 villages and has his headquarters at Chandip, a village 3 miles away. For police jurisdiction, Shirvali is under Virar Police


LAY OUT OF
STREETS AND HOUSES
OF THE VILLAGE
SHIRVALI
TALUKA BASSEIN DISTRICT THANA
NOT TO SCALE
VAJRESHWARI
PURNOKH PADA
SAYAWAN
VIRAR
SHIRVALI
N
REFERENCES
PUCCA HOUSES 8
SEMI PUCCA HOUSES 37
HUTS 47
CATTLE SHADES 6
TEMPLES 2
WELLS 5
CASTE WISE DISTRIBUTION
MALHAR KOLI 46
KUNBI 38
BUDDHA 4
NHAVI 2
MOHMEDAN 1
FOREST LINE 1
TOTAL HOUSES 92
GAOTHAN BOUNDARY
VILLAGE STREET
F
M
N
MAJIVALI
SHIRVALI VILLAGE
MAHARASHTRA CENSUS OFFICE, BOMBAY.

Station. The nearest police chowky is at Mandvi 5 miles away.

No medical facilities are available in the village. The nearest dispensaries are at Vajreshwari and Mandvi both five miles away.

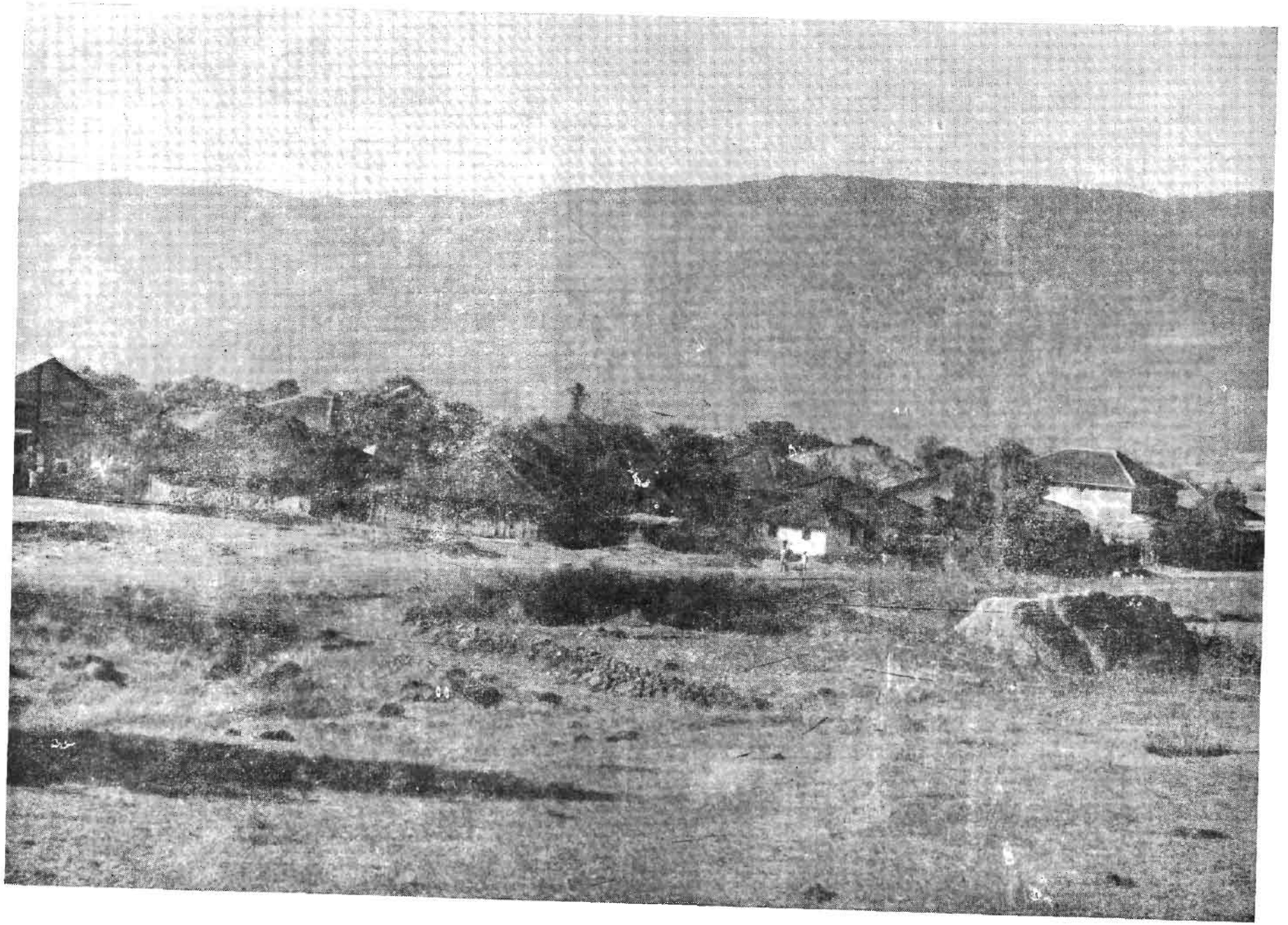
Shirvali has a Co-operative Society which covers ten other villages also. Its office is at Shirvali. Some Malhar Kolis are members of another forest labourers' co-operative society also.

The working of the Gram Panchayat, different village officials and the two co-operative societies is discussed in Chapter IV. There are no other formal institutions working for welfare in the village. The absence of the school is discussed in Chapter IV.

History of the Village

Because of the malarious climate and nearness of the forests the population in the region has been very scanty, and the villages in the region are comparatively smaller. Yet the village should have been settled at least two to three hundred years ago as most of the households remember their ancestors living in the village for at least five generations. No one in the village could, however, give any historical account of the settlement of the village or its hamlet. The oldest incident which only a few can recall is the cyclone of 1902 which had caused extensive damage to houses and crops in the village. There are no local legends providing any clue to the history of the village.

88 out of the 102 households belong to the village. The heads of 11 households have migrated to the village during the last fifty years. They had come to the village in search of work and because of some other close relations already residing in the village. Three remaining households belong to Government employees posted at the village or in an adjoining village.



A view of the Shirvali Village



Malhar-Koli Males



Malhar-Koli Females

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Shirvali has 102 households, the community-wise break-up of which is as follows :—

Name of community	No. of households
Total	**102**
Malhar Koli	51
Kunbi	40
Brahmin	2
Kumbhar	1
Kshatriya	1
Maratha	1
Nhavi	1
Nav-Buddha	3
Muslim	2

Malhar Koli

Malhar Kolis are notified as a Scheduled Tribe for Thana district alone, where they have a population of 89,047. In Shirvali only 224 persons, 120 males and 104 females belong to Malhar Koli tribe.

Dark brown by complexion, they are rather short of height and have small heads and broad noses. They do not have any nomadic habits, and are a quiet and settled tribe working in agriculture or in the forests. They are economically a more depressed group, and poverty alone perhaps leads to most of the prevailing differences in their housing, dress, diet and the general level of living and those of the non-tribal people in the village. Otherwise there is nothing to distinguish a Malhar Koli from his Kunbi neighbour in equal circumstances.

Their peculiar characteristic is their sloth and indifference towards any personal improvement. A Malhar Koli would not care to work if he has foodgrains for a few days. Their employers say that they have to be constantly after them and exact work.

An average Malhar Koli is very fond of smoking tobacco, and a few dried leaves are always carried in a small pouch which is tucked to the loin cloth. Bidi is made with the tobacco and the leaf roll, and is lighted with steel and a flint stone. Elderly women are also fond of bidis. Tobacco chewing is also common both among men and women. But chewing of *pan* is not so common. Liquor is, of course, liked and is an indispensable item at their ceremonies and festivals.

They are fond of dancing too. Men and women generally dance separately, on rare occasions even together. Diwali, Holi and marriage ceremonies provide occasions for dancing for men and women.

Malhar Kolis have exogamous '*Kuls*'. The following *Kul* names are found in the village :—Bhomte, Jadhav, Matera, Tilivada, Madke, Gawari, Bhoir, Baswant, Tope and Sambre.

Kunbi

Kunbis in this village are known as Talheri Kunbis. They are generally of small physique and have dark brown or black complexion. The hair is straight and black. Their occupation is agriculture. Some cultivate their own or leased-in lands. Others work as agricultural labourers. Women also work along with men. None of them from the village has migrated to Bombay City or to any other town nearby. In the village they are numerically the second largest group, but play a very dominating role in the village economy.

Brahmin

There is only one Brahmin household at present in the village though there were two at the time of the Census. The Brahmin has been residing in the village for the last 20 years, and has been working as a caretaker of lands in an adjoining village. He had come to this village in search of work. He belongs to a village in Rajapur taluka in Ratnagiri district. He has mixed and mingled with the Kunbis and has adapted himself to their mode of life to such an extent that he cannot be distinguished as a Brahmin. He does not practice priesthood.

Kumbhar

Kumbhar is traditionally engaged in pottery. A Gujarati Kumbhar couple visits this village off and on in the fair season and manufactures bricks. Those who need bricks supply the suitable type of earth, fuel, etc. and the Kumbhar couple prepares bricks and charges for the labour and skill. No pottery work is done. During the monsoon the couple either goes back to their native place in Gujarat or works as agricultural labourers in the village.

Kshatriya

There is only 1 person of this caste. He is aged 23 and is unmarried. He stays in this village and teaches in a school in the neighbouring village.

Maratha

There is only one household of 9 persons. The head of the family is a Government employee who works in the forest department as a forester and lives in the departmental staff quarters.

Nhavi

Only one household of Nhavi consisting of 11 members resides in the village. The man works in his traditional profession as a barber, and also cultivates his own land measuring 2 acres 10 gunthas in this village.

Nav-Buddha

Some Mahars (erstwhile Scheduled Caste) got converted to Buddhism in 1956. They are now called Nav-Buddhas. All the three Mahar households in the village have become Nav-Buddhas. The conversion movement was started when the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar got himself converted to Buddhism in 1956 at Nagpur along with his followers.

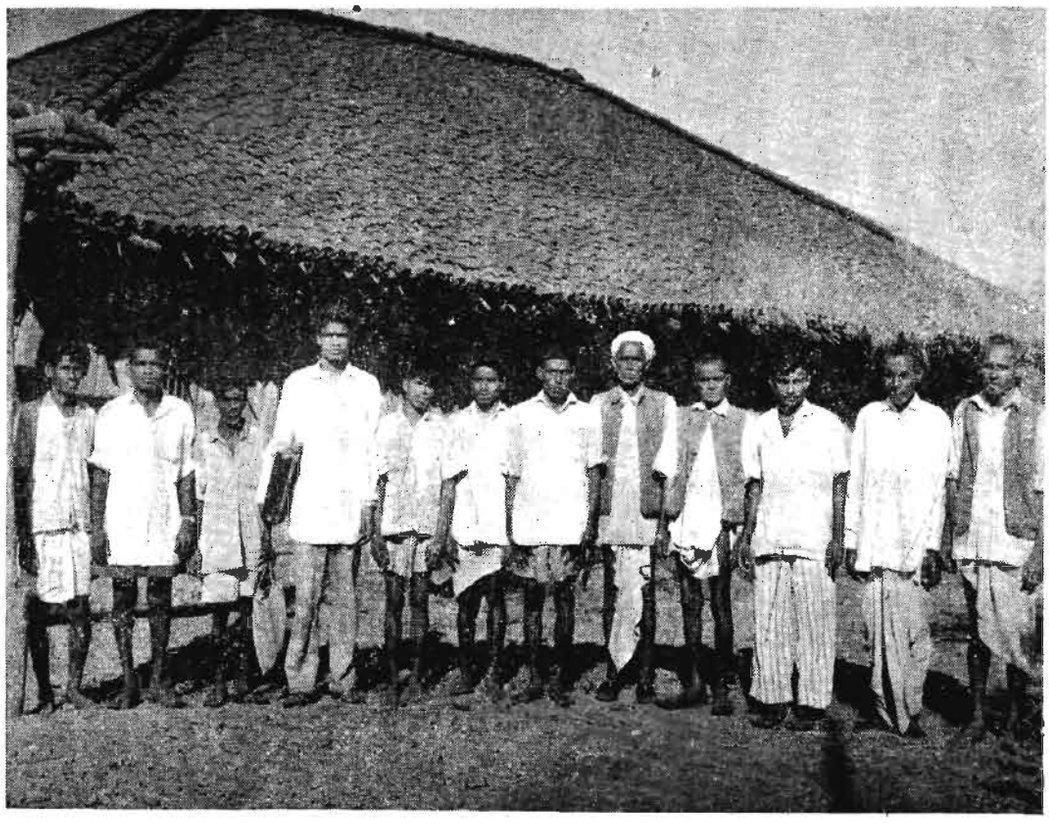
The three Nav-Buddha households worship Lord Buddha as the only deity, and two of them have hung photos of Lord Buddha in frames on the wall. One of them has also kept a photograph of Dr. Ambedkar, their leader. Every evening *agarbatti* is lighted in front of those photos after saluting them as a mark of daily worship. The third household does not possess any photo or idol of any deity or person. All these people meet together in one of their huts, and recite the three *Saranas* and the *Panchashila* every Thursday. They also celebrate together the Vaishakha Pournima day, the birth date of Lord Buddha as well as the date of his enlightenment and of his *Mahaparinirvana* (death). The customs observed by them hitherto at the time of birth, marriage and death have been simplified, and all the rituals such as worshipping the Satwai goddess on the fifth day of the birth, the worship of a deity at the time of marriage, and any customs which have reference or relation to a Hindu deity are avoided. Only those customs which connote sacredness, auspiciousness, well-being, felicity, etc., are retained such as applying *Kumkum* on the forehead of women, wearing a string of black beads round the neck as a sign of marriage, using *Kalash, i.e.,* a round copper jug (used for water) filled in with water with a small branch of mango tree with leaves which is inserted into it so as to keep the leaves just touching the brim of the jug. Pastes of *Halad* (turmeric powder) and *Kumkum* are then applied to the jug by fingers which are dipped into the pastes and are then drawn over the jug vertically in alternate sequence. This *Kalash* is the symbol of auspiciousness, and is kept at the place where marriage is to take place according to Hindu rites. It is also used by the Nav-Buddhas. At the close of the marriage function the assembled people throw *Akshata*—rice smeared with *Halad* and *Kumkum*—over the couple, and clap hands to signify their joy. Any Nav-Buddha can solemnise a marriage but the people in this village invite a person from the nearby village who is their priest, and is called Bauddhacharya. His competency to officiate in this capacity is supposed to be his knowledge of some ceremonies and *Sutras* from the Buddhist scriptures. If he cannot attend a marriage function then any other Nav-Buddha officiates as the priest.

The habits of food have not undergone any change, and they still eat non-vegetarian food. Their general customs, beliefs and superstitions also persist. They do not, however, dispose of the dead animals of the villagers now as has been their function hitherto—nay, their privilege—in view of the valuable skin of the animal they could obtain free in return for the removal of the carcass. This previous assignment is regarded by them as an indication of their lower status in society, and hence they decided to renounce this privilege or prescriptive right. Their determination to reject everything that denotes their inferior status as compared to that of the caste Hindus has also inspired in them a new self-conciousness, a sense of equality with the caste Hindu, and an urge to acquire this equality by giving up their previous inferiority complex and assuming even an attitude of indifference, if not of superiority complex, towards the Hindus, as evidenced by their belief that the rejection of the Hindu idol-worship signifies their progressive and advanced views. This new spirit if properly directed for their own amelioration could infuse into them a sense of duty and necessity of harder work, and thereby improve their economic condition. Unfortunately such leadership appears to be lacking so far. There has been no definite economic improvement in their condition due merely to their conversion. They have a few pieces of agricultural land which they cultivate.

However keen the Nav-Buddhas may be to consider themselves as no more Harijans due to their conversion to Buddhism, the attitude of the caste Hindus towards them has not changed as a result of this process, and they still regard them as Harijans. Whatever softening is seen in the caste Hindus' benaviour is the result of the natural dawn of wisdom in their own minds, and the arm of the law which penalises discrimination against Harijans ; and this modification in attitude has been gradually taking place during the last generation even before the movement for Nav-Buddhism was started by Dr. Ambedkar.

Muslims

There are two households of Muslims. One of these householders came from Kathiawar, i.e., Saurashtra (now in Gujarat State) about 10 years ago as his uncle was running a grocery shop in the village, and after the latter's death about 5 years back he himself is now looking after the shop. He stays in a rented house



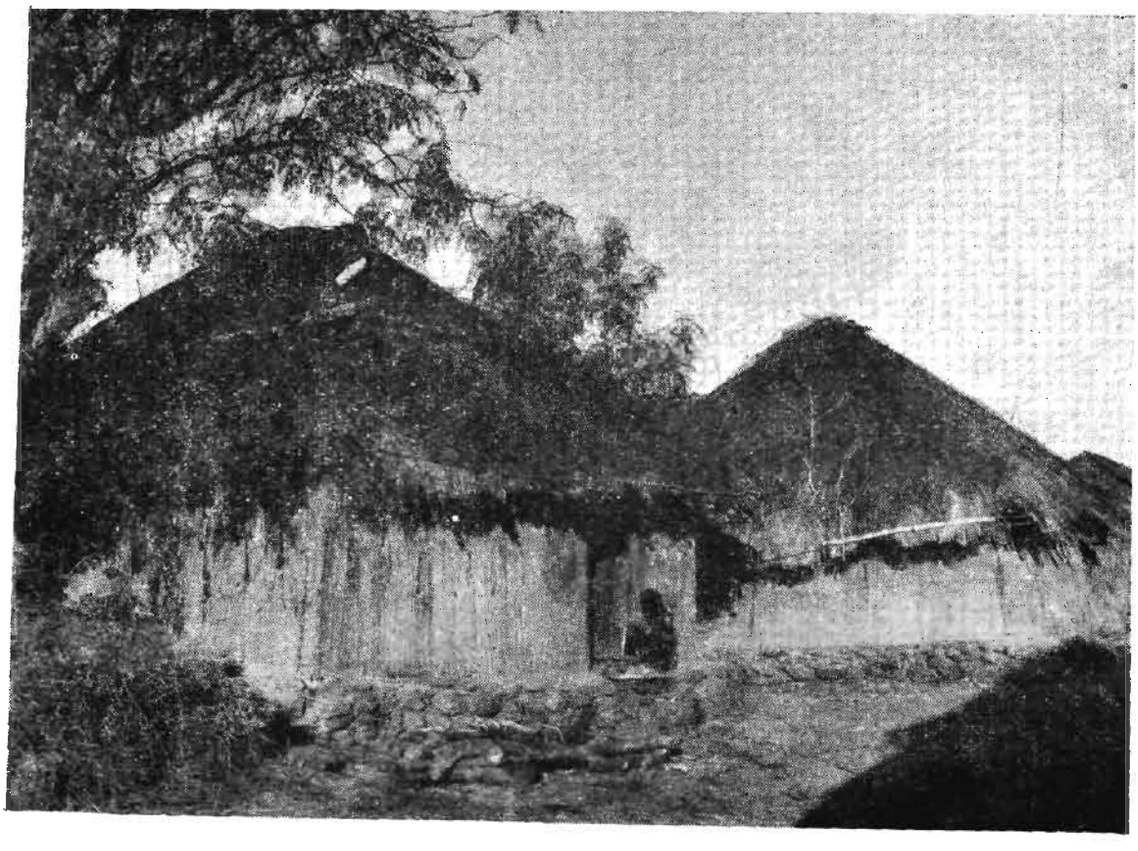
A group of Village Males



Kunbi Females



A Kitchen



Huts of Malhar-Kolis

a part of which is utilised for the shop. His mother-tongue is Gujarati, but he and his family (wife and 1 daughter) can now talk Marathi fluently. The other family migrated to this village about 7 years back from Sopara, a village 15 miles away in the same taluka. The father-in-law of this householder belongs to this village, and so the latter had come here for change of climate when he was ill. Subsequently he settled here instead of returning to Sopara. He opened a grocery shop where he sells dry fish also. Both these households follow the religion of Islam, but as there is no mosque nearby they pray at home by offering *namaz* every day.

Inter-caste Relationship

The relations between the above castes and communities are cordial. They freely go to each other in times of rejoicing and distress.

The Malhar Kolis take food at Kunbis' houses, but the latter do not take food at the former's. The Hindus (Kunbis and Malhar Kolis) do not take food at the Muslim's houses.

Though untouchability has not been fully eradicated there is gradual improvement over the orthodox conditions prevailing even as late as 15 years back. The Harijans (Mahars who are now Nav-Buddhas as explained above) who were not allowed to touch the threshold of a Kunbi's house now move about freely in that house except in the kitchen. Kunbi and Harijan, or Malhar Koli and Harijan, do not however eat together, nor are the Harijans allowed to touch eatables or food. Even after the Harijans have embraced Buddhism this distinction still persists, and the Kunbis, and others still regard them as Harijans though they have become Nav-Buddhas.

Speaking from the social point of view the Kunbis are having an upperhand in all matters, and they are looked upon as an 'advanced community' by the Malhar Kolis and the Nav-Buddhas. As regards the other castes, there are only two households of Muslims. The treatment meted out to them is quite good. One of the Muslim households which owns a petty grocery shop is poor, while the other which runs a grocery shop on a larger scale is better off and has acquired good status in the village.

Language

The language commonly spoken is Marathi. One Muslim (Memon) family speaks Gujarati, while the other speaks Hindi. But they understand and can talk in Marathi. The Marathi that is used in common parlance is not pure as will be seen from the following dialogue.

Dialogue between two Malhar Kolis

(An old man by name Kana and a boy named Krishna converse with each other in the matter of taking cart to the forest areas.)

कृष्णा : काय रं डोकरबा गारी भराया कवा जायचा ?

काना : पोऱ्या, किटणा गेलो असतो पन माल कारेल नीहि.

कृष्णा : कर्वा माल कारजेल ?

काना : पोऱ्या, माल कारजेल तवा गारी नेयल.

कृष्णा : माल कोणाचे दिशी कारजेल ?

काना : पोऱ्या, माल कोणचे दिशी कारजेल ते मला आताच सांगता येयाचे नीहि कारन तकरे मजूर ठिकानावर गवसायचे नीहि पन मजूर मिलाले म्हजे मी माल कारजेल.

कृष्णा : बा मी बाजाराचे दिशी माल कारजेल तवा तू पन ये म्हजें मी तूस मजूर गवसून देईन.

काना : पोऱ्या, बाजाराचे दिशी, मला इरारला जायाचे हाये तवा मी तुझे गोटी थोरे पैसे देतो ते पैसे मजुरांना देस व माल कारून् घेयजो.

कृष्णा : बर डोकऱ्या तू सांगाल तसा मी करजेल पन तू बाजार करूनशान पसा आलास म्हंजे सेवारीचे जंगलमत गारी घेऊनशानी येस हो. मी तुझी तकरे वाट पायेल.

There is a tendency on the part of the speaker to speak with a slightly prolonged accent on the last word.

House-types, Housing Conditions and Construction

There are three types of houses in the village :—

(1) Pucca houses.

(2) Semi-pucca with roofs of tiles but walls of bamboo chips or Karvi reeds.

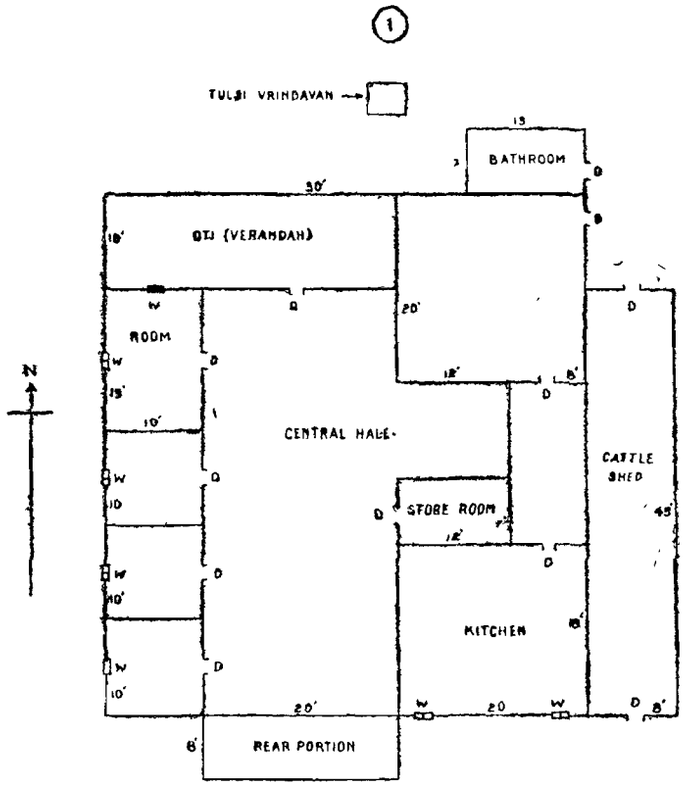
(3) Huts with thatched roofs.

The pucca houses are built with a plinth which varies from 2 feet to 3 feet above ground with walls of bricks and mortar and plastering of cement, and roof of either "Mangalore" or "Deshi" (cylindrical) tiles. There are eight such houses. In these houses there are (*a*) a big hall in the centre called *Vathan* or *Majghar*; (*b*) 3 to 4 rooms according to the number of persons in the household; (*c*) a kitchen; and (*d*) *Oti*, i.e. outer verandah. The dimensions of 2 such houses which were measured are as follows :—

I. *House :* Facing the north (*vide* diagram No. 1)—

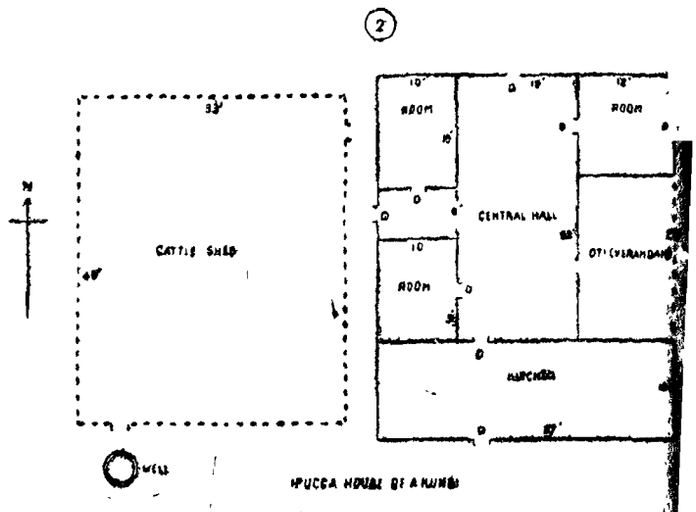
Big central hall 45′ × 20′.
Three rooms on the west each 10′ × 10′.
One room on the west 15′ × 10′.
One room on the east 20′ × 20′.
Kitchen 18′ × 20′.
Storeroom 12′ × 7′.
Lobby near kitchen 10′ × 8′.
Bath room 13′ × 7′.

Oti 30′ × 10′.
Verandah at rear 20′ × 8′.
Plinth height 2′.
Height of roof over *Oti* 8′-2″.
Height of roof over middle of the house 18′.
Doors 6′ × 4′.



PUCCA HOUSE OF A KUNBI

II. *House :* Facing the east (*vide* diagram No. 2)—
Central Hall 32′ × 15′ plus 6′ × 10′. (passage between two adjoining rooms).
2 rooms each 13′ × 10′.
1 room 12′ × 12′.
Kitchen 37′ × 12′.
Oti (outer verandah) 20′ × 12′.
Cattle shed, with walls of reeds and Mangalore tiles 33′ × 40′ at a distance of 2 feet at the rear of the house, the space between the house and the shed being covered with iron sheets.
Plinth 3′ high.
Height of roof over *Oti* 10′.
Height of roof over middle of the house 18′.
Doors 6′ × 4′.



PUCCA HOUSE OF A KUNBI

There are eight pucca houses. All are situated in the Gaothan (village site) and none in the hamlet called Purnokh Pada.

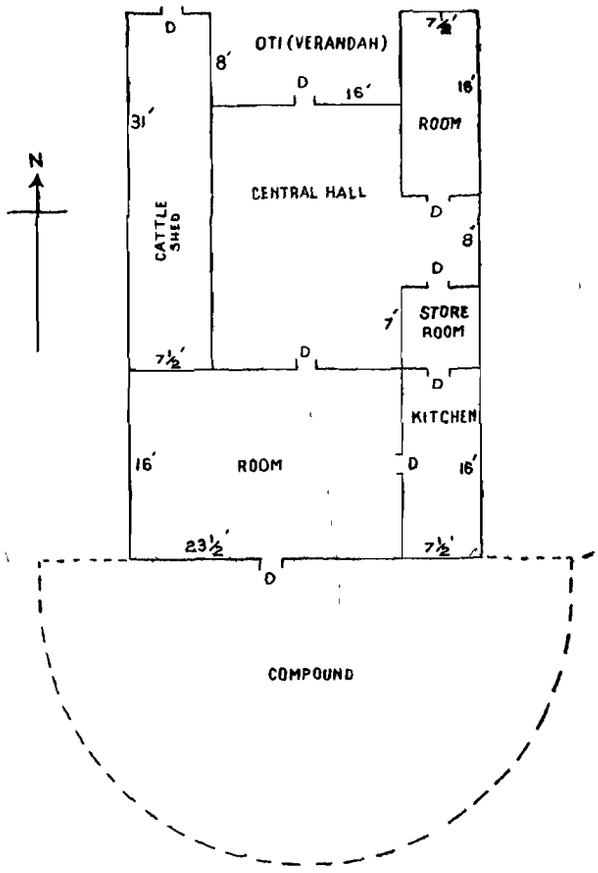
The semi-pucca houses are built with plinth one foot to 2 feet above the ground, and have walls of Karvi reeds or bamboo chips plastered with mud and cowdung. The roof however is covered with tiles either of the 'Mangalore' or 'Deshi' (cylindrical) type.

Dimensions of 5 such semi-pucca houses—2 of Kunbi, 2 of Malhar Koli, and 1 of Nav-Buddha—are as under:—

I. Kunbi's semi-pucca House No. 1 (*vide* diagram. No. 3)—

House facing the north.
Central hall (चठाण) 23′ × 16′.
Big room at the rear 23½′ × 16′.
Room in the front 16′ × 7½′
Kitchen 16′ × 7½′.
Storeroom 7½′ × 7′.
Cattle shed 31′ × 7½′ (door to the cattle shed is from the front opening on the road).
Oti—16′×8′
Plinth—1½′ above ground.
Height of roof over the *Oti*—8′-4″
Height of roof over the centre of building 12′.
Doors—6′×3′.

(3)



SEMI PUCCA HOUSE OF A KUNBI

II. Kunbi's semi-pucca House No. 2 (*vide* diagram No. 4)—

House facing the north.

Central hall—17′×16′. Room—17′×8′.

Kitchen—17′×16′. Cattle shed—34′×8′.

No *Oti*. No plinth.

Height of roof—10′ at the entrance and rear, and 14′ in the centre.

Doors—6′-7″×3′.

III. Malhar Koli's semi-pucca house No. 1 (at Purnok Pada) (*vide* diagram No. 5)—

House facing the east. Plinth 3′ high.

Cattle shed 7′ broad running along two sides of the house on the north (31′) and west (34′) with one entrance at the south.

Adjoining the cattle shed is a room 11′×7′ with *Mach*, i.e. platform around, 3′ high, for the sheep.

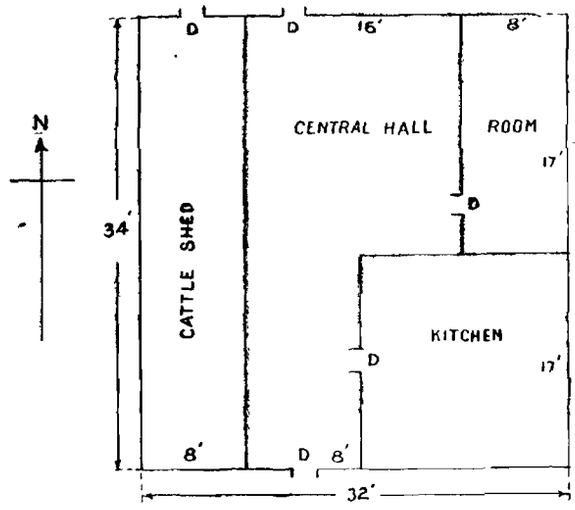
Kitchen 17′×14′.

The remaining area (*less* the area occupied by Kitchen 17′×14′ and by 'Mach' 11′×7′) is central hall.

Height of roof at the entrance and rear—8′.

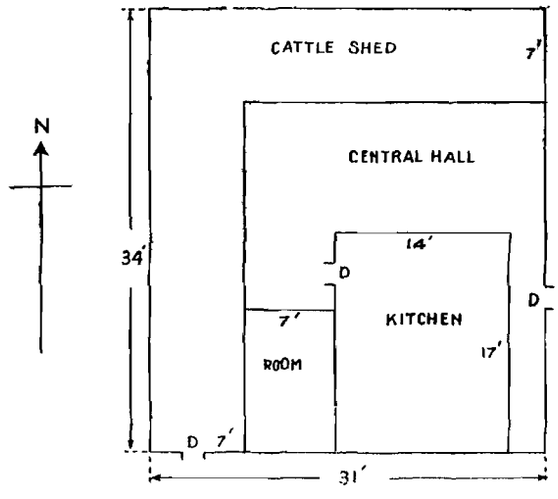
Height in middle of building—14′.

