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VOLUME XV

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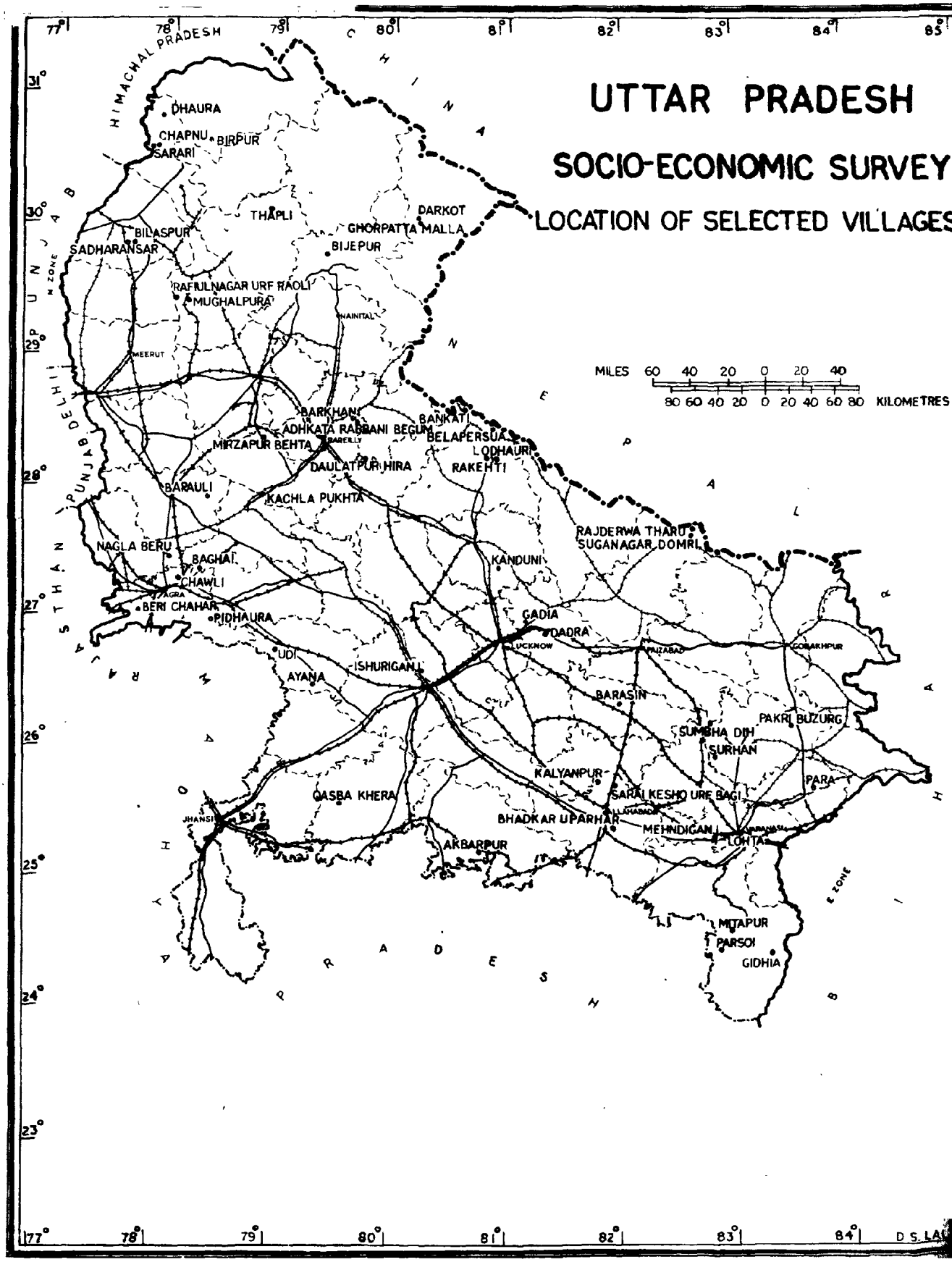
PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH No. 5

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VILLAGE THAPLI
(TAHSIL PAURI, DISTRICT GARHWAL)

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FOREWORD

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

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and 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 adjustments to them.

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

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959, the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village ; house types ; diet ; dress ; ornaments and footwear ; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers ; domestication of animals and birds ; markets attended ; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960, by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and 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 inter-related processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

NEW DELHI :
July 30, 1964.

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

In Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation selected a number of villages for special study of the dynamics of change in the social, cultural and economic life of the rural community. An analysis of the structure and functioning of the village economy is expected to reveal the forces which promote or retard the processes of change coming into play, either in the natural course or as a result of various legislative measures such as the establishment of Panchayats, the abolition of Zamindari, the extension of Planning and Development activities, and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for the reorientation of policies of rural development and village uplift.

2. The selection of villages for study was made in accordance with certain principles and criteria laid down by the Registrar General. Out of the selected villages, some contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people, and others have an old settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of the non-availability of the requisite number of villages having all the prescribed variables. This purposive selection has made it possible to study the impact of various factors of change upon the culture and economy of villages situated in the interior where outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act as also the normal types which are exposed to the winds of change from various directions to a greater degree.

3. Thapli, a hill village situated on the Kotdwar-Pauri road in district Garhwal, was selected because it has an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition of population having various occupations. It is an advanced type of hill village with a population of more than 500 persons consisting of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Shilpkars.

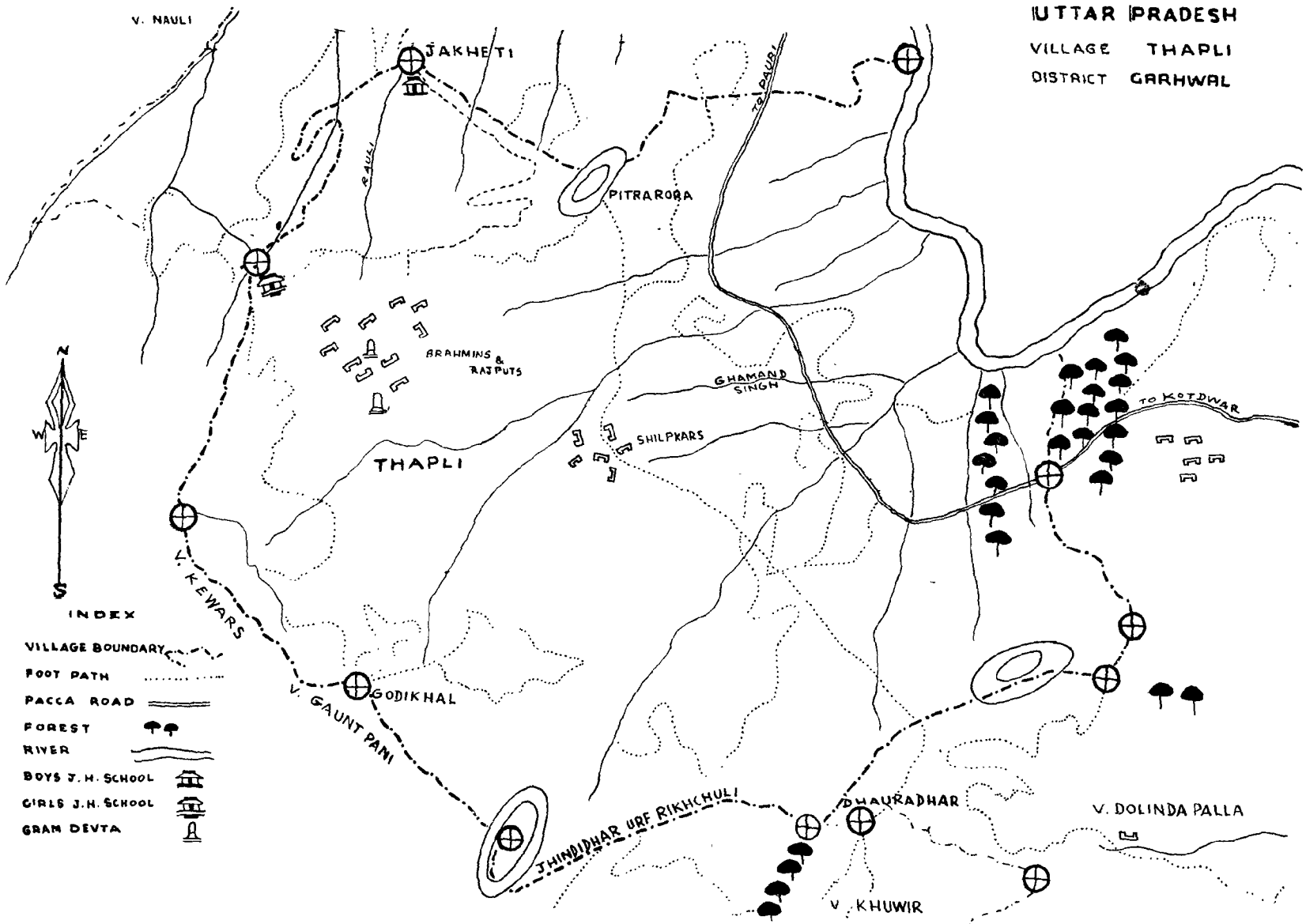
4. The research methods employed in this study have consisted of the use of schedules and questionnaires, case studies, village records, census data, interviews and group discussions. The local investigation was carried out by the field staff of this Organisation, having a well-trained pair of eyes. There was some difficulty in the initial stages because the investigator was viewed with suspicion, but after he gained the confidence of villagers and established rapport with them, the work of investigation became easy and simple. The data were collected in the month of October 1961. The study was of course subject to time pressure.

5. Field investigation in the village was carried out by Sri R. S. Dikshit, Socio-Economic Inspector, who had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organization. Sri R. C. Sharma, Deputy Census Superintendent. of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service, is responsible for supervising the study, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and drafting the report.

6. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached by the writer of this monograph are based on the results of the investigation. They are his own and do not reflect the views of the Government in any way.

P. P. BHATNAGAR
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Uttar Pradesh.

LUCKNOW :
December 5, 1962.



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CHAPTER I

The Village

Village Thapli is situated on the eastern slope of Dadawari hill, at a height of about 5,000 feet above the sea-level, in patti Kapolsyun of tahsil Pauri of district Garhwal, at a distance of 14 miles from the district headquarters Pauri. It lies in latitude 30° 1′ 52″ north and longitude 78° 47′ 52″ east. It is bounded on the north by villages Nauli, Ghiri and Jakh (*lagga* of village Thapli), on the east by village Toli and the stream Idgadd, on the south by villages Dolinda, Khuwir and Timari whereas villages Gauntpani and Kewara form the western boundary of the village. On account of its size and situation, social, cultural and material advancement, it is the most important village of Patti Kapolsyun and one of the prominent villages of the district. With an area of about 0.582 square miles, it is situated in the heart of the patti, just at a distance of one mile up the hill from village Jakheti on the Kotdwar-Pauri road. A five-hour tiresome hill journey by a bus of the U. P. Government Roadways or of the Garhwal Motor Owners' Union Limited from Kotdwar, the railway terminus of district Garhwal, over a distance of 54 miles leaves one at Jakheti. The hill road from Dogadda (10 miles from Kotdwar) onwards is narrow and risky and hence only one way traffic is allowed. Vehicles going from Kotdwar to Pauri and from Pauri to Kotdwar cross each other only at gates at Dogadda, Gumkhal, Satpuli, Pattisain and Paidul. The gate timings are fixed and notified by the Regional Transport Officer. Night travel is not permissible. Travelling against gate timings or by night without permission in writing from the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police or the Regional Transport Officer is an offence punishable under law. Cautions for drivers such as "Drive fast and see the cemetry, drive slow and enjoy the scenery" or "It is better to reach 10 minutes late in this world rather than 10 years earlier in the other world" are displayed at various places on the spiralling or meandering road. The maximum speed limit is 15 miles per hour. In spite of all the precautions taken, fatal accidents do take place sometimes. A mile of hill climbing by a bridle path from the bus halt at village Jakheti leads one to the village site which commands a beautiful view of the perennially snow-covered peaks of the magnificent Himalayas in front. The picturesque landscape of high hills interspersed with deep valleys is characteristic of the Himalayan mountains.

