

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME VIII

MADHYA PRADESH

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

No. 4

DIKHATPURA

TAHSIL & DISTRICT MORENA

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1964

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI-8

Price : Rs. 6·80 p. or 15 s. 11 d. or $ 2·45 c.

CONTENTS

Pages

List of Plates .. .. *i—ii*

Foreward .. .. *iii—iv*

Village Surveys in Madhya Pradesh .. .. *v—vi*

Preface .. .. *vii*

Chapter I—Introduction .. .. 3—8

Location—Physical Aspects—History of Settlement—The Population—The Seasons—Rainfall—Communications—Administration and Welfare Institutions.

Chapter II—The People and their material Equipment .. .. 11—43

The Various Castes—The Residential Pattern—Construction of Houses—Dress and Ornaments—House-hold goods—Other material equipment—Food-Drinks—Births—The Names—Marriage—Death.

Chapter III—The Village Economy .. .. 44—60

Land—Livestock—Industrialisation—Rurbanisation—Communications—Its Improvements—Marketting— Finances—Economic Activity—Ownership of Economic Resources—Primary and Secondary occupations—Agriculture—The Pattern of Crops—Outturn—The Production—The Agricultural Cycle—Soils—Animal Husbandry—Trade in Animals—Village Industries—Indebtedness—Indigenous Bankers—The Service Cooperative Society—Sources of Income.

Chapter IV—Social and Cultural Life .. .. 61—74

The Male-Female sex Ratio—Marital Status—Literacy—Immigration—Social Reforms—The Family Structure—Relationships Within Family—Inheritance—Leisure and Recreation—Festivals—The Panchayats—Family Planning.

Chapter V—Conclusion .. .. 75—80

The Background—The Martial Tradition—Honour of Women—Casteism—The Impact—Pressure on Land—Rurbanisation—Block and Local bodies—The Leap forward—Pattern of Expenditure Women in Society—The Utopia.

Appendices—

Appendix—A—A note on the 'changeover' of occupation by the Chamars in Morena and nearby region 1—16

Appendix—B—Jawanpur 17

Glossary

A LIST OF PLATES

Plates	Description	Page No.
I.	Map of Morena District	1
II.	Map of Dikhatpura	5
III.	Different castes in Dikhatpura: A diagramatical representation	7
IV.	Rainfall Statistics	7
V.	Residential Pattern of Dikhatpura	10
VI.	The walls and roof of a typical low income group house	*Facing page* 12
VII.	The house of a *Kumhar* ..	*Facing page* 12
VIII.	*Chamar* houses and two inmates	*Before page* 13
IX.	Repairing a house	*Before page* 13
X.	Ornaments:—Buttons, *Lachha* and *Toda*	16
XI.	Ornaments:—Clip	16
XII.	Ornaments:—*Kardhoni*	17
XIII.	Ornaments:—*Khora*	17
XIV.	Ornaments:—*Har*	18
XV.	Ornaments:—*Gajri* and *Bangli*	18
XVI.	Ornaments:—*Chura, Bara, Baju*	19
XVII.	Ornaments:—*Resham Patti*	19
XVIII.	Ornaments:—*Lachhe*	20
XIX.	Ornaments:—*Mohan Mala*	20
XX.	Ornaments:—*Dasti* and *Bunde*	21
XXI.	Ornaments:—*Matar Mala*	21
XXII.	Ornaments:—*Tidda* and Armlet	22
XXIII.	Ornaments:—*Kakna* and *Chudie*	23
XXIV.	Ornaments:—*Boar*	24
XXV.	Ornaments:—*Har*	24
XXVI.	Ornaments:—*Khangwari*	25
XXVII.	Ornaments:—Locket	25
XXVIII.	Ornaments:—*Khangwari* with Clips	25
XXIX.	Ornaments:—*Chick* and *Anguthi*	25
XXX.	Ornaments:—*Aran* and *Bara*	26
XXXI.	Ornaments:—*Phunka, Bichhiya, Boar Patti* and *Bari Phunki*	26
XXXII.	Ornaments:—*Laniya, Kadiya, Zagil, Bichhiya*	27
XXXIII.	Ornaments:—*Bari* and *Long*	28
XXXIV.	Ornaments:—*Benda, Bunde* and Tops	29
XXXV.	Tattooing Designs	30
XXXVI.	Tattooing Designs	30
XXXVII.	Tattooing Designs	30
XXXVIII.	Household Goods	31
IXL.	Household Goods	32
XL.	Household Goods	32
XLI.	Household Goods	33

		Page No.
XLII.	Household Goods	33
XLIII.	Household Goods	34
XLIV.	Household Goods	35
XLV.	Off for a day's work	*Facing page* 44
XLVI.	The main occupation of the village is agriculture (*Bukhuring*)	*Facing page* 44
XLVII.	*Deshi Hal*	50—51
XLVIII.	*Gofan* in use, for protecting crops	*Facing page* 52
XLIX.	*Jowar* being cut	*Facing page* 52
L.	Muzzled Bullocks Stamping over *Jowar*	*Before page* 53
LI.	Winnowing the corn	*Before page* 53
LII.	The Potter, Clay and wheel	*Facing page* 54
LIII.	The finished product:—Bullock Cart wheels	*Facing page* 54
LIV. LV.	Women doing household chores	*Facing page* 62
LVI.	Graph showing females per one thousand males	64
LVII.	Age pyramid-sexwise	64
LVIII.	A group of gossiping Chamar women	*Facing page* 68
LIX.	Filling water and gos-iping at the well	*Facing page* 68
LX.	Volley ball is played with great gusto	*Facing page* 69
LXI.	The Village School	*Facing page* 69
LXII.	Musical Instruments	70
LXIII.	The National Highway 3 snaking through ravines	*Facing page* 75
LXIV.	The Ravines	*Facing page* 75

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, 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 bypaths' 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 centralisation on the one hand and decentralisation 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 adjustment 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, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation 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. In the latter half of 1961 again was organised within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting Surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering helpful criticism and advice which were much welcomed by my colleagues. 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.

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.

The Schedules adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendices I and II to the monograph on village Bendri (No. 2) Vol. VIII, Part VI.

NEW DELHI:
The 24th May 1962.

A. MITRA,
Registrar-General, India.

VILLAGE SURVEYS IN MADHYA PRADESH

1. In Madhya Pradesh, forty-nine villages were initially selected for survey on the basis of four main considerations. The first was that the caste structure of the State should , to the extent possible, be reflected in the villages taken as a whole; it was therefore required that the caste indicated for particular district should be dominant in the villages. The principal castes of the district were determined on the basis of the 1931 Census returns as castewise or tribewise figures were not available *in full* for later censuses. The second, which was also sociological, was that the village should be, as far as possible, at a certain specified distance from the nearest urban area. It was felt that a study of villages at different distances from urban centres would help us understand the strength of the forces of urbanisation. The 43 districts of the State were arranged in the order of Census location code numbers and a set of three distances (15, 25 and 35 miles) was repeated, only one figure appearing against each village. The hope was that this procedure would impart a somewhat random character to the sample in respect of urbanisation. Next came two administrative considerations: first the village was to have a population within the range: 250-400, yielding thereby some 50-80 households. It would have been impossible to cover a larger number of households in the desirable degree of detail. Second, the village should not have been already surveyed by a different agency. Though normally, it was to be one village per district, an extra village was selected in districts with a population of more than a million each so that the total number rose to 49.

2. It was never expected that it would be possible to stick to the exact distance (from the nearest urban centre) given for each village and the selection of a village of the given population size which also contained a large proportion of the members of a particular caste or tribe proved to be more difficult than expected. This to some extent has distorted the pattern of purposes that governed the selection. It was also difficult to re-do the selection because it was not certain that a second attempt would succeed. In the last thirty years, the composition of the population seems to have changed quite a lot in some areas. And, we had no figures whatever to go upon so far as the 1960-61 distribution of the population among castes/tribes in villages was concerned. In any case, the main purpose of these surveys was to obtain a detailed picture of present-day rural life and the statewise scatter of localities required for the purpose was ensured by making the district the primary group. Of the villages selected, 9 had each a dominant (scheduled) caste; 16 had each a dominant (scheduled) tribe; and the remaining were multi-caste and/or multi-tribal villages.

3. It was soon discovered that it would be impossible to make a reasonably good job of the survey in respect of all the 49 villages. We started with a very simple questionnaire which was expanded in due course to some 70 or 80 pages. An attempt was made to make them factual but whether the investigator's or somebody else's view of the hierarchical level of a particular caste (or tribe) is objective enough to be considered substantially valid fact is a difficult question to settle but inquiries of this kind were included. This basic survey was left to an official selected by the district authorities; in quite a few villages the results were not unsatisfactory. But the official of the Census Organisation who had to write the report found it necessary to go to the village once or twice again not only to go through most of the schedules right on the spot but also to collect some more information on particular aspects and prepare the pictorial part of the survey (photographs and drawings). It was at this stage generally that I came into the picture. I have also myself seen a few of the villages. My scrutiny of the first draft resulted in a number of suggestions which were incorporated, the draft finalised and sent up to the Registrar General. The trouble with a survey of this kind is that there can be no end to it; it is no doubt microcosmic but, still, *'cosmic'*. We tried our best to modify the report again in the light of the criticism made by the Registrar General. What happened as a result of the approach was that the number of villages we could deal with was determined by the number of officials we had in the Census Organisation who could write at least presentable first drafts. The initial ambitious design was therefore abandoned and the hope at present (September, 1963) is that we should be able to produce in Madhya Pradesh some 20-25 reports. The only apology I can offer for publishing them is that very hard work has gone into them even though a strictly sociological approach might have yielded different results. In every survey, an attempt has been made to delineate the 'personality' of the village even if in the process the mere recording of information on various generally important aspects may have suffered. It is like striking out the heading, 'relationship', in a census enumeration schedule and entering 'squint-eyed' in that space! It seems to me

that the Census Organisation should continue in coming censuses to supplement theirmacro-cosmic operations with studies of this kind which together will probably give a better picture of the varied life of our people than mere statistical reports. For the results to be more satisfying than they have been in this Census, it will be necessary to make a careful study of the present schedules and draw up a new one.

4. I have to acknowledge the debt of deep gratitude that we in State Census Organisations owe to the Registrar General, India, Shri Asok Mitra, who initiated and directed these studies. In this State, the main burden of dealing with matters relating to these surveys fell on Shri K. C. Dubey, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, and Shri N. B. Basu, Chief Investigator (now District Organizer, Tribal Welfare, Durg) to both of whom I am extremely grateful. Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, who helped us with advice and criticism, deserves our particular thanks.

5. I shall conclude this note with a brief reference to the survey report published in this volume; it deals with Dikhatpura in Morena District in the dacoit-infested far north of the extensive territory of this State. The district itself lies in a south-west, north-east direction with Morena Tahsil, in which our village is included, in the north. The area is part of the territory drained by the Chambal (which is the boundary of the district towards the west and the north) and two of its tributaries, the Kunwari and the Asan, and is mostly plain but for the vertiginous, ravine-twisted strip on either side of the once tempestuous Chambal—whose destructive waters are now safely quartered in the Chambal reservoir very much further upstream. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people, wheat being the main crop and the density of population (378 persons per sq. mile) is quite high compared with the State average of 192 per sq. mile. But why, in this region—entirely unlike the hilly and merciless terrain of the North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan)—, quick tempers should often assume the fury of vengeful and murderous flames has been a century-old problem—even the currently proposed attempt (among the many there have been) to solve which (by reclaiming the ravines) will only make the murderer's escape (almost) impossible, not his emergence. Our survey offers no solution to the problem for the simple reason that it has not enabled us to understand it; there is some deep-seated, mysterious motivation to grapple with which not even the most sophisticated of modern psychological techniques are anywhere near adequate, not to speak of the skin-deep empiricism that is the only possible approach in surveys of this kind. Caste has not disappeared from the village and we cannot confidently say that its total disappearance is now a mere matter of years; it looks as though it will take some decades. But one very great change—a detailed account of which is one of the highlights of this report - has taken place: the *Chamar*, who calls himself *Jatav* these days in this part of the country, has reasserted his God-given dignity against considerable, and sometimes violent, opposition from the more bigoted of his age-old exploiters; what is even more to his credit, he has in many areas given up his traditional occupation—the flaying of dead animals and the making or mending of leather footwear—which in fact has been his demeaning symbol all these tragic ages. No one would be so foolish as to deny that the *ancien regime* is changing but those who do not want it to change are by no means yet beaten; they are still fighting a rear-guard action sometimes, unfortunately, with success. The general standard of living is low as it usually is in the countryside and will require much greater effort on the part of development agencies than has been noticed so far. The hold of ritual—and the expense thereon—continues unchanged; rather, the accoutrements of a pseudo-industrial civilization have tended to make of the ritual an even finer criterion of 'status'. Not infrequently, a society in prolonged transition does fall back upon its past in fits of paranoid obsession till the prototype of the new life becomes not merely possible (even that is a long way off yet; industry will take some more decades to shatter our agricultural barricades) but also—not less important—desirable. It will also be seen that long-standing symbols of a by-gone age—*zamindari*, *begar*, untouchability, etc.—have not been difficult to get rid of at least so far as the law of the land—its publicly proclaimed will—is concerned though actuality has yet to live up to professed idealism. The survey thus is solidly anchored to fact and ends on a somewhat discordant note entirely in harmony with the discordant character of the social entity it is dealing with. The mind is still a victim of the past; the appeal of the future or the attractions of the present are not yet strong enough for it to hopefully liberate itself. But, to the onlooker "who sees most of the game", the trend seems to be as clear as it is inevitable.

G. JAGATHPATHI,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Madhya Pradesh.

BHOPAL:
September 6, 1963.

PREFACE

Village Dikhatpura in Morena District was selected for the present survey, primarily for the following reasons. It is multi-caste village and, whereas the Chamars dominate numerically, the Gujars are economically more powerful and more influential. Thus, it provides useful material for study of inter-caste relations. Further the Chamars, more accurately, the changing Chamars are a useful study in social evolution under the influence of momentous changes in the country. It is included since 1957 in a N.E.S. Block and having, as it does, some awareness of the likely benefits of such inclusion, it formed a good background for assessing the results. The village, being near Morena, offers good scope for assessing urban influence, particularly on the economic side. In a region notorious for its dacoits, the village happens to be unfortunately 'representative' in this respect also to some extent; for, the dacoits have not been unmindful of its existence.

2. The work was taken up in hand on the basis of the Household Schedules filled up by Shri R. S. Shrivastava, Co-operative Inspector of N.E.S. Block, Morena. My preoccupation with Census Tabulation in Gwalior prevented me from dealing with this report before January, 1962. In the few visits paid to the village, staying and moving around in the evening was interesting though a little tense because of the rumours of dacoit movements nereby. Initially shy and reserved, the villagers gave a wonderful response as the investigation progressed. The women generally did not co-operate. It was not possible to talk to them and so the services of the Lady Health Visitor and Gramsevika were utilised. Even with their help it was no easy matter. The investigation was entrusted initially to Shri A. S. Bhatnagar who resigned before the completion of the report. His work was therefore given to Sarva-Shri N. K. Dua, Investigator and S. K. Verma, Compiler-checker. The line drawings are by Shri M. G. Kunte and photographs were taken by Shri O. P. Shrivastava of the N.E.S. Block and myself. Sarvashri R. S. Shrivastava and R. J. Sharma, Village Level Workers, assisted me during the investigation. The cover design is by Shri B. L. Parganiha and the manuscript has been carefully typed by Sarvashri O. P. Tiwari and T. S. Shendurnikar. Shri M. L. Sharma, Statistical Assistant took great pains in reading the proofs and laying out the illustrations. To all of them I am extremely grateful.

3. The study would probably not have been complete had it not been for the Collector, Shri Raj Kumar's kind assistance. To Shri G. Jagathpathi, Superintendent of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh, I owe a very special debt of gratitude. His advice, comments and suggestions were invaluable and went a long way in helping me to write the report. I am further deeply beholden to Dr. B.K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty in the Office of the Registrar General, India, for going through the report and offering valuable advice and comments.

BHOPAL:
Dated the 13th January, 1963.

KANT SWARUP BHATNAGAR,
Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations,
Madhya Pradesh.

Map of Morena District

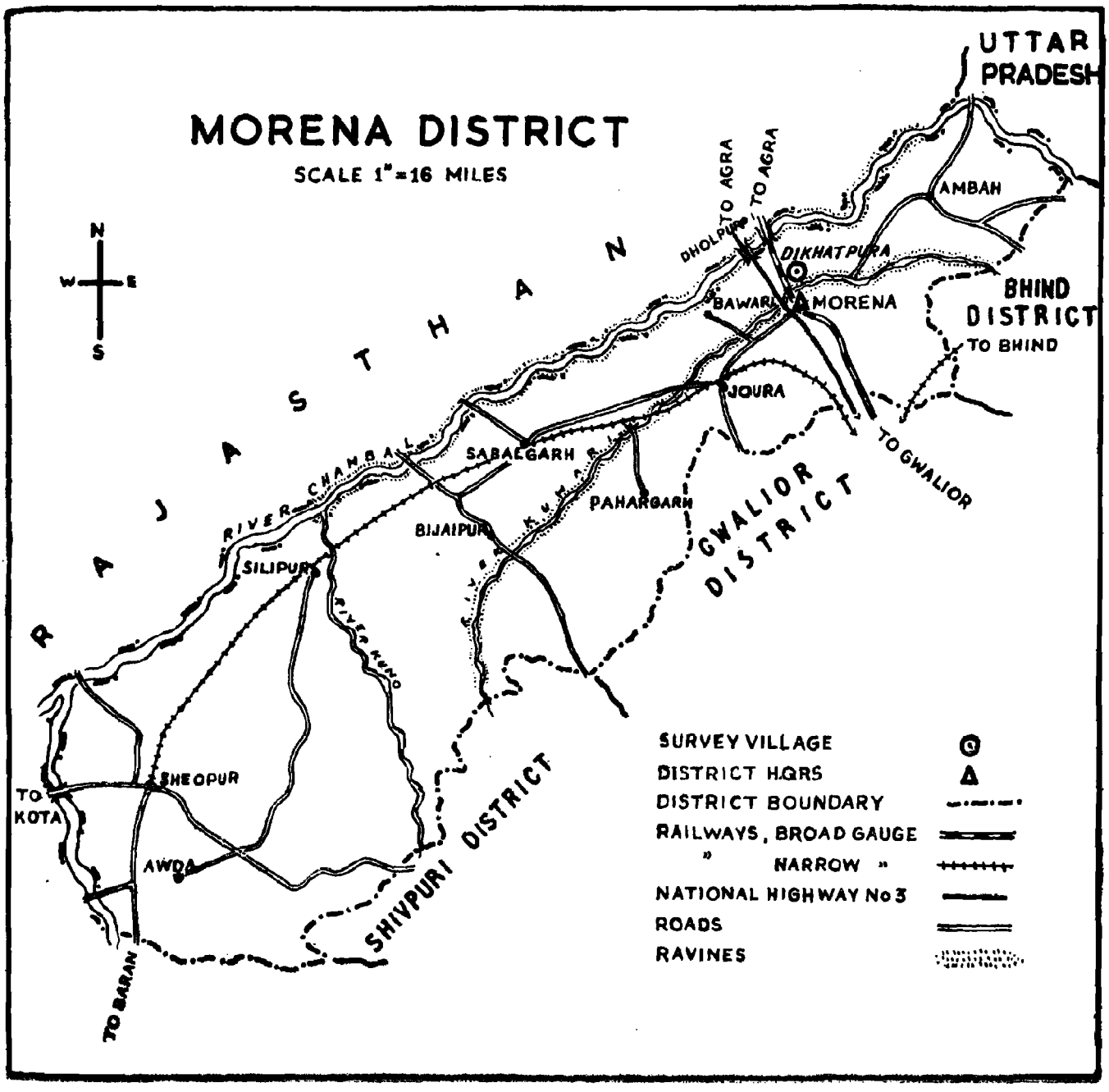


PLATE I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Location

Situated on 26°-34′ latitude and 78°-02′ longitude, at an altitude of 590 feet above mean sea level, the village Dikhatpura lies about six miles north east of Morena, its tahsil and district headquarters. (Please see plates I and II). Two perennial rivers, the Chambal and the Kunwari, flow nearby; the former is about six miles to the north and the latter two miles south. The nearest rail head is Hetampur a passenger stop on the Jhansi-Agra section of the Central Railway main line. The village is about three and ahalf miles to the south of it, and one has to walk along the rail track towards Morena before reaching it. It can also be reached by a cart track, jeepable in fair weather, which branches off towards east from mile Gwalior 29, of the Agra-Bombay National Highway. By this cart track it is about two miles and persons coming from Morena make use of it.

Physical Aspects

The village lies on a level stretch of land and no tall trees or knolls adorn the background. Towards the rivers the land begins to taper off and centuries of erosion has now left behind huge ravines:—the oft heard and much dreaded Chambal ravines. There is no forest near about; hence the fauna is mostly herbivorous. Jackals, foxes, wild bears, gazelles including cheetal can still be found, although indiscriminate shooting in the past few years has practically decimated cheetals and wild bears. Among the birds, doves, partridges, pigeons, sparrows, sandgroves and seasonal ducks are seen. The river Chambal is the home of many good varieties of fish *viz.* the *mahseer*, the *rohu* and *sawal*. Crocodiles and alligators also abound in it. One also comes across all types of snakes and scorpions.

History of Settlement

There is no authentic record available, on the basis of which the date of establishment of the village could be fixed. It was a part of the old Nurabad Tahsil of Tonwarghar District in the erstwhile Gwalior State. Jora-Alapur, now a tahsil headquarters, was Tonwarghar's district town. Both these names Tonwarghar and Nurabad have some historical significance. The District Tonwarghar was named after the Tomar Rajputs who were the rulers of Gwalior up to 1517. After the battle of Panipat in 1526, where their last ruler was killed, their decline was rapid. By the close of the nineteenth century, only small Zamindaris were all they were left with. The Tomars are still to be found in great numbers in Ambah and Morena tahsils of the district.

Nurabad is a small village on the National Highway 3 on mile 12 from Gwalior to Morena. It is named after the Moghul Empress Nurjehan, during whose regime it is stated to have become prosperous. The bridge across the river Asan on the highway is reminiscent of Moghul architecture. Nurabad up to 1904 was a tahsil of Sikarwari District of Gwalior State after the Sikarwar Rajputs. In that year Sikarwari District was merged with the Tonwarghar District and Nurabad remained its tahsil up to 1923. The tahsil headquarters were then transferred to Morena because it was better situated and had grown into an important town.

A clue to the founding of the village is perhaps provided by the name itself. Local tradition has it that it was founded by the 'Dikhit' Brahmins. Originally it was a hamlet known as Dikhit-ka-pura. With the passage of time the hamlet blossomed into a village and the name steadied itself to Dikhatpura. The village is about 150 years old according to some of the older inhabitants. X(40), a Brahmin, descended from the original settlers of the village, gives the following in support of this view of the age of the village. His father Y died four years ago at the age of 76; thus had he been living, he would be eighty to-day. Y's father Z (grand father of X) died at the age of eighty that was 50 years ago. Z had stated during his life time that the village was about 30 years old when he was born because Z's father had bought the land and was one of the earliest settlers. Thus we have 80 (years life time of Y) *plus* 30 years before Y but during Z's life time and finally another 30 years during Z's father's life time. This comes to about 140 years. In view of this it would be fairly reasonable to hold that the village came into existence about 150 years from now. The Chamars and Gujars also corroborated this estimate.

In the erstwhile Gwalior State, this village was a '*Zamindari*' village, that is to say, the *Zamindars* were the sole proprietors and they let out lands to cultivators on varying terms. They *i. e. Zamindars* had to pay land revenue to the State for the lands under them. To be a *Zamindar* was a big thing in the old days when status and caste mattered. Thus people set their hearts on acquiring more '*Zamindaris*' and 'Dikhits' were to prove no exception to it. This is how the Dikhits came to establish the village.

Before the Dikhits came, lands of the village were a part of the *Zamindari* of the Dube Brahmins of the nearby village, Piparsa. On the one hand the Dube's were unable to look after the cultivation and on the other ambition to acquire a bigger *Zamindari* goaded the Dikhits on to purchase more lands. Legend now has it that the land was sold by Dube's for a gold bangle (*kada*), the fact that emerges is the proprietorship passed on to the Dikhits. The Gujars had some leases from the Dube Brahmins, in fact they have those lands even now. The Gujars acquired proprietory rights much later. Initially three Dikhit Brahmin families acquired the lands in the village. Later one of these died out. Since there was none to succeed to the lands, these were auctioned by the Revenue Courts. Only one-third of the *Zamindari* held by the deceased *Zamindar* was thus auctioned and Gujars purchased the same. On the night prior to the day of auction, a dacoity was committed in the house of one of the Brahmin family in the village. It is said that this was done with a view to prevent this family from bidding. The Brahmins are rather sore even up to this day at being deprived of the opportunity of acquiring the estate and keeping it themselves. They contend that this dacoity was committed only to prevent them from bidding. They have their suspicions on some of the interested parties. The Gujars established themselves as *Zamindars* in one-third proprietory rights of the village.

How the Other Castes Came

The Dikhits had come from Banmor 9 miles north of Gwalior. There is an Associated Cement factory at Banmor today. They held proprietory rights in as many as seven villages in Gwalior State and one in Dholpur formerly another princely State, now a part of Rajasthan across the Chambal.

The Gujars came from Piparsa village. They had quarrelled with the Dube Brahmins there and decided to migrate because of it. The Chamars came from Methana village. The Dikhit Zamindars gave them land for cultivation and in return they performed social services. The Chamars were rather unhappy with the Thakurs at Methana for the latter issued an edict requiring the Chamars to send their younger women to dance the *Dagar* with Thakur boys. *Dagar* is described as community dance: boys and girls dancing to the accompaniment of music on drums. The Chamars refused to oblige, where upon their homesteads were razed to the ground. They were thus in a vengeful and frustrated mood and readily accepted the Dikhit offer to settle in the new village. Then came the Kumhars, the Kadhera and the Badai and thus grew the village.

The Population

In 1901 the population of the village was 134 persons and now in 1961 it is 464. It has shown a steady growth. The table below gives the rate of increase at various stages, preponderance of males over the females is a rather noteworthy feature. This is characteristic of the region.

Population of Dikhatpura

Year	Persons	Males	Females	Decade variation Actual	Decade variation %
1941	325	185	140		..
1951	379	212	167	54	16.62
1961	464	261	203	85	22.43

The growth of population in the last decade is 85 or 22.43% which is about the same for the region. This corresponds to 23.64% for the District , 22.12% for Gwalior Division and 24.17% for State of Madhya Pradesh.

The male to female ratio works out to 756, 797 and 778 per thousand males for 1941, 51 and 61 respectively. This compares with 839 for the rural Morena, 866 for Gwalior Division and 953 for the State. The disparity is discussed in a subsequent Chapter.

In the village there are six castes. They are:—

	Caste	Families	Persons	Males	Females
1	Brahmins	3	36	21	15
2	Gujars	15	117	69	48
3	Chamars	44	267	145	122
4	Kumhars	5	36	21	15
5	Kadheras	1	4	2	2
6	Badai	1	4	3	1
	Total ..	69	464	261	203

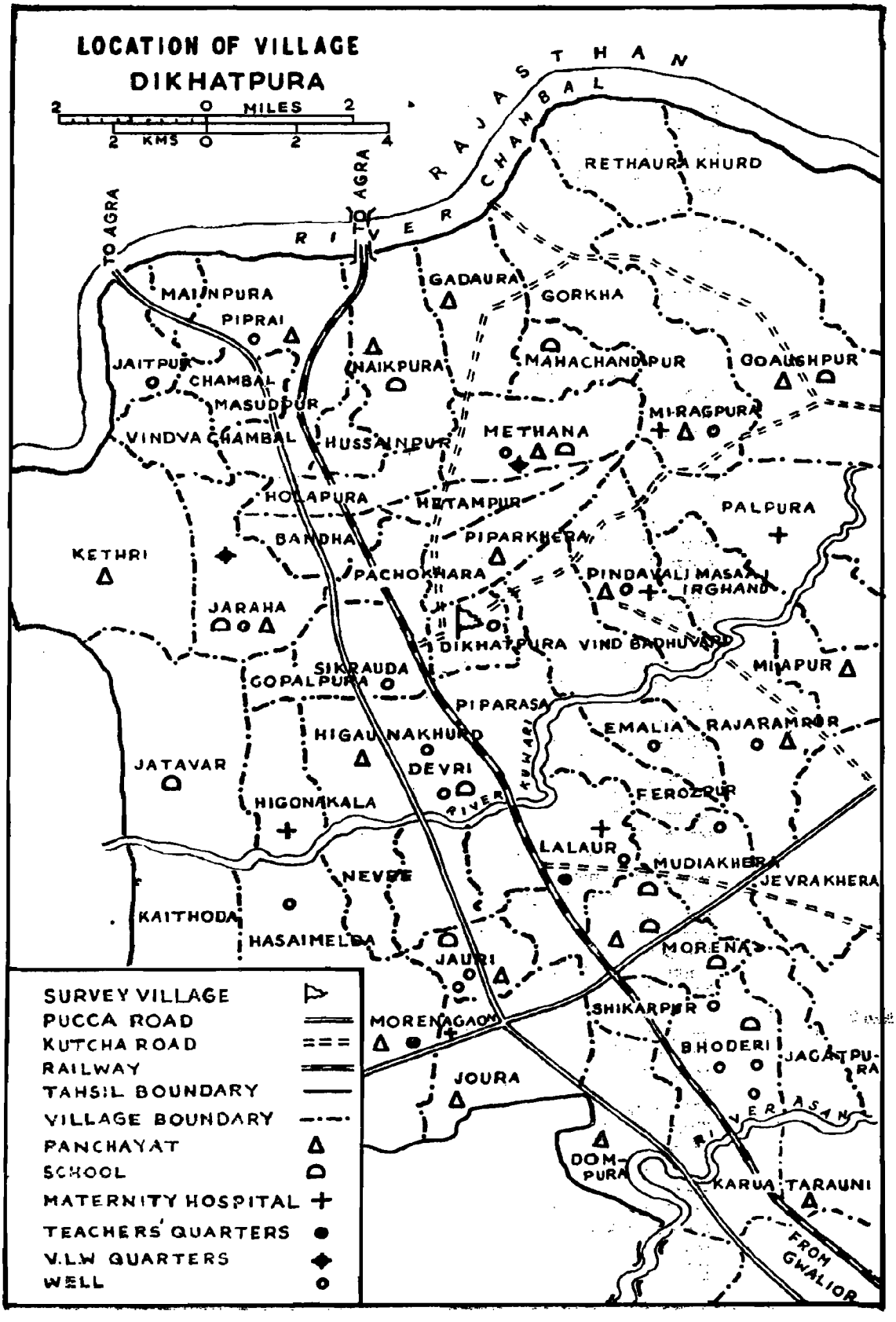

LOCATION OF VILLAGE
DIKHATPURA
2 0 MILES 2
2 KMS 0 2 4
RAJASTHAN
CHAMBAL
RIVER
AGRA
TO AGRA
RETHAURA KHURD
GADAURA
GORKHA
MAINPURA
PIPRAI
JAITPUR
CHAMBAL
NAIKPURA
MAHACHANDPUR
GOALISHPUR
MASUDPUR
MIRAGPURA
VINDVA CHAMBAL
HUSSAINPUR
METHANA
HOLAPURA
HETAMPUR
PALPURA
BANDHA
PIPARKHERA
KETHRI
PACHOKHARA
PINDAVALI MASAI
IRGHAND
JARAHA
DIKHATPURA
VIND BADHUVARD
SIKRAUDA
GOPALPURA
MIAPUR
PIPARASA
EMALIA
RAJARAMPUR
HIGAUNAKHURD
JATAVAR
DEVRI
KUNARI RIVER
FEROZPUR
HIGONAKALA
LALAUR
MUDIAKHERA
NEVRE
JEVRAKHERA
KAITHODA
HASAIMELDA
JAURI
MORENA
SURVEY VILLAGE
PUCCA ROAD
KUTCHA ROAD
RAILWAY
TAHSIL BOUNDARY
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
PANCHAYAT
SCHOOL
MATERNITY HOSPITAL
TEACHERS' QUARTERS
V.L.W QUARTERS
WELL
MORENAGAON
SHIKARPUR
BHODERI
JAGATPURA
JOURA
RIVER ASAN
DOMPURA
KARUA
TARAUNI
FROM GWALIOR

PLATE II

Thus, Brahmin, Gujar, Chamar, Kumhar, Kadhera and Badai family consists of 12,7·8, 6·7, 7·2, 4 and 4 persons respectively giving the village an average of 6·7 persons per family. (Please see plate III.)

At the time of enumeration 71 families were returned: but during the survey (June-November, 1961) the actual number was found to be 69. A further enquiry and comparision of data, revealed that 5 persons, who earlier formed separate families are now living with their other relations. Thus they have ceased to be separate families. The details regarding these families are:—

(1) *Bijai Bai* 62, is a Brahmin widow. She holds lands in her name. She was living along with her nephew (deceased's elder brother's son) staying in a small room in which she did her own cooking. She is childless and has no other relations. Some time ago she decided to join and eat with her nephew's family, who also looks after her lands. She finds cooking and other household chores rather difficult: hence living with the nephew is preferred.

(2) *Dwarka Prasad* 25, a Brahmin married youth started living separately from his father because his wife had quarralled with her mother-in-law. After a few months the father and son reconciled their differences and the latter returned to the father's fold. Now they live together.

(3) *Jaggi* 32, a Gujar was living with his family. Ratanlal (60) his old uncle (father's elder brother) had no children and was living alone. The uncle called him to stay and take care of him. The nephew obliged and so the two live together now.

(4) *Fojia* 25, a Chamar used to stay with his elder brother. Their wives quarelled with each other and so the brothers decided to live apart. Later on there was some reapproachment and the two resumed life together. Their holdings have already been partitioned. Their relations remain taut and are often snapped off over frivolous quarrels amongst women. It has also been observed that when they quarrel they eat separately. So Fojia's family is tagged on to his brother's by very weak ties.

(5) *Durjan* 19, a married Chamar broke off with his father, because he could not get along with the father, later on there was some reconciliation and they started living together. Durjan works with the Railway. His father complains that he is too spend-thrift and squanders his earnings. This is their bone of contention. The father and son quarrelled but rejoined later. Behind all these five cases, the inherent desire to live jointly is almost unmistakable. As against this, the upthurst of individualism is also undisguised. The villagers feel that the best mode of life would be of the joint pattern, yet the realisation that this notion is fast dying out is also dawning upon them. In these cases the stability of joint family is rather doubtful. The other two cases are of necessity, hence the pattern would probably endure. In no case was reconciliation ever made by a caste *Panchayat*. The parties settled their differences amongst themselves.

The climate is typically that of Northern India. Summers are extremely hot. Monsoons are humid warm, with meagre rains and followed by a severe biting cold. Some of the older inhabitants now complain that all the seasons are not what they used to be about 20 years ago. They maintain that summers and winters are getting milder and the rains more abundant. In the last few years the rains have generally exceeded the average of 26" for the tahsil. A graph giving the details of the rainfall is enclosed, although it is difficult to argue against the statistics, yet the feeling of change in the climate is shared by almost everybody in the village. The rainfall figures however show an increase in the past ten years.

Rainfall

As against an average of 23" rainfall this it has lately after 1950-51 shown signs of going up. A graph indicating how the rains have behaved in the last ten years indicates that the average is being exceeded. The feeling voiced by the elders of the village appears fairly accurate because the rains have increased in the last few years. Only in 1950-51 did the rainfall figures go below the average. In 1951-52 the rainfall touched a new height with 50" being recorded. During the decade that followed never did it go below the average. Thus the complaint of some of the elders that the rainfall have increased is partially borne out. (Please see plate IV)

The summers are very nasty. Mercury touches 118° F, in shade and the hot winds blow across the arid looking fields. Loss to human life is fairly common. Even in the evenings the hot winds give one no respite. Dust and haze often reduce the visibility and the whole landscape looks dismal and dull. Summer usually sets in with the coming of April, reaches its zenith in middle of May and becomes devastating in late May and remains so for practically the whole of June. The monsoons brust in the end of June or early July. From July to October it is the rainy season.

DIAGRAMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF DIFFERENT CASTES IN DIKHATPURA

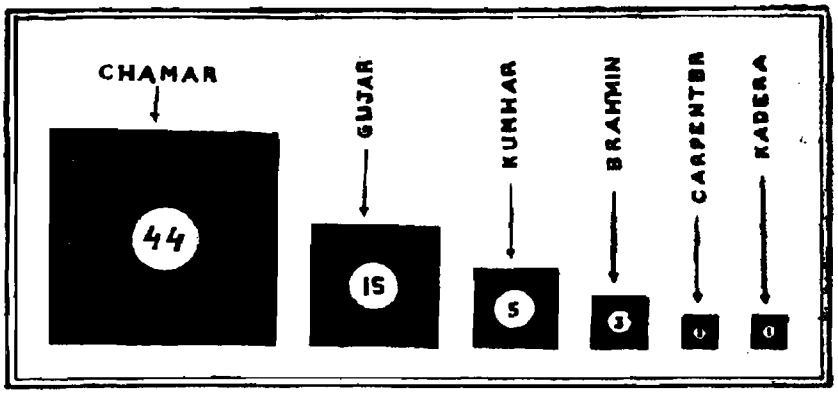


PLATE III

R A I N F A L L

(MORENA TAHSIL)

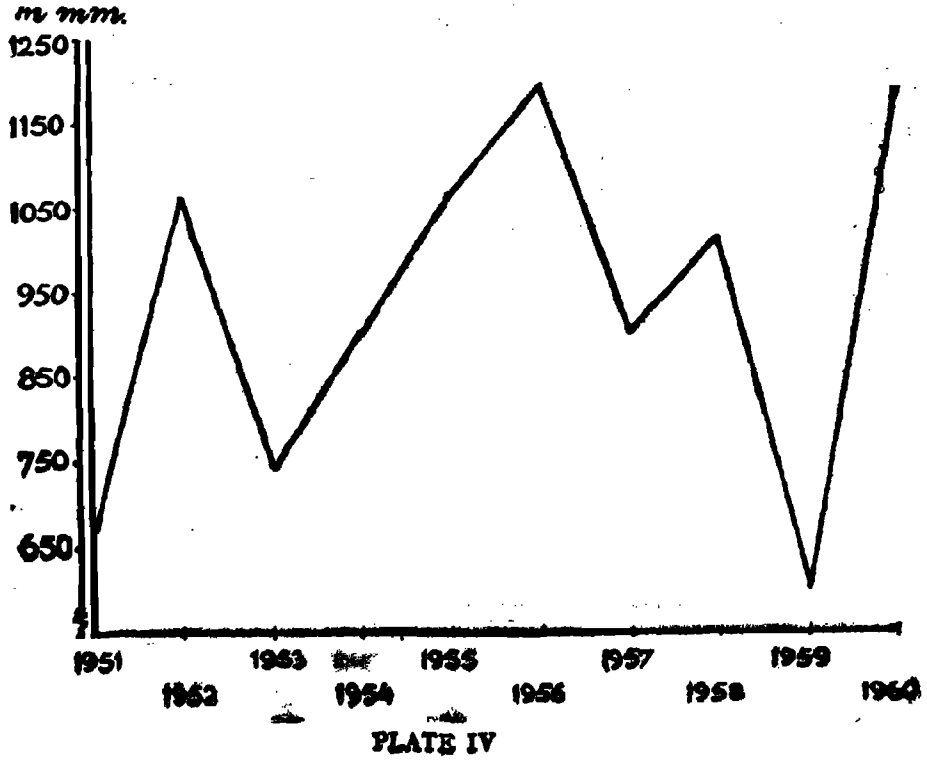


PLATE IV

The winter season commences with November and by middle of December it grows in severity. The temperature comes to about 40° to 36° F. on the coldest day. By middle of February the winter begins losing its severity and the weather becomes pleasant.

There is no common meeting space in the village. Usually they meet in an open space near the school. A few years ago a temple dedicated to *Hanumanji* was constructed by the villagers. Is is said that all the villagers joined in constructing it. The evening sittings are often held here. A *Bhajan Mandali* with the aid of development block has also sprung up. Their gamut of songs ranges to *bhajans* mostly. The orchestral instruments are *dholak*, *jhanj* and *majeeras*.