(4)



SEMI PUCCA HOUSE OF A KUNBI

(5)



SEMI PUCCA HOUSE OF A MALHAR KOLI

IV. Malhar Koli's semi-pucca house No. 2 (in village site) (*vide* diagram No. 6)—

House facing the north.

Front room 25′×12′.

Central hall 14′×13′.

Kitchen– 14′×12′.

Cattle shed—26′×7′.

At the rear the *Wada* has been enclosed by a compound of Bamboos.

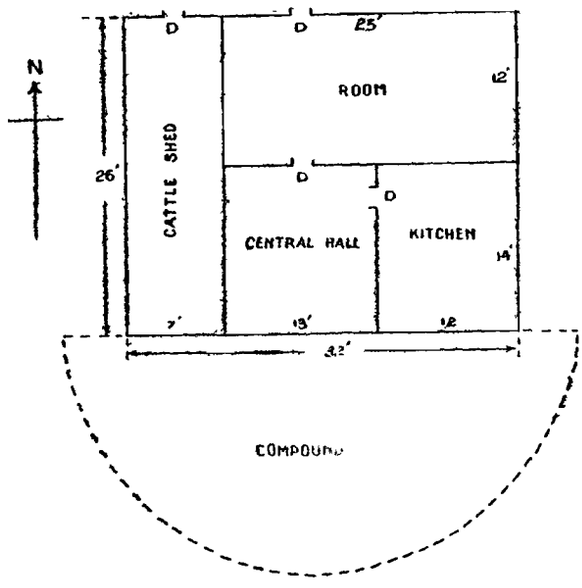
Plinth—1 foot.

Height of roof at the front and rear—7′-4″.

Height of roof over the middle—11′-10″.

Doors—5′-6″×2′-8″.

(6)



SEMI PUCCA HOUSE OF A MALHAR KOLI

V. Semi-pucca house of Nav-Buddhist (*vide* diagram No. 7)—

House facing the North.

Plinth—1½′.

Oti—18′×7½′.

Room (adjoining the *Oti*)—18′×8½′.

Another room—13′×12′.

Kitchen—13′×13′

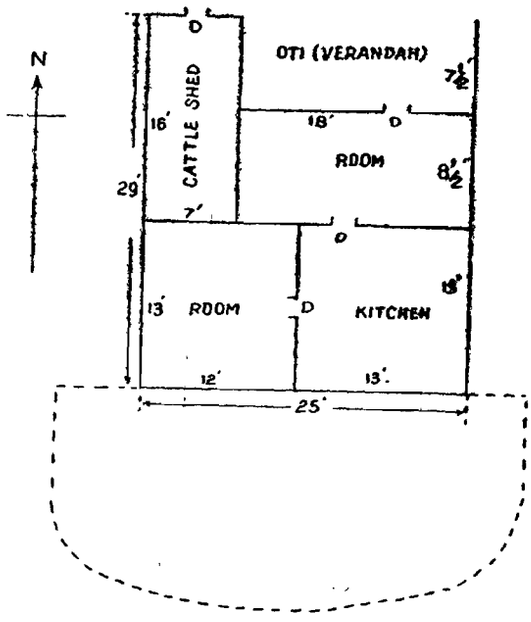
Cattle shed—16′×7′.

Height of roof over the *Oti* and at rear—7′.

Height of roof over the centre—12′.

Doors—5′-10″×2′.

(7)



SEMI PUCCA HOUSE OF A NAV-BUDDHIST

Out of the 37 semi-pucca houses, 28 belong to Kunbis, 4 to Malhar Kolis, 4 to Nav-Buddhas, and 1 to a Nhavi.

The third type of houses is the hut. Its walls are built of bamboo chips or *Karvi* reeds plastered with mud and cowdung, and the roof consists of bamboo chips or *Karvi* reeds covered with grass. The plan of the hut is simple. It contains 1 central room, a corner of which is partitioned to serve as kitchen. The dimensions of three huts are given below :—

I. Hut of Malhar Koli in Purnokh Pada hamlet (*vide* diagram No. 8)—

Hut facing the east.

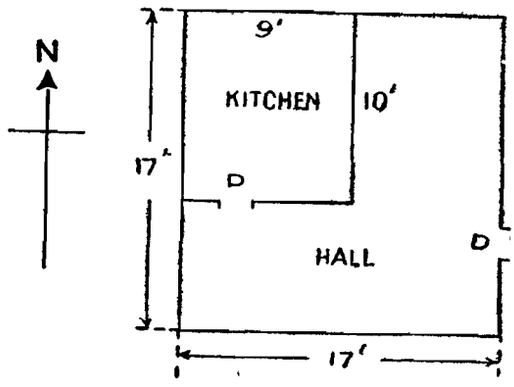
In the north-west corner of the hall is a partitioned room 10′×9′ used as kitchen.

No plinth.

Height of room 6′-6″ at the entrance and rear ; and 11′-6″ in the centre.

Door—6′×2′-7″.

8



HUT OF A MALHAR KOLI

II. Hut of Malhar Koli in village site (*vide* diagram No. 9)—

Hut facing the north.

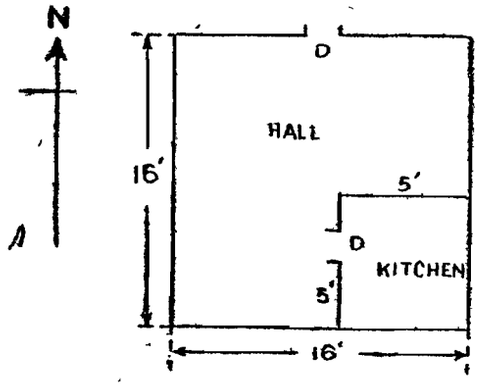
In the south-east corner is kitchen room—5′×5′ formed by partition.

No plinth.

Height of roof—7′ at the entrance and rear.

Height of roof in the centre—12′.

9



HUT OF A MALHAR KOLI

III. Hut of Kunbi in village site (*vide* diagram No. 10)—

Hut facing the east.

One hall 21′×18′ divided into three parts by partition walls of *Karvi* reeds forming three rooms as follows :—18′×8′ kitchen ; 18′×6′ room ; 18′×7′ cattle-shed ; a part of this (6′×7′) has a *Mach*—loft three feet high for keeping sheep and goats.

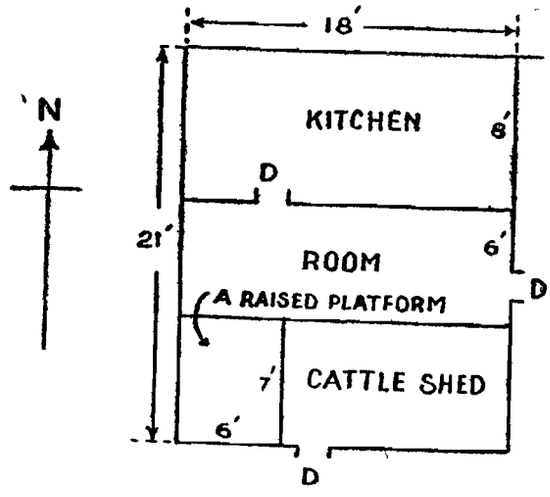
Plinth 1 foot.

Height of roof 7 feet at the entrance and rear and 13 feet in the centre.

Three doors each 6′-1″× 2′-4″.

Walls of *Karvi* reeds. Roof of bamboo chips covered with dry leaves of *Palas* tree and grass.

10



HUT OF A KUNBI

Out of 47 huts, 4 belong to Kunbis, 42 to Malhar Kolis and 1 to a Muslim.

It will be seen that the majority of Malhar Kolis live in huts. Number of houses of each of the three types occupied by households of the different castes and communities are as shown below :—

Occupants' Caste	No. of Pucca Houses	No. of Semi-pucca Houses	No. of Huts	Total No. of rooms
Kunbis and other Hindus ..	6	28	4	64
Malhar Kolis	...	4	42	52
Nhavi	1	1	..	3
Muslim	...	..	1	1
Nav-Buddhists	..	4	..	6
Maratha ..	1	..	..	2
Total ..	8	37	47	128

In addition to the above structures there are 2 temples in pucca structures.

Out of the total number of 92 houses of all types only 6 have windows, 12 have *Oti* (outer verandah), 18 have open space in front, and 6 have backyard. Bath-room is provided in 2 houses only, both of Kunbis.

Three Kunbis and one Nhavi have more than 1 house each, while no Malhar Koli has more than 1 house or hut.

Only 2 households live in rented houses; one of them pays a rent of Rs. 17 per month for his shop-*cum*-residence; and the other pays Rs. 5·50 for residence only.

The grain (paddy) is stored in *Kanaga*, i.e., an enclosure made of bamboo mattings (of different sizes) which can store any quantity from 2 maunds to several maunds. The *Kanaga* is closed with mattings at the top and then plastered with cowdung. Another method of storing grain is to prepare a heap of paddy and then to wrap it all round with thick ropes of straw so as to form a big ball. The ropes are wrapped so close to each other that the whole thing looks like a ball of ropes, and paddy stored therein does not leak out. This ball like storing is called *Loni*, and it can store one to one and a half maunds of paddy. In two households special storerooms have been provided.

Generally cattle are kept in the house itself in a separate partitioned room of the house or in a corner of the hut. Out of 102 households only 6 possess separate cattle-sheds, 5 of which are built near the houses of their respective owners, and 1 at a distance of 4 furlongs. All these 5 cattle-sheds are of semi-pucca type and belong to well-to-do Kunbis. Even when the cattle are kept in a separate cattl-eshed, one or a few of them are also kept in the house as the agriculturists regard it auspicious to keep cattle at home considering it as Laxmi—Goddess of Wealth.

The bricks required for pucca houses were brought from outside formerly, but recently a Gujarati Kumbhar (potter) came to the village and offered to make bricks on payment of labour charges at Rs. 20 per 1,000 if he was supplied with the required type of earth, and coal and paddy husks to kindle fire. His wife also worked with him, and they both manufactured 60,000 bricks for one villager who wanted to build a house. The Gujarati couple then went to another village during monsoon to work as agricultural labourers, but will again visit this village if any villager wants bricks to be manufactured on payment of their labour charges. The Mangalore tiles for roofs are brought from Bassein or Agashi. Cylindrical tiles, called " Deshi ", are not used now-a-days as they require to be turned and properly placed every year before monsoon because they get shifted due to birds sitting on them. Mangalore tiles are not dislodged in this manner. The durability of the "Deshi" tiles is also less than that of Mangalore tiles. Due to these reasons they are seldom manufactured, and are not available in the market. Those which are found over some houses were put there long ago. There are 21 houses with Mangalore tiles, 17 with cylindrical tiles and 7 with both types.

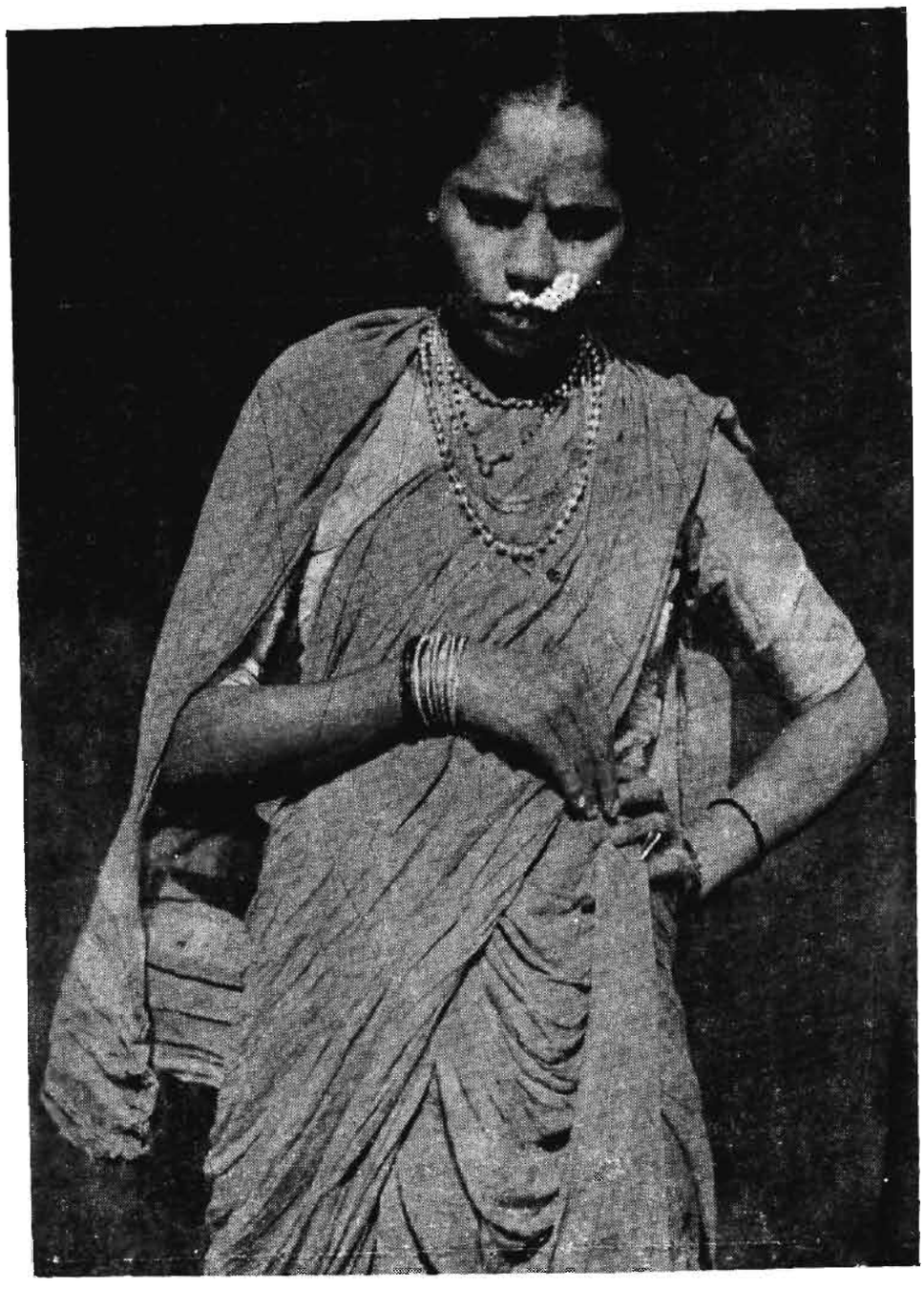
The bamboo chips and *Karvi* reeds required for making huts are available from the forests near the village, and are allowed to be taken free of cost if required for building a hut or for fuel provided not more than one headload is removed at a time. If villagers remove *Karvi* by carts for their own use they have to pay 75 Paise per cartload, and if they remove it for sale they are charged Rs. 1·50 per cartload.

The houses of Malhar Kolis, which are all huts except four semi-pucca structures, are built by themselves; while the Kunbis employ masons and carpenters, who come from outside the village, mainly from Bassein. The family members work and assist as labourers. The carpenter and the mason are paid Rs. 5 per day each. In the case of rich Kunbis even the labourers are employed. There is no practice of building houses by all the community members helping one another. The construction is started in fair season on an auspicious day like *Gudhi Padva, Dassera or Diwali*, and the laying of foundation stone is accompanied by a *puja*. At the time of fixing the central pole (*bhal*) of the house, cocoanut and betelnut along with mango leaves are tied to the pole. While entering the new house after completion a special ceremony called " *Griha Pravesh* " or " *Vastu Shanti* " is performed, and guests are invited to a feast.

The cost of building a hut is about Rs. 50 including the cost of poles, which support the walls and the roof, ropes, nails, etc. A semi-pucca house costs Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 as its roof is covered with tiles. A pucca house would cost between Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 15,000 depending upon the dimensions of the building.

Dress

Dhoti or *Langoti* (loin cloth), a *Kabja* (jacket), and a headwear of a piece of cloth called *Rumal* constitute the dress of a common villager either a Kunbi or a Malhar Koli. In the case of the latter, Dhoti is seldom worn, as *Langoti* is more common, being cheap. Most of the Kunbis wear short Dhotis as daily wear; but when they



A Kunbi Woman with her Ornaments

go to a Government office or attend a festival or ceremony they always wear the long type of Dhoti. The women of all the communities wear Sari and *Choli* (blouse). Marriage and other ceremonies are occasions when they wear Saris of superior quality. Such Saris are kept separately for use on important occasions only. Bright colours appeal to their tastes as seen from the colours of their Saris. Boys of Kunbis wear shorts while those of Kolis and of poor Kunbis wear loin cloth (*Langoti*). The dress for all girls is *Chaddi* (knickers) and frock or *Parkar* (long skirt). These clothes are obtained from outside as there is neither a cloth shop nor a permanent tailor in the village. A Christian tailor from Bassein opens his shop in the village for a few months each year during the fair season from October to May, the exact period depending upon the amount of work he gets. The people who want to get their clothes stitched at that time go to him. None of the 102 households sews clothes at home and all clothes are stitched by a tailor.

There is no *Dhobi* (washerman) or laundry in the village, and the villagers are not accustomed to get their clothes washed by *Dhobis*.

There is neither any *Chambhar* (shoe-maker) in the village nor is any leather available for making shoes. Dead cattle is disposed of by dragging it outside the Gaothan to a long distance by its owner and his servants or friends. A *Chambhar* from a neighbouring village who learns about it goes to that spot and removes the skin which he cleans and utilises for making shoes or other articles. Hitherto the Mahars used to take the skin and to sell it off to *Chambhar* after cleaning it, but they have now stopped this practice as already explained. Very few villagers use footwear. Out of 102 households, 44 use footwear as shown below—

Religion and Principal Occupation	Total No. of households in the village	No. of households using footwear
Hindu—		
Cultivator ..	43	17
Agricultural labourer ..	46	15
Government service ..	4	4
Other occupations ..	4	4
Nav-Buddhist—		
Agricultural labourer ..	3	2
Muslim—		
Retail trader ..	2	2
Total ..	102	44

Ornaments

The customary ornaments used by Kunbis and Malhar Kolis differ both in design and in value. The difference in value is more than that in design. While the Kunbis can afford to use gold and silver ornaments, no Malhar Koli has any gold ornament and very few possess even silver ones. At present most of the Kolis and a large majority of the Kunbis possess few of these ornaments. It was not, however, possible to collect the data of actual possession as naturally they would not like to disclose it. For the purpose of information the type of each customary ornament with its usual value is given below :—

	Approximate Cost
Malhar Kolis' Ornaments—	Rs.
(1) Artificial pearl nose-ring ..	3·00
(2) *Kudi* for lobe of ear (gold plated)	2·50
(3) *Mangalsutra* (a kind of necklace)	1·00
(4) *Patti* (for foot) of silver ..	15·00
(5) *Ferve* for the toes ..	2·00
(6) *Patli* (for the wrist) of silver ..	5·00
(7) *Bugdi* (for the upper part of the ear) of gold plated silver ..	2·00
(8) *Galsari* (made of beads gold plated silver) (a kind of necklace)	3·00
(9) Two golden *Putlis* (a kind of necklace) ..	50·00
Kunbis' Ornaments—	
(1) *Tandli Pot* (small beads) golden (a kind of necklace) ..	300 to 400
(2) *Bormal* (gold) (a kind of necklace)	200 to 300
(3) *Chaplahar* (gold) (a kind of necklace) ..	500 to 1,000
(4) *Vajratik* (gold) (a kind of necklace) ..	300
(5) *Putli* (7 or 8 in number) (a kind of necklace) ..	300·00
(6) *Pan* (ornament for the neck) in the middle of Putlis ..	30 to 40
(7) *Flower* (gold) in hair ..	70 to 100
(8) *Nath* (nose-ring) of pearls ..	50·00
,, (,,) golden ..	15·00
(9) *Kudi* for lobe of ears ($\frac{1}{4}$ tola) golden	30·00
(10) Golden bangles 4 ..	400·00
(11) *Toda* (silver) ..	100·00
(12) *Mani-mangalsutra* (marriage necklace) ..	30·00
(13) *Bugdi* for lobe of ears (golden with small pearls) ..	50·00
(14) *Ferve* (for toes) ..	5 to 10
(16) *Patti* (like chain) ..	30 to 40

	Approximate Cost Rs.
For Kunbi Males—	
(1) Ring (gold)	50·00
(2) *Bhikbali* (in right side lobe of ear)	25·00
(3) Gold chain ..	150 to 175
For Kunbi Boys—	
(1) Chain (silver) for the waist ..	6·00
(2) *Tambola* (copper) for anklet (of one leg only) for boys upto 2 years of age.	3·00
For Girls—	
(1) *Golden Pan* (leaf)	15·00
(2) *Valis* for ear and nose ..	10·00

Utensils

The utensils are generally of brass or copper. The Malhar Kolis use earthen pots also, particularly for storing water or as dishes (*Thali*) for serving food or for keeping the cooked food. A list of common utensils and their approximate prices is given below :—

	Approximate Cost Rs.
Kunbis' Brass and Copper Utensils—	
Handa of copper	16·00
Patele of brass	5·00
Tat (dish) of brass	2·25
Tambya of brass	2·50
Pela of brass	1·00
Oghral of brass	2·50
Wati of brass	1·00
Malhar Kolis' Brass Utensils—	
Patele	1·50 to 5·00
Thali (dish)	1·75
Lota	1·50
Chamcha (spoon)	0·25
Earthenware—	
Handi (for heating water) ..	0·25
Round pot (for storing water) ..	0·25
Thali (dish)	0·12
Tavi	0·06

The earthenware are manufactured by potter in Adne village which is two miles away. Brass and copper utensils are purchased from Bassein or Bhivandi. There are no glasswares in use. Even glass or porcelain cups and saucers for tea are seldom found.

Furniture and other Consumer Goods

Hardly any furniture worth the name is used in the village. The *Khatias* (cots) are of the old indigenous type—a rectangular-frame work of wood interwoven with coir ropes. There are no furniture makers (carpenters) in the village, and therefore these pieces of furniture are either got prepared from another village or from a carpenter of another village who is specially called to this village. The Table No. 2.1 on page 17 shows the number of articles of furniture, consumer goods, etc., used in the village, the number of households using them, and the categories to which these households belong.

The data of Table 2.1 show that mirror is the only article used by most of the households, i.e., 82 out of 102 households. Possession of a mirror is rendered necessary by the fact that most of the villagers shave themselves by using cheap safety razor blades once or twice a week. The other articles mentioned in the list are used mostly by agriculturists.

On making inquiries as to recent acquisition of furniture it was found that during the last five years only two households had bought benches. No other furniture was acquired by any other family during the last 5 years. As regards consumer goods, the number of article purchased during the last 5 years by each of the communities are given in Table No. 2.2 on page 17.

Diet and Food Habits

Rice is the staple food of all the people, and no other foodgrain can replace it. Even as a secondary food item other foodgrains are not popular. This is evident from the fact that out of 16 households selected for detailed inquiries (15 Hindus and 1 Muslim), only two were using wheat, and two were using grains other than wheat, i.e., 4 were using foodgrains other than rice in addition to rice. The day begins with a *Nyahari*—breakfast—in the morning before going to work. This consists of a *Bhakar*—bread —of rice with *Chutney* or baked dry fish. Those Malhar Kolis who cannot afford to eat '*Bhakar*' take only tea. In the afternoon Kunbis eat rice with *Tur Dal*, and vegetables or dry fish. Malhar Kolis take only rice and curry of dry fish ; sometimes only salt is taken with rice. The dinner at night is similar to the afternoon meal. Some Malhar Kolis, however, take *Kanji*, gruel of broken rice. Rice is thus eaten thrice a day or at least twice. An adult requires one *Adholi*, i.e., 2 seers (by measure) of paddy

converted into rice. A child eats half this quantity. The monthly food requirement of an adult would be as under:—

1 Adholi by measure = 107 tolas by weight.
107×30 days = 3,210 tolas.
= 40 1/8 seers (Bengal).
= 1 Bengal maund and 10 tolas.

When paddy is converted into rice the out turn is abou t 60 per cent. Accordingly 1 Bengal maund of paddy would yield 24 seers of rice.

Tea is very popular with the villagers. They generally use *Gur* (jaggery) instead of sugar which is reserved for occasions when guests are to be served. Due to scarcity of milk in the village tea is often drunk without milk by poor villagers. Detailed inquiries were made regarding the habit of tea drinking with 17 households, and the number of those taking tea is given below :—

Range of monthly income	Castewise number of Households drinking Tea				
	Hindu	Nav-Buddhist	Malhar Koli	Muslim	Total
Above Rs. 150 ..	8	..	..	..	8
101—150 ..	..	..	..	..	..
76—100 ..	2	1	1	..	4
51—75 ..	1	..	..	..	1
26—50 ..	1	..	1	..	2
25 or less ..	..	..	..	1	1
Total ..	12	1	2	1	16

TABLE No. 2.1

The Classification of Households by Articles used and Occupation

Serial No.	Article used	Total No. of the articles	No. of households of different categories				Total
			Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Trade & Commerce	Other Services	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Khatia (cot)	46	18	6	2	3	29
2	Chair	19	7	..	..	3	10
3	Table	10	7	..	..	2	9
4	Cupboard	11	5	..	1	..	6
5	Bench	18	9	..	1	2	12
6	Mirror	92	36	39	2	5	82
7	Stool	7	5	..	..	..	5
8	Wall-sh elf	6	3	..	..	..	3
9	Clock	3	3	..	..	..	3
10	Watch	6	4	..	1	1	6
11	Cups and saucers	Not Available	9	..	2	..	11
12	Lantern	23	17	..	1	3	21
13	Petromax	5	2	..	1	1	4
14	Torch	16	12	..	1	2	15
15	Bicycle	1	1	..	..	..	1
16	Tonga	1	1	..	..	..	1
17	Gramophone	1	1	..	..	..	1
18	Radio	1	1	..	..	..	1

TABLE No. 2.2

The Classification of Households by Community and Articles purchased during last 5 years

Community	No. of households who purchased the articles					
	Torch	Lantern	Wrist watch	Petromax	Bullock Cart	Gramophone
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total	20	28	8	7	4	2
Hindus (excluding Scheduled Tribes) ..	16	18	6	5	4	2
Nav-Buddhist	..	1	..	..	..	..
Malhar Koli	3	7	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	2	2	2	..	..

Out of the 102 households only two, both Hindus (1 Brahmin and 1 Kumbhar), reported that they were prohibited from taking non-vegetarian food by custom.

Food is cooked in groundnut oil, and no Vanaspati like Dalda is used. The menu consists of rice, pulses, vegetables, mutton, chicken and dry fish according to the means of the family; of these items the dry fish is the most common as it is cheaper than pulses, vegetables or mutton. In the month of Bhadrapad (August-September) when the agricultural operations are slack, the Malhar Kolis collect *Kandamul*—roots of certain trees—from forests, and during the monsoon they catch crabs from fields, and eat them.

Fuel is obtained from forests nearby where it is available in ample quantities. The villagers are allowed to take dry *Injaili* wood from forests free of charge provided it is only a headload and no more at a time. They do not use cowdung cakes as fuel since these are utilised for *Rab* operation—burning of field before sowing paddy seeds.

Beliefs and Practices connected with Birth, Marriage and Death among Important Communities

Birth.—At the time of the delivery of the first child the woman goes to her parent's house ; and the subsequent deliveries generally take place at her husband's house. A corner room in the house is selected for the purpose where the breeze will not cause cold to the woman and the newly born child. In fact the room selected lacks even sufficient ventilation. After delivery the woman has to observe restrictions on food by avoiding such items as may cause cough, cold, bile, etc. and to eat nutritious food along with mutton and chicken soup. She is forbidden to do physical labour or work for a couple of months. The umbilical cord is cut by the '*Suin*' (midwife) with a pen-knife and it is buried in the compound. The family members of the woman observe pollution for 10 days after the child-birth. The child is breast fed for at least a year. After about six months it is also supplemented by cow's milk. Solid food such as soft rice is given to the child after a year. When a child is born the Hindus of all castes follow the same religious practices. On the fifth day of the birth which is known as *Pachvi* about 20-30 people including relations and neighbours are invited and entertained to a feast. The main ceremony observed is as follows :—

Halad-Kunku is spread over the floor and a *Pata*—flat slab of stone—is kept thereon. Around the *Pata*, 2 *payalis* of rice are spread and small lamps made out of flour are kept on the *Pata*. The pictures of *Satvai* goddess and Brahma are drawn on the wall. The newly born child is then taken through a heap of rice. The relations and neighbours keep awake the whole night by reciting *Bhajans* and by playing cards.

The next ceremony is observed on the 12th day as the day for name giving, *Barse*. The child is kept in the cradle, gram is distributed to the children, and the child is named in consultation with the Brahmin priest. The hair of the child (male or female) is cut for the first time on an auspicious day such as *Dassera* or *Padva*.

In case of Malhar Kolis '*Pachvi*' only is observed and not the 12th day. They name their children after a year or so, and till then they call it by some nick-name.

Marriage.—The selection of the bride is made from any village, and is not restricted to any particular group of villages, much less to this village itself. In fact the marriage alliances outside the village are more numerous than those within the village itself as will be evident from the fact that out of 114 married men in the village only 31 have wives belonging to this village. In 47 out of the 83 remaining marriages, the brides belong to villages in the same taluka and the remaining 36 are from other talukas of the same district.

The custom of taking dowry poses a problem to poor villagers. It is the bridegroom's father who has to pay dowry to the bride's father, and a poor Kunbi having a son to get married has to incur expenditure of about a thousand rupees as follows :—

	Rs.
(1) Dowry	400 to 500
(2) Ornaments (*Putlis* 5, *Patlis* 2, Flower 1 and *Mangalsutra*)	300
(3) Clothes (Saris 10 to 15) ..	200
Total ..	1,000

In case of Malhar Kolis the amount of dowry to which the bride's father is entitled is obviously less than that in case of Kunbis, but in addition to cash the Malhar Koli has to give food-grains (paddy) to the bride's father. The total dowry would thus be as follows :—

	Rs. (Approx.)
(1) *Dehej* (dowry)	120
(2) Ornaments—	
Silver chains for feet ..	25
Silver bangles	10
Two golden *Patlis* ..	60
(3) Clothes for the bride— ..	40
1 Yellow Sari (*Sakharpuda*, i.e. engagement).	
1 Blue Sari.	
1 Any coloured Sari.	
3 *Cholis*.	
1 Shawl.	
(4) Paddy 6 maunds.	

Among both the Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis marriages are brought about by negotiations between parties and the marriage ceremony is performed by a Brahmin *Purohit*. Generally a Brahmin from Bassein or Chandansar village (same taluka) is invited for the purpose, and he is paid *Dakshina* of Rs. 6 by the bridegroom's party and Rs. 1·62 by the bride's side besides *Shidha* consisting of rice, *dal*, potatoes, cocoanut, betelnut, *Kharik*, etc.

At the time of marriage ceremony gifts are given to the bride and bridegroom by their relatives and friends. Some of the relatives are, in return, given saris or cloth by the bride's or bridegroom's parents. This custom prevails among Kunbis only and not among Malhar Kolis.

The actual wedding function lasts for 2 days in the case of Kunbis. On the first day the *Mandap* (Pandal) is put up ceremoniously and on the second day the wedding takes place. Immediately after the marriage the *Varat*—procession—is taken out leading the bride and bridegroom to the latter's residence. The Malhar Kolis celebrate the marriage as a festival for four days, the programme being as follows :—

1st day—*Halad* (turmeric) to be brought ceremonially from the bride's house.

2nd day—Construction of *Mandap*.

3rd day—Marriage ceremony.

4th day—To remove the "*Bashing*."

During these 4 days of festivity the whole community of Malhar Kolis in the village is served with meals, the menu being as follows :—

1st day—Rice, *dal*, vegetable preferably of brinjal.

2nd day—Same as above.

3rd day—Mutton, if the party can afford it ; otherwise dry fish, rice and *dal*.

4th day—Rice and *dal*.

So far as the system of consanguineous marriages is concerned the Kunbis, Malhar Kolis and Nav-Buddhas permit marriages between a man's daughter and his sister's son, *Bhacha*, only, and not between other near relations. However, on inquiry it was found that no such marriage has actually taken place at least within the memory of the villagers.

Polygamy is allowed by custom, and four such instances have occurred. The reason for the second marriage is the inability of the first wife to bear any child or to bear a male child as will be seen from the following cases :—

(1) *M.D.G., age 60, Kunbi.*—He has two wives alive. He married a second wife 15 years after the first marriage because the first wife bore no child. Even the second wife has no issue, and so he has adopted his brother's son.

(2) *V.M.G., the adopted son of (1) mentioned above, age 36, Kunbi.*—His first wife died after 2 years of marriage and had no issue. The second wife gave birth to a daughter 10 years after the marriage and has no other issue. As he wanted a male issue he married for the third time four years ago, but the third wife has no issue at all. Both the wives live together with him.