Thapli is a roadside hill village with a variegated character of population, mainly depending on agriculture but having service as an equally important occupation. The village has 120 households in all. Out of these, 73 households are of Brahmins, 7 of Rajputs and 40 of Shilpkars, the artisans classified as Scheduled Castes. The total population of 552 persons lives in 109 houses. The Brahmins constitute the dominant community while the Shilpkars are the most backward, in spite of their large number. The Brahmins and Rajputs are advanced socially and economically but the Shilpkars are backward to the same extent. The percentage of education, especially among the Brahmins is very high. The higher castes are engaged in cultivation and service while the Shilpkars work as masons, tailors, braziers, blacksmiths, carpenters, agricultural labourers and cultivators. There are no sweepers, barbers, shopkeepers, washermen and shoemakers in this village. Even then from standards of hill area, this is a big village with a population of more than 500 persons of various ethnic groups, having a number of varied occupations.

The stony hill slopes have been turned into terraced fields of small size, just like a big staircase, by constant labour and heavy expenditure. The land is suitable for growing millets such as *mandua* and *jhangora*, but paddy,

wheat and pulses are also grown. There are almost no sources of irrigation and hence crops have to depend on the vagaries of weather. Cultivation is done as a mode of living and not as a source of profit.

The climate of the village is pleasant. During the peak winter months of December, January and February it is very cold. For the last three years there has been a snowfall also in winter. The winter wind blowing from the snowy peaks of Himalayas is piercingly cold. In the summer season it is slightly hot at noon but the mornings, evenings and nights are cool and pleasant. It starts raining in the early part of June and continues till October. Very often, the rain is torrential, thereby causing soil erosion and land slides or slips.

The ridge on which the village is situated and the other hills in the vicinity are devoid of trees and thick vegetation. Only wild bushes of *karonda, tunga, dhaula* and *ber* are to be found. A few trees can be spotted here and there at distances only. On the slope below the motor road up to the stream Idgadd there is a small forest of the village, having *kharik, chir, tun* and *bhimal* trees. It is managed by the *Lath* Panchayat of the village – a body not recognised by law – for the common welfare of the village community as a whole. Some fruit trees such as apple, orange, peach, almond, pear and apricot have been planted here and there in the village *abadi.*

As regards animals, jackals, fox and *kursela* are found in the fields and forest of this village. Sometimes a leopard does make an appearance. *Sentula, ghenduri* and jet black crow are birds generally found in the *abadi* area, whereas *titar, bater* and *kâljhent* constitute the feathered game available in the vicinity of the village. Cows, bullocks and buffaloes and a couple of goats are domestic animals. Bee-keeping is also quite common in the village. A hole has been made in the side wall of a room in a number of houses in the village, for the bees to come and settle down.

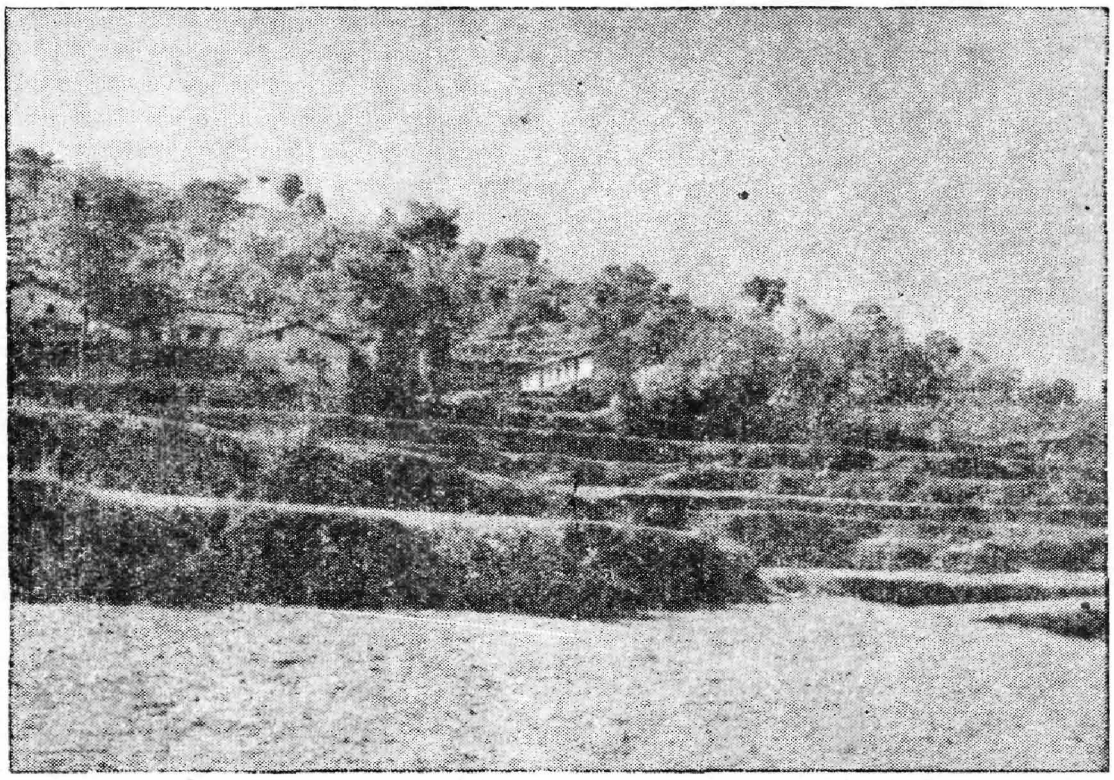
The village has 120 households with 109 houses. The *abadi* area is divided into two clear groups. Brahmins and Rajputs live in one cluster of houses whereas the Shilpkars live in a clutter at a distance of about two furlongs. Since traditionally the Shilpkars have been treated as untouchables, not to mix socially or at any level with the twice-born high castes, they have a separate residential area. The houses generally face east, so that sun-rays might reach every house. Another consideration is the slope of the ridge. Doors of houses generally face the slope side of the ridge. A few houses no doubt face other directions too. They have been constructed not on a planned pattern but on patches of land cleared up from time to time and are perforce irregular and unplanned. All the houses are double-storeyed. The floor storey is invariably occupied by cattle and goats and the upper storey by the human population.

In the middle of the village is the *mandir* of the *Gram Devata* (village deity) on a well-built and well-constructed stone *chabutra* under the shade of a sacred *peepal* tree. Another place of worship is the temple of *Nag Devata* (Snake god) which is situated in a huddled and congested locality. Other temples of worship are situated in the neighbouring villages. Since there is no Mohammedan or Christian population, no mosque or church exists in the village or even in the neighbouring villages. The dead are cremated generally on the bank or river Nayar at a distance of about 3 miles and sometimes on the bank of the stream Idgadd at a distance of about 1½ miles from the village.

There are no monuments in the village. A place in a road-side field is popularly known as Ghamand Singh – after the name of a Nepalese commander who is said to have been killed there in a battle between the Britishers and the Gorkhas. At a distance of about one mile to the east of the village is Ranigarh – a small *garh* or fortress in a ruined condition. An underground passage leads from the *garh* to the stream Idgadd. The passage is blocked after some stairs.

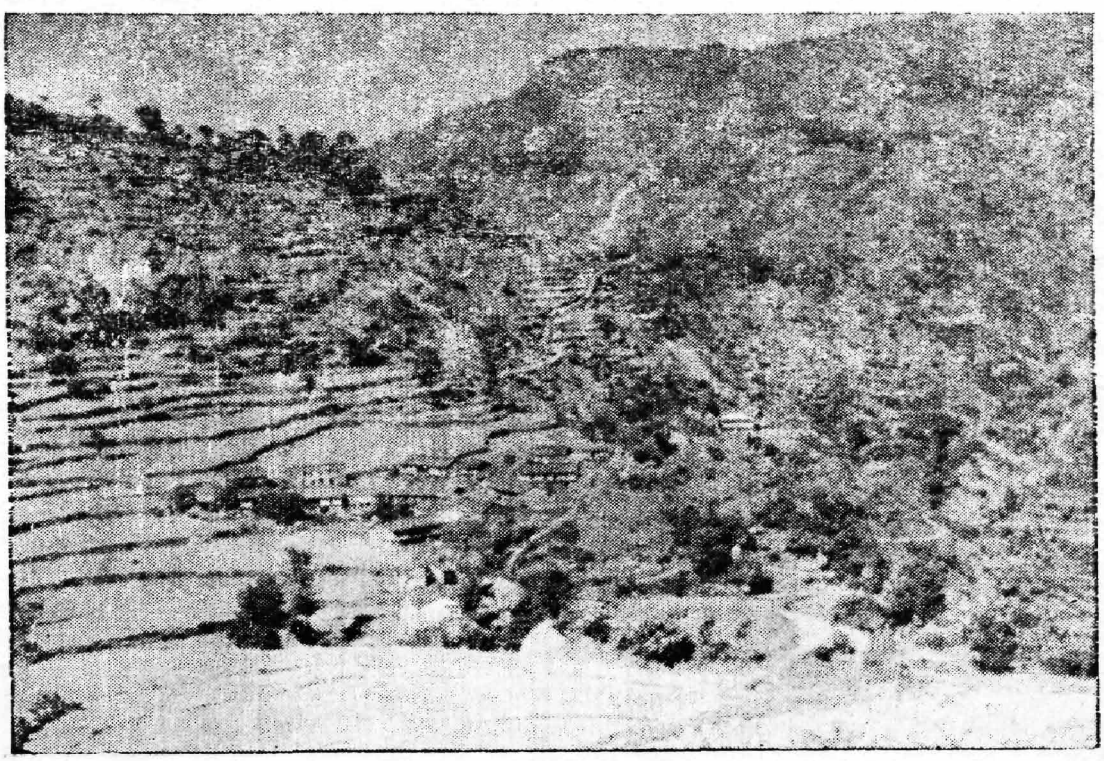
Drinking water is available at a distance of about one mile in a *gadhera* or stream. The *nauli* or source of water for the Shilpkars is at a distance of about 2½ miles from their *abadi.*