Communications

Since the village is neither on a road nor on rail-road, the mode of communication with other regions is by foot, bullock cart and bi-cycles. There are about ten bi-cycles in the village and the route used for going to Morena is the one along the railway track. There is one Gujar family which owns a tractor and often takes its produce in it to the market of Morena which is about 8 miles away. The cultivators carry their produce in the bullock carts. For long distance travelling, trains from Morena or the bus services on the Agra-Bombay Highway are made use of. For comparatively short distance travelstrains are boarded from Hetampur too. The advantage at Morena being that it is a stop for 'Janta and Pathankot Expresses' for Madras and Bombay, Delhi and Pathankot respectively. The village is well supplied with drinking water. There are as many as six wells open to the public, although no restrictions are put up on drawing water from the wells, Chamars generally prefer to draw water from a well situated nearer their homes. Since the Chamars mostly live in a cluster together all the Chamars draw water from that well. The Gujars and Brahmins draw water from a common well situated nearer their homes. Where more than one caste draws water from the same well generally, they do so in turn one caste after another. Why this is done has not been satisfactorily explained, but it is said since the women mostly assemble together in caste groups they draw the water accordingly. Women folk mostly do this job. Usually there is no scarcity of water although one has to dig as deep as sixty feet before striking the sub-terranean water level.

Administration and welfare Institutions

Dikhatpura is the headquarters of a V. L. W. (Village Level Worker). There is a trained *Dai* posted in the village. The patwari however does not stay here. There is a secondary school housed in a government building at Dikhatpura, at present there are 64 students on the rolls. There is a Service Co-operative Society in the village. In 1921 there was a Primary Agricultural Credit Society for the village only. The area has now been extended and the present Society has been rendering credit facilities to 81 of its members. It also distributes fertilisers in capacity of agent to Marketing Society. The *Panchayat* is located in village Sikroda about 1½ miles west. It consists of six *panchas* including the *sarpanch* and a lady *panch*.

There are 3 Gujars, 2 Chamars including the lady *panch* and one Brahmin composing the *Panchayat*. Two members one Gujar and one Chamar attend from Dikhatpura.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN OF VILLAGE DIKHATPURA

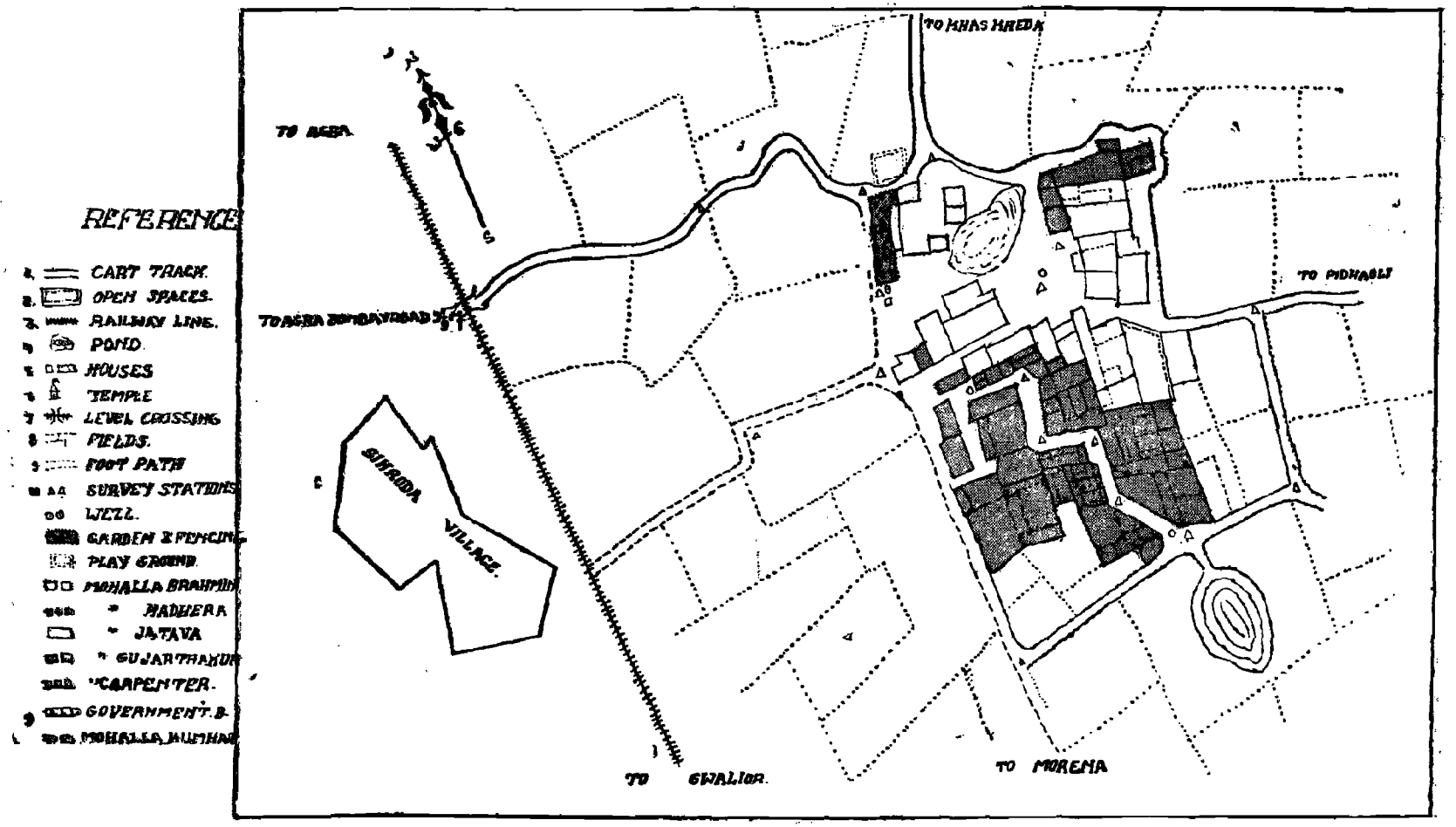


PLATE V

CHAPTER 2

THE PEOPLE

There are six castes in the village *viz.*, (*i*)Brahmins (*ii*)Gujars, (*iii*)Chamars, (*iv*)Kumhars, (*v*) Badai, (*vi*) Kadhera. The language spoken is basically Hindi.

A Brahmins

The Rig Veda has laid down the four *Varnas* or the classes into which the society was then divided. The Brahmins stood on the highest pedestal, with priesthood and state craft as their avowed vocation. Today in the village priesthood is no longer practised by the Brahmins. The Brahmins were the proprietors of the land and as such distributed it for cultivation to the other castes, who acted as their tenants. Management of lands and consequent administration of it became their chief occupation. This in local parlance was known as *Thakurat* from the word Thakur or Rajputs whose vocation was fighting and administration. The Brahmins did not fight, at least in these regions, but they loved to administer as though they were a Thakur and if for better administration it was necessary to fight when they fought as well. In due course of time administration of lands was all that was left to them. The traditional occupation was forgotten, at the house of the Brahmins now another Brahmin priest is invited to officiate at religious ceremonies, however, in view of the present conditions, the Brahmins of the village are neither priests nor traditional administrators.

The local Brahmins are not versed in Vedas and other religious books and so a Brahmin from Hindona, a village 5 miles away, is called to officiate at ceremonies in the house. He belongs to the same sub-caste to which the Brahmins of the village belong *viz. Sanadayas.*

(B) The Gujars

The Gujars are the grazier caste of North India. Their main occupation today is cultivation and their love for animals is proverbial. Animal husbandry, therefore, occupies an important second place.

(C) The Chamars

This is the skinner, tanner and leather working class. In the caste system described earlier, they occupied a very low place. Today they are cultivators first and last. About 10/11 years ago they decided to do away with their traditional occupation, because the work was unclean in its nature and had a social stigma to it. Consequent to the abolition of *Zamindari* they became tenants in occupancy rights and this gave them a fair amount of economic stability. (Also please see Appendix A).

(D) The Kumhars

Traditionally the Kumhars were potters. Today they depend more on agriculture although they still make earthen vessels.

(E) The Kadhera

The Kadheras were cotton spinners but have now taken to cultivation.

(F) The Carpenters (Badai)

The main occupation today is cultivation but he also remains the village carpenter. Making and repairing of agricultural implements is the important secondary job.

The Residential Pattern

A sketch map (Please see plate V) indicates the pattern of living. The Chamars and the Gujars live in their own, almost distinct clusters. Two Brahmin families living in the North-East section of the village are some of the oldest in the village.

There are only two houses made of brick and lime. The rest are all *kaccha* made of stone, clay and covered with either galvanised iron sheets or leaves and grass. The sanitation is negligible. Recently some efforts have been made to construct soakage pits, but they are never renewed and so the lanes are all slushy and often they stink. Where the water level is low, and the water drains away naturally, the sanitary conditions are some what better, otherwise they are primitive. There are no public latrines. Fields with crops provide enough cover for easing themselves. Children usually defecate near their homes.

House Types

The total number of houses in the village is 74 out of these four are government buildings and the rest are owned by the villagers. Only one house in the village apart from the government owned buildings, is *pacca*. By *pacca* we mean a house having a plinth of about 18" raised on brick walls, with stone or iron girder roofing. Another house is partly *pacca* but the remaining ones are all *kaccha*.

A sketch giving the pattern of the habitation is attached. From this it is obvious that different castes have preferred to live in their own caste clusters.

Construction of a House

The *Pandit* must find out the auspicious time for laying the foundation. Without this the construction work is usually not taken in hand as any ill-luck would be attributed to an inauspicious beginning. This lurking fear of any mishap attributed to omission is always present at the back of the mind. This done, foundation is dug. *kaccha*, houses require about 18" to 24" of foundation whereas *pacca* ones need 36" of it. On the appointed day

and fixed time the *pandit* takes over the proceedings, performs a *pooja* around a fire at the foundation. The following things are placed in the foundation pit turmeric, green grass, *supari* and copper coin, a wall is then raised over these. For the *pooja* the *pandit* is paid Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 depending upon the status of the persons. Some times a cow is given in alms to the *pardit.* Sister, father's sister or her children are given some sweets and money on the occasion. The construction work is under the technical supervision of a skilled labourer who knows the job, only by experience and usually is available in every village. He does not bring to bear any technical professional skill but judges by naked eye and guides the construction. He is paid between Rs. 2 to 3 per day.

Houses

By and large the villagers live in small *kaccha* houses. They have about two rooms, in all about 200 sq. feet area, a small raised but covered platform for sitting outside the house and a courtyard in which animals may be tethered or where other domestic chores by the women may be carried out.

Construction Process

Loose earth from the fields is taken, water is added and then it is trampled underneath the feet to make it sticky. This done it is formed into big clods and heaped one upon the other. The wall begins to rise. The skilled worker during the whole process moves behind so as to keep an eye on the progress of construction. The walls thus rise to a height of 6' to 8' and the stage for fitting a roof is reached. (Please see plates VI and VII.)

Roof

Roof is of two types (*ii*) roof of stone slabs (*i*) *Chhan* roof or *chhan ki chhat.* The latter being more cheap, easily available, is preferred. Stalks of *bajra* are taken and around it is tied grass of big variety known as *Kans* and *Daab.* The tying is done by means of *Daab* rope or thin *arhar* stalks kept in water for a day before use. The size of such roof depends upon the size of room. For breadth double the dimension is taken because it has to be spread over with slope. For length, the length of room with an extra foot for sides is taken. (Please see plates VIII and IX.)

Such roof usually requires the labour of about six persons for a whole day. For one man the work is almost impossible because the worker is often required to work at the two extreme ends. The labour involved for constructing a roof works out to about Rs. 12.

Wages of Labour for Constructing a House

	From Rs.	To Rs.
Skilled worker @ Rs. 3 per day for 7/8 days	21	24
Two helpers Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.00 a day for 7/8 days	21	24
Labour charges for roof	12	15
Total ..	54	63

Besides this the material and labour of the members of the family should be added.

As far as stone ceilings are concerned; the method is that the rooms are seldom made broader than 9' because stone slabs are not more than 10' long. On the walls these slabs are supported and joined with cement and lime. A mild slope is given to enable the rain water flow out. There is difficulty in obtaining cement (sold at Rs. 7.50 per md.) from the regular market through a permit; but it is freely available in the black market, if only the customer co-operates (*i*) by paying a price of Rs. 9 per maund, (*ii*) by removing the stuff quietly, if possible stealthily and (*iii*) not disclosing the identity of the dealer who sold the cement. The villagers mostly "co-operate" and so the supply is not difficult. They allege that for obtaining a permit they are required to wait for months on end.

Dress and Ornaments

The males generally wear *dhoti, kurta* and shirt and a thin mill made towel cloth known as *safi.* The cloth for these is coarse to medium mill manufactured product. The *dhoti* while working is worn from waist to the knees; otherwise, down to the ankles. Shirt and *kurta* are in vogue. The younger generation shows a liking for western cut shirts and even trousers are seen in the village. The cost of *dhoti* is about Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 for a shirt. Some lower castes use inferior cloth for *dhoties.* It costs Rs. 3 to 5. *Safi* worn as a headwear is ¼ to one yard long and costs Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2. Almost all castes use shoes. The upper castes

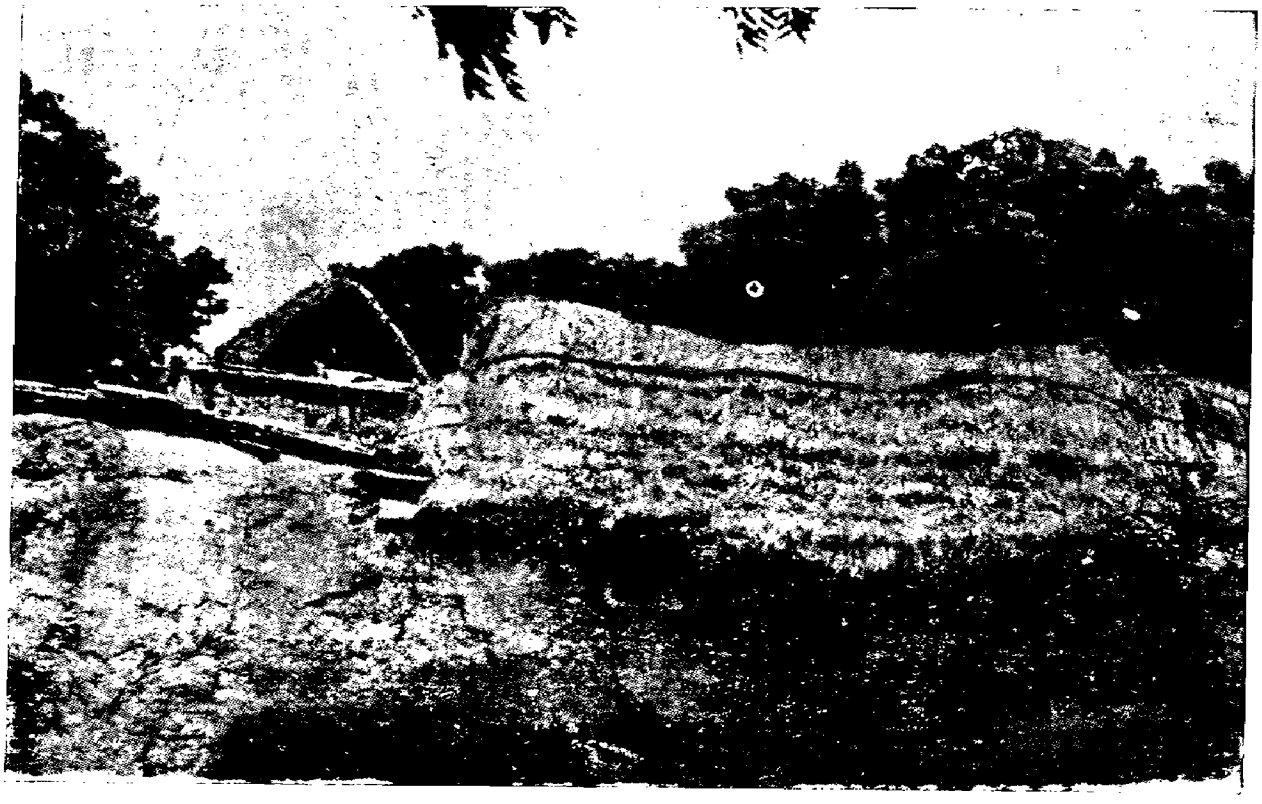


PLATE-VI
The walls and roof of a typical house in low income range

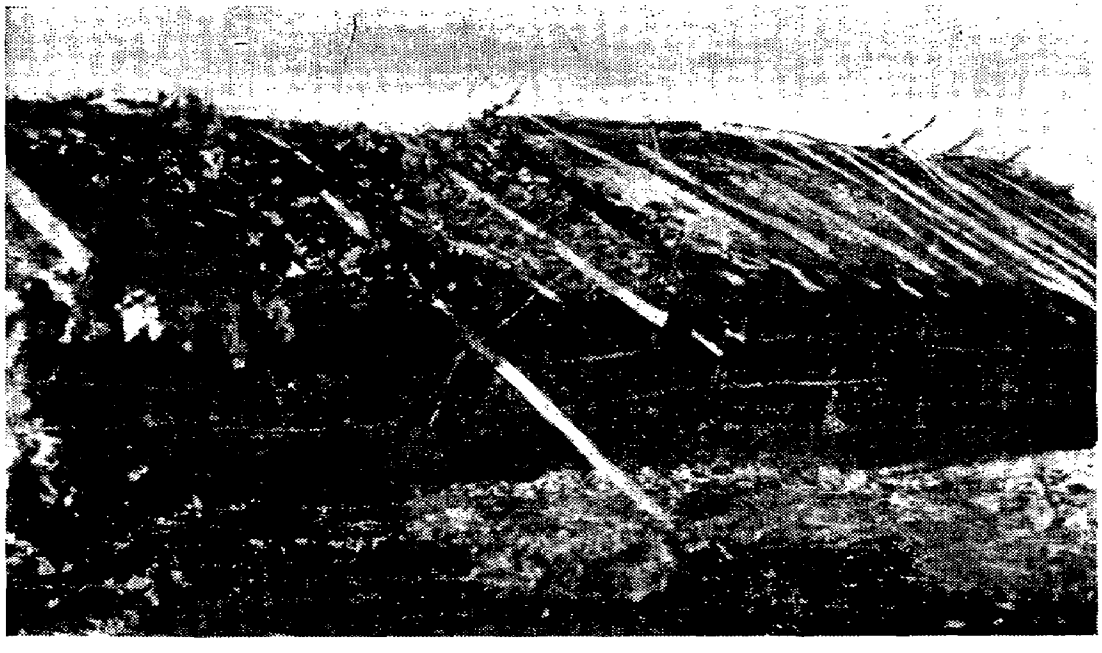


PLATE-VII
The house of a Kumhar



PLATE-VIII
Chamar houses and two inmates



PLATE-IX
Repairing a house

use leather ones, purchased from the bazars, their prices vary from Rs. 10 to 15. The lower castes use shoes made in nearby viliage costing about Rs. 7 to Rs. 8. A shoe lasts for 6 to 8 months.

On festive occasions, clean clothes, described as above are used. Some times newly stiched clothes are also used. During the wedding the bride-groom wears a long yellow *kurta*, shirt a close fitted *pajamas* and long coat. On his head rests a *mour* a crown type of cap made of *khajoor* leaves and paper coloured very brightly. The wedding apparel costs anything between Rs. 30 to 50. The clothes worn normally however cost less about Rs. 10 to 15 only.

The low caste females of the village wear a ready-made shirt which has half sleeves a front opening with buttons and comes upto little below the navel. No bodice is worn. The cut is very much like men's shirts. The shirt costs from Rs. 2 to 4 and requires 1¼ yards of cloth which is mostly mill made. At the navel is worn a loose skirt called *lehangi* extending up to ankles. It is secured at the waist by means of a strong string called *nara*. The cloth is of a coarser variety having bold colours with occasional prints. Eight to ten yards of such cloth costing between Rs. 8 to 10 are required for such a loose skirt. The Guiars women wear a still larger loose skirt of ten to twelve yards costing about Rs. 15. The women also use a 1½-2 yards garment which covers up half of the *lehanga* at front and is tied up from behind to cover up breasts and face if necessary. This is known as *pharia*.

The upper caste women use shirt (or in very few cases, blouse without bodice) covering upto the navel, followed by a saree of a thick cloth. Some women are also taking to the use of petticoats.

At the time of a festival washed, clean clothes and some times newer ones when available are used. A bride's clothing is usually of a more expensive type. Silken clothes are used. A bride should wear yellow, red or pink coloured shirt. Wearing of black is tabooed, being considered inauspicious. Even the footwear should not be black. For the head gear a *mohri* made of leaves and paper is used. This should not be as high at that of the bride-groom. *Lehanga* of bright yellow, pink or red colour is worn. In addition to this a thin yellow or pink chhadar sheet is wrapped around the bride. The bride must keep the face completely veiled. The cost of the bride's garments vary from community to community. To a Chamar it would cost about Rs. 50, Gujar 75 and Rs. 30 to a Kumhar.

Ornaments

Ornaments are the most sought for decorations. Gold, silver, imitation gold along with brass metals are chiefly used for these. Males use golden ear rings and *cholaniya* which consists of a small golden locket woven around on a black piece of string. Usually this is a holy object which could be smeared with something sacred. Few wear rings in the ears; though there are occasional exceptions in the village.

The women as a rule are fond of ornaments. The wearing of ornaments begin with 'Karchhedan' or piercing of the ear lobes, or nostril to provide a space for wearing them. When this has been done a thin silver or golden ring or among the poor a small piece of wood is put in the ear or nostril. This is done about the third birthday. She is also encouraged to wear a small *pajeb* at the ankle. As a rule women wear ornaments after marriage. Married women must put on the vermilion mark in the forehead, *bichhuas* in the toes and bangles on the hands.

We came across a great variety of ornaments but most of them are not commonly worn by all communities. Therefore they have been divided into three general categories *viz.* A—includes those commonly worn by all communiteis, B—worn by Gujars and Brahmins, C– worn only by Gujars.

By habit the villagers are shy in showing their ornaments; fear of dacoits is yet another factor for not showing them and it was with quite some difficulty that these were shown. One family agreed to show them at Morena where they also have a house. There are no arrangements for custody of these. Usually they are hidden in boxes having poor quality locks. Sometimes they are hidden along with grains; otherwise they may be buried in the ground near the hearth or may be kept hidden in the roofs.

The idea of safe deposits has not so far been accepted by them. The nearest would be at Morena about 8 miles away. Ornaments are worn generally only during weddings or other social functions their use is slight, but on some religious occasions they are worn more for display than formality. Display of ornaments gives the women a sense of importance and is the easiest way of proclaiming riches and prosperity. Lower castes however regard the show of too many ornaments as invitation to some thieving or robbery.

(A) The following ornaments are worn by almost all castes

	Name of the ornaments	Gold (G) Silver (S)	Illustration at plate	Remarks, where worn
1.	*Toda*	S	X	Ankle
	Lachha	S		Ankle
2.	*Clip*	S	XI	Hair
3.	*Bara*	S	XVI	Wrist
4.	*Tidda*	S	XXII	Wrist
5.	*Boar*	S	XXIV	Hair
6.	*Khangwari*	S	XXVI	Neck
7.	*Angothi*	S/G	XXIX	Finger of hand
8.	*Aran*	S	XXX	Ears
	Bara	S		Ankle
9.	*Phunka*	G	XXXI	Nose
	Bari	G		Ears
	Patli	S		Ears
	Bichhiya	S		Toe
	Boar	S		Over the forehead through hair
10.	*Kadiya*	S	XXXII	Wrist
	Bichhiya	S		Toe
	Zagil	S		Wrist
	Laniya	G		Worn in thread around neck
11.	*Bichhiya*	S	XXXIII	Toe
	Long			Nose
	Bulakh			Ear
12.	*Bunde*	G	XXXIV	Forehead

(B) Ornaments worn by Brahmins and Gujars

	Name of the ornaments	Gold (G) Silver (S)	Illustration at plate	Remarks where worn
1.	*Kardhoni*	S	XII	Waist
2.	*Khora*	G	XIII	Neck
3.	*Har*	G	XIV	Neck
4.	*Gajri*	S	XV	Wrist
	Bangli			Hand
5.	*Chura*	G/S	XVI	Wrist
	Baju	S		Neck
6.	*Resham Patti*	S	XVII	Neck
7.	*Lachhe*	S	XVIII	Ankle
8.	*Disti*	G	XX	Wrist
	Bunde			Forehead
9.	*Mohan Mala*	G	XIX	Neck
10.	*Kakna*	S	XXIII	Wrist
	Chudi	G		
11.	*Har*	G	XXV	Neck
12.	*Locket*	G	XXVII	Neck
13.	*Bari*	G	XXXIII	Ear
	Long			Nose
14.	*Benda*	G	XXXIV	Forhead
	Tops			Ears

(C) Ornaments worn by Gujars only

	Name of the ornaments	Gold (G) Silver (S)	Illustration at plate	Remarks where worn
1.	*Matar Mala*.. ..	G	XXI	Worn around neck
2.	*Armlet*	G	XXII	Above elbow
3.	*Khangwari* (with clips) ..	S	XXVIII	Neck
4.	*Chick*	G	XXIX	Neck

Household Goods

The household goods comprise (1) furniture, (2) cots, (3) utensils, (4) trunks, (5) beddings , (6) vehicle for transport, (7) storage pots , (8) articles for toilet.

The village as a whole does not use any furniture. There is only one Gujar family which has some furniture to the tune of fifteen chairs, four tables and one stool. The furniture was made in Morena and is of *sisam* wood, inexpensive but durable. The village has no furniture maker.

The most commonly possessed household goods are the utensils used for eating and drinking. The Kadheras with fifteen utensils in the family possess the least. The Chamars come next with twenty utensils per family. The Gujars with twenty-seven are followed by Brahmins who have 32 per family (Please see plates from XXXVIII to XLIV.) The Kumhars have 30 utensils but half of them are earthen. The utensils that may be found in almost each household are:—

(*a*) a blow pipe for igniting the hearth;
(*b*) a pair of iron tongs for taking cooked food out of fire;
(*c*) a big spoon or *Kadchhi* for taking out the food from the vessel;
(*d*) a smaller spoon *Kadchhi* as above;
(*e*) a *tawa*, an iron plate on which chappatis (rolled cakes of unleavened wheat flour);
(*f*) a *Kadhai* of iron for frying any vegetable or *poori*, etc. in oil or ghee;
(*g*) a cooking pot of one or two litre capacity called *Dekchi* for cooking *daal* or vegetable. It could be of brass, aluminium;
(*i*) a small *Dahoni* or a vessel for storing milk;
(*j*) *Lota* an all purpose handy container for water;
(*k*) *Glass* or tumbler; Each family possess one or two of them;
(*l*) *Thali* or big plate in which food is served.

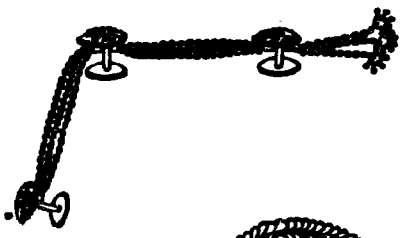
(*j*), (*k*) and (*l*) are usually made of brass, or copper alloys. Eating out of iron utensils is tabooed. Stainless steel utensils were not seen in the village. Although they would not object to eating out of these but owing to their high prices they have not found their way into the village.

Apart from the above there is one Gujar family which has Moradabad enamelled lemon set and other utensils which are urban in character. They possess good utensils neatly finished and highly polished. In all it has 70 utensils, 65 of them of metal. This family also possesses some crockery, tea cups and saucers, some glass tumblers, but this generally is of the very ordinary type.

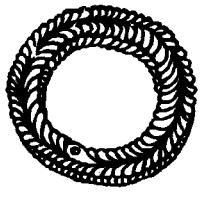
Cots

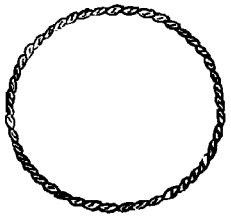
Mostly the families use cots for sleeping. Cots are made locally by cutting wood that is available in one's own fields or purchased. The local carpenter makes the cots. In design they have the bare necessities, a clean finish is completely besides the point. The cot is fitted with rope of *daab* grass. This is a thicker variety of grass found near nullahs or river beds or nearby places. Plenty of it is available round about. The size of the cots generally is very small being 5′ × 2½′ or 60″ × 30″ but in a Gujar household I saw a few cots 7′ × 4′ or 84″ × 48″. These were strung with thick *neewar* and hemprope, which was hand spun. The cost of the cot would be about Rs. 4 to 6 with the stringing rope. The big cots cost about Rs. 10 to 12 without the *neewar*. The *neewar* costs another Rs. 10. Where there are not enough cots to go round, then the head of the house, mother with smaller children, grown up male and then grown up female children are entitled to sleep in that order, where the parents also live with the family then the father of the head of the household gets a priority. This is followed by the mother.

(Text continued on page 36)



(Silver)





Toda (Silver)

Lacha (Silver)

PLATE X



Clip (Silver)



PLATE XI

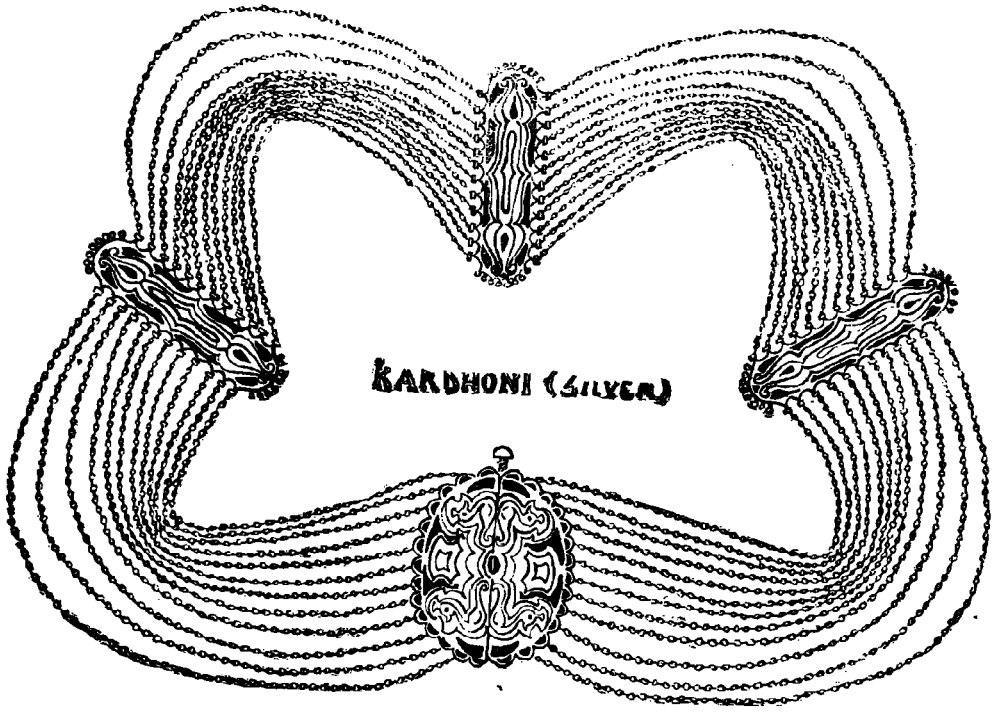


PLATE XII

KHORA (GOLD)

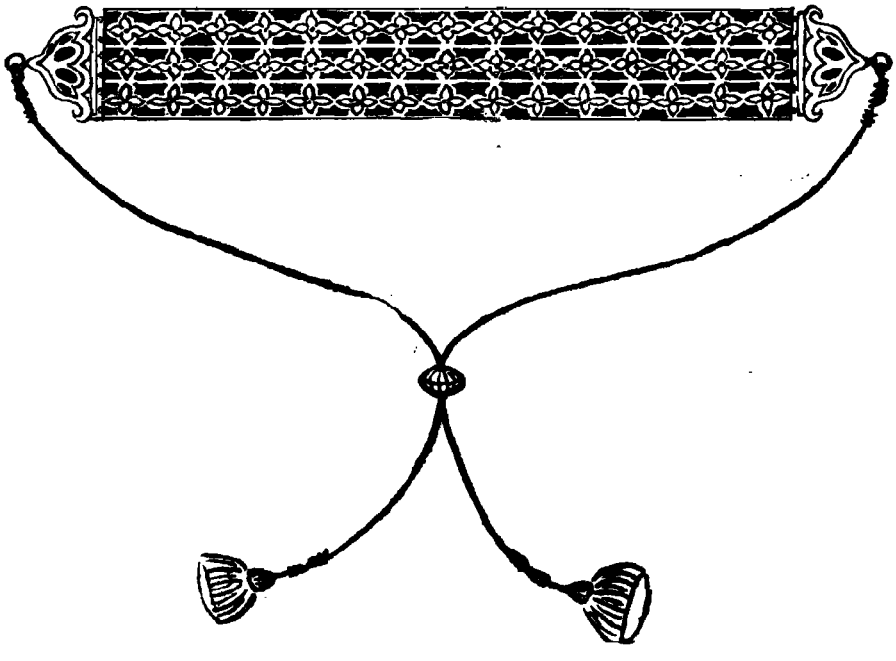


PLATE XIII

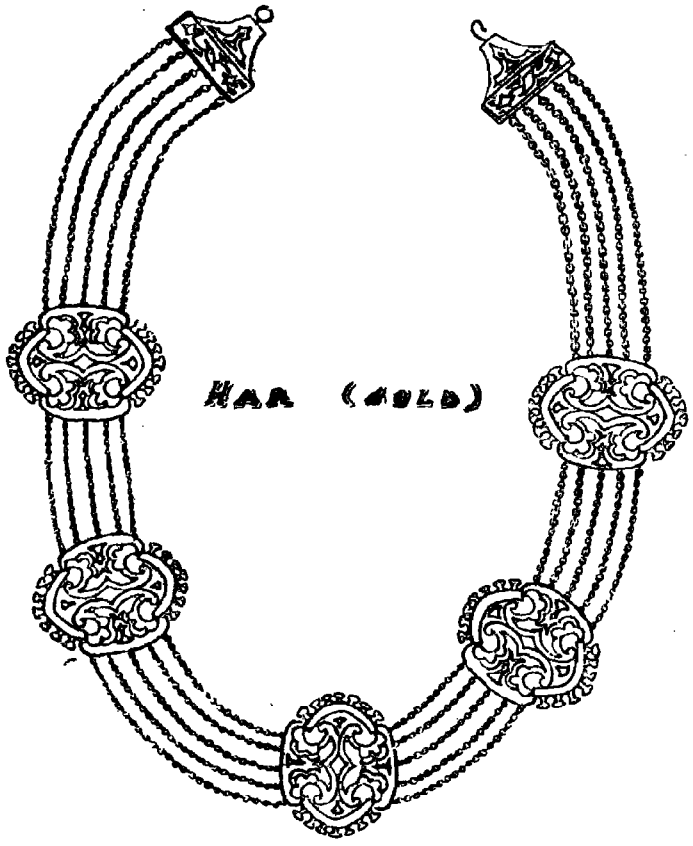
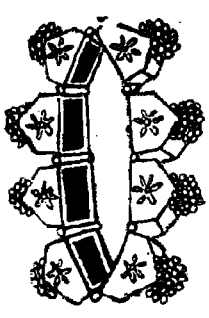
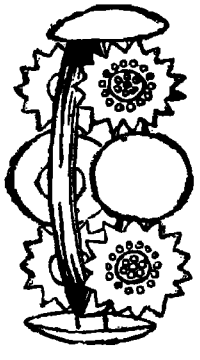


PLATE XIV



LATRI (SILVER)

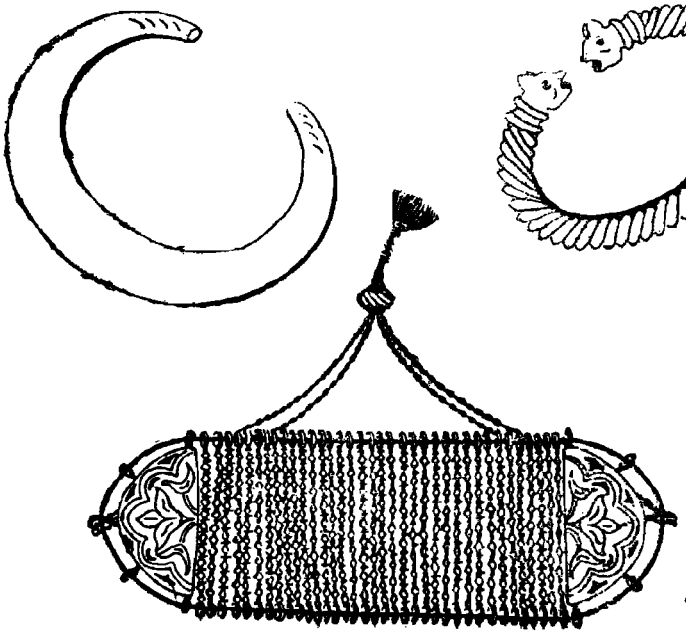


BANGLI (SILVER)

PLATE XV

BARA (SILVER)

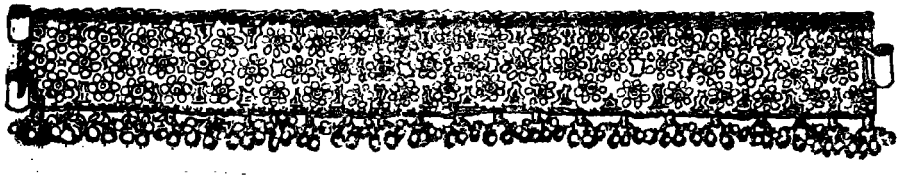
CHURA or KANGAN (GOLD)



BAJU (SILVER)

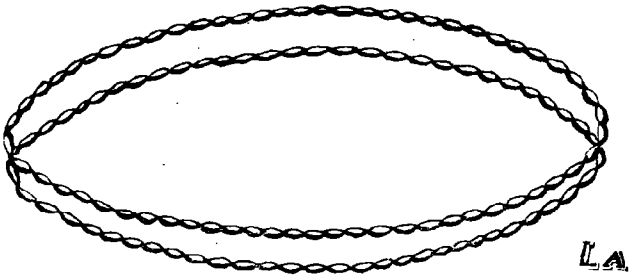
PLATE XVI



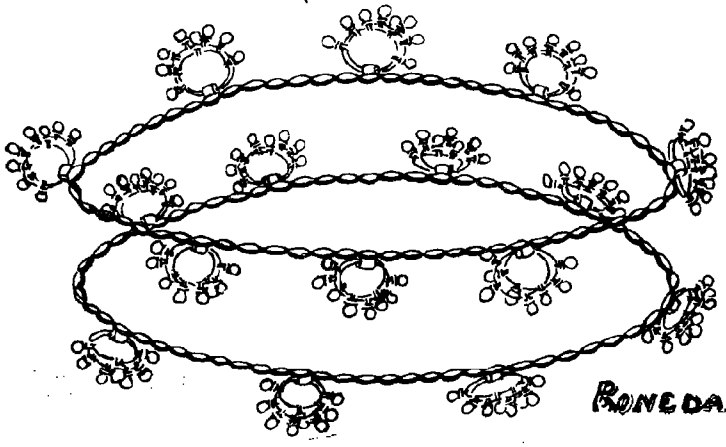


REGHAM PATTI (SILVER)

PLATE XVII



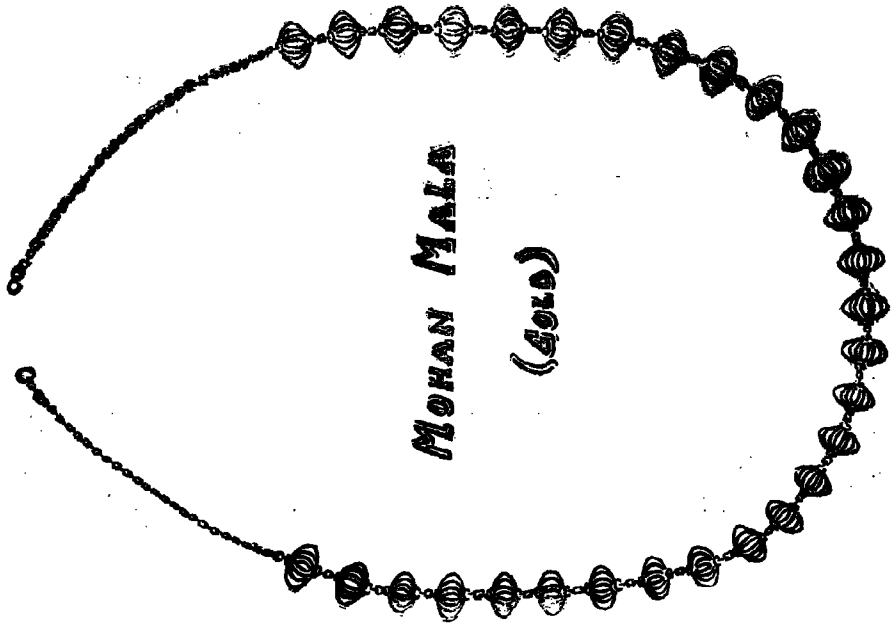
LACCHE (SILVER)