(3) *W.R.B., age 35, Kunbi.*—He married a second wife because the first wife has no issue. He had obtained the Court's permission for the second marriage under the Prevention of Bigamous Marriages Act, and the first wife did not object to it. The second wife had 1 son and 1 daughter. Both the wives stay together with him.

(4) *K.N.B., age 40, Kunbi.*—His first wife has 3 sons and 2 daughters. However, he married a second wife out of love eight years ago, and she has 1 son and 2 daughters. She was a widow at the time of her re-marriage, and had 1 son 10 years old and a daughter 16 years old from her first husband. This daughter has been married. Both these wives live separate from each other, and he lives with first wife, but occasionally goes to the second wife also. The second wife maintains herself and her family by cultivating the land admeasuring 18½ acres inherited from her first husband.

Among the Malhar Kolis no case of polygamy was revealed during the inquiry. As it is expensive to obtain a wife due to dowry (*Dehej*) system, it is still more difficult to marry again, and hence polygamy is indirectly checked.

Divorce is permitted among Kunbis and Malhar Kolis; but there is no such instance among Kunbis. In Malhar Koli community also there has been no case of regular divorce, but in two cases wives have left their husbands without giving any specific reasons.

Age at marriage.—In order to ascertain the age at marriage of both males and females a table based on the data collected from some selected households is given below to show the number of marriages in different age-groups. The present ages of these males

and females are also given to indicate as to how many years ago these marriages took place :—

Males in different age-groups	Age at marriage (in years)					
	0—9	10—14	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34
0—9	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19	..	..	1	..	..	..
20—24	..	1	3	1	..	..
25—29	..	1	6	8	1	..
30—34	..	3	8	10	1	..
35—39	..	..	4	5	3	1
40—44	..	..	3	2	4	1
45—49	..	..	5	1	2	2
50—54	..	2	..	2	..	4
55—59	..	..	4	2	1	1
60—64	..	..	..	4	2	..
Total	..	7	34	35	14	9

Females in different age-groups	Age at marriage (in years)					
	0—9	10—14	15—19	20—24	25—29	30—34
0—9	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19	..	4	3	..	..	..
20—24	1	9	9	..	..	..
25—29	2	8	16	3	..	..
30—34	..	3	9	5	2	..
35—39	..	1	1	4	..	..
40—44	..	5	1	3	2	..
45—49	..	1	2	3	..	..
50—54	..	4	..	2	..	..
55—59	..	1	2	..	..	..
Total	3	36	43	20	4	..

The above tables indicate that there were no marriages of boys below the age of 10 years, while there were 3 marriages of girls at the age of 8 who are now in the age-group 20 to 29. The majority of males marry at the age between 15 and 24 as there are 69 out of 99 such observed cases. In the case of females 36 out of 106 have got married at the age between the ages 10 to 14 while 43 between 15 to 19. Similarly late marriages, i.e., in the age-group 30—34 are only 9 in respect of males and none in respect of females.

Death.—When it is obvious that a person is about to breathe his/her last he/she is removed from the cot, if he/she is lying on it, to the floor. After death the deceased is bathed and taken to the burning ground. Some Kunbi people, who can afford, throw coins in the funeral procession, and sometimes *Bhajans* are sung. On the 11th day the obsequious rites are performed with the guidance of the Brahmin priest, and the caste people are entertained to meals which consist of *Ladoo* or mutton. The Brahmin priest is given *Dakshina* from Rs. 1·25 to Rs. 15 according to the means of the giver and *Shidha* consisting of rice, dal, cocoanut, etc.

In the case of Malhar Kolis the obsequies are performed by the *Dakya*, an elderly person in the caste. When the *Dakya* was asked about the nature of rites performed he pleaded ignorance of any rites or rituals, and said he only repeats the names of Gods and puts *Gulal*—vermilion powder—and flowers on the dead body.

Superstitious Beliefs

Howling by a jackal is regarded as foreboding a death in the village or in a nearby village. The howling is called *Bhaloo*. Yawning by a person in the field while working is regarded as inauspicious. A bird called *Titvi* is associated generally with evil. If the bird flies over the house at night making a clattering noise, this event is particularly regarded as an evil omen. Similarly "*pingala*" which makes a rattling noise is also an "inauspicious" bird. Any animal which has a "*Bhowra*" (like a top) on its back (waist), or which has a short tail is regarded as bringing ill luck. While starting on any important mission or for doing some important work the villager, whatever his caste, chooses the particular day of the week which is supposed to be auspicious. The matters of great significance such as house construction, marriage negotiation or celebration, engagement, etc., are invariably taken in hand only on such days as are regarded auspicious for the particular event. The following days and months are regarded as auspicious for certain events :—

(1) *Gudhi Padva* in Chaitra.	Construction of house or well.
(2) Months of Magha and Vaishakha.	Marriage celebration.
(3) Dassara in Ashvina ..	Starting new business or construction of house.
(4) Shravana month ..	Starting on a journey or pilgrimage.
(5) Mondays and Thursdays	Naming of children, purchase of land or of cattle.

Formalities are also observed before certain articles or animals are brought into use by Kunbis. For instance when new utensils are purchased, they are not brought into the house straightaway; but they are first kept for a while over the *Rangoli* (design drawn in white or coloured powder) drawn in front of the house, and thereafter they are taken inside the house. Similarly before the newly purchased cattle is allowed to enter the house, the women of the household apply *Kunku* on its forehead and wave lamp around the face in the form of an *Arati*. Thereafter the cattle is taken into the house. No cattle is ever purchased on a Wednesday

by either the Kunbi or the Malhar Koli, and if a she-buffalo delivers on a Wednesday, it is immediately sold as its stay in the house is considered inauspicious. Similarly if a cow delivers in the month of Magha (February-March) the event is regarded as a bad omen, and the cow is immediately disposed of.

Agricultural operations are also started on particular days of the week which are regarded as auspicious for the particular work. For instance the *Rab*— burning of the field, and cutting of the " Tahal " (twigs of trees used for burning of the field) for " Rab " are done on Saturdays only. Weeding operations are also started on a Saturday. Next to Saturdays the other auspicious days are Mondays and Thursdays. A cultivator who could not do a particular agricultural operation on Saturday does it either on Monday or Thursday. Tuesdays and Wednesdays are supposed to be not good for starting any new work, and hence are avoided as far as possible whenever a new work is to be taken in hand.

Certain places are also associated with evil spirits as they are believed to be haunted by ghosts. They are as follows :—

(1) The burning ground near the river is supposed to be a haunting place of ghosts.

(2) A ghost called *Khavis* roams about by the side of the river.

(3) The *ghat* on the Vajreshwari road is also haunted by ghosts.

(4) A female ghost called *Hedli* haunts the place called *Bag* on Majivali side.

(5) A place known as *Karolicha Aad* is supposed to be haunted by a strange type of ghost which is expert in changing its appearances. In a moment it becomes a cat, next moment it transforms itself into a woman, or a cattle and so on. It also makes noise.

Certain dreams are regarded as foreboding evil. For example if a man sees in his dream the falling of teeth or burning of a house he apprehends some misfortune.

In some villages we come across farmers who can forecast the weather on the basis of some natural phenomena, but there is no such farmer in this village. There are no saints, or " *Bawas* " in the village; but at Ganeshpuri village (near Vajreshwari) at a distance of 5 miles, there was a Saint known as Swami Nityanand who was very much respected by a large number of people not only in this and the surrounding villages, but by people from far off towns and cities. He died on 8th August 1961.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

The total area of the village is 733 acres 12¾ gunthas, of which 350 acres 32½ gunthas is cultivable and the remaining is either uncultivable or is covered with forests, village site, roads, etc. The details are given below :—

A. *Land fit for cultivation—*

	Area A.	g.	Assessment Rs.
Assessed land—			
(1) Ordinary tenure	326	6	809·48
(2) Restricted tenure	7	5	13 47
(3) Inam	12	½	39·99
Total ..	345	11½	862·94
Unassessed land	5	21	..
Total ..	350	32½	862·94

B. *Land unfit for cultivation—*

(1) Pot Kharab	38	28
(2) Rivulets, etc.	25	8

Land assigned for special purposes—

(1) Reserved forest	129	12
(2) Protected forest	171	21
(3) Gaothan	4	10
(4) Burial Ground	0	18
(5) Roads	13	3¼
Total ..	382	20¼
Grand Total ..	733	12¾

Looking to the *Sood Patrak* of the original survey of the village done in 1860 we find that the land occupied for cultivation was only 187 acres 32 gunthas, i.e., about half the area now under cultivation. The figures of areas as per the original survey of 1860, and of those given in the present Village Form No. 1, which has been prepared on the basis of the Revision Survey of 1926, with subsequent changes regarding tenure of the land, indicate that during the last 100 years the original area of cultivable land which was 187 acres has increased by 164 acres, i.e., by 87·70 per cent, and that the non-cultivable area has been reduced from 206 acres to 81 acres. In other words more than half of the uncultivable land (206 acres) has been brought under cultivation by the people as a result of improvements and bunding. No land has been assigned for grazing at present, and the village cattle graze in the forest area where they find sufficient fodder.

As regards the change in the classification of cultivable land itself, the only change has been the utilization of 7 acres 2 gunthas of unassessed land (fit for cultivation) for cultivation purposes during the period of 1928-29 to 1959-60 as seen from Table 3·1. Consequently the said area is transferred from the category of "unassessed" to that of "assessed" land since it is put to the use of cultivation, and assessment is levied upon it as will be evident from the comparative statement of "Land fit for cultivation" given in Table No. 3.1 on page 23.

The land revenue demand for the last 3 decades was as under :—

Year	Fixed demand Rs.	a.	p.	Miscellaneous demand Rs.	a.	p.	Total demand Rs.	a.	p.
1930	951	7	10	16	2	0	967	9	10
1940	951	10	7	3	12	6	955	7	1
1950 ..	1,004	9	7	19	1	9	1,023	11	4

The soil is fit for paddy crop only, and rain is the only source of water supply for cultivation. Irrigation facilities are totally absent, and hence a cash crop like sugarcane cannot be grown. The crop pattern has not, therefore, undergone any change for years together. In fact in all the surrounding villages and in practically the whole of Thana district, except a few villages on the west of the Western Railway where garden crops such as bananas and Chikoo are grown, paddy constitutes the only crop.

In such of the paddy fields as retain sufficient moisture after the paddy crop is cut, and can be protected from cattle trespass, a second crop is grown. Out of the total area of 190 acres 22 gunthas under paddy cultivation, 11 acres 18 gunthas are utilised for growing second crops of pulses and oil-seeds as shown below:—

Name of crop	Area A.	g.
(1) Gram	2	03
(2) Tur	6	00
(3) Til (sesamum)	1	20
(4) Khurasni (oil-seed)	1	35

There are 3 types of soils in the village and their rates of assessment are as follows :—

Type of soil	Assessment per acre Rs.	a.	p
(1) Rice land	5	5	.
(2) New rice land	1	5	4
(3) Dry crop land	1	5	4 4

All grass lands are included in the classification of dry crop land. The above rates were fixed at the Second Revision Settlement of Bassein taluka in 1926 and were levied from the year 1928-29. According to the grouping of all the villages of this taluka, this village was placed in the last, i.e., the fourth group. For purposes of comparison, the assessment rates of other groups of villages of the same taluka are given below :—

Group	Rice land rate			New rice land rate			Dry crop land rate		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
I	9	5	4	6	10	8	4	0	0
II	8	0	0	6	0	0	2	10	8
III	6	10	8	5	5	4	2	0	0
IV	5	5	4	1	5	4	1	5	4

The forest area admeasures 300 acres 33 gunthas, and trees therein are cut according to the rules and regulations of the Forest Department. The villagers are, however, allowed to take free of charge headloads of (1) dry wood of *Injaili* trees for their own use as fuel, (2) dry leaves for their '*Rab*' purposes, and (3) '*Karvi*' (bamboo) sticks for the use of walls in their own houses. They cannot, however, take away more than a headload at a time without charge. If they remove '*Karvi*' by carts for their own use they have to pay 75 Paise per cartload, and if they remove it for sale they are charged Rs. 1.50 per cartload.

Livestock and Animal Husbandry

The number of animals in the village, and the names (initials) of their owners with their castes are given in Table No. 3·2 on page 24.

Bullocks and he-buffaloes are indispensable for agriculture as the land cannot be ploughed without either of them. The bullock renders more service than the he-buffalo which is sluggish; but the latter is more suitable for ploughing and making mud out of sticky soil due to weight and strength of its body. Some of the bullocks and he-buffaloes are unfit for ploughing due to their being very young or very old. Excluding such animals, those fit for cultivation work number 90 as shown in Table 3.2. There are 45 ploughs in the village, and so these 90 animals can be yoked to all the 45 ploughs if each pair is used for a particular plough only. But there are only 25 persons who own two or more bullocks or he-buffaloes, and two persons who own only one bullock each, while the number of cultivators is 43, which shows that 16 of them would need at least two bullocks/he-buffaloes, and two would need one bullock/he-buffalo for ploughing work. The required animals are borrowed from other cultivators. According to the custom prevailing in the village bullocks and he-buffaloes are lent for ploughing work by their owners to cultivators who need them for cultivation. A rent of 3 maunds of paddy for bullock and of 4 maunds for a he-buffalo is charged for the cultivation season by the owner. The animal is fed by the borrower during the time it is with him for use. This system is known as *Vahap*.

TABLE No. 3.1

Assessed Land

Type of tenure	1928-29				1953-54				1956-57				1959-60			
	Area		Assessment		Area		Assessment		Area		Assessment		Area		Assessment	
(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)	
	A.	g.	Rs.	a. p.	A.	g.	Rs.	a. p.	A.	g.	Rs.	nP.	A.	g.	Rs.	nP.
Ordinary tenure	326	9	809	7 9	326	6	809	7 9	326	6	809	48	326	6	809	48
Restricted tenure	0	3	0	0 6	2	6	3	0 6	6	6	13	14	7	5	13	47
Inam	12	½	39	15 9	12	½	39	15 9	12	½	39	99	12	½	39	99
Unassessed ..	12	23	....		10	20	....		6	20	....		5	21	....	
Total ..	350	35½	849	8 0	350	32½	852	8 0	350	32½	862	61	350	32½	862	94

NOTE.—Figures are given only for those years in which there were changes.

TABLE No. 3.2

Distribution of Animals with their owners' Names and Castes

Serial No.	Initials of owner	Owner's caste	Number of animals owned					
			Bullocks fit for ploughing	Cows	He-buffaloes fit for ploughing	She-buffaloes	Total of all cattle	Total No. of bullocks and he-buffaloes fit for ploughing
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	M. D. G.	Kunbi	3	..	4	8	15	7
2	B. D. G.	Do.	3	..	4	8	15	7
3	R. G. B.	Do.	2	..	4	4	10	6
4	W. R. B.	Do.	2	1	4	7	14	6
5	K. R. G.	Do.	3	1	..	..	4	3
6	R. V. M.	Do.	2	2	3	2	9	5
7	L. R. B.	Do.	2	..	3	3	8	5
8	D. B. S.	Nhavi	3	2	..	..	5	3
9	K. B.	Kunbi	2	..	2	1	5	4
10	K. V. M.	Do.	2	1	2	1	6	4
11	N. L. E.	Malhar Koli	2	..	2	1	5	4
12	L. A. G.	Kunbi	3	3	..	..	6	3
13	G. V. M.	Do.	2	..	2	1	5	4
14	D. N. B.	Malhar Koli	4	6	..	..	10	4
15	B. R. B.	Kunbi	2	..	1	..	3	3
16	P. J. G.	Do.	2	..	..	..	2	2
17	S. P. T.	Malhar Koli	..	..	2	2	4	2
18	K. N.	Kunbi	2	..	..	2	4	2
19	K. J. K.	Do.	2	..	..	..	2	2
20	M. R. M.	Malhar Koli	2	..	..	..	2	2
21	L. W. P.	Kunbi	2	1	..	..	3	2
22	V. R. N.	Do.	2	..	..	..	2	2
23	W. B. N.	Do.	2	3	..	..	5	2
24	G. V. G.	Do.	..	..	2	1	3	2
25	R. B.	Do.	..	..	2	1	3	2
26	S. L. B.	Do.	1	..	..	..	1	1
27	K. C. G.	Malhar Koli	1	..	..	..	1	
28	G. H. W.	Nav-Buddha	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Total	53	21	37	42	153	90

There is no difference in the use of any animal by the different communities such as Kunbis, Malhar Kolis, or Nav-Buddhists. None of them puts the cow or the she-buffalo to any agricultural use. These are used for milking. The bullock and the he-buffalo only are used for agricultural purposes, and so these animals are considered important from the cultivator's point of view. Out of the 90 bullocks and he-buffaloes, 36 are owned by 6 cultivators, i.e., 40 per cent are in the possession of 6 persons, and the remaining 60 per cent with 21 cultivators. These 6 cultivators are shown at Serial Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 of Table No. 3.2.

Cattle are generally purchased at the annual cattle market at Mhase, a village in Murbad taluka, at a distance of 51 miles from Shirvali. The other market is at Tulinj village, 8 miles away, which is held weekly. The cultivators find the Dangi breed of bullock suitable for the conditions obtaining in this area. The prices of a bullock and a he-buffalo are Rs. 200 to 250, and Rs. 100 to 125, respectively. Cow is not bought as it does not yield sufficient milk. She-buffaloes yielding 6 seers of milk per day are sold for about Rs. 300. The prices of those yielding more or less milk vary accordingly. A she-buffalo yielding two seers of milk per day is valued at Rs. 100.

Land Reforms

With a view to improving the economic condition of the actual tiller of the soil and providing him with security of tenure, land reforms have been introduced which are designed to make the cultivator the owner of the land he cultivates, and thereby encourage him to take more care in agricultural production which would also yield him more profit.

As a result of the tenancy legislation since 1948 restrictions have been imposed on sales or transfers of land, and in 1957 the Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act conferred the ownership of land upon the tenant on his undertaking to pay its price which would be determined by the Government. This price can be paid in instalments during a period up to 12 years.

In order to determine the direction in which the ownership of land was being transferred it would be necessary to ascertain the community (agricultural or otherwise) to which the purchaser belonged.

Data in Table No. 3.3 below show that since 1941 there were 27 sales of land from 1941 to 1956, 2 in 1957, none in 1958, 1 in 1959, none in 1960, and 1 in 1961 (upto 17th August 1961).

TABLE No. 3.3

Details of Transactions regarding Sales of Land

Serial No.	Seller	Purchaser	No. of sales	Area sold	Assessment of area sold	Years of sales
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
				A. g.	Rs. a. p.	
1	Bania	.. Kunbi ..	6	23 28½	88 14 6	One each in 1946, 1949, 1951, 1956 and 2 in 1955.
2	Gaud Brahmin	.. Kunbi ..	1	9 6	2 10 0	1941
3	Muslim	.. Kunbi ..	7	28 13	80 6 9	3 in 1955, 2 each in 1956 and 1957.
4	Kunbi	.. Kunbi ..	5	16 16¾	14 9 4	2 in 1943, and 1 each in 1942, 1945 and 1959.
5	Kunbi	.. Nhavi ..	1	1 8½	3 8 0	1942.
6	Bania	.. Nhavi ..	2	3 30¾	10 7 3	1943 and 1955.
7	Kunbi	.. Muslim ..	1	0 5	0 2 0	1941.
8	Bania	.. Muslim ..	1	24 18¾	31 1 3	1947.
9	Malhar Koli	.. Muslim ..	1	0 35¾	3 9 0	1947.
10	Malhar Koli	.. Bania ..	1	5 16	2 9 0	1942.
11	Kunbi	.. Gaud Brahmin	4	30 9¾	21 13 4	2 in 1941. One each in 1942 and 1944.
12	Bania	.. Gaud Brahmin	1	8 34½	8 6 3	1961.

We find that in 19 cases of sales, the purchaser was a Kunbi, i.e. the agriculturist class. Of these, 6 sales took place before 1948, and 13 after 1948. This shows that in consequence of the Tenancy Legislation of 1948 lands are gradually being transferred to the genuine agriculturists, and thereby its objective is being achieved. However, the Scheduled Tribe (Malhar Kolis) could not benefit by such sales. During the last 20 years no Malhar Koli has purchased any land. On the other hand there are two instances of sale of land by Malhar Koli: in 1942 when 5 acres 16 gunthas were sold to a Bania (Serial No. 10 above), and 35¾ gunthas were sold to a Muslim in 1947 (Serial No. 9 above). The land sold in 1942 was "*Varkas*" land (grass land) as is indicated by the low rate of assessment, *viz.*, Rs. 2-9-0 for 5 acres 16 gunthas.

Out of the above sales of land there were two instances where the purchasers would have been entitled to buy the land under the Tenancy Act. These sales were effected on 9th July 1949 and 13th March 1951.

Effect of Tenancy Legislation

Let us see how far the Tenancy legislation of conferring the ownership of land on the tenant actually cultivating it has benefited him, and what is its effect on the cultivation itself by considering the following three actual instances of erstwhile tenants now becoming land-holders:—

(1) *L. R. B., a Kunbi.*—He cultivates 13 acres of land. Formerly he was tenant of this land, and has now become its owner due to Tenancy legislation. He has to pay six annual instalments of Rs. 850 each, i.e. Rs. 5,100, as the price of land. This land belonged to a Muslim gentleman from Sopara village (in the same taluka), and the rent for its lease was fixed at 100 maunds (*kaccha*) which was subsequently reduced to 30 maunds (*kaccha*). The land yields 200 maunds of paddy on an average. He cannot quote the exact quantity produced in each year. He also cultivates on lease 5 acres of land belonging to a Hindu landlord, the rent of which was formerly 35 maunds and subsequently reduced to Rs. 111 (price of 15 maunds). The land yields 120 *kaccha* maunds of paddy. Neither of the landlords gave him any seeds, fertilisers or cash advances, and so he had to borrow. In 1960-61 he had borrowed Rs. 200 from the Co-operative Society and Rs. 200 from a *Sawkar*. Twelve persons of his family work in the cultivation season, and so the expenses of cultivation were only Rs. 800 for 18 acres. The total produce was 320 *kaccha* maunds of which 260 maunds of coarse variety was used for home consumption, and 60 of fine superior variety was sold at Rs. 20 per maund, yielding Rs. 1,200. He said he did not feel any benefit from the Tenancy legislation at present as he had to pay Rs. 850 as instalment for the price of land and Rs. 800 as expenses of cultivation (total being Rs. 1,650) in addition to the assessment of the land, *viz.*, Rs. 50·94, while the cash income was only Rs. 1,200 from sale of 60 maunds of paddy. (Had he proposed to pay off the price of land in smaller instalments over a longer period, say 10 years, the instalment would have been Rs. 510 instead of Rs. 850 as at present.) As regards the improvement in land he says there has not been any special effort for want of more funds ; nor has there been any deterioration in cultivation as there was no question of the landlord's stopping any aid to the tenant since he was not giving any such aid previously. Since the last two years he has been cultivating half an acre of land by the Japanese method ; but he could not give figures of yield to ascertain whether it resulted in any increase of production.

(2) *D. N. B., a Malhar Koli (Scheduled Tribe).*—Formerly he cultivated 3½ acres and paid 15 maunds (*kaccha*) paddy as rent. Since last two years he has been declared owner of 1 acre, valued at Rs. 300 payable by six instalments of Rs. 50 each. This land yields 15 maunds.

Now he holds in possession 1 acre of his own, as mentioned above, and 1 acre leased land. Both these lands yielded 25 maunds of paddy in 1959-60 of which he gave 1½ maunds as rent for the leased land, and kept 23½ maunds with himself. Formerly the landlord used to give him seeds, but now he does not, and so the tenant obtains the seeds now. No cash advance was ever given by the landlord, and hence the tenant manages to carry on cultivation by taking loans and repaying them. Last year he was indebted to the extent of Rs. 200.

Although 1 acre of land has come under his ownership he does not reap any increased yield, nor has there been any fall. This is because the attention paid to cultivation now is the same as it was before, when he was its leaseholder. No expenditure has been incurred on improving the land because he cannot afford it due to his liability to pay the instalment of Rs. 50 each year towards the price of land in addition to Rs. 3·31 as the assessment of the land.

(3) *K. B. S., a Malhar Koli (Scheduled Tribe).*—He cultivates 30 gunthas of land on lease from a Gujarati landholder of Bombay since the last 25 years. He is to become the owner of this land now, and has to pay assessment of Rs. 3·94 *plus* the price of land. Formerly he used to give 7 maunds (*kaccha*)

of paddy as rent to the landholder, but subsequently it was reduced to Rs. 15 (i.e. value of about 2 *kaccha* maunds). Till last year he did not make any effort to improve the land ; but this year he has exerted more, as he says, and expects better yield. He and his family members work as agricultural labourers in addition to cultivating 30 gunthas mentioned above and earn sufficient paddy by way of wages to feed them throughout the year, and so he has not to borrow paddy for *Khavti*. However, he had to take loan of Rs. 400 five years ago of which he has paid off Rs. 200, and for the repayment of the balance he works with a landlord throughout the year, either in the field or in the household. As soon as the price of land is fixed by the Government he will have to pay its yearly instalments. It is presumed the price will be about Rs. 225 for 30 gunthas at Rs. 300 per acre. The instalment will depend upon the number of years fixed for repayment of Rs. 225. If it is 6 years as in the above 2 cases the instalment will be Rs. 37·50 ; if it is 10 years it will be Rs. 22·50.

The above three instances are typical of the general conditions of erstwhile tenants who now become landholders in consequence of the Tenancy legislation. Although the payment of rent to the former landlord has now ceased, the tenant has instead to pay the instalment for the price of land, which is much more than the rent, as well as the assessment since he is deemed to be the owner. In the above three instances the corresponding liabilities as tenant and as "would be landholder" are as follows :—

Area of leased land	Rent payable for lease	Instalment for price of land	Assessment of land	Total (col. 3+ col. 4)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
(1) 13 acres ..	30 maunds (Rs. 225)	850·00	50·94	900·94
(2) 1 acre ..	1½ Maund (Rs. 11·25)	50·00	3·31	53·31
(3) 30 gunthas	Rs. 15	*22·50 to 37·50	3·94	26·44 or 41·44

*Yet to be fixed. This figure is tentative.

The above figures reveal the fact that the tenant on becoming the landholder has to pay a much bigger sum for a number of years towards price of land as compared to what he used to pay formerly as rent, and consequently he cannot afford to spend on improvements of land until its price is paid off and the instalments cease. The next 5 to 10 years will, therefore, constitute a transition period in the process of making the tiller the owner of the soil, and during this period hardly any improvement would be possible due to lack of finances with the tiller. From inquiries with the tillers it was learnt that there would be no deterioration in these years for want of funds as they will exert more out of a sense of ownership newly acquired over the land, and whenever necessary they will resort to borrowing. In this village even formerly the tenant did not enjoy any special privilege from the landholder as being entitled to cash advance, or seeds, manure, etc., for cultivation, except in one case where seeds were lent (Instance No. 2 above); but he was treated as any other cultivator or labourer in matter of lending. The question of loosing any special advantages from the landholder in consequence of the tenant becoming the landholder does not, therefore, arise. As regards borrowing the cultivators have become so habituated to it that this does not pose a problem to them. The lenders are also ever ready to lend and thereby to bring the borrowers under their clutches. The real effects of the Tenancy legislation will be apparent only after the purchase price of land is paid off by the erstwhile tenant (now landholder), and he can appropriate all his financial resources towards the development of land.

Ownership of Economic Resources, viz., Land

In order to have a clear picture as to how the ownership of land has been transferred during the last 28 years, the complete lists of all the landholders, whether as owners or as tenants, are given in Table Nos. 3.4 and 3.5 for the years 1933-34 and 1960-61 respectively. The year 1933-34 was selected because that was the only old Khatevahi available in the old revenue records of this village.

On a perusal of the statement on page 29 it is found that during the year 1960-61 there were 27 owner-cultivators of whom 10 were also cultivating leased land. There were 26 tenants (including 10 owner-cultivators who were also tenants in respect of leased land in their possession) who will be deemed to be the owners of the leased land and will be declared as such on their paying in full to the landlords the prices of the lands as fixed by the Agricultural Lands Tribunal. This means all the persons who were cultivating any land in 1960-61 are owners or "would-be owners" of the said lands (except an area of 24 gunthas). In other words the ownership of land has passed on to the tiller of the soil as will be evident from the Tables for

the years 1933-34 and 1960-61 given on pages 28-29 and which are summarised below:—

	1933-34 Area A.	g.	1960-61 Area A.	g.
(1) Area cultivated by owner or 'would-be owner' (in 1960-61).	97	13½	334	32¼
(2) Area cultivated on lease.	238	2¾	0	24
Total ..	335	16¼	335	16¼

The above figures bring into bold relief the fact that whereas in 1933-34 an area of only 97 acres 13½ gunthas out of 335 acres 16¼ gunthas, i.e. 29 per cent was owned by the persons actually cultivating it, the corresponding figure in 1960-61 was 334 acres 32½ gunthas out of 335 acres 16¼ gunthas, i.e. practically the whole area. The Tenancy legislation has thus achieved its purpose of making the tiller of the soil the owner thereof.

TABLE No. 3.4

List of all Cultivators (Landholders and Tenants) in 1933-34

Serial No.	Initials of cultivators	Caste	Own Land				Land on Lease			
			Area		Assessment		Area		Assessment	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)	
			A.	g.	Rs.	a. p.	A.	g.	Rs.	a. p.
1	A K. G.	Muslim	0	½	0	1 0	....		....	
2	B. U. G.	Kunbi	0	1	0	0 3	....		....	
3	A G. G.	Kunbi	0	7	0	0 9	....		....	
4	K. B. M.	Harijan	0	12	1	3 0	....		....	
5	J. G. G.	Kunbi	0	12½	1	4 0	....		....	
6	J. J. G.	Kunbi	0	13	0	1 0	....		....	
7	V. G. G.	Kunbi	0	15½	1	4 6	....		....	
8	K. H. P.	Kunbi	0	17	2	5 0	....		....	
9	R. L. M.	Harijan	0	21	1	5 9	....		....	
10	R. B. P.	Kunbi	0	24¾	2	6 0	....		....	
11	V. B. G.	Malhar Koli	0	30	2	10 9	....		....	
12	G. A. M.	Malhar Koli	0	35¾	3	9 0	....		....	
13	A. B. M.	Harijan	0	38¼	4	9 9	....		....	
14	A. C. E.	Malhar Koli	1	2	3	15 0	....		....	
15	G. V. M.	Harijan	1	2¼	4	9 4	....		....	
16	A. G. G.	Kunbi	1	14½	1	9 0	....		....	
17	K. D. K.	Malhar Koli	1	24	0	9 0	....		....	
18	G. B. T.	Kunbi	1	36	10	7 0	....		....	
19	R. R. M.	Malhar Koli	2	8	3	8 0	....		....	
20	A. R. G.	Kunbi	2	27¾	6	10 0	....		....	
21	B. J. J.	Kunbi	....		....		2	29	0	14 3
22	J. G. G.	Kunbi	3	13	4	10 3	....		....	
23	G. H. M.	Harijan	3	28½	3	15 9	....		....	
24	R. D. P.	Kunbi	3	30½	10	14 9	....		....	
25	L. B. P.	Kunbi	3	35	16	10 9	....		....	
26	B. G. P.	Malhar Koli	5	16	2	9 0	....		....	
27	A. M. P.	Kunbi	....		....		7	34½	28	1 6
28	G. B. P.	Vani	....		....		8	5¾	24	1 0
29	B. H.	Vani	....		....		11	27¾	48	5 6
30	F. M. D.	Christian	....		....		12	28	40	2 6
31	J. J.	Vani	....		....		13	7¾	24	11 3
32	M. D G.	Kunbi	12	39½	9	4 6	....		....	
33	M. M.	Muslim	....		....		16	17	39	15 9
34	J. R. P.	Kunbi	21	37	23	9 0	....		....	
35	M. G. D.	Muslim	....		....		23	27½	62	12 0
36	R. J. B.	Kunbi	24	31¼	56	3 3	....		....	
37	V. D.	Vani	....		....		24	19¾	36	0 3
38	S. M.	Muslim	....		....		28	31¾	66	3 9
39	V. M. G.	Brahmin	....		....		28	10¾	97	4 9
40	M. B.	Vani	....		....		60	3¼	213	12 6

TABLE No. 3.5

List of all Cultivators (Landholders and Tenants) in 1960-61

Serial No.	Initials of cultivators	Caste	Own Land		Land on Lease	
			Area	Assessment	Area	Assessment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			A. g.	Rs P.	A. g.	Rs. P.
1	S. K. P.	Kunbi	0 17	2·31	....	....
2	K. K. G.	Brahmin	0 13	0·09	....	....
3	M. R. P.	Kunbi	0 24¾	2·37	....	....
4	K. B. S.	Malhar Koli	....	....	0 30	3·94
5	V. B. G.	Malhar Koli	0 30	2·67	....	....
6	K. C. G.	Malhar Koli	0 30	2·81	....	....
7	A. R. K.	Muslim	0 35¾	3·56	....	....
8	R. A. F.	Malhar Koli	0 39	0·33	....	....
9	S. J. P.	Kunbi	1 1	4·48	28 28½	46·48
10	R. R. M.	Malhar Koli	1 6½	5·06	....	....
11	P. B. P.	Kunbi	1 32¾	8·75	....	....
12	L. G. T.	Kunbi	1 36	10·44	....	....
13	S. G. M.	Nav-Buddha	1 38½	4·75	....	....
14	G. H. M.	Nav-Buddha	2 1¾	3·81	0 23	2·44
15	B. G. M.	Nav-Buddha	2 2	4·58	0 10	0·98
16	G. R. J.	Kunbi	2 10	5·48	....	....
17	G. V. G.	Kunbi	2 31	6·58	1 39¾	11·97
18	R. R. P.	Kunbi	2 39¾	7·61	....	....
19	L. V. P.	Kunbi	3 9¾	14·56	2 36½	19·50
20	R. B. P.	Kunbi	....	....	4 10¾	17·19
21	M. L. N.	Kunbi	4 21½	17·00	....	....
22	B. D. G.	Kunbi	4 23¾	10·14	27 35½	43·69
23	D. B. S.	Nhavi	6 23½	16·27	....	....
24	S. P. T.	Brahmin	6 31	8·31	....	....
25	K. R. G.	Kunbi	6 8½	26·62	21 16	35·33
26	G. V. M.	Kunbi	11 27	40·97	....	....
27	R. G. B.	Kunbi	13 13½	21·08	12 4½	39·28
28	W. R. B.	Kunbi	14 18½	47·47	13 9	38·28
29	V. T. M.	Kunbi	16 30	38·14	0 24	0·53
30	P. L. S. L.	Kunbi	....	....	1 9½	4·70
31	D. N. B.	Malhar Koli	....	....	1 30¾	3·31
32	K. L. M.	Kunbi	....	....	1 29¾	7·00
33	P. J. G.	Kunbi	....	....	3 16½	3·36
34	B. G. J.	Kunbi	....	....	4 13¾	20·52
35	K. N. B.	Kunbi	....	....	4 23	13·94
36	S. W. G.	Kunbi	....	....	4 21	18·34
37	B. R. B.	Kunbi	....	....	3 25½	14·19
38	D. G. D.	Kunbi	....	....	5 0¾	12·50
39	B. J. P.	Kunbi	....	....	8 4¾	9·66
40	K. B. G.	Kunbi	....	....	8 37½	41·72
41	M. D. G.	Kunbi	....	....	14 14½	10·66
42	K. B. G.	Kunbi	....	....	14 17½	44·69
43	L. R. B.	Kunbi	....	....	31 31½	72·42

NOTE.—Leased land shown in column No. 6, except 24 gunthas at Serial No. 29, is virtually deemed to be of the lessees' (tillers') ownership, and will be finally transferred to their names on their paying the price of land fixed by the Agricultural Lands Tribunal.