PLATE NO. 1



A distant view of village Thapli

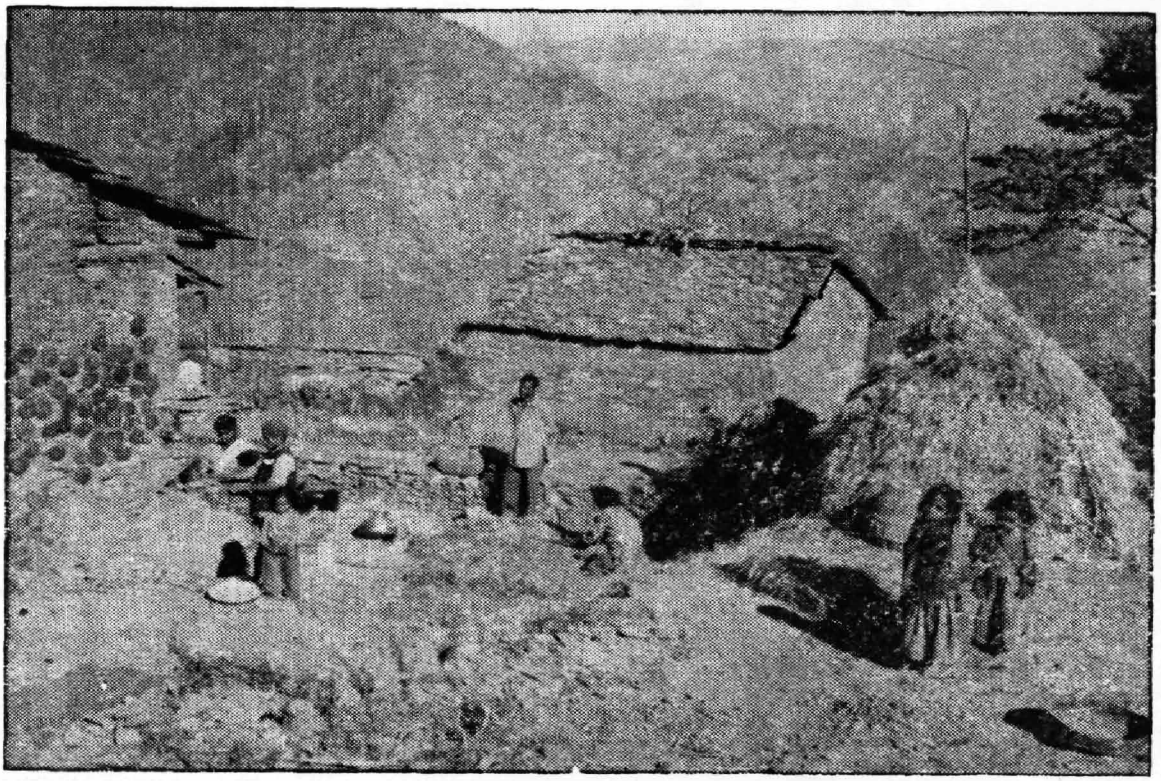
PLATE NO. 2



A view of the village and its fields

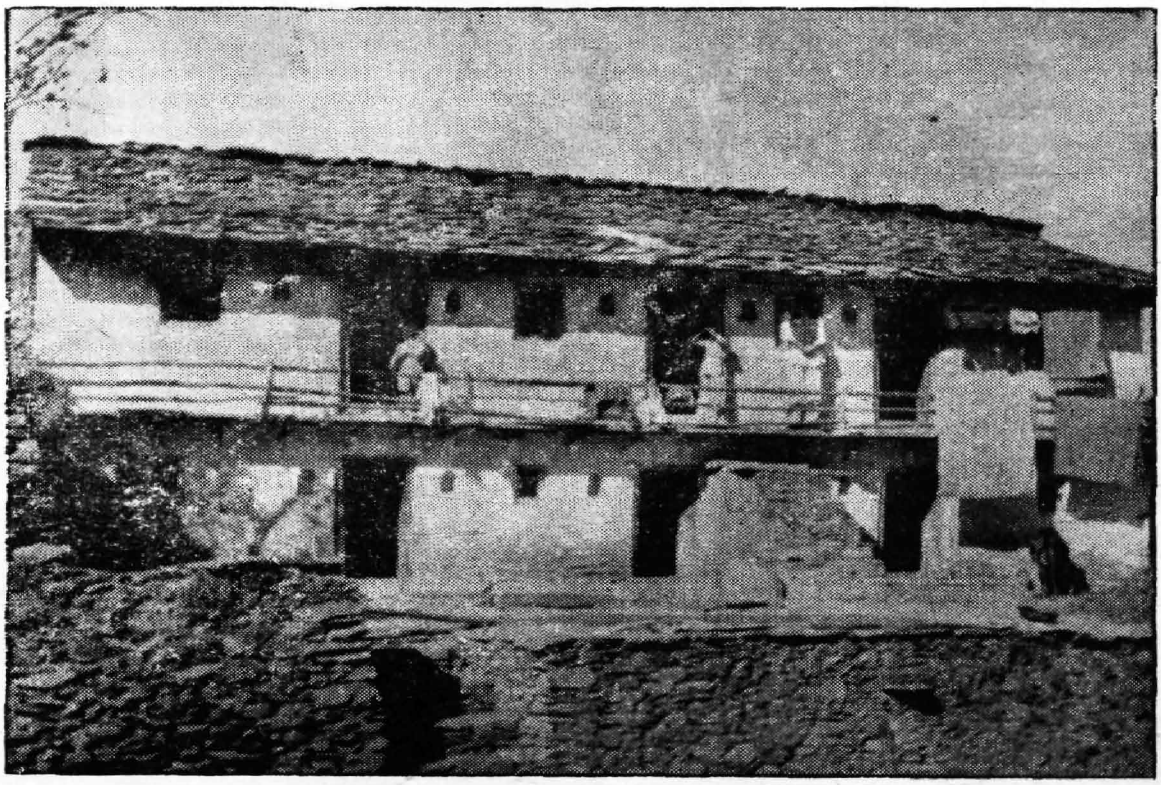
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PLATE NO. 3



A view of the locality of Shilpkars

PLATE NO. 4



A typical house in Thapli

— Facing page 3.

Both the sources of potable water are situated at a depth of about 1,000 feet from the village *abadi*. Shilpkars are not allowed to take water from the source reserved for the higher castes. Consequently fetching water is a very tiresome daily job of women and children, especially the Shilpkars. A rather costly scheme of water supply is under investigation by the Local Self-Government Engineering Department of Uttar Pradesh.

The village falls within the jurisdiction of Development Block, Barahsyun (East) with headquarters at Kalzikhal at a distance of about six miles from the village. The Village Level Worker has his headquarters at village Agrora at a distance of 3 miles on the road to Pauri. The *chauki* of the *patti* Patwari, who is a revenue as well as a police officer enjoying the powers of a sub-inspector incharge of a police station, is located at Agrora, which is also the headquarters of the Nyaya Panchayat. The nearest post office is situated at village Toli, at a distance of about 1½ miles on the road to Pauri. For social and cultural advancement there is a *Mahila Mangal Dal*, a *Bal Mangal Dal* and a *Nav Yuvak Mangal Dal* working actively in the village. There is a Junior High School for girls in the village and a Junior High School for boys in the nearing village Jakheti. Thus adequate educational facilities exist in the village. Thapli has a letter-box, the dak from which is cleared on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The nearest telegraph office is at Pauri.

The motor road from Dogadda to Pauri was completed in 1945. Before that most people travelled on foot and some on ponies or in a *dandi* by a bridle path, maintained by the District Board. Even now, the means of travel to the interior remain the same — trudging on foot on bridle paths and even wild tracks hardly deserving the name of paths or mounting a short stocky and shaggy pony which always walks slowly and cautiously exactly on the edge of the path, totally unmindful of the depth of the chasm underneath. The animal keeps away from the rock side of the path instinctively, lest it might strike against an outjutting rock and lose its footing.

No authentic account of the history of settlement of this village is available. Apparently the village is quite ancient. Out of the 120 households, 118 had settled more than five generations ago. It is, however, commonly believed that some Thapliyal Brahmins, who were originally residents of village Thapli near Chandpur (now in district Chamoli) the capital of Garhwal in the regime of Raja Kanakpal shifted to this village, when Raja Ajaypal shifted the capital from Chandpur to Srinagar in 1512, and named it as Thapli.

The language commonly used by residents of this village is Garhwali which is a dialect of Hindi language. Garhwali is only a spoken language without a separate alphabet of its own. The Hindi alphabet is used for writing down Garhwali language. The more educated people speak English and Hindi as well at times. But as a rule, when two Garhwalis talk, they must talk in Garhwali language, even though it might be quite irritating to a third person, not familiar with Garhwali, who happens to form part of the company. The average Garhwali is dogmatically attached to Garhwal, its language, its culture and its traditions.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition

The village is inhabited by Hindus only. In the district as a whole the number of non-Hindus is almost negligible. The following table shows the respective strength of each caste :—

TABLE NO. 2.1

Distribution of Population by Caste

Caste	Sub-Caste	Number of House-holds	Number of Persons	Males	Females	Percentage
1. Brahmin	1. Thapliyal	24				
	2. Chandola	24				
	3. Musara	9				
	4. Sundriyal	2				
	5. Naithani	5				
	6. Bahuguna	3				
	7. Jugaran	2				
	8. Panthri	2				
	9. Malasi	1				
	10. Juyal	1				
	Total ..	73	338	126	212	61.23
2. Kshatriya ..	Rawat	7	16	6	10	2.91
3. Shilpkar ..	... ..	40	198	87	111	35.86
	Total ..	120	552	219	333	100

The Brahmins, Shilpkars and Kshatriyas constitute 61.23 per cent, 35.86 per cent and 2.91 per cent respectively of the total population of the village. Thapli is thus mainly a village of Brahmins and Shilpkars. The Brahmins of Garhwal are all immigrants from Gour, Maharashtra, Dravida or Kanya-Kubja and other parts of the country during or after the Brahmanical period. They are mainly Sarolas or Gangaris. The Sarola group consists of Brahmins originally residents of villages Nauti, Gairoli, Thapli and Ratura who came to the royal household of Raja Kanakpal at Chandpur as cooks and priests. It is said that in about 1400 A.D. Raja Ajaipal, who shifted the capital of Garhwal to Srinagar ordered that food for his army will be cooked only by Sarola Brahmins and no one else and that no one will have any objection to taking food cooked by them. Thus the caste superiority of Sarolas over other Brahmins was established, so to say, by a royal command, to be obeyed, not to be questioned. The main sub-castes of this group are Kotyal, Gairola, Khanduri, Nautiyal, Maithani, Thapliyal, Raturi, Chamola, Hatwal, Diundi, Nawni, Semalti, Dimri and Lakhera. They are almost parallel to the Gour Brahmins of the plains. The Nautiyals derive their surname from village Nauti, Raturis from village Ratura, Khanduris from village Khandura, Thapliyals from village Thapli, Chamolas from village Chamoli, Gairolas from village Gairoli in Pargana Chandpur and Maithanis from village Maithana.

The principal sub-divisions of the Gangaris, so called from their living originally in the Ganga Valley or other low-lying warmer places, are the Ghildyal, Dangwal, Malasi, Bahuguna, Uniyal, Dobhal, Chandola, Dhoundiyal, Dabral,

Barthwai, Kukreti, Joshi, Mamgain, Tiwari, Kala, Budola, Dhasmana, Juyal, Bhatts, etc. Most of the Brahmins in Garhwal pertain to this group. Subsequently, some Brahmins of this group formed a sub-group called Nirolas, comprising Kimothis, Semwals, Kandyals and others. In caste, hierarchy, the Sarola is considered superior to the Gangari. Every one takes food prepared by a Sarola, but a Sarola would not have *kachcha* food, i.e. boiled rice and pulse, prepared by a Gangari nor would he have any matrimonial alliance with a Gangari. At the lowest rung of the ladder among the Brahmins are the Nirolas.