RONGDAR LACCHE

(SILVER)

PLATE XVIII



MOHAN MALA

(GOLD)

PLATE XIX

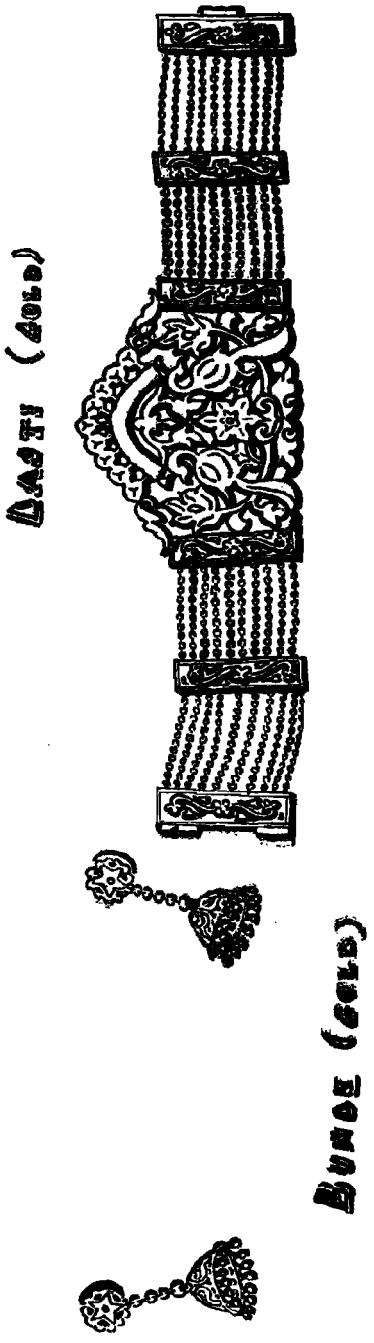
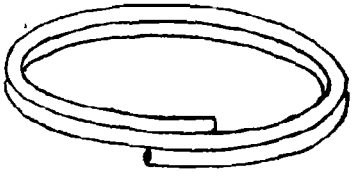


PLATE XX



PLATE XXI



TIDDA (SILVER)



ARMLET (GOLD)

PLATE XXII

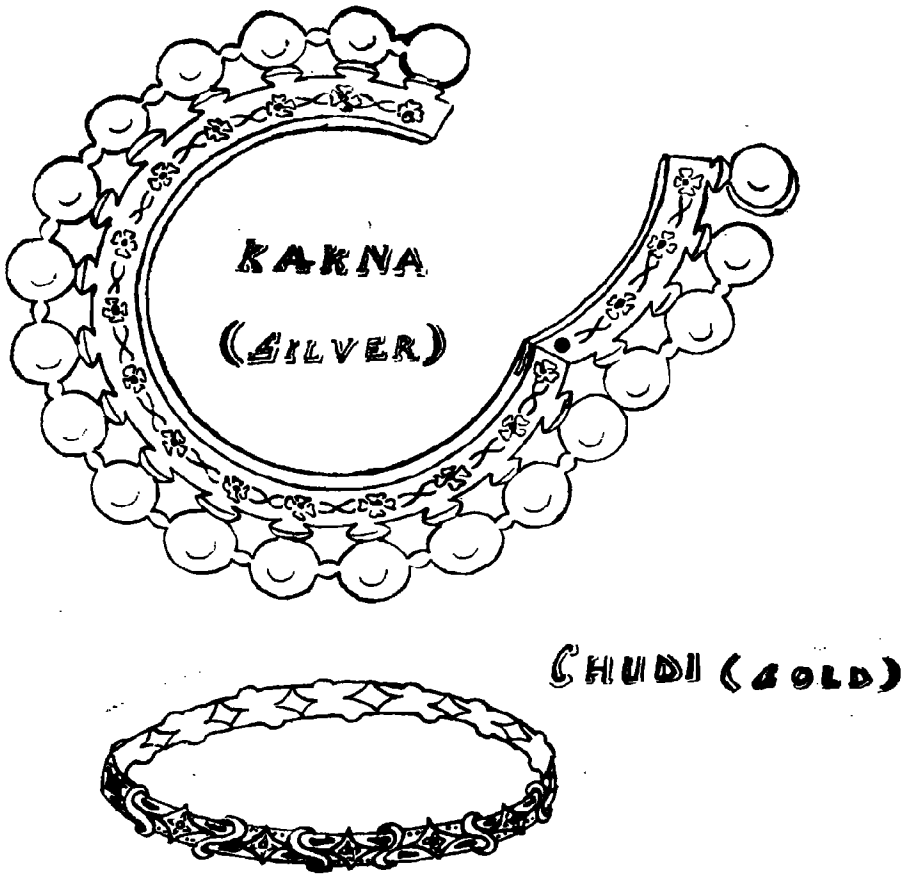


PLATE XXIII

BOAR (SILVER)

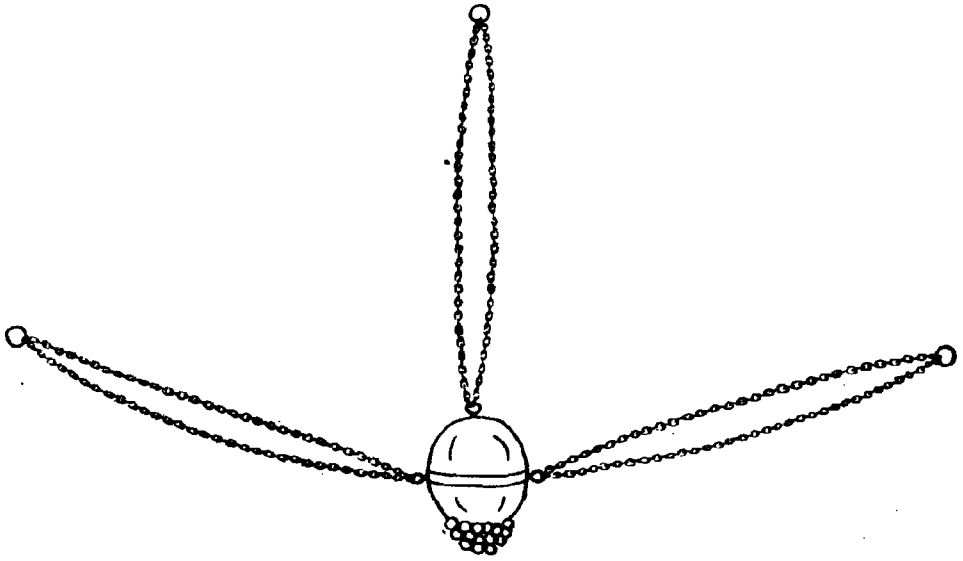


PLATE XXIV

HAR (GOLD)



PLATE XXV



PLATE XXVI



PLATE XXVII

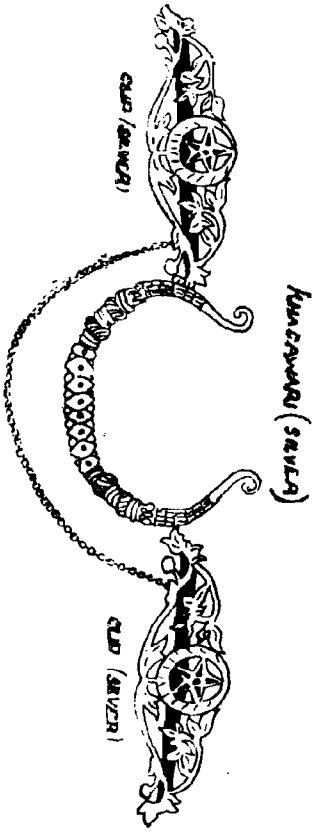
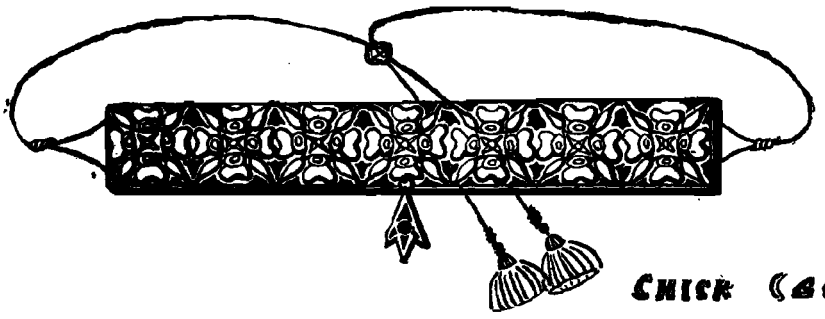


PLATE XXVIII



CHICK (GOLD)



ANGUTHI (GOLD)

PLATE XXIX

ARAN (SILVER)



BARA (SILVER)



PLATE XXX

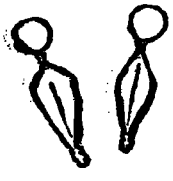
PHUNKA (GOLD)

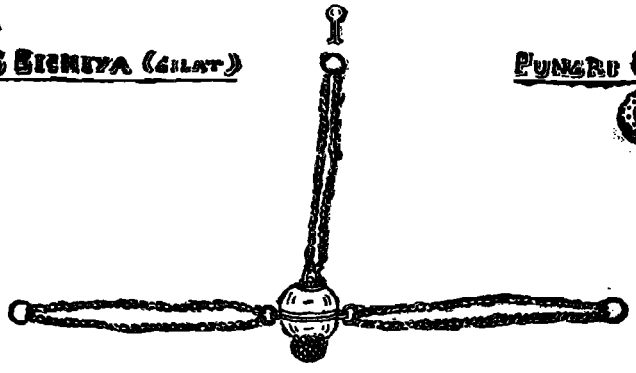


3 BICHUVA (SILAT)

PUNGRU (GOLD)







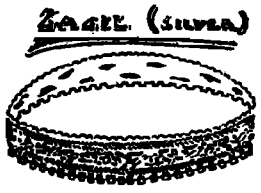


PATTI (SILVER)

GOAR (SILVER)

BALI (GOLD)

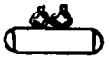
PLATE XXXI



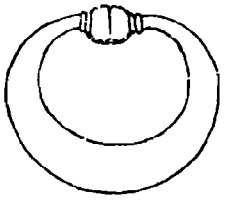
ZAGIL (SILVER)



BICHLIYA (SILVER)



LANIYA (GOLD)

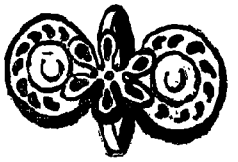


KADIYA (SILVER)



LANIYA (GOLD)

PLATE XXXII





BICHIA (SILVER)



BARI (GOLD)



BULLAKH (SILVER)



LONG (GOLD)

PLATE XXXIII



BUNDE (GOLD)





BENDA (GOLD)

TOPS (GOLD)

PLATE XXXIV

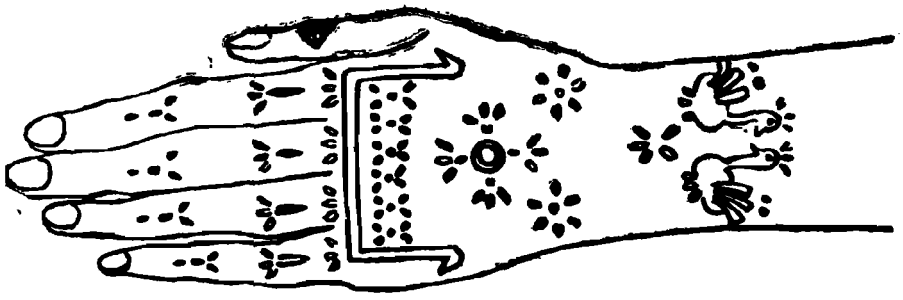


PLATE XXXVII

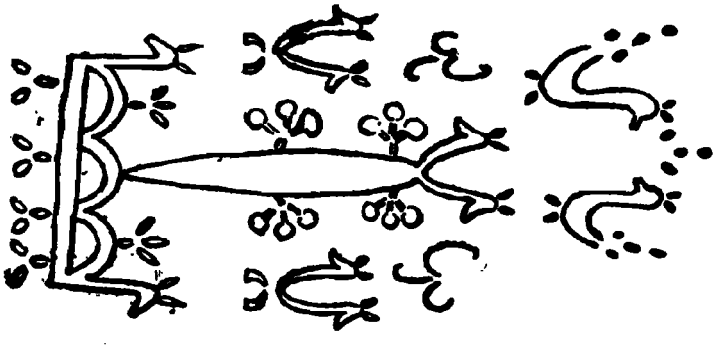


PLATE XXXVI

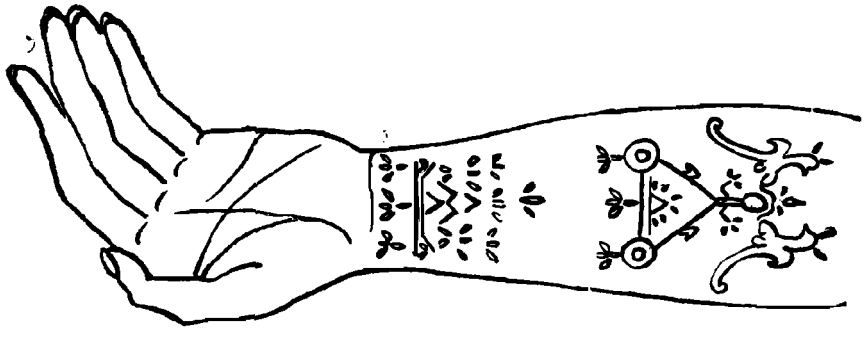


PLATE XXXV

KATORIES (BRASS)



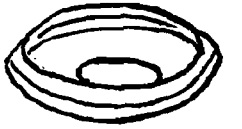




KATORA (BRASS)



BELA



CHAMMACH (BRASS)



PLATE XXXVIII

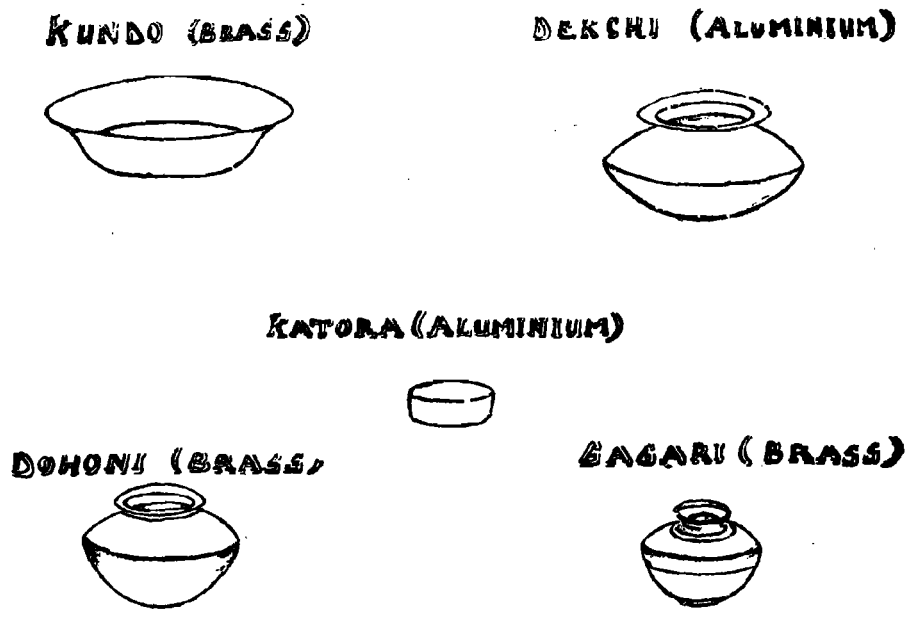


PLATE IXL

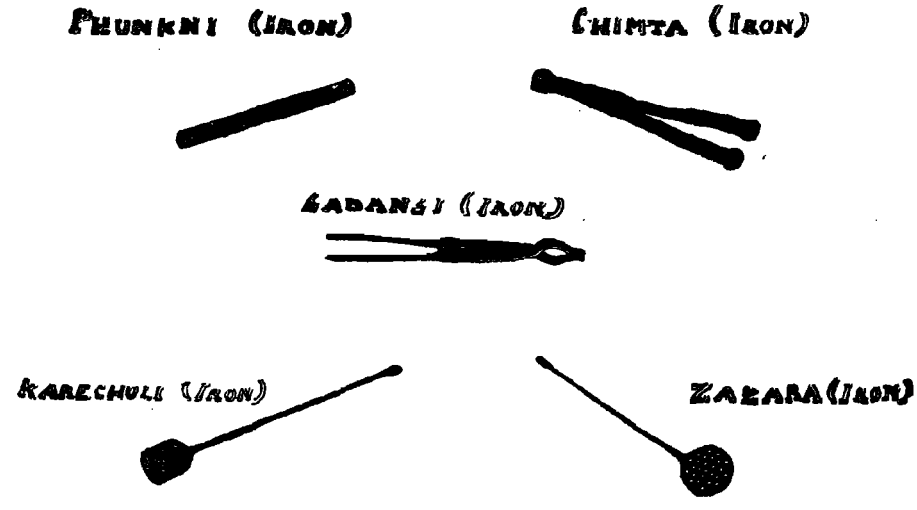


PLATE XL

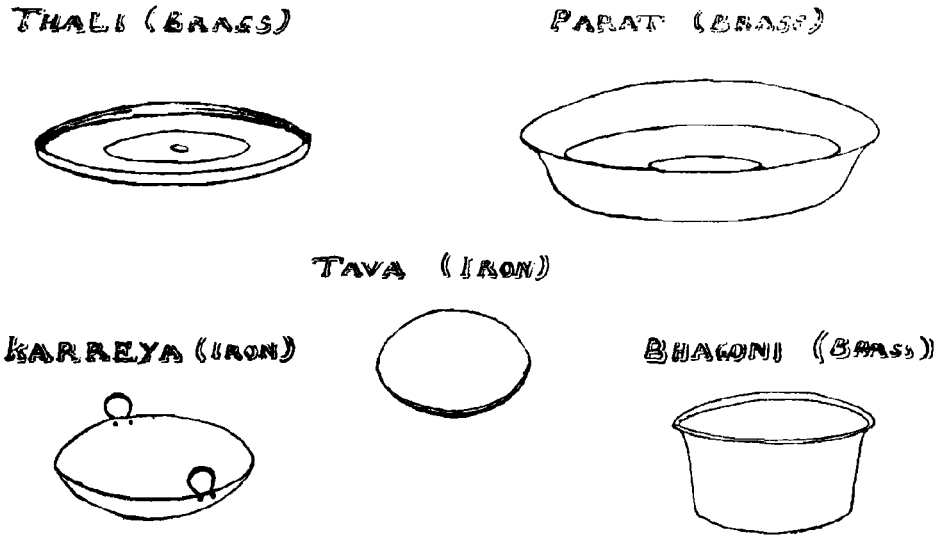


PLATE XLI

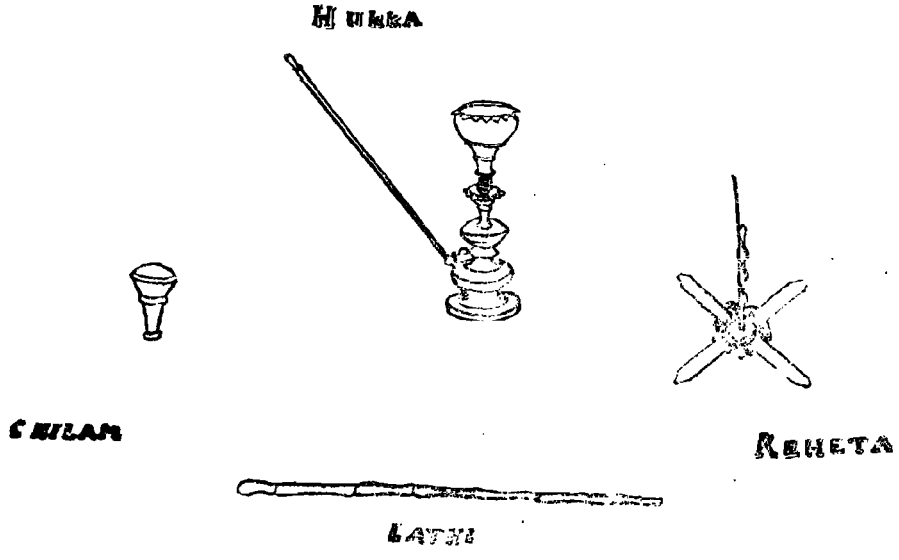


PLATE XLII

JUG



LOTA

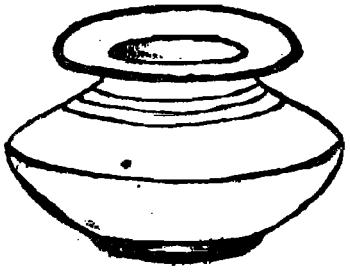


PLATE XLII

GANGASAGAR



TUMBLER

"GILAS" (GLASS)



PLATE XLIV

(*Text continued from page 15*)

Beddings

The beddings are meagre. The average village household has a small *durrie* or its equivalent which is placed on the cot, and when not on cot it is used for sitting on the floor. Most of the family use only this to sleep upon. Mattress is used by about twelve families. An alternate form of mattress is locally known as *kethri*. This is sewn up mostly of all unserviceable cloth in the house. It will exhibit some specimen of a *lehanga* or skirt worn till recently, some piece from a man's or a woman's *dhoti* or shirt and so on. By sewing up these pieces together the total thickness of 2" to 3" is achieved: pieces of rags are also sewn into it and the whole thing is made into the cot size and placed on it, to provide some feeling of softness. The family sleeps on this. Bed-sheets are used only in the Gujar and Brahmin families. Pillows are generally not used excepting in the above families. There is one Gujar which also uses the mosquito curtains. This family in its tastes and its possession of goods is almost a good middle class urban type. In the winter quilts are used. The quilts are fairly heavy having about 3 seers of cotton in them. The outside covering ranges from cheap imitation silk to cotton prints. The cost of the beddings is as follows:—

Durrie	.. .. ..	Rs. 3 to 8
Mattress	.. .. ..	Rs. 8 to 10
Kethri	.. .. ..	Rs. 2 to 4 (Labour only)
Bed-sheet	.. .. ..	Rs. 3 to 5
Pillow	.. .. ..	Rs. 2 to 3
Mosquito net	.. ..	Rs. 7 to 10
Quilt	.. .. ..	Rs. 15 to 20
		Rs. 40 to 60
Blanket	.. .. ..	Rs. 15 to 25
	Total ..	**Rs. 55 to 85**

Blankets are usually found in the more well-to-do houses. As a rule quilts alone are used, but some persons prefer to keep the blankets too, for they are extremely useful in covering the bodies during the day in the winter. All this bedding in the severe winter proves inadequate and a fire has to be kept burning to keep the bodies warm. In all households young children up to the age of 8 years usually sleep with their parents. The youngest sleeps with the mother.

High Income Group

Since only a bare minimum in the bedding is used the cost to the user is comparatively less. Families in the low income group usually have only a *durrie* with a quilt as a *kethri*. They put in their own labour over the *kethri* and the whole bedding does not cost more than Rs. 12 to 15. Excepting for one Gujar family which is in the high income group and spends about 50 over its bedding, the other communities do not spend more than Rs. 25.

Other Material Equipment

Most of the movement is done on foot. There are ten bi-cycles in the village.

The Gujar families with two and the Brahmins one, are the main families having their own means of transport. There is one tractor too with a Gujar family. It is used for conveying the produce to the *mandi* or the controlled market and is also available on hire for ploughing.

Storing of corn is usually done in big earthen pots. They are made of earth and can hold a large quantity of grain only the more well to do families use it.

Soap is the most common toilet article in use in the village. Chamars do not use it. The Brahmins and Gujars are rather fond of it. For washing clothes soap is not often seen in use. Lately however a coarse variety of soap suds are being introduced. Excepting one family which uses talcum powder and some other cosmetics, these articles have not been introduced in the village.

Food and Drinks

The different communities in the village usually take three meals a day. In the richer families Brahmin and some Gujars the morning breakfast taken at about seven o' clock consists of *paratha*, with *gur* and a gruel prepared by mixing grain with milk and boiling the mixture. There after at about mid day the main meal consisting of *chapattis* (baked wheat cakes), pulses and potato is taken. Water is boiled, pulse added to it along with salt, turmeric and chillies. When the pulse has become soft enough, it is removed and is ready for eating. In the evening the main meal is repeated with a variation of pulse. *Arhar, urad* and *moong* are the popular pulses. The use of vegetables is very much limited, excepting for two families in this village vegetables are not used. Potato however is eaten by many. Tomatoes and brinjals had been grown near a well in the village and proved popular. It appeared that vegetables are gradulally getting introduced.

On the festival days *poories, halwa, khir* and vegetables are eaten. *Puries* are prepared by frying the flour cakes in *ghee* or oil in a *Kadhai*. The poorer classes use oil as the cooking medium. *Halwa* is prepared by mixing sugar or molasses with flour, roasting it in a *kadhai* and then adding *ghee* to it. *Khir* is prepared by boiling milk and adding rice, sugar or molasses when boiled.

The Gujars and Brahmins do not eat non-vegetarian foods. Other castes also report abstaining from meat, fish and eggs. Excepting milk no other beverage is drunk. Alcoholic drinks are not used. The villagers as a rule, do not take tea; however on very cold days, boiled milk brewed with tea leaves is quite popular. Perhaps after a few years tea may become popular.

Among the poor classes, stale wheat cakes usually left over from the previous night are eaten at the time of breakfast. At mid-day it is bread and pulses. When pulses are not in sufficient quantity, chillies ground with water and a tinge of garlic is substituted for pulses. Raw onions with salt are also eaten at this time. In many families there is practically no night meal. Generally a light meal in the evening suffices. Food is eaten from the *thali* in which others also eat after the head of the family has finished.

The festival food is more or less the same as described for richer castes except that the cooking medium is invariably oil and rich food is served on *holi* and *deewali* days.

Births

The villagers are aware of the biological phenomenon leading to pregnancy. Barrenness is attributed to divine wrath. The first sign of pregnancy is the cessation of menstrual discharge, followed by nausea or vomiting. Usually the senior lady of the house comes to know of it and promptly she begins to take care, often in an affectionate manner. The pregnant woman must abstain from strenuous work and is not supposed to lift heavy things. The duty of going to the well to fetch water is taken away from her. In many cases where there are no substitutes the poor woman has to do the job. She may be assisted by her friends but the bulk of the work has to be done by her alone. During the early stages of pregnancy no special nourishment is given to her but chillies and such irritants are usually avoided. If possible they try to give her molasses, milk and ghee. She is generally allowed to rest in the afternoons. No consultations or check ups are made during the pregnancy. She is encouraged to feed a cow with her own hands to beget a son—a sort of *'go puja'*.

Ceremony before Birth

Satmasa or Parojan

Before birth, in the seventh month of pregnancy, the first ceremony is held. In this, the bride's parents or if the parents are dead then her near relatives send fine pieces of apparels for the bride and equal number for her husband. Some clothes are also sent to the parents of the boy with a *pandit* or the brother of the bride with money varying from Rs. 1 to 51. The usual amount carried is Rs. 11. Some rich families also send ornaments to the bride. The whole thing is sent in a *thaal* containing a coconut and vermilion powder. This is sent only at the time of the first pregnancy and not at subsequent pregnancies. On this day, presents and sweets are given on behalf of the bride to the husband's sister and the father's sister. This ceremony is observed by Brahmins, Gujars only. Perhaps financial conditions prevent the other castes from doing the same.

Delivery

The first delivery should take place in the husband's house. There is a trained midwife posted in the village. Normally she is called upon at the delivery. In case she is not available, other *dais* are called in. They follow the old, unclean methods, for example the umblical cord is cut by a knife not necessarily sterilised. In case she too is not available then the elderly lady of the house of neighbour-hood delivers the child. The placenta and the cord are buried in the door way of the room. If there is a place for hustling corn and other cereals then the whole thing is buried underneath. The woman who has delivered is considered "Polluted". If a boy is born then the joy is great. Sweets called *batashas* are distributed, guns fired, a cocoanut is broken and musical instruments played. The *dai* also gets better fees. For delivering a male child she gets Rs. 1 in cash and 2½ seers of grain but for a female child it is only 50 nP. and 2½ seers of grain. The rates of payment have been increased recently.

During the period when the woman is supposed to be 'unclean', she is given a gruel of wheat and jaggery and *sonth* grounded dates of good quality. The senior lady of the house places the food at her bed-stead. If there is no senior lady in the house then some relatives are usually sent for. This goes on for the next six or seven days. The woman during the period is not supposed to bathe. During, this period she is also given a decoction known as *ashtmool*. The contents of this nourishing drink are: gum, *chhuara* (*chharua*) or dried dates sweetned with jaggery.

Chhati

The first ceremony after birth is known as *chhati* observed usually on the sixth day. The mother is given a bath; her room is cleaned. In the upper castes a ceremony is gone through; but in others the mother is given a bath and the period of uncleanliness ends. For purification in the upper castes, a *hom* (kindling of holy fire) has to be performed; the officiating *pandit* is paid between Rs 2 and 5.

Dashton

This is celebrated on the 12th day or thereafter. The mother is taken out of her room by the younger brother of the husband for which he gets a rupee. A gift is given to the infant which is customarily a *Jhun-Jhuna* a toy with jingle bells. The husband's sister kindles a small fire in a *thali* and moves the *thal* around in front of the face two or three times. This is locally known is *arati*. A feast is given; only the nearest relatives are invited. This costs about Rs. 20 to 40. Some families are known to spend as much as Rs. 100 over it. *Dashton* is performed among the Brahmins and Gujars only.

The horoscope of the child is prepared almost immediately after the birth and the *pandit's* advice regarding the timing of *chhati* or *dashton* is taken.

In some cases where the child is born under the influence of adverse planets, a stricter ritual has been prescribed. Such births are known as *mool i. e.* born under inauspicious stars. It now becomes necessary to ward off the effects of the evil planets. Thus all ceremonies for one born under such conditions are postponed to the 27th day. On the 27th day, water from 27 wells must be collected along with 27 turmeric pieces and 27 varieties of leaves of different trees; these are given to the *pandit* who begins the prayers to ward off the evil planets. The child is weighed in seven grains, *viz.*, these consist mostly of wheat, *jowar*, barley, maize, rice, *bajra* and millets and this grain is given away in charity. The *pandit* gets a set of clothes *dhoti*, *kurta* and one rupee in cash. In Gujar households he is usually given a *seedha* or cereals, flour, *ghee* etc., to do his own cooking, if he does not take food with the family. After feeding the *pandit* the rest are allowed to eat. The *pandits* doing this are known as *Joshis*. The above ceremonies are performed only in Gujars and Brahmins.

Anna Prashni

On this day, the ritual of introducing the child to food made of grain is performed. *Anna* stands for food. *Prashni* means 'eating': when the child is about 8/9 months old he is made to sit in the lap of his grand-father, and a little *khir* is put into his mouth by means of a silver-spoon. The Chamars, Kadheras or Kumhars do not observe this.

Nam Karan Sanskar or Christening

The naming can be done any time after *Chhati*. This is known as *Nam Karan Sanskar* or the christening.

The Names

"What's in a name?" is an old lament. Yet in these names 'hangs a tale'.

The names in the Chamar community unfold a tale of social progress and an yearning for being included in a higher class. Here are some of the names of Chamars heads of the family.—

(1) Ochha
(2) Doji
(3) Bedariya
(4) Budha
(5) Bhaggu
(6) Gayajat
(7) Bhagvi
(8) Bheekha
(9) Khoota
(10) Geanda
(11) Cheeda
(12) Chhota
(13) Janayu
(14) Mota
(15) Phoda
(16) Kansa
(17) Janka
(18) Khorsu

The above fathers have named their sons as follows.—

(1) Ramjilal
(2) Ramlu
(3) Bhirose
(4) Pancho
(5) Punna
(6) Santokhi
(7) Ramcharan
(8) Ram Dayal
(9) Ram Ratan
(10) Devi Ram.
(11) Harkant.
(12) Nathu Ram.
(13) Gantia.
(14) Babu
(15) Rajjo
(16) Vijeyram
(17) Mastram
(18) Prahlad
(19) Ramsingh

The transition from the father's rather 'crude' names to the son's more sophisticated ones is obvious. The parents must have been named about 20/25 years ago. Then a Chamar could not possibly keep a good name and much less a name akin to the gods. It was socially tabooed. The names like Ram Charan, Ramlal, Ramsingh based on the godly names were for the upper castes only. The Chamars had to satisfy themselves with names like Doji, after *dooj* and second day of the moon or Bhagga (runaway) or Chhota (small) or Mota (fat). We see a uniformity in names and they all belong to this class.

It may also be that by very limited social contacts the Chamars knew few other names, but today with social taboos being removed, the range of names having to choose from expanded. So the newer generation was christened with better sounding and meaning names. To cite a few examples in case of women.

Mother's Name	*Daughter's Name*
Laddo	Vajainti
Tofa	Ram Beti
Pania	Dhanti
Kuddin	Jammia
Mango	Ajudhi
	Ram Kunwar
	Kunthi

The same tendency manifests itself, for both the sexes. The names however unfold a uniform pattern of the transition from cruder ones to more refined ones or narrates the tale of social progress of the Chamars.

Janeyu

The next important ceremony which the Thakur and Brahmin boys undergo is known as *Janeyu* or sacred thread ceremony. The *pandit* selects an auspicious day. *Mantras* in praise of *Trimurti i. e. Shiv, Vishnu,* and *Brahma* are recited and finally the teacher's preachings *Guru Mantra* (गुरु मन्त्र) is whispered into the boy's ears. The sacred thread is then put around the shoulder and extends to below the navel on the opposite side. It epitomises the purity of the person wearing it. He should wear this thread in the ear when engaged in easing himself: the process being considered impure. The boy then gives alms *'dakshina'* to the *pandit,* clothes or *chadar* or a shawl is given to him. Later in the day a feast is also given. The invitees are mostly the members of the own caste. The expenditure varies from Rs. 30 to 100.

Moondan

Among the Gujars and Brahmins *moondan* ceremony is held in the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th or 9th year of the child. The literal meaning of *moondan* is shaving off. During the ceremony, the hair of the head is shaved off by the barber for which he is paid Re. 1. The *pandit* fixes the opportune time for it, getting Re. 1 for the service. In the actual process of shaving, turmeric is rubbed on the head and *Katha* or epic poem narrated.

It would be observed that the Brahmins and the Gujars perform these ceremonies but the others do not. As far as Brahmins are concerned their position in the caste hierarchy was well established but this was not the case with Gujars. The Gujars have steadily grown in wealth and influence, with this the ambition to have a better place among other castes is understandable and reasonable. The easiest method to achieve it would be to follow the customs current among the highly placed. Thus these practices multiplied. The other castes lacked the economic stability; since all these rituals require money they could not aspire to rise above their place. So we find that they remained where they were while Gujars improved, their position. Thus economic prosperity in a way has helped communities to rise in the caste hierarchy.

Marriage

Marriage is the most important celebration in all castes in the village. The marriageable age among the girls ranges between 10-15 years whereas in boys it is 12 to 18 years Pre-puberty marriages are the general rule rather than the exeception. In Brahmins and Gujars the age of marriage tends to rise towards the upper limit.

The followigng clans or *gotras* are avoided among all the castes.—

(1) *Gotra* of the father,
(2) *Gotras* of father's mother,
(3) *Gotra* of mother,
(4) *Gotras* of mother's mother.

The proposal of marriage is usually carried through a third party called *bichoniya* (or one who acts as an intermediary). This *bichhoniya* goes to the house of the prospective bride and introduces the subject to the father or the guardian as the case may be. During this talk he makes the bride's father aware of the economic status of the groom's people and the qualifications, if any, of the groom. He would also indicate the extent of dowry expected by the groom's father. This is a very important factor which the *bichhoniya* must talk over and where possible reduce the margin of demand to give greater chances of agreement, being reached. There are cases where *bichhoniyas*, for doing this service have obtained a handsome reward. Thus *bichhoniya* proves very useful in getting things finalised. for these are some-what ticklish matters for parties to discuss directly with each other, hence a common friend does this useful job.

This done, the negotiations enter the next stage. The father of the girl or her uncle or male relative if there is no father, then goes to the groom's place to have a look at the prospective son-in-law. If he approves of the boy, he makes a present of anything, between Re. 1 and Rs. 50 signifying approval from his side. This in local parlance is known as '*Ladka Rokna*' or stopping the boy meaning thereby that the boy is to be reserved for the match. It is then expected that the bridegroom's father will not establish matrimonial alliances elsewhere till finally breaking off from this understanding. This is only one side of the picture for the visit is followed by the visit of the father or the uncle of the boy to see the girl. No females go to see the girl. If the girl is approved of, the marriage is settled, then follows the engagement. The girl's father gives presents to the boy's father. The presents vary from Re. 1 to Rs. 51 among the poor and more among the rich. Some parties prefer to recover their first instalment of dowry at this stage. Besides this, a *thaal* containing fresh and dry fruits, sweets is offered to the boy's father. *Teeka* is applied on the forehead of the boy and a coconut given to him.

The date and time for the marriage is then determined by the *pandit*. These are communicated to the boy's father through a *peeli chithi* or a yellow letter (The paper used is yellow). This is also known as *lagun*. The *lagun* is usually sent 15-18 days before the marriage. Along with *lagun* the bride's parents send some money which is a part of the dowry. On the occasion solid turmeric, rice, green grass is sent in the *thaal* along with the fruits. Normally the amount that is sent varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000, among the richer classes ornaments are sent, the garments for the boy along with some cloth is sent in all communities. The Brahmins and Gujars send these things with *pandit* accompanied by barber. Among the lower castes the *lagun* is only written by the Brahmins. A member of the community takes it.

We now have the two sides preparing to celebrate the wedding, but before this is done, a few ceremonies are held. This is known as *mandap*. In this the boy's relatives are fed and the boy is anointed with turmeric and oil. He puts on the clothes which bear the palm imprints in turmeric. Similar ceremonies are performed in the case of the girl too. A wooden log with four small hands about two feet from the top is used. It is usually purchased from the local carpenter. This is planted in the ground and the height left outside is approximately 6' to 7'. The God Ganpati and family deities are worshipped. Children are fed under the *mandap*. A Brahmin priest officiates in all these creremonies in case of Brahmins and Gujars. For others only the auspicious time and day are indicated. The ceremonies are actually performed by an elderly member of the caste.

This done, the marriage party prepares to leave for the bride's place. The party is known as *barat*. It usually consists of at least 40 persons. Among the richer persons as many as 200 persons are known to go with it. Women are excluded from the party. The departure of a *barat* is a memorable occasion, all possible means of convevance available are pooled. Where the distance is less than 20 miles the movement is invariably by bullock carts. The carts are decorated handsomely, a crimson coloured cloth lined with white is hoisted as the hood. The bullocks wear small bells which jingle all the way and the party moves. One or two persons may be seen on horse back. A few muzzle-loaders may also be seen with their rusty barrels jutting out of the carts Among the rich a cart is placed at the disposal of band players who play popular film tunes The whole caravan moves in a jovial, festive mood. The places from where the parties select their brides are generally within 25 miles radius of the village; excepting in one or two Brahmins and Gujar families, where the brides are from places a little further away. In such cases the *barat* is obliged to move out by bus or trains. Lately it has become fashionable to hire a decorated car, usually a 1932/33 model Ford which has brass peacocks and horses for decoration on it. It costs Rs. 300 or near about to hire the same and the groom is carefully seated in it.

The marriage party on reaching its destination is received near the village boundary in fields by people from the bride's village, other than her father. From there they are taken to their place of stay during the marriage. Usually this is a shady grove under the skies, a school building or a *dharamshala* or a camp that may be specially put up. The place where the *barat* stays is known as *janvasa*.

The bride's father then sends a big pot of sweet water or *sharbat* covered with yellow cloth and a *lota* with it. The barber also extends an invitation to the *barat* to come over for *tilak* or *teeka*. Thereafter the bride-groom carefully clothed in his ceremonial dress *viz*. a tight fitting *payjama*, a *kurta* and a loose *coat*, wearing a *sehara* a head wear moves with the marriage party to bride's place. The band or local musicians play the pipes and often the *shehnai*. Where the band has been hired from a city it consists of 3/4 persons in motley attire, one of them playing the clarionet, other cymbals, drums and sometimes even bagpipes. The procession moves slowly. A fire-works display follows in some more well-to-do families. After moving in the main alleys of the village the party reaches the bride's place, where it is received by bride's father.