Small Cultivators

The distribution of the total land (both owned and taken on lease) both according to the area-group and the caste-group, among these 43 agriculturists is shown in the Table No. 3·6 below.

The figures in the abovesaid table reveal that out of 43 cultivators 30 are Kunbis, 6 are Malhar Kolis, 3 are Nav-Buddha and 4 others.

As regards the distribution of land it is found that 6 landholders (all Kunbis) each having 20 acres or more possess (in round figures) 175 acres of land out of total acreage of 335 acres, i.e. 52·24 per cent; and the remaining 160 acres are divided among the 37 cultivators. Out of this area of 160 acres, 46 acres are held by 3 Kunbis, and the remaining 114 acres are distributed among 34 cultivators.

Table No. 3.7 on page 31 shows area per household and per capita land for various communities.

Land Improvement

In order to determine the extent of improvements made by cultivators on land, the statistics of the 27 cultivators (20 Kunbis, 4 Malhar Kolis and 3 Nav-Buddhists), selected for inquiry regarding use of improved seeds, manures etc. have been collected, and given in Table No. 3·8 which show the area on which improvements have been made, and the expenses incurred for its improvement during the last three years. Bunding and levelling are the only two kinds of improvements undertaken in this village.

The data in the Table No. 3·8 reveal the fact that only 7 out of 20 Kunbi cultivators had done bunding to their fields, and 4 out of them had also done levelling. Another cultivator had done only levelling. Out of the total area of 236 acres 6½ gunthas the area bunded was only 30 acres 10 gunthas at a cost of Rs. 2,100, and the area levelled was 9 acres 30 gunthas at a cost of Rs. 1,150. Out of these 8 cultivators, 4 have land of their own, while 4 hold leased in land.

Out of the 4 Malhar Kolis about whom statistics were collected only one had done bunding on 20 gunthas at a cost of Rs. 125.

Only 1 Nav-Buddha out of three had undertaken bunding on 1 acre at a cost of Rs. 80. He holds land on his own name as well as on lease.

TABLE No. 3.6

Distribution of Land by Area Group and Caste of Holder

Area held	KUNBI		MALHAR KOLI		NAV-BUDDHA		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
		A. g.		A. g.		A. g.		A. g.		A. g.
Less than 1 acre	2	1 1¼	4	3 9	..	..	2	1 8¾	8	5 19½
1 to less than 2½ acres	5	8 37½	2	2 37½	2	4 10½	..	..	9	16 5½
2½ to less than 5 acres	9	37 2	..	..	1	2 24¾	..	..	10	39 26¾
5 to less than 7½ acres	2	11 6¾	..	..	..	..	2	13 14½	4	24 21
7½ to less than 10 acres	2	17 2½	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	17 2½
10 to less than 12½ acres	1	11 27	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11 27
12½ to less than 15 acres	2	28 31¾	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	28 31¾
15 to less than 17½ acres	1	17 14	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	17 14
17½ to less than 20 acres	..	1 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20 to less than 25 acres	..	1 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 to less than 30 acres	4	110 18¾	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	110 18¾
30 to less than 35 acres	2	64 10½	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	64 10½
35 acres or more	..	.. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	30	307 32½	6	6 6½	3	6 35	4	14 23	43	335 16½

Figure below shows the distribution of land by area cultivated and number of households by size of holdings:—

AREA CULTIVATED & NO OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE OF HOLDINGS

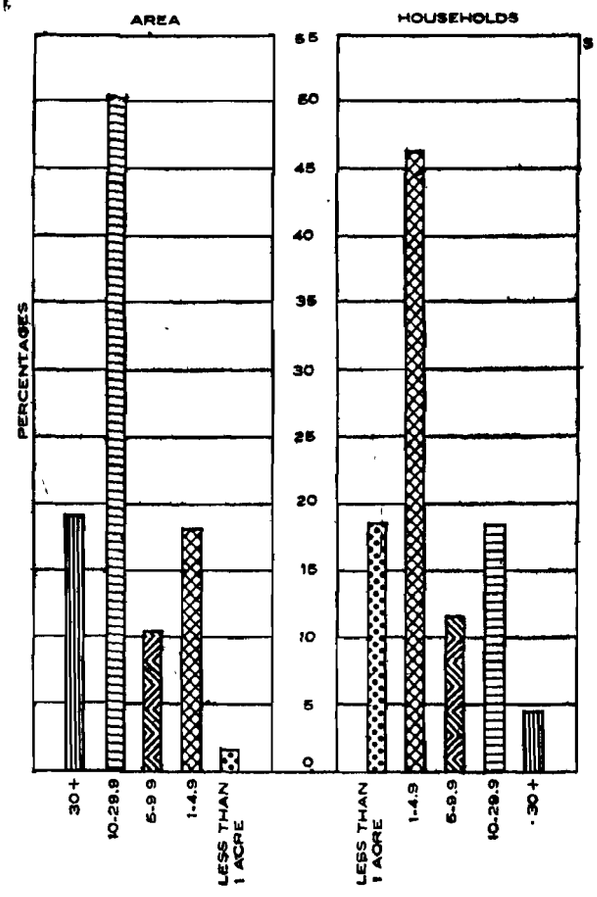
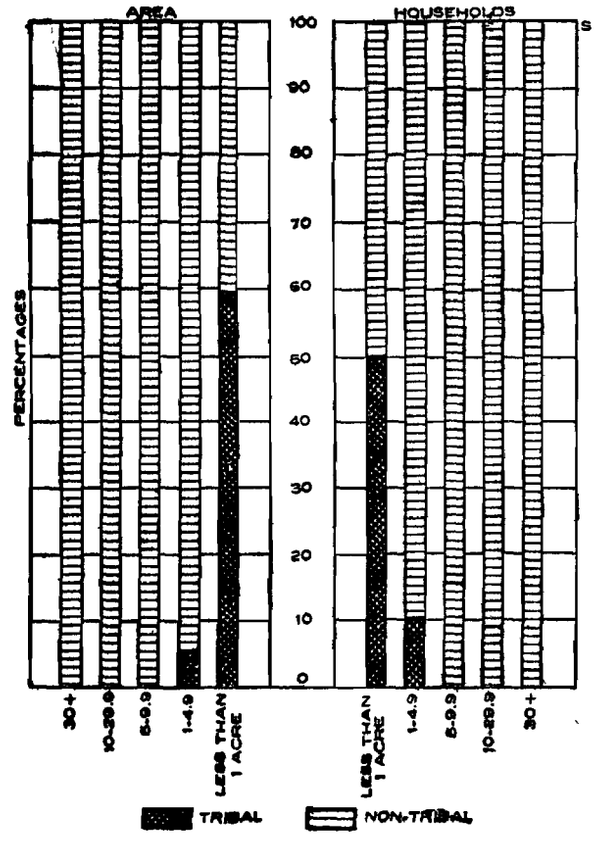


Figure below shows the distribution of land cultivated and number of households by size of holding held by tribal and non-tribal population :—

AREA CULTIVATED & NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE OF HOLDINGS.



Industrial Categories

The distribution of workers of the village by broad industrial categories of workers is given below :—

Total	158 Males 129 Females	In Mining, Quarrying, Forestry, etc.	4 Males .. Females
As Cultivator	71 Males 63 Females	At Household Industry	1 Male 5 Females
As Agricultural Labourer	74 Males 60 Females	In Trade and Commerce	3 Males 1 Female
		In Other Services	5 Males .. Females

TABLE No. 3.7

The Average Area per Household and per capita Land Holding

Caste	Population	No. of households	No. of land holders	Total acreage held	Land held per household	Per capita land
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
				A. g.	A. g.	A. g.
Kunbi	225	40	30	307 32½	7 28½	1 15
Malhar Koli	224	51	6	6 6¼	0 4¾	0 1
Nav-Buddhist	18	3	3	6 35	2 11½	0 15¼
Others	33	8	4	14 23	1 32¾	0 18
Total	500	102	43	335 16¾	3 12	0 27

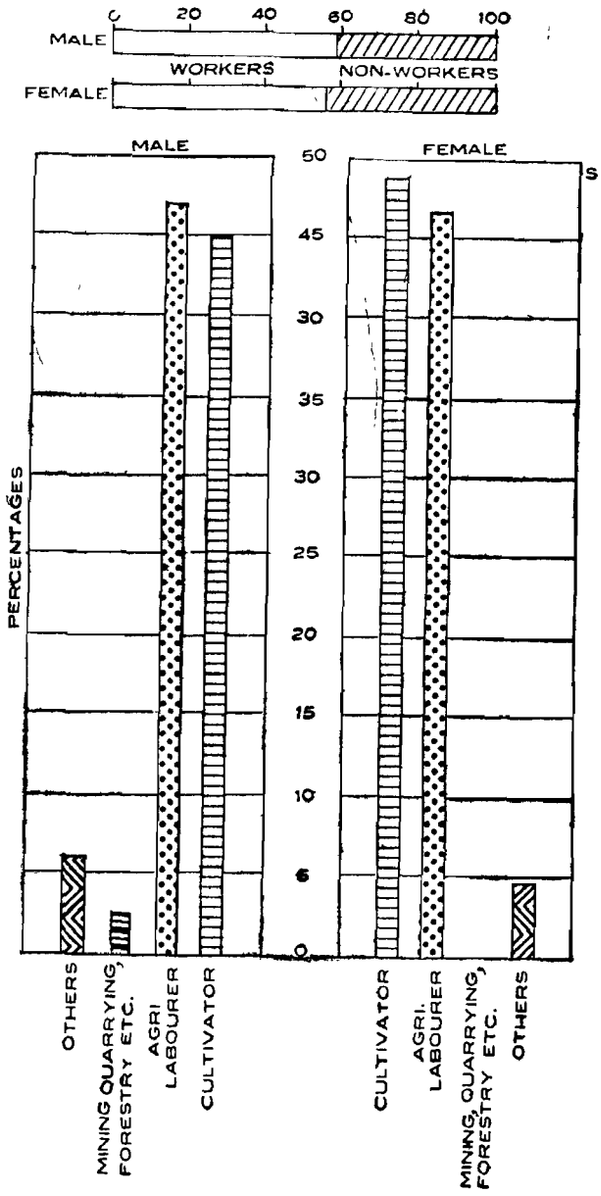
TABLE No. 3.8

Communitywise Details of Improvements made on Land

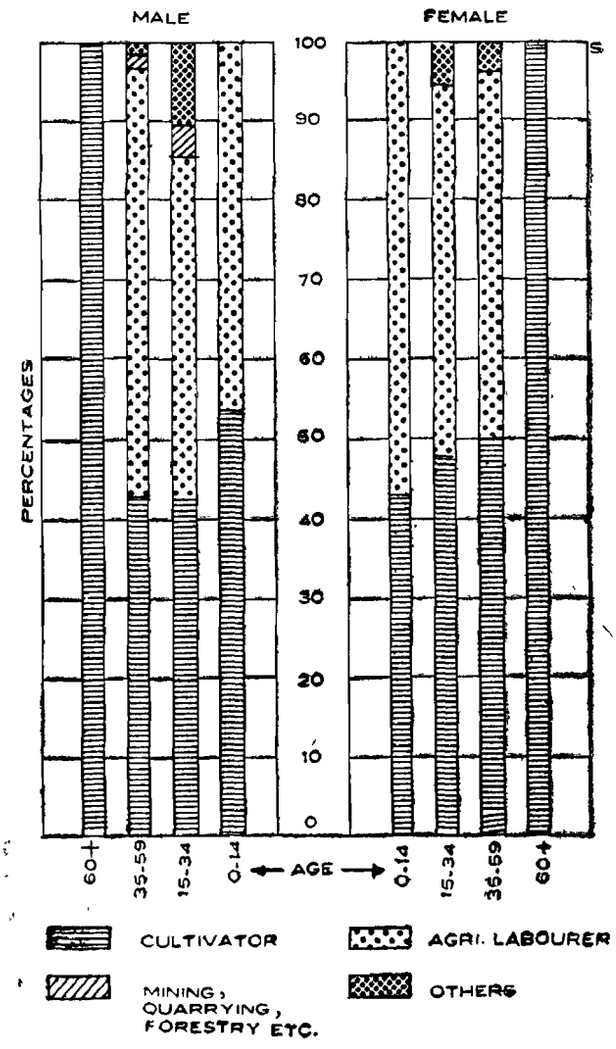
Serial No.	Community	Improvements made			
		Bunding		Levelling	
		Area	Expenses	Area	Expenses
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		A. g.	Rs.	A. g.	Rs.
1	Kunbi	....	....	....	....
2	,, ...	....	....	....	....
3	,, ...	9 00	1,000	2 00	800
4	,, ...	10 00	500	3 00	150
5	,, ...	2 00	100	....	..
6	,, ...	....	....	....	..
7	,, ...	5 20	325	0 20	....
8	,, ...	....	....	....	....
9	,, ...	....	....	..	..
10	,, ...	....	....	....	....
11	,, ...	....	....	....	..
12	,, ...	0 30	75	0 10	..
13	,, ...	....	....	....	..
14	,, ...	....	....	....	..
15	,, ...	2 0	50	..	....
16	,, ...	....	....	4 0	200
17	,, ...	....	....	....	....
18	,, ...	....	....	....	....
19	,, ...	....	....	....	...
20	,, ...	1 0	50	....	....
	Total ..	30 10	2,100	9 30	1,150
1	Malhar Koli	0 20	125	....	....
2	,, ...	....	....	....	....
3	,, ...	....	..	....	....
4	,, ...	....	....	....	....
	Total ..	0 20	125	....	....
1	Nav-Bhuddha	1 0	80	....	....
2	,, ...	....	....	....	....
3	,, ...	....	....	....	....
	Total ..	1 0	80	....	....

Figures below show the percentage distribution of population by broad economic activities and the same by broad age-groups :—

LABOUR PARTICIPATION AND BROAD ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

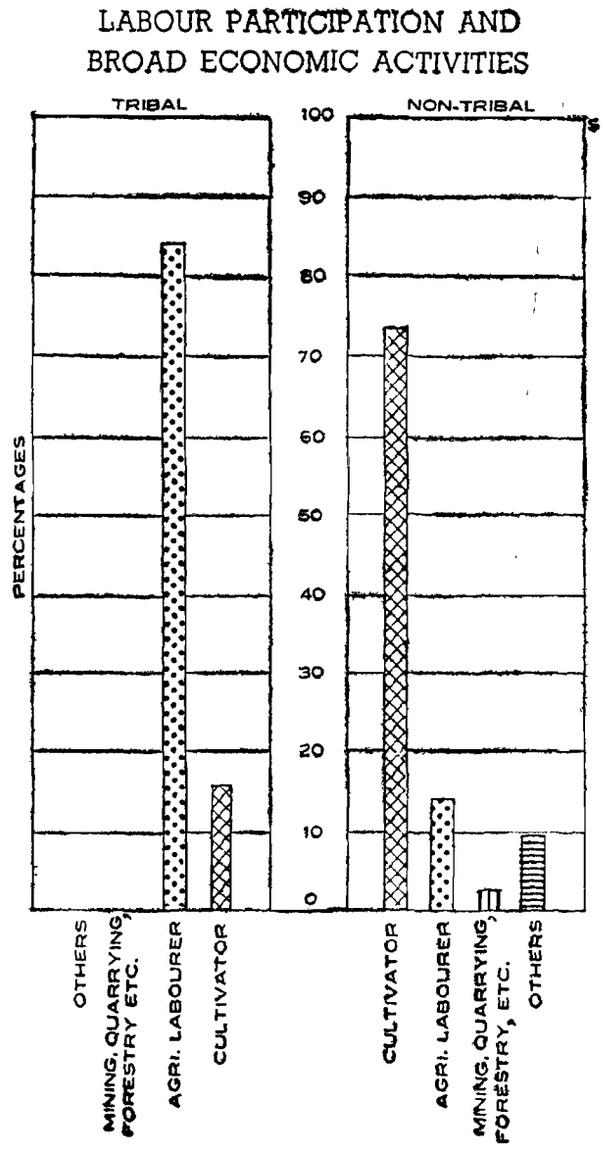


ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS



Out of 287 persons working in different occupations 268 or 93 per cent of working population are engaged in agriculture, and only 19 or 7 per cent of the working population are engaged in non-agricultural pursuits.

Figure below gives the percentage distribution of tribal and non-tribal population by broad economic activities :—



Three Kunbis and one Koli have changed their father's occupation voluntarily, one Nav-Buddhist and three Kunbis have changed it due to force of circumstances, and one Nav-Buddhist and one Maratha have changed it due to indifference. Similarly one Kumbhar has changed his earlier occupation voluntarily, and one Malhar-Koli and one Kshatriya have been forced to do so due to odd circumstances.

Agriculture is the only occupation which the people choose for their livelihood as it was found after local inquiry that out of the 49 agricultural labourers who were contacted, 45 desired that their sons should also become agricultural labourers. In fact there is no general mobility of occupation.

Agricultural Labour

The total number of households and persons engaged in agricultural labour (either as principal or subsidiary work) and have no land either of their ownership or on lease are given in the Table No. 3.9 below :—

TABLE No. 3.9

Distribution of Households engaged as Agricultural Labourers by Caste and Sex

Caste	Total number of households	Purely Agricultural Labourers' households	Number of Agricultural labourers		
			M	F	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Malhar-Koli	51	42	61	51	112
Kunbi	40	9	17	18	35
Total ..	91	51	78	69	147

These labourers do all sorts of agricultural work such as repairs to bunds, *rab* making, threshing, and storing the paddy grains, etc. The women among them are employed particularly for transplanting and weeding operations. There are four methods of employing the agricultural labour as explained below :—

(1) Labourers employed on yearly basis : They are given 11 *Faras* Paddy (measure) (which weighs 32 Kilograms) every month. In addition they are given Rs. 30 in cash once in a year and clothes *viz.*, 2 *Rumals* (cloth for headwear), two *Kabjas* (Jacket), one *Ghongdi* (coarse rug). 1 footwear or *chappals*. Every day in the morning they are given *nyahari* i.e., breakfast of a *bhakar* i.e., bread of rice with *chutney* or dry fish with tea, and tobacco for smoking.

(2) Labourers employed for the season of transplanting : They are given 39 *Adholis*, i.e., half *Payali* of paddy for the whole work which takes 2 to 3 weeks in the case of small cultivators and 4 to 6 weeks in the case of big ones. In addition they are given every morning break-fast of a *bhakar* (bread of rice) with *chutney*, tea and tobacco. For the other jobs after transplantation they are given 2 to 3 *Adholis* per day according to the nature of the job, and the usual breakfast of *bhakar*, tea and tobacco.

Note.—One *Adholi* measure weighs 107 tolas i.e. 107/80 or about 1¼ Bengal Seers of paddy and costs 50 Paise.

(3) Labourers on daily wages of 2 *Adholis* per day with the usual breakfast of one *bhakar*, tea and tobacco.

(4) Besides the above types of labourers there are permanent agricultural labourers who also work as domestic servants at the house of the landlord. They are called *Gadi*. They get 30 *Adholis* of paddy per month besides the usual breakfast, tea and tobacco in the morning, and again tea and tobacco in the evening. They are also given clothes as in the case of labourers on annual basis.

All labourers of any of the above types working during monsoon are given one *Irle* i.e., vertical frame made of bamboo chips which are covered with dry leaves. It is worn on the head so that it covers the head and the backside upto the knees. The wearer turns his/her backside towards the rain and thereby protects his/her head and clothes from rain. The cost of an *Irle* is Rs. 1·25. It lasts for 1 monsoon season only.

Permanent agricultural labourers are got married by landlords who spend for the dowry and other expenses of marriage, and recover this expenditure out of the wages due to the labourers. A labourer who wants to get married but cannot afford to spend for it offers his services to a landlord for a number of years which ranges from 4 to 10 years depending upon the sum required for his marriage, and the landlord recovers every year a part of the wages due to the labourer as repayment of this sum. Such labourers are called *Bandhun Ghetlele*, i.e., got themselves bound.

Let us consider the actual wages earned by an agricultural labourer for the different jobs, and the periods required for each as also the periods during which he was unemployed by taking two actual

instances which are typical of all other labourers as revealed by inquiries:—

(1) *Narayan Kana Gawari, a Malhar-Koli :* He has no land of his own or as tenant, and works as agricultural labourer. For a fortnight he also works as forest labourer for which he gets wages at Rs. 1·50 per day. During 1960-61 his earnings as agricultural labourer were as follows :—

Job	Period	Wages
Bundisti and fencing	1 Month	2 *Adholis* paddy per day.
Rab-making	2 Months	2 *Adholis* paddy per day.
No employment	4 days	.....
Ploughing	1 month	2 *Adholis* per day.
Transplantation	1 month	39 *Adholis* for the whole work.
No employment	4 days	.....
Weeding	1 month	2 *Adholis* per day.
No employment	4 days	.....
Harvesting	1 month	2½ *Adholis* per day.
No employment	5 days	.....
Threshing	1 month	3 *Adholis* per day.
Malni Treading straw by bullocks to separate remaining grains from straw.	1½ months	3 *Adholis* per day.

In addition to the above wages he was also given the crop of 2 or 3 paddy fields measuring about 5 gunthas which produced 2 *Fara* of paddy. This custom of giving to the tenant the produce of some specific fields, usually of inferior fertility, measuring about 4 to 6 gunthas is called *Baroja.*

This labourer has a wife and two children. His wife also worked during transplantation, weeding and harvesting operations, and earned wages similar to those of her husband.

Thus the labourer was employed for 9½ months and his wife for 3 months during the year 1960-61, and they earned 813 *Adholis* of paddy (639 *Adholis* by husband, 174 *Adholis* by wife). This stock was sufficient to feed them and their 2 children for 9 months at the rate of 1 *Adholi* per day per adult and half *Adholi* for each child, i.e., 3 *Adholis* per day (90 *Adholis* per month×9 months=810 *Adholis*). The 2 *Faras* of paddy received by him as produce from *Baroja* was sold, and its proceeds utilised for buying condiments, oil, jaggery, tobacco, etc. Similarly the wages of about Rs. 20 from forest labour were used for buying clothing. Consequently for 3 months' food, *Khavti*, he had to borrow paddy from his landlord at the outbreak of monsoon called *Agoti*, and he would return this quantity after the harvesting season when his account of wages in terms of paddy would be settled by the landlord. This state of affairs continues from year to year, and he is always indebted for *Khavti* during the 3 months of July to September.

Living thus from hand to mouth and under indebtedness for 3 months each year he cannot be expected to have any money to spend for marriage. He had, therefore, taken a loan of Rs. 300 from a landlord for his own marriage six years ago which is being repaid partly every year, but he does not know how much balance is still outstanding. Every year Rs. 3 (Rs. three only) are recovered in cash from him by landlord, and if he or his wife manages to earn something during the period when they have no agricultural labour these earnings are also given towards repayment of the loan. However he is not able to say how much he has paid so far, and believes in what the landlord tells him about the balance of loan outstanding.

(2) *Kanya Nago Bhomte, a Malhar-Koli :* He has no land of his own or as tenant, and works only as agricultural labourer. He could not tell his earnings for each type of job that he did as he could not recollect the period spent for each, but he could say as to how long he was unemployed between each of these jobs and the rates of wages he received. They were as under:—

Job	Period (Days)	Wages
Bundisti (Bunding)	....	2 *Adholis* per day.
Fencing	....	2 *Adholis* per day.
Rab-making	....	2 *Adholis* per day.
Transplanting	...	39 *Adholis* in all.
No employment	15	.....
Weeding	...	2 *Adholis* per day.
No employment	12	.....
Harvesting Halwar paddy	..	2½ *Adholis* per day.
No employment	15	.....
Harvesting Nim-Garwa paddy	. .	2½ *Adholis* per day.
No employment	8	.....
Harvesting Garwa paddy	....	2½ *Adholis* per day.
No employment	8	.....
Threshing and drying	. ..	3 *Adholis* per day.
No employment	5	.....
Malni (separating from straw)	....	2 *Adholis* per day.
No employment	30	.....

According to the above data he was unemployed for 93 days. He got 3 *Faras* paddy from the *Baroja* fields given by the landlord according to the custom.

His son and daughter-in-law also work with the same landlord, and the son also received the same earning, except *Baroja*, as mentioned above. The daughter-in-law worked for the jobs of transplanting and weeding only. The paddy earned by three of

them was sufficient to feed the family of 4 persons (including his wife) for 9 months only, and so he had to borrow *Khavti* to feed them during the 3 months of monsoon.

Four years ago he had borrowed Rs. 215 from the same landlord for his son's wedding; but as the bride left his son he had again to borrow Rs. 60 for the re-marriage of his son. Of the total loan of Rs. 275 a sum of Rs. 12 only has been repaid as the landlord has recovered Rs. 3 only per year from his wages.

The above two instances indicate that the agricultural labourers get employment for 9 to 9½ months in the year, and earn just sufficient to feed them for this period which means " no work, no food ", and for the remaining 2½ or 3 months' food requirements they have to borrow paddy which is called *Khavti*. This *Khavti* is borrowed at the beginning of monsoon, i.e., June-July (called *Agoti*) and returned after harvesting when the landlord deducts it. Generally for one maund of paddy borrowed in June-July the borrower has to return one and a quarter maund or even one and half maund, i.e. 25 to 50 per cent more in November-December.

Another factor responsible for complete dependence of certain labourers upon their masters is the erection of their huts on the master's land. For instance all the 15 huts in Purnokh Pada hamlet have been built by the labourers (all Malhar Kolis) on the lands of their respective masters. Consequently the owner of the land can force the occupant of the hut on his land to work for him on threat of eviction from the land. Thus these landlords can be sure of obtaining a certain number of labourers (who have erected huts on the landlords' land) for their agricultural work, and that too at the usual rates and nothing more even if there is scarcity of labour at any particular moment.

Besides the purely agricultural labourers, who have no cultivation of their own, small cultivators also work as agricultural labourers in addition to their own cultivation.

Four big landlords (all Kunbis) engaged 105 out of 147 of the labourers, i.e., more than 71 per cent as will be seen from the following statement :—

Initials of Landlord	Labourers employed
(1) V. T. M.	20
(2) W. R. B.	35
(3) M. D. G.	20
(4) B. D. G.	30

The family members of all the four landlords also work along with labourers.

Forest Labourers

There are two forest coupes at Goteghar Sayawan and Koloshi villages, at a distance of 2 miles and 3 miles, respectively, from Shirvali, which are worked by the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Society at Tilher village 5 miles away. A detailed note on the functioning of this Society is given below. Nine persons, all Malhar Kolis, work in these coupes, and are paid Rs. 1·50 per day for cutting 24 cubic feet of wood. They go in the morning at 8 and return home in the evening at 5, with recess for 1 hour. The work starts in Kartika and lasts till Vaishakha, i.e., 7 months. Wages are paid to the labourers every week. In addition, those labourers who are also shareholders of the Co-operative Society receive a cash bonus out of the profits every year. During the years 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59 the bonus was Rs. 10, Rs. 20 and Rs. 12, respectively. Fall in the amount of bonus was the result of fall in profits. Profit distribution for the years 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62 has not yet been done. Labourers also receive advances from the Society out of the wages which they would subsequently get; but no amount in excess of Rs. 5 is paid. More persons could have worked as labourers in these forest coupes which have ample scope to employ all available labour in this village since persons from far off villages also come to work, and if necessary they temporarily reside near the coupe till the duration of the work. The number of labourers from this village is, however, only nine due to laziness, unwillingness to do hard labour, and absence of ambition to earn more than just sufficient to keep body and soul together.

If the labourer works throughout the period of 7 months he could get $30 \times 1{\cdot}50 \times 7 =$ Rs. 315 but he has to do agricultural labour also in order to obtain paddy for his food, and hence he cannot work in the coupe for the full period. During the months of November, December and May, when agriculture and forest both afford employment, he has to do both for some periods. None of them could, however, tell the exact period spent by him in forest labour and in agricultural labour. After the forest coupes close the work in June the labourers naturally go in for agricultural labour as the season for preliminary agricultural operations also starts by that time.

Note on the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies and the details about the Tilher Vibhag Adiwasi Jungle Kamgar Society Ltd.

Pitiable conditions of the *Adiwasi* forest labourers caught the attention of the Government of Bombay, and in 1938 the then popular Government fixed the minimum wages for the forest work at Rs. 1-4-0 per day.

However, with these provisions guaranteeing minimum wages, the living conditions, the poverty and backwardness of the forest labour, did not appear to be improved, since these provisions did not guarantee payment of even the minimum wages and protect the labourers from exploitation.

Government, therefore, came to the inevitable conclusion that unless the agency of exploitation *viz.*, the Forest Contractor, was removed from its position, the exploitation of ignorance and poverty would continue. The necessity of organising forest labour into forest labourers' co-operative societies, to replace the contractors, was a logical corollary.

One of the great impediments in organising co-operatives of Adiwasis and other forest workers is their utter illiteracy, ignorance and backwardness. There are a few social service organisations in the State which are already working for the uplift of these Adiwasis. It has, therefore, been found necessary that these institutions should associate themselves with this movement and sponsor co-operative societies, and if necessary lend their social workers as office-bearers of these societies. They are, therefore, recognised officially as sponsoring agencies. Only such societies, as have been sponsored by a recognised sponsoring agency and have been recommended, are allotted coupes or farms of minor forest produce on non-competitive price.

Allotment of forest coupes to the forest labourers' societies is made by the Conservator of Forests, who has been authorised to do so in case of societies which are *prima facie* eligible for such allotment, and on the recommendations of the Planning Committee in case of societies which are not *prima facie* eligible and whose cases are referred to the Committee.

Until 1958-59 the working of coupes was done according to a certain formula which provided fixation of upset price of coupes that was required to be paid by the societies to the Forest Department. The Government and the society were sharing the profits or losses resulting out of the working of the coupes on 50 : 50 basis. According to this formula the upset price was fixed on the basis of the estimated yield, its value and the operational cost. At the end of the year, estimated cost was to be compared with the actual and the resultant loss or profit was shared by the Government and the society on 50: 50 basis. Societies were also required to furnish securities for an amount equal to the upset price *plus* one-tenth of the price representing the deposit to the Forest Department before taking possession of the coupe. The price of the coupe was to be paid to the Forest Department as and when the sale proceeds were realised. This formula, however, gave rise to many disputes in the matter of fixation of upset prices and other difficulties such as excess expenditure on excess yield.