It is said that the Rawats once belonged to the ruler family and that they were granted a good holding of land by the Raja but now they are ordinary cultivators or service men in the army, without any of the prerogatives that might have been enjoyed by them in the past. They mix freely with the Brahmins and eat all sort of food prepared by them but the Brahmins do not eat *kachcha* food prepared by them.

The Shilpkars have a dark complexion and unimpressive features. They are the "remnants of an original race who inhabited the Himalayas before the advent of the later conquerors and immigrants." They are treated as Scheduled Castes and consist mainly of Lohars, Darzis and Tamtas. They work as blacksmiths, tailors, braziers, masons and carpenters in addition to cultivation or as casual labourers in Public Works Department or as agricultural labourers. They suffer from all social handicaps and are treated in society as down-trodden persons. The caste Hindus do not accept water or food from their hand. They live separately from the Brahmins and Rajputs in a clutter of dirty houses situated in comparatively insanitary surroundings.

The Shilpkars are said to be the descendants of the *Dasyus* of Vedic times – the people whom the Aryan invaders found in occupation of Northern India and either drove out or subdued. Originally they were known as Dom. In the Census of 1921, they were treated as Dom and even now the local population calls them Dom or sometimes even Domera out of sheer contempt. How they came to be called as Dom is not known. They were kept in strict subjection, doing all the hard work of a labourer and an artisan in the hills. They worked as virtual slaves of the Khasiyas and the Brahmins. The village community allotted a particular job to each man and kept him to that profession. In course of time, the sub-divisions hardened into occupational sub-castes such as Agari (Ironsmiths), Lohar (Ironsmiths), Tamta (Coppersmiths), Tirwa (Sword and knife sharpeners), Barhai (Carpenters), Orh (Mason), Raj (Masons), Auji (Tailors and Drummers), Hurkiya (Drummers), Badi (Dancers), etc. Thus these sub-castes have an essentially functional origin totally unconnected with race. They are generally based on hereditary occupations. Originally "each sub-caste inter-dined and inter-married only among its own members and would not take food or water that had been touched by anyone belonging to a sub-caste lower in the social scale than their own. Roughly, the order of social precedence of the lower sub-castes is Koli, Orh, Lohar, Tamta, Pahri, Ruriya, Athpahariya, Chunera, Auji, Badi, Hurkiya, Dhaki, Dhunar and Chamar." Now the spheres of social interpenetration have widened. Orhs, Lohars and Tamtas inter-dine and inter-marry, so generally do Badis, Hurkiyas and Dhakis. There is also a "general tendency towards amalgamation of the sub-castes and a growing inter-mixture of occupations".

In the 1920's the Arya Samaj started working for the social uplift of the Doms. Most of them were converted to the Arya Dharma and they came to be known as Aryas. The artisans were collectively given the name 'Shilpkars'. In the 1931 Census, the word Dom was replaced by Shilpkar. There is no organisation of Arya Samaj in the village.

Housing

Construction of houses in the village is not according to any plan. They have been constructed in clusters on patches of cleared and levelled slopy grounds. Almost every house is double-storeyed and more often than not the

lower storey is meant for stalling the family cattle and the upper storey is invariably meant for the human population. The height of the floor room is quite low, generally six feet, and the doors too are small and narrow, with no proper windows on sides. A mud-stone staircase or a wooden ladder leads to the upper storey which is used for sitting, sleeping and cooking in a corner of the room. The roof of the ground floor is wooden and is used for sleeping as floor of the second storey. The height of the upper storey is generally seven feet and the roof consists of a sloping structure of timber covered with quartzite slabs locally called *patalas,* with heavy terraces of mud to keep these in position. The roofs of a couple of houses belonging to the well-to-do are covered with corrugated galvanised iron sheets instead of slate pieces. Quartzite slabs are considered superior to iron-sheets as roofing material because they are locally available, last longer and cannot be blown off by a strong wind. Besides this, a slab on the roof can easily be shifted aside whenever the need of a ventilator is felt. The walls of all houses are built of stone joined with mud and plastered with mud and cow dung.

The ground storey has usually a verandah in front of a dark and dingy small room having a small window at the back. The upper storey may have a verandah, locally called *dandyala* or *tibari.* The ground floor is reserved for animals. In the courtyard, heaps of dung and grass saturated with animal urine are stored, emitting foul smell. Cowsheds are not constructed separately at a distance on the fields, as is done in some other pattis of the tahsil.

Most of the houses have no ventilators. The rooms are stuffy and dark. There is no separate kitchen and food is cooked at a fireplace situated in one corner of the living room. The kitchen smoke spreads freely through every nook and corner of the house, leaving its black traces on everything in the house. There is a general belief that kitchen smoke and dung both work as deterrent against the setting in of borer or white ants on the timber used in the building. No bath-rooms or latrines are constructed. The nearing fields and *gadheras* serve as a place for answering the call of nature. The womenfolk take their casual baths inside the room and the males in the open. Bathing is not a daily feature of the residents of this village because of its cold climate. Amongst the Shilpkars it is even more uncommon.

Stones and quartzite slabs for construction of houses are available free of cost at a short distance from the village site. The only expense is the cost of quarrying and transport to be paid to the labourers. The village households extend token help by transporting *patalas* and timber from the source to the site on a day when the construction is going on. Timber is also available free of cost from the Civil Forest area at a short distance as part of the customary rights of the villagers. The village folk gather together and willingly bring all the timber required as part of the traditional mutual help scheme of the village communities. The cost of transporting the building material is quite heavy and hence in spite of the availability of the building material free of cost, the cost of construction is not low.

Before starting the construction of a house the village pandit is invariably consulted for finding out the auspicious time and date of laying the foundation stone of the building, with reference to the *rashi* of the head of the household who lays the foundation stone after performance of *puja.* Sweets are distributed thereafter. The main door of a house is usually kept facing east so that sun rays might reach inside the house adequately. Only in exceptional circumstances the main door is found facing south or west. The slope of the ridge is another factor determining the direction of the main door. When construction of the house is completed *havan* and *puja* are performed and a feast known as *grah bhoj* is given to friends, relatives and Brahmins before actual occupation of the house. The poor are content only with performance of *puja* and *havan* and distribution of *gur* and *pahoras.*

Size and Composition of Households

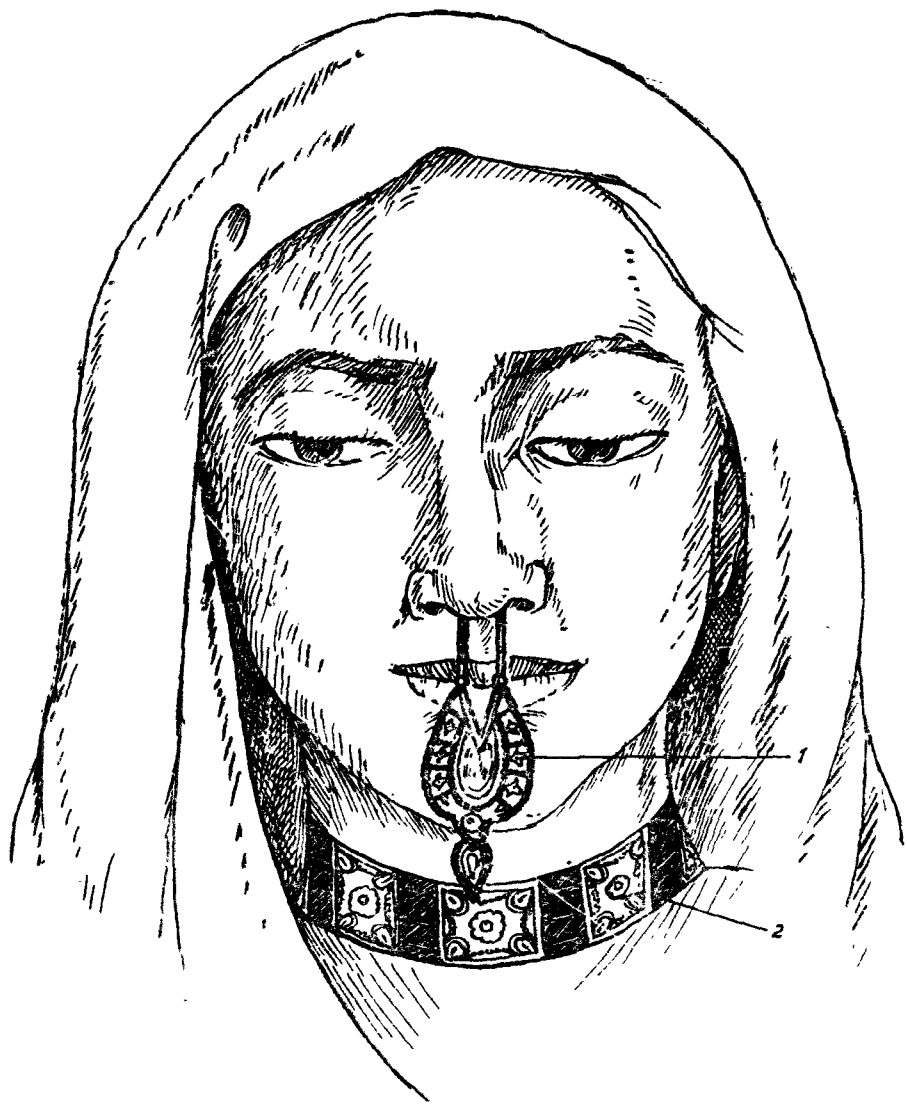
Most of the population is living in congested houses. The following table shows the number

PLATE NO. 5



Some ornaments used by womenfolk of village Thapli—(1) *nath* (2) *jhumka* and (3) *hansli*