At the bride's place, the bridegroom stands on a wooden *chauki* and here the bride presents a garland; puts it round her future husband's neck. The mother-in-law takes a *thaal* in hand and circles it around the face of the boy and thereafter some money is also taken round the head and given away. This is done to welcome the bridegroom into the family. The *barat* then feasts at the bride's place. The balance of the dowry amount is paid at the time of *teeka*.

There-after before the fixed time the bridegroom is taken to the *mandap* and here the main ceremony of *bhanvar* or the seven rounds before the sacred fire is gone through. The *pandit* now recites the *mantras* before the sacred fire, fed with *ghee*, mango wood, and other incense. The bride comes with the face heavily veiled and after the preliminary recitations of *mantras* the *chaddar* of the bride is tied to the loose cloth across the groom's body and the two then rise, go around the fire seven times and the marriage is solemnised. Among the Gujars and Brahmins a priest from the bride's side officiates throughout. As before, among the other caste a senior member of the caste officiates.

Usually the bride's father entertains the marriage party on the day of the wedding and sometimes for another day. On the wedding day however he gives a big feast depending upon his means. In richer types the whole commuuity and members of the village are invited. It is a major item of expenditure during the wedding. With these ceremonies the time for the departure of the bride draws near. This is rather a moving scene with the women folk of the bride's household crying at the time of *bidai* or departure. The bride is then taken away to her housband's place merrily with music being provided and paid for by the groom's party. The *pandit* who officiates at the ceremony is paid Rs. 11 and the rich pay him as much as Rs. 101. The *pandit* would eat at Brahmins house, partake of only fried food '*pacca*' at the Gujars but would only accept cash at the Badai or carpenters' place.

The scene now shifts to the bridegroom's place. The marriage party when it returns comes with music. The bride is received by the ladies of the household and a ceremony is held in which relatives and members of the caste are invited. The bride is given some gifts for revealing her face. This marks the acceptance of bride in the famiiy. If the marriage is between grown up parties styled *shyane* meaning they have grown up then the bride and groom are usually given a lonely corner or room for privacy and the commencement of sex relationship. This commences almost atonce in case of grown-ups. There is no fuss about the whole thing. No ornate bed awaits the couple. The younger relatives especially the married ones, brother's wife, aunts, etc., would not hesitate, in fact take delight in spying on the couple.

Pre-marital sex relationships are comparatively few, because most of the weddings are solemnised at pre-puberty stage and allowed to be consummated at puberty. It would be idle to deny that they do not exist, for among the fields when the high crops provide adequate shelter, these clandestine affairs go on. They are looked down with disfavour and a stigma attaches to the girl. In case she becomes pregnant, the person responsible is asked to take her as wife, where such a thing is permissible in the caste set up; else, she would be married at the earliest. Failing these she is sent away to some far off place or to a relative and it is here that the sordid fleshly and carnal aspects of life over-take her. The track abounds with stories where such women were sold away, done away with or just deserted and left alone to be carried away by professional sex-exploiters. Women being so few in the tract, a ready market awaits such destitutes.

Normally when the bride has been in her new home for about 8 days, somebody usually her brother is sent from her place to fetch her. She returns to her father's house. The next ceremony in this connection is what is known as *gauna.*

Gauna

Gauna marks the return of bride to her husband's place, to resume or commence married life. If she was child at the time of marriage, the *gauna* would take place after 3 to 7 years, when she attains puberty. In other cases *Gauna* usually takes place the same year. The bridegroom goes to bride's place sometimes taking with him a younger brother or a cousin. Taking a youngster along appears to be an old custom whereby this youngster was able to act as a 'go between' in the father-in-law's house. A bride speaking to her husband in her father's place, was a matter of great embarrassment. Yet it must have been difficult for the husband to remain so aloof from the bride in such surroundings hence this *via* media seemed to help both the sides. The bridegroom is now again given presents, garments, utensils, ornaments and other useful equipment. He stays there for a few days ranging from two to five and then returns with his wife. According to the old custom *gauna* signified completeness of marriage the actual commencement of married life-but today this has been modified by the biological factor of growth.

Polygamy is not practised now. There is only one such case among the Chamars in the village. Once it was prevalent according to the Thakurs mode of living. The question of 'Polyandry' broughtforth a look of incredibility in the eyes of my informers. Their reaction was brief and undisguised. They replied, "Only one will possess the woman, the one who still survives". The idea of a married woman having relationships with others is most obnoxious. In this, they held very forceful and positive views. Their reply, "All laws relating to these, lie in the heels of our shoes." *Iska sara kanoon hamari jutiyo ke tale hai.*

Marriage: Then and Now

The wise and old heads of the village complain that these days there is less enthusiasm for marriage rituals. In olden days they used to be so exciting and strict that no deviation was allowed . 'Alas', he laments, 'the picture has changed'. Some rituals have been given up. The duration of marriage party's stay has been shortened and the marriage becomes more a source of worry than care-free pleasure. The complaint is not entirely ill founded. With the rise in cost of living fewer ceremonies are performed, the *barat* stays for a shorter time and at present people mechanically follow the rituals in form only. The greying, decaying informer went on in his remniscent mood recalling, the high dowry that is demanded today and this he said was a curse on the parents. The reason given earlier seem to bear out his complaint. It is also his view that marriage in olden days were more colourful. The clothes worn were more formal and persons attending marriage did so with a feeling of moral or religious duty. "This," says he; "is entirely missing today".

Death

The entire village observes Hinduism as its religion, so Hindu rituals connected with death are observed. There is a cremation ground in the village where the dead are cremated. When a person dies, his or her body is washed by male or female members of the family. A word is sent round to relatives and other members of the caste and village. Silently they arrive and are made to sit on the ground. Sitting on the ground is a sign of mourning. When an elderly person having children and grand children dies the death is considered a lucky one. Although this does not minimise mourning, it does take away some torment and the callers convey sympathy by saying 'He reached a ripe old age, saw the pleasures of children and grand children. He is a lucky man to have so many mourning at the time of the death'.

The body is then put on bamboo bier made of two bamboos placed parallel about 2' apart and the middle portion is secured by small pieces of wood tied across in ladder fashion. Thereafter hay or grass is spread and the body decorated in clothes is put on it. It is covered with a white coffin of unbleached white cloth in case of men and widows or a coloured sheet red blue or green in case of married women. The dead body of a married woman is decorated with her ornaments which are removed before it is consigned to fire but a little gold or small copper coin is placed in the mouth at this time. The body is laid supine.

In case of rich persons who die after reaching a ripe old age, a *Viman* in the nature of a small palanquin in which the dead man can sit with a support at the back, is made and is well decorated. The body is, after the formalities given above, placed in it. A gong, counch and other musical instruments *viz.* drum, pipes are played in front of it. Sometimes small coins are also thrown, for being collected by the poor. Thereafter with these accompaniments the

bier is lifted, first by his heir and then nearest relatives, friends or neighbours and the last journey begins. Four persons act as the pall-bearers resting the bier on their shoulders. The slogan *"Ram Nam Satya Hai—Satya Bolo Gatya Hai"* "The name of Ram is truth. "Speak the truth for there in lies salvation". The party reaches the burning *ghat.* Apart from the bier a burning cow dung cake (कंडा) and an earthen pot are carried with it. The cow dung cake is used for lighting the pyre. It appears to be an ancient usage going back to those days when fire was not easily available. Even today the funeral pyre will be burnt by this fire.

When the bier has thus reached the burning *ghat,* the bier is placed on the ground, 5 to 10 maunds of fuel collected from the stock kept there for this purpose. Some sandal wood often is also brought along by the mourners. The bier is then placed in the midst of these and a pyre is built. The eldest son or the heir is allowed the privilege of lighting the pyre. Thus the body is consumed by flames. Women are not allowed to go to the cremation ground. They stay at home mourning the loss.

All persons above the age of 8 are cremated. Children up to 8 are buried in a jungle in supine position. Deaths due to epidemics, snake bites and suicide are also cremated. When the flames have consumed the body the mourners bathe in a nearby-river, rivulet or well and return to their homes. The family suffering the bereavement does not cook any food that day. Food is supplied by relatives or neighbour.

On the third day the heir along with other relations visits the spot of cremation and collects few bones that remain along with the ashes. This is known as *phool* or ashes. The se are then taken in an urn or plain container and finally immersed in the Ganges. The villagers go to village Soro on the bank of Ganges to immerse these ashes. After the death, shaving is prohibited and after the ashes have been collected, beard, moustaches and hair on the head are shaved off completely. This is done as a mark of respect to the deceased. On this occasion people who normally sport a moustache would appear clean shaven. Growing a moustache is very much in the vogue in the village. There is little of trimming done and usually the "handle bars" type is preferred. Shaving off hair, however, is restricted to the occasion of father or uncle's or elder brother's death. The next important day after the above is the 13th day. On this day a Brahmin is fed and thereafter the caste is entertained to a dinner.

All this involves a great deal of expenditure. Much of rural indebtendness is explained by expenses that must be incurred on such occasions. Feasting requires money and all of it has to be borrowed. The religious obligations are so heavy that one groans under their inescapable burden. The greatest social stigma would attach to the person avoiding these. It is said that the soul of the departed would suffer if the caste dinner is not given.

CHAPTER III

The Village Economy

The main occupation of the village is agriculture. (Please see plates XLV and XLVI). The other occupations carried on by villagers are (1) Pottery, (2) Carpentry, (3) Blacksmithy and (4) Sale of milk produce. Besides the above, transport services with 17 persons and other services with 3 come next. The main occupational pattern is as follows:—

Total workers			Agriculture			Transport of communications			Other Services		
P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
156	156	..	136	136	..	17	17	..	3	3	..

No women have been returned as workers, not because they do not work, but because a prejudice exists against admitting that women folk do outdoor work in a family. In the upper castes women usually do not work and the usage of the upper castes is the fashion for others seeking to climb the social ladder. The criteria of respectability required that women in a household should not work. The Thakurs and the Brahmins followed it quite strictly but in the other castes this has not been the case. Women help in a general manner when the agricultural operations are on. They also help in looking after the cattle, making cowdung cakes, etc., but they would not like to be classified as workers, as it may damage their social standing. The doctrine of dignity of labour, has yet to sink deeper for a complete acceptance.

Land

The total area as per village papers is 778 acres (1960-61 figures). The details are as follows: —

Year: 1960-61

Purpose	Area in acres	Remarks
1. Cultivation	646	Highest ever under cultivation
2. Cultivable land	17	
3. Grazing land	74	Charnoi—common grazing
4. Village Site	31	Including roads
5. Ravines	4	
6. *Behad*	6	
Total ..	778	

The area under cultivation for the last 3 years has been as follows. According to the village accountant, some lands about 20 acres have been acquired only very recently for Chambal Canals.

Land	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
1. Total	778	778	778
2. Cultivated	637	614	646
3. Grazing	75	71	74



PLATE XLV
Off for a day's work



PLATE XLVI
The main occupation of the village is agriculture (*Bukhuring*)

There is no forest around the village. To procure timber the villagers are required to go as far as 10-12 miles. This probably accounts for less use of wood in the construction of houses. Sources for irrigation are almost non-existent. There is one well irrigating a solitary acre. The Chambal canal under construction at present, will bring prosperity to the village, but there will be some time for it. The land reserved for grazing purposes is the only pasture land. It is uncultivable, sandy land, growing grass during the rains and leaving a very rough countryside for the rest of the year. Apart from this, little land reamains for the village.

Live-stock

The live-stock of the village castewise is shown below:—

Name of Caste	Bullocks	Calves	Buffaloes	Cows	Goats/ Sheep	Total
1. Chamars ..	58	12	43	17	1	131
2. Gujars ..	37	7	51	49	19	163
3. Brahmins ..	6	2	8	6	..	22
4. Kumhars ..	7	1	10	4	..	22
5. Badai	2	1	2	1	..	6
6. Kadheras ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
						344

Gujars thus possess the largest number of cattle. Their traditional love for cattle is borne out. The live-stock is mostly useful for agricultural operations, supply of milk and sale of milk products. Besides this, there are two bulls and one buffalo for breeding purposes. Very few families feed the live-stock carefully. Mostly the cattle has to find its own food by wandering across the grazing land. After the monsoon weeds of *Jowar* are given, *bhoosi* or wheat husk is also given in the summer. Oil-cakes are not used excepting in some Gujar and Brahmin families. The milk yield of the cattle is rather poor. Buflaloes average 2 to 3 seers of milk a day. There are one or two exceptions to this where the yield is about 6 seers a day. Except for Kumhar and Badai who ply their own trade, there are no other sources by which people earn their livelihood. Their main clientele is the village but they also satisfy the demands of nearby villages. There was a convention that only after supplying the wants of the village, they will work for other villages. Now-a-days this is not rigidly enforced. The payment made is partly in kind and partly in cash.

The village was a *Zamindari* village till 1951. Consequent to the abolition of the *Zamindari* system the whole set of conditions underwent a rapid change. The area is not particularly known for its peaceful conditions. Depredations of gangs of dacoit have continued from time immemorial. The village being well connected with Morena the main market and centre of administration, has not shown any significant signs of urbanisation. Nearness to Morena perhaps is again responsible for lack of shops in the village for there are only two in the village. Whenever any consumer goods are wanted they can be procured from Morena. The two shopkeepers sell only wheat-flour, or *jowar, gur*, edible oil, kerosene, *biris* and match-boxes. The cost of the commodities is slightly higher than at Morena. The clientele is limited mostly to the village. No communications have been developed, because it is only 2 miles from the National Highway 3 and the trouble in constructing a road is outbalanced by comparative ease by which the Highway can be reached. The proposal to link Dikhatpura with National Highway 3 has not succeeded because the villagers of the adjoining village Sikroda are not enthusiastic about it. The villagers had suggested that the approach road to National Highway 3 may be undertaken on 50% Government aid and 50% self help basis. Since the road will pass through the land in Sikroda village, co-operation and voluntary labour of its inhabitants would also be necessary. The response from Sikroda was not enthusiastic. They argued that the National Highway 3 was less than a mile away from their place and except that tractor of Gujars from Dikhatpura would be able to pass through, no other material benefit would accrue to them. This argument infected the villagers at Dikhatpura too and gradually there was no more talk of this approach road. In view of this agriculture continues as the main occupation.

In the old State time the proprietors of land were the *Zamindars*. Land for the first time has been made over to the tiller, as a result of this the Chamars who had been sub-tenants of erstwhile Brahmins and Gujars became *pacca* tenants and have benefited most. This also accounts for their giving up tanning. One would have thought that this measure of land reforms would satisfy them for it ensured continuance of their tenancy. When asked about the change, they admitted that today land was theirs but yester years were better and the *Zamindar* was a more benign ruler. This *laudator temporis acti* had his reasons for it. To him the *Zamindari* seemed to typify a benevolent personal autocratic rule. Here was one person upon whom he could fall back for more lands for money or for any help. This was always forthcoming. Thus with such aid, life to him appeared rosier, but today he woefully complained "None is prepared to hear you" *Koi sunvai wala nahin he*". "If you want land the patwari misguides you, if you want loans it is never given in time and the tahsil clerk sees to it that you go through the maximum discomfiture". He complained that with the rise of prices, he remained where he was. In praise of the *Zamindar* he had to say that the latter, if need be also protected him. Today he moans you are at mercy of lawless elements. This is a far off cry from one used to pampering, perhaps: it is the initial difficulty in adopting oneself to a situation in which one has to be self reliant. Yet this serves to emphasise the fact that even a universally condemned system may have its redeeming features: the silver lining in an otherwise dark horizon.

The others admit the benefits that have accrued to them. Among other things they are happy at the fact that land is owned by them. That the rent recovered from them is less and uniformly spread over. This has enabled them to cultivate better. They are no longer required to dance attendance on the whims of the *Zamindars* No *begar* is taken from them. During the days of the *Zamindar* they were deprived of the right of becoming a *pacca* tenant of the land by malicious allotment of lands. It was the law then, that if a cultivator had been in possession of land continuously for 12 years, he was entitled to be declared as *Mourusi* meaning a *pacca* tenant signifying that the land would be heritable and transferable. The *Zamindars* saw to it that no one succeeded, thus they distributed leases in such a way that none could claim the advantage through continuous possession.

The land is mostly in plains. There has been no improvement by way of contour bunding reclamation or consolidation of holdings. The soil conservation units are working in nearby villages towards the south on the river Kuwari. Some reclamation has also been done on the Chambal ravines up in the north of the village. To improve the quality of land the use of fertilizers has been envisaged but the area being an unirrigated one even this has dreadful limitations.

Industrialisation

The village has no industries worth mentioning. Sixty per cent of its income is derived from agriculture. There are 20 persons who serve and get paid for it. Three household industries *viz.*, potters, smithy and carpentry, however, exist. These have already been discussed. The carpenter makes agricultural tools and other implements, bullock-carts, door frames and does other miscellaneous jobs. For carts made he gets paid in cash for other items payment is in grain. Household industries are dealt in details under head 'village industries' later in the chapter.

Urbanization

Morena, the urban centre, is only 8 miles away. This nearness has brought some of the village residents into active party politics. One such person is thus a fairly prominent Congressman. The mode of dresses is steadily undergoing a transformation. It was observed that the bush-shirts and trousers were being used by some younger persons. One person has built up a house at Morena and mostly stays there leaving the others to look after his agricultural activity at the village. Each day about 8/10 persons from the village visit the town either for making purchases or for some work in the offices or for selling their produce. The younger males are becoming fond of cinemas and they cycle down 8 miles to and fro to see a picture, the favourite ones being stunts or devotionals. A few of them even gave out their favourite actors and actresses *viz.*, Maruti (a stunt picture actor) and Nirupa Roy (who has lately appeared in scores of devotional pictures). The spirit of the town appears to be infecting the pleople; the drift is noticeable but the same is comparable to a homing pigeon whose moorings are in the village. The desire to leave the village for good has not been noticed. Even the persons working in the Railways in the capacity of gangmen, or casual labourers wend their way back to the village by the evening. In the evenings I could see a few of them returning on bicycles with their implements neatly tied up on the luggage carrier. On being asked what happened when they are transferred, they replied that it was with great difficulty that they "managed" to be posted here; thanks to the not entirely selfless-kindness of the clerk, this was possible. It was latermade out that they 'paid' their way back to be near the village. After all the love for home and hearth seem s to be very deep rooted.

Urban consumer goods are finding their way into the village. Hurricane lanterns are plentiful. Sunlight soap is used in a few households. Even talcum powder, hairoil was seen with one family. Nearness to the town has played an important role in bringing the village nearer the urban way of life. Whereas it would b e far from the truth to suggest that the urban way of living has replaced the rural, it has t o be conceded that the former is making inroads into the village and this too, fast, The two *pacca* houses also reflect the impact of urban townships.

Communications its Improvements

An Approach Road upto the Agra-Bombay Highway would go a long way to facilitate easy marketing of the produce at Morena. Parochial interests, referred earlier stand in the way of its completion. One family uses trucks and tractor to transport its produce, but one swallow does not make summer hence the slower mode of transport—cart—has to be used. The cyclists who go to Morena, load their goods on the carrier and do the same on return if purchases have been made. The cycle remains the most popular and fastest means of communication. The village postman visits Dikhatpura on alternate days. His load is very light. Newspapers are received daily through the school master who lives in Morena but attends to his school and returns each day. Two Hindi dailies one from Gwalior and the other from Delhi are received. The villagers are not interested in reading. Only three or four persons apart from the Government staff read them. There is no radio set. Efforts are now being made to obtain one. Collections were being made.

Marketing

Morena is the only market both for sale and purchase. Usually the marketing is done either by head loads or by cycle or by bullock-carts. The bullock-cart has a capacity of about 20 maunds, and besides is also a good conveyance for moving around. There is a controlled market or mandi at Morena. It has two big blocks formerly known as Sikarwari and Tonwarghar, after the two castes of Thakurs. Its present name is Jiwajiganj, after the late Maharaja of Gwalior. The old names are still heard; the present one has yet to be accepted completely. The commodities sold by the village are wheat, *jowar*, maize, gram, pulses and mustard and *ghee*. They buy salt, jaggery, sugar, kerosene, *bidi*, tobacco, spices, oil, onions, potatoes, cloth and ready made clothes. Apart from Morena they do not go anywhere else. There is one Gujar family who has a silversmith's shop in Morena. The proprietor of this shop often visits Gwalior and some times Agra for business. He is an active member of the Congress Organisation besides being a 'Kendra Panchayat Sar Panch' (In the erstwhile State of Madhya Bharat, all *gram* or village panchayats in a Revenue Inspector's Circle were grouped under a *Kendra Panchayat*, which supervised the working of *Gram panchayats*).

Finances

The traditional figure of the village money lender, charging high rates of interest hovers over the village. There are two money lenders with 44 families in their clutches, the rate of interest charged is 2% per month or 24% annu ally. Once a debt has been obtained it is hard to liquidate it. There is a case where the father borrowed some money and the son is slaving for it today. The villagers fully well know that the tentacles of the money lender octopus are unrelenting. Once in his clutches it is almost impossible to come back to normal life. The money lender's willingness to loan money at the weakest moments of the lives of the tenantry is his (money lender) biggest weapon to hold them; whereas a service society or government would fail a cultivator or not come to his timely rescue, the smiling, innocuous but vicious money lender will promptly come to their aid. He builds up his good will, decimating all chances of an economic recovery of the peasantry. Their urgent needs are his future security and thus the noose tightens.

When the repayment of a loan is delayed, various tactics are resorted to. It may start by constant pressure cajoling and end up by getting the debtor beaten up. Sometimes the debtors pledge to work for the creditor to wipe out the debts. It was to one such case that the allusion referred to earlier relates. Everybody maintains good relations with the creditor; they have to. The other and more recent source which gives them this facility is the Co-operative Society established in 1921. It was intended to give credits to the agriculturists. Initially the share capital was Rs. 500. The working capital of the society is Rs. 4,000 today and has already advanced loans up to Rs. 25,000 to its members,50 % of Dikhatpura families are its members. The total number of the members is 81. Interest charged is at the rate of 6 to 9%.

Economtc Activity

Apart from agriculture there are a few secondary occupations (1) Pottery, (2) Smithy, (3) Carpentry, (4) Animal Husbandry. It is interesting to note that in the last census the

returns for economic activity were only for agriculture. They are reproduced below:—

Total			Agricultural classes owners			Cultivators and dependents			Agricultural Labourers			Non-Agricultural Other sources		
P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
379	212	167	369	207	162	7	3	4	2	1	1	1	1	..

Thus then it may be said to be purely an agricultural economy. From then to now the changes have been fairly marked. To repeat 1961 figures:—

Population			Cultivators			Transport			Other services		
P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
464	261	203	136	136	..	17	17	..	3	3	..

Transport Services accounts for 17 persons. These are mostly unskilled workers or gangmen nine of them belong to regular service while the rest are casually employed in the Railways. Three persons are with other services, these have been only recently appointed to Government Services as Co-operative Society Secretary in Panchayat Department and in the Education Department. Thus 20 persons have taken to non-agricultural professions. It is an indication of progress but only in a limited way.

The reason for these changes is the spread of education, the pressure on land coupled with adventurism and finally the acceptance of the theory that village itself is hardly sufficient to absorb all persons at work. A Brahmin remarked "How can the village contain all persons: some will have to go out to find a living". The Chamars who have gone over for service in the Railway have done so mostly due to extreme pressure on land: because the household has only 4.7 acres on average. From the Brahmin families two persons have gone out for other services. They have benefited from the educational facilities. The villagers agree with the Brahmin's remarks and they too feel that sooner or later they will have to find new places for work elsewhere for in the village there is hardly enough work for everybody.

Ownership of Economic Sources

Excepting for two families, one Gujar and one Chamar, the rest own their holdings in the village. The castewise break up is as follows:—

Total Families: 69

	Caste	No. of families	Total land held in acres	Average per family	Remark
1.	Chamar	43	202	4.7	
2.	Gujar	14	173	12.3	
3.	Kumhar	5	21.3	4.2	
4.	Brahmin	3	44	14.6	
5.	Carpenter	1	3.5	3.5	
6.	Kadhera	1	3	3	

The remaining land fit for cultivation is owned by persons residing in adjoining villages. The average holding per family is 6.6 acres.

The Brahmins have the highest average per family followed by the Gujars and Kadhera stands last in the table.

The continuance of the old pattern is fairly obvious: because emphasis on agriculture has continued. The notable change during this period was the complete break by the Chamars from their traditional occupation. While the potter, carpenter, Kadhera may still be seen continuing their age-old tradition but Chamars have broken away so completely that shoe-making is a forgotten art among them.

Primary and Secondary Occupations Statistics

Occupation Including Secondary	No. of families engaged	Persons
1. Wholly Agriculture	14	33
2. Partly Agriculture(Main) Labour (Subs.)	15	32
3. Agriculture (Main) Services (Subs.)	22	27
4. Agriculture (Main) Animal Husbandry	6	20
5. Agriculture and Pottery	4	20
6. Agriculture and carpentry	1	3
7. Agriculture and Blacksmithy	1	1
8. Service and Agriculture	6	20
Total	69	156

Although Kumhars have 5 families, only four follow the traditional occupation; one has drifted away.

The Brahmins, once the sole proprietors of the village, are left with 44 acres only. Most of their lands have been taken over by the Chamars. The Gujars have clung to their part of holdings in the village. In influence Gujars are coming up fast: but Brahmins continue to be respected and are yet a force to contend with.

Agriculture

As stated earlier, agriculture remains the primary occupation in the village. Before commencing any field operations an auspicious day is selected by the Brahmin. Usually one family in the village selects the day and others follow it. The day so selected is often *Akha Teej*: although on this day the conditions may not permit sowing and usually they do not, a small ritual is gone through, since this is the most opportune day. This is known as *shakun* (omen) and consists of going up to the fields with bullocks decorated for the purpose; water and grain is offered to earth. The ceremony is performed with the expectation for good crops at the ensuing season. The function usually falls towards the end of April or there-abouts.

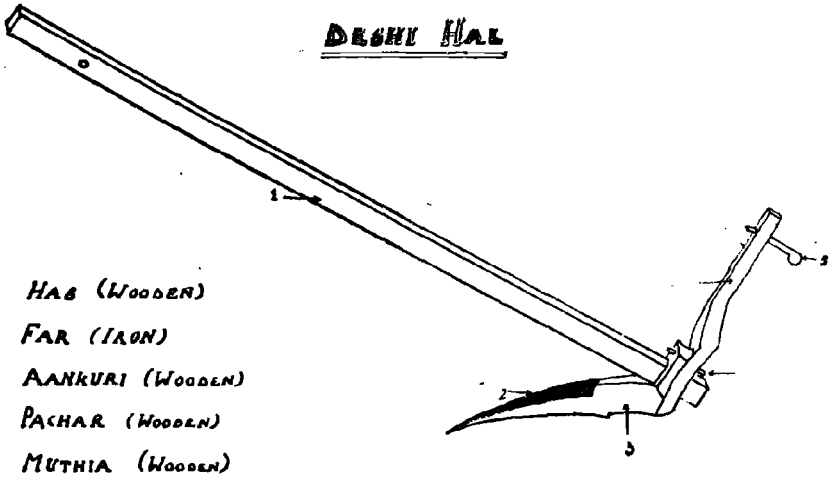
Before the onset of the monsoons some time in middle of May; the fields are prepared, by ploughing about two times. Sowing is done by the middle of July after the fields have received a first shower. The requirements of seed are arranged for locally. There are some 4 cultivators who by now have built up good seed resources. Initially they were all helped by the Block agency. The seed requirements are as follows:—

Crop	Area Sowing	Seed required
1. *Jowar*	.. One bigha	.. 2½ Seers
2. *Moong*	.. One bigha	.. 2½ seers
3. *Arhar*	.. One bigha	.. 2½ seers

A bigha equals .51 acres or 1.936 bighas equal one acre.

In the recent years iron ploughs *deshihal* (please see plate XLVII) have replaced the wooden ones. With the help of *bukhurs* it is now possible to bring more area under cultivation. Lately fertilisers are becoming popular as is evidenced from the fact that 35 maunds were given for gram crop. It has to be borne in mind that in the village there is no irrigation and hence with this limitation fertilisers remain in fair demand.

DESHI HAL



1 HAS (WOODEN)
2 FAR (IRON)
3 AANKURI (WOODEN)
4 PACHAR (WOODEN)
5 MUTHIA (WOODEN)
6 PARETHA (WOODEN)

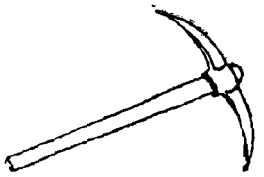
SCALE=1 INCH TO A FOOT

PLATE XLVII (*a*)

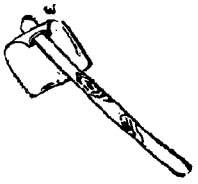
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS



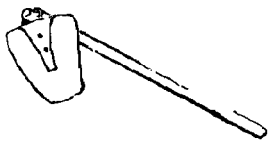
HANSIA



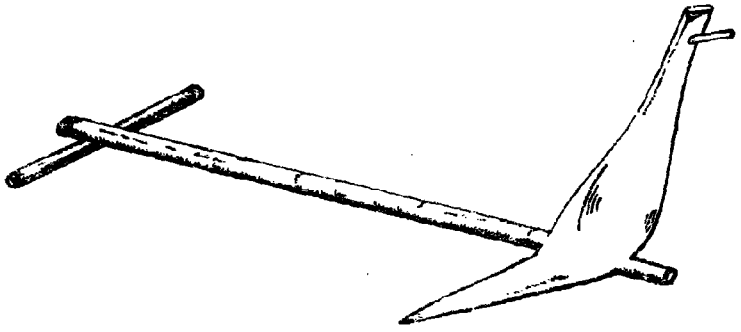
KUDALI



PHAWARA



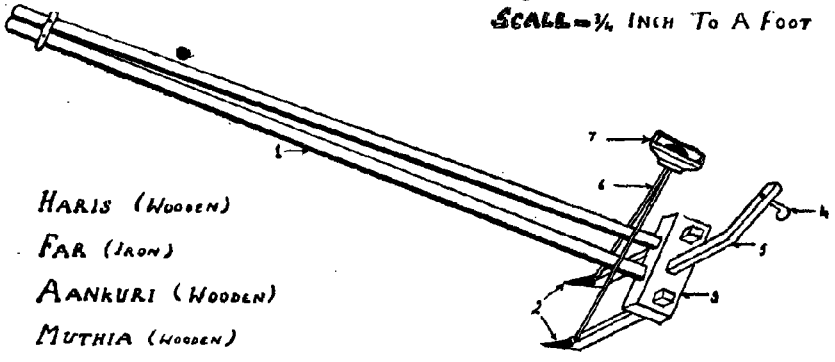
PHAWARA



(PLOUGH)

NARI (DUPHAN)

SCALE = ¼ INCH TO A FOOT



1 HARIS (WOODEN)
2 FAR (IRON)
3 AANKURI (WOODEN)
4 MUTHIA (WOODEN)
5 PARETHA (WOODEN)
6 CHADI BANSA (WOODEN)
7 CHADI (WOODEN)

PLATE XLVII (b)

The method of sowing is broadcasting. The modern method of sowing by lines has not been popular; the villagers argue that this method is not conducive to better yield and requires more seed. After about a fortnight of the sowing the process for removing weeds and other unwanted growth is carried out. It is carried out with *dora* and depending on the growth of weeds the operation is repeated after 15 days or so. Maize is usually grown nearer house sites. It takes two months to mature and by August end is ready for being cut. *jowar* is ready by November and its cutting takes place along with *bajra* right up to the end of December.

As the corn ripens the need for vigilance is great. The cultivators sleep in the fields during these days to ensure that there is no thieving. To avoid wastage by other birds, a string-swinging rocket is used. It throws big pebbles at them. This is known as *gofan* (please see plate XLVIII). There have been instances where corn was stolen or put on fire out of sheer vindictiveness. The harsh autumnal sun mellows the corn and as autumn decays into winter, it becomes ready for being harvested. No rituals or ceremonies are held; only an opportune day is selected. Usually saturday is avoided and then with the help of a sickle the cutting is launched (please see plate XLIX) A patch of ground having a radius of nearly 15′ to 20′ is cleared for storing the corn, weeds and grass are removed; it is sprinkled with water to which cowdung has been added and brushed carefully to make it tidy. The corn that has been cut is stocked here in a heap. Thereafter it is laid out in a small circle over which bullocks with their mouths muzzled up walk, stamping it underneath their feet (please see plate L). This separates the grain from the stalk. The grain is now winnowed in the air with the result that husk flies away and the grain is left on the ground (pl ase see plate LI). The place where this operation is carried on is locally known as *khaliyan.*

Rabi Crops

The *rahi* crops are sown by early November and reaped in the months of March-April. The main *rabi* crops are (1) Wheat, (2) Gram, (3) Barley and (4) Mustard.

The fields are prepared towards the cessation of monsoons *i. e.*, by about September, and the sowing takes place between October 20 to November 10. The process for obtaining the grain from the stalk is the same as in case of *Jowar.*

The Pattern of Crops

The statement below gives the average under various crops. It is fairly obvious that more *kharif* than *rabi* crops are sown. In the last two years 1959-60, 1960-61 the rainfall was comparatively above the average and continued late. Thus we find that where *jowar* had been sown earlier, the same was ploughed over and later on winter crops in the nature of gram, mustard and castor were sown. As a rule double cropping is not practised. It was only 93 acres and was under *bajra* or maize followed by gram. This is the conventional crop pattern suitable for an unirrigated tract:—

CROPS PRODUCED IN DIKHATPURA

Kharif

Crop	1958-59			1959-60			1960-61		
	Area sown in acres	Production in Lbs.	Average per acre in Lbs.	Area sown in acres	Production in Lbs.	Average per acre in Lbs.	Area sown in acres	Production in Lbs.	Average per acre in Lbs.
1. *Jowar* ..	161	77,280	480	219	1,05,120	480	144	69,120	480
2. *Bajra* ..	132	17,920	560	128	30,720	240	113	330	300
3. *Moong* ..	27	8,640	320	38	15,200	400	37	14,800	400
4. *Arhar (Dal)* ..	36	16,680	480	42	20,160	480	89	53,400	600
5. *Chari* ..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. *San* ..	1	480	480	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. *Tilli* ..	4	640	160	4	1,280	320	3	960	320
8. *Patsan* ..	4	1,280	320	5	2,800	560	12	6,720	560
Total ..	369	..	..	436	..	..	398	..	..



PLATE-XLVIII
Look out; *Gofan* in use: for protecting crops



PLATE-XLIX
Jowar being cut



PLATE-L
Muzzled Bullocks stamping over *Jowar*



PLATE-LI
Winnowing the corn

Rabi

S.No.	Crop	1958-59 Area sown in acres	1958-59 Production in Lbs.	1958-59 Average per acre in Lbs.	1959-60 Area sown in acres	1959-60 Production in Lbs.	1959-60 Average per acre in Lbs.	1930-61 Area sown in acres	1930-61 Production in Lbs.	1930-61 Average per acre in Lbs.
1.	Wheat ..	1	640	640	..	..	..	22	7,040	320
2.	*Jau* (Barley) ..	1	640	640	1	240	240	33	10,560	320
3.	Gram ..	210	1,34,400	640	161	38,640	240	200	64,000	320
4.	*Alsi* (O. S) ..	26	8,120	320	10	3,200	320	22	8,800	400
5.	*Mustard* (O. S.)	29	6,960	240	4	1,280	320	10	4,000	400
6.	*Soha* (O. S.) ..	3	1,440	480	1	240	240	1	300	300
	Total ..	**270**	..	..	**177**	..	..	**288**	..	..

The Economics and Production

It is rather difficult to assess the cost of cultivation, because it is dependent on so many factors and each in its turn admits of no easy solution. An attempt has been made to do so after taking into consideration the various factors of production. Assuming that one acre is being ploughed the cost of production would be as follow:—

Cost of preparing field including *bakhuring*: 4 man days @ Rs. 5 per day including hire charges for bullocks. *ie.*, Rs. 20

Seeds 4½ srs. (*Jowar*) @ Rs. 12 per maund: Rs. 1.35
Wheat 1½ Maunds (Per acre) @ Rs. 14 per maund: Rs. 21
Manure 3 to 4 cartloads @ Rs. 2.50 per cart load for *Jowar*: Rs. 10
Manure 15 to 20 cartloads for Wheat: Rs. 50

If the labour of one man is included then normally for *Jowar* he works for 90 man-days and at Rs. 1.50 per day it is Rs. 135. For wheat it is about 120 man-days or Rs. 180

	Jowar	Wheat
Total without family's contribution	31.35	Rs. 271
Yield from the above	*Jowar* 8 to 10 Maunds.	

Net yield 10 maunds × Rs. 10 sale price of *Jowar*-Rs. 100. Wheat yield 8 maunds × Rs. 14 = Rs. 112. With *Jowar Moong* or *Urad* is mixed and sown and this usually brings in another 2/3 maunds of produce or an additional Rs. 50 to 60.

It will be observed that in cultivation of wheat over a small area is not particularly productive, *Jowar* with lesser seed and effort brings in practically, the same return. The bye-products like chaff, husk have been excluded.

Normally a pair of bullocks is sufficient to cultivate upto about 5 to 10 acres of land. For less than five acres of land it would be uneconomical to possess bullocks. Agricultural labourers are getting scarcer each day. They come under two categories *viz.* (1) Casual, (2) Permanent. The casual labourer when available has to be paid for at the rate of Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2 per day or in the alternative after cutting six sheaves of corn they get one for their own use. The latter is in vogue now. A capable corn-cutter is able to carry home about 6/7 seers of wheat in this way. In terms of money it works out to about Rs. 2 to 2.25 per day; in addition he gets the husk which is also a money-earner. It gets him another 60 to 70 nP. per day. This is a much preferred method. While cutting *jowar* where labour is employed the wages are paid on the same principle but on a different calculation. The casual abourers often come from Rajasthan side and remain in the district for about one or two months.

The permanent labourers (also known as *Hariye* or *Halwaye*) are paid at the rate of Rs. 300 per year with two meals a day and a set of clothes. He is also provided with a little space to stay. He is seldom engaged by a cultivator of less than 20 acres of land. I came across a case where a *halwaye* was held under obligation to serve the master because the father of this serf had taken a loan and failed to repay it. To pay off the loans he was slaving

day in and out. All his earnings were adjusted against his father's loan and there seemed no knowing when he would be able to clear it off. There are one or two other such cases in nearby villages. One is told that the victim often makes good his escape by leaving the village: but woe to him if he is discovered at a place where his former master has some vestige of influence. When all is said and done agricultural labourer is becoming a scarcer commodity and all cultivators moan its shortage. The villagers inform that in the *Zamindari* set up, it was quite common for these *halwayes* to serve masters from one generation to another. Even today some of these *halwayes* have been with the family for many years. Some are well looked after by their masters in other cases it becomes a battle of wits between the two the inherent will of master to get the work done and the circumstantial will of the *halwaye*: at acquiescing in it.

The Agricultural Cycle

We are now in a position to describe the agricultural cycle with respect to the months of the year. The Agricultural year commencing from July each year is observed. The operations go on in the following manner. The word *kharif* denotes crops sown during the early monsoons and reaped by the onset of winter. The months of May and June are devoted to preparing the fields. They are ploughed, stubs and other growth is cleared up, seeds manure collected and then cultivators look towards the skies for rains.

May-June

With the showers the ground becomes thoroughly wet and the sowing of *Jowar, Moong, Arhar, Urad,* Maize commences.

July

The weeding of unwanted growth is carried out: chemical fertilisers given and in some cases fields for winter crops are also prepared.

August-September

The harvesting of crops commences in November. Labourers are engaged, *Khaliyans* prepared. The sowing of *rabi* crops commences.

October-November

These are sown in October-November each year and harvested in March-April. They are wheat, gram, barley, mustard, castor etc.

Rabi Crops

The harvesting of *kharif* crop goes on, the crop is then cleaned from husk, pebble and other impurities and then marketed by late December or in January. January is also a period when the first instalment of Government revenue is collected.

December-January

February is comparatively a quiet month. The growth of the crops is carefully watched and harvesting commences sometime in middle of March. Usually the festival of colour *Holi* is also celebrated at about this time and after *Holi* the cutting commences.

February-March

The harvesting is completed by the end of the month and the commodity is also put out into the market.

April

The average yield of crops compares favourably with that of the region as a whole. Since the land is unirrigated the yield is uniform in the whole village.