A revised formula has, therefore, been brought into effect from the year 1959-60. Under this formula the necessity of fixing upset price has been dispensed with. Accordingly, there is no necessity of estimating in advance the question of produce and their sale price. Besides, the societies are not to offer securities or to pay in cash the upset price to the Forest Department. Coupes are straightway handed over on obtaining a formal contract agreement signed. At the end of the working the societies share the net profit with the Government in fixed proportion. The percentage in net realisation varies on sliding scale division basis according to the age of the society. Net realisation would be arrived at by deducting operational cost on actual yield from net realisation. Government considered that 10 per cent of such realisation would be a fair return to the well re-established societies. However, as the Societies are required to incur considerable developmental expenditure for new societies, Government has granted higher percentage of net realisation as indicated below :—

	Percentage Share in the net realisation	
	Societies	Forest Department
Upto 3 years old registered societies.	25	75
More than 3 years and up to 6 years old.	20	80
More than 6 years but up to 9 years old.	15	85
More than 9 years old societies ..	10	90

The societies would get operational cost on the actual yield limited to 33 items of expenditure. The rate of different items of expenditure would be fixed by Wage Board in each forest circle every year one month before the commencement of the work.

The Forest Labourers' Societies require huge finance for working out coupes allotted to them, and for this purpose the necessary finance is made available to these societies through the central financing agencies, i.e., the District Central Co-operative Banks. Such loan is sanctioned by the central financing agencies on the recommendations of the Departmental Officers. The loan carries 2½ per cent interest, and is to be repaid in two years which can further be extended for one year more in exceptional cases on their merits.

The ultimate aim of the movement is that the *adiwasis* who are the members of the societies should not remain only the wage earners but they should gradually take

over the entire business of their societies into their own hands without the help of the sponsoring agencies or the co-ordination committees, etc. For this purpose, training classes of duration of 2 to 3 months are conducted at convenient places through the Maharashtra State Co-operative Union wherein training in Co-operative Act, Accountancy, Forestry, etc., is imparted. Accordingly, training classes to train up the Secretaries, Accountants, Coupe Agents, Mukadams, etc., are held every year, and special schemes for these purposes had been incorporated in the Third Five-Year Plan.

The Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies are not an end in themselves but only a means to an end. The end is not merely one of improving the economic conditions of the *Adiwasis*, but to enable them to take over the societies under which they are merely wage-earners, and to become masters of their environments instead of being only creatures of circumstances. Besides coupe activities, educational, cultural and medical facilities to the illiterate, poor and backward people are provided. To provide for these amenities a provision in the bye-laws for keeping aside some portion of profits say 10 per cent for such welfare activities has been made. This amount can be utilised by the societies towards providing education, building hostels, carrying on cultural activities, by constructing recreation centres, undertaking study tour, and constructing dispensaries for giving medical help, etc. Government of India has been kind enough to give a grant of Rs. 1,500 to each newly registered society during the plan period for the first three years towards welfare activities. This grant is to be utilised by the societies for providing clean and good water for drinking, for medical aid, for giving nourishing food while working in the coupes itself.

In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the Government to ameliorate the conditions of forest labourers and the huge sacrifice of forest revenue which the Government was collecting previously by holding auction sales of forest coupe contracts, forest labourers engaged in the coupes of Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies do not seem to be quite happy about this change-over from private contractors' coupes to those of their own societies. The main reason for this unenthusiastic attitude towards the society-coupe may be attributed to the inability of these labourers to appreciate the social and long-range benefits in the shape of better and humane treatment, absence of exploitation of labour, share in the ownership of the society itself and voice in the running of the coupe, etc. Secondly, the forest contractors of the coupes outside the areas of operation of such societies and their men also do their own subtle propaganda to impress upon the labourers, both in their own coupes and in those of the Forest Labourer's Society's coupes, that the wages in both are the same, that the contractors give more sums as advances, that the share in the management and ownership of the society is all a show and does not confer any benefit upon the labourer, etc. Thirdly, the management of the Forest Labourers' Societies are not upto the mark as evidenced by the fact that though they are in this field for about 15 years they cannot declare such profits as would compare favourably with those of private contractors in spite of the huge concession they get in the cost of the coupe. For instance the Tilher Society has not distributed its profits among its shareholders (labourers) for the last three years since 1960 which shows its weak position. Either for lack of know-how of the forest work or general mismanagement this unique experiment in the social welfare scheme of Adiwasis has not been quite successful. Being aware of this unsatisfactory performance of the Forest Labourers' Societies, some of which do not make any profit at all, the Government has now appointed a high power committee at the State Government with the Home Minister as the Chairman, to inquire into the affairs of these societies with a view to find out their defects in working so that necessary steps could be taken to effect their remedy. There is a belief or a grievance among those who run these societies that the Forest Department enforces the Government Rules in their working of coupes too meticulously and by looking only to the letter of the law and not the spirit underlying it, and that their societies deserve a special consideration in this matter in view of the Government policy of social welfare which has brought these societies into existence. The committee will presumably go into this problem also to determine how far the grievance is genuine.

The Tilher Vibhag Adiwasi Jungle Kamgar Sahakari Society Limited was established on 24th September 1955. It was sponsored by the Adiwasi Seva Mandal, Bombay. Its area of operation is Mandvi Range (of about 5 miles circumference around Mandvi Village). The Society has 137 members of whom 135 are Adiwasi Labourers and 2 are non-Adiwasi sympathisers. The managing committee consists of 9 members, of whom 4 are Adiwasis. The share capital amounts to Rs. 4,690 and the Reserve Fund to Rs. 5,012.

Agricultural Practices and Calendar of Agricultural Operations

The practices of cultivation are the same for all communities in the village whether the farmer is a Kunbi or a Malhar Koli, or belongs to another community, he ploughs the land, sows seeds by the "throw" method, and transplants the seedlings by the local method of planting.

The various stages of agricultural operations and their calendar are as under :—

During the months of April and May repairs to bunds are carried out. The *Rab* operations, i.e., burning the seed-beds at various places are started. For this purpose small patches of 5 to 20 gunthas, according to the need for plants, are selected on *Varkas* (grass) lands, and they are covered with dry leaves of trees, small twigs, refuse and garbage, paddy husks and dry cowdung ; and all this material is set on fire as a result of which grass-roots and weeds on these patches get burnt to ashes, and the seed-beds get manured. This process is called *Rabni.*

Immediately after the first rains which usually fall in the first week of June, the seed-beds (*Rab*) are ploughed, and paddy seeds are sown therein which grow into small seedlings in about 3 to 4 weeks' time. The seedlings are then transplanted into the fields, and this second process is called *Avni* which is started in the month of July.

Before transplanting the seedlings into the paddy fields, the fields are ploughed three inches deep by the wooden plough drawn by a pair of bullocks or he-buffaloes. The seedlings are uprooted from the seed-beds, tied into bundles, and removed to the paddy fields where they are planted in bunches of 6 or 7 at a distance of 6 inches from one another. This transplantation called *Avni* requires a large number of workers.

As the paddy seedlings grow into plants, grass and wild roots also shoot up, and these are removed during the months of August-September in the case of early variety of paddy, and during September-October in the case of late variety of paddy. This process of weeding is known as *Benani.*

When the paddy is ready it is cut and this is known as *Kapni.* The paddy crop is of two main varieties :

(1) Early variety known as *Halwar* which gets ready in the first or second week of October, and coarse quality known as *Jade*, i.e., coarse ;

(2) Late variety known as *Garwa* which gets ready by the middle or end of November, and is of fine and superior variety. It is also called *Kolam.*

Between these two varieties is the medium variety *Nim Garwa* which is harvested in the last week of October or first week of November.

After the paddy plants are cut they are kept on the field for 4 to 5 days for drying. When they get dried they are collected into bundles and taken to the threshing floor, *Khali.* After cleaning the threshing floor paddy plants are beaten upon it whereby paddy grains fall out. Sometimes a log of wood is also kept on the threshing floor, and upon this log the paddy plants are beaten. This process of threshing is called *Zodani.* The paddy grains are then collected from the threshing floor after winnowing the grains free from chaff by means of a *Soop, i.e.,* a winnowing fan, and then they are stored in *a Kanaga* (an enclosure made of bamboo mattings).

As the above method of threshing out paddy grains does not result in separating each and every grain from the paddy straw, further process of threshing is adopted after a month or two. This is known as *Malni.* Paddy straws are spread over the threshing floor, and bullocks and he-buffaloes are made to tread over them. Due to the weight of these animals the paddy grains still remaining in the straw fall out, and the straw gets softened. All these grains are separated from the straw, and are then stored along with other grains. The straw is also stored either on the lofts of cattle-sheds or on trees or on open land, and is used as fodder for cattle.

The calendar for the above operations in brief would be as follows :—

(1) April middle and May	..	Repairs to bunds and *Rab* operations.
(2) June 2nd week	..	Ploughing of seed-beds and sowing of paddy seeds in them.
(3) June 3rd and 4th week	..	Ploughing of paddy fields.
(4) July ..	..	Transplanting of paddy seedlings into the fields.
(5) August-September	..	Weeding of grass and wild roots.
(6) October ..	..	Harvesting of early variety of paddy.
(7) November ..	..	Harvesting of late variety of paddy.
(8) December ..	..	Removing grain from the paddy straw which was already threshed.

While doing cultivation according to the above process the farmers who have the means and the desire to adopt improved methods use better seeds, manures, better implements, and better breed of cattle. The Table No. 3.10 on page 41 shows how many among the 27 cultivators selected for inquiry (20 Kunbis, 4 Malhar Kolis and 3 Nav-Budhists) (1) have used improved agricultural methods, and (2) for what reasons others among them did not use the improved methods.

TABLE No. 3.10

The Castewise Distribution of Cultivators by improved Agricultural Implements used by them

Serial No.	Caste	Improved seeds	Fertilisers	Farm-yard manure	Better type of cattle	Better Implements	Pesticide	Increase in yield
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	Kunbi ..	Not Available	Yes ..	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
2	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
3	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	Yes ..	Yes ..	Old are good.	Yes ..	5 per cent.
4	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	Yes ..	No ..	Old are good.	Not known	10 per cent.
5	Do. ..	Not required	Yes ..	Yes ..	No ..	No ..	No ..	Nil
6	Do. ..	Not required	Yes ..	No cattle owned.	Cannot afford.	Old are good.	Cannot afford.	Nil
7	Do. ..	Not required	Yes ..	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Old is good.	Not known	Nil
8	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Yes ..	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Old is good.	Cannot afford.	Nil
9	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Old is good.	Cannot afford.	Nil
10	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	No cattle owned.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
11	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Old are good.	Not known	Nil
12	Do. ..	Prefers his own	Yes ..	Yes ..	Yes ..	Old are good.	Not known	Nil
13	Do. ..	Not available	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Not available.	Nil
14	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	No cattle owned.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
15	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	No cattle owned.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
16	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	Yes ..	Yes ..	Old are good.	Not known	Nil
17	Do.	Not available	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Yes ..	Old are good.	Not known	Nil
18	Do. ..	Not available	Yes ..	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Old are good.	Not known	Nil
19	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	No cattle owned.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
20	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
21	Malhar Koli	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
22	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Not known	Nil
23	Do. ..	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
24	Do.	Cannot afford	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
25	Nav-Buddha	No land. Produces only "early paddy".	No land. Produces "early paddy" only.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil
26	Do. ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Not known	Nil
27	Do. ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Yes ..	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Cannot afford.	Nil

Note.—' Not available ' implies not available in time at the sowing season. Where no reasons could be given for not using the article in question or cattle, only ' No ' is written.

Out of 27 farmers none uses the improved types of seed or implements, while 13 use fertilisers, as well as farm yard manure and 10 use their farm-yard manure only, 4 use better types of cattle, and only 1 uses pesticides. Of the 4 Malhar Kolis and 3 Nav-Buddhas all use farm-yard manure, but none uses any of the other improved articles or better type of cattle.

Average Yield and Expenses of Cultivation

The average yield of paddy crop in this village for the past three years as notified by the Mamlatdar is as follows :—

Soil	Variety of paddy	Maunds per acre
Good ..	.. Garwa	22
Medium ..	.. Nimgarwa ..	21
Inferior ..	.. Halwar	20

The average cost of cultivation per acre of paddy land worked out on the basis of cost of cultivation for 5 acres of land comes to Rs. 146 as detailed below :—

	Rs.
(1) Repairs to bunds	10·00
(2) *Rab* on 5 gunthas (sufficient for 1 acre) ..	15·00
(3) Seed for 1 acre (30 seers)	15·00
(4) Manure for raising seedlings	5·00
(5) Farm-yard manure (including carting) ..	10·00
(6) Uprooting seedlings-labour	3·00
(7) Ploughing and mud-making-labour ..	16·00
(8) Transplanting-labour	24·00
(9) Weeding-labour	6.00
(10) Harvesting-labour	18·00
(11) Tying bundles and transporting ..	9·00
(12) Threshing	12·00
(13) Drying and storing paddy and straw ..	3·00
Total ..	146·00

Agricultural Marketing

The marketing season for paddy starts soon after *Diwali*, i.e., November when small cultivators, who have small quantities of paddy to dispose of and who cannot wait longer as they badly need money, sell their stock. Others wait for two or three months more in expectation of higher prices, and sell around *Holi* festival in March. Those who can hold on still longer sell some quantity in March and the remaining in May or June-July when the prices soar still higher due to want of stocks in the market.

Small cultivators' stocks are purchased by rice merchants from Bassein, while the big cultivators sell their paddy to merchants from Panvel in Kolaba district. These merchants come all the way from Panvel to Shirvali at a distance of 47 miles with motor trucks, and purchase paddy stocks in large quantities, i.e., not less than 10 maunds at a transaction. They pay higher rates than the merchants from Bassein or Virar, make the full payment on the spot immediately on taking delivery, and do not deduct any transport charges from the price paid for the paddy. Two merchants from Bhivandi, at a distance of 20 miles, also offer the same rates and terms, but they are not prompt in making payment. Farmers who have less than 10 maunds to dispose of sell their stocks to merchants from Bassein and Virar at a distance of 17 and 20 miles respectively at prices less by one rupee per maund than that offered by the merchants from Panvel. These merchants also take away paddy in trucks at their own cost.

During the year 1960-61 the selling rates of paddy were as under :—

Quality of paddy	At Diwali (Oct.-Nov.)	At Holi (Feb.-Mar.)	In May	In Monsoon (June-Sept.)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Patni } Coarse and inferior	10	12	..	..
(2) Velchi }				
(3) Zina-Z 31 medium ..	12 to 13	15 to 16	..	..
(4) Thick Garvel, medium	14 to 15	16 to 17	..	..
(5) Surti Kolam fine and superior.	16 to 17	18 to 19	20 to 21	22

The above rates are per *Fara* which is a measure and not weight. One *Fara* measure weighs 35 Bengal seers. The above rates are, therefore, for 35 Bengal seers while the Bengal maund is equal to 40 Bengal seers.

The following instances of actual sales will indicate how the rates go on rising every few months due to the reduction of stocks which cannot be replenished until the next season in Diwali :—

Name of Seller	Quantity sold	Rate per Fara	When sold	Buyer
	Faras	Rs.		
(1) V. T. M.	90	18·00	Before Holi (Feb.-Mar.)	Panvel merchant
(2) V. T. M.	110	19·88	Chaitra (Mar.-April)	Do.
(3) L. R. B.	60	20·00	February ..	Do.
(4) W. R. B.	100	20·00	February ..	Do.
(5) W. R. B.	100	22·00	Vaishakha (April-May)	Do.
(6) B. L. ..	20	17·00	February ..	Virar merchant.



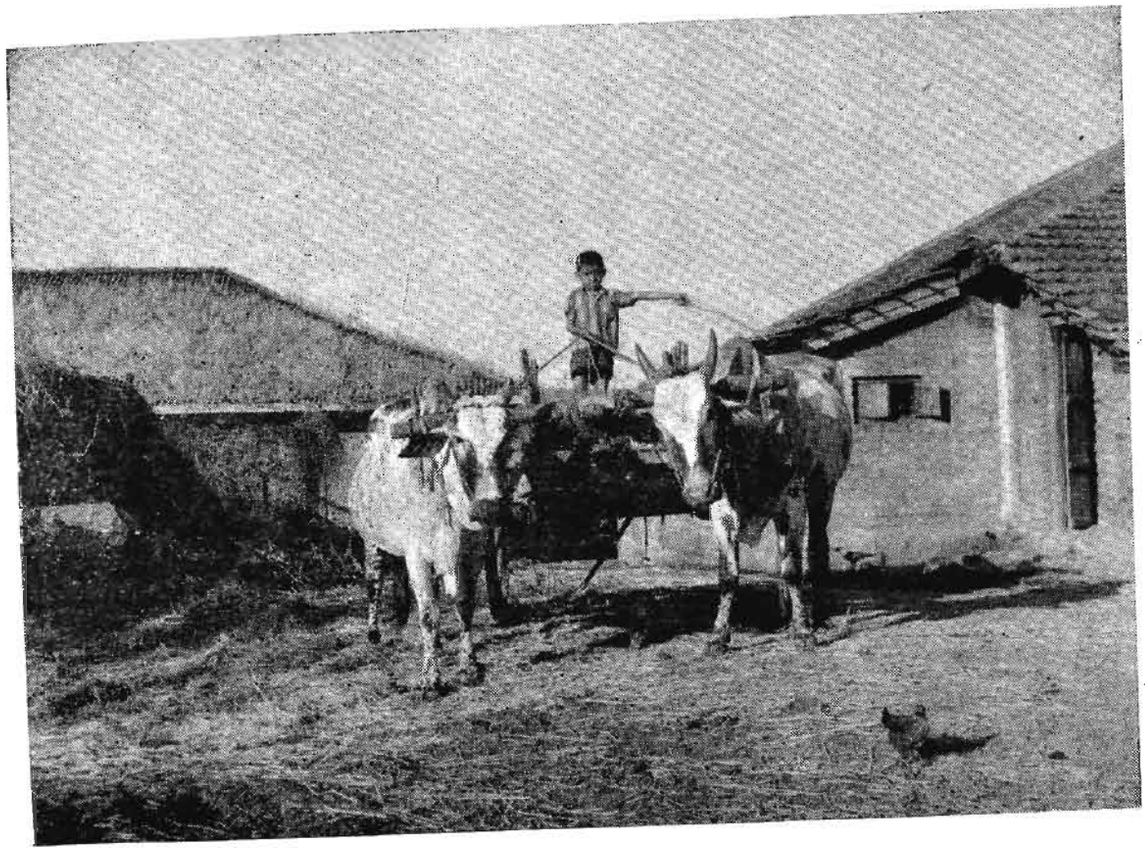
Ploughing the field with the help of he-buffaloes



'Malni' operation in progress



Weaving of Baskets by Nav-Buddha Women



A Bullock-cart for Passengers and Goods

All the villagers generally keep the inferior or the medium type of paddy for their own use and for giving it to their labourers as wages, and sell the superior type which fetches them higher prices. Apart from the higher income by sale of superior (fine) quality of rice, the agriculturists do not like this rice as it does not satisfy their hunger, and prefer the coarser quality and hence they keep the latter for their own use.

People sell their paddy stocks whenever they get a good price or when they need money for household or any other expenses, and buy the required articles at the shop in the village or elsewhere. The well-to-do Kunbis, however, purchase adequate stocks of chillies, salt, condiments, onion, coconuts, sugar, tea and jaggery at *Agoti*, i.e., before the monsoon starts so as to last during the monsoon period. Malhar Kolis cannot afford to buy such large stocks to provide for four months; however, those who possess sufficient money at the outbreak of monsoon store as much as they can ; but such stocks last for a month or so.

Household Industries and Business

Bamboo work is done by two Nav-Buddha families as a household industry in addition to agriculture.

There are six persons (1 male and 5 females) as per 1961 Census who follow this industry as principal occupation. They purchase bamboo from the Forest Department at the rate of Rs. 1 for one *Bhar* (load) of 7 or 8 bamboos, each about 8 feet long, and prepare articles out of it such as open baskets, closed baskets, *Kanaga* for storing paddy, etc. These articles are sold in weekly bazars at Virar, Agashi and Bassein, besides the sales in the village itself. Each family of three persons earns about Rs. 20 and spends about Rs. 10 (7·50 over the cost of bamboos and 2·50 over transport) per week, i.e., gets Rs. 40 per month as its net income. Both these families hold service Inam lands which have now been sold to them by Government on the abolition of Inams, and so the bamboo industry is a supplementary one to them.

Brick-making is a seasonal household industry which is carried on by a Gujarati couple from Kathiawar who visits the village during the fair season. Villagers who require bricks have to furnish the necessary material, *viz.*, earth, ash, paddy husks, and coal or firewood for fuel. The Gujarati couple then makes the bricks and charges Rs. 20 per 1,000 bricks as making charges. During the monsoon this couple works as agricultural labourers. They migrate to any village where there is demand for bricks. In 1960 they manufactured 60,000 bricks for Shri Waman Ragho Bhoir who intends to build a house when funds will be available.

Tailoring is done by a Christian tailor from Bassein who visits the village at intervals. It can hardly be called a household industry of this village.

There are 4 grocers' shops in the village. The following commodities are usually sold in these shops :—

Dry fish, rice, *Kanni* (broken rice), grocery articles, sugar, *gur*, tea, soap, onion, potato, condiments, spices, salt, sweet-oil, kerosene oil, cocoanut oil, etc.

The average monthly sales of all the shops are from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000. Two shops are run by Kunbis and two by Muslims. Villagers who have no money sometimes exchange their agricultural produce (paddy) with grocery.

Milk business is run by only 1 person (Shri Waman Ragho Bhoir) for the last four years. He sells on an average 10 seers of milk per day to a man at Akloli (near Vajreshwari), 5 miles away, at the rate of 50 paise per seer.

Other Professional Services

There are four carpenters two of whom can do sawing work while the other two can only do minor carpentry work such as manufacture of ploughs or yoke of inferior quality. They are paid at the rate of 2 *Adholis* of paddy and one meal per day. Good ploughs are prepared by carpenters from Adne village, 2 miles away, who are paid Rs. 3 per day with 1 meal and tea. A carpenter prepares 1 plough in a day. For housebuilding or furniture work carpenters are called from Bassein and are paid at the rate of Rs. 4 or 5 *plus* food twice a day.

There is a barber. He is not a *Watandar* barber, but his forefathers had settled in this village, and he does his professional work as a barber. He also holds agricultural lands which he gets cultivated by employing labour. He shaves all those who call on him including Malhar Kolis, but does not shave Nav-Buddhists. They go elsewhere where they are not identified. He charges 4 annas for a hair-cut and 2 annas for a shave; or 1 *Fara* of paddy per year for service to all the members of the household. This service includes shaving once a week and hair-cut once a month of all adults in the family. Four householders pay him one *Fara* paddy each for this service. He also visits to the neighbouring villages for work.

There are no blacksmiths or potters in the village and villagers have to go to Adne village. There is no shoe-maker, and villagers go to Majivali village, 2 miles away, to get their footwear made or repaired, or they buy them from Bassein as and when they happen to go there.

Indebtedness

Money-lending, Co-operative Society and Tagai.— There are no licensed money-lenders in the village, but transactions of loans take place both in kind (paddy) and in cash. In the case of loans advanced to agricultural labourers the repayment is generally in the shape of service to be rendered to the money-lender who is also a landlord. In other cases it is repaid by giving paddy of equivalent amount. Those who sell paddy repay the loan in cash. Out of 102 householders, 48 have taken loans ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 700 from private individuals and Co-operative Society for purposes of agriculture, marriage or other domestic purposes as detailed in the Table 3·12 below.

TABLE No. 3·12

Details of Loans advanced

Serial No.	KUNBI			MALHAR KOLI			OTHERS		
	Agriculture	Marriage	Domestic purpose	Agriculture	Marriage	Domestic purpose	Agriculture	Marriage	Domestic purpose
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
				Cash loans advanced by private sources					
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	200 (for cart)	300	300	40	400	50	80	....	550
2	50	200	100	20	300	40	30	....	150
3	150	500	30	50	250	15	....	....	....
4	200	300	100	200	350	50	....	....	....
5	30	300	100	....	200	....	....	....	....
6	50	....	20	....	100	....	....	....	....
7	200	100	....	....	200	....	....	....	....
8	200	700	....	....	640	....	....	....	....
9	75	....	....	....	400	....	....	....	....
10	150	....	....	....	310	....	....	....	....
11	....	....	....	....	200	....	....	....	....
Total sum ..	1,305	2,400	650	310	3,350	155	110	....	700
No. of loans ..	10	7	6	4	11	4	2	....	2
				Cash Loans advanced by Co-operative Society					
1	60	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
2	360	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3	360	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
4	180	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
5	130	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6	90	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
7	200	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
8	300	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total sum ..	1,680	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
No. of loans ..	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

A Kumbhar from Gujarat State who has come to the village recently has borrowed a sum of Rs. 1,000 from a private individual for business purposes. This loan has not, however, been included in the table as the borrower is not a regular resident of this village. He has come recently and may migrate also.

The Table No. 3·12 on page 44 shows that 46 persons have taken loans from private sources, while only 8 have taken from a Co-operative Society. These 54 loans have, however, been taken by 48 persons as 6 of them have taken loans from both the sources. The average amount of loan for different purposes are shown in Table No. 3·13

The average figures of loans drawn for different purposes reveal the fact that loans for marriages are of higher amounts than those for agriculture or other domestic purposes. In the case of Kunbis the average marriage loan (Rs. 342·86) is a little more than two and a half times the loan for agriculture (130·50); while in the case of Malhar Kolis it is almost 4 times. Only 4 Malhar Kolis have taken loans for agriculture and all from private sources, while the corresponding figure for Kunbis is 18 (10 from private sources and 8 from Co-operative Society). No Malhar Koli has borrowed any loan from the Co-operative Society as they are illiterate, and most of them have no land of their own to hypothecate nor does any one else agree to hypothecate his own land for them as required under the Co-operative Society's rules. The higher average loan, *viz.*, Rs. 108 for domestic purposes in the case of Kunbis as compared to Rs. 38·75 of Malhar Kolis reflects the higher standard of living of the Kunbis. The corresponding average for "others" appears very high, *viz.*, Rs. 350 as it includes Rs. 550 borrowed by a Muslim villager for medical aid during illness.

No information was available from landlords as to what interest was charged on these loans, and no accounts were disclosed as money-lending without a licence is legally prohibited. They stated that no interest was charged as it was a matter of helping one another in time of need, but inquiries with 11 borrowers revealed that in 8 cases interest was charged as shown in Table 3·14.

TABLE No. 3 13

The average amount of Loan drawn for different purposes

Source	KUNBIS			MALHAR KOLIS			OTHERS		
	Agriculture	Marriage	Domestic purposes	Agriculture	Marriage	Domestic purposes	Agriculture	Marriage	Domestic purposes
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Private ..	130·50	342·86	108 33	77·50	304·55	38·75	55·00	....	350 00
Co-operative Society.	210·00	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

TABLE No. 3.14

Rate of Interest on Loans advanced by Private Individuals

Serial No.	Initials	Caste	Loans taken in last three years		Lender	Rate of Interest	Quantity of paddy paid as interest
			Rs.	Paddy		Per cent	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	B. J. P.	Kunbi ..	300	....	Relative ..	25	....
2	L. V. P.	,, ..	160	10 maunds ..	Money-lender..	....	5 maunds
3	B. C. K.	,, ..	50	Can't say how much.	Do ..	25	....
4	K. A. P.	,, ..	200	....	Do ..	50	....
5	W. M. M.	,, ..	1,000	....	Relative ..	*Nil*	....
6	L. R. B.	,, ..	500	....	Private Person	100	....
7	S. J. P.	,, ..	200	....	Relative ..	4	....
8	S. B. M.	Malhar Koli ..	..	1 maund ..	Money-lender	*Nil*	....
9	K. C. C.	,, ..	100	....	Do ..	350	....
10	M. B. E.	,, ..	....	3 maunds ..	Do ..	....	1½ maunds
11	B. G. U.	Nav-Buddha ..	150	....	Do ..	*Nil*	....

Lending money or foodgrains (paddy) to a needy person not only earns interest to the lender who is also a landlord, but it also gives him an advantage. It brings the borrower under the obligation of the lender who can use this position to extract work from him, and thereby secure agricultural labour, as generally the borrowers are so poor that they are forced to work as labourers to supplement their income even if they possess some land of their own which in most cases consists of one to two small patches of fields, and so when they have to work as labourers they naturally choose to work for the money-lender-*cum*-landlord. In this manner the interest on loan can also be recovered indirectly by appropriating the labourer's wages towards the interest and capital of the sum advanced.

Co-operative Society.—A Co-operative Society known as Shirvali Seva Sahakari Society has been established in this village on 14th April 1951. It caters to the needs of 11 villages viz ; Shirvali, Majivali, Parol, Adne, Medhe, Ambode, Vadghar, Tilher, Sayawan, Karajon and Bhinar. At present it has 156 members of whom 27 are Malhar Kolis, but none of them belongs to this village. There are 15 Kunbis of this village on the members' list.

The names of the members of the Society's managing committee for 1961-62 are as follows :—

Name	Resident of village
(1) Shri Gauru Daji Patil, *Chairman* ..	Majivali
(2) Shri Bhalchandra Shivram Patil ..	Majivali
(3) Shri Raghunath Dhondu Patil ..	Parol
(4) Shri Mukund Bango Dongre ..	Sayawan
(5) Shri Vasudev Mithu Gharat ..	Shirvali
(6) Shri Gopal Kalu Patil . ..	Bhinar
(7) Shri Waman Govind Patil ..	Adne
(8) Shri Gauru Gopal Patil	Medhe
(9) Shri Krishna Vithu Patil ..	Ambode
(10) Shri Trimbak Govind Patil ..	Vadghar
(11) Shri Budhaji Pandurang Bhandari ..	Tilher

None of the above committee members is a Malhar Koli, but in 1959-60 there was 1 member, *viz.*, Shri Ladku Hari Jadhav of Sayawan village.

The name of the Secretary is Shri Haribhau Kusha Patil. The Chairman and the Secretary are political workers. Neither of them belongs to this village. Though the Chairman of the Society belonged to Majivali, the office of the Society was kept in Shirvali because it is situated on the main road and is easily accessible.

The Society was started with 23 members in 1951, and new members were added every year from 1953 to 1961 as detailed below :—

Year	*Members*
1951	23 at start
1953	4 added
1954	2 ,,
1955	3 ,,
1956	29 ,,
1957	2 ,,
1958	16 ,,
1959	26 ,,
1960	34 ,,
1961	26 ,,
Total ..	165
Left or died	—9
Present total ..	156

The list of members includes both big and small cultivators. As fertilisers such as ammonium sulphate and super phosphates are not available in the open market at reasonable rates, even big landlords who would not otherwise need to be members of a co-operative society have to join it to obtain fertilisers as the Society charges reasonable rates.

The position of the Society in 1961-62 is as under :—

	Rs.
Loans advanced in cash	14,050·00
Short-term loans in form of fertilisers for Japanese method of cultivation.	9,941·75
Long term loans for land improvement, etc., advanced in cash.	15,650·00
Total ..	39,641·75

List of members from Shirvali village and the amount of loan taken by them are as under :—

Name	Short-term loans including cost of fertilisers		Long term loans for land improvement
	1959-60	1960-61	1960-61
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Vasudev Mithu Gharat ..	58·60	338·60	500 00
(2) Kathod Bhau Gharat ..	84·65	84·65	
(3) Dattatraya Govind Sane	84·65	84·65	
(4) Waman Ragho Bhoir ..	338·60	507·90	
(5) Lahu Rama Bhoir ..	169·30	169·30	
(6) Kalu Nago Bhoir ..	169·30	....	
(7) Parsharam Gharat ..	84·65	84·65	
(8) Keshav Babu Gharat ..	338 60	338·60	
(9) Gajanan Vithal Mokashi	....	58·60	
(10) Laxman Aba Gharat ..	....	169·30	
(11) Shankar Jau Patil ..	.. .	84·65	
(12) Kashinath Raghu Gharat	....	169·30	
(13) Bhau Jau Patil ..	....	169·30	
(14) Babu Dharma Gharat ..	....	....	
(15) Govind Dharma Patil ..	....	....	

Note.—The last two members did not take any loan from the Co-operative Society.

Co-operative Society's Recovery and Arrears in 1960-61 are as under :—

	Rs.
(1) Loan advanced ..	.. 25,734·50
(2) Recovery ..	.. 25,245·90
(3) Arrears ..	.. 488·60

The arrears are due from two individuals—one from Bhinar village and the other from Shirvali mentioned at No. 6 above. This shows the sound financial position of the society.

The society has built a godown at a cost of Rs. 10,000 to store paddy which it receives from members as recovery in kind of the cash loan advanced.

Members who desire to repay the loan and also want to sell their paddy crop offer paddy to the society which accepts it in repayment of the loan. In this way the members are saved of the trouble of finding out a buyer and bargaining with him for the price as the society offers the prevailing market rate. This transaction also provides an opportunity to the society to carry on business by selling paddy at a higher rate when prices rise.