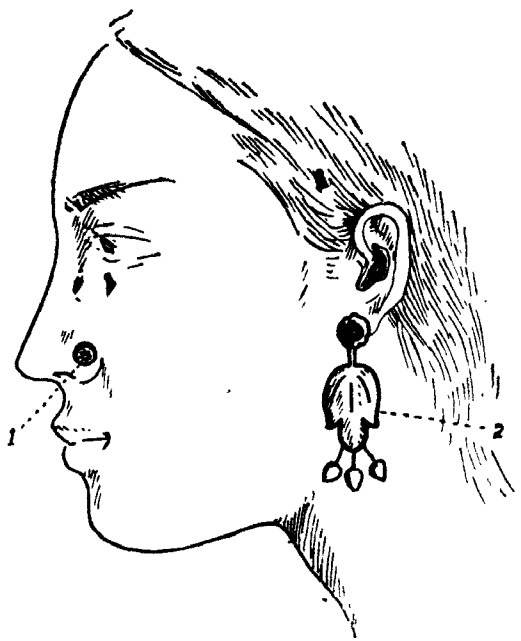
PLATE NO. 6



Some ornaments—*bulak* and *guluband*—worn by women of village Thapli

—*Between pages 6-7.*

PLATE No. 7



Two ornaments worn by womenfolk—
(1) *laung* and (2) *bundey*

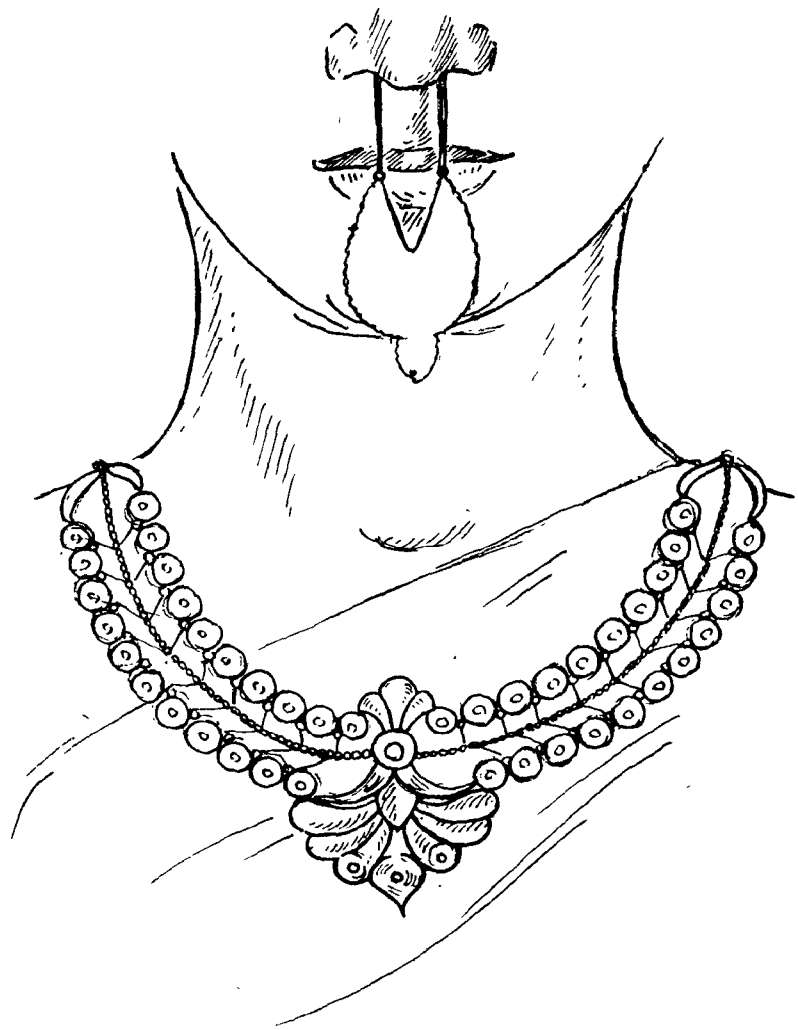
PLATE No. 8



A woman wearing a *phooli* on the cartilage of the nose and a *jhumka* on the ear-lobe

—*Between pages 6-7.*

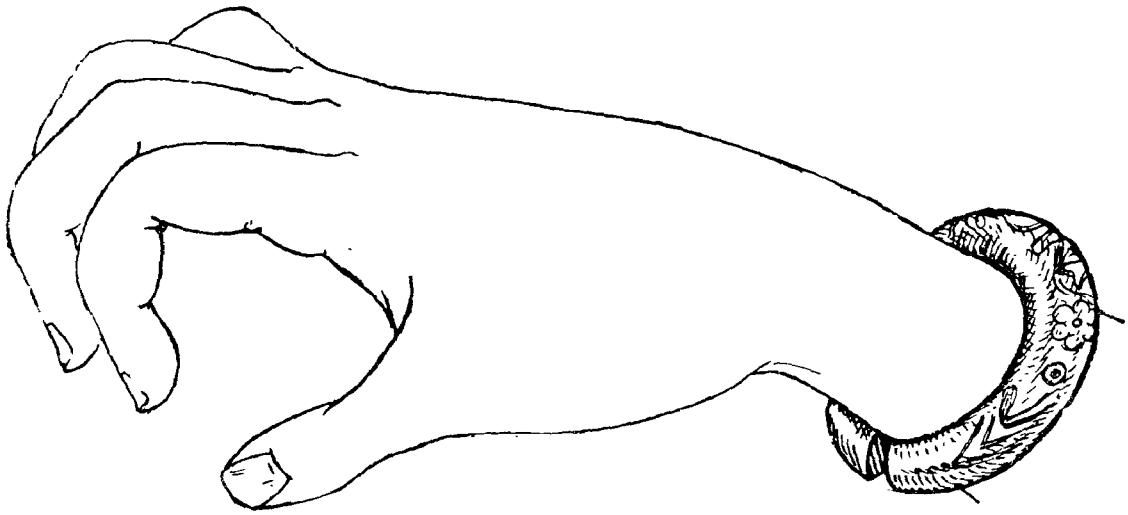
PLATE NO. 9



Necklace used by some women in village Thapli

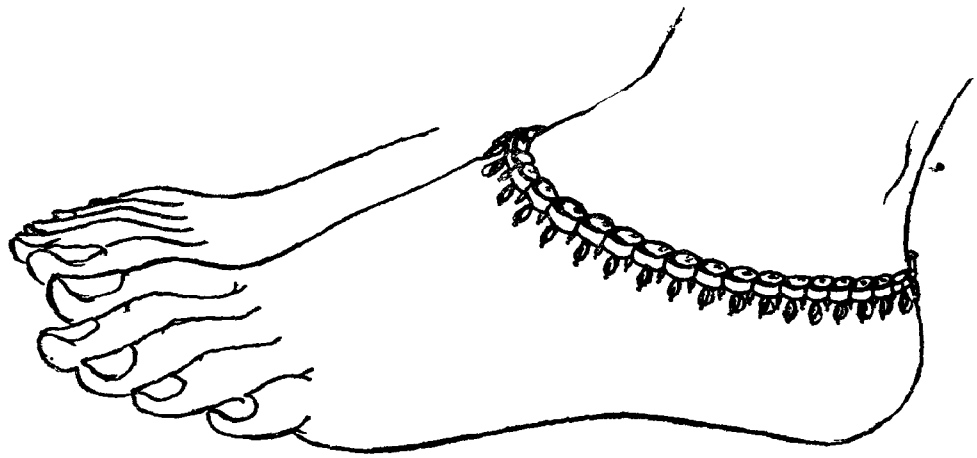
— *Between pages 6-7.*

PLATE NO. 10



The *kaiey* worn round the wrist

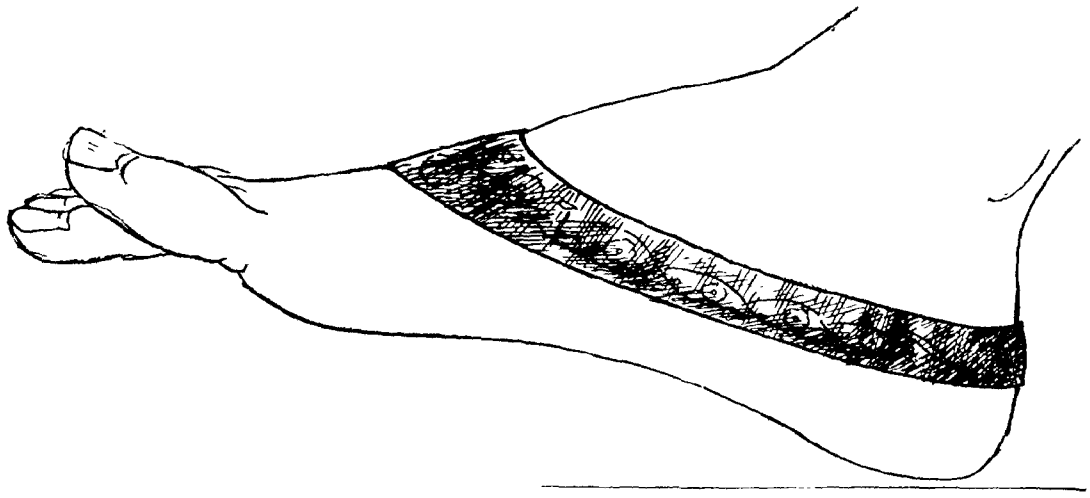
PLATE NO. 11



The *paijeb* worn round the ankles

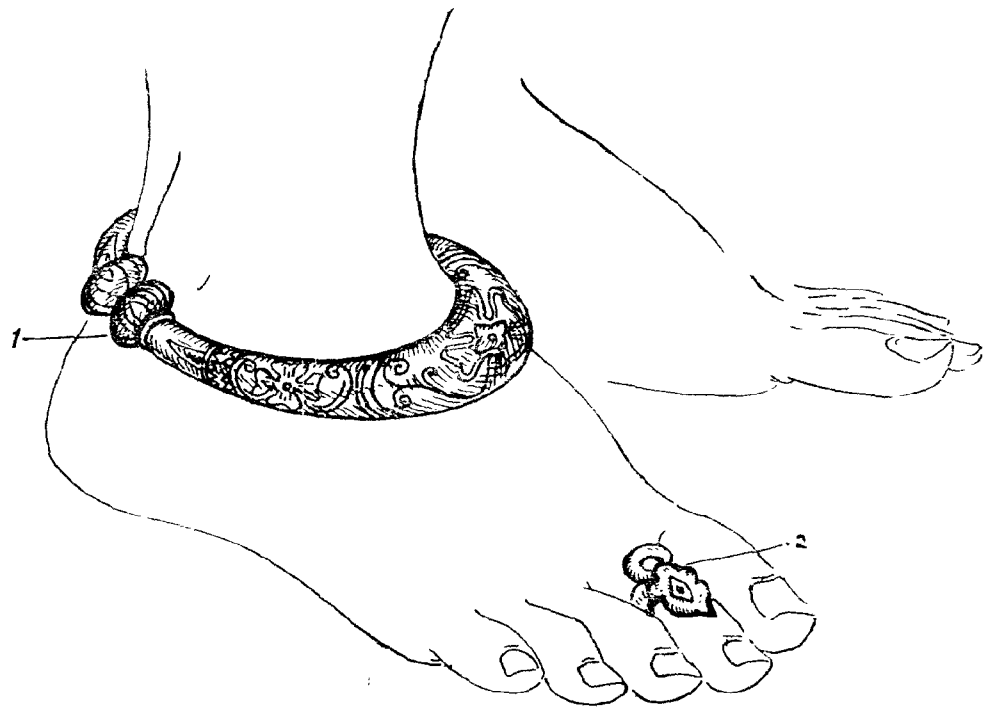
— *Between pages 6-7.*

PLATE NO. 12



The *paunta*—a silver ornament worn round the ankles

PLATE NO. 13



The *jhanwar* worn round the ankles and (2) the *bichhwa* worn round the toes

—*Facing page 7.*

of households by the number of rooms occupied :—

TABLE NO. 2.2

Households and Population by Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms	Number of House-holds	Population
1	48	178
2	43	198
3	11	54
4	11	65
5	3	22
6	4	35
Total	120	552

As is evident from the above table, 76 per cent of the households with 68 per cent of the total population reside in houses having one or two rooms, whereas only 7 households with a population of 57 persons reside in houses having 5 or 6 rooms. In 48 households one room is shared by 3.7 persons whereas in 43 households one room is shared by 2.3 persons. On an average for the whole village, one room is occupied by 2 persons. Looking to the general housing conditions in Garhwal, the people of this village are better housed. It is also noticeable that households having a greater number of rooms have a comparatively large number of members. Some houses are well built and properly maintained. The houses of the Shilpkars are not generally neat and clean nor is their dwelling standard as high as that of the Rajputs and Brahmins who are economically better off.

Dress and Ornaments

The dress of the villagers is simple, economical and well-suited for the various seasons of the year. They use woollen clothes of dark-brown, grey and black colour all the year round, as a safeguard against the cold climate of the village. They have the additional virtue of not smelling foul or looking dirty even when unwashed.