The Yield of Crops

STATEMENT SHOWING AVERAGE YIELD

Crop	Quantity of yield per acre
Jowar	8 to 10 maunds
Bajra	3 to 4 maunds
Moong	4 to 5 maunds
Arhar	6 to 8 maunds
Tilli	3 to 4 maunds
Wheat	6 to 8 maunds
Barley	5 to 6 maunds
Gram	5 to 6 maunds
Castor	5 to 6 maunds
Mustard	5 to 6 maunds

Land Revenue

In the last three years the following recoveries have been made:—

(In Rupees)

Year		Demand	Amount Recovered	Cesses Recovered
1958-59	..	2,257.81	2,257.81	70.56
1959-60	..	2,257.45	2,257.45	70.84
1960-61	..	2,164.10	2,164.10	62.37

In 1960-61 the land revenue demand abated some what because of the lands taken up for Chambal Canal Construction Work.

Soils

The settlement of the tahsil took place in 1939 in the time of the erstwhile Gwalior State. The soil was divided into ten varieties which were assessed in accordance with its fertility.

Gohan

The first type is known as *Gohan Awal*. *Gohan* is the quality and *Awal* signifies class I. So among the *gohan* variety *awal* is naturally rated highest. It is situated near the home steads hence receives natural manuring because the village refuse is thrown over it, night soil is also deposited here. At the same time it is easier to supervise. Class I is assessed at Rs. 5.69 per acre. Class II consists of lands a little further away or having sloping surface and is assessed at Rs. 4.35 per acre.

Kabar

The next in the list is *Kabar* which is light black in colour, it is sticky and does not form holes in rains. It consists of clay in seven parts and sand in three parts. It is assessed at Rs. 3.62 per acre.

Dhumat

Dhumat Awal or class I and *dhumat* class II or *doyam* is brown with a tinge of black consisting of clay in three parts and sand two parts. Class I is assessed at Rs. 3.87 and Class II at Rs. 3.62.

Padua

Padua Awal class I and *doyam* class II is yellowish in colour with a tinge of brown. It's composition is 3.2 sand and clay usually wheat cannot be grown in it without irrigation. It is assessed at Rs. 2.79 and Rs. 2.54 respectively.

Abhi

Abhi Awal or class I represents soil which is covered by water. The quality could be *Dhumat* or *Padua*. The rain water dries up by October, November and wheat is sown thereafter. For one acre revenue of Rs. 4.84 is payable.

Dadha

Dadha Awal or *Doyam* is pebble and gravel covered land. It is very poor from cultivation point of view. Usually *tilli* is sown in this type of land. Rent payable is Rs. 1.82 or 0.72 nP. only. The last mentioned is the lowest type of land which is to be found in the village.

Animal Husbandry

Wherever there is a Gujar, animal husbandry must be his occupation, one may qualify the above and add 'side occupation' after the word occupation and one would be absolutely correct. Six families have been shown as carrying on this as secondary occupation. A few more could be added, but for the extreme casualness of their side business. Milk and *ghee* are sold in Morena and the market is very encouraging. Usually milk dealers of Morena buy the milk supplies wholesale the price varies from Rs. 24 to 30 per maund., during the year lower in winter and higher in summer. There are two persons who vend their stocks in Morena. *Ghee* is sold at about Rs. 5 to Rs. 6.50 per seer. It was being sold at Rs. 5 per seer in October-November 1961. The Morena price being Rs. 6.12 per Kilo. Although the villagers have been initiated into the secrets of adulteration, one can still get excellent *ghee* by previous arrangement. The stuff exported to Morena has its usual quota of adulteration. This process of adulteration remains a closely guarded secret with them.

There is yet another remarkable feature which has come about by way of raising the standards of living. In many a houses the cattle produce is being consumed at home. "Tightening of belts for exports" is not very popular with them. I saw children having fed with milk and *ghee* being preserved for home consumption. This was not the case 10-12 years ago, when these products were either not available, or if available had to be surrendered to obtain cereals and grains. Perhaps the better prices of foodgrains leaves these for home consumption or perhaps a latent desire to live well is forcing itself to the surface after a long period of suppression.

Animal Care

All castes rear cows, goats, buffaloes and bulls. They are grazed round about the village. Usually a grazier is put in charge and he collects all the cattle in the morning, takes them out for grazing and brings them back in the evening. Occasionally salt is given for

whetting their appetite. Oil cakes, oilseeds are also given to the cows and buffaloes in the evening. This increases the fatty contents of milk and the yield. It however is done in a few families. Only five families feed their cattle regularly. As for the rest green grass during the rains hay and other field produce like *Jowar* stalks *bhoosi* is given in the other months. By and large the feeding of the cattle falls a little below the standard of Northern India.

Animal Diseases

There is no village veterinary dispensary. Morena is the nearest place for medical help in these matters. The commonest diseases are.—

(1) H. S. Haemorrahagic Septicemia—

The neck tends to swell and wind-pipe gets choked. Death ensues as a result of the *failure of the respiratory system.*

(2) Muha Pacca Mouth—

A water borne infection causes swelling in the mouth during rainy months.

(3) Khur Pacca Foot.

In this the hoofs get damaged and sepsis sets in.

(4) Rinder Pest-Mata Ki Bimari.—

(5) Anthrax—

Breeds

Among cows and bulls the breed is mostly a local which is regarded as mixed one. It approximates to *Hariyana* type.

Buffaloes—

Buffaloes

There are three breeds locally known as (1) Tonwarghari (2) *Buadawari,* (3) *Murra* or the Punjab breed.

Goats

These are known as Bikaneri and mixed ones.

Trade in Animals

Animals are reared to be traded in. One Brahmin and two Gujars follows this trade regularly. Animals are sold at Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri and Guna which are 8,33,80,140 miles away. They are not sold for slaughter. The villagers have a strong objection to sale for slaughter purposes. When asked as to how are they sure that after selling the animals are not slaughtered, their reply appeared fairly convincing. They said that the parties dealing in animals are well known to them. They have been in the business for quite some time, hence they know about the purpose for which the animal will be used.

The market value of a buffalo or a cow depends upon her milk yielding capacity. A buffalo giving about 8 seers of milk fetches about Rs. 500 while that giving 10 seers may fetch Rs. 600 or so. Similarly a cow with 4 seers milk capacity can fetch Rs. 200 or so. Bulls are prized for their services during the agricultural operations. They are selected on the basis of number of their teeth. The mathematical formula is given below:—

For bull with two teeth age is reckoned as 3 years.

For bull with 4 teeth age is reckoned as 4 to 5 years.

For bull with 6 teeth age is reckoned as 6 to 7 years.

For bull with 8 teeth age is reckoned as 8 years.

One gathers that this is fairly accurate mathematics.

Village Industries

In the commonly accepted sense of the word there are no village industries. On a small scale however (1) Earthen Pot-making (Please see plate LII), (2) Carpentry (Please see plate LIII) are practised.

Earthen Pot Making

This is confined to making utensils like earthen pitchers, small and big utensils for preserving grains, *dabuas deeyas* and such small utility utensils. Raw material used is (a) Clay, (*b*) *rakh* (ashes from the hearth, ashes from cow-dung cakes mostly), (*c*) cow-dung preferably that of horse or donkey and along with water. The inhabitants of the village are the customers and the payment is made in kind and cash. The potters' wheel is the main tool used by them, rotating it with a small stick. Their models were those given by their forefathers. The youngsters acquire the art gradually by observation and lending a helping hand.

Carpentry

There is one carpenter. Apart from Dikhatpura a few neighbouring villages also reap some benefit from his efforts. He manufactures ploughs, cart wheels and carts and carries out all major and minor repairs to these. He obtains his raw material *viz.* wood from nearby villages or Morena. There is no seasoning of wood or such other process. Wood is cut and after a while products are made out of it. He is generally in good demand because repair

work from atleast six nearby villages is received by him. From village carpenter's standard his products are fair. He is personally a very agreeable type and this perhaps may have something to do with his wide spread clientele. The tools for working are the old types *viz.* hammer, saw, scale, pliers, screw drivers, sledge hammer. He never goes to the market for selling his products. He gets plenty of orders at home and keeps busy in complying with them.

A some-what complex system of making payment to the carpenter was noticed. For all major works of an original nature *e.g.* (making bullock cart, a plough, a wheel, etc.) he is paid in cash. For all minor repairs done to agricultual implements or to household goods he is paid in kind by a system called *kheran* named after *khaliyans* or the place where grain is stored. The carpenter goes to the *khaliyan* and each cultivator who has been his client, gives him grains according to his status and work done for him. The cultivator does not weigh the grain but hands him his share which by rough guess is between 2½ to 5 seers. The non-cultivating types who intend to have some service performed pay him by cash. The carpenter also does the work of iron-smith, carrying out minor repairs.

Commerce

For all consumers' articles the village depends upon Morena. It does not export any finished products. Grains and milk products are sold at Morena. The grains are loaded in bullock carts and taken to Morena by the National High Way 3. Milk products are vended on bicycle by moving along the railway track to Morena. In the local trade among the villagers the barter system may still be seen *e.g.* grains could be exchanged for pulses and *vice versa*, it is only in these matters that the barter system prevails. In all other transactions cash payement is the vogue. Old weights and measures still continue. Metric weights are yet a far cry.

Other Social Services

Dikhatpura had no washerman or barber of its own. The washerman came from village Piparsa (1½ miles away) and barber from village Pidawali (about 3 miles to the West). The washerman would wash the clothes of a Chamar, provided the latter was a cultivator. The payment is in kind, 10 seers of grain and *bajra* at every crop being given to the washerman. Only one washerman visits the village and he has an entire monoploy over the residents. Men usually wash their clothes themselves. Women's clothing is given to the washerman who visits the village in 8-10 days. Apart from women's clothing, household linen is also given for washing. The clothes are washed in water, squeezed and dried. No soap or other washing material isused. The barber visits the village every third or fourth day. He is paid in kind at the rate of 10 seers of *Bajra* and 10 seers of gram at each harvest. He is required to shave the Chamars too, provided of course, they can afford payment.

Indebtedness

There are 69 households and out of these 60 are in debt. The money lender charges 24% interest per annum and 31 families are in his clutches. The remaining 29 households are in debt with the Co-operative Society or Bank.

The villagers have run into debt owing to the following causes:—

(1) Crop failure,

(2) Ceremonies at home,

(3) For agricultural improvements,

(4) For payment to dacoits;

There have been no total failures of crops. However in the last three years the yield has not been very satisfactory. This is particularly so in case of *Kharif* crops. It has often been complained that owing to excessive rainfall the yield has been rather poor. While it is true that rainfall in the last three years has been 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 44.91, 27.82, 46.79 as against 24" average for the tahsil, it would also be noticed that the average in *Rabi* crops has increased. Thus loss in *kharif* is sought to be made good in *rabi*. One thing must however be conceded that the loss of seeds at the time of *Kharif* sowing coupled with no crop returns till about beginning of summer is in itself a sufficient cause to drive one to indebtedness. Marriage and funeral ceremonies still continue to be the greatest drain on the slender resources of the tenantry. A marriage easily entails an expenditure of Rs. 500 to the poorest who has to find ways and means to make a fairly decent show of it. Among the more well-to-do types the expenditure mounts up with luxuries. Similarly a funeral feast for elders, father, borthers, etc. is a must and this costs money, without the funeral feast the soul of the departed shall be tortured hence it has to be performed.

A profitable investment for a cultivator would be to improve his means of agriculture. In the recent past the cultivators have been obtaining loans for the purchase of bullocks, seeds fertilisers and for newer implements. This is mostly done by borrowing from Service Co-operative Society. It is gratifying to note that the loans so obtained have generally been well spent although a small portion of the loan may have been diverted to personal use.

The village suffered heavily as a result of kidnapping for ransom by Barelal a notorious Gujar Dacoit of the area. It so happened that Barelal had a year or so before the incident sent a message demanding Rs. 10,000 (Ten thousand) from the Chamar community of the village. This message was not heeded. Then one evening three Chamar boys were kidnapped from near the village and a passer by belonging to the village was told by Barelal himself that it was Barelal kidnapping the boys and they would be released upon a payment of Rs. 10,000 within a week. He is also alleged to have told the Chamars that this was done for not having heeded his warning so far.

The village was seriously perturbed. Efforts were made to collect the money. A report was made in the police station but all agreed that payment of money rather than police will be able to secure the release. After about 15-20 days the Chamars were able to collect Rs. 5,000 only and they sent a word through a messenger, another week passed before the deal could be settled and finally the boys were released at a nearby village towards nightfall in exchange for Rs. 5,000. Some to this day maintain that the figure was far greater than Rs. 5,000 the truth behind such deals is never known. My informants found any further probe uncomfortable. They wanted to forget about it, for according to them it was a failure on the part of the administration to save their person or property. In the last chapter the subject has been dealt with in greater detail. As a result of this depredation it is said that out of 40 households in debt today, 27 became indebted in the last 2 or 3 years. The chart below gives statement of debts:—

Name of caste	Total families	Families in debt	Amount of debt (In Rupees)	Average per debtor (In Rupees)
1. Chamar	44	40	46,670	1,166.75
2. Gujar	15	10	3,635	363.50
3. Kumhar	5	5	2,670	534.00
4. Brahmin	3	3	2,900	966.00
5. Carpenter	1	1	2,150	2,150.00
6. Kadhera	1	1	100	100.00
Total	69	60	58,125	968.75

The Chamars have the heaviest debts, with Kadhera coming last, of the Brahmins, Kumhars, Carpenter and Kadhera it may be said that not a single family is free from debt. The Gujars with one third families free from debt are the most well to do. The the BrahChamars have suffered heavily as a result of dacoit Barelal's operations. Among mins social obligations have increased the debts. The average debt per family stands at Rs. 968.75 which is fairly high.

Indigenous Bankers.

There are two money lenders to whom the inhabitants of Dikhatpura are indebted. One is a rich Gujar from the village and an other is a Brahmin from Hiragaon Khurd a nearby village. Their rate of interest is reported to be 24% per annum and they have no licenses to practise money-lending.

The Service Co-operative Society

It was established in 1921 as a primary agricultural credit society with unlimited liability. At the time of registeration it had 10 members and the area of operation as limited to Dikhatpura. The total share capital was Rs. 500 only. Later on when the National Extension Service Block was opened in Morena, its scope was enxtended and jurisdiction extended to Ram Bhaganka Pura and Pipersa villages. It now renders credit facilities to 81 members and has advanced loans to the term of Rs. 25,000. The present share capital is Rs. 4,000 over 50% of the families of the village are now its members.

The Progress

The Service Co-operative Society is becoming the most popular source for borrowing. It is perhaps due to its rate of interest of 9 % being lowest. It also avoids personal unpleasantness that may be aroused against the money lenders. The villagers are gradually beginning to be "push button" minded. No sooner does the demand arise, than it should be satisfied.

Income and Expenditure

Excepting for two rich families the villagers are by and large poor. In the chart given below the income and status of families in the village are analysed.

BREAK UP OF INOME CASTEWISE

Monthly income group	Chamars	Gujars	Kumhars	Brahmins	Carpenter	Kadhera	Total
1. Above Rs. 200	2	2	..	1	..	..	5
2. From Rs. 101 to 199 ..	14	4	..	1	..	..	19
3. From Rs. 51 to 100 ..	17	2	3	..	..	1	23
4. Less than Rs. 50 ..	11	7	2	1	1	..	22
Total ..	44	15	5	3	1	1	69

There are only five families with an income above Rs. 200 per month as against this there are about 22 with less than Rs. 50 per month, one in three families among the Brahmin have an income of over 200 as a community they are among the richest. The distinction of being the richest family of the village however goes to a Gujar.

Sources of Income

Agriculture remains the biggest source of income of the village. The castewise occupational-*cum*-income break up is as follows:—

(Percentage)

Caste	Agriculture	Service	Industry	Labour	Animal husbandry	Others
1. Chamars	57·2	32·7	1·6	6·3	0·4	1·8
2. Gujars	46·0	7·1	..	1·8	13·1	32·0
3. Kumhars	53·6	..	37·7	8·7	..	..
4. Brahmins	72·2	27·8	..	..	..	..
5. Badai	78·9	..	21·1	..	..	..
6. Kadhera	49·3	..	50·7	..	..	..

Over 32 percent income of Chamars is derived from services. This pertains to service with the railways, along with agriculture it accounts for over 90 per cent of the income in Chamars, Gujars earn a little less than one third of their total income by other sources. Money lending is very important branch of their activity. One Gujar family is also engaged in transport business as a side occupation. It has a tractor and about 3/4 trucks which ply from Morena, but since the house is at Dikhatpura it has been shown accordingly. Next in importance sitatistically is animal husbandry. It will also be observed that Gujars are the least dependent upon agricultural in the whole village. The Kumhar plying his potter's trade earns more than a third of his income. In the Brahmin households 27.8 percent of the income is derived from services. This has been a recent development *i. e.* after 1st March 1961, (the reference date of Census 1961). Two persons have been taken up in the teaching education and co-operative department. The Badai and Kadhera have also continued to ply their trade and receive a substantial share of income from it.

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY INCOMES

(In Rupees)

Caste	Individual income per month	Family income per month
Chamars	14·46	92·50
Gujars	24 20	177·54
Kumhars	7·89	55·20
Brahmins	13·15	144·66
Badai	9 50	38·00
Kadhera	32·50	65·00
For village	15·30	95·66

The ratio of earners and dependents for the village is 1:5. The Kumhars are the poorest. In the Kadheras there is relative prosperity because there are only two male members. The Gujars are the most well to do community.

Expenditure

The income, expenditure and indebtedness form an eternal tringle. In the village none has any idea of drawing up family budgets. In fact so little is left after meeting the necessities that one has no choice in matters of expenditure. As many as 60 families are in debt. The portion with respect to debts is as follows:—

Caste	Families in Debt	Free from debt
Chamars	40	4
Gujars	10	5
Kumhars	5	..
Brahmins	3	..
Badai	1	..
Kadhera	1	..
Total ..	**60**	9

Chamars are steeped in debt, Gujars are relatively free from it and others are in it.

The main expenditure is mostly on food including fuel and lighting, clothing and maintenance of house, agricultural implements and rents vie with each other for second place. The only luxuries known to the villagers are tobacco and *bidies*. Religious ceremonies and miscellaneous expenditure completed the budget. The following table indicates the expenditure on different heads.

EXPENDITURE PER Rs. 100

Category	Food, fuel, lighting	Clothing	Religious ceremonies	Agricultural and House-hold goods including repairs	*Bidi* Tobacco *Pan* etc.	Miscellaneous, medicines, education
Income group of above Rs. 200 ..	51	10	8	16	5	10
Between Rs. 101 to 199 ..	60	9	7	10	4	10
Above Rs. 51 but below Rs. 100 ..	65	8	6	9	3	9
Below Rs. 50	66	8	6	11	3	6

The expenditure statement corresponds to the conventional pattern where in the richer groups less is spent on food. Incidentally the richer group spends most on clothing although the clothes worn by its members are is no way distinctive, but comparative expenditure is greater. In manner of expenditure on religious ceremonies the richer classes are more spendthrift as compared to the others.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

The Male Female Ratio

For an assessment of the sexual imbalance it would be most appropriate to consider some historical implications.

Regions visited by wars, rebellions, otherwise subjected to insecure civil conditions have a tendency to return lesser females than males. The present district of Morena comprises old Tonwarghar and Sikarwari Districts of the erstwhile Gwalior State. These names came from the Tomar and Sikarwar Rajput clans, the warrior class. From the days of Muslim domination till the close of 19th century the civil conditions ranged from insecure to very much disturbed, the latter condition being fairly widespread for long periods.

The Rajputs always preferred male children, for they were potential fighters. Females were a liability in wars of varying fortunes. Female infanticide, therefore, was a tolerated practice. It certainly was never openly discouraged. In Gwalior Fort, the chamber where Mansingh's wives committed the *Jauhar* still exists: as a grim reminder of a cruel practice. Thus where females were not particularly wanted and the lurking fear of dishonour of being vanquished, loomed large before the chieftain's principality, female infanticide was not an unnatural development and as water in the river Chambal flowed, their tribe diminished, so today's numbers tell the tale of yester-years. This lead J. W. D. Johnstone, Commissioner for Census in Gwalior State, 1901. to write: "The low proportion of female in the plain country lying in the Northern part of the State *i. e.* (present Bhind, Morena Districts) might suggest a possibility of the existence of infanticide, and it is true that Thakurs of these parts have been suspected of still following the practice but the district officers do not admit its existence, and Rajputs as a whole show an excess of males". (P. 58, Census of India, 1901, Vol. XXI Gwalior, Part I, Report by J. W. D., Johnstone, Census Commissioner, Gwalior State).

In the same strain the Census Commissioner for India in 1931 in his report writes:—

"The next worst sex ratios are those of Bhadawaria and Tomar Rajputs of Gwalior State which are 634 and 622 females per 1,000 males respectively, and these are so low as to appear extremely suspicious of something, being much lower than the ratio (754) for the Hindu Rajputs of Jammu and Kashmir". (Census of India 1931, Vol. I India, Part I Report, Chapter V pages 195-96).

Although in the past 80 years the proportion of the female to males has steadily risen high, yet there always has been shortage of women in this region. This has lead to many repercussions resulting in bloody fueds and trafficking in women. These repercussions became important since they have shaped the social pattern.

The villagers are unable to account for the deficiency of females. They do not deny that a female child is unwelcome to them. They do not assert that it is possible to beget only the male children by any supernatural powers. Between these two assertions and denial one imagines, must lie, somewhere the truth. When interrogated about the possibility of existence of female infanticide, they emphatically deny its existence. However, a few of them remember the days when this practice existed. About 50/60 years ago, said one of them, he remembered how in a nearby village a new born girl was strangled and buried under the cot of its mother. This misdeed the reporter adds was carried out calmly by the grand mother of the unfortunate victim. None remembers its repetition. It was said in olden days about 100/125 years ago by the above method female children used to be done away with.

What was done by commission once is now being achieved through omission. It was admitted on all hands that if a female child fell ill, then the care taken was very cursory and if she died there was little sorrow. In fact, in a nearby village a cultivator had 12 children—six sons and six daughters. All the daughters fell ill from time to time and died. The sons also fell ill but they survived. The villagers know that it was by omissions that these children had died. Perhaps there has been a transition from violence to non-violence in keeping with the spirit of times.

The sex-wise break up for the village is 261 males: 203 females. The corresponding previous figures are :—

Year	Females per thousand Males	Persons	Males	Females	Census house-holds
1941	756·7	325	185	140	51
1951	787·7	379	212	167	58
1961	777 7	464	261	203	74

In Gwalior Division and State the number of females per thousand males is follows for rural areas:—

District/Division/State/Village	Females per 1,000 males
Morena	842
Bhind	854
Gwalior	866
Datia	895
Shivpuri	889
Guna	901
Gwalior Division	870
Madhya Pradesh	970
Village Dikhatpura	777.8

It will be noted that as a rule men out number the women. In some other division of the State the ratio of females to the males is comparatively higher, *e. g.*, Raipur Division, Indore Division, Rewa Division. It may be rather difficult to account for this difference. However, some arguments deserve consideration. In some quarters the out numbering of females by the males is attributed to: (1) hybridization, (2) excessive outdoor life of women, their participation in agricultural operations, (3) exogamous marriages in castes. It would be difficult to assess the impact of hybridization. It appears from all accounts that there has not been much of it in these regions. The females in this tract to do not have much of an out door life. They gene ally stay at their homes performing miscellaneous house-hold duties. (Please see plate LIV and LV) The proportion of workers and non-workers in other tracts of Madhya Pradesh is given below to illustrate the point. Gwalior division has returned lesser number of female workers.

District/Division/State	Rural: Female population per 1000	
	Workers	Non-workers
Gwalior Division	298	702
Morena	269	731
Bhind	139	861
Gwalior	284	716
Datia	405	595
Shivpuri	445	555
Guna	342	658
Rewa Division	453	547
Raipur Division	572	428
Bilaspur Division	539	461
Madhya Pradesh	486	514



PLATE-LIV
Women doing household chores



PLATE–LV
Women doing household chores

These figures lend some support to the view that outdoor life of women tends to increase their numbers.

Among the tribal population women have more outdoor work to do. Thus Bilaspur, Raipur and Rewa Divisions show greater females per thousand males than Gwalior Division. Even in district Morena, Sheopur, Vijeypur, Sabalgarh Tahsils which have greater tribal and scheduled caste composition greater number of females per thousand have been returned.

The castes mostly follow endogamous pattern of marriages. This leads to a great percentage of males over the females according to the view of some anthropologists.

The age groupwise break-up for the village is:—

Age group	Females per thousand males	Males	Females	Total
0—9	662·1	74	49	123
10- 19	800·0	55	44	99
20—29	759·2	54	41	95
30—39	655·1	29	19	48
40—49	1,235·2	17	21	38
50—59	1,250·0	12	15	27
60—69	466·6	15	7	22
70 and above	1,400·0	5	7	12

The graph Plate LVI and diagram Plate LVII reveal the position still more clearly.

The Age Groups Sex-wise

The decennial between 1951-61 saw an increase in the male births. Thus in the age group 0—9 we find that there are 662.1 females per thousand males. This is a very low figure and its consequent effect on the proportion of sexes was that the number of females per thousand male in 1961 came down to 777.7 from 787.7 in 1951. The decade between 1941-51 proved better for the births of females. During this period, which today roughly corresponds to the 10 to 19 age-group showed 800 females per 1000 males, thereby raising their number from 756.7 in 1941 to 787.7 in 1951. The age-groups 20-29 and 30-39 reflect the general pattern of the sex imbalance. In the age-groups 40-49 and 50-59 there are 33 women and out of these 15 are widows. Out of 29 males in the same age-group there are only 3 widowers and three unmarried ones. The widows cause the graph to go upward for that group.

It has not been possible to account for excess of male births during the last decade. The figures for deaths for the period are not available and this makes the study all the more difficult.

Marital Status

For the males and females the marital status tables are separately given below:—

Males

Age-Group	Total	Unmarried	M	W	D
0—9	74	74	..	..	..
10—14	36	34	2	..	..
15—19	19	5	14	..	..
20—29	54	9	45	..	..
30—39	29	6	23	..	..
40—49	17	1	16	..	..
50—59	12	2	7	3	..
60—69	15	1	9	5	..
70 and above	5	..	3	2	..
Total—All ages ..	261	132	119	10	..

M: Married; W: Widowed; D: Divorced.

GRAPH SHOWING FEMALES PER THOUSAND MALES

(AGE - GROUP WISE)

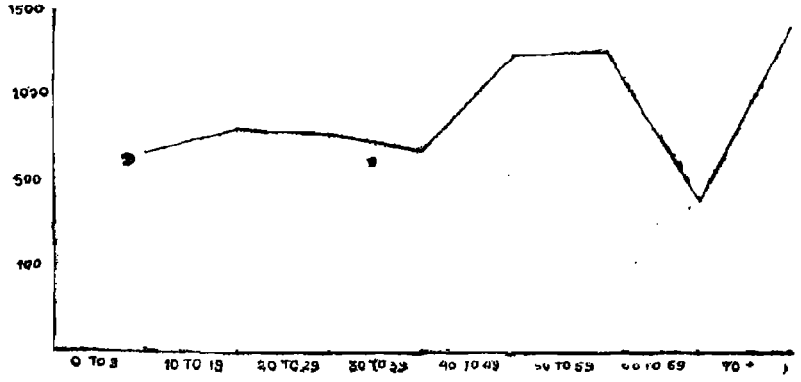


PLATE LVI

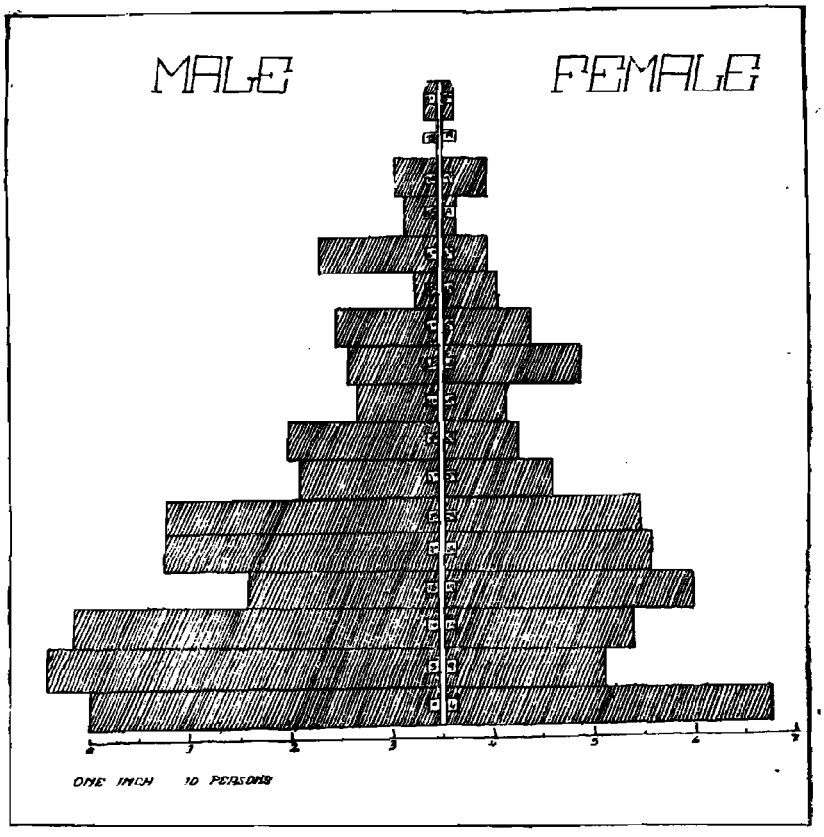


PLATE LVII

Females

Age-group	Total	Unmarried	M	W	D
0—9	49	49	..	..	..
10—14	19	15	4	..	..
15—19	25	2	23	..	..
20—29	41	..	41	..	..
30—39	19	..	18	1	..
40—49	21	..	16	5	..
50—59	15	..	8	7	..
60—69	7	..	2	5	..
70 and above	7	..	..	7	..
Total—All ages ..	203	66	112	25	..

Marital Status Men:

Among men in the age-group 10-14 out of 36 persons only two are married and in group 15-19 only five are unmarried. Therefore, between ages of 15-19 the marriages among the males is very common. Similarly in 20-29 age-group and 30-39 age-group 9 and 6 are unmarried out of 54 and 29 respectively. In the upper age-group celibacy shows decreasing trends. There are only ten widows and no divorcees. Divorce is not looked upon with favour.

Women

In the age-group 10-14, 15out of 19 and in 15-19, 2 out of 25 are unmarried. As in the case of males, girls are married more commonly in the age-group 15-19. Between 20-29 there is none who is unmarried. As against 10 widowers in males there are 25 widows among women. In the age-group of 70 and above, all are widows.

Literacy

The spread of education has been fair in Dikhatpura in the last 10 years. The figures of previous censuses are as follows.—

Year	Literates			Total population		
	Percentage	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1941 ..	1·5	5	5	..	325	185	140
1951 ..	2·1	8	8	..	379	212	167
1961 ..	13·1	61	58	3	464	261	203

Only two persons (males) have passed matriculation examination. The rest are either only literates or have read up to junior basic. A middle school under the Education Department is run with two teachers. There were 46 students on the role in March, 1961 and another 31 children of school-going age were not found to be attending it. Boys from two nearby villages also attend it. The number of school-going children rose up to 63, October-November 1961, but still boys of the school-going age were kept busy in other tasks by their parents.

It was pointed out to them that, with primary education having become compulsory, it was incumbent upon them to send the children to the school. They appeared to be conviced that education has become a necessity nowadays. They voiced numerous difficulties in sending the children to the school. The boy or the girl during the age of 7 to 12 is helpful to the family in many ways. The children are employed to look after the cattle, the home and do a thousand odd jobs connected with the household chores. The villagers complain that if the boys do not help their parents, then who would? As far as the girls are concerned they feel that the proper place for her is her kitchen and the household. Education for her is neither necessary nor feasible.

It would be observed that in the past few years the number of literate persons rose from 8 to 61. Partly this has been due to the expansion of educational facilities also it may be said to be due to an inherent desire to learn to read and write in age-group between 20 to 44. In 1961 out of this age-group 20 persons have qualified to be literates. This certainly is a very heartening feature. The two matriculates referred to earlier are from the age-groups 20-24 and 30-34. In the field of literacy the village has taken great strides although the

literacy figures still are fairly poor being only 13% only. Another bright spot noticeable was the respect that the villagers had for the teachers. Without the risk of being uncharitable towards the teachers one does feel that these are comparatively healthier signs in days when past traditions are being rapidly overthrown without their acceptable substitutes showing up. The village figures of 13·1% literates compare with other districts in the following manner:—

District/Division/State	Literacy in rural areas (percentage)	Total literacy (percentage)
Morena	12·52	14·89
Bhind	15·93	17·41
Gwalior	14·31	27·87
Datia	11·76	14·88
Shivpuri	9·61	11·53
Guna	10·26	13 81
Gwalior Division..	12·45	17·11
Madhya Pradesh..	12·73	13·17

No records of births or deaths are kept. In the erstwhile Madhya Bharat State it was enjoined upon the Panchayats to keep these statistics, but they were never able to fulfil the task. Thus, records of births and deaths have to be collected from persons orally. What is thus collected serves little useful purpose. There is no record of the manner of deaths of the persons. Enquiries reveal that there have been no epidemics in the last 10 years or so; people have died mostly from age, dysentry, enteric fever, gastric enteritis pneumonia, all in a natural way. There is no record of any violent death.

Immigration

Out of the 261 males all except three are born in the district itself. The three outsiders came from Agra, Gwalior, Dholpur respectively. There is only one person born in urban area. Out of the 203 women 90 were born in the village. 95 within Morena District, 9 in other districts of the State and nine have come over from the rural area of Rajasthan from Dholpur and nearby places. These women who have come from Rajasthan are all married ones. Thus brides have come to the village mostly from outside. Similarly 95 women born in Morena District constitute the married types. The figures for women born in the village but married outside are not easily available. The villagers, however affirm that no less than 20/25 girls of the village are married away.

Social Reforms

The most notable feature of social legislation of the past 10/12 years has been the impact of the abolition of untouchability and consequent removal of the disabilities of the Harijans. The Harijans have gained in stature and have socially and economically profitted by it. They no longer ply some of their obnoxious trades but seek equality with what were once known as caste Hindus. They have gone through great vicissitudes of life, because the reactionary force against them were very great and did not allow them the peace and quiet proposed to be granted by the Government. It was not uncommon to come across cases of persecutions in which the Harijans remained at the suffering end. It took time for non-Harijans to forget the air of superiority and come to regard Harijans as one of them. The converse of this also was true in some cases. Harijans drunk with the success of being equated with others over-played their hand but such cases were few and far in between. By and large the people took to transition, though very slowly (Also please see Appendix A).

There were only three persons who were conscious of the social legislation like the Sharda Act, the Hindu Succession Act. Although they seem to agree on the necessity of the former, they are actively opposed to the latter. One of them succinctly summed up the position by saying, well uptill now only the brothers quarrelled amongst themselves, in future our sons-in-law would also join in the fight. Their argument is that upon marriage the daughter goes into another family, her whole status is changed, she already gets the property of her husband, why should the property of her father be alienated into a different family? Although the daughters will also bring in properties when they are married the villagers feel that this will only cause more complications, lead to litigations and multiply family fueds. They argue that the going out of the property from the family's hand would and can never be welcome things and are apprehensive of the practical working of the law.

The Family Structure

The system of 'Joint family' prevails and is usually considered as being the highest distinction in living together. That father is really blessed whose sons and their families live underneath the same roof with him and eat together. The present time with stress on individuality has posed a great menance to the traditional pattern of the family. It has already begun to disintergrate the joint families. The various types of families are given below.—

Caste	Total No. of houses	Single	Inter-mediate	Joint
Chamars	44	13	8	23
Gujars	15	5	2	8
Kumhars	5	2	..	3
Brahmins	3	..	..	3
Badai	1	..	..	1
Kadhera	1	1	..	..
Total ..	69	21	10	38

The joint family is one in which the parents live with their married sons or married brothers and grand children, eat in the same kitchen and share their earnings. The father is the head of family. The intermediate families are those in which the parents live with a married son and eat together. The single family units are those in which only one family, *i. e.* husband-wife with children live alone.

Thus joint family pattern of living prevails in more than half the number of houses of the villages. The Brahmins have not yet disintergrated and live jointly. The Gujars, Chamars are sharply divided between joint family pattern, of living and other modes. To a villager a joint family indicates harmony and peace in a household with all members in the awe of the head. Where families have fallen out, they surmised that quarrels must have torn it apart.

The reason why most of the families break-up is domestic quarrels especially between mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. Often a son's desire to have his holding separately is the cause for partition. As a result of the break-up either the share of the son's land may be made available to him or if both parties are agreeable then joint farming could go on. Then in this case the two families will cook separately and a portion of the house would be assigned to the son who thus breaks away. In such cases although cultivation is jointly carried on but eating and cooking is done separately.

In the household the male is the earning member and women are supposed to look after the houses. Excepting Gujars and Brahmins where this practice is followed some what rigidly, in the other castes the womenfolk do little jobs and even labour in the fields. At the time of harvesting all women and children who can do some useful work join in field operations. The family pattern is patriarchal. Another characteristic feature is that these families are immobile. In Dikhatpura no family has migrated or has any been received as a result of immigration. In the district, however, there is a tendency especially among the richer persons of the rural tracts, to migrate to a police station town. As one motors across the Ambah-Sabalgarh road the main artery of communication in the district the number of houses under construction arouses curiosity and the above reply is fairly satisfying. Some of these houses under construction are owned by the villagers from the interior. The desire to be away from the operational areas of dacoits manifests itself. Behind the immobility in the peasants is the traditional love for his home, lands, fields and the familiar landscape.

The Relationships within Family: Parents Children

The parents are kind considerate and full of love towards the children. A male child up to the age of 7/8 years generally remains under the exclusive charge of the mother. Breast feeding is carried on up to the age of 3 and in some cases up to 4 years. The mother is supposed to teach the child the ways of the house. The father of the child will not fondle

him if the grand-father be present. By 6/8 years the child becomes an asset to the father and gradually the father takes him out to do odd jobs. Later on the boy becomes a complete helper to the father. Punishments are awarded for misbehaviour. The father would not hesitate to beat him or use the cane and if necessary may shut him up or deprive him of food. The daughter remains almost exclusively under the mother's charge since her birth. By about 8/9 years the daughter begins to come much nearer to the mother and it is at about this age that the son drifts away from her. After marriage when daughter-in-law arrives in the house, an important phase of parent-children relationship is ushered in. It is decisive period for the family as to whether it can stay as a joint one or a split up one.

Husband, Wife Relationship

The husband is the lord and master of the wife. He is always considered superior to her. If the husband is also the head of the family he would be responsible for providing all expenditure and would keep the accounts himself. If some other elder is the head of the family then the responsibility would rest with such head. He alone can incur debts. In such an event, the husband and wife will meet only in the evening in the dark. A room or a covered space is left exclusively for them. Only after 4/6 years of the married life can the couple speak to each other in presence of the mother-in-law. The wife must eat after the husband and elders have eaten. She can eat out of the *thal* or plate of her husband. During her periods she is regarded as unclean and is not allowed to touch utensils or enter the cooking aparment. Usually other ladies, take over the cooking, if the couple be alone, the husband would do the cooking for himself, and thereafter the woman would cook for her or eat the left over food.

Mother-in-law-Daughter-in-law

The pivot around which rests the joint family is the relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. The mother in-law is usually a much maligned character, perhaps it may be true. She nearly always delights in putting her son's wife to grinding work. The entry of a daughter-in-law signals a period of supervisory retirement for her. She imagines that from now on her task is to give orders, interfere in their execution and finally when the task has been completed take all the credit for the work. The daughter-in-law new to the house learns fast to adjust herself to newer surroundings. If she can keep to the right side of her mother-in-law all would be well, otherwise, it is woe to her. She is expected to be very courteous and respectful to her mother-in-law. She should regard her as the mother, from now on touch her feet daily, seek her blessings, work slavishly and selflessly. Even if her sisters-in-law chide her or do not share the brunt of the work she should not complain but put up with it cheerfully. She must cover up face in presence of elders. There have been 4 cases in the village in which strained relationship between the lady of the house and her daughter-in-law lead to break up of a joint family. Out of the 21 individual families four are of comparatively recent origin.

Daughter-in-law and Others

With her elder brother-in-law (husband's brother) she has to behave as in case of her father-in-law. With the younger one some liberty for joking and talking is allowed. Short of sex relationship all liberties are permitted. Usually this is a happy relationship. There have been no cases of illicit sex relationships in the above category. In Chamars on husband's death it is common for the widow to marry her younger brother-in-law. With her sister-in-law she must be a little careful. Since they being close to their mother could and often do misinterpret things which could cause her trouble afterwards.