Tagai Loans.—Tagai loans granted by the Government are shown in the Table No. 3·15 below. They have been collected for the last 12 years, i.e. since 1949 with the details of the purpose for which they were granted, and the extent of land held by the borrower to indicate as to which class of persons derived benefit from the Government loans and for which purpose.

The figures in the abovesaid table show that the Tagai loans were availed of by small cultivators many of whom held no land of their own or held very little as seen from the last column of the table and the sums advanced were also small. Most of the beneficiaries were Kunbis as out of the 40 loans advanced, only 3 were advanced to Malhar Kolis ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 62, 3 to Nav-Buddhist (shown as Harijan in the table) ranging from Rs. 77 to Rs. 150 and the remaining 34 to Kunbis ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 400.

TABLE No. 3.15

Tagai Loans granted by the Government

Year (1)	Initials (2)	Caste (3)	Tagai (4)	Purpose (5)	Land Held (6)
			Rs.		A. g.
1949	L. V. P.	.. Kunbi ..	100	House repair after cyclone	3 8¾
,,	A. G. G.	.. ,, ..	80	Do. ..	1 14½
,,	L. H. B.	.. ,, ..	200	Do. ..	Nil
,,	S. L. B.	.. ,, ..	100	Do. ..	Nil
,,	K. N. B.	.. ,, ..	150	Do. ..	Nil
,,	R. G. G.	.. ,, ..	100	Do. ..	0 17½
,,	A. J. P.	.. ,, ..	100	Do. ..	Nil
,,	K. H. P.	.. ,, ..	40	Do. ..	0 17
,,	B. J. P.	.. ,, ..	100	Do. ..	18 27¾
,,	D. G. B.	.. ,, ..	100	Do. ..	Nil
,,	M. D. G.	.. ,, ..	400	Do. ..	2 27
,,	G. H. M.	.. Harijan ..	100	Do. ..	4 32½
,,	R. B. P.	.. Kunbi ..	50	Do. ..	0 24¾
,,	G. M. J.	.. ,, ..	50	Cultivation ..	Nil
1951	P. L. B.	.. ,, ..	50	Bunds ..	Nil
,,	L. A. G.	.. ,, ..	100	Do. ..	Nil
,,	K. N. B.	.. ,, ..	150	Cultivation ..	Nil
,,	L. V. P.	.. ,, ..	160	Bunds ..	3 8¾
,,	R. G. G.	.. ,, ..	167 50	Cultivation ..	0 37½
,,	L. G. J.	.. ,, ..	75	Do. ..	Nil
,,	A. J. P.	.. ,, ..	167·50	Do. ..	Nil
,,	A. G. G.	.. ,, ..	75	Do. ..	1 14½
,,	P. J. G.	.. ,, ..	75	Do. ..	Nil
,,	M. D. G.	.. ,, ..	95·50	Do. ..	2 27
,,	A. G. E.	.. Malhar Koli ..	62	Do. ..	1 2
1952	R. G. G.	.. Kunbi ..	150	Bullocks ..	0 17½
1953	P. L. G.	.. ,, ..	40	Seeds and Manure ..	Nil
,,	L. V. P.	.. ,, ..	125·50	Bullocks ..	3 8¾
,,	S. N. B.	.. ,, ..	50	Bunds ..	Nil
,,	N. A. P.	.. ,, ..	30	Do. ..	Nil
,,	L. R . B.	.. ,, ..	100	Do.	Nil
,,	B. R. B.	.. ,, ..	40	Do.	Nil
,,	V. R. N.	.. ,, ..	25	Cultivation .	Nil
,,	A. C. E.	.. Malhar Koli ..	30	Bunds ..	1 2
,,	L. B. M.	.. Kunbi ..	30	Do. ..	Nil
,,	L. S. A.	.. Malhar Koli ..	20	Do. ..	Nil
,,	P. J. G.	.. Kunbi ..	40	Do. ..	Nil
1957	R. G. G.	.. ,, ..	90	Cultivation ..	0 17½
,,	B. G. U.	.. Harijan ..	77	Do. ..	1 2¼
1958	B. G. U.	.. ,, ..	150	Do. .	1 2¼

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

The total population of the village is 500 of which 270 are males and 230 females. The castewise distribution of population is as under :—

	Caste	No. of House-holds	Population		
			Total	Males	Females
Hindu—	(1) Malhar Koli (Scheduled Tribe)	51	224	120	104
	(2) Kunbi ..	40	225	117	108
	(3) Brahmin ..	2	3	2	1
	(4) Kumbhar ..	1	2	1	1
	(5) Kshatriya ..	1	1	1	..
	(6) Maratha ..	1	9	7	2
	(7) Nhavi ..	1	11	8	3
Buddhist—	Nav-Buddha (ex-Mahar, a Scheduled Caste).	3	18	10	8
Muslim	.. ..	2	7	4	3
	Total ..	102	500	270	230

The growth of population during the last 50 years is as under :—

Year	Males	Females	Total	Percentage increase
1911 ..	179	150	329	....
1921 ..	150	152	302	—8
1931 ..	212	169	381	+26
1941 ..	217	189	406	+7
1951 ..	250	244	494	+22
1961 ..	270	230	500	+1

In order to ascertain the increase of population, figures of births and deaths are shown in Table No. 4.1 on page 49 from 1911 to 1961 in respect of the two main communities—Kunbis and Malhar Kolis—separately as they constitute 89·80 per cent of the total population. These figures have been taken from the Revenue Records, *viz.*, Village Form No. XIV—Birth and Death Register, which is maintained by the Police Patil of each village.

(*a*) *Sex ratio :*

The sex ratio i.e., number of females per 1,000 males for the last six Censuses is as follows :—

Census Year	Male population	Female population	Sex Ratio
1911 ..	179	150	838
1921 ..	150	152	1,013
1931 ..	212	169	797
1941 ..	217	189	871
1951 ..	250	244	976
1961 ..	270	230	852

(*b*) *Age Structure :*

The classification of population according to different age-groups is as follows :—

Age-group	Total	Males	Females
0—4 ..	74	46	28
5—9 ..	71	39	32
10—14 ..	61	37	24
15—19 ..	20	12	8
20—24 ..	46	18	28
25—29 ..	43	20	23
30—34 ..	45	28	17
35—39 ..	35	17	18
40—44 ..	28	15	13
45—49 ..	29	11	18
50—54 ..	11	9	2
55—59 ..	17	11	6
60—69 ..	8	4	4
70 and above ..	10	2	8
Age not stated ..	2	1	1
Total ..	500	270	230

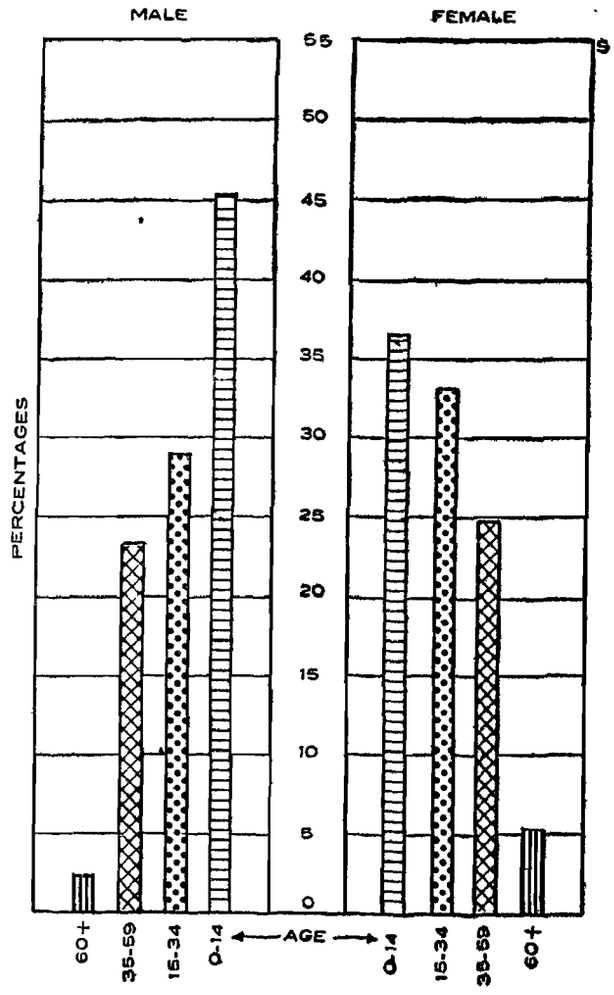
TABLE No. 4.1

Number of Births and Deaths from 1911 to 1960

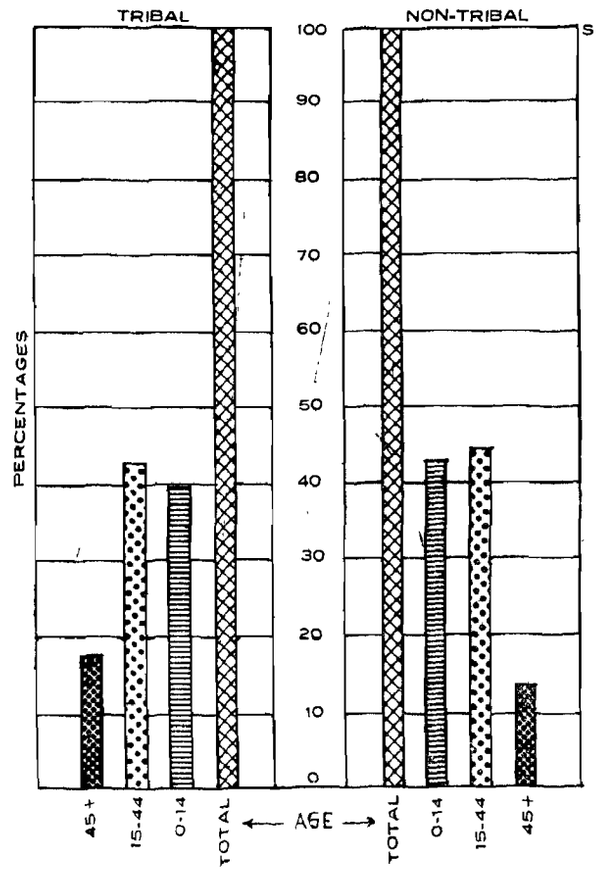
Year	KUNBI		MALHAR KOLI		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1911	6	7	5	5	1	1	12	13
1912	5	4	6	8	1	....	12	12
1913	9	3	10	5	6	2	25	10
1914	6	2	12	4	1	2	19	8
1915	8	6	4	8	2	1	14	15
1916	3	4	8	6	3	1	14	11
1917	6	7	14	8	1	1	21	16
1918	7	12	5	16	3	6	15	34
1919	4	5	3	8	....	3	7	16
1920	1	1	5	13	....	1	6	15
1921	5	1	10	8	2	1	17	10
1922	....	1	7	11	2	1	9	13
1923	5	5	2	2	....	2	7	9
1924	10	3	7	....	....	2	17	5
1925	2	2	3	7	....	....	5	9
1926	6	1	9	3	1	4	16	8
1927	1	3	3	1	1	....	5	4
1928	4	3	11	6	....	4	15	13
1929	3	4	10	5	1	2	14	11
1930	2	1	8	8	2	1	12	10
1931	4	2	7	5	....	....	11	7
1932	7	3	12	2	2	1	21	6
1933	4	3	5	5	....	2	9	10
1934	4	1	5	1	1	1	10	3
1935	6	6	9	5	2	....	17	11
1936	5	5	7	8	....	1	12	14
1937	6	4	5	6	1	1	12	11
1938	7	3	11	7	....	1	18	11
1939	2	5	13	3	1	1	16	9
1940	6	3	6	4	2	3	14	10
1941	5	4	2	4	1	1	8	9
1942	6	1	14	4	3	1	23	6
1943	4	3	5	13	....	2	9	18
1944	6	1	6	8	1	1	13	10
1945	12	5	6	2	3	1	21	8
1946	7	2	9	10	1	1	17	13
1947	9	1	4	2	3	1	16	4
1948	5	8	8	10	2	1	15	19
1949	5	5	2	5	1	....	8	10
1950	8	6	9	2	....	1	17	9
1951	8	1	11	3	2	....	21	4
1952	4	1	10	5	3	....	17	6
1953	9	1	11	5	2	2	22	8
1954	4	2	7	7	....	....	11	9
1955	10	5	5	5	1	....	16	10
1956	13	5	11	2	1	1	25	8
1957	5	8	5	5	....	1	10	14
1958	9	3	9	7	....	1	18	11
1959	5	1	9	2	....	1	14	4
1960	9	4	1	6	....	2	10	12
Total ..	287	177	366	285	60	64	713	526

Figures below show the percentage distribution of the population by broad age-groups for general and tribal and non-tribal population.

DISTRIBUTION BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS.



DISTRIBUTION BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS.



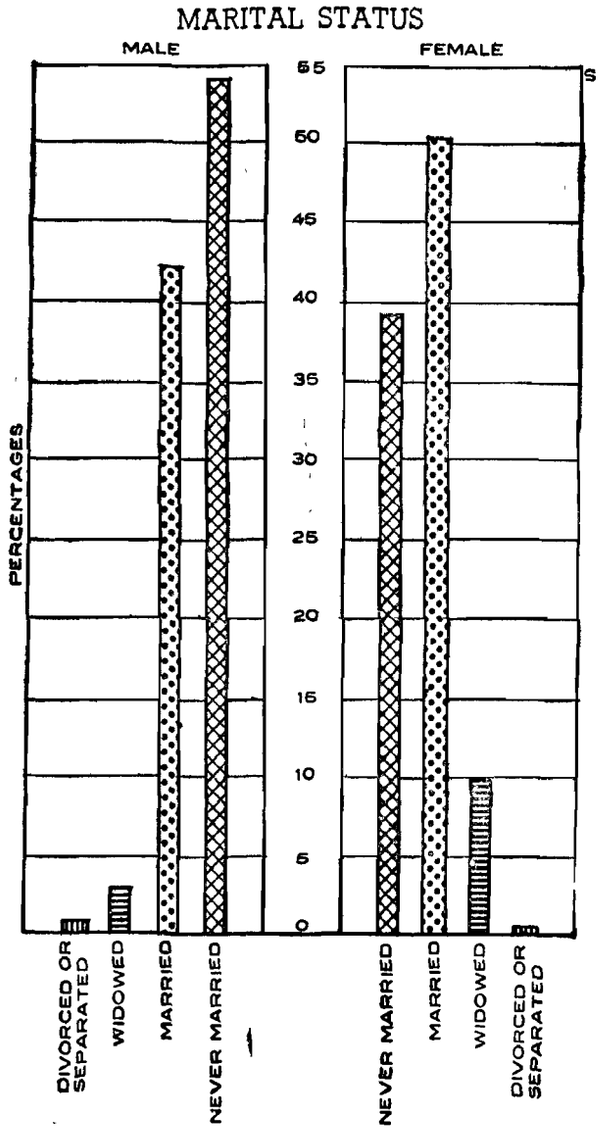
The above figures indicate that 41 per cent (206 persons out of 500) of the total population comprises children up to the age of 14. Persons between the ages of 20 to 54, constitute 47 per cent of the total population. However, according to Census figures the number of workers are 57 per cent of the population as will be seen in the Table No. 4·2 given on page 52 where the total number of non-workers is 213 (112 males and 101 females), the balance of 287 being workers out of the total population of 500. The higher percentage of workers is attributed to the fact that most of the boys in the age-group of 10—19 and a few persons above the age of 55 are also workers. Of the two non-workers the one in the age-group 15—19 is a student, while the other in the age-group 30—34 was found to be running a grocery shop at the time of survey.

The household industry mentioned in Table No. 4.2 on page 52 refers to basket-making. The six persons (1 male and 5 females) engaged in it are all Nav-Buddhas.

The " Other Services " mentioned in Table No. 4.2 in which 5 persons (all males) are working are : barber 1, teacher 1, Malaria Inspector 1, Kotwal 1, Forester 1.

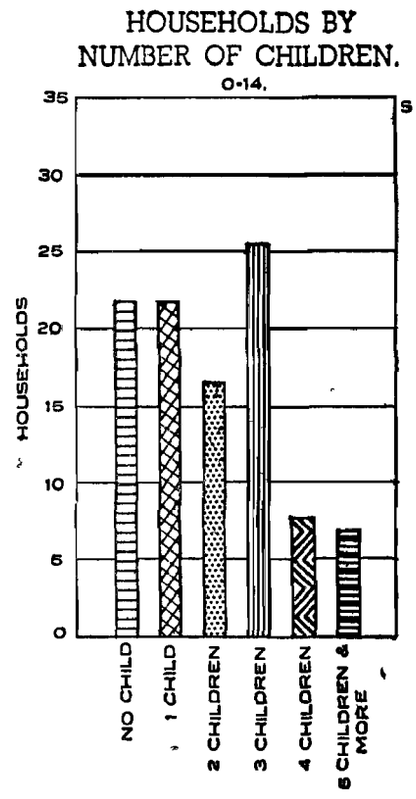
(c) Marital Status :

Graph below shows the percentage distribution of males and females by marital status :—



The data in Table No. 4.3 on page 52 reveal that out of 228 married persons those below the age of 20 are only 4 (1 male and 3 females). Early marriages do not appear to be common. Similarly late marriages are also few as only 3 persons above the age of 24, and none above 29, are unmarried. No specific reasons for emaining unmarried could be revealed.

Graph below shows the distribution of the households by number of children :—



Education

Out of population of 500 the literates are 95, the percentage of literacy being 19·00 only compared with Taluka literacy percentage of 38·82. The literacy percentage is much lower among females than in the case of males as revealed by the figures given below :—

Population			Literate	Percentage
270 males	..	..	74	27·41
230 females	..	..	21	9·13

Considering the literacy percentage from the point of view of economic activity we get the data as given in Table No. 4.4 on page 54.

Graphs on page 53 show the percentage distribution of population by educational levels, by sex and by tribal and non-tribal population :—

TABLE No. 4.2

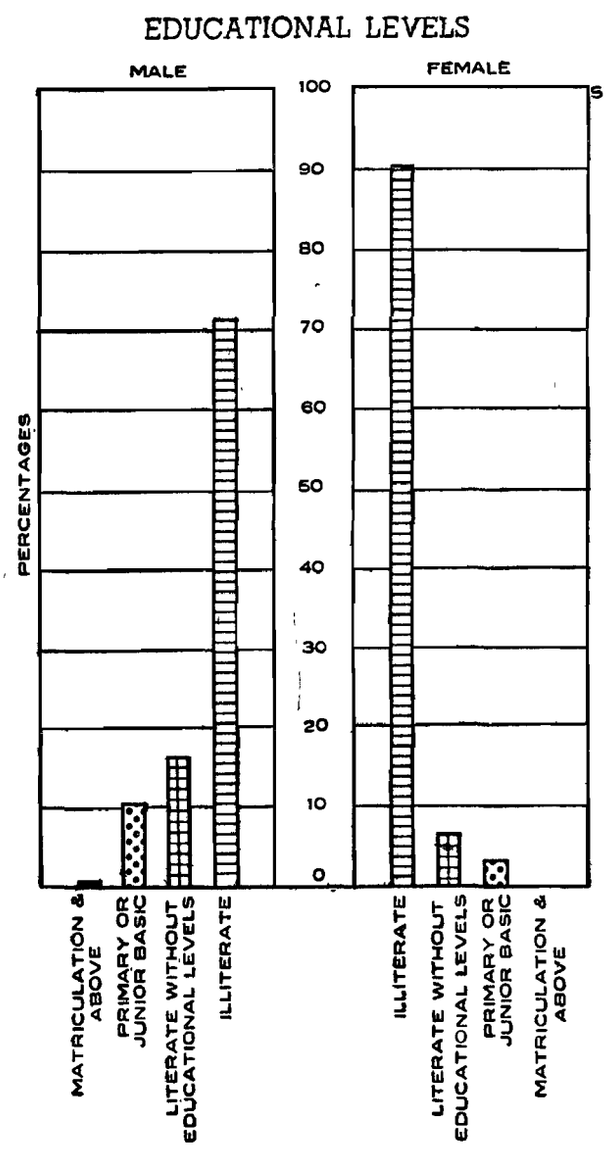
Workers and Non-workers classified by Sex and Age-groups

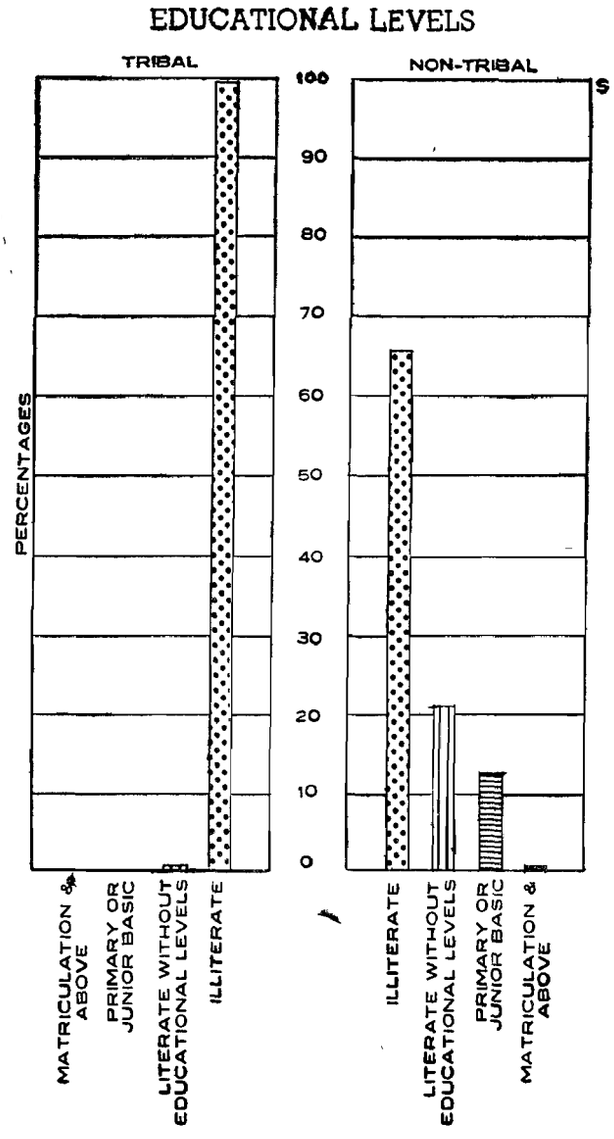
Age-group	Total		Cultivators		Agricultural labourers		Forestry etc.		Household Industry		Trade and Commerce		Other Services		Non-workers	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
TOTAL ..	270	230	71	63	74	60	4	..	1	5	3	1	5	..	112	101
0—9 ..	85	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	85	60
10—14 ..	37	24	8	3	7	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	17
15—19 ..	12	8	4	5	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2
20—24 ..	18	28	7	16	6	8	1	..	..	1	2	1	2	..	..	2
25—29 ..	20	23	9	6	9	15	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	1
30—34 ..	28	17	12	7	13	9	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..
35—39 ..	17	18	5	9	11	7	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
40—44 ..	15	13	6	6	9	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
45—49 ..	11	18	6	7	5	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50—54 ..	9	2	3	..	5	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
55—59 ..	11	6	7	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
60—64 ..	4	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
65—74 ..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
75—85 ..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
Age not stated ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

TABLE No. 4.3

Age and Marital Status

Age-group	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Total ..	270	230	148	90	112	116	8	23	2	1
0—14 ..	122	84	122	84	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19 ..	12	8	11	5	1	3	..	..	..	..
20—24 ..	18	28	11	.	5	27	1	..	1	1
25—29 ..	20	23	3	..	16	23	1	..	..	..
30 and above ..	97	86	..	..	90	63	6	23	1	..
Age not stated ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..





Among Malhar Kolis whose population is 224 there are only four literate persons; and only one child (boy) goes to school.

One of the reasons for this low percentage of literacy is the absence of a school in the village even up to this day. The nearest school is in Parol village which is also on the main road at a distance of one mile, and hence small children are not sent to this school by the villagers as they are afraid of accidents due to heavy vehicular traffic. Besides, the children have to walk a long distance of two miles each day, and during the rains it is difficult for them to cross the bridge over a Nullah as it gets submerged in the water during heavy rains. There are 25 such school-going children in the village between the ages of 7 and 12. The villagers are now trying to have a separate school for Shirvali. There are also other economic reasons which discourage the villagers, particularly the poorer families, from sending their children to school. A child in a poor household works practically the whole day. He is directed to take the cattle for grazing, or to do some light job in the field. His services being thus utilised by his father or guardian for agricultural operations, he is considered as a potential worker for the support of the family. Sending him to school would deprive the family of a worker, and hence the father is reluctant to educate him. There are 9 such cases. Children, mostly girls, are also required to look after household work when the parents

are on the fields; and hence they are not sent to school. There are 8 such cases. The lack of a school in the village is merely an additional excuse, though not a false one, to avoid sending the children to school as will be evident from Table No. 4.5 below which indicates how many children of school-going age do not go to school and for which specific reasons.

There are no adult literacy classes in the village. An attempt was made to start a class eight years ago by Shri Vithal Tukaram Mokashi, a well-to-do and leading villager, and Shri Chandivdekar, who was then the Forester in the village. It continued for three months during which period 25 to 30 villagers, both Kunbis and Malhar Kolis, attended it. After the transfer of Shri Chandivdekar the class was closed down for want of enthusiasm. There is no educational institution of any type in the village nor are there any classes for sewing, nursing, etc. Two teachers from the schools in neighbouring villages of Parol and Karajon, however, stay here for want of accommodation in those villages, and one of them had taken part in the drama staged by the villagers, but they do not take part in any other activities of this village.

TABLE No. 4.4

Industrial Classification of Workers and Non-workers by Educational Level

Category	Population		Literate		Illiterate		Percentage of literacy	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Cultivation	71	63	36	12	35	51	51	19
Agricultural labour	74	60	9	..	65	60	12	..
Forestry	4	..	4	..	..	..	100	..
Household Industry	1	5	..	..	1	5	..	..
Trade	3	1	3	..	..	1	100	..
Other services	5	..	4	..	1	..	80	..
Non-workers	112	101	18	9	94	92	16	9
Total ..	270	230	74	21	196	209	27	9

TABLE No 4.5

No. of Children not going to School

Reasons for not attending school	Kunbi		Malhar Koli		Nav-Buddha		Muslim		Total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Grazing cattle or minor agricultural work.	3	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	5	4
Household work	5	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	7
School is far from village ..	6	3	12	2	2	..	..	..	20	5
No liking for education ..	3	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	8	1
Left school because of failure ..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Mother-tongue being Gujrati ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total ..	12	13	20	5	2	..	..	1	34	19

Leisure and Recreation

The village people are not particularly fond of games but during off season when the agricultural work is slack and the Kunbis and Malhar Kolis are at home they play cards. The popular card games are *Ladis* and 5-3-2. They also play *Songtya* particularly during the Ganapati festival. They do not participate in any outdoor games or pastimes. Though they arrange a wrestling bout on the day following the Hanuman Jayanti on Chaitra Paurnima they themselves do not participate in it; but wrestlers from Bhivandi and Kalyan take part, and the winners among them are awarded prizes by the village committee. The villagers do not participate in bull-fighting, cock-fighting or bullock-cart racing, but buffalo-fight is arranged during the Diwali festival. Some young Kunbi villagers, however, appear to have artistic talents, and they have formed a dramatic club of their own under the lead and guidance of Shri Ramchandra Govind Bhoir, aged 22. He knows music and can play on the harmonium. He is educated upto Vernacular Final. He guides and trains a few persons to stage a drama every year, and during the last five years they have staged six Marathi dramas.

A school teacher who stays in the village and teaches in neighbouring village school (there is no school in this village) had also acted in the drama in 1960, but had not taken any part in organizing or guiding the performances. There is no theatre in the village, but this does not deter the enthusiastic dramatists from staging a full-fledged drama with curtains and other stage outfits. They have prepared four curtains and four wings for the purpose. The main curtain has been painted showing the pictures of Ram, Laxman and Sita; two curtains depict scenes of road and jungle, while the fourth bears floral painting. Of the four wings, two contain the paintings of two women, and the other two depict pillars. In a small village like this it is indeed creditable to prepare curtains and wings for the stage, and still more commendable is the villagers' zeal in actually staging the dramas which are accompanied by music also.

Neither *Tamashas* are staged in the village, nor does any *Tamasha Phad* (party) visit the village. No folk plays such as Dashawatar, Ramlila, etc., are staged. A *Tamasha Phad* visits Vajreshwari village at the time of the annual fair on Chaitra Amavasya ; and some of the people of this village who go to the fair also witness the *Tamasha* at night. They have, however, no special fancy for it.

Not only dramas but *Bhajan* and *Puran* are also arranged by villagers which indicate the traditional religious outlook of the villagers. There is a *Bhajan Mandali* (Party) in the village which assembles on Thursday and Saturday nights; and also on *Hanuman Jayanti* and whenever there is a *Satyanarayan Puja*. On the *Hanuman Jayanti* a discourse on *Puran* is arranged in the Hanuman temple and the whole village attends the function. A Brahmin who is specially invited reads and explains the *Puran*.

Boys play games such as *Hu-tu-tu* and *Atya-Patya*. Wrestling is a favourite pastime with the youths. There is no gymnasium in the village. Girls are fond of playing with Moha tree seeds instead of *Sagargota*.

Folk-Songs

There are no folk-songs or folk-dances either in the Kunbi or Malhar Koli community. At least these villagers do not know them. However, during the Gauri-Ganpati festival women from both the communities dance to the accompaniment of " *Dholki* " (a kind of drum beaten on both sides). The males from the Malhar Koli community also dance and sing to the accompaniment of the "*Dholki*" during the rainy season. The villagers do not show any liking for ballads or *powadas*. There is no *Gondhali* family in the village, but during the month of Ashvin some *Gondhalis* from outside come to the village and stay for a week. However, they do not perform ' *Gondhal* ' (a type of dance with devotional songs addressed to the goddess Ambabai during the whole night), but only collect alms from villagers.

There are songs which are sung on particular occasions such as wedding, child-naming, Ganapati and Gauri festival, Holi festival, and while grinding at the household grinding wheels, etc. Some of these songs are given in this report at the end (Appendix 5).

Daily Routine and Common Habits

During the rainy season, which is a busy season, the villager gets up at 5 a.m. and sleeps at 8-30 p.m. while during the off season he gets up at 6 a.m. and sleeps at 9-30 p.m. Soon after he gets up he takes his cattle for grazing and returns after two hours. Then he takes his bath, has his breakfast of *bhakar* and *chutney*, etc., goes to the fields at about 10 a.m. and starts agricultural work. If he has engaged labourers he directs them to do particular jobs and supervises their work. He returns home at 12 noon, takes his lunch of rice, *dal*, vegetable or dry fish etc., and then takes rest for a couple of hours. At about 2-30 or 3 in the afternoon he again goes to the fields and returns at 7 p.m. Then he takes bath. This second bath is not taken every day by all farmers Whenever the villager feels that his body has become very

dirty he takes a bath in the evening. His dinner gets ready by that time and he takes it at about 7-30 p.m. Thereafter the villagers meet in smoking groups and spend some time relaxing and gossiping till they go to bed.

An agricultural labourer also has the same routine. He gets up at about 6-30 a.m., takes bath and goes to the house of his employer. There he is given *nyahari* (breakfast), and then he goes to the field for work at 8 a.m. Then at about 12 noon he returns home for lunch or, if his home is far, eats his lunch at the field where he carries his food in the morning. After lunch he rests for a couple of hours and then resumes his work at about 2-30 p.m. which goes on till 7 p.m. He does the job assigned to him by the land-lord who supervises over him. After returning home he takes bath if he feels that his body has become very dirty. At about 7-30 p.m. he takes his dinner, and then spends some time either with his family or other villagers, and then goes to sleep at about 9 p.m.

Among the various stages of cultivation, trans-plantation and harvesting are the two processes to which the cultivator pays the greatest attention. Other field work is not as diligently done as these two operations. An agricultural labourer's output of work depends upon the type of supervision exercised over him by the land-owner.

In the daily routine of the villager, whether a cultivator or an agricultural labourer, Bidi smoking figures as the most common habit. There is hardly any person who does not smoke Bidis. Even some women are heavy smokers. Drinking illicit liquor is also a common habit. Tea has established its popularity, and every villager whether Kunbi or Malhar Koli takes tea in the morning and in the evening.

Women move about freely in the village and outside, and no *purdah* system is observed. In the cultivation operations of transplantation and harvesting women work as much as men do. Even for other jobs such as weeding and cleaning women are as good labourers as men.

Religion

Out of 500 persons in the village 475 are Hindus. Three households comprising 18 persons have adopted Buddhism and are now styled as Nav-Buddhist. There are two Muslim households with 7 persons.

There are two temples in the village. One is of Hanuman which is located in the heart of the village. The other is of the village Goddess known as Gao-Devi which is situated on a small hill 200 yards away from the village site. The temple of Hanuman is in good condition. It has walls on three sides and is being looked after by the villagers carefully. The *puja* of the deity is daily performed by Shri Vithal Tukaram Mokashi, a Kunbi. No independent *Pujari* has been employed by the villagers. One villager Kathod Aba Patil (a Kunbi) lights a lamp in the evening. He is not paid anything by the villagers, but is entitled to get the entire collection of money offered by the devotees to the idol on *Hanuman Jayanti* which falls on the Chaitra Paurnima.