The males wear a coloured cotton or woollen cap on the head. A shirt and a cotton or woollen jacket, locally known as *sadri* or *vasket*, is used for covering the upper part of the body, but no *banian* or undervest is used. *Dhoti* is not popular with the males as it does not suit their climatic and working conditions. Tight cotton or woollen pyjamas are in general vogue. Some persons have taken to pants. Pullovers and woollen coats are also worn. The females wear a cotton *sari* over a petticoat and cover the head with one end. Instead of a blouse they wear a full sleeve shirt, a slight modification of the shirt worn by the males. During the winter some of them wear a woollen jacket as well. *Angra*, a sort of double-breast jacket, is also worn in place of the shirt. A bodice or undergarment is not used by them. The females and children do not ordinarily use shoes whereas some males do. They are gaily and colourfully dressed when they go to *melas*.

Till some years ago, the males used to wear the *bali* or *murki* on the ear lobe but the practice seems to have been given up now. The males do not practically wear any ornaments now, except for a gold ring by the rich few. The following ornaments are commonly used by the females :—

Name of Ornament	*Details*
1. *Nath* ..	A big nose ring of gold hanging from the cartilage of the nose on the left side
2. *Bulak* and *Aarh*	Gold ornaments hanging on the septum of the nose
3. *Phooli* and *laung*	Small gold ornaments worn on cartilage of the nose
4. *Murkhala* ..	Ear-rings of silver or gold worn on the cartilage of each ear
5. *Jhumka* ..	Ear-rings of silver or gold worn on the lobes of each ear
6. *Guluband*, Locket	Necklaces made of gold
7. *Hansli* ..	A round and heavy ornament of silver worn round the neck
8. *Choori* ..	Gold bangles worn on the wrist
9. *Karey* ..	Silver bracelets worn on the wrist
10. *Mundri* ..	Ring worn on fingers
11. *Paunta*, *Jhanwar* and *Paijeb*	Silver ornaments worn round the ankles
12. *Bichhwa* ..	Small silver ornament worn round the toes
13. *Mala* ..	Necklace of rupee coins

The above ornaments are worn by females of all castes, of course according to their means. The poor cannot afford gold ornaments and have to remain satisfied only with silver. The use of ornaments in daily life is on the decrease. The womenfolk are, however, fully loaded with ornaments at the time of fairs and festivals or religious and social functions.

Household Goods

Village Thapli is an advanced village, situated quite near the district headquarters. A number of persons are serving either in the army or other government departments. The percentage of educated persons is also quite high. Hence the standard of living of the average resident is higher than that prevailing in a typical Garhwal village. The following table gives an idea of household goods indicative of material culture :—

TABLE NO. 2.3

Household Goods

Name of Article	Number of Households possessing			
	Brahmin	Kshatriya	Shilpkar	Total
Chair ..	21	2	4	27
Table ..	14	2	4	20
Bedstead ..	24	1	7	32
Charpoy ..	69	6	38	113
Mirror ...	15	1	2	18
Bench ...	3	...	—	3
Stool ..	3	—	—	3
Jalchauki ...	1	...	—	1
Wall shelf ...	2	..	—	2
Radio-sets ..	8	..	...	8
Gramophone ..	5	..	—	5
Kerosene Stove ..	8	..	..	8
Torch —	8	...	—	8
Petromax ..	4	..	1	5
Hurricane Lantern	68	5	32	105

The possession of radio-sets, gramophones, kerosene stoves, petromaxes, tables, chairs and bedsteads in a village of Garhwal is a sure index of good economic condition of the population. Evidently, the Brahmins are culturally and materially more advanced than other communities in the village.

Persons without bedsteads and *charpoys* sleep on the floor on mats or blankets. Small woollen mattresses are prepared by some people in a neighbouring village. Skins of hill goats are also used for sitting purposes. A couple of well-to-do households have maintained well-furnished drawing rooms even, decorated with cheap pictures of gods and goddesses and sceneries.

The following utensils are generally used by the residents of this village :—

Local names of Utensils	*Details*
1. *Patili* ..	Brass vessel used for boiling rice and pulse or cooking vegetables
2. *Karahi* ..	Iron frying pan for preparing vegetable etc.
3. *Tasla* ..	An iron utensil used for heating milk
4. *Tauli* ..	A big brass vessel used for boiling rice for a big family
5. *Thali* ..	A big plate made of brass or bell-metal used for taking food
6. *Karchhi* ..	A big spoon made of brass or iron used for serving pulse or vegetables
7. *Tawa* ..	A round piece of iron used for baking *chapaties*
8. Kettle ..	An aluminium utensil used for preparing tea
9. *Bantha* ..	A big copper or brass vessel used for carrying and storing water
10. *Tokana* ..	A big utensil made of brass used for storing water at a marriage
11. *Bhaddu* ..	A small utensil made of brass used for cooking pulse
12. *Lota* ..	A small utensil made of brass used for taking water etc.
13. *Gilas* ..	A tumbler made of brass or bell-metal
14. *Parat* ..	A big plate of brass meant for preparing dough
15. Tea set ..	Used for taking tea
16. *Gagar* ..	A big copper vessel used for bringing water

Some households use enamel utensils such as jugs and plates which are generally used in Army and have been left behind by persons who are serving in Army. Tea drinking is a universal habit born out of the necessity of keeping warm in a cold climate. Some persons use cups for taking tea but the general practice is to have it in a tumbler. If milk is not available tea is taken even without milk. Corn bins made of

PLATE NO. 14



A set of bigger utensils—a *karahi* and two *tokanas*—used on ceremonial occasions

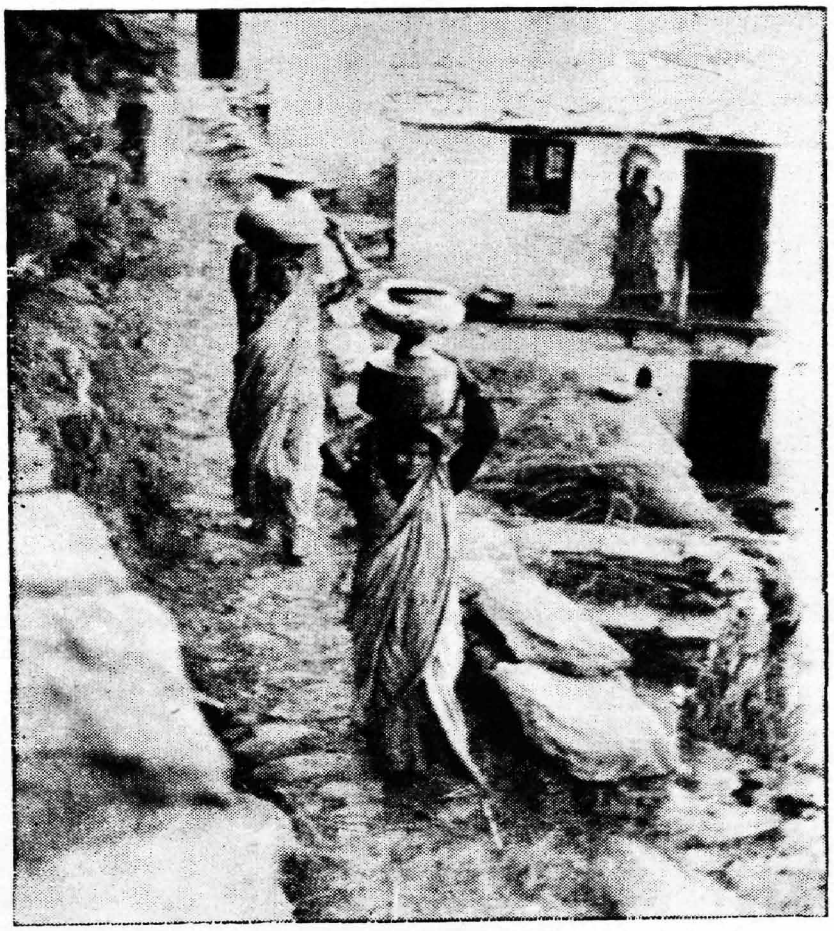
PLATE NO. 15



Some of the utensils ordinarily used in the village

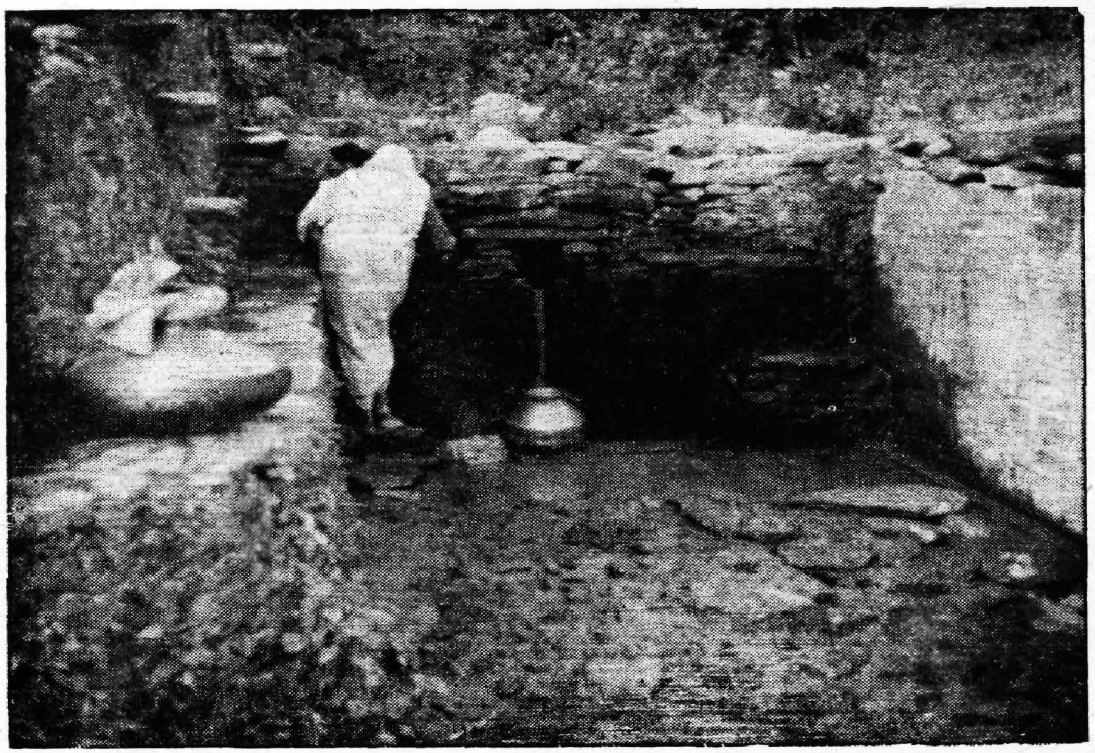
—*Facing page 8.*

PLATE NO. 16



Two women of Thapli on way to the water source

PLATE NO. 17



A woman taking water at the *nauli*—the village water source

—*Facing page 9.*

bamboo and plastered with clay and dung are used for storing corn.

Food and Drink

A vast majority of Garhwalis are non-vegetarians by tradition and necessity. The following figures indicate the number of vegetarians caste-wise in this village :—

TABLE No. 2.4

Dietary Trends

Caste	Total number of house-holds	Number of vegeta-rian house-holds	Number of Non-vegeta-rian house-holds	Percen-tage of Non-vegetarian house-holds
Brahmin ..	73	16	57	78
Kshatriya ..	7	..	7	100
Shilpkar ..	40	1	39	97.5
Total ..	120	17	103	86

Thus 86 per cent of the total households are non-vegetarians. The Kshatriya households are all non-vegetarian whereas amongst the Brahmins and Shilpkars the percentage of non-vegetarians is 78 and 97.5 respectively, which is quite high. In actual practice the frequency of taking meat has to be limited because of the high price of meat and fish.