Inheritance

The father's property is distributed only among the sons. Dautghters do not get any share in it. It is however expected from the son that he would always offer gifts and presents to the sister on various occasions *viz., Rakshabandhan, Bhai-doj,* or on births and marriages. The daughter's right to receive gifts almost throughout her life is well established. In case there are no male heirs to a deceased then the property goes to the daughter. Usually in case of such a daughter, her husband is prevailed upon to stay at father-in-law's place. He is known as *ghar-jamai* and he becomes almost like a son. The widow of the deceased is also given some share and if she wishes to stay with a son then the son with whom she desires to stay is given the share. There is no *ghar-jamai* in Dikhatpura but the practice is an acceptable one.

Leisure and Recreation

Gossip continues to be the best but disorganised form of recreation during leisure hours (Please see plates LVIII and LIX.) There is no organised recreation. The favourite past time is sitting in the little open space in front of the house, smoking a *hookah* peacefully and discussing the weather, the crops and the latest juicy scandals of all types. Recently a *bhajanmandal* has been formed. Mass recital of *bhajan* or devotional songs takes place in front of the *Hanuman* temple. This recital consists in singing with full throated ease with little regard to the rhythm or the tune. It becomes an exercise for vocal chords. Yet in these one can observe an element of devotional sincerity not easily met with. Apart from this the *Alha* is also sung. The *Bhajanmandali*



PLATE-LVIII
A group of gossiping Chamar women

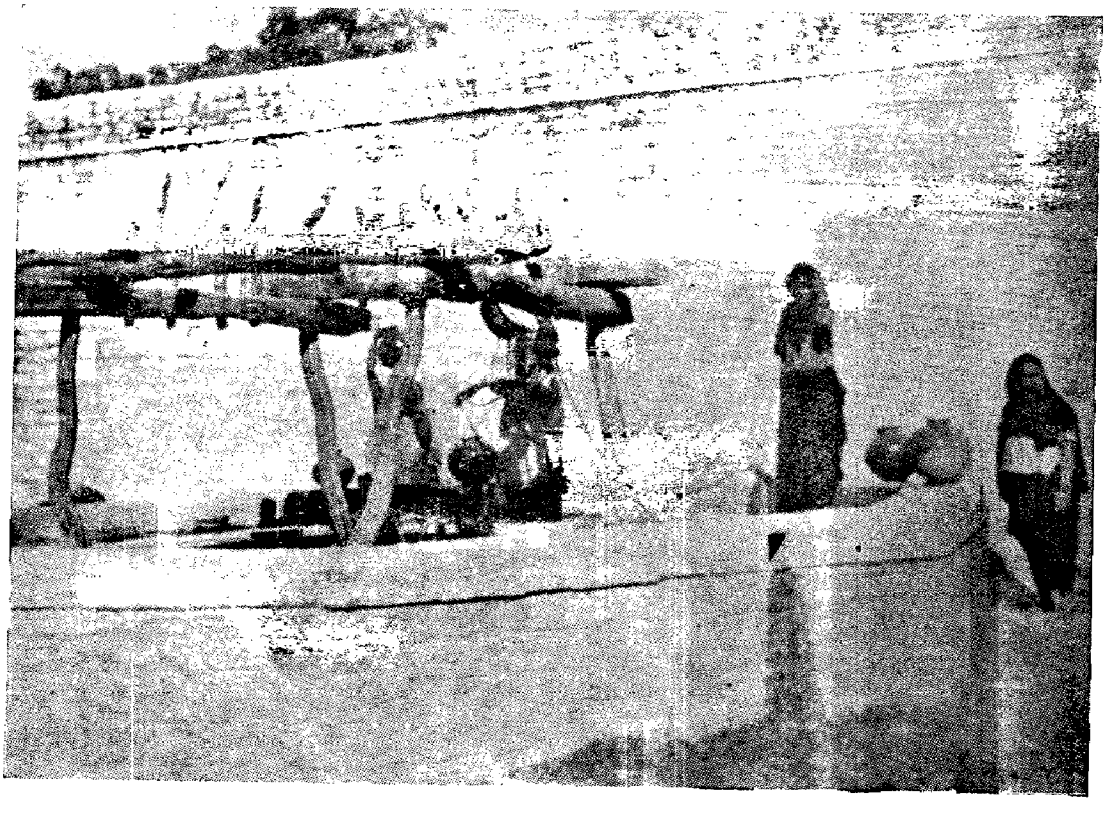


PLATE-LIX
Filling water and gossiping at the well

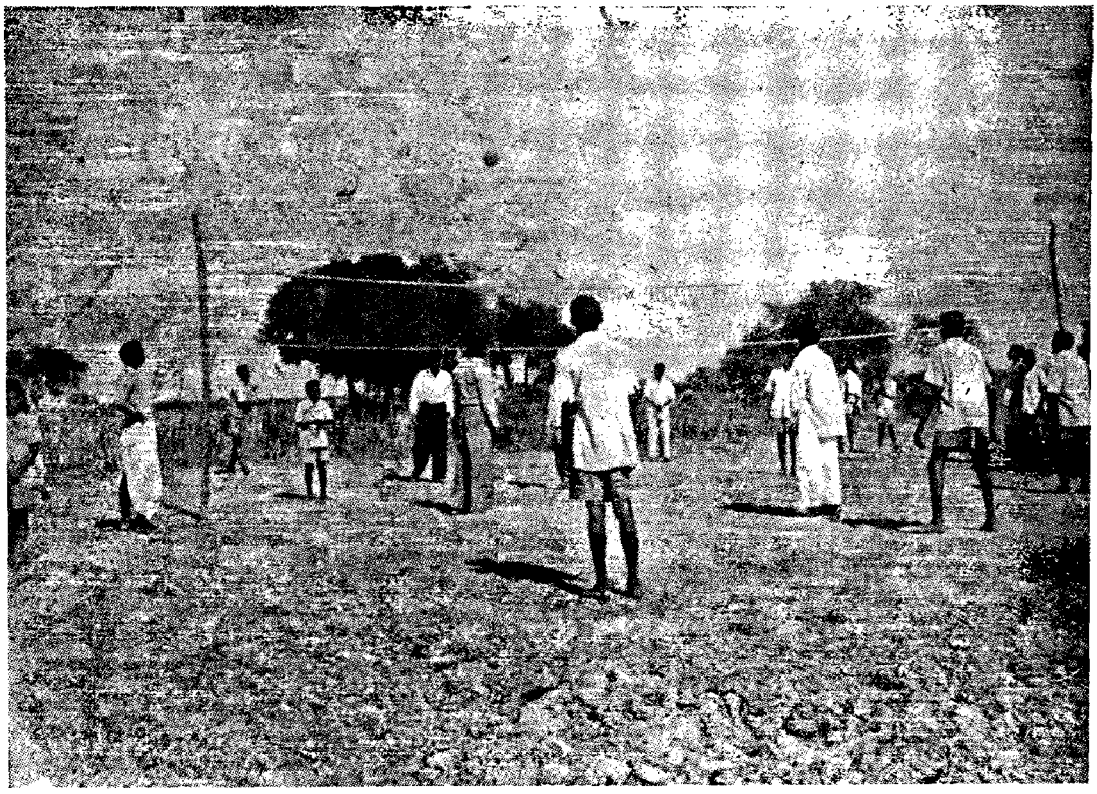


PLATE-LX
Volleyball is played with great gusto



PLATE-LXI
The village school

also sings *Alha-Udal* an epic song of Bundelkhand. It is very popular in the northern parts of the country. The school boys and some of the young persons have taken to games, Volley-Ball is played with great gusto. (Please see plates LX and LXI). Other games played are *Kabaddi* and *Khokho*. School boys along with a few young men play every day. Besides these visits to cinema and dramatic entertainment party known as *Nautanki* which specialises in the farcical comedies and the burlesque and is often enacted at Morena, are other kinds of recreation. A reading room is being set up under the supervision of the Block authorities. Two Hindi daily newspapers are also received. There are, however, only 6/8 readers, among the younger persons a tendency to play cards has been noticed lately. The favourite card game is locally known as "coat-peace" which is played by four persons with one pack of cards. There is one temple dedicated to the *Hanumanjee*. It is privately owned. Rights of admission are not reserved: any body and every body from the village goes to it. The Chamars, however, do not climb over the platform over which the deity is housed. It is from a distance that they offer worship and sit on the ground when devotional songs are sung with *dholak manjire* and *khadtal* (Please see plate LXII)

Apart from prayer at this temple the Gujars, Brahmins worship (1) Ramchandrajee, (2) Sri Krishna, (3) Hiraman. The Brahmins regard themselves as Vaishnavas, they belong to the Vallabh Sampradays Sect in their Krishna Bhakti. Vrindawan in Mathura District is very near and thus Krishna Bhakti flourishes.

Hiraman is a local deity. The legend runs as follows. Hiraman was a grazier with a great love for cows. One day his cow was killed by a tiger. He searched for it and found the tiger but was himself killed. The villagers thereupon cannonised him, constructed a *chabutara*, an open platform. This dates dack to 936 A. D.

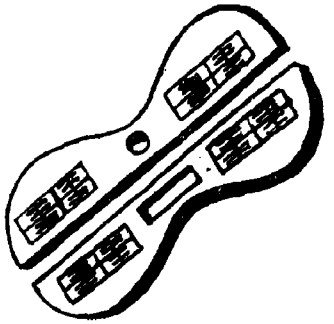
At present there is a small pill-box-type post in the jungle of Pahargarh about 14 miles by bullock cart. It is said that the deity appears on a particular day *viz., Bhado Sudi Teras* (some time in August/September), thirteenth day of *Bhado* month, and then at that time the *pujari* sprinkles some water which cures all throat or glandular diseases. My informant vouched for the efficacy of the treatment at that place on that particular day. His daughter-in-law then 12-13 years of age was suffering from acute swollen glands in throat. He tried all cures including allopathic and homeopathic ones and was almost despairing. Then someone suggested to him, to try the Hiraman-cure near Pahargarh. He went there and describes the whole thing as follows:—

"The area is thickly wooded. There is a *chabutara*. The priest seats every one in a line. The priest goes to bathe, returns held by two men and is made to sit; he then smokes some opium mixture (*ganja*) then he gets up and he appears as though in a trance. Then he drinks a little water, and sprinkles it on the congregation. I was sitting with my daughter-in-law. At the sprinkling of water she fainted and I woke her up, gave her a round *parikrama* of the deity and she seemed to recover. After this we got up and came to our camp. In the evening she asked for something for eating. I gave her *purries*. She ate them. I looked at her with astonishment as previously she could not gulp down a glass of milk and I had got her operated also. With trust in the God we returned home and up to this day, although sixteen years have passed since, she has never been troubled by the ailment any more".

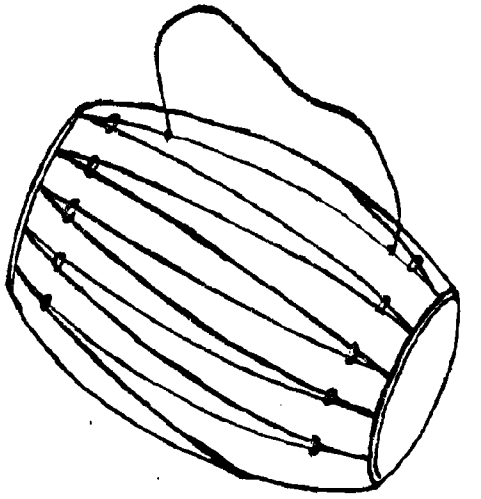
He had to pay Rs. 4 before entering the congregation and was given a receipt. The informant a man of above average intelligence was meticulous in details and according to him the fainting at the time of sprinkling of water signified that "death of the disease" with subsequent recovery of the patient. Others also endorse the views expressed regarding the efficacy of a visit to Hiraman but none had benefited personally.

The Chamars worship (*i*) Ramchandrajee (*ii*) Raidas (*iii*) Mata (*iv*) Hiraman, (*v*) Hardaul. The Chamars have also made a small place for Mata. Mata is worshipped to ensure safety against virus diseases like small pox, measles, etc., The worship of Hardaul is a case of hero worship. The story of Hardaul is known to almost all households in Budelkhand and is historically correct. Although various legends have come to be woven around him.

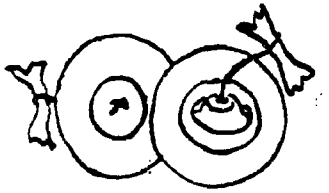
In 1735-40, Jhujar Singh Raja of Orchha suspected his wife to be carrying on a liasion with his younger brother Hardaul. He then put to test his wife's sincereity and gave her a cup of poison to drink saying "If you love Hardaul then drink it yourself, if you love me then give it to Hardaul". She returned and told this to Hardaul who drank the poison and was dead in no time. A platform was erected to his memory. The temple at Orchha still is said to contain the spot where Hardaul perished. While the above is factually correct, a legend has also grown.



KHADTAL



DHOLAK



MANZIRE

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

PLATE LXII

It is said that Hardaul had a sister who lived in a nearby village. She erected a *chabutara* in her brother's memory. When about to be married she asked her living brother for help who refused it. Thereupon she went to her late brother's memorial and weeping bitterly sought assistance. From beneath came a voice directing her to visit some spot where she would find buried treasure. She found the treasure and overcame her diffic ulties The fame of Hardaul then spread all over. *Chabutaras* were constructed in memory of Hardaul in almost all villages and women in particular at the time of marriage always went there.

Festivals

The only festival in which the community as a whole participates is the *Holi* or festival of colour, some time towards the close of spring. All communities join together in splashing colour, *gulal* throwing mud and cowdung at each other. This is also an occasion for singing, merry-making and dancing. The festival is celebrated on *phalgun* full-moon-day. Almost before a month the urchins in the village begin collecting fuel, bamboos, sticks, used wooden articles including cots and articles of household use, pitch tall bamboo or wood to resemble a tree and then in the evening make a huge bonfire. All the villagers gather for the ceremony. Usually the *pandit* lights the bonfire. Apart from this all major Hindu festivals are celebrated. They are (1) *Akha Teej* , (2) *Shravani*—Rakshabandhan, (3) *Janmasthmi*, (4) *Dushehra*. (5) *Diwali*. At the time of *Diwali* the houses are cleaned and painted.

Akha Teej

This is purely an agricultural festival. The day *Baisakh Tritiya* or 3rd day of month is considered auspicious for beginning the cultivation operations. The cultivator fasts in the morning, festival food is prepared, water is filled in an earthen pitcher and placed on some corn. From the festival food *prasad* is served, bullocks are given the *prasad* and then they are yoked and plough is driven for a few yards. This is only for an omen and is performed very religiously. No sowing or further ploughing is necessary.

Shrawani

Celebrated in the month of *shravan*, groups of villagers move out by train or bus singing songs and carrying what is known as *kavad* which contains two small pots, slung over a balancing bamboo hung over the shoulders. They go to the Yamuna at Mathura, bathe there and then carry the holy water. This water must be brought on foot and every body takes his turn while returning. Sitting is not permitted so the return journey is a continuous long tiring walk with a small load.

Raksha Bandhan

In the month of *Shravan* on the full moon day the sister ties a *Rakhi* on her brother's hand and gives him sweets. The brother gives her some gift and in return promises protection for the rest of her life.

Janmashtami

Marks the birth of Lord Krishna and is celebrated in *Bhado*, 8th day after the full moon *i. e.* on a dark night. Fast is observed and festival foods partaken at night.

Dushehra

On the 10th day of *Kuar* month, *Dushehra* is celebrated. It signifies the death of Rawana, King of Ceylon by Rama or the over-throw of evil by forces of good.

Diwali

Is the festival of lights. It marks the return of Lord Rama to his capital. Houses are cleaned up and lighted for the occasion. Good clothes and dresses are used.

Superstitions

The sight of a one-eyed person constitutes a great danger. The saying goes:

(Verse in Hindi)

Kana mile jat mug mahi

काणा मिले जात मग माही

Pran jaye kachhu sansay nahi.

प्राण जाये कछू संसय नाही

Translated it means "If you meet a one-eyed person on the way then you may even loose your life and this is beyond doubt".

The villagers will not move out or start a particular work if somebody sneezes. If a cat cuts across the way then it is not advisable to commence the journey. When an empty pitcher is seen on the head of a woman it is considered an inauspicious omen. The best omen in this is a married woman coming with a pitcher full of water and rope also hung on or about the pitcher A hicup is an indication of being remembered by somebody.

Village Organisation

It will be more appropriate to say that members of six castes constitute the village rather than the village consists of six castes. The focal point for organisation of the village still continues to be its caste system. Socially and politically the roots of casteism have almost gone into the very marrow of the persons. A man is *Chamar*, or *Gujar* first,

secondly come other things. There is a fair amount of political awakening in the village : the Kendra Sarpancha hails from it and the villagers seem to be conscious of their vast power of franchise but usually the voting is almost always on caste basis.

Perhaps a small incident at the time of 1962 General Elections may help to illustrate the point more vividly. An election manager of a candidate had big lists and he made the following calculations sufficiently loudly as to be audible. In the constituency there are 28,000 Brahmins and 26,000 Thakurs. We should be able to neutralise about 4,000 Brahmin votes to stand clean chance of winning. This was in January 1962 one and half months before the General Elections. The lists were carefully sorted and marked by him. The point which stands is that the working plan of the election was in terms of caste. The entire election strategy seemed to centre around the caste compositions. Gujars have been a major group in the village. They delight in being styled as Gujar Thakurs. The word 'Thakur' has acquired a very respectable meaning in the social heirarchy. When caste is asked, and this is not very uncommon for the usual greeting is "Which Thakur are you? *Kon Thakur ho* ? "(कौन ठाकुर हो?)" Although the reply may be that he is a Chamar, still he would euphemistically reply that he is a *Rai Das Thakur*:— the question brooks no other verbiage. Thakur has come to stand for social distinction born out of economic condition, acceptability in the hierarchy of castes and lastly it connotes a gentleman of good breeding, with a powerful background. In this part the word *Thakur* has an aura of glamour about it, something not easily comprehended outside.

The Gujars of the village are respected, feared and hated. Their economic condition has earned them respect; fear is born out of the fact that they are a powerful community and have lots of supporters in the area. Besides this, they also hold some political power in view of some offices held in the Panchayat. They are hated (and this was uttered in whispers) because of their strangle-hold on the village as money lenders. By themselves the Gujars try to be agreeable, but would not hesitate to fight if need be and are conscious of the power of franchise in the village. This makes them more agreeable. They are a hard-working type and have progressed fairly well.

With Chamars it is a case of peaceful co-existence with some reservations. Chamars till a few years ago were the social outcastes and a down-trodden community relegated to flaying, tanning and making other leather products. From behind they are coming up. They have discarded their traditional occupation and have concentrated on agriculture. From the strictly legal point of view their status has been uplifted but they are slow to assimilate the benefits. If a Brahmin and Gujar is sitting on a chair or a *durrie* the Chamar would not sit along with him but would be content to sit on the floor immediately below or near about. It is not that he is asked to do so, but he would do so of his own accord. Perhaps humility wins more friends than legally justified arrogance or perhaps old habits die hard. On the other hand Chamars are not put to unnecessary trouble by the Gujars or Brahmins as has been done in some areas. They are allowed to labour and reap the fruits of their labour peacefully.

The Brahmins remind one of the mighty and fallen. Their forefathers brought the village into existence. Of all lands situated in the village they were the proprietors, but time made dust of them and only three families survive. They are venerated because they are Brahmins, admired because they wield no political power, though appear capable of holding it and a rich past tinctures the present with a halo which may even be illusory.

Agriculture is the main occupation, but even this profession has not been organised. The village lives a peaceful life and no visible tension was noticeable. A unique feature of tension in this region, is that it leads to disastrous results with the intervention of dacoits who never forget the caste to which they belong. This has been dealt with in the next chapter in greater detail. Short of tension no signs of integration were visible. Therefore, it hangs mid-way where, atleast, evil is not just around the corner.

The village is comparatively a new settlement and has so far maintained good relationships with the neighbouring ones. It has to be remembered that most of these villagers have migrated from nearby ones so their kith and kin abound in the neighbourhood.

The Panchyats

The village comes under the jurisdiction of Gram Panchayat at Sikroda, a nearby village two miles to the west. This is the lawfully constituted Panchayat under the erstwhile Madhya Bharat State. It sends two members to the Panchayat, but they complain that the Panchayat has not been able to achieve any results. They allege that the link road which ought to have been constructed has not been completed. The Gram Panchayat has no judicial powers. Caste Panchayat once a powerful tribunal for deciding many quarrels

domestic, marital offences and even small revenue matters, is gradually losing its hold. The villagers denied having ever had a caste panchayat in the last five/six years. The Chamars however still continue to hold the Panchayat.

Some typical cases belong to the category where a wife ran away owing to the husband's cruelty, a Panchayat was called and the matter was satisfactorily settled. A married woman ran away with a lover, a panchayat was called and the aggrieved husband was handsomely compensated in money, because the wife declared her intention to stay with the lover after the compensation was paid, it was generally understood that the husband would relinquish his claim over her person and let her go. The woman could stay with the lover but she cannot be married to him. The payment of money is locally called *jhagda dena* or "paying for the dispute".

The Panchayat assembles on the specific request of the aggrieved. One senior male member from each household is called. These are all entertained by the complainant. If Panchas from nearby villages have come, their stay arrangements are also made by the complainant. When the Panchayat assembles the complainant and non-complainant are called to attend, asked to explain their cases and after careful deliberation the judgment is pronounced. Both the parties are bound by the judgment. Disobedience would mean expulsion from caste and this is greatly feared. When the costs or damages are awarded the Panchayat may take into consideration the expenses incurred to get the Panchayat together, About 5 years ago a resident of the village in service with the Railways came away with a married woman with her consent. He continued to move about and stayed for a brief while at Dikhatpura. The aggrieved husband along with 3-4 persons came to the village informed the village elders of the incident. The village elders, one from each commuuity called the offender and by force of public opinion, compelled him to restore the woman to her husband. The woman and her husband went to the police station where she stated that she had run away with a paramour and now was returning to her husband. The aggrieved husband got monetary compensation too and the whole matter was finally closed. The above type of Panchayat are restricted to the Chamars, Kadhera, Kumhars only. The Gujars and Brahmins will not tolerate any sexual offence against their womenfolk. With them an offence committed leaves a permanent injury which can only be wiped out by seeking revenge, and vendetta takes the form of murder.

Some case histories are cited below :

X a Thakur girl was married but before that she had intimate relation with Y also a local Thakur. The parents discovered it, the-in-laws suspected it. The parents however decided to send her to her husband. X told her lover that at her in-laws it was death which awaited her. She would be done away with. She was then given a usual send off but was ambushed and rescued by her lover. There were no casualities. The foundation of bitterest enimity was laid. X and Y continued to live with each other but Y was always on guard.

One day Z the father of the girl absconded. He went over to the dacoit Man Singh's gang, narrated his tale of woe and said that he had come to kill Y with his help. Z was indoctrinated into the gang given minor assignments which created confidence. The chief was pleased and assigned him to kill two police informers in Bah, Agra District. Z did it but the police chased and shot him dead. Man singh's purpose was accomplished but he lost a valuable assistant in whom he had confidence. The father of Z an aged man when he learnt about it, was dismayed. He had lost a son with the mission of vengeance still unfulfilled. He went to the chief with tears in his eyes and implored him that the mission for which his son sacrificed life still remained unfulfilled. Mansingh assured him saying that he would deputize for the lost son.

And thus time passed on, one day Y along with 6 other members forming a safe company moved out in fields in a pleasant early winter afternoon. A few shots rang out, some other persons recognised the members of Man Singh's gang who quitely managed to escape, seven bodies riddled with bullets lay on the fields and the sand was covered with blood. The weapons of the deceased were taken away. Y was dead. Vengeance had been wreaked, a mission of life was accomplished, for the wages of sin is death. The scene was laid out in a village on Ambah (Morena) Gohad (Bhind District border).

X is a Brahmin. His brother died leaving a middle aged widow Y. She stayed with her parents, peacefully and virtuously till abducted by another Brahmin, taken to Ahmedabad and sold. The police recovered her and she narrated the tale of woe. Things now began moving fast. In two years time X had shot dead the person who abducted her, along

with his six brothers and father. He surrendered to Acharya Vinoba Bhave. He is now facing trial in law courts.

From the foregoing it would perhaps appear that although Chamars and other lower castes may effect a compromise in matters where sexual or matrimonial offences have been committed, Gujars and Brahmins do not generally accept such formulas. With them it is a matter of life and death. Dishonour of woman is a deed to be avenged with blood. In the next chapter I propose to discuss the subject in greater detail since here we were only concerned with caste panchayats and whether they accept such compromises.

As for the Panchayats, people have come to regard them as useful institutions. It gives them a chance to discuss their problems. Although they may not be fully satisfied with its achievements yet the fact that an opportunity is afforded to some thinking is quite gratifying to them. It must be admitted that the Panchayat has succeeded in completing a few wells, approach roads, culverts and speeding *pacca* floor in some other villages. The villagers are increasingly becoming keen to contest the Panchayat Elections for it gives a superior position in the village set-up. They are respected more than others and are regarded as important persons.

There are no voluntary organisation or club. No special agency has done any work to implement some of the reforms that have been introduced. While the villagers have welcomed the abolition of dowry, they feel that this is a paper scheme only. To put it in their own terms "People will invent the 'black market' method for dowry, we are particularly clever at inventing these black methods". They seem to reiterate that if you have to marry your daughters—and marry you must, then whether you like it or not, you will have to spend money in the manner the groom's people ask you to. They feel that this cannot be prevented. Dowry system will continue.

Family Planning

When discussing the need for planned parenthood or birth control their naive reply was *"children are God's gift"*. He who brings them into existence will also feed them" This is the traditional Indian approach to the problem. They are extremely sceptical of the efficacy of contraceptives. The use of rubber may lead to *'garmi'* or *'soojak'* or syphlis or gonohrea or even reduce potency. Vasectomy is unheard of, but they are sure that such a thing would cripple or ruin a man's health. They admit that fewer children have a better chance of decent living, but then with more they will be saved the expense of engaging labourers. The awareness that child birth is a result of physiological processes is there, but then this cannot be artificially controlled. Finally we came to abstinence. Abstinence may be good but not possible and besides love making is the only in-expensive and quiet recreation left to them.

The answers given by women are more intresting. They are against too frequent child-births. Three or four children in about ten years time are all that they would like to have. As far as birth control methods are concerned they would not like anything which may have to be applied locally. Medicines which can be orally administered would be preferable. When asked about abstinence they replied, that the demands of the husband are not easy to refuse. When the husband insists the women have to comply with their behests otherwise he may go to other women. The information collected through the Health Visitor brings out that no women are practising birth control methods.

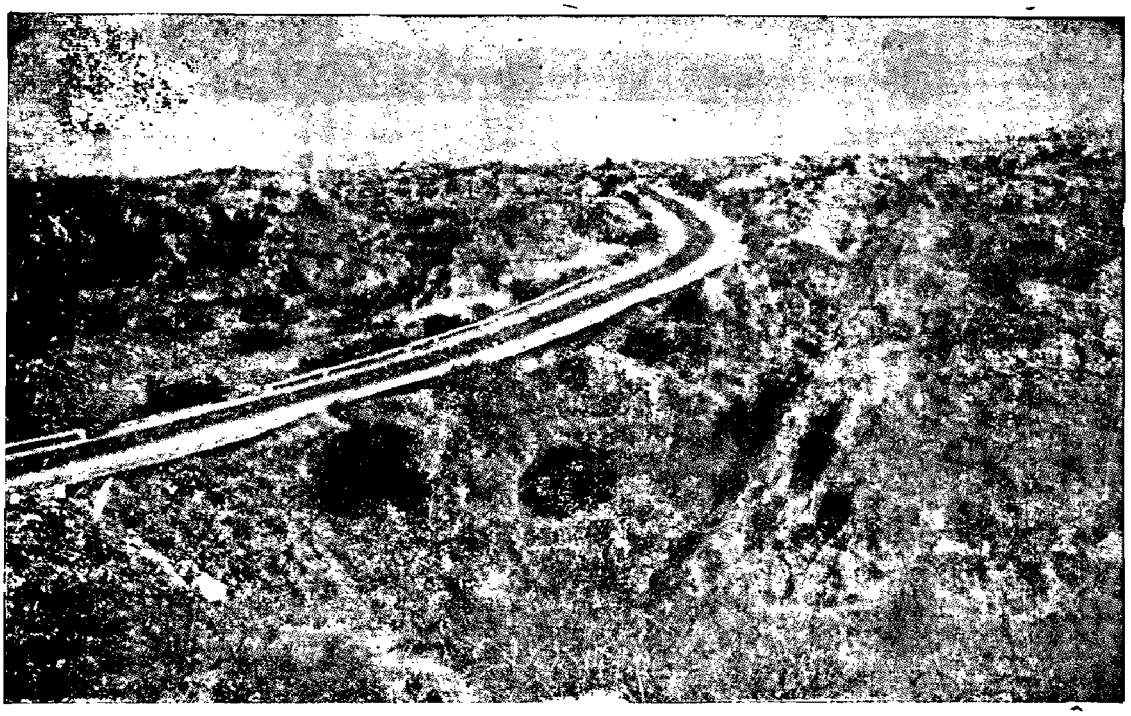


PLATE-LXIII
The NH3 snaking through ravines



PLATE-LXIV
The Ravines

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

(Conclusion of all that is inconclusible)

The Background

A report on any village of Bhind or Morena District would be incomplete without some references to the dacoity problem even though the particular village may not have had much direct contract with the dacoits. Fore one thing, these districts have long been associated with unsettled, lawless conditions and dacoit gangs, for another people in this area live in an atmosphere of which the dacoits are as much an integral part as the very air they breathe. Even though conditions have improved a lot lately. Since the middle fifties until which period it is probably true to say that the conditions were pretty bad, memory persists and it is not easy to shake oneself out of it, particularly because at no time in the part have the dacoit gangs been completely wiped out. They seem to have been operating since ancient times. In the old texts, there are references to the Agra-Dholpur-Morena and Bhind territory. Nature here has been of great assistance to the law breaker. The ravines, a result of centuries of soil erosion by the Chambal and the Kunwari, both very turbulent rivers provide any number of hiding places so safe that the fugitive does not often have to worry about pursuer even if the latter is no more than a few yards away (Plase see plates LXIII and LXIV). Even the versatile jeep is useless in this vertiginous land. Banditry—not infrequently politically motivated—was common in the Moghul days also. Abul Fazal was killed near Antri about 20 miles south of Gwalior in 1602 by Bir Singh in the employ of Salim. The Imperial Caravans were attacked towards Narwar in Gwalior and Shivpuri Districts. Later on the Pindaris rampaged the area when the control of the Imperial Government declined. Thus, banditry had been endemic in the region and lack of efficient administration kept it alive.

The area bounded in forests; for towards Narwar "a herd of elephants was captured by Akbar in 1564"[1] and Abul Fazal also mentions elephants being trapped in the same region. Jungles had always been an excellent sanctuary for these bandits; chiefly because of better camouflage and inaccessibility.

In more recent times, the area continued to be congenial in yet another way. The Chambal river was the boundary of Gwalior and Dholpur States and the British Territory of Agra, Etawah Districts in U.P. The then existing laws required offenders to be extradited and extradition proceedings were cumbersome and invariably took a very long time. This was yet another lacuna. The *modus operandi* usally was to commit a crime in, say, Gwalior State and slip away into Dholpur or Agra and lurk quietly there for a while, then commit another offence in Agra. For by this time the old crime had been practially forgotten. Then he could move over to Gwalior or Dholpur and lie safe there. As more water flowed by the Chambal, it was time to commit an offence in Dholpur and go over to Gwalior. The cycle thus went on.

There was yet another temptation for earning money in an easy way. During the days of Princely States there were a lot of restrictions over export and import of grains, pulses and other edibiles. Smuggling such articles was quite profitable. During the second war rice, cloth, sugar, *etc.* were banned for export from Gwalior State where they were available in plenty. In Agra they were scarce. So here was a good business proposition for one who dared to evade somnolent and easily satisfied, border guards. Though there was no bridge across the Chambal, yet there were some spots where the river could be forded and then local boatmen were willing to oblige if their interest was also kept in view. Lakhan Singh one of the most notorious killers among the modern dacoits responded to this and ferried across contraband articles on camels, getting handsomely paid in the process.

The Martial Tradition

The region was inhabited by the Tomars and Sikarwars clans of Rajputs; they were mainly a warrior class. After their decline from power, they lived by wits as petty rebels. Some of them took to plundering. During the unsettled conditions of the last century, they thrived. In the days of erstwhile Gwalior State, these two districts were the main recruiting areas for the State forces. Even today their contribution to the armed forces is fairly high. One village has the unique distinction of having at least three members from each family, in the country's Defence Forces (See Appendix - B). This tradition it appears, has left an indelible mark on the people.

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1. "History of India as told by its own Historian" Sir H. Eliot.
2. AIN I AKBARI by H. Blochmann and Jarrett.

Honour of Women

A mass suicide by women by burning themselves on a pyre to avoid being captured by the enemy was prevalent once. Known as *Jauhar* it was performed at Gwalior Fort. Thus the honour of women was greatly prized. In this they have defied time and have perhaps become more vindictive, this seems to be specially true of the higher castes. In a passing reference this aspect has been touched in Chapter IV. It appears that steadily a code of conduct has been accepted. It lays down that the dishonour of women must be avenged in blood. So intense is the fervour for revenge, that it is almost made to appear sweeter than life itself.

In one case, a Kachhi's wife (X's wife) was raped by his nephew Y (elder brother's son) while he was away. She narrated the incident to her husband, whose laconic reply was "*Ab Gaon me rahana bekar hai*" meaning, "it is futile to live in the village", and left her at her father's place. He then sold off his cattle and lands, for from now on the mission of life was to wreak vengeance. He bought an unlicensed weapon and joined Lakhan Singh's gang and soon won the chief's confidence by committing some daring cold-blooded murders. After a while along with the leader, the gang raided the village and killed Y, his father, five other brothers of Y and two police choukidars who happened to be in the village. Soon thereafter the police settled score with X by killing him in an encounter.

In another case a Thakur took away a Thakur woman with her consent. Her relations along with some other persons from the village raided the Thakur's place. Not finding him there they destroyed all crops including about 300 maunds of wheat lying in *khaliyans*. His dwelling was also razed to the ground. He then moved over and even now is afraid to go and live permanently in the village.

There are typical cases and one could relate such by the hundred. The approach, however, is characteristic of people in many parts of the region.

An observer is also inclined to think that this martial tradition has perhaps made some people more hot-headed and violent, so much so that they flare up into killing the opponents, on the slightest provocation. Yet another result of such a trait is the tenacity for seeking revenge. This instinct is so fiercely developed that it is to some extent to blame for the existing conditions. Two more cases are given below :—

The Kalals in a certain village were a rich community. A few Thakurs of the village were their debtors and failed to pay up the dues despite many demands. A few Kalals then gathered and beat up the Tahkurs. Some Thakurs thereupon left the village but returned after few months later with a gang and guns. The visit cost the Kalals seven lives. The Thakurs are absconding now.

Barelal was a notorious Gujar dacoit annoyed with the Chamars because, once some of them deposed against him in a case. On being released his mission of life became the harrassing of Chamars and other Harijans. One day he raided a Harijan village, collected male members and then in a burst of fury killed ten of them. (Dikhatpura will remember him for a long time (See Chapter III indebtedness). He was run to earth in September 1959, a few miles away from Morena dak bungalow. At least some of the crimes prevalent in these parts could be attributed to temperamental violence.

In yet another case a Thakur killed a complete stranger by sword only because this stranger had said that the Thakur was not a pure Thakur. He had said "*Yeh To Mithe Pani ke Thakur hai*" meaning He is a Thakur of sweet water" (or of a Thakur father and non-Thakur mother).

Casteism

The strangle-hold of caste and comparative intolerance for others is yet another characteristic which has contributed greatly to the general picture. People then think in terms of their caste first and everything else comes later. The dacoit gangs are formed on the basis of caste, and nearly all castes are well represented. Lately, even to wreak vengeance, the services of a dacoit gang are utilised. The *modus operandi* is that the aggrieved party contacts the gang usually of his own caste and stipulates with them the conditions and terms of payment for killing their foes and then guides them to their enemies. The gang usually shoots them down. From here again the cry for vengeance begins and the cycle of murder is repeated It is not uncommon to see the children grow into manhood, then quarrel, fight and kill and then pass on to the precarious existence of an absconder ending in the 'Big Sleep' while the blood is still warm.

The Impact

The impact of these conditions as may be imagined is colossal. Because of insecurity investors fear to invest. The individual enterprise is somewhat dampened. My informer very succinctly brought out the position when he said "For a rich person to be able to live well and safely, one needs to be clever". He had used the word (चतुर) *Chatur* in Hindi, which when translated means 'clever' or 'shrewd'. It was only after a lot of persuasion that he elaborated the point further. With a mischievous glint in his eye and not-too-innocent a smile, he said "The means of protection in the village are meagre the dacoits have a good intelligence service and they choose rich persons for plunder and if you are rich, you are only exposed to them, thus to live safely you must have the necessary cleverness". He was hinting at the fact that an occasional payment to some dacoits and help now and then keeps you safe. Although this may not be entirely true, the chances of its being absolutely untrue are also remote. This practice has been resorted to by some. This fear of dacoits should then be keeping many businessmen away.

In the village much of the indebtedness of the Chamars is due to Barelal's raid in 1958 when he kidnapped three boys for ransom (Chapter III). It is likely that in some cases the extent of debts may not have been correctly indicated because they prefer silence in such matters. In recent years, kidnapping for ransom has become a favourite practice with the dacoits. It appears to suit them, because usually money is invariably forthcoming and it also creates less mischief on the police record. This probably leads to more indebtedness. Even these kidnappings are of two types (1) one of a rich person invariably for money (2) of an enemy or a suspicious person who may be killed later on. Another result of these conditions is a general feeling of fear among the villagers. They would not show ornaments in fact some of them said they did not possess any because of the fear.

The villagers when asked about the results of the mission of Acharya Bhave expressed a sense of deep disappointment. In the summer of 1960 the Acharya toured these districts on a mission which was acclaimed as a "Change of heart mission". They felt that nothing was done to follow it up and so the gains were negligible. Very few dacoits surrendered and newer ones came on the scene after the sage went away. Some villagers said that a few dacoits were almost baited to surrender. False hopes were raised in them. It was given out that they would be unconditionally pardoned and would be settled on agricultural lands. They admitted that this could be a very effective way of solving the problem but regretted that it was not properly organised or followed. One thing they seemed to be very bitter about and that was, that practically nothing was done to alleviate the distress of the sufferers. According to them these *i.e.*, victims stood in greater need of help.

If we look back at Dikhatpura, we find that the traditional picture, of an Indian village with its people following their caste professions is fast becoming blurred in fact it has considerably changed. The caste occupations have been completely overthrown. The Brahmins are no more the priests, the Gujars no longer exclusively depend on animal husbandry, the Chamars are almost allergic to leather, the potter spends only a little time in making pots and the carpenter too does not depend exclusively upon his trade to eke out a living. Agriculture has supplanted the traditional occupations. Cultivation appears to be a fairly prosperous occupation and every community has taken to it with great zeal. The comparative new comers, the Chamars are most enthusiastic.

The change is primarily due to two causes (*i*) the economic aspect (*ii*) the social one. The better prices of agricultural produce have encouraged the cultivators and in the case of Chamars the desire to break away with a profession regarded as unclean was predominant. This break promised them a better social status. They succeeded in it although there were many other connected causes. With Brahmins and Gujars it was the economic reason which made them comparatively indifferent to priesthood and animal husbandry.

Thus we find that agriculture has emerged as the main prop of people's economy. Animal husbandry helps a few families to augment their resources. The carpenter also supplements his earning by making a few tools and repairing others. A few persons who are with the Transport Services are the only ones who do not depend entirely upon agriculture. The potter, too is only a part time potter. The pattern is obvious. All occupations other than agriculture are subsidiary ones, and help augment the family earnings. The dependence of an agricultural economy on forests is usually very great. In or near the village there is no forest, and so we find the villagers put to some inconvenience. The cattle is allowed to graze in the village waste land, timber for fuel purposes is not easily available so cowdung cakes

are used, even wood for making agricultural implements has to be brought from distant jungles about 10 miles away. In this respect, it almost approximates to urban characteristics, with only this difference, that in urban areas the forest produce is transported to meet the needs, here no such arrangements exist.

It is admitted on all hands that conditions for agriculture have improved in the past few years. From the capricious whims of a *Zamindar* to the Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code, 1959, the journey has been a long and arduous one, they realise that the worst is over. The advantages of a comparatively clearer revenue administration are being felt by them. Although they have not changed the agricultural methods, they are beginning to realise the benefits of some of the improved practices. In the nearby villages where fields have been embanked to prevent soil erosion, good results have impressed the villagers. Slowly the use of fertilisers is going up. The main hope of improvement in the region, however, lies in the waters of Chambal Irrigation Canals.