The temple of the Gao-Devi is in a dilapidated condition. The roof requires repairs. Annually the villagers perform *puja* of the Goddess at the time of the beginning of the rains. The practice is generally to offer a goat every year to the deity; but if they are unable to collect contribution for this, the goat is offered once in 2-3 years. The goat meat is distributed among the villagers as *prasad* of the deity.

There are no intermediaries of religious groups like priests in the village. The temple of Hanuman is also used for holding meetings or deciding petty disputes by the Gao Panchayat which includes two members of Malhar Kolis.

As a token of devotion the Kunbis and Malhar Kolis have installed pictures of deities in their own homes, while Nav-Buddhist have kept photographs of Lord Buddha and Dr. Ambedkar. The deities mainly include Ram, Krishna, Sheshashahi, Ganapati, Hanuman, Shankar-Parvati, Vishnu, Satyanarayan, Saraswati, Vithoba-Rakhumai and Dattatraya. Photos of Nityanand Swami of Ganeshpuri near Vajreshwari village and Sai Baba of Shirdi in Ahmadnagar district are also common.

The number of photographs of each deity or individual is as under :—

Photographs	Number in possession of		
	Kunbis and other Hindus	Malhar Kolis	Nav-Buddhists
(1) Nityanand Swami ..	12	1	..
(2) Sai Baba ..	10	..	..
(3) Ram ..	11	2	..
(4) Ganapati ..	11	1	..
(5) Dattatraya ..	10	1	..
(6) Shankar-Parvati	8	..	..
(7) Sheshashahi ..	7	..	..
(8) Vithoba-Rakhumai	6	..	..
(9) Maruti ..	6	1	..
(10) Krishna ..	4	1	..
(11) Vishnu ..	3	..	..
(12) Satyanarayan	2	1	..
(13) Laxmi Narayan	1	..	..
(14) Shankaracharya	1	..	..
(15) Saraswati	1	..	..
(16) Parshuram ..	1	..	..
(17) Lord Buddha	..	..	2
(18) Dr. Ambedkar	.	..	1



The village well and the Hanuman temple



Bringing water from the village well

These photographs in frames have been hung on walls. There are no separate '*Deo-ghars*' or rooms where family deities are kept and worshipped. The method of worshipping the Gods is quite simple. The Kunbi devotees light '*Agarbatti*' (incense-stick) before the deity after bath. No elaborate *puja* is performed by offering flowers, applying sandalwood paste (*Chandan*) or chanting *Stotras*. The *Tulsi* plant is worshipped by women. Fourteen Kunbi households, 6 of which are of poor means, and 1 Malhar Koli household have Tulsi plants near their houses.

The *Satyanarayan Puja* is performed in the village by individuals occasionally. A Brahmin priest is called for the purpose. Only Kunbis perform this *puja* and not Malhar Kolis or other castes.

The Malhar Koli community is not keen on worshipping the deities. Some of them said that they only offer '*namaskar*' by folding their hands to the rising sun early in the morning after they clean their teeth and wash their faces. They do not observe any fasts as the Kunbis do ; only one among them observes fast on Kartiki Ekadashi. Old men among them keep pigtails called *Shendi* like the Kunbi old men. They have their particular local deity by name *Waghya* whose image has been carved on a wooden log, which has been kept in open without a roof or any enclosure. They worship this idol annually at the time of the fair of the village deity by offering fowls. Villagers in Thana district generally have a local deity. As stated in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume XIII, Part I, Thana 1882 (page 65)* :—

> " A remarkable trait in the character of the Thana people is the very deep and almost universal reverence that is paid to local or un-Brahmin spirits or deities as the proverb says, ' The spirits of the Konkan are very fierce '. These *Devs* of whom Cheda, Chita, Hirva, and Waghya are the chief are not only the ordinary objects of worship of the earlier tribes and of the Kunbis, but, in spite of Brahmin priests, they are feared and worshipped by almost all Hindus. "

Inquiries however reveal that Waghya is no more worshipped or feared by Kunbis or other Hindus except Malhar Kolis. The Gauri and Ganapati festival (Bhadrapad Sud 4) is devoutly observed by the villagers. Two households both of Kunbis install an idol of Ganapati, one for 1½ days and the other for 7 days ; but the image of Gauri (mother of God Ganapati) is installed by all the people both Kunbis and Malhar Kolis in their houses. *Terda* plants are brought to represent Gauri and it is wrapped with a piece of Sari. The whole week is spent in reciting *Bhajans* during night. The women folkdance and sing songs before Ganapati and Gauri.

In the Festival of Diwali (Ashvin Vad 13 to Karttika Sud 2) the villagers arrange a special programme. A fire-place 10 to 12 feet in length and 2 feet in breadth is prepared in the morning of the *Bali Pratipada* (Karttika Sud 1) and cattle are made to cross over it by jumping over the fire-place across its breadth. These cattle are decorated and their horns are coloured. Both the Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis believe that this ceremony drives away diseases and epidemics. The villagers also jump over the fire. Buffalo fight is also arranged.

The *Holi* (Phalguna Sud 15) festival is observed by villagers of all castes collectively as a community festival. It is a very important festival. No separate caste or individual functions are held. A bamboo stick is erected in an open space in the village. Logs of wood are placed round it. The *puja* of the bamboo stick is performed by the Police Patil accompanied by an *Arati*, and then it is set on fire. Any person who wishes to worship *Holi* throws a coconut into this fire, lights an incense-stick (*Agarbatti*), takes out the half-baked coconut out of the fire, and distributes its kernel as *prasad* to the people assembled there. The bonfire continues for seven days. Till the fifth day, i.e., '*Rang-Panchami*' the villagers of all castes enjoy in merry-making and spraying coloured water on one another. The *Holi* revellers including children take much delight in uttering obscene words which is permitted on that day by custom and convention. Most of the villagers indulge in drinking and are tipsy during the festival.

The Brahmin priest plays his role in the religious life of the people though he does not stay in the village. There are two Brahmins who do this priest-hood. One of them stays at Chandansar village while the other in Bassein town though he originally belonged to Chandansar village. These Brahmins visit the houses of Kunbis a few days prior to Sankrant, Holi, Ganesh Chaturthi, and Diwali to inform the villagers about the dates on which these festivals fall according to the Hindu Calendar. For this work each household which the Brahmin visits gives him *Dakshina* of 2 to 4 annas. This system was started when all the villagers were illiterate, and could not know the dates of festivals unless the Brahmin informed them. This practice has, however, continued till this day though the villagers can now gather this information from the literates among them. The Brahmins also visit the village on Coconut Day (Shravana Sud 15) and tie *Rakhadi* (a type of bracelet) to the wrist of Kunbi villagers in accordance with the custom known as *Rakshabandhan*. For this ceremony the Brahmin is given '*Dakshina*' of Rs. 1·25 and paddy and *dal* worth Rs. 1·25. Poor Kunbis give one-fourth *Payali* paddy and '*Dakshina*'

of 2 annas according to their means. During Ganapati *Puja* (Bhadrapad Sud 4) the Brahmin who comes to the house of Vithal Tukaram Mokashi gets Rs. 20·25 and two Payalis of rice for the ceremonies of installation of Ganapati, *Abhishek*, *Satyanarayan Puja* on 4th day, and immersion (*Visarjan*), on 5th day. From Waman Ragho Bhoir he gets Rs. 10·25 and 2 Payalis of rice for the ceremonies of installation and immersion of Ganapati (*Visarjan*). On Hanuman Jayanti (Chaitra Sud 15) the Brahmin is given Rs. 5·25 plus rice, *dal* and coins collected in the *Arati* by the whole village. On this occasion a *Kirtankar* Brahmin is also invited to deliver *Kirtan* (religious discourse) and is paid Rs. 10·25 by the village.

For selecting a name to a child in Kunbi family either the Brahmin is called to the village or the child's father goes to the Brahmin, and tells him the date and time of the child's birth. The Brahmin then suggests the initial of the name to be given to the child for which work he is given *Dakshina* of Rs. 1·25 or Rs. 0·50 and ¼ *Payali* of rice.

The Brahmin who visits the village on the Diwali day is given 1 maund of paddy by each of the 4 leading families of Kunbis.

Whenever the Brahmin visits the Malhar Kolis' houses either for announcing the date of a festival or on the festival day itself he is paid 2 or 4 annas as *Dakshina* according to their means. The Brahmin does not visit the houses of Nav-Buddhist families.

The general belief among all the Hindu villagers is that the Brahmin who comes to the house for any work must be given some *Dakshina* either in cash or in kind. The two Brahmins who do the priest-hood of this village divide the work among themselves.

The Nav-Buddhas get married in accordance with Buddhist rites which are performed by a Buddhist priest from a neighbouring village. If he cannot be called, anyone among themselves can perform these marriage rites. This has been explained in details in paragraphs under ethnographic notes.

Fairs

The fair of Gao-Devi (the village deity) is held in the month of Karttika. It is a simple fair and only the local people, both Kunbis and Malhar Kolis, attend it. The Kunbis collect about Rs. 100 and spend this sum for purchasing 3 goats, 6 hens and 25 coconuts which are offered to the Goddess as sacrifice and then distributed among the villagers of all castes as *prasad*.

The other fair is held on *Hanuman Jayanti* which falls on Chaitra Paurnima. It is an important fair and is attended by villagers from neighbouring villages also. It starts in the morning and is continued till 12 noon on the next day. The temple is whitewashed and decorated, and *Kirtan* and *Puranic* discourses are arranged for which Brahmin priests are engaged. The villagers collect about Rs. 200 for expenses which include *Dakshina* to the priests, hire charges for use of the loud-speakers, expenses for village drama, and the cost of prize articles such as brass utensils, cups and saucers, etc., to be given to the winners of wrestling bouts. As the fund for expenses is contributed by Kunbis and not Malhar Kolis who are all poor, the organisation and management of the fair is with the Kunbis; but this fact does not bar the Malhar Kolis and others from participating in the general enjoyment of the fair. In fact among about 2,000 persons who attend it, the Malhar Kolis are in majority. People from the surrounding villages of Parol, Majivali, Tilher and from far off places like Angao, Shelar, Bhivandi and Kalyan attend it. Both males and females are attracted to the fair in equal numbers. Those who reside in the neighbouring villages come either on foot or in their bullock carts, while those from far off places come by S. T. Buses. They bring their food with them and take water from the village well. They spend the night with their acquaintances either in this village or in the neighbouring villages.

As usual the fair consists of a number of shops which the villagers like to visit. The following list indicates the kind of shops and the number of each :—

Particulars	Number of shops
(1) Sweetmeats	10 to 15 shops.
(2) Tea and aerated waters ..	2 stalls.
(3) Sugarcane crusher	1 stall.
(4) Cutlery and bangles	10 to 15 shops.
(5) Cloth	3 shops.
(6) Rubber Baloons	5 shops.
(7) Water-melon	1 shop.
(8) "*Kurmure*" (Parched rice), *dal*, *chana*, etc.	3 shops.
(9) Cane and bamboo articles ..	1 shop.

The shopkeepers of articles at Nos. (1) to (3) erect pandals while the rest keep their shops in the open space. All these shopkeepers come from distant places such as Virar, Bhivandi, Dadar and also from Vajreshwari. The main articles sold include sweetmeats, *Bhaji*, *Kurmure*, tea and areated waters. There are no "giant wheels", merry-go-round, see-saw, etc., to entertain the visitors. At night drama is staged by the local Kunbi villagers which constitutes the main attraction of the fair. On the next day wrestling bouts are held in which wrestlers from distant places take part, and winners are awarded prizes by the villagers out of the funds collected for the fair.

All persons who attend the fair take '*Darshan*' of the deity of Hanuman. The fair also provides an opportunity for people of neighbouring villages to meet and greet one another and to enjoy the entertainment of the fair.

Pilgrimage

Two persons both Kunbis (Shri Mithu Dharma Gharat and Shri Ramchandra Govind Bhoir) had gone on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur four years ago. On their return they were given a reception by the villagers and were taken in procession to the Hanuman temple where people honoured them by garlanding them profusely and offering them copper coins. The sacred water called "Ganga" of river Bhima brought by them was worshipped by the people, and the whole night was spent in singing *Bhajans*.

Village Administration and Organizations

The village administration is carried on mainly by the following agencies :—

(1) Talati,
(2) Circle Inspector or Circle Officer,
(3) Gram Sevak,
(4) Police Patil,
(5) Kotwal,
(6) The Gram Panchayat and its Secretary.

The Talati represents the last link in the chain of revenue officers. He is in charge of the village accounts and records. Though his main duty is to collect the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government, he is the pivot of the village administration. Execution of all schemes of the Government in the village is done through him as he is the representative of the executive branch of administration in the village. He also furnishes the basic data required for any scheme as he is in charge of the village records. Any officer of any Government department who visits the village for work gets into touch with the Talati who is expected to give him full co-operation and help for all Government work. The records which he maintains deal with not only the accounts of demand and recovery of revenue from the villagers, but with practically all aspects of the village life. With such a comprehensive record in his hands and with the duty of recovery of Government dues, the Talati naturally occupies an important position in village life. It is he who notes down the transfers of lands in consequence of sale, partition, heirship, etc. The names of both protected tenants and ordinary tenants and their mode of paying rent to the landlord are also written by him in the records. This function has conferred on the Talati a great responsibility as it is of vital importance in the light of the Tenancy legislation. His work is supervised by the Circle Officer and the Mamlatdar of the Taluka. The former had visited the village 16 times and the latter twice during the year 1960-61.

The Talati draws his pay in the scale of Rs. 40—1—60 (lower) or Rs. 55—3—85 (higher) with dearness allowance admissible under the rules. His educational standard is the Vernacular Final examination. The present Talati is Shri Prakash Babu Mhatre, age 24. He has been working as Talati since 20th February 1957, and in this *saza*, area of jurisdiction, since 1st August 1960. The headquarters of his *saza* is at Parol, two miles from this village, and he has 9 villages in his charge, viz., Parol, Usgaon, Shirvali, Sayawan, Karajon, Majivali, Tilher, Adne and Shivansai.

During fair season he visits these villages on days fixed by him ; but no time of his visit is fixed. In monsoon season he has no fixed dates or timings for visiting these villages.

The Circle Inspector (or officer) functions as the supervisor over the Talati. If he is promoted from the Talati's cadre he is Circle Inspector and is given the grade of clerks ; but if he is promoted from the clerical grade he is Circle Officer and is given the Aval Karkun's grade. There are, however, a few Circle Officers in each district who are promoted from the Talati's grade and are given the Aval Karkun's grade. The Circle Officer of this village belongs to this category. There are 31 villages in his charge. His name is Shri Kedarnath Thakur. His headquarters are at Chandip, a village 3 miles away. He had visited the village 16 times during the year 1960-61.

The Gram Sevak, i.e., the Village Level Worker combines the duties of Agriculture and Rural Development Departments. He is given training in these subjects at one of the training centres. The Gram Sevak of this village, Shri R. S. Thakur, has not undergone this training so far. He had been serving as a Talati since 1943, and was Talati of this village when he was promoted as Gram Sevak on 4th August 1960. He is educated up to Vernacular Final examination and is aged 40. His grade is similar to that of Circle Inspectors and clerks. At present he draws pay of Rs. 70 plus Rs. 55 as Dearness Allowance, plus permanent travelling allowance of Rs. 14 and contingency allowance of Rs. 2. There are 8 villages in his charge. His headquarters is at Parol, an adjoining village. The work done by him so far is as follows :—

Distribution of (1) Fertilisers, *viz.*, ammonium sulphate and super phosphate—1,736 lbs. of each ; (2) 30 seers of improved seeds of paddy and four mango grafts and (3) securing loans for villagers from Co-operative Societies.

This village has a *Watandar* Patil i.e., hereditary Patil and his *Watan* comes under the category of " post useful to Government ", i.e., Class 6B of Inam classification. Inam land admeasuring 5 acres 5¾ gunthas has been assigned as remuneration for this work in addition to cash allowance of Rs. 40 per year. As the village headman, he enjoys an important status in the village. It is his privilege to tie the *Bashing* to the forehead of the bridegroom at the time of the marriage ceremony for which he is presented with a coconut, one *Payali* rice and Rs. 1·25 as a token of honour. The *puja* of the *Holi* is performed by him. He attends all the functions in the village and is treated with respect by villagers. He represents the non-official view point, and any officer who visits the village consults him as the leader of the village, and gathers information from him about the village affairs. He collects the people whenever necessary and helps the Talati and other Government officers in the discharge of their duties. The maintenance of the birth and death register of the village (Village Form No. XIV) is one of his duties. All *panchanamas* and inquests are attested by him as a witness. He has also to perform duties in the sphere of law and order in the village and that is why the word " Police " is prefixed to his designation. If he suspects crime by any person in the village or by a visitor he informs the nearest Police Chowky about it. Every year when the *Jamabandi Darbar* is held after the close of the Revenue accounts of the year and all the Police Patils, Talatis, Circle Inspectors and other officers gather at the Taluka Office, the *Tharavband* Account (Village Form No. V) of the year which is closed is given to the Police Patil along with *Pan Supari* (betel-leaf and betel-nut) by the officer presiding at that function as a token of honour. The Deputy Collector usually presides over the *Darbar*.

The Kotwal is an inferior village servant who assists the Talati and other Government servants in their work by calling villagers, carrying records from one village to another, and by taking the land revenue collection and *Tapal* (post) from the village to the Mamlatdar's office. His monthly pay is Rs. 20. Until 1960 the inferior village servant called *Madhvi* or *Mirashi* was not paid monthly wages, but was given a remuneration of Rs. 32·25 per year besides the assignment of 1¼ acres of land as " *Inam* " for doing his work. This Inam has now been abolished and the land will be transferred to his name on his paying the price fixed by Government. The erst-while inferior village servant is now the Kotwal. He is a Nav-Buddhist, Shri Budhaji Gopal Ubale by name. Besides doing the Kotwal's duties he also helps the unofficial Gao Panchayat (Village Committee) in collecting subscriptions for the festivals of Hanuman Jayanti and *Gao-Devi Utsav* and in summoning people to attend the meetings of the Village Committee and its *Nyaya Mandal*.

The Government officers mentioned above and also those of other departments get full co-operation from the leading village people who also provide them with food and shelter in case of halt for duty. The well-to-do Kunbis with whom the officers have to take tea or food do not feel any pinch but they consider it a moral duty to look to the convenience of an officer who visits the village for public work. From inquiries it was learnt that all officers visiting the village behave themselves, and do not take undue advantage of the hospitality extended to them. No officer puts up at any Malhar Koli's house as these people are too poor to offer any hospitality. Generally the officers put up in the house of one of the three leading villagers, all Kunbis.

The village is covered by a Group Village Panchayat for Majivali and Shirvali. It started functioning in 1958 and its term will expire in 1962. No elections could be held for its establishment as, though elections were fixed, nomination papers were not filed by villagers. Consequently the Government had to nominate the members. There are 9 seats of whom 3 are reserved, one each for women, Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes. The Secretary of the Village Panchayat is primarily concerned with the conduct of the Panchayat. He has to look to the correspondence and accounts of the village Panchayat, the levy and recovery of the Panchayat taxes, the drawing of the annual budget, the holding of the meetings and their agenda, and implementation of the Village Panchayat's resolutions. In view of the vital role now assigned to the Village Panchayat in the general development of villages, additional duties and responsibilities devolve upon the Secretary of the Panchayat. The planning of the development of the village is done on the recommendations of the representatives of the villagers, i.e., the Village Panchayat and hence all schemes have to be initiated or proposed by the Panchayat. The actual execution of the development work is also to be entrusted to the Village Panchayat as far as possible in accordance with the Government policy. The popular contribution for the cost of each work in certain proportion according to the Government rules has naturally to be collected by the Village Panchayat. Considering all these functions of the Village Panchayat the role of its secretary assumes importance as on him depends to a large extent the success of the development schemes in the village. His duties would be as follows :—

(1) Administration of the Village Panchayat.
(2) Planning of development schemes in accordance with the needs of the villagers.

(3) Mobilising local resources as popular cash contribution towards the cost of the schemes.

(4) Execution of the schemes.

(5) Steps to associate the people more and more in the formulation and execution of the schemes.

(6) Provision and maintenance of basic amenities in the village.

Many members of the Village Panchayat have neither the interest nor any spare time to devote to the cause of village welfare as indicated by the fact that out of 16 meetings held in three years, 5 had to be adjourned for want of quorum. Such a Panchayat can function efficiently and usefully only if it can be galvanized into action by an able and enthusiastic secretary.

The composition of the present Panchayat constituted in 1958 is as follows :—

Name	Age	Caste	Educational Qualification
(1) Shri Bhalchandra Shivram Patil, M.L.A., Sarpanch.	35	Kunbi	Upto English VI Std.
(2) Shri Vasudev Mithu Gharat ..	30	Kunbi	Marathi IV Std.
(3) Shri Vithal Tukaram Mokashi.	55	Kunbi	Do.
(4) Shri Dhondu Haso Patil ..	55	Malhar Koli.	....
(5) Shri Bango Ladku Choghala.	45	Kunbi	Marathi II Std.
(6) Shri Babu Pandu Patil ..	50	Kunbi	....
(7) Shri Budhaji Gopal Ubale ..	30	Nav-Buddha	Marathi III Std.
(8) Shri Chandrakant Chango Bhoir.	45	Kunbi	....
(9) Smt. Narmadabai Parsharam Patil.	30	Kunbi	Marathi II Std.

The secretary of the Panchayat is Shri Dattatraya Vithu Gharat, aged 33. He has passed the Vernacular Final Examination and has undergone the required training at the Village Panchayat Secretaries' Training Centre at Kosbad in Palghar taluka of Thana district. He is the secretary of Adne-Bhinar Group Village Panchayat and draws Rs. 65 as pay and dearness allowance. He holds additional charges of (1) Majivali-Shirvali village Panchayat, and (2) Tilher-Karajon Group Village Panchayat for which he gets charge allowance of Rs. 10 and Rs. 5 respectively.

The participation of the members in the Village Panchayat affairs will be indicated by the following figures of attendance of the members at the meetings :—

Serial No.	Date of meeting	No. of members present out of total 9 members
1	21-5-58 ..	6
2	7-11-58 ..	6
3	1-3-59 ..	Adjourned for want of quorum
4	28-4-59 ..	7
5	24-5-59 ..	7
6	23-6-59 ..	6
7	14-9-59 ..	7
8	23-11-59 ..	Adjourned for want of quorum.
9	10-1-60 ..	5
10	18-4-60 ..	6
11	18-9-60 ..	Adjourned for want of quorum.
12	20-11-60 ..	6
13	19-1-61 ..	Adjourned for want of quorum.
14	30-4-61 ..	5
15	9-8-61 ..	5
16	24-9-61 ..	Adjourned for want of quorum.

The Gram Sabha meeting of the whole village has to be held twice a year according to the Village Panchayat Act, but so far (*i.e.*, upto 30th November 1961) no such meeting has been held ever since the Village Panchayat was established.

The Panchayat has not carried out any improvement work in this village so far. Even the primary functions of cleaning and street lighting are not attended to. In fact it has not done any work in the village except sale of sugar to villagers when it was under control. 45 bags of sugar worth Rs. 2,891·30 were sold and each man was allowed a quantum of 1 lb. per month. The secretary of Village Panchayat was given an allowance of Rs. 1·50 per day for this work.

The Panchayat has not been invested with judicial powers.

The sources of income of the Village Panchayat are as follows :—

	Rs.
(1) House tax	265·00
(2) Land Revenue grant ..	825·00
Total ..	1,090·00

The expenditure as provided for in the budget for the year 1960-61 is as follows :—

	Amount Rs.
(1) Staff	50·00
(2) Contingency	100·00
(3) T. A.	50·00
(4) Roads	400·00
(5) Library	50·00
(6) Sanitation	80·00
(7) Education	50·00
(8) Water supply	240·00
(9) Share contribution to the Panchayat Mandal.	55·00
(10) Miscellaneous	35·00
Total ..	1,110·00

The following were actual receipts and expenditure in the year 1958 to 1960 :—

Receipts—	Rs.
(1) Land Revenue grant ..	2,484·25
(2) Receipt on account of sale of sugar.	3,057·60
(3) House tax	65·00
Total ..	5,606·85

Expenditure—	Rs.
(1) Office and Contingency ..	93·52
(2) T. A.	73·35
(3) Sanitation	45·07
(4) Labour charges	32·37
(5) Hamali	39·79
(6) Post	2·44
(7) Miscellaneous	151·87
(8) Education	9·37
(9) Cost of sugar	2,871·30
(10) Subscription	12·00
(11) Roads	259·00
(12) Pay of the Secretary ..	101·25
Total ..	3,691·33

The cash balance with the Panchayat on 20th October 1961 was Rs. 1,762·55 and it was invested as follows :—

Rs.	
1,575·00	in Post Office Savings Account.
118·82	kept with Sarpanch since 5th October 1961.
68·73	with the Secretary (under Rules he is authorised to keep up to Rs. 100).
1,762·55	Total

Inter-Community Relations

According to the custom or convention certain castes in the village have to perform some definite functions on particular occasions. During a marriage, *Toran* (the garland of leaves or flowers) is tied at the top of door frame of main entrance to the house by the Village Mahar (village servant of Mahar caste) for which he is given 50 Paise if it is the bridegroom's house or 25 Paise if it is the bride's house. The barber who shaves the bridegroom is given half seer of rice and 50 Paise. The Police Patil who is the village headman ties "*Bashing*" to the forehead of the bridegroom for which he is given Rs. 1·25, one *Payali* of rice, and one coconut.

There are no such customs or conventions at death ceremonies.

On *Bali Pratipada* (first day of Karttika) the Mahar prepares a small image of a bullock out of flour, and goes to houses of all villagers who give him a paisa or two, and in this way he collects about Rs. 2 on that day.

Community Services and Professional Services

The system of community service does not prevail and hence there are no *Balutedars*. The Village Kotwal, however, looks to the work of the Gao Panchayat Committee in addition to his own duties for which he is given one maund of paddy by the villagers every year. It is customary to appoint watchmen from the village, when crops are ready, to guard against theft of crops at night. These watchmen are called "*Jagle*". One man from each family of cultivators is required to do this job for one month, and 5 such persons work in a batch at a time by rotation. Malhar Kolis are also included in this village organization. The details of duties are fixed by the Village Panch Committee.

After the dates for each batch are fixed up, the Kotwal reminds each of the five persons of the batch to do his duty. If he (the *Jagle*) or his representative fails to do the duty he is fined one Rupee. This whole job lasts for 6 weeks, and it is assigned to 6 parties of 5 persons each, i.e., 30 men in all.

Traditional Leadership

The leadership of the village naturally goes to the Kunbi community, not on account of tradition but due to their superiority over the Malhar Kolis in education, social status and economic position. The population of other communities, *viz.*, Nav-Buddhists and Muslims is negligible.

The local affairs of the village are looked after by the Village Panch Committee of 8 members—5 Kunbis, 2 Malhar Kolis, and 1 Nav-Buddha. They are elected

by the whole village, and their appointments are made once in every 4 or 5 years, but as far as possible no changes are made. There is no chairman in the Committee but only a treasurer, and Shri Ramchandra Govind Bhoir holds that post. They decide petty disputes in the village and award punishment, but this is of a mild nature, e.g., a person found stealing paddy stacks is let off with only a warning. They look after religious functions, and attend marriages performed in the village. No privilege of any kind is enjoyed by any of them. The funds of the village are held by them as custodians, and the arrangements and expenses for the fair in the village are also made by them after collecting local contributions. The meeting of this committee is generally held once a month and lasts for 3 to 4 hours.

Village Leadership

The following six families, all of Kunbi community, are influential in the village. They are all big landlords :—

(1) Vithal Tukaram Mokashi.
(2) Waman Ragho Bhoir.
(3) Ladku Walku Patil.
(4) Lahu Rama Bhoir.
(5) Mithu Dharma Gharat.
(6) Babu Dharma Gharat.

One of the above persons assumes the leadership of the village. Hitherto Shri Vithal Tukaram Mokashi was supposed to be the leader, but now this leadership has passed on to Shri Waman Ragho Bhoir, a young and enthusiastic man. The village leader does not extract any free service from the people, nor does he derive any monetary benefit from his position. Prestige and status in the village are the only attractions of leadership.

Besides the village leader, there are also Government officers such as the Gram Sevak and the Talati, and the Police Patil who are appointed by the Government and all of whom exercise influence in the village. They all work in co-operation with villagers, and consult the leading persons whenever any new scheme of the Government is under consideration. This village is included in the Group Panchayat of Majivali-Shirvali, and the Sarpanch, who is also a M.L.A., belongs to Majivali and does not wield as much influence in this village as a Sarpanch of the village should wield.

Group Alignment and Party Politics

Party politics plays predominant part in the village Panchayat and the village affairs in general though they have not reached such a stage as to cause bitterness, distrust or enmity among the villagers. The alignment is formed on the basis of political parties, i.e., the Congress, and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti (or the P.S.P.). The M.L.A. of the Bhivandi Taluka Constituency who hails from the neighbouring village is an ardent member of the P.S.P. and Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. He is the Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat but has been elected as M.L.A. from the Bhivandi Taluka Constituency. Bhivandi Taluka adjoins Bassein Taluka at a distance of 5 miles from this village. The majority of the members of the Village Panchayat also belong to the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. In addition to this party alignment, there is the strong desire of villagers to have a separate Panchayat for this village in place of the existing Group Panchayat jointly with Majivali and hence the functioning of the Village Panchayat is at a standstill. The limited resources of the Panchayat are also partly responsible for this woeful state of affairs. Fortunately no social tension has so far been caused in the village in consequence of group alignments and party politics.

Other Important Aspects of Social and Cultural Life

The villagers generally appeared to be ignorant about current affairs. This is not surprising when we find that there is no school in the village and that percentage of literacy is as low as 19 which means that four persons out of every five are illiterate. There is no library or reading room in the village. However, three Kunbi villagers subscribe to daily newspapers. Two of them buy *Lokasatta* and one buys *Maratha* published in Bombay. These newspapers are read by ten to twelve persons in the village. There is no community radio set in the village, but one well-to-do Kunbi villager Shri Waman Tukaram Mokashi has purchased a radio set in September 1961. There is no cinema theatre. Even touring cinemas or cultural films or shows of the Publicity Department have never visited the village. Only about 25 per cent of the villagers are aware of the fact that this village has been included in the Pre-extension Block of the National Extension Service. The village level worker (Gram Sevak) under this Scheme is however known to all villagers, but all the villagers do not know the sphere of his duties. They know him personally well because formerly he was a Talati (Village Accountant) in this village till a year ago. Hardly two or three persons are aware of the existence of Five-Year Plans and the Governmental activities in matters of development and construction works.

After assessing the level of social awarness of the people as above, an attempt was made to ascertain the opinions of the villagers on social reforms such as

"untouchability", prohibition, child marriage, etc. Their attitude on these subjects is described below :—

When they were asked about the removal of "untouchability" they were all in favour of it ; but it was found that though they allowed the members of Scheduled Caste to visit their own houses and to mix with the villagers, they would not take food with them nor would like them (now Nav-Buddhists) to draw water from the public wells. Due to the provision of a separate well for the Scheduled Caste, this problem does not arise, and the relations between the Scheduled Castes or Nav-Buddhas and Kunbis or Malhar Kolis are quite cordial. The villagers find it rather difficult to give up old beliefs regarding untouchability, and hence there is slow progress in this direction. The conversion of Mahars to Buddhism has not altered the attitude of Kunbis and Malhar Kolis towards them appreciably. However, the Nav-Buddhists themselves think differently. There are three Nav-Buddhist households. One of these householders was called and was asked if he believed that his conversion has changed his status either for better or for worse. According to him it had helped in improving the status of erstwhile Scheduled Castes because prior to the proclamation of their intention to embrace Buddhism the Kunbis and Malhar Kolis used to observe strict untouchability, and would not allow them to enter or even touch the threshold of their houses, but as soon as they knew that the Scheduled Castes would carry out their intention of changing the religion they softened their attitude, and now the Nav-Buddhists can enter into the houses of Kunbis and Malhar Kolis. The conversion has not, however, affected the diet of Nav-Buddhas as they still eat the same non-vegetarian food they used to eat before, contrary to the tenets of Buddhism.

As regards prohibition very few villagers appear to be favourably inclined. The majority of the people in the village drink illicit liquor. This fact could be gathered by talking to several villagers. Since "drinking" is a criminal offence none dares to admit that he drinks or to point out any one's name as a drunkard for fear of revenge being taken upon him.

Child marriages are out of question to the villagers as the ages of the bridegroom and the bride vary from 15 to 24 and 15 to 19 respectively. These marriageable ages are considered by the villagers to be quite suitable and in conformity with the social conditions obtaining in other villages round about. They did not approve of marriages at older ages than these. The dowry system prevails in both the Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis. They did not like this system to continue, but found themselves helpless to abolish it.