The breakfast consists of a glass of tea and a couple of *chapaties* of *mandua* or a mixture of *mandua* and barley flour. The lunch comprises of boiled rice or *jhangoora* and lentil pulse or *tore* or *jholi* (curry). At dinner time *chapaties* and *dal* or locally grown vegetables of the season like potatoes, beans, pumpkins etc. are consumed. An edible root locally known as *tairu* is also taken just like potato. *Urd dal* is also consumed, though not so often. Tea is very popular and is taken quite frequently. Liquor is not taken in this village by anyone. Milk and ghee are available only to the rich few. Goat milk is not used for human consumption in the district. Even though the population is essentially non-vegetarian, meat and fish are in actual practice a luxury to be taken seldom when one can afford. It is only on festivals that pukka food consisting of *halwa* and *purie* etc. is generally prepared. In spite of this poor nutrition, the viliagers are quite healthy and sturdy. The fresh air of the Himalayas and their care-free life are apparently responsible for it.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Birth Customs

Every married couple is keen to have a child soon after the marriage. A male child is essential for preservation of the progeny and attainment of salvation besides being the staff of life in old age. Hence there is lot of rejoicing on the occasion of birth of a male child. There is no maternity centre in the village and hence delivery takes place within the residential room. The village *dai,* a Shilpkar by caste, conducts the case. An elderly woman of the household looks after the mother and infant but for purifying herself she takes a bath every time she enters the confinement room. When a child is born, the mother and other members of the household are rendered ritually impure. No outsider would accept any edible articles cooked in this house. There is, however, no objection to sweets. On the sixth day the *Chhati* or the sixth-day-after-the-birth ceremony is performed. Women of the households and those invited from the village go on rejoicing by singing and dancing throughout the night. Since they keep awake the whole night, the function is known as *Jagran* locally.

On the 11th day after the birth, a bath is given to the mother and child and the room of confinement is thoroughly cleaned. *Puja* of the family gods and goddesses is performed and a suitable name is given to the child on the advice of the family priest who consults the almanac for finding out the *rashi* of the infant. Traditionally five names are given to a child even though in due course he retains only one or at the most two names—one being a pet household name. Parents whose offsprings do not survive give dirty names like Hagaru, Mataru or Kutti Devi to their children in the belief that children having such names are not claimed early by Yama, the god of Death. The

ritual impurity of the family is removed after this ceremony but the mother becomes ritually pure after about 21–28 days when the *Pani per Lagna* ceremony is performed. Everyone then begins accepting water from her hands. Friends and relatives are invited to a feast. The ceremony is known as *Namakaran Sanskar* or christening ceremony.

Panchgauya or a mixture of urine, dung, curd, milk and ghee of cow is administered to the mother on the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th and 11th day of the birth as it is said to be having religious sanction and traditional force in addition to its medicinal values. If a child is born at an inauspicious conjunction of stars, known as *mool nakshatra,* a *puja* is performed and charity is given to ward off the evil effect of the stars.

The *Annaprasan Sanskar* or the ceremony for initiating the child to the consumption of foodgrains is performed when the child attains the age of six months. Cooked rice and *dal* are given to the child for the first time. After performance of *puja* and *havan* sweets are distributed amongst friends and relatives. The well-to-do invite them to a feast.

The *Mundan* ceremony is performed as soon as the child attains the age of one year. On this day the head of the child is shaved. The priest recites Sanskrit verses from the holy scriptures praying for blessings and a happy life for the child. Sweets are distributed and a feast is given on this occasion also.

The *Yagopavit* or sacred thread ceremony is performed amongst the Brahmins only when the child attains the age of 12 years. One becomes a *dwij* or twice-born on wearing the sacred thread. From this day, the boy is expected to observe strict adherence to the principles of his religion. The ceremony is not observed amongst all the Brahmin households. Instead, the boy begins wearing the sacred thread without any formal religious ceremony, which takes place at a subsequent date at the time of marriage.

The sacred thread is used by the Rajputs as well. The Shilpkars, being Scheduled Castes, are not entitled to wear the thread according to orthodox religious tenets. But with the Arya Samaj movement for their social emancipation about a decade ago, some of them have also started wearing it as a step towards social equality with the twice-born castes.

Marriage Customs

Marriage is arranged generally by the parents of the bridegroom and bride, who whether grown-up or young have to submit to their parents' choice without any murmur or complaint. "In Garhwal only two forms of marriage are observed at the present day, viz., the Brahma and the Asura forms. The Brahma form of marriage is that in which the bride is bestowed on the bridegroom with presents in consecration of the gift and a dowry according to the means of the bride's father. This form of marriage is commonly known as the Kanya-dan. It is confined to a few higher classes of Brahmins, Rajputs and Vaishyas. The very common form of marriage that is in vogue amongst all classes of the Garhwalis is the mutual sale and purchase, that is to say, the parents of a bride demand a certain amount of money ranging from two hundred and upwards to two thousand rupees. The more the wedding parties are well-to-do and grown up, the higher is the price of bride. With the money thus obtained, the father of the bride provides her with ornaments, dress and dowry and meets other sundry expenses which are incurred on the performance of the marriage ceremony. Religious people spend all that is charged from the bridegroom but the majority make a profit out of the price that they obtain for their daughters. In this form of marriage, the bride-groom does not go himself to fetch the bride but the bride is conveyed to the bridegroom's house where the whole marriage ceremony is gone through in a cursory way and is termed the marriage by Ganesh Puja. In some of the parganas in lower Garhwal, the debasing practice of selling their grown-up daughters to the highest bidder is still prevalent."*

Similar observations have been made in the District Gazetteer of Garhwal by Walton who

*Garhwal by P. Ram, pp. 132-33.

remarks : "Wives are always bought, except among a few of the very highest caste, at a price which varies between two hundred rupees and one thousand. The money is paid to the bride's father or nearest male relative by the bridegroom. Formerly the transaction was held to create a transferable right in the person of the woman acquired and she could be freely sold. Usually the marriage by sale is between castes who are able according to Hindu Law to intermarry, but certain pattis have earned a very evil reputation for want of care in ascertaining the status and caste of the bridegroom who is usually a plainsman. The result is that for all practical purposes the girls are sold into prostitution or concubinage. This practice obtains chiefly in the Udepur Patti. The negotiations and ceremonies are naturally not protracted and a hedge priest who will gabble the rites is always at hand. With this exception, the marriage by sale is considered respectable. Circumambulation is omitted from the ceremony, which consists almost entirely of the Ganesh Puja."*

The Kanyadan type of marriage is prevalent in this village only among some of the upper caste households. If the two families agree to the proposal of the marriage of a boy and a girl, a date of marriage is fixed by mutual consent of the parties. Three days before the date of marriage a document, locally known as *syah patta,* is sent by the bridegroom's party to the bride's house. On the date fixed for marriage ceremony, the *barat* or marriage party starts usually on foot for the bride's house with the groom in a *dandi* or *palki,* since the villages are not generally connected by a motorable road. The party is received on the outskirts of the village. The actual marriage ceremony takes place in the night in the presence of friends and relatives and it consists of *saptpadi* or the circumambulation of the holy fire seven times by the couple jointly and the recitation of marriage vows by both of them, after the recitation of holy verses or *mantras* and performance of *havan.* The *Kanyadan Sanskar* or the giving away of the bride to the groom is performed by the father of the bride. On the next day the marriage party returns with the bride in a *palki* with a party of Bajgis playing music on drums. The bride might be required to walk some distance on foot. Till about a decade ago, according to local social customs, the Shilpkars were not allowed to use *dola* for the bride or *palki* for the groom but in course of time the taboo has been removed mostly due to the agitation organised by the Arya Samaj.

The marriage by purchase of bride is more prevalent amongst the Shilpkars and to some extent within the upper castes also. This is locally known as *Taka ka Byao* or marriage for money. However, some of them are adopting the custom of performing the marriage by *saptapadi,* even when some bride money has been charged. Early marriage is customary in the whole district but the practice has diminished in this village. A girl is married usually after she has attained the age of 14 years and a boy is married after he has completed 18 years.

Polygamy is common in the whole district. The villagers depend on agriculture mainly, which requires lot of manual labour. The young and able-bodied seek employment outside the village and the womenfolk are left in the village to carry out the ordeal of cultivation. Thus polygamy seems to have originated mainly out of the necessity of labour force for cultivation. But under similar economic conditions, the residents of Jaunsar-Bawar in tahsil Chakrata of district Dehra Dun, continue practising polyandry. The Jaunsaris are stay-at-home whereas the Garhwalis migrate to other districts in search of fresh fields and pastures new. The attitude of Jaunsaris and Garhwalis has been narrated in an interesting manner by Dr. Majumdar who writes : "When I asked a group of Jaunsaris why they still preferred to live under polyandrous conditions while their neighbours, the Garhwalis, hate this institution, I was told that they did not envy the latter. The Garhwalis, they said, left their homes due to the disintegration of joint family. Previously land in Garhwal was measured in acres, then by rods, then by poles, then by yards and feet, till

*Walton's *Gazetteer of British Garhwal,* 1910.

they all left their home and are today distributed all over the country as menials, domestic servants or army recruits. The Jaunsaris and their neighbours in Bawar love their home and do not want to emulate the Garhwalis."*

The system of widow remarriage is not prevalent even though there prevails the custom of a man taking into his house as his wife a deceased elder brother's wife (*bhauj*). No formal ceremonies are performed, when a brother's widow is taken as wife. This custom is followed in even the very highest castes. In such cases the woman is regarded as equal to a lawful married wife. The children of such a union have by usage all the rights and privileges of legitimacy.

Amongst the men of the lowest condition, i.e., the Doms, a widow is at liberty to take residence with any man she chooses in her own caste, without any loss of rights to her offsprings. A widow in Garhwal is not subjected to any sort of hardships, as her sisters suffer in some parts of the country. She is treated with sympathy and all help is rendered to her in the family. Walton observes "As women are particularly valuable, wives are not allowed to go out of the family on the death of the husband but are made over to his younger brother. There is no ceremony; the wife is merely taken into the brother's possession. The children are considered legitimate unless the couple live apart. If there is no surviving brother a cousin or other near relative will take over the widow and rarely, when there is no relative at all, the property of the deceased husband is transferred to an outsider on condition that he maintains the widow. The practice is regarded as rather immoral. The transferee is called the *tekua* or Lover"†

Panna Lall, however, observes that there is no distinction for purpose of inheritance whether the *bhauj* goes to live in the home of her husband's brother or cohabits with him in her own home.

Even though in Garhwal women are held in rather low esteem they occupy a very important position in the Garhwali house. They play a pivotal role in shaping the economy and the destiny of the household because they work harder than their husbands or other male members. Besides performing all the domestic chores, they look after the cattle, the granary and the fields. Except for actual ploughing in the fields, almost all the agricultural operations are conducted by them irrespective of the hard labour involved. It includes even the transport on their heads of manure from the refuse dumps to the fields and the fodder and fuel from the hills or forests to the cowshed or the hearth. They have a very hard lot indeed more so when their husbands are not equal participants in the drudgery of life.