Pressure on Land

Bhind is the most populous district in the State having a density of 373 persons per square mile. Figure of Morena District is 174 persons but in case of Bijeypur, Sheopur, Joura and Sabalgarh Tahsils the forests cover a substantial area and this gives 60; 87; 230; 246 persons per square mile respectively. The pressure increases in Morena, Ambah where it is 415 and 379 respectively. The land is almost entirely unirrigated and this gives a low yield. With the low yield the population finds hard to subsist. Irrigation will help in increasing the yield and also better the economic lot of the people. This would also reduce the size of an economic holding and thus enable more families to subsist on it. Incidentally this may also help to wean away, at least some persons who otherwise go over to banditry. A settled occupation with something at stake always has some chance of preventing people from running berserk. Thus the waters of river Chambal may prove a new life-giving force some day.

Rurbanisation

The urban influences are slowly, imperceptibly but surely, creeping in. It is reflected in mode of dress, for among the younger persons, ready-made shirts in the western style, bush-shirts are being worn. A few trousers can also be seen. The women also are taking to the use of petticoats. Although restricted to only a couple of families, toilet goods are finding their way along with other consumer articles. One could hear familiar cinema tunes being sung and whistled while men bathe. The days when devotional songs were muttered while bathing appear to be disappearing. People are also taking to politics. Thus, nearness to Morena has left unmistakable imprints on this village.

Block and Local Bodies

Dikhatpura is covered by a Block since 2nd October 1957, now in second stage. There is not only a keen awareness of it, but also some healthy respect for it. The Block has reorganised the co-operative society (reference has been made in earlier chapter). A sanitary well has been constructed. The *Bhajanmandali* has been organised. The extension of school building was carried out. An upper primary school building, teachers and V.L.W. quarters were made through the Block. Demonstration plots were laid out and improved seeds and fertilisers distributed. Improved implements are being used. Attempt was also made to have adult literacy classes. A midwife attends to post-natal and delivery cases. It is also true that it has not been able to get much of people's participation but it has made the people accept its extreme usefulness. They vacillate between what may be termed futile speculation and considered inactivity. Perhaps a stage has been reached when better results should be round the corner.

The reaction to the local bodies is somewhat mixed. They complained that linking of one village to another for Panchayat work is not proper. Each village must have its own Panchayat. They feel that the Panchayats were ineffective because of personal considerations and indifference of Panchas coupled with narrow ways of thinking. They were convinced of its usefulness but had their own ideas about making it more effective. They complimented the Government's efforts to conduct various camps and give them chance of seeing and feeling what is going around.

The Leap Forward

In the hierarchy of castes Chamars ranked lowest. They have shown a steady but unmistakable tendency to follow rituals and customs of other castes. Their progress has been two fold (*i*) Social (*ii*) Economic. They are observing more festivals today than ever before. They worship Rama and also visit the Hanuman temple offering their salutations. Even in naming their children they have shown a desire to get out of the muck in which they had fallen.

While we were discussing the nature of festivals among the villagers, one of them remarked *"Aj kal to subhi tevhar, subjat manati hai."* (These days all the castes celebrated all the festivals). This is very nearly correct. There is a tendency to celebrate more festivals, even such festivals as were not celebrated earlier, by some castes. The motivating force behind this appears to be the latest desire to be equated with the highest class of the Hindus, *i.e.*, the Brahimins Thus, the fashion is set for it gives a feeling that though he may not be a Brahmin he does not remain far behind them in these matters.

The other reason for doing so is partly economic. Consequent to a little improvement, a desire to spend over some of these festivals, manifests itself. Though the amount of spending is not great yet as compared to the past, when the earnings barely kept the wolf away, it is certainly there. Thus these factors continue to help a steady revival.

The Family Structure

While regarding the joint family to be the best form of family life, the villagers are increasingly becoming conscious of threat to its disintegration, caused by an up surge of individualism specially among the younger people. At present majority (38/69) of the families are joint but the fact that a little less than one-third (21) of them are single causes concern because the villagers still cherish the joint family pattern of living. This is yet another break from the tradition.

Pattern of Expenditure

The villagers do not have much choice in spending their earnings. The general principle, the richer a family, proportionately less is the expenditure on necessities holds good. The table in page 60 Chapter III indicates the percentage of expenditure on various items. On food and clothing the better type (Income of Rs.200 or over) spend 61 percent whereas the poorer class (income less than Rs.50) spend 74 percent. Apart from this the last straw on the camel's back is the crushing heavy expenditure incurred on marriages and deaths. Marriage is a social matter, apart from its religious obligations. It determines the social standing of the person. Most of the debts incurred are for this reason. Death becomes a religious obligation, for unless a feast is given after the death, the soul of the departed would not find peace. Quite often a dinner given for death, becomes a festive occasion, at least invariably it is so with the invitees. The shackles of these obligations are strong and well nigh impossible to break.

Women in the Society

The position of women in the village is that of a housewife first and last. They are intended to be a junior partner in the house. They do not enjoy much freedom, either of movement or of meeting their friends. Usually when they go to the well to fill water in the mornings, it is time for gossip and renewing friendships. When they move around their faces are veiled, they are not supposed to talk to other males. Even taking photographs was very difficult. Without the village midwife it might not have been possible at all. With extreme reluctance tattoo marks on lower legs and arms were exhibited, so that sketches could be made. Photography was generally not permitted. On one occasion, a woman who was carrying on some repairs to the wall of her house, strongly abused the investigator. The males run the households with firmness, only in two cases, in the village was it the other way round. Female education would be a far cry. Birth control is not practised. Contraceptive tablets once given were taken orally for a headache and the patient complained of distaste and foam

The Utopia

"What could be the solution to all these ills", I asked? The question took them by surprise. They hardly knew what to say, however, gradually they came around and some of them gave answers. They desired a clean, honest and efficient administration applying these remarks to the revenue and police set-up in particular.

The word clean emphasised no double dealings on part of police. The police feel that in some quarters the villagers do not co-operate with them, for they do not report the gang movements accurately. The villagers on the other hand complain that our security is never guaranteed. If we spy on the gangs and report to the police, we incur the wrath of the gang, because police protection is inadequate, our lives are threatened and when our lives are threatened we keep our mouths shut. They also said that in the past, there were grounds for suspecting some police officers who were indifferent in appehending dacoits, to be their helpers. This, however, is a matter of the past and no longer are such insinuations made.

They explained the word honest by saying that if only the patwari, clerks, the process server, the police constables and sub-inspectors were completely honest with them much of their suffering would be at an end. They said that they mostly come into contact with this level of staff and if they were good, courteous and honest much of their misery would be reduced.

The word efficiency to them signifies quick disposal of their cases or applications. Said one, "One does not mind winning and losing or even not getting what one wants but at lsst tell us quickly and for God's sake do not make us sit from morning to evening for months together. We can take a 'No' for an answer so that at least the uncertainty and waste is ended". They were not sure, if starting of some industries will help them.

As for a possible solution of the dacoity problem, they had none. Their naive answer was "*Yeh to Baba Adam ke, Zamane se hai*" meaning this (dacoity) is here since the days of Adam".

And so it is there : very much so.

APPENDIX—A

A note on the 'change over' of occupation by the Chamars in Morena and nearby region

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

The winds of change that blew across the country, following the attainment of Independence and the ushering in of the Constitution, swept aside centuries of tradition and quickened the pace towards a new society,—'new' in the sense of being substantially different. Social reforms are slow and so the evolutionary process has not ended yet. Before assessing the actual changes, we may consider the position of Chamars, in the village society of about 20/30 years ago.

I

THE OLD ORDER

Economic Conditions

Usually very few Chamars were cultivators and the land held by them was meagre. Since cultivation was never their wholetime occupation because of small holdings, they were obliged to work elsewhere to make both ends meet. This they did by (*i*) rendering personal services to the *Zamindar* or a group of cultivators and (*ii*) by plying their profession of flaying and tanning of hides. In the matter of personal service, it was almost taken for granted that the Chamars were bound to serve the landlords and other cultivators. It was accepted as their legitimate duty which they were obliged to perform in return for a very meagre pittance of grain given to them at each harvest. It was the Chamar caste panchayat which assigned duties and allocated the Chamars to the *Zamindar* and other cultivators. In such cases their duties were to help the cultivators by acting as their part-time domestic servants also, *e. g.*, if timber or grass had to be procured then he would be asked to obtain it; if a message had to be sent to a nearby village then his services could be utilised, or if the cattleshed had to be smeared with cowdung then the Chamar could be asked to do it or if at a wedding some arrangements were to be made then the Chamar could be called upon to do it. In other words, he was a sort of personal attendant. It was in this strain that Nesfield wrote about the Chamars : "Originally he (Chamar) seems to have been an impressed labourer (*begar*) who was made to hold the plough for his master, and received in return space to build his mud hut near the village, a fixed allowance of grain, for every working day, the free use of wood and grass on the village lands and the skins and bodies of the animals that died. This is very much the status of the Chamar at the present day. He is still the field slave, the grass cutter, and the carrion eater of the village."

Russel and Hiralal also described the Chamar in similar terms as a 'general village drudge'. Innumerable duties are heaped upon him, for 'when a Government officer visits the village the Chamar must look after him, fetch what grass or fuel he requires and accompany him as far as the next village to point out the road. He is also the bearer of official letters and messages sent to the village. The special Chamar on whom these duties are imposed, usually receives a plot of land rent-free from the village proprietor." [1] This applies accurately to the Chamars in this region too for under the *Zamindar* and *Jagirdars*, they were no better off. Thus to extract *begar* from Chamars was the others' birthright and this, the others never forgot.

Crooke making a similar observation about the above practice writes: "Every Chamar family has assigned to it a certain number of families of higher caste, which are known as its *jajman* (Sans. Yajamana), for which its members performed the duties of cutting the cord at births, playing the drum at marriages and other festive occasions, removing and disposing of carcassess of dead cattle, and in return for these services, they receive money fees, cooked food, and sometimes grain, flour, etc. In return they sometimes supply shoes at marriages, a certain number of shoes annually in proportion to the hides they receive and also do repairs to leather articles such as well buckets used in cultivation."[2] Thus he laboured day in and day out. For good work often rewards were well distributed. The rate of payment would normally be 10 to 12½ seers of grain at each crop. In winter however he would get wheat and gram (about 10 seers each); pulses and other food items like chillies, mustard

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1. Castes and Tribes of C. P. and Berar, Vol. II, p. 419, by R. V. Russel and R. B. Hiralal;
2. W. Crooke, Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, India, Ethnographic Appendix. H. H. Risley, I. C. S., p. 169

oil, were given to him without weighing. He generally got a fair quantity, say, upto 3/4 seer of them. Apart from this, if his cultivation permitted, he could also earn by helping the farmer in various agricultural operations, say at the time of cutting, or sowing or cleaning up the weeds, etc. Besides this, members of his family could also earn a little in these ways. The harvesting time is the most important period of economic activity, as in many cases the entire family works and earns some valuable food. The payment for these services was always in kind and often a family was able to earn its food for a few months. These wages brought in no money and when these supplies were consumed they were obliged to borrow.

In addition to this, the Chamars also plied their own trade. They removed the carcasses of the cattle, skinned and tanned them. Of bones no use was then made. Out of these hides, they made shoes, *'charas'* (a leather bucket used for drawing water out of the well, commonly used in well irrigation), other leather articles, and sold them for cash. A Chamar could sell these any where. It was not incumbent on him to sell them to his "master" although he had to satisfy the "master's" needs first. When cattle died the Chamaras had to remove the carcass; they did this in collaboration with their other caste-mates. This system of serving the land-lords was known as *'kisani'* system. The master had to be provided a few things gratis by the Chamars. These were a fixed number of shoes, *nari* for the cart, *jyot* (used for yoking the bullocks to the cart), *'parena'* (a whip) and such other small articles. A Chamar was expected to supply these items every year. Slight modifications were also made; in some cases the Chamar was to supply these articles only if cattle died; in others, he was expected to supply those things each year, irrespective of cattle mortality. In the latter case the Chamars discharged their obligation by borrowing from other friends and making mutual adjustments. If they produced anything in addition to what had to be supplied free, they could sell it to anybody for cash. For marriage or other ceremonies a free supply of shoes had to be made to the members of the master's house-holds including special shoes for the bride and brideroom. Thus even for their professional manual labour they were denied adequate compensation.

For the non-cultivating Chamars, the following occupations were available: (1) personal service, (2) agricultural labour, (3) the professional occupation of a cobbler. Of these items (1) and (3) are common and have been discussed earlier. It was however as agricultural labourers that the Chamars earned much of their livelihood. He would assist the cultivator for payment in kind *i. e.* in unthrashed grain-stalk. Usually he was paid piece-meal for each operation that he undertook. Besides this, some Chamars would enter into contract for performing all tasks pertaining to the raising of crops. For this the scale of payment would be slightly higher; a worker could earn grain sufficient for as much as 3 to 4 months in normal years and more if there were some ceremonies at the house of the 'master'. Sometimes, by working on daily wages as a labourer, a Chamar could earn another $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 maunds of grain. A year's requirement of grain for working villager is between 5 to 7 maunds.

It was not uncommon to see some patch of land given for cultivation to a Chamar by the master on *'batai'*[1] system. This was generally the case where a cultivator was unable to cultivate the holdings for some reason. In some places in the areas, this pattern was quite popular but the taking of land on *batai* was not restricted to the Chamars only. It was given to anybody whom the proprietor deemed fit.

Apart from this a few land-lords, with a view to keep their strangle hold over the Chamars, occasionally distributed favours and so it was quite common for the Chamars to receive favours at odd times. When the Chamar needed money or grain which he had not earned, he would ask for it and get it from the *Zamindar* or the cultivator. The more he asked for such favours, the more enmeshed in debt he became and the noose began to tighten round his neck.

The social position of Chamars

The Chamars were very low in the caste hierarchy. In this region they were just above the Bhangis or Sweepers (also known as *Mehtars*). They were looked down upon by almost all castes. No other caste mixed with them, smoked or drank with them. In the matter of settling in a village, they were segregated to a separate cluster. In personal habits, they were unclean. They were not allowed to draw water from the common well.[2] On being touched by a Chamar, the upper caste felt polluted and drops of clean water were sprinkled on him to purify him. The word 'Chamar' was used to slight people: 'You are a Chamar.' (*Tum to Chamar ho*) implying thereby that one was as low as a Chamar. They were regarded

1 *Batai*—From Hindi word meaning "Division". In actual practice land was given to a cultivator on a crop-sharing basis which usually was 50:50.

2 As late as in summer 1962 a member of a Chamar wedding party was not allowed to draw water from common well in a village in Morena District.

as complete outcastes: They could not put on clean or good clothes, their women were not supposed to wear ornaments and, ironically enough even the wearing of shoes was not permitted. A Chamar bridegroom could not ride out on horseback. He was not supposed to go anywhere near a temple and, except at the *Holi* festival when members of other communities mixed with him, the Chamar remained almost entirely to himself. In villages where the Gaderiya Caste lived, it was deemed to be their duty to supply a goat or sheep for sacrifice on *Dushera* day : but, where there was none, the responsibility devolved on the Chamars to arrange the supply. So the Chamars raised subscriptions and supplied a goat or sheep; the meat of which was handed back to them for eating. At this time the Chamars were known to eat carrion flesh and consumed great quantities of liquor. This habit mainly contributed to their being regarded as unclean. Crooke has admirably summed up the social and occupational position of the Chamars; he says :"The Chamar from his occupation and origin ranks even below the non-aryan tribes who have been quite recently adopted into Hinduism. He is considered impure because he eats beef, pork, and fowls, all abomination to the orthodox Hindus. He will eat cattle which die a natural death, and numerous cases have occurred where Chamars have poisoned cattle for the sake of the hides and flesh. He keeps herds of pigs and the *Chamrauti* or Chamar quarter in a Hindu village is generally a synonym for a place abonding in all kinds of abominable filth, where a clean living Hindu seldom, unless for urgent necessity cares to intrude."[1] Chamars in this region are much nearer those described by Crooke. Thus professionally Chamars were assigned the uncleanest of all work, as a result of which socially they were caste away and economically they had a very precarious existence.

Other disabilities to which the Chamars were subjected

About 30-40 years ago, the Chamars were subjected to many other kinds of humiliation at the hands of *Zamindars*. Some of them are rerferred to below :

The Chamar women were required to dance *dagar* with the Thakur boys. A refusal meant severe beating and in some cases burning of their houses. The men among the Chamars played music with their women-folk were supposed to dance, with the boys. It was accompanied by obscene songs, wild gestures and the flirtation associated with this type of revelry. Some maintain that, in remote villages of Sheopur and Sabalgarh tahsils of Morena, the Chamar women are still forced to dance *dagar*. (A reference has already been made to *dagar* dance in Chapter I).

'GUR TORNA OR JHANDA' was yet another such practice. On the *Holi* festival day *Gur* (jaggery) was wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed on the top of a tamarind tree. The Chamar women armed with sticks guarded the tree and the Thakur boys were to climb the tree and get the jaggery packet. The game gave the boys a good chance of flirting with the women.

'JHAMRA' was another such debasing ritual. On the *Holi* festival day, on a new Chamar bride's head an earthen vessel called *matka* was placed; into this *matka* all the garbage and filth of the house was thrown. The poor woman was expected to stand quietly and put up with all this. Indecent remarks were made at her and often the filth spilt over on to her clothes.

The worst however was a custom where by a Chamar bride after her *gauna* was obliged to spent atleast three days with the *Zamindars*. Whether this was customarily followed all over is not certain, but that the practice existed in a few villages is certain. One of the informants gave even the name of a village where it was last practised. According to his reckoning the year was approximately 1930-32. It appeared to be a seignorial right practised by the Lord of the hamlet.

These emphasise the abysmal depths to which the Chamars had sunk, a position of utter social 'respectlessness' coupled with complete economic annihilation.

Religious practices

In their religious worship, the Chamars follow Hinduism, as prevalent in villages. About 50 years ago, a few of them started worship of Rama, Krishna, Vishnu and other *Hindu* Gods, thus styling themselves as *Vaishnava*. The others continued to worship *Devi*. *Devi* was worshipped as *Kali* or *Chandi* and animals were sacrificed in its honour. Such of the Chamars as followed the *Vaishnava* cult referred to above began to regard themselves as superior to others and called themselves as 'SILAWATS' meaning "workers in stone" and 'PAHARI YADAV' meaning Yadavs hailing from hills. Yadav was an

1. Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh by W. Crooke Vol. II, pp. 189-90

old appellation for Jatavs. It is said that Silawats and Pahari Yadavs who were more progressive ushered in social changes, after the last influenza epidemic 1918-19. During this period it was a common sight to see an ailing Chamar, folding his hands in prayer when temple bells began to jingle, for away from the temple, for he was allowed nowhere near it. The Chamars consequently built their *chabutaras* or raised platforms and worshipped *Devi*, their Goddess. The ritual of worship on different occasions consisted of dancing around the idol, sacrificing fowls and other animals and drinking liquor. Those who worshipped *Devi* ate carrion flesh.

II

THE DIE IS CAST

Rumblings of latent dissatisfaction could be heard much before the political changes that are reshaping the country in the post-independence era. The merger of princely states into Part B States was an important landmark; but the most sweeping changes came as a result of abolition of the *begar* system in the constitution followed by the abolition of the *Zamindaris* and *Jagirdari* systems in Madhya Bharat in 1952.

Prior to this, the social reform agencies were already at it. In 1918, a *Yadav Sabha* was formed by the Chamars and its headquarters were located at Agra, but, because *Yadavs* were regarded as belonging to the upper castes, the name was changed to Jatav in 1932. The intention in 1918 seemed to be to lay emphasis on the education of Chamars and on social reform. Little seems to have been achieved. The Chamars were not responsive and, because they lacked cohesion, were very backward and had no alternate means of employment, it was not possible for them to give up their trade, with the wolf always at their doors. Therefore the organization seems to have achieved very little during the next 15 years. It appears that the low castes were by then beginning to press their claims for being included into the higher ones. The tendency manifested itself fairly, clearly in 1931. Regarding this Turner writes :

"By tradition the Census has come to be regarded as a great opportunity for persons low in the caste scale to press their claims to higher social status. In 1901, 1911 the claims came mainly from individuals but in 1921 Caste *Sabhas* had begun to spring up who pressed such claims with great persistence. Since 1921, the *Sabha* movement has developed to such an extent that all save the most backward castes and tribes now have more or less well organized societies, who bombarded me until long after the tables were printed with requests for new caste names."* In the list of Caste Claims given by Turner the following entry is of interest:—

S. No.	Former Caste-name	New name Claimed	Source of claim
1	2	3	4
13	CHAMAR	JATAV-RAJPUTS JATAV	Meerut, Bulandshahar and Aligarh. All India Shraddhanand Dalitudhar Sabha, Delhi, Bulandshahar, Mainpuri, Bareilly and Etawah.

Thus the movement for claiming better status was already afoot.

In 1932, an All India Jatav *Sabha* was formed with its headquarters in Delhi and the main branch at Agra. It is from Agra that Chamars in erstwhile Gwalior State took the cue and began organising. The inspiration seems to have come from a meeting of Jatavs held in Meerut in 1945. A branch was formed in Lashkar-Gwalior by a social worker in 1946. In the initial stages it appears that the Jatav *Sabhas* were organised in urban areas and the net work later spread into the mofussil areas† It mostly advised and exhorted the Chamars to give up their unclean habits and asked the parents to educate their childern. The influence of the Jatav *Sabha* during this period was very slight. Their workers also tried to infuse a sense of †nationalism into the caste and the social reformers gave it a political turn.

* Census of India, 1931, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Report. pp. 530, by A. C. Turner, ICS.

† Jatav Caste was recognised by Gwalior State Government on 11th January, 1947.

During the State time, much credit for lessening the social inequalities goes to the late Maharaja Jiwaji Rao Scindia. He in 1945, by Gazette Notification Vol. 94, No. 19 Gwalior Friday, 4th May, 1945; Samvat 2001, Part I, announced the following policy and laid down:—

(1) That Harijans (which included Chamars), like other citizens of the State were free to enter all public places, draw water from public wells, permitted to wear clothes, ornaments like those of other castes, and allowed to ride on conveyance and follow marriage rituals as prevalent in other castes.

(2) That they were entitled to enter educational institutions like members of other castes.

(3) That from that day excepting royalcenotaphs and temples which are not open to the public generally all other temples in the State were open to the Harijans.

The Ruler hoped that the public would ensure compliance and warned them that failure to do so will entail punishment.

The above declaration was no paper policy either. The ruler followed it up by looking into these complaints personaly when on tour in the mofussil. Once some *Jagirdars* brought to his notice that Chamars were not co-operating: refusing to perform *begar* and thus the village pattern of living was threatened.

The Maharaja firmly told them that there was no going back on the declaration adding "we must treat them at least as human beings." The *Jagirdars* knew that the ruler meant every word he said and the matter ended there for the *Jagirdars* but for the Chamars it opened up a new vista of opportunity. The Gwalior State Government Notification is reproduced at the end of the Appendix.

The late Maharaja's firmness certainly put the Chamars on the march with greater determination and gave them a great opportunity to go ahead with reforms. Vast forces were thus unleashed. The Chamars under the *Jatav Sabha* organised mass rallies in different villages and invited all Chamars of the near by ones. These rallies proved very popular and led to an awakening among the Chamars. The refomers primarily aimed at (1) stopping the eating of carrion, (2) refusing to do *bagar*; (3) giving up the occupation of flaying and skinning hides which brought them so much degradation; and (4) other social reforms like giving up drinking and sending children to school, etc.

In 1947, in Gwalior State, popular ministries were formed. For the first time eight Chamars were taken into Government service. Much of the credit for this went to Shri Takhatmal Jain (later Chief Minister of Madhya Bharat and at persent Minister for Planning and Developmnet) who had joined the ministry then. In 1948, a big rally was organised at Bhitarwar in Gwalior District and 2,500 persons attended it for eight days and at the main meeting 25,000 persons were present. It was quite a spectacular success considered from the organisational aspect.

As these efforts began to bear fruit, reactionary forces also set to work and caused much unrest. In some villages, Chamars were beaten up for trying to follow these reforms; in many places, they were forced to leave the villages; their houses and stocks of grain were burnt. The proprietors of land were very unhappy at these proposed reforms. Their economy was threatened. Used to extracting forced labour, they found it hard to reconcile themselves to the idea of being without these labourers and, finally, their prestige appeared to be on the wane. No longer were they able to shout orders at the helpless Chamars. Apart from these harassments, newer modes were thought of and the help of dacoits enlisted. Dacoit gangs went by caste and so it was never difficult to use some gangs to terrorise other castes. One of the important Chamar leaders was kidnapped in 1950. Later 25-30 Chamars were kidnapped. In 1948 the dacoits recovered Rs. 10 per Chamar family saying *"Chamaro ke dimag bigad gaye hain, inko marro"* meaning "The minds of the Chamars have been spoilt, so belabour them". It was a very lurid picture that one saw during this period of transition but the Chamars seem to have struck to their guns.

On 20th April 1957, the notorious nosecutter dacoit Gabbar and a sworn enemy of Harijans decapitated half a dozen Chamars. A deputation called on Dr. Katju, the Chief Minister on 24th April 1957 in Gwalior and apprised him of these atrocities. It is the view of some Chamar leaders that, when they did not renew their old profession despite beatings, the use of dacoit was made to terrorise them. Chamars were thus subjected to great pressure from these dacoits. When Damrua Chamar, a member of a leading gang of dacoits was shot, the incident was attributed to caste hatred. Some of the Chamar leaders were obliged

to meet the gang leaders like Man Singh, Lakhan Singh and Shripala to intervene for the safety of the Chamars. The results were not always satisfactory. As a result of the above intervention, the killing of Chamars was not stopped but there was a lull for a while; but outbursts of violence soon reappeared.

It was decided to settle some Chamars on lands situated in Guna district; but the local cultivators resented the idea, and in a few colonies they succeeded in terrorising them away. In some cases dwellings were razed to the ground and they had to flee. It was becoming obvious that the other castes were in no mood to accept the change easily and, on the slightest pretext, they resorted to beating Chamars. Not satisfied with this, the Chamars were boycotted and harassed all over. A veteran Chamar leader is convinced that there was no village left in which the Chamars were not harassed. Minor *mar-peets* were very common; the grains stored in *khaliyans* were set on fire, standing crops were stolen, cattle were let loose in their fields, other lower castes were set against the Chamars and often fighting was the result. In short, the members of the other castes saw to it that peaceful living for the Harijans became well nigh impossible. It made matters distinctly uncomfortable but the struggle went on.

About 1953-54 when the dacoit position in Northern districts was pretty bad, punitive fines were imposed on the population. Hitherto the castes had completely fallen out among themselves and they acted as informers against one other; even in this the Chamars usually were at the suffering end because the other castes generally had greater influence both with the dacoits and with the police; hence they were able to get the Chamars harassed by the dacoits and in their turn managed to escape the consequences. The imposition of the punitive tax seemed to unite them in their opposition to it and for a while they did not quarrel among themselves. This however was the case only in the areas where the tax was imposed. A *sammelan* (meeting) was held in a village in Morena District where some understanding was reached between the Chamars and other castes. The fines were withdrawn a little later and the *status quo* seemed to have been restored.

III

THE TRANSITION

The immediate effect of all this was that almost all the Chamars gave eating carrion within the next few years. In a caste where the ability to buy food is exiguous, giving up an item of food which did not cost anything, was not a mean sacrifice. The forces of change had certainly been at work.

Next in importance is the giving up of tanning, flaying, skinning, performing other tasks upon hides and leather and removal of carcasses, etc. Now this called for a radical change in their economic activity. To give up eating carrion was one thing but to give up the traditional occupation, quite another; for unless there is some sort of a alternate economic activity, how could the profession be given up ? It was this that the reformers found themselves up against, a difficult hurdle in all conscience. The response was slow, halting and unsure but the big movement had been launched . In the beginning, a few gave up skinning, tanning and flaying, in a high pitch of emotional response, but soon the bitter realities of hunger forced them to revise their decision. Thus many resiled but a few hung on with grim determination; for them there was no going back. As a result of this the Chamars stopped lifting of dead cattle. When an animal was dead, the Chamars were requested to remove it, but they began refusing to oblige; the villagers then reported the matter to the police who pleaded inability under the rules. The Panchayat also could not help straightaway. In some villages, it was not uncommon to see dead cattle rotting and only the vultures and other scavenging birds or animals cleaning them up. This position was observed round about 1954-55. The sudden refusal by Chamars coupled with lack of alternate arrangements made matters very difficult. During this period often, the cattle owner himself dragged the dead beast to some secluded spot where it lay "resting". The Chamars refused to lift the animal even if handsomely paid for it. He feared expulsion from the caste. The Gram Panchayats then started auctioning the rights to remove dead animals. The bidders usually were Muslims, Khatiks and other butchers who made use of the bones. The bones were sold by them. Thus for quite sometime the pattern of village life was upset and, before substitute were accepted, the inconvenience must have been very great. In the meanwhile, some Chamars found alternate occupation as general labourers, masons, agricultural labourers, working in Government schemes and private construction work; some went in search of service. Thus after a few years between 1955-57, many were across to 'fresh pastures'. A very few were lucky in getting lands allotted for cultivation, though they

too had their share of harassment from the local population. Some left the villag and changed their caste name in the hope of settling elsewhere and beginning life all over again, where the shackles of the past did not weigh them down. Some went over to the cities (Gwalior) where they worked in establishments making or repairing shoes, or they worked in industry or with other employers, in short, anywhere where work was available. Thus we have a recusant caste wanting to replace its old pattern of living with something socially dignified though, when all these failed, a (very) few fell back to what they were doing before.

The stopping of *begar* was attempted on a big scale by the Chamars. The reaction was swift. The other castes retaliated by stopping all facilties to them. No longer would a Chamar get land or be given grain at the time of festivals; credit was refused as the other caste soon found that they had lost their helper. When intimidation and physical force. failed to bear any results (for the Chamars appeared completely resolved to resist),an understanding was reached. Payment would be made for tasks performed. Both parties agreed.

The reforms also advocated that educational facilities may be made and be expanded The Chamars soon came forward to benefit from these. The Government on the other hand rapidly expanded the range of special facilities for the Scheduled Castes. Jatav Hostels were constructed, scholarships were very freely distributed and other grants were liberally made. The progress though slow was sure and continuous. The process still continues.

Untouchability was one of the main disabilities from which the Chamars suffered. Their touch was sufficient to pollute: they were not allowed to draw water from the same well and temple entry was forbidden. Removal of untouchability was an all India campaign led by Mahatma Gandhi and spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Apart from social awakening, legislation was harnessed to implement it. It is embodied in the Constitution of India: Article 17 reads— "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law."[1]

To cite an instance of a type of reaction to the change; a meeting was organised in Tarana tahsil of Ujjain District in 1954-55 by the local Harijans (mostly Chamars) to which a Minister was invited. The local leaders and the Minister spoke on the subject emphasising the need for abolition of untouchability and admission of Harijans into the temple. The meeting passed off peacefully. After the meeting the Minister began chatting to the villagers and wanted to know their reaction about the change. One elderly Thakur told him that this movement (entry of Harijans into Hindu temple) was ill founded. The Minister tried to convince him but he would not listen to the arguments. The Minister finally said "Well there is a law now, which permits Harijans to enter into a temple and anybody obstructing them can be punished" The Thakur still refused to agree and sternly said, "Well if they must enter, then let it be on my dead body and I know how to defend myself." The argument did not go any further. The above however reflects a typical view of orthodox Hindus during the period 1951-57.

The Chamars generally preferred to remain quiet and docile. After centuries of servility and degradation, how could they behave otherwise ? In a way it was good for them, for it kept them on the right side of the law. There were a few exceptions but, by and large, the Chamars did not force the issue, when cases were instituted under the untouchability law, they generally preferred to compromise.

Among other factors which helped the Chamars, their leaders mentioned quite a few interesting ones. They are: the influence of *Sammelans*, seminars and other meetings conducted by them and political parties brought some consciousness among the people and they rose to reform themselves. Another interesting point brought out was that because Government Officers did not observe 'untouchability' with the Chamars and often sat with them, talked to them well, the Chamars thereby got a 'status lift'. He argued: "If the Collector Saheb sits with the Chamars, as happens frequently, or listens to them, then this has a great effect on others in the village." The Chamars are doubly happy not so much because the Collector sat with them but because it impressed other villagers. The N. E. S. Blocks further helped in the awakening the Chamars. At a functional leadership camp in a village, Chamar trainees outnumbered the rest. Lastly the land allotment policy had been very helpful to the Chamars: although many still remain landless, quite a few benefitted.

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1 The Constitution of India

All these factors helped Chamars and gradually they started living more cleanly, having already given up obnoxious trades and modes of living.

The impact of various laws

The first declaration was made by H. H. Maharaja Scindia on Friday 4th May, 1945 in Gwalior Government Gazette, Extraordinary of 1945, already referred to earlier. Then after the formation of Madhya Bharat, the Madhya Bharat Harijan Ayogyata Nivaran Vidhan Samvat 2005 (Act 15 of 1949) was passed. This made prevention of Harijans from entering a temple a penal offence and was aimed at removing other disabilities. Thereafter the Central act *viz.* The Untouchability (Offence) Act, 1955 (XXII of 1955) was extended to all States and it replaced the Madhya Bharat Act; the Constitution itself as pointed out earlier, contains provisions abolishing untouchability and *begar*; the article dealing with *begar* reads:

Rights against Exploitation

23. (1) *Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour.*—Traffic in human beings and *begar* and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

(2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them.

There were not many prosecutions in the court under these acts, for generally the matter was compounded. The Chamars felt that a compromise was the best solution; because both parties were satisfied to some extent and it did not leave marks of bitter hatred or enmity. Enmity could be dangerous and, with dacoits near at hand, even fatal. Besides this, the Chamars realised that still they had to live in the village and, if the other castes were antagonistic, then life could be very miserable. There were a few convictions in court cases but they were in the nature of exceptions rather than rule. Whether legislation was completely responsible for the changeover it is hard to say, but one imagines many considerations and circumstances shaped the change, and legislation was one of the important ones.

Thereafter came the most decisive phase commencing from 1950. The setting was complete. (*a*) The Constitution had abolished *begar* and untouchability; (*b*) The State Government had passed laws removing untouchability, abolishing *Zamindaris* and *Jagirdari* systems. The law had thus paved the way for social reform, and social workers were not slow in exploiting the situation.

IV

THE CHANGEOVER AND STATISTICS

The Chamar population in the districts now comprised in the present Gwalior Division excepting Datia was as follows in 1931:—

TABLE NO. I, SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF CHAMARS IN GWALIOR STATE AND IN SIX OF ITS DISTRICTS IN THE YEARS STATED BELOW

	Name	1921			1931			1941		
		Total population	Population of Chamars	Percentage	Total population	Population of Chamars	Percentage	Total population	Population of Chamars	Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	GWALIOR STATE	31,95,476	3,75,554	11.75	35,23,070	4,15,950	11,80	40,06,159	4,95,694	12 37
	DISTRICTS (1 to 6) ..	19,24,339	2,67,330	13.89	21,12,609	3,07,796	14.57	24,13,359	3,60,098	14.92
1	Gwalior (Gird) ..	3,26,466	42,894	13.14	3,64,806	50,263	13.78	4,93,232	68,062	13.80
2	Bhind	3,82,633	57,378	14.99	4,18,224	58,646	14.02	4,29,135	70,592	16.45
3	Tonwarghar or Morena	3,36,660	49,496	14.70	3,69,648	52,714	14.26	4,30,274	72,490	16.85
4	Sheopur	1,24,865	17,406	13.94	1,37,034	11,411	8.33	1,44,313	17,322	12.00
5	Narwar or Shivpuri ..	3,69,627	48,576	13.14	4,01,586	73,190	18.23	4,41,869	59,223	13.40
6	Isagarh or Guna ..	3,84,088	51,581	13.43	4,21,311	61,572	14.61	4,74,536	72,409	15.26

The old Tonwarghar and Sheopur Districts now constitute Morena District. Narwar is now included in Shivpuri District and Isagarh in Guna District. Whereas the boundaries and names have been changed, there however has been no major change in the total number of villages in the territory. Thus it is fairly accurate to assume that the area comprised then in Gwalior, Bhind, Tonwarghar, Sheopur, Isagarh and Narwar District is now that of Gwalior, Bhind, Morena, Shivpuri and Guna districts. This makes a comparision possible both in respect of general growth and in respect of the occupational pattern.

Consequent to the formation of Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh, it would be more accurate to take up 1951 and 1961 occupational figures for comparision, since in 1951 the figures for Chamars were not compiled separately.

The occupational comparision is based on the presumption that, apart from the Chamars, generally speaking, no other castes undertake to work on leather and hides, and, in case other castes engage on hides, their number is almost negligible.

The occupational returns

The comparision made below takes into account categories under which workers in leather have been returned from time to time during 1921-1961.

In 1921, Chamars carrying on their traditional occupation were classified as workers under:

III—Industries

Group 7.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom which included.
39—Tanners, Curriers, leather dresses and leather dyers.

40—Makers of leather articles such as trunks, water-bags, saddlery or harness, etc., excluding articles of dress.

And

Group 13—Industries of dress and the toilet.

78—Shoe, boot and sandal makers.

In 1931 the categories for workers in leather were:—

III—Industry

Group 6.—Hides, skins, and hard materials from the animal kingdom.

51—Working in leather.

And

Group 12.—Industries of dress and the toilet,

82—Boots, shoes, sandal and clog makers.

In 1941 too, the pattern for classifying the means of livelihood remained the same as in 1931. For the above occupation the entries were:—

III—Industry

Group 6.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.

62.—Tanners, Curriers, leather dressers and leather dryers.

63.—Makers of leather articles, such as trunks, water-bags, saddlery and harness, etc., excluding boots and shoes.

64.—Boots, shoes, sandal and clog makers.

In 1951, the Scheme of economic classification was known as Indian Census Economics Classification Scheme, based on 1931 Scheme of Occupation with extensive revision. It was the "first sober stock taking of the population free from all castes or communal background."[1] Leather workers came under—

Division 2

Processing and Manufacture of Food Stuffs, Textiles, Leather and Products thereof—

Group 2.9.—Leather, Leather products and footwear.

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1 *Ranglal*—Census of India, 1951, Vol. XV, M. B. Bhopal, part II-B, Economic Tables, pp 10.

2.91.—Tanners, and all other workers in leather.

2.92.—Cobblers and all other makers and repairers of boots, shoes, sandals and clogs.

2.90.—Makers and repairers of all other leather products.

In 1961 the National Classification of Occupations (NCO) has been used. The N. C. O. has got 11 Divisions consisting of 75 groups sub-divided into 331 Families under which each occupation is classified.

Workers in leather are dealt with in Division 7 and Group 72 and reads as follows.—

Group 72.—Leather Cutters, Lasters and Sewers (except Gloves and Garments) and Related workers.

720—Shoe-makers and Shoe repairers.

721—Cutters, Lasters, Sewers, Footwear and Related workers.

722—Harness and Saddle makers.

723—Leather Cutters, Lasters, and Sewers (except Gloves and Garments) and Related workers, N. E. C.

For the years 1921, 1931, 1941, figures for persons engaged in leather trade have not been included. They, however, are 993, 356, and 904 respectively. They have not been included because the traders are mostly persons other Chamars.

The Occupational analysis

In 1921, the Chamar population of Gwalior State stood at 3,75,554 or 11.75% out of 31,95,476 persons as against 4,15,950 or 11.80% out of 35,23,070 persons in 1931 and 4,95,694 or 12.37% out of 40,06,159 in 1941. In 1921 the Chamars returned 1,94,643 or 51.80% workers and out of these 58,635 or 30.12% were in the traditional occupation, which was either principal or subsidiary. The total workers under heads: covering manufacture from animal kingdom including manufacture of shoes and sandals being 36,817 or 61.18% of the total engaged in the traditional occupation. In the case of the rest the returns although signifying traditional occupation did not give sufficient details for further classification.

In 1931 the workers totalled 2,23,622 or 53.73% workers and out of these 77,599 or 34.61% depended upon traditional occupation enter as Principal or Secondary means of livelihood. Persons engaged in working in hides and leather account for 30,886 or 39.68%. The interesting thing to be noted is that the number of persons returned as workers in leather and hides got down to 30,886.

In 1941 the Chamar (including Jatavs) population stood at 4,95,694 out of 40,06,159 persons or 12.37% of the total State population. The growth appears to be fairly well spread out but the number of workers engaged in hides, skins and animal materials from the animal kingdom goes down to 22,557. In the twenty years in the three censuses conducted the figures indicate a downward trend.