As regards education every villager was convinced of its utility and all of them praised the value of learning how to read and write, and described how their ignorance was being exploited by others on certain occasions. However, when the question of sending the child to the school arises the poor villager faces a dilemma as he looses the services which the boy would render as explained in an earlier paragraph. At the same time he is also anxious to give him elementary education. As regards higher education, they do not think this necessary for their children who after all have to look after agriculture. Similarly they do not consider it necessary for women to obtain education since, in their opinion, neither household work nor agriculture requires it.

The status of women in both the Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis is the same. They play only a secondary role in family affairs, and their main function is cooking and bearing children. No doubt they also work in the fields particularly for transplanting and weeding pro, cesses and thereby add to the income of the family-and they occasionally go to a shop to buy vegetables or fish or such minor articles or their own saris since they are not prohibited by custom from doing so, but the bulk of marketing is done by men. All purchases of household articles, foodstuffs and clothing is done by men. Similarly the sale of agricultural produce (paddy) is also carried out by men. In marriage negotiations the leading part is taken by men, the women's role being confined to seeing the bride and giving opinion as to her health and features. In this way the household is run by men with the consultation of women, but the latter do not have the last word in any matter. This secondary role of the women is reflected in the customs of succession and inheritance in both the communities (Kunbis and Malhar Kolis), and the woman is not entitled to a share in the ancestral property according to custom. The law of succession and inheritance to women which gives them a share in the ancestral property was not, however, considered unreasonable by the educated among Kunbis, while the uneducated Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis could not express their opinion, but seemed to be apathetic.

The Tenancy legislation has been welcomed by tenants, and viewed with displeasure by landlords. This reaction would appear natural when we bear in mind that all the 26 persons who were cultivating land in this village as tenants have been given the rights of land-owner provisionally which will be finalised as soon as they pay the price of land fixed by the Government which amounts to about 70 to 80 times the assessment of the land, i.e., about Rs. 300 per acre.

The landlords of all these lands, who are forced under the Tenancy Act to sell them to the respective tenants at the abovementioned price, regard this tenancy legislation as detrimental to their own personal interests.

The Co-operative movement does not appeal to the villagers as they find that loans required by them are not made available in time, nor are such loans given for all the needs of the villagers, e.g., a loan for marriage is not sanctioned by the Co-operative Society. They explained that since they could not avoid some of the expenditure on marriage which they could not meet from their own pockets, they are forced to approach a *Sawkar* (Money-lender) to obtain a loan.

On making inquiries with households regarding their attitude towards family planning it was found that more children were wanted by two persons above the age of 50, by one between ages of 41—50, by four between 31—40, and by one between 21—30; and not wanted by two persons above age 50, by one between 41—50, by two between 31—40, by three between 21—30. Considering this problem in the context of income of those wanting or not wanting more children we get the following data:—

Income range per month	No. of those wanting more children	No. of those not wanting more children
Above Rupees 150	.. 4 (Hindus)	3 (Hindus)
101—150 ..	.. ....	....
76—100 ..	.. 1 (Hindu)	3 (1 each Hindu, Malhar koli Nav-Buddha).
51—75 ..	.. 1 (Hindu)	....
26—50 ..	.. 1 (Hindu)	1 Malhar koli
25 or less ...	.. 1 (Muslim)	1 Malhar koli

Trends towards modern names

In order to study the villagers' trends towards modernism their names have been collected in the age-groups of (*a*) 41 and above, (*b*) 11 to 40 and (*c*) 1 to 10. These names have been separately shown for Kunbis and Malhar Kolis, the two major communities in the village. These castewise and agewise lists of names have been tabulated in two separate statements showing the different categories of names (*vide* Appendices 1 and 2). A cursory glance at the Kunbi names of males aged 41 and over shows that out of 9 persons 3 have names of ancient deities and the rest have the time-old favourite names such as Daji, Ladku, Walku. Out of the 8 females five have names of deities, one has a saint's name, Janabai, and two have names of holy rivers.

A perusal of names in the age-group of 11—40 shows that out of 16 males, eight have names of deities; two have pet names Balu (Bal being pet name for a child); two have names of week day Mangal (Tuesday); one has name of a place of pilgrimage, Nashik ; one named as Sadanand meaning " always happiness " ; 2 named Udwya and Kathod which do not imply any specific meaning. Of the 16 females, two have names of deities, three have names of rivers, seven have modern names meaning something good such as Suman (good nature); Sulochana (good eyed), Pramila, Keshar (Saffron), Hirabai (diamond) etc., one has a flower's name, and the remaining three do not appear to have any particular meaning.

Coming to the age-group 1 to 10 we find that out of 20 males, thirteen have names of deities or mythological figures or saints; five have modern names such as Madhukar, Arvind, Kishor; one has pet name Babu; and there is only one name without any particular meaning, Kathod. As regards females, none has any name of deity ; two have the names of Saint Sakhubai, two have abbreviated names of rivers such as Bhagubai for river Bhagirthi and Godi for river Godavari. Among the remaining 16 names, eight are modern such as Kunda, Nirmala, Jaya etc., two are neither modern nor very ancient such as Manjula, Indu ; one has a flower's name ; two are pet names ; and three are names without any specific meaning.

From the tabulated data we find that the practice of naming persons after deities and saints has been prevalent since a long time, and that even during the last 10 years this tendency has not diminished as 13 boys out of 20 in the age-group of 1—10 bear such names. The tendency towards modern names appears more among females than among males as in the age-group of 1—10 out of 20 names eight are modern while there are only five modern male names out of 20 ; and in the age-group 11—40 this number is seven out of 16 females, and none among 16 males.

Malhar Koli Names.—Looking to the names of Malhar Kolis we find that in the case of 10 males aged over 40 years, four males have names of deities, though two of them are in slightly corrupted form (Mahadu *for* Mahadev, and Ragho *for* Raghav) ; two have names of week days; and four names have no particular significance as they mean "lean ", " black ", " stony ". So far as female names are concerned only two names have significance as they mean (1) a place of pilgrimage " Kashi " (Banaras) and (2) one having good qualities, or virtuous " Saguni "; the remaining eight have no particular meaning.

Among persons in the age-group 11—40, out of 10 males, five have names of deities; one bears name of a place of pilgrimage, Nashik ; while four bear names having no meaning such as Mithya, Nau, Paslya. Out of 10 females, three bear names of deities; two are named after rivers in abbreviated or slightly corrupted form Bhagi for Bhagirathi, and Krishni instead of Krishna ; 1 name means " good qualities " Changuna; one name of a bird, ' Maina ' and three names have no meaning.

Coming down to children in the age-group 1—10 we find that out of 23 males, eight are named after deities, four bear pet names such as Babu and Baban, one has a modern name Ashok, and 10 names have no particular significance. Among 23 female names, two pertain to rivers ; three to week days though in a corrupted and short forms such as Mangi and Budhi for Tuesday and Wednesday ; five imply some good quality such as " peace ", " sweet ", " beautiful ", etc., two are modern names Asha and Manu (short form of Manorama) ; 11 have no particular significance.

Cattle Names.—The cattle are also given names. These names follow the colour of the cattle, or the village or person from whom it was purchased, or some pet name. The following are some of the names of cattle in the village:—

(1) Datiwlya (Village).
(2) Chima (name of the person who sold the animal).
(3) Bhura (colour).
(4) Telia (sold by Teli).
(5) Gunji.
(6) Gunjichi Pardi.
(7) Kali Mhais (colour)

Fields bear certain names such as:—

(1) Belkar Pondhe.
(2) Karwad.
(3) Khairi.
(4) Saruj.
(5) Chawarsa.
(6) Kamath.
(7) Piple.
(8) Lahyarya.
(9) Majiwadi.
(10) Bandhan.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

An attempt has been made in the foregoing paragraphs to present the social and economic conditions of the village in as objective a manner as possible. The probable reasons for such conditions have also been given wherever necessary as also a few reflections. In the context of all this material the inclination to make a few observations is irresistible.

This is a typical village depicting more or less the normal conditions in the north Konkan region of Maharashtra, particularly Thana district. Except in the few coastal villages where garden crops such as bananas, coconuts, etc., are grown, villagers in Konkan tract grow one crop, namely paddy. Consequently the large majority of people are occupied for only a part of the year as seen earlier.

Of course the diligent and industrious farmers do utilise this period of about three months of inactivity for improving their fields but this work does not require the energies of all the villagers during the whole period of three months. The net income from paddy crop over 1 acre of land would be Rs. 193 as worked out below :—

(*a*) Average produce per acre ..	21 Bengal Mds.	
(*b*) Value of 21 Bengal maunds of paddy at Rs. 15·00 per Bengal maund.	Rs.	315·00
(*c*) Value of 300 bundles of straw at Rs. 8·00 per 100 bundles of straw.	,,	24·00
(*d*) Value of total gross produce ..	,,	339·00
(*e*) Expenses of paddy cultivation per acre..	,,	146·00
Net income from produce of paddy (*d* — *e*).	,,	193·00

The above figure of expenses includes the wages of all the persons required for agricultural operations at different stages. In actual practice the landlord himself and his family members also work, and so the labour charges are less, and consequently more income accrues to the cultivator. Agriculture thus affords employment to the family members of the landholder in their own fields, and the income from the land also does not appear so low as it actually happens to be if it is calculated in terms of cash and the cost of all the labour bestowed upon it. However, for the purpose of estimating the total cost of raising the crop all the costs must be taken into account.

The above statistics indicate that paddy cultivation yields a net income of Rs. 193 only per acre per year.

The social conditions in the village are determined by the life of the Kunbis and of the Malhar Kolis who form 90 per cent of the total population. As a result of intermingling these two communities are gradually coming closer to each other, but there are a few factors which distinguish them as two separate entities as described below.

The Malhar Kolis occupy a lower status than the Kunbis in the social set-up of the village. As regards dress the majority of Malhar Kolis wear *Langoti* (loin cloth) and a few of them wear short Dhoti, while most of the Kunbis wear Dhotis and only a small minority wears loin cloth. The clothes of Malhar Kolis are also dirtier than those of Kunbis. Consequently an average Malhar Koli presents a shabby appearance as compared to an average Kunbi. The illiteracy among the Malhar Kolis is appalling, only four persons out of a population of 224 being literate which means that practically the whole community is illiterate. These factors of lower standard of living and colossal ignorance among the Malhar Kolis tend to create in them a sense of inferiority complex from the social point of view, and consequently they lookup on the Kunbis as constituting a superior community. The latter also regard the former as belonging to an inferior caste. The Kunbi, therefore, does not take food at a Malhar Koli's house or in his company. Among themselves, however, the Malhar Kolis do not recognise anybody as high or low due to the particular person's descant or occupation. Even the *Dakya* who occupies a respectable position among them is not considered as "high" nor does he owe this status to his heredity. In fact the present *Dakya* is not a descendant of his predecessor. He came to this village 30 years ago, established himself, purchased a small piece of land, and acquired a status which made him influential with his caste fellows. In this way he came to be regarded as *Dakya.*

The contrast between the Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis mentioned above is also reflected in the conditions of living, habits and customs of these two communities as also in their economic conditions.

It is customary among the Malhar Kolis to establish a separate household as soon as a man gets married, and joint families are only exceptions to this general custom, but it is not so among the Kunbis.

In consequence of this custom of separate households and extreme poverty, the large majority of Malhar Kolis live in huts, while the majority of Kunbis live in semi-pucca houses. Out of 47 huts in the village 42 are occupied by Malhar Kolis and only 4 by Kunbis, while out of 37 semi-pucca houses the Malhar Kolis occupy only 4 while the Kunbis occupy 28. None of the Malhar Kolis possesses any pucca house, while 6 out of 8 pucca houses are occupied by Kunbis.

The difference in the kind of ornaments used by these two communities is obvious by the value of the ornaments, the Malhar Kolis' ornaments being mostly of silver while those of the Kunbis are mostly of gold.

Similarly the value of utensils used by Malhar Kolis is much less than that used by the Kunbis.

As regards the use of furniture and other household articles, it is seen that except mirror hardly any other article, out of the 18 articles mentioned in Table 2.1, is possessed by Malhar Kolis since the users are mostly agriculturists, i.e., those cultivating land, and not agricultural labourers ; and among the Malhar Kolis there are only 6 agriculturists out of the total number of 43, while the corresponding figure for the Kunbis is 30.

The food habits of these two communities are determined mor bye their financial conditions than by their tastes.

The marriage customs and ceremonies among these two communities do not differ much. Both get the marriage solemnised by a Brahmin ; but while the Kunbis require two days to celebrate the marriage, the marriage celebrations of Malhar Kolis are spread over four days.

The death ceremonies are performed by the Brahmin in case of Kunbis, while the Malhar Kolis call the *Dakya*, an elderly person among them, to perform this function.

Superstitious beliefs among both these communities are also similar. The Kunbis, however, observe some unmistakable formalities which are not prevalent among Malhar Kolis. For instance before taking new utensils into the house, they are kept for a while over the *Rangoli* drawn in front of the main entrance to the house. Similarly newly-purchased cattle are taken into the house only after applying *Kunku* (vermilion powder) on the forehead and performing *Arati* around their faces.

As regards religion, both the Kunbis and the Malhar Kolis follow the Hindu religion, and as a token of devotion they have kept photos of deities in their homes. While the Kunbi devotees light an *Agarbatti* in front of the deities and photographs as a form of worship, the Malhar Koli does not observe this method of worshipping. Instead he folds his hands to the rising sun early in the morning. The Malhar Kolis worship a local deity, called Waghya once a year as stated earlier.

In the economic sphere the contrast between the Kunbi and the Malhar Koli is more pronounced than in the social sphere. Out of 51 households of Malhar Kolis, 42 are agricultural labourers, while the corresponding figure for Kunbis is only 9 out of 40 households, and the number of persons engaged in agricultural labour pertaining to both the communities are 112 Malhar Kolis and 35 Kunbis out of their population figures of 224 and 225, respectively. Dependence on agricultural labour of a large majority of persons denotes lack of possession of agricultural land. It is not, therefore, surprising that the land held *per capita* among Malhar Kolis is only one guntha while it is 1 acre 15 gunthas, i.e., 55 gunthas among Kunbis. Cultivators having land number only 6 among Malhar Kolis, and their total holding is 6 acres 6¼ gunthas ; while 30 Kunbis hold 307 acres 32½ gunthas of land. The tenancy legislation of making the tenant the owner of the land which he cultivated on lease has not benefited the Malhar Kolis much since only two Malhar Kolis were tenants of leased lands. As regards other avenues of occupation the Malhar Kolis have no household industry nor any trade or service. Forest labour is the only other source of income, and this is also done as subsidiary occupation or in addition to agricultural labour. Even this labour attracts only nine persons as it is a strenuous work. All these factors tend to make the Malhar Kolis an extremely poor community, and call for their immediate social, cultural and economic uplift to bring them on par with the Kunbis who have attained much higher status above their Malhar Koli neighbours. Due to their general backwardness the Malhar Kolis are not able to get adequate representation in the village public bodies such as the Village Panchayat and the Co-operative Society. Consequently their grievances remain unattended to, and to that extent their backwardness constitutes a drawback in the democratic decentralisation of administration of the village.

APPENDIX 1

Names of Kunbis

AGED 41 AND ABOVE

Males	Females
(1) Daji Walku Patil	(1) Yamunabai Mithoo Gharat
(2) Govind Vithoo Gharat	(2) Anusaya Lahu Bhoir
(3) Bhaoo Jaoo Patil	(3) Laxmibai Laxman Gharat
(4) Wallu Rama Navjekar	(4) Bhagirthibai Mithoo Gharat
(5) Ladku Walku Patil	(5) Sitabai Govind Bhoir
(6) Mithoo Dharma Gharat	(6) Devkibai Babu Gharat
(7) Vithal Tukaram Mokashi	(7) Laxmibai Dharma Patil
(8) Laxman Aba Gharat	(8) Janabai Shiva Patil
(9) Babu Dharma Gharat	

IN THE AGE-GROUP OF 11 TO 40 YEARS

(1) Balu Govind Thakre	(1) Sumanbai Babu Gharat
(2) Mangal Raghu Patil	(2) Taramati Ramu Gharat
(3) Narayan Jaoo Gharat	(3) Sulochana Raghunath Patil
(4) Ramakant Vithal Mokashi	(4) Sundarabai Babu Patil
(5) Balu Lahu Jadhav	(5) Bhamabai Kalu Bhoir
(6) Vaman Bhau Patil	(6) Kalubai Bhau Patil
(7) Sadanand Gajanan Mokashi.	(7) Laxmibai Ladku Thakre
(8) Gajanan Shankar Bhoir	(8) Anandibai Parshuram Gharat
(9) Udwya Valku Gharat	(9) Chandrabhaga Kathod Patil
(10) Kathod Pandu Bhoir	(10) Shevanti Mangal Patil
(11) Nashik Gopal Raut	(11) Bhagirthibai Vaman Naik
(12) Ananta Walku Gharat	(12) Panglibai Dama Jadhav
(13) Shantaram Naga Bhoir	(13) Keshar Bhau Bhoir
(14) Ganpat Aba Gharat	(14) Hirabai Vasudev Gharat
(15) Mangal Aba Gharat	(15) Pramilabai Vithal Mokashi
(16) Savlaram Aba Gharat	(16) Krishnabai Vithal Mokashi

IN THE AGE-GROUP OF 1 TO 10 YEARS

Male	Female
(1) Harishchandra Shankar Patil	(1) Manjula Nashik Raut
(2) Madhukar Kathod Gharat	(2) Jayabai Ramchandra Bhoir
(3) Dashrath Gajanan Mokashi	(3) Kundabai Kalu Bhoir
(4) Sadanand Shantaram Bhoir	(4) Baby Babu Jadhav
(5) Babu Ladku Thakre	(5) Bhagubai Bhau Patil
(6) Bhalchandra Kathod Patil	(6) Baby Laxman Gharat
(7) Madhukar Laxman Gharat	(7) Shevantibai Shankar Gharat
(8) Kishor Kashinath Mokashi	(8) Godi Bapu Gaikar
(9) Mahadeo Mithu Bhoir	(9) Sakhubai Pandu Bhoir
(10) Mahadeo Govind Gharat	(10) Dayabai Kushan Jadhav
(11) Gurunath Babu Bhoir	(11) Vimal Savlaram Gharat
(12) Umakant Dharma Patil	(12) Sakhu Babu Jadhav
(13) Kathod Walu Navjekar	(13) Kamubai Pandu Bhoir
(14) Madhav Bapu Gaikar	(14) Indubai Shankar Patil
(15) Madhukar Kalu Bhoir	(15) Nirmalabai Govind Gharat
(16) Chandrakant Savlaram Gharat	(16) Nandabai Kashinath Mokashi
(17) Arvind Kalu Bhoir	(17) Manda Ramu Patil
(18) Vishnu Kathod Patil	(18) Ladkibai Kalu Bhoir
(19) Dattatraya Jagannath Bhoir	(19) Kanta Gajanan Mokashi
(20) Vishwanath Shankar Patil	(20) Lukhi Bapu Gaikar

Summary of Names of Kunbis

Serial No.	Category of names	AGE-GROUPS AND SEX					
		41 and above		11 to 40 years		1 to 10 years	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	TOTAL	9	8	16	16	20	20
1	Deities and Saints	3	6	8	2	13	2
2	Holi places	....	....	1	....	....	....
3	Pet names	....	....	2	....	1	2
4	Week days	....	....	2	....	....	....
5	Rivers	....	2	....	3	....	2
6	Flowers	....	....	....	1	....	1
7	Old names having good meaning	....	....	1	....	....	....
8	Old names with no specific meaning	6	....	2	3	1	3
9	Neither modern nor very old ..	....	....	....	....	....	2
10	Modern names	....	....	....	7	5	8

APPENDIX 2

Names of Malhar Kolis

IN THE AGE-GROUP 41 AND ABOVE

Males	Females
(1) Barkya Baglya Teliwda	(1) Ladibai Kanha Kumbhar
(2) Dhama Ladkya Sambre	(2) Bagabai Babu Sutar
(3) Budhya Rama Bhoir	(3) Kanibai Barkya Teliwda
(4) Kanha Nago Bhomte	(4) Kali Kalya Sambre
(5) Kalya Dhapa Sambre	(5) Padi Dhapa Sambre
(6) Manglya Ladku Bhomte	(6) Kashi Kalya Sanwi
(7) Dagdu Kana Gavhari	(7) Saguni Bango Edga
(8) Mahadu Vithu Bhoir	(8) Sakar Padya Patola
(9) Laxman Rama Bhoir	(9) Walki Vithu Bhoir
(10) Ragho Nago Bhomte	(10) Thami Budhya Gawari

IN THE AGE-GROUP 11 TO 40

(1) Mithya Ladku Atkari	(1) Bhagi Shirya Tope
(2) Waman Dhau Baswat	(2) Saraswati Kashinath Gawari
(3) Kashinath Chahu Gawari	(3) Maina Dhondu Edga
(4) Krishna Babu Sutar	(4) Anusaya Krishna Sutar
(5) Mahadu Bango Edga	(5) Yepibai Ladku Bhomte
(6) Lodya Mithya Mali	(6) Krishni Mangal Naik
(7) Nashik Kanha Kumbhar	(7) Girija Mithu Bhoir
(8) Shankar Babu Sutar	(8) Changuna Undrya Baswat
(9) Nau Ladku Edga	(9) Ladki Likrya Madke
(10) Paslya Dhakal Warli	(10) Baji Daji Jadhav

IN THE AGE-GROUP 1 TO 10

Males	Females
(1) Ashok Bhau Jadhav	(1) Manjulabai Laxman Sutar
(2) Rama Nana Mali	(2) Thaki Laxman Bhoir
(3) Kathod Gopal Dawla	(3) Larhi Pandu Bhoir
(4) Bhagya Govind Sambre	(4) Thakibai Mithya Mali
(5) Likir Ragho Bhomte	(5) Padi Shirya Tope
(6) Babu Govind Sambre	(6) Gangi Pandu Bhoir
(7) Padya Kondu Gawari	(7) Shanti Mithya Mali
(8) Krishna Narayan Gawari	(8) Dhami Kalya Patola
(9) Goma Bhagya Tumbda	(9) Phashi Kalya Sambre
(10) Ladkya Dhondu Edga	(10) Chhabli Kondu Gawari
(11) Dattu Kasha Sutar	(11) Asha Rama Gawari
(12) Dundya Mahadu Edga	(12) Hiri Mahadu Edga
(13) Balya Shankar Matera	(13) Nagi Nana Mali
(14) Baban Mahadev Bhoir	(14) Mangi Bhau Jadhav
(15) Likir Dhondu Edga	(15) Budhibai Laxman Sutar
(16) Baban Mithu Bhoir	(16) Ladki Mangya Baswat
(17) Kasha Bhau Jadhav	(17) Mangi Undrya Baswat
(18) Dudha Mahadu Bhoir	(18) Sundar Mithya Mali
(19) Ganpat Krishna Sutar	(19) Manu Daji Jadhav
(20) Dashrath Mithu Bhoir	(20) Kamubai Laxman Sutar
(21) Bamnya Gangya Edga	(21) Phashi Undrya Baswat
(22) Krishna Mithya Mali	(22) Soni Bhiwa Edga
(23) Shivram Ladku Atkari	(23) Bhagi Ladku Atkari

Summary of Names of Malhar Kolis

Serial No.	Category of names	AGE-GROUPS AND SEX					
		41 and above		11 to 40 years		1 to 10 years	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	TOTAL	10	10	10	10	23	23
1	Deities or Saints	4	..	5	3	8	..
2	Holi places	..	1	1	..	..	..
3	Pet names	..	..	..	..	4	..
4	Week days	2	..	..	..	..	3
5	Rivers	..	..	..	2	..	2
6	Birds	..	..	..	1	..	..
7	Old names having good meaning	..	1	..	1	..	5
8	Old names having no significance	4	8	4	3	10	11
9	Modern names	..	..	..	..	1	2

APPENDIX 3

Cultural Life of the Village

Names of cultural organisations	When established	Office bearers					Brief note on basis of membership	Brief note on objective of the organisation	Brief note on activities of the organisation
		Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Education			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
CLUBS—Nil.									
LIBRARIES—Nil.									
DRAMA PARTIES—									
Hanuman Prasadik Natya Mandali, Shirvali.	1940	Ramchandra Govind Bhoir, Chief.	Kunbi	Agriculture	22	Vernacular Final.	*Subscription*—Labourer-50 P. per year, per Plough—Rupee one.	To stage drama	Have staged Marathi dramas.
Hanuman Prasadik Bhajan Mandali.	1945	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Collect money at the time of Holi Festival (Shimga). It comes to Rs. 30 to 40.	To sing Bhajan	Bhajans are sung every Thursday and Saturday.

APPENDIX 4

Village Leaders, Members of Village Panchayat, Priests and other Office Bearers

Name of Organisation	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the office	How gained position	Remuneration	Other offices held inside or outside the Village
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) *Gao Panchayat (Gawki)* ...	1. Ramchandra Govind Bhoir	Kunbi ...	Agriculture	22	3 years ...	.....	.....	.....
	2. Bhagwan Ladku Patil ...	,,	,,	22	2 years ...	.....	.....	Police Patil
	3. Lahu Rama Bhoir ...	,,	,,	45	10 years ...	.....	.....	.....
	4. Vasudev Mithu Gharat ...	,,	,,	30	4 years ...	.....	.....	Deputy Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat Also a member of the Managing Committee of the Co-operative Society
	5. Gajanan Vithal Mokashi ...	Kunbi ..	Agriculture	32	2 years ...	.....	.....	.....
	6. Daji Kamlu Jadhav ...	Malhar Koli ...	,,	35	3 years ...	.....	.....	.....
	7. Mithya Rama Mali ...	,,	,,	40	10 years ...	.....	.....	.....
	8. Budhaji Gopal Ubale ...	Nav-Buddha ...	,,	30	10 years ...	.....	.....	Kotwal of the village. Also a member of the Village Panchayat
(2) *Village Panchayat, Majivali-Shirvali.*	1. Bhalchandra Shivram Patil, Sar Panch.	Kunbi ...	Agriculture	35	Since 1958	Nomination	.....	Member of the Legislative Assembly
	2. Vasudev Mithu Gharat, Deputy Sarpanch.	,,	,,	30	,,	,,	.....	Serial No. 4 above
	3. Vithal Tukaram Mokashi	,,	,,	55	,,	,,	.....	.....
	4. Dhondu Haso Patil ...	Malhar Koli ...	,,	55	,,	,,	.....	.....
	5. Bango Ladku Choghala ..	Kunbi ...	,,	45	,,	,,	.....	.....
	6. Babu Pandu Patil ...	,, ...	,,	50	,,	,,	.....	.....
	7. Budhaji Gopal Ubale ...	Nav-Buddha ...	,,	30	,,	,,	.....	Serial No. 8 above
	8. Chandrakant Chango Bhoir	Kunbi ...	,,	45	,,	,,	.....	.....
	9. Smt. Narmadabai P. Patil	,,	,,	30	,,	,,	.....	.....
(3) *Leaders of the village* ...	1. Waman Ragho Bhoir ..	Kunbi ...	Agriculture					
	2. Vithal Tukaram Mokashi	,,	,,					
	3. Mithu Dharma Gharat . .	,,	,,					
	4. Lahu Rama Bhoir ...	,,	,,					
	5. Ladku Walku Patil ...	,,	,,					
	6. Babu Dharma Gharat ...	,,	,,					
(4) *Members of the Co-operative Society.*	Vasudev Mithu Gharat ...	,,	,,					

APPENDIX 5

Songs which are sung on particular occassions

The following are the marriage songs :—

(१)

मालनीचे ग बोल ते मळ्यामधी ग मळ्यामधी
सातशे मेंढरे झळाळती ई ई ई

यो मोठ्याचा बोलते वामन नवरा वामन नवरा
दुरून जातो यो लग्नाला आ आ आ

नारळीचा ग बोलते खुरा करितो खुरा करितो
लाडके भारजचे ओटी नेतो ओ ओ ओ
मालनीचे ग

सुपारीरा ग बोलते खुरा करितो खुरा लाडके
भारजचे ओटी नेतो ओ ओ ओ
मालनीचे ग

बदामीचा ग बोलते खुरा करितो खुरा करितो
लाडके भारजचे ओटी नेतो ओ ओ ओ
मालनीचे ग

(२)

काले निले नाग काले निले ना आंबराई
बेबी बोलते ग बेबी बोलते माझे बापा
मला गोजाची रे मला गोजाची सारी पायजे
काले निले नाग काले निले ना आंबराई

वामन बोलतो रे वामन बोलतो माझे बापा
मला सोन्याचा रे मला सोन्याचा घडघाळ पायजे
काले निले नाग काले निले ना आंबराई

वामन बोलतो रे वामन बोलतो माझे सासऱ्या
मला गोजाची रे मला गोजाची सायकल पायजे
काले निले नाग काले निले ना आंबराई

बेबी बोलते ग बेबी बोलते माझे आई
मला गोजाचा रे मला गोजाचा झंपर पायजे
काले निले नाग काले निले ना आंबराई

बेबी बोलते ग बेबी बोलते माझे ताई
मला डोकीचे रे मला डोकीचे फुल पायजे
काले निले नाग काले निले ना आंबराई

The following song is sung while grinding grain :—

रामू माझा भरतारू लक्ष्मण माझा देरू
गेले हो शिकारीला वनिच्या वाढर घेतला
गोसायाच्या रूपू आला शीतेच्या दाराशी
आणं मुठीचा धरमु गे गाई
माझी सासू गेली शेजारी बसायला
धावला मुठीचा धरमु लागला झोलीला हातू
रामू ग माझा भरतारू
लक्ष्मण माझा दिरू
आला शीकारी शा
हांका मारीते रामू माझे र लेकरा
सीता जोगीयाची राणी सात महिण्याची गरवार
सजविता रथू बसवती सीता रथामंदी
कारती बनीच्या वाटता राळ्यावर नेली

The following song is sung at the time of christening :—

निज निंज बाला निज बाला पालन्यात
बालाला घाला
कामाला मला येळ झाला
बालाच्या पालन्यास रेशमाची दोरी
झेप जाई आसा पुरी चौफेर घुगुर
मोतियाचा घास

The following songs are sung during Ganapati-Gauri festival :—

(१)

डबरा खाली का निळा ढोयरा
चल रे भटा आंघोळ करायला
टाकीला फासा गुतविला माझा
लय गये लागतो चिच्या मासा
उमराखाली का निळा ढोयरा
चल रे भटा आंघोळ करायला
टाकीला फासा गुतविला माझा
लय गडे लागतो खरज्या मासा

(२)

भरला जेवनाचा थाला सुंदर गेली शेताला
मोडील्या तीनी निरलंगाच्या वडी
घर नांगर हातात तारू भरतारा
मीच जाते माहेराला

माहेराच्या काय ग तुला चाला
आंतरले माझे मी आईला
भरला जेवनाचा थाला
सुंदर गेली शेताला

मोडील्या तीनी निरालंगाच्या वडी
घर नांगर हातात तारु भरतारा
मीच जाते माहेराला

माहेराचा काय ग तुला चाला
आंतरले माझे बापाला
भरला जेवनाचा थाला
सुंदर गेली शेताला

(३)

ढोकलीवाल्या ढोकली बजाव
अंगनी मला नाचूं दे रे
गुलछडीचे बागेंत मला जाऊं दे रे
गुलछडीच्या कल्या मला तोडूं दे रे
ते कल्यांचे गजरे मला गुंफू दे रे
ते गजरे डोईला मला घालू दे रे
ते गजऱ्याचे नादांत मला नाचू दे रे
ढोकलीवाल्या

सोनचाप्याचे बागेत मला जाऊ दे रे
सोनचाप्याच्या कल्या मला तोडू दे रे
ते कल्यांचे गजरे मला गुंफू दे रे
तेच गजरे मला डोईला घालू दे रे
ते गजऱ्याचे नादांत मला नाचू दे रे
ढोकलीवाल्या

अबोलीच्या बागेत मला जाऊं दे रे
अबोलीच्या कल्या मला तोडू दे रे
ते कल्यांचे गजरे मला गुंफू दे रे
ते गजऱ्याचे नादांत मला नाचू दे रे
ढोकलीवाल्या

The following song is sung during *Holi* festival :—

नाच रे रामा
नाच रे रामा होळीचा सण आला नाच रे रामा नाच

दसऱ्याला सोने लुटले रे
दिवाळीला बक्षीस घेतले रे
आतां आली होळी, पुरणाची पोळी, खाऊन गड्या तूं नाच

दसऱ्यामागून दिवाळी रे
दिवाळी मागून होळी रे
वेळ नको लावू, सुरू कर पाहू, वर्षाचा सण हा नाच

रामा गडी पहा कसा सजला रे
घुंगराचा नाद सुरु झाला रे
आहे त्याला रजा, करतोय मजा, ठेक्यांत करतो नाच

रामा नाचायला गेला रे
भांड्याचा ढीग घरी पडलाय रे
बाय बोंबा मारी, शेट बोंबा मारी, होळी आहे तूं नाच

होळीचा सण आहे रे
आनंदाला नाही तोटा रे
किसनचे गाणे, गाणे प्रमाणे, मिळतील पैसे नाच