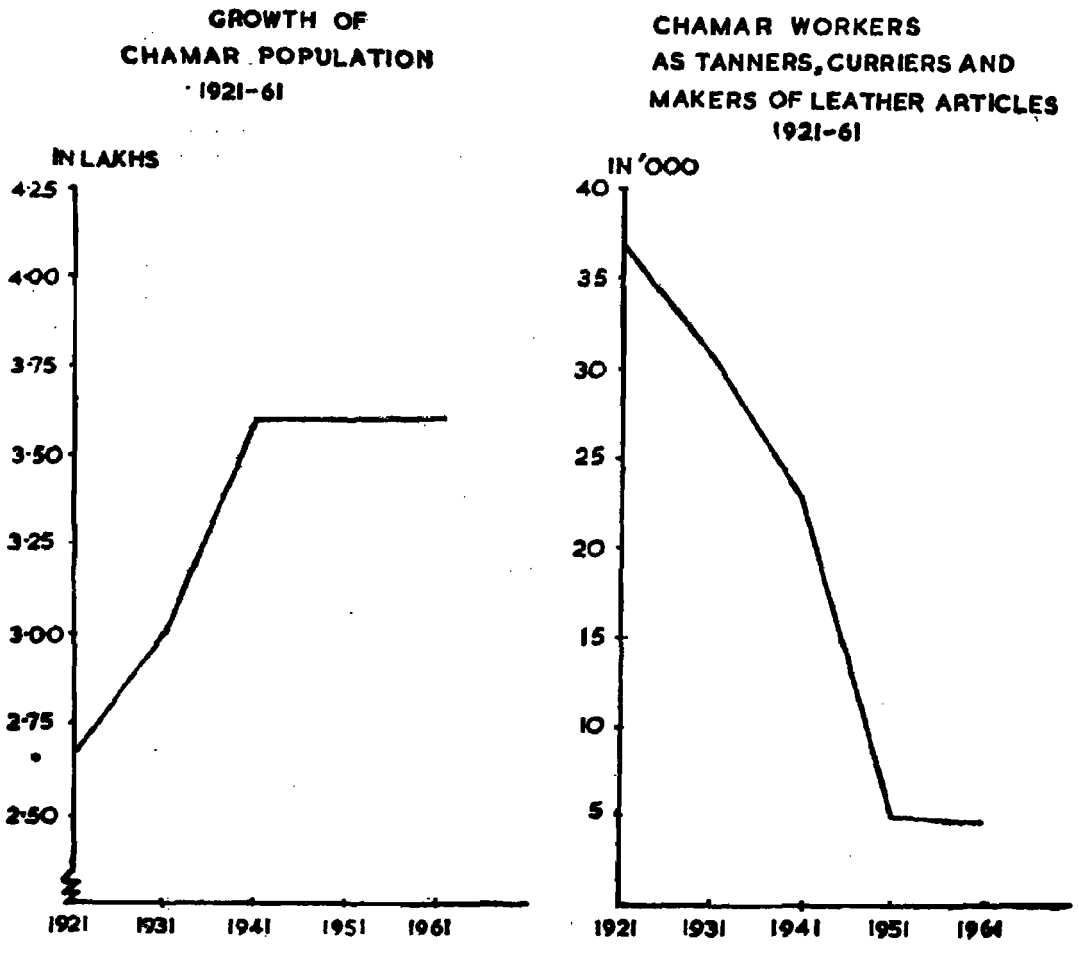
TABLE NO II SHOWING WORKERS IN HIDES, SKINS, AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

Year	Persons	Remarks
1	2	3
1921	36,817	
1931	30,886	
1941	22,557	
1951	5,001	
1961	4,690	

In 1951 new State of Madhya Bharat had been formed and districts redrawn. We have thus five districts viz. Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Shivpuri and Guna covering the region. The total number of persons following the above occupation went down to 5,001 persons, for 1951 districtwise break is not available. In 1961 this figure has further gone down to 4,690 although the population has generally increased. The figures unfold the fact that during the last 40 years, more and more Chamars have given up working on leather and hides. The

descent from 36,817 persons in 1921 to 4,690 in 1961 despite the population increase from 19,24,339 in 1921 to 32,36,172 in 1961 speaks for itself. The graphs show the position still more clearly.

CHAMARS



The Geranal growth of chamars

The percentage of Chamars to the district population during the last 40 years has remained as under:—

TABLE III

State/District	Percentage of Chamars to the total population			
	1921	1931	1941	1961
Gwalior State	11.75	11.80	12.37	..
1 Gwalior (Gird)	13.14	13.78	13.80	4.76
2 Bhind	14.99	14.02	16.45	10.98
3 Tonwarghar	14.70	14.26	16.85	14.22
4 Sheopur	13.94	8.33	12.00	
5 Narwar	13.14	18.23	13.40	10.97
6 Isagarh	13.43	14.61	15.26	13.42
Districts (1 to 6)	13.89	14.57	14.92	11.12

It is possible to compare the gro-wth in Chamar population for the region comprising of present Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Shivp uri and Guna Districts. In 1921 the Chamars totalled 2,67,330 or 13.89%out of 19,24,339 pers ons in the region. By 1961, the Chamar population has risen to 3,59,867 or 11.12 % out of 32,33,172 persons in the region. Figures for 1951 are not available and those of interim years are in Table I. The break up for each district for 1961 is given in the table below:—

TABLE NO. IV SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF CHAMARS IN GWALIOR REGION EXCLUDING DISTRICT DATIA FOR THE YEAR 1961

Name of District	Population	Chamars	Percentage
Total ..	32,36,172	3,59,867	11.12
Morena	7,83,348	1,11,412	14.22
Bhind	6,41,169	70,415	10.98
Gwalior	6,57,876	31,291	4.76
Shivpuri	5,57,954	66,795	11.97
Guna	5,95,825	79,954	13.42

In case of Bhind and Gwalior Districts the number seems to have declined. In Gwalior alone, in 1961, as many as 43,636 Jatavs have been returned. In 1951 Jatavs did not appear as a separate caste. Perhaps the return testifies to the influence that these *sabhas* started wielding. It is also common knowledge that many Chamars prefer to call themselves Jatavs. *In the entire State as many as 788,836 persons (all from Gwalior Division) have returned* themselves as Jatavs. Including Jatavs the Chamars constitute 13.87% of the region's population. Another factor which also needs some consideration is that some did not return themselves as Chamars.

Another noticeable feature in the last decade has been the steady disappearance of the village cobbler. Workers in leather and hide have gravitated towards urban areas, chiefly because of better facilities for work, more lucrative prices and comparative anonymity. There is yet another reason to it. In the village the pressure of reformists was great, one could not carry on the profession and yet not be expelled from the caste, but in a town this problem was more easily solved. Moreover, when the Chamar was no longer tied to the shackles of a feudalistic system, moving away from an otherwise suffocating environment was easy. The table below indicates the shift from rural to urban areas.

TABLE NO. V SHOWING PERSONS ENGAGED AS LEATHER CUTTERS; LASTERS; SEWERS (EXCEPT GLOVES AND GARMENTS, AND RELATED WORKERS IN GWALIOR REGION EXCLUDING DATIA, FOR 1961 AND 1951

S. No.	Name of District	1961			1951		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Morena	506	252	254	851	621	230
2.	Bhind	509	228	281	387	241	146
3.	Gwalior	1,087	84	1,003	1,154	269	885
4.	Shivpuri	908	774	134	1,022	910	112
5.	Guna	1,680	1,340	340	1,587	1,346	241
	Total ..	4,690	2,678	2,012	5,001	3,387	1,613

1961 RETURNS—ANALYSIS

In the entire Gwalior Division (the five districts referred to earlier and Datia ,there are only 1,663 persons among Chamars who are engaged in tanning and currying of hides and 9,897 persons are engaged in other services. Never before were so few engaged in tanning and so many in other services. Only 3 females among Chamars have been returned as engaged in scavenging. The table below gives the districtwise break up of persons engaged in tanning and currying:

TABLE NO. VI SHOWING CHAMAR WORKERS IN TANNING AND CURRYING IN GWALIOR DIVISION-1961

Name	Total			Rural			Urban		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Gwalior Division ..	**1,663**	**1,467**	**196**	**1,277**	**1,127**	**150**	**386**	**340**	**46**
District Morena	65	61	4	65	61	4	..	..	..
,, Bhind	33	33	0	29	29	0	4	4	0
,, Gwalior	321	313	8	63	55	8	258	258	0
,, Datia	32	27	5	32	27	5	..	..	..
,, Shivpuri	513	450	63	432	396	36	81	54	27
,, Guna	699	583	116	656	559	97	43	24	19

A prominent feature of the above table is that Guna and Shivpuri districts alone account for 1,212 or nearly 75% workers of the above category. It is another indication of the powerful influence of the reformers in the Northern districts. These two districts comprising of forests and more backward areas were comparatively slow in taking to the reforms. Further, how completely the trade has been abandoned in villages is revealed by the fact that out of 451 or (1963-1212) curriers and tanners, urban areas claim as many as 262 persons or 58.09% persons and in rural areas of Morena, Bhind and Gwalior there are only 65,29 and 63 persons plying the trade. The change has been very sweeping indeed. After all, the reformers had preached that one of the reasons why Chamars were regarded as unclean, was the currying and flaying of the hides. It is interesting to note that none of the Chamar boys in a Government aided hostel agreed to take up a course of tanning, although a small stipend was attached to it. One of them went as far as saying that he would rather starve than learn *Chamari*.

V. THE PRESENT OCCUPATION

After overthrowing the traditional occupation the Chamars have taken to other vocations. Available statistics reveal that most of them have taken to cultivation in some form or the other. Many have become labourers, agricultural or general, and a few have become skilled workers. In urban areas they are also taking to employment in various services and lastly it is not unlikely that some have stopped considering themselves as Chamars. A table indicating the occupational pattern is given below:

TABLE NO. VII SHOWING THE OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF CHAMARS PER THOUSAND 1961 CENSUS

Unit	Workers per 1,000 Chamars	As cultivators	As agricultural labours	As household industry and other than house hold industries	Construction	Other services	Other occupations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
District Morena	499	418	38	10	11	14	8
,, Bhind	469	376	49	11	5	24	4
,, Gwalior	403	132	25	95	46	44	61

The above table deals with only Bhind, Morena and Gwalior districts, because the changes have been more marked in them. In Gwalior there are less workers per thousand (403), an indication of urban influence. In Gwalior, out of these, only 132 are cultivators and 33 are in manufacture either as a household industry or otherwise. In other services too the number reveals the changing pattern. Bhind and Morena exhibit more or less common characteristics. Cultivation stands out very prominently. Of the total workers, most are engaged in cultivation. As against these figures 31.9% persons in 1931 were engaged in the traditional occupation.

VI. THE CARRION EATER

You cannot cross the same river twice, said an ancient philosopher. When one looks back, one is pleasantly surprised at the almost phenomenal progress of Chamars. In their personal habits they have completely reformed themselves; their pattern of economy has undergone radical changes. Pleased with themselves, confident and resolute, the Chamars looked ahead towards a better future. It has been very difficult; a trying, excruciating and exhausting experience. Since social reforms take a long time to get rooted, the achievements have been fairly satisfying. Although not yet socially at par in fact with other castes, the Chamars seem to derive consolation from the fact that to-day no stigma of uncleanliness or of being an "outcaste" attaches to them. Their complete acceptance in society, they aver, is a matter of time. To claim that their economic position has sky-rocketted would be an exaggeration, but economic improvement is fairly well-marked. Yet another satisfying feature has been the cleanliness of the profession; no longer is a Chamar detested because his profession makes him unclean or because he is a 'carrion eater'. The other castes no longer regard him as their 'field slave' or think of him as the 'general village drudge'. He seems to have acquired the status of a man, a status which should have been his from the moment of his birth but denied to him and now, late in the day, he has got it.

"Better late than never."

Statistics quoted in the Appendix have been compiled from:—

(1) Census of India, 1921, Vol. XX. Gwalior, Report and Table by Jankinath Datta, Census Commissioner, Gwalior State, Table XIII, XVII, and XXI-A.

(2) Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXII. Gwalior, Part II—Tables, Ranglal, Census Commissioner, Gwalior State, Table X, XI, and XVII.

(3) Census of India, 1941, Vol. XX. Gwalior, Part II—Tables, Ranglal, Census Commissioner, Gwalior State, Imperial Table VIII, State Table IV.

(4) Census of India, 1951, Vol. XV. Madhya Bharat and Bhopal. Part II-B. Economic Tables, Ranglal, Census Commissioner, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal, Table B-I.

(5) District Census Hand Books, 1951,: (1) Gird, (2) Bhind, (3) Morena, (4) Shivpuri and (5) Guna Districts.

(6) Manuscript Table SCT. I, Part V-A. Census of India, 1961.

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EXTRA ORDINARY

GWALIOR GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

Published By Authority

जिल्द ९४ Vol. 94 | ग्वालियर, शुक्रवार, तारीख ४ मई सन् १९४५, संवत २००१ | Gwalior, Friday, 4th May 1945, S. 2001 | नं. १९ No. 19

हिस्सा अव्वल—नोटिफिकेशन्स मजर्ये गवर्नमेन्ट ऑफ हि. हा. दि महाराजा सिंदिया ४६७–४७०

Part I—Notifications by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia 467-470

PART I

NOTIFICATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA SCINDIA

हुजूर ऑफिस, ग्वालियर दरबार.

श्रीमंत युवराज माधवराव साहब के बारसा के शुभ तथा मंगलमय अवसर पर श्रीमंत सरकार ने अत्यंत कृपावंत होकर निम्न-लिखित "उद्घोषणा" करने की उदारता की है:—

उद्घोषणा.

"१. हम जीवाजीराव माधवराव शिंदे को यह ज्ञात हुआ है कि भंगी, बसोड़, बरार, चमार, कोली, खटीक, बेडिया, कंजर, वरगंडा, बलाई और बागरी इत्यादि अस्पृष्य तथा दलित जातियों को, जोकि आजकल हरिजनों के नाम से पुकारी जाती हैं, उनके उन जन्म-सिद्ध मौलिक अधिकारों से वंचित रखा जाता है जोकि हमारी प्रजा होने के नाते प्रत्येक नागरिक को प्राप्त हैं; उदाहरण स्वरूप कहीं कहीं यह आपत्ति उठाई जाती है कि घोड़े या पालकी पर न चढ़ें, किसी विशेष प्रकार का वस्त्र या आभूषण अपने अंग पर धारण न करें, सार्वजनिक शिक्षणालयों या तालाबों इत्यादि से लाभ न उठावें, इत्यादि ।

२. यद्यपि समय समय पर इस संबंध में सम्बन्धित विभागों द्वारा सरक्यूलरों के रूप में आदेश प्रचलित हो चुके हैं तथापि हम यह उचित समझते हैं कि, हम इस सम्बन्ध में अपनी नीति को और भी अधिक स्पष्ट कर दें, जिससे कि यदि कोई भ्रांति किसी के हृदय में हो तो वह दूर हो जावे । और हम यह भी स्पष्ट कर देना चाहते हैं कि हरिजनों के नाम से पुकारी जानेवाली जातियां भी हिन्दू ही हैं, और उन्हीं देवी-देवताओं का पूजन करती हैं जिनका कि अन्य सनातन-धर्मावलम्बी जातियां, उनमें धर्म के प्रति जो श्रद्धा तथा भावना है वह किसी भी अन्य उच्च वर्ण की जाति से किसी भी अंश में कम नहीं है, और मंदिरों में प्रवेश करने से रोके जाने पर उनकी आन्तरिक भावनाओं को मार्मिक आघात पहुंचता है । अस्तु, हम यह उद्घोषित करते हैं कि:—

३. (१) ग्वालियर राज्य में हरिजन व्यक्तियों को भी और जातियों के नागरिकों को भांति वेष-भूषा, आभूषणों, सवारियों, विवाह सम्बन्धी रीतियों, सार्वजनिक स्थानों में प्रविष्ट होने और सार्वजनिक कुओं, तालाबों, नहरों और घाटों से लाभ उठाने के विषय में पूर्ण स्वच्छंदता प्राप्त है ।

(२) और नागरिकों की भांति उन्हें भी राजकीय शिक्षणालयों में भर्ती होकर शिक्षा प्राप्त करके अच्छे नागरिक बनने का स्वत्व प्राप्त है ।

(३) आज के दिनांक से सरकारी छतरियों तथा राज-परिवार के देवघरों के अतिरिक्त, जो कि सर्व-साधारण के लिये खुले हुए नहीं हैं, राज्य के समस्त देवालयों में, जोकि राज्य द्वारा बनाये गये हों अथवा राजकीय सम्पत्ति हों, अथवा जिनकी व्यवस्था राज्य द्वारा की जाती हो, अन्य हिन्दुओं की भांति हरिजनों को भी प्रवेश करने तथा दर्शनों से लाभ उठाने की पूर्ण स्वच्छंदता प्राप्त होगी ।

(४) यदि कोई व्यक्ति इसके विरुद्ध कार्य करके हरिजनों के उपरोक्त अधिकारों में बाधक होगा तो वह प्रचलित राज-नियमों के अनुसार दण्ड का भागी होगा.

(५) हमें पूर्ण विश्वास है कि हमारी समस्त प्रजा उपरोक्त नीति तथा आदेशों का अक्षरशः पालन करेगी ।"

दरबार आज्ञानुसार,

डी० के० आधव, मेजर,

मुख्तार-उद्दौला, मदारुल-मुहाम, राव बहादुर, फीरोजजंग,

हुजूर सेक्रेटरी, ग्वालियर दरबार.

APPENDIX—B

THE HITAVADA, JANUARY 6, 1963

JAWANPUR : Jaunpur is a well-known district town in Uttar Pradesh though it is not known for any thing in particular. But there is a small village in Bhind District of Madhya Pradesh, which goes by the name Ranipur. This little known hamlet may well become "Jawanpur", phonetically akin to Jaunpur, because this tiny speek of a village has the unique distinction of contributing on an average three men from every house to our armed forces. Out of a total population of 700 inhabitants, as many as 200 are already serving in the Army, 45 persons have joined the army since the beginning of the emergency and many more are offering themselves for recruit at the recruiting centre at Bhind. This, indeed, a glorious record for the village of which the State could be proud. Small wonder if someone initiates a move to rename the village as "Jawanpur". Madhya Pradesh has been making a splendid endeavour to offer men and money for the country's defence. The State has almost achieved its Defence Fund target of rupees four crores and its recruitment drive is also in full swing. The sturdy and brave peasantry of the State, especially in the Chambal region, provides a rich recruiting field.

GLOSSARY

Adam	From the very beginning, or from *Adam* the first man.
Akha-Teej	A Hindu festival observed on the eighteenth day of Vaishakh.
Alha-Udal	An epic song very popular in Bundelkhand; sung in chorus.
Alsi	Castor.
Anguthi (*Angoothi*)	A ring, worn on fingers.
Anna-Prashni	'Anna' is food and 'Prashni' eating or tasting, therefore eating food for the first time.
Aran	Earings worn in ears.
Arati	A ceremony performed in the worship of God, by moving a lighted lamp.
Arhar	A cereal (*citisus cajan*).
Baba	A word used for old person.
Badai	A Carpenter.
Baisakh	The second month of the Hindu year.
Baisakh-Tritiya	The third day of the second month of the Hindu year.
Bajra	Corn, millet.
Baju	An arm.
Bakhar	An agricultural implement.
Ballabh Sampraday	The Vaishnavite sect, followers of Lord Krishna.
Bangli	A sort of ornament—pertaining to the side.
Bara	An ornament for the arm.
Barat	The marriage party.
Bari (*Bali*)	An ornament of the ear.
Batasa	A semi-spherical cake which is made of sugar, light and spongy.
Bidai	A farewell.
Begar	The act of forcing some one to do a work without payment.
Behad	Ravines.
Bekar	Useless.
Benda	An ornament worn on the fore-head.
Bhadauria	A sub-caste among Rajputs.
Bhado	The sixth month of the Hindu year.
Bhai	Brother.
Bhai-Doj	The second day of bright half of Kartik on which day this festival is celebrated.
Bhajan	A prayer.
Bhakti	Worship.
Bhawar (*Bhamar*)	Circumambulation of sacrificial fire made by the bridegroom and the bride at the time of marriage.
Bhoosi	Husk, Chaff.
Bichhiya	An ornament which is worn on the toes.
Bichonia (*Bichoniya*)	An intermediatary.
Bigha	A land measure five-eighths of an acre. It varies from one region to another.
Bikaneri	Belonging to Bikaner in Rajasthan.
Bimari	Illness.
Biri	A cigarette made from tendu leaves.
Boar	An ornament which is worn on the fore-head.
Brahma	God, the Divine source of the Universe.

Brahmin	An upper caste among Hindus.
Bunde	An ornament in the form of a pendant which is worn in the ear.
Chabutara	A platform before the house.
Chadar	A coverlet.
Chamar	A caste of shoemaker, skinner and tanners.
Chapati	'Gannocks' cakes of unleavened flour.
Chari	Green plants which are used as fodder for cattle.
Charnoi	Pasture land.
Chatur	Clever.
Chauki	A wooden table.
Chaupal	An open air assembly place.
Cheetal	An antelope with white spots.
Chhan	Frame work thatched with straw.
Chhat	Roof.
Chhati	The ceremony performed on the sixth day after child birth.
Chhuara	An ornament worn on wrist.
Chudie (*Chudi*)	Bangles.
Coat-Peace	A game of cards played by four in which only seven tricks are required to be made.
Daal	Pulse.
Dada	Grand-father.
Dag	Cremation.
Daga or Dagar	A Dance.
Dahoni (*Dohani*)	A milk pail.
Dai	Nurse or midwife.
Dakshina	Present given to a Brahmin.
Dashera (*Dussera*)	The tenth day of the bright half of the month of Ashvin, a festival day.
Dashton	The tenth day ceremony after child birth.
Daste or Dasti	An ornament worn on wrist.
Deeya	An earthen lamp.
Dekchi	A kind of utensil.
Deshi-Hal	A wooden plough.
Dholak	A small drum.
Dhoti	A cloth which is worn round the waist.
Dikhit	A sub-caste of Brahmin.
Diwali	The festival which falls on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Kartik.
Dube	A sub-caste of Brahmin.
Durree (*Durrie*)	Small rug.
Gala	Neck or throat.
Ganpati	The son of Shiva and Parvati represented as a fat man with an elephant's head. He is the God of wisdom and remover of all hindrances.
Garmi	Heat, Hot season.
Gauna	The ceremony of taking a bride to her husband's house for the first time.
Ghar	The house.
Ghar-Jamai	Person who resides at his father-in-law's home.
Ghee	Butter clarified by boiling and straining.
Gofan	A sling for throwing pebbles.
Go-Puja	Worship of the cow.
Gotra	Clan.

Gram	Village.
Gujar	A caste of animal husbands-men.
Gulal	Red farinaceous powder which Hindus throw on each other's person during the Holi festival.
Gur	Jaggery.
Guru	A spiritual guide, Teacher.
Guru-Mantra	A vedic text or hymn given by spiritual guide.
Hal	Plough.
Halwa	A sweetmeat.
Hanuman	The monkey God who assisted Rama against Ravana, the King of Ceylon.
Har	An ornament of the neck.
Hiraman	A deity worshipped for various cures.
Holi	The Hindu festival of colour observed on the last day of the bright half of Phalgun.
Hom	Sacrifice.
Hookka	A hubble-bubble; Smoking pipe.
Jamai	Son-in-law.
Janata	Public.
Janeyu-(Janeu)	The sacred thread of a Brhamain, the ceremony in which the sacred thread is worn.
Janmashtami	The eighth day of the dark half of Bhadrapad on which Lord Krishna was born.
Janwasa	The place at a bride's house where the marriage party is accommodated.
Jat	A caste of northern India.
Jauhar	An ancient custom among Rajputs according to which their ladies in order to save their honour from the conquering enemy hurled themselves on a burning pyre.
Jaware	Green small sprouts of barley.
Jaya	Victory, Conquest.
Jhagra-Dena	Literaliy; Payment of the money for the quarrel. Usually, the bride price is paid to the aggrieved husband, when the wife remarries.
Jhanj (Janj)	Cymbals.
Jhun-Jhuna	A child's rattle.
Joshi	A caste who cast the horoscope.
Kabaddi	An Indian out-door game of boys who play the game by forming two parties.
Kabar	Soil of ordinary class.
Kachhi	A gardener caste.
Kachhu	Something.
Kada	An ornament worn on ankles.
Kadchhi	A big spoon.
Kadhai	An utensil of iron for cooking purposes.
Kadia (Kadiya)	An ornament worn on ankles.
Kakna	An ornament worn on wrist.
Kana	One eyed person.
Kanchedan (Kanchhedan).	The ceremony of piercing a child's ear lobes.
Kanda	Dried cowdung cakes used as fuel.
Kans	A kind of grass used in religious observances by the Hindus.
Kardhoni	An ornament worn on waist.
Katha	A religious discourse.
Kavad	A bamboo stick with ropes attached to each and of it for bringing water.
Kendra	Central.
Kethri	A bedding made of old pieces of cloth.

Khajoor	The palmyra palm, the date tree.
Khaliyan	A grainary.
Kharif	The crop which is reaped in autumn.
Khangwari	An ornament worn around the neck.
Khir	A dish made of rice milk and sugar boiled together.
Kho-Kho	An Indian game.
Krishna Bhakti	Worship of Lord Krishna.
Kuar (Kuwar)	The seventh month of the Hindu year.
Kumhar	A Potter.
Kurta	Loose flowing shirt-like garment.
Lachha	An ornament worn on ankles.
Ladka	Boy.
Lagan	A letter sent by the bride's father to the father of the bridegroom for settling the day of marriage.
Lehenga	A Skirt or Petticoat.
Lohia-Hal	An iron plough.
Long	A gold ornament worn on the nose.
Lota	A mug of copper or brass.
Magh	The eleventh month of Hindu year.
Mahi	Skimmed milk.
Mandali	A party
Mandap	A canopy raised for marriage ceremony.
Mandi	A big market.
Manjeera (Majeera)	A kind of cymbal.
Mantara	A vedic text or hymn.
Mata-ki-Bimari	Small-pox.
Matar Mala	An ornament worn around the neck.
Maurusi	Patrimonial or hereditary. A term used to define rights in a holding being transferable and heritable ones.
Mohan Mala	An ornament worn around the neck.
Mohri	A crown which is worn by a bride during the marriage ceremony.
Mool	The ninteenth Naksahtra, considered inauspicious.
Moong	Green gram.
Mour	A crown which is worn by a bride-groom during the marriage ceremony.
Nallah (Nullah)	A rivulet.
Namkaran-Sanskar	The Hindu ceremony of naming a child; Baptism.
Nara	Tape for fastening pyjamas.
Nari	A pipe
Nautanki	A burdesque drama providing cheap and coarse fun.
Neewar (Niwar)	Thin wide tape which is used in weaving a besdstead.
Padua	Poor quality soil.
Pajama	Trousers.
Panch	Arbiter.
Panchayat	Village assembly.
Pandit	A Brahmin.
Pani	Water, honour.
Parikrama	Going round an idol in mark of reverence.

Patsan	Jute.
Pati	A letter.
Peeli-Chithi	A yellow letter sent by the bride's father to the father of the bridegroom for settling the day of marriage. The letter is sprinkled with turmeric hence yellow.
Phalguna	The twelth month of Hindu year.
Pharia	A short coloured cloth worn by girls.
Phool	Flower.
Pooja	Prayer.
Pran	Life
Prasad	Food offered to an idol and distributed among worshippers.
Pujari	A Hindu priest.
Puri (Pudi) or Poori	Unleavened cake fried in clarified butter.
Rabi	The crop reaped in the spring season.
Raidas	Disciple of Ramanand who was a Chamar by Caste.
Rajput	A clan of Kshatriyas.
Rakh	Ashes.
Raksha-Bandhan	A festival among Hindu which falls on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of *Shravana.*
Ramchandraji	The famous King of Ayodhya who was an incarnation of the God Vishnu.
Ravan (Rawan)	The ten-headed demon King of Lanka who was killed by King Rama.
Resham-Patti	A gold ornament worn around the neck.
Rigveda	The original religious texts of the Hindus.
Sampradaya	Sect.
Sanadhya (Sanadya)	A sub-caste among Brahmins.
Sansay	Doubt.
Sarpanch	Head Arbiter.
Satmasa	A celebration held in the seventh month of pregnancy.
Sehnai	Clarionet.
Sehra (Sehara)	A crown of leaf worn on the head of a bridegroom.
Shakun	An omen.
Sharbat	Syrup
Shiv	The God Mahadeva.
Sikarwar	A sub-caste of Rajputs.
Sikarwari	The region where Sikarwars lived.
Sisam	The Indian rosewood tree (*Dalbergia sisu*).
Sonth	Dry ginger.
Shri Krishan	Lord Krishna.
Sudi	The bright half of a lunar month.
Supari	The betel nut, areca.
Sayane	Clever.

Tawa (Tava)	The round plate of iron on which bread is baked.
Teeka	Mark made on the fore-head with sandal paste.
Tevhar	Festival.
Thaal (Thali)	A big brass plate.
Thakur	A Lord or leader now commonly used for caste.
Thakurai	Being a Thakur.
Tidda	An ornament worn on ankles.
Tilli	Sesame.
Tomar	A sub-caste among Rajputs.
Trimurti	A three headed statue of the Gods Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh.
Tritiya	Third day of the month.
Urda (Urad)	Black gram.
Vaishnava	A devotee of Vishnu.
Veda	The sacred scripture of the Hindus revealed by Brahma, preserved by tradition and arranged in the present form by Vyas.
Varna	A caste-group.
Vishnu	Hindu God.

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Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street .. (Rest.)
Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringee Centre .. (Rest.)
Soor and Co., 125, Canning Street .. .. (Reg.)
S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street .. (Rest.)
Mukherjee Library, Sarba Khan Road .. (Rest.)
Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
The Book Depository, 4/1 Madan Street (1st Floor) (Rest.)
Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhash Road .. (Rest.)
Reliance Trading Co., 46/A, Netaji Subhash Road (Rest.)

Chapra

Alok Pustak Sadan .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chandigarh

Supdt., Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab
Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22-D .. (Reg.)
English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22-D .. .. (Rest.)
Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22-B .. .. (Rest.)
Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 (Rest.)
Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22-B .. (Rest.)

Calicut

Touring Book Stall .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chhindwara

The Verma Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chochin

Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road .. (Reg.)

Cuttack

Press Officer, Orissa Secty. .. .. (Reg.)
Cuttack Law Times .. .. .. (Reg.)
Prabhat K. Mahapatra Mangalabag, P. B. 35 .. (Reg.)
D. P. Sure Sons, Mangalabag .. .. (Rest.)
Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Dehra Dun

Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318 Chukhuwala .. .. (Reg.)

Delhi

J. M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmeri Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmeri Gate .. (Reg.)
Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Reg.)
Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies), P. B. 2027, Delhi Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road .. .. (Reg.)
Book-Well, 4 Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565, Delhi-9 .. .. (Reg.)
Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.)
Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar, Delhi .. (Reg.)
New Stationery House, Subzimandi .. .. (Reg.)
Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak, Delhi-6 .. (Reg.)
Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
All India Educational Supply Co., Sri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpatrai Market .. .. .. (Rest.)
University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Govt. Book Agency, 2646, Balimaran .. .. (Rest.)
Summer Brothers, P. O. Birla Lines .. .. (Rest.)
Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg .. .. .. (Reg.)
B. Nath & Bros., 3303, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest.)
Rajkamal Prakashan (P) Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhla Market .. (Reg.)
Tech., & Commercial Book Co., 75, Gokhla Market (Rest.)
Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chabiganj, Kashmeri Gate .. .. .. (Rest.)
G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309 Nehru Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohs. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate (Reg.)
Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) Private Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial & Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura .. .. (Rest.)

Dhanbad

Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines .. .. .. (Reg.)
New Sketch Press, Post Box No. 26 .. .. (Rest.)

Dharwar

Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road .. (Rest.)

Ernakulam

Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road .. .. (Rest.)

Ferozepore

English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road .. .. (Reg.)

Gaya

Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg .. (Reg.)

Goa

Jairam Sagoon Dhoud, Booksellers, Panjim .. (Rest.)

Guntur

Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadiguda, Chowrasta (Reg.)

Gorakhpur

Vishwa Vidhyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road .. (Rest.)

Gauhati

Mokshada Pustakalaya, Gauhati, Assam .. (Reg.)

Gwalior

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, M. B.
Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar .. (Reg.)
M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Ghaziabad

Jayana Book Agency .. .. .. (Rest.)

Hyderabad

Director, Govt. Press .. .. ..
The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul .. (Reg.)
Book Lovers Private Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)
Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar .. (Rest.)

Hubli

Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road .. (Reg.)

Indore

Wadhwa & Co., 56, M. G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
Swarup Brothers, Khajuri Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura .. (Rest.
Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace .. (Rest.)
Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 17, Khajuri Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Imphal

Tikendra & Sons, Booksellers .. .. (Rest.)

Jaipur City

Govt. Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan .. ..
Bharat Law House, Booksellers and Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema .. .. (Reg.)
Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Vani Mandir, Swami Mansingh Highway .. (Reg.)
Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Popular Book Depot, Chouri Rasta .. (Reg.)
Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. .. (Rest.)
Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P. B. No. 23 (Rest.)

Jawalapur

Sahyog Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Jamshedpur

Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 .. (Reg.)
Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. .. .. (Reg.)
Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market .. .. (Rest.)

Jamnagar

Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. .. .. (Reg.)

Jodhpur

Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents .. .. (Reg.)
Kitab Ghar, Sojati Gate .. .. .. (Reg.)
Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Jabalpur

Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj .. (Reg.)

Jullundur City

Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. .. (Rest.)
Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg.)
University Publishers, Railway Road .. (Rest.)

Kanpur

Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall .. (Reg.)
Sahitya Niketan, Sharadhanand Park .. (Reg.)
The Universal Book Stall, The Mall .. (Reg.)
Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk .. (Rest.)

Karur

Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram .. (Rest.)

Kolapur

Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. (Rest.)

Kodarma

The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumritelaiya, District Hazaribagh .. .. (Reg.)

Kumta

S. V. Kamat, Booksellers and Stationers (N. Kanara) (Reg.)

Lucknow

Soochna Sahitya Depot, (State Book Depot) .. .. (Reg.)
Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 .. (Reg.)
Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. .. (Reg.)
Civil and Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Acqurium Supply Co., 213, Faijabad Road .. (Rest.)
Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest.)

Ludhiana (E. P.)

Lyall Book Depot., Chaura Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Mohindra Brothers, Kathcyri Road .. .. (Rest.)
Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest.)
The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street .. .. (Rest.)

Madurai

Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)

Mathura

Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat .. (Rest.)

Madras

Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road .. ..
Account Test Institute, P. O. 760, Egmore .. (Reg.)
C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane, Madras-5 .. (Reg.)
K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384 .. .. (Reg.)
Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycrafts Road, Triplicane. .. .. (Reg.)
P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street .. (Reg.)
Palani Prachuram, 3 Tycrafts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg.)
South India Traders, Exporters, Importers, Agents and Govt. Booksellers, Rapapettah .. .. (Reg.)
NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (Rest.)
V. Sadanand, The Personal Book shop, 10 Congress Building, 111, Mount Road .. .. (Rest.)

Mandya

K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons, Sugar Town .. (Rest.)

Mangalore

U. R. Shenoye Sons., Car Street, P. Box 128 .. (Reg.)

Manjeshwar

Mukenda Krishna Nayak. .. .. (Rest.)

Meerut

Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchary Road (Reg.)
Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar (Reg.)
Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank .. .. (Reg.)
Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank .. (Rest.)
Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents (Rest.)

Monghyr

Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building .. (Rest.)

Mussouri

Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall .. .. (Rest.)
Hind Traders .. .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarnagar

Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi .. .. (Rest.)
B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarpur

Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg.)
Legal Corner Tikmanis' House—Amgola Road .. (Rest.)

Mysore

H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg.)
Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace .. (Reg.)
Jeevana Pustakalaya, 1254/1, Krishnamurthipuram (Rest.)
News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest.)

Nagpur

Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot .. ..
Western Book Depot, Residency Road .. (Reg.)
The Asst. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association Mineral House .. .. .. (Rest.)

Nandid

R. S. Desay, Station Road .. .. (Rest.

Nanded

Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)
Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P.B. No. 51 .. .. (Rest.)

New Delhi

Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus .. .. (Reg.)
Bhawani & Sons, 8-F, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
Empire Book Depot, 278 Aliganj .. .. (Reg.)
English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market, New Delhi-1 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place .. .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House .. (Reg.)
Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg.)
Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Suneja Book Centre, 24/80, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta, Road, Dev Nagar .. .. .. (Reg.)
Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road .. (Reg.)
The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road... (Rest.
New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji, New Delhi-19 .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath Street .. (Rest)
Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. .. (Rest.)
Peoples Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Rd. (Reg.)
R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest.)

Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Reg.)
Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 (Rest.)
H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 .. .. (Rest.)
The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road. .. (Rest.)
Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest.)
Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest.)

Pathankot

The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar .. (Rest.)

Patiala

Supdt., Bhupendra State Press ..
Jain & Co., 17 Shah Nashin Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Patna

Supdt., Govt. Printing (Bihar)
J. N. P. Aggarwal & Co., Padri Ki Haveli, Raghu Nath Bhawan .. .. .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Trading Co., Padri Ki Haveli .. (Reg.)
Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore .. .. (Reg.)
Bengal Law House, Chowhatta .. .. (Rest.)

Pithorgarh

Maniram Punetha & Sons .. .. (Rest.)

Poona

Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Imperial Book Depot, 266, M. G. Road .. (Reg.)
International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl Near Appa Balwant Chowke, Poona-2 .. .. (Reg.)
Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest.)

Pudukkottai

Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rajkot

Mohan Lal Doccabhai Shah, Booksellers and sub-Agents. .. .. (Reg.)

Ranchi

Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Rourkela

The Rourkela Review .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rewa

Supdt., Govt. State Emporium, U. P. .. ..

Saharanpur

Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. (Rest.)

Secenderabad

Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. (Reg.)

Silchar

Shri Nishitto Sen Nazirpatti .. .. (Rest.)

Sinnar

Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar, (Nasik) .. .. (Rest.)

Shillong

The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt., B. D. Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 .. .. (Rest.)

Sonepat

United Book Agency .. .. .. (Reg.)

Simla

Supdt., Himachal Pradesh Govt. Press .. (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. .. (Reg.)
The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. (Reg.)

Srinagar

The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road .. (Reg.)

Surat

Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road .. (Reg.)

Tuticorin

Shri K. Thiagarajan, 18-C, French Chapal Road .. (Rest.)

Trichinopoly

Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur .. .. (Reg.)
S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
Palamiappa Bros. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Trivandrum

International Book Depot, Main Road .. (Reg.)
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 .. (Rest.)

Udaipur

Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole .. .. (Rest.)

Ujjain

Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate .. (Rest.)

Varanasi

Students Firends & Co., Lanka .. .. (Rest.)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka .. (Reg.)

Vizianagram

Sarda & Co. .. .. (Rest.)

Vijayawada

The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (Rest.)

Vezegapatam

Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building .. .. (Reg.)
Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road .. .. (Reg.)

Vellore

A. Venkatasubhan Law Booksellers .. .. (Reg.)

Wardha

Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market .. .. (Reg.)

Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi.
Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
} FOR LOCAL SALES.

High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W. C. 2.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-1962

(On S and R Basis)

The Head Clerk, Government Book Depot, Ahmedabad.

The Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road, Belgaum.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar.

The Assistant Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur.

The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Government of India, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Nagpur.

The Assistant Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad, (Gujarat).

The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5 Finance Road, Poona

Government Printing and Stationery, Rajkot.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi.

The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna Surat.

The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 2, Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Kerala 70, Feet Road, Ernakulam.

The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad.

The Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong.

The Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi.

The Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City.

The Registrar of Companies, Bihar Jammal Road, Patna-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Rajasthan and Ajmer; Shri Kumta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur.

The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi Chetty Street, P. B. 1530, Madras.

The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg., P. B. 334, Kanpur.

The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay.

The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore.

The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior.

Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.

Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Gandhi, Cuttack.

The Registrar of Companies, Gujrat State, Gujrat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad.

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(Railway Bookstall Holders)

S/S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner.

Higginbothams & Co. Ltd., Mount Road, Madras.

M. Gulab Singh & Sons (P) Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi.

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(Foreign)

S/S Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal).

S/S Aktie bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel Fredsgation-2 Box, 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).

Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi.

The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi.

The O. I/c University Employment Bureau, Lucknow.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24 Parganas.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P. O. Burnipur.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33 North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, (Footwear), Calcutta.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna District (A. P.)

Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua.

Deputy Director, Incharge, S. I. S. I. C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim.

The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan.

GRPG—889—Census—5-11-63-16,000.