It is not uncommon in Garhwal for a man to take another man's wife or widow to live with him. Sometimes a maiden is bought for money and is kept as a wife without any ceremony. Such a wife is known as *dhanti* and her husband is known as *dhant*. The connexion is of almost permanent character. The children of a *dhanti* woman are admittedly illegitimate but they are included in the *biradari*.

Death Customs

The dead are cremated on the bank of river Nayar at a distance of about three miles and in a few cases on the bank of the nearby stream Idagadd, except in cases of deaths from infectious diseases. Persons so dying are buried and their bones are taken out and burnt after six months to three years according to the convenience of successors. Other death customs are also performed thereafter. Those who die young (up to the age of 10 years generally) are invariably buried.

The corpse is bathed, clothed and then tied on to a bier which is carried to the cremation ground on shoulders of four persons at a time. Friends and relatives accompany the bier and carry it on their shoulders for some time turn by turn. On this journey, people go on reciting

*Dr. Majumdar's *Races and Cultures of India*, Page 193.
†Walton's *Gazetteer of British Garhwal*, 1910.

'Ram Nam Satya Hai'—the name of God alone is True. The eldest son, or the next of kin in his absence, sets fire to the pyre. His head and face are shaved clean at the spot. All persons take a purifying bath in the river before returning to the village. The bones are collected and immersed in the river on the 3rd day when some purificatory rites including washing and cleaning of the house and household clothes are observed. On the 7th day of death, *Moondan Sanskar* or clean-shaving of the head and face of all relatives within shaving degrees takes place. Shaving by the deceased's son (s), father, brother (s) and nephew (s) is customary and for others of the same caste it depends on mutual relations. No one from mother's side falls within the shaving degrees. On the twelfth day, the *Terhavin* ceremony takes place. Purificatory rites are performed under the direction of the priest according to the caste customs; food is offered to the soul of the dead, a feast is given to friends and relatives who gather for offering condolences and edibles cooked in oil are taken as part of the *tel chakhai* or tasting of oil ceremony which is an essential part of ritual purification. On this occasion a small stone is brought by the priest from river Ganga at Srinagar. He approaches the river with his back towards it and picks up the first stone, without seeing it, with his hands turned on the back. It is then placed in an earthen pot with sand and water of the sacred river. After being brought to the village, the pot is hung on a tree for the night.

The next morning this stone, locally called *pitri rora* or *lingwas* is placed in the name of the deceased in the *pitrigrah* (place of ancestors), a small cell about two feet long and two feet broad set apart for this purpose in a field beneath a tree outside the *abadi* area. It is closed with a slab of stone. Various communities have their separate *pitrigrah,* containing these token memorials of the deceased.

In case of the death of an adult who is cremated, the family does not observe any festivals for one year. The death ceremonies are rigidly observed as part of the religion. Their non-observance is believed to turn the deceased into a ghost or haunting spirit. Persons dying without gratification of their desires and cravings or meeting an unnatural death, as by accident or suicide, are known to have a tendency to turn into ghosts, creating trouble not only for the family but also for the whole village. *Shradh* ceremony is performed every year during the *Pitra Paksha* for not only showing reverence to the deceased but also for keeping the departed souls pleased, so as to safeguard against the wrath of ancestor spirits. No *shradh* ceremony is performed in the case of children.

With the spread of education and enlightenment, however, some of the superstitions and customs are gradually on the decline. All the ceremonies are not strictly performed by every one, especially the educated persons who have lived outside the village for long. For example, the following changes were noticeable in the younger and educated generation :—

(1) The belief in the existence and powers of the supernatural, the spirits and goblins is on the decline.

(2) *Panchgauya* is not taken in some of the educated families.

(3) Sanctity of the sacred thread is on the decline. The *Yagopavit* ceremony of every Brahmin/Rajput boy no longer takes place at the traditional age of 12 years. Instead, the thread is ceremonially given at the time of marriage. Its wearing is sometimes discontinued by the reluctant.

(4) Some people perform the marriage by *saptapadi* even when some bride money is charged, because it is considered more respectable.

(5) A smaller number of persons are invited to the feasts on the occasion of marriage, death or child-birth, due to the high cost of living.

(6) Religion is not followed so strictly as in days of yore.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Occupational Pattern

India is mainly a land of villages and 74 per cent of its population gets its livelihood from agriculture as against 6 per cent in Great Britain and 19 per cent in the U. S. A. The rural economy hinges largely around agriculture and crafts and cottage industries. Thapli too is predominantly an agricultural village. The following table gives the number of workers classified by sex and occupation :—

TABLE No. 3.1

Number of Workers by Sex and Occupation

Occupation	Number		
	P	M	F
Cultivator ..	262	64	198
Mason	13	13	..
Tailor	5	5	..
Blacksmith ..	2	2	..
Motor Driver ..	1	1	..
Brazier	2	2	..
Carpenter ..	2	2	..
Teacher	7	5	2
Other Services ..	8	8	..
Total ..	302	102	200

Evidently, out of 302 persons in the labour force of the village, as many as 262 persons or 86.7 per cent are engaged in cultivation directly or indirectly. Out of them 64 or 24.4 per cent are males and 198 or 75.6 per cent are females. Every household has some land under cultivation. One family of Shilpkars did not cultivate the land in its possession but worked only as agricultural labourers.

All the seven households of Rajputs, consisting of 6 males and 10 females are dependent on cultivation as a means of livelihood. Only two males and 8 females are cultivators, the remaining persons being non-workers.

The 40 Shilpkar households consist of 198 persons, 87 males and 111 females, out of them 42 males and 36 females being non-workers. Amongst the 45 male and 75 female workers, 21 males and 75 females were engaged in cultivation directly or indirectly, 5 males were found working as tailors, 2 as blacksmiths and 2 as braziers, 10 as masons, 2 as carpenters, 2 as labourers in the P. W. D. and one as chowkidar. The biggest holding with a Shilpkar household is 1.5 acres in size and the smallest holding has an area of 0.13 acres. The average holding per household comes to 0.187 acres which is too low to support any one. The income has, therefore, to be supplemented by working as an agricultural labourer, an artisan or an ordinary labourer. Womenfolk of Shilpkar households even consider it customarily below their dignity to work on the roads as labourers even though they do not mind working as agricultural labourers.

The biggest number of cultivators — 41 males and 116 females — is from the Brahmin community. Like Rajputs they too work on their own fields and not as agricultural labourers like the Shilpkars. The average area under the cultivation of a Brahmin household is 2.6 acres. Out of this community 5 males and 2 females are teachers and 8 males are in service — as clerk, driver, peons, forest *munshi, munims,* or in the P. W. D. The number of residents of this village who are in service is actually much more because at the time of survey, only those persons were counted who were present in the village, omitting a large number of persons in service who have naturally to live away outside the village. Out of them, eleven persons, including one Captain and two Lieutenants are employed in the military force of the country and one of them Shri Narendra Datt Sundriyal has won the Vir Chakra for bravery on the Kashmir front; twenty persons are employed in

the education department as teachers, Deputy Inspector of Schools or as Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools and twenty-two persons are employed in other government departments, some of them as gazetted officers. In all, thirty Brahmins and one Shilpkar have shifted with their families from the village in connection with service. Naturally they were not counted within the village at the time of survey. In this village, 60 households are in receipt of remittances from outside the village, to the extent of Rs.2,697 per mensem on an average. Out of these, 40 Brahmin households receive Rs.2,195 per mensem, 16 Shilpkar households receive Rs.347 per mensem and 4 Kshatriya households receive Rs.155 per mensem on an average. The sources of earning in the village are poor and hence the remittances are a great source of relief.

Some retired government servants are residing in the village — the more important of them being Shri Jayanand Thapliyal who retired in 1940, as headmaster of a District Board School and Shri Kunwar Singh Rawat, Pradhan of the Gaon Sabha who retired as Company Commander P. A. C. The village people treat Shri Thapliyal as their friend, philosopher and guide at every step, in matters of interest and welfare for the village community as a whole and in their individual affairs of a personal nature too. The frequent visits of residents of this village who are out in service serve as a medium of inter-penetration of the urban culture with the traditional rural culture of the village, thereby giving a rurarbanised outlook to the village Secondly, those in service attract the younger generation for proper education and service outside, thereby relieving extra pressure on land.

Changes in Traditional Occupations

Within the village community there is not much scope for changes in traditional occupations. Every one works within the traditional occupational groove.

The opportunity of occupational mobility is further restricted in a small hill village like Thapli where cultivation is the main occupation and service and household industry are pursued on a limited scale. According to the Primary Census Abstract of the village at the time of 1951 Census enumeration, out of a total population of 477 persons, 474 persons (99.37 per cent) consisting of 188 males and 286 females depended on agriculture as the main source of their livelihood. At the 1961 Census, the number of dependants on various occupations was not calculated nor was this information collected during the Survey. The fact that out of 302 workers, the main occupation of 262 workers (or 86. 75 per cent of total workers) was cultivation shows that the number of persons dependant on cultivation has gone down. The fact that a large number of Rajputs and Brahmins are out in services indicates a trend towards services in preference to agriculture which is not profitable at all. There has been almost no change among the Shilpkars who are by force of circumstances sticking to their traditional occupations of an artisan or cultivator or agricultural labour. They work as tailors for the residents of this or nearby villages ; they prepare sickles and spades and other agricultural implements for the cultivators ; they also carry out casual repairs to these implements ; they work as masons on the P. W. D. road or for villagers for constructing their houses or repairing the terraces of their fields every year ; some of them work as ordinary labourers too or as agricultural labourers, according to their convenience and livelihood requirements during various periods of the year in addition to the little cultivation done by them. They are too poor to improve upon themselves without any substantial economic help by the government. They are quite conscious of their abject poverty and low status in life and have their aspirations too to ameliorate their lot but they feel helpless.

As regards Brahmins and Rajputs they have the will and the means to impart proper education and training to their children who naturally move out of the village in search of fresh fields and pastures new. Out of the 53 persons of this village who are engaged in service outside the village, only one belongs to the Shilpkar community whereas the remaining 52 persons are either Brahmins or Rajputs. Almost every household has its aspiration to see at least

one of its male members in service because cultivation is not profitable or even adequate for subsistence and the pressure on land is already too heavy. Out of the 120 heads of households interrogated, 85 heads wanted their sons to be in service. Only one person wanted him to be a mason. The remaining 34 persons did not express any opinion, partly because some of them had no sons. Thus the aspiration of every one is to see the future generation in service. How far they will be able to fulfil the desire depends upon the opportunities and the push and pull of the individual. The trend of occupational mobility from agriculture to service outside the village is evident.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important occupation of the residents of this village. Nature has not provided any level ground. The slope of the hills is too steep for cultivation without terracing which is done by building up a stone wall at the base of the slope and excavating some of the upper part and spreading the dug-out soil within the walled surface until the whole becomes a small patch of flat land fit for cultivation. The stones of which the soil is cleared are used in the retaining wall. Similar terraces are constructed after allowing adequate time for a terrace to become settled, strong and fertile till the entire slope is turned into small terraced fields having the virtual appearance of a big staircase. The width of a terraced field is correlated to the gentleness of the slope – the fields carved out of steeper slopes being quite narrow. Turning a slope into a terraced field involves years of patient and hard work and quite a heavy investment. After every ploughing stones and boulders are removed from the soil and manure is added to it to increase its fertility. The slope of the fields is adjusted properly for minimising the chances of soil erosion. Annual repairs to terraces are carried out with a view to ensuring their long life. Torrential rains might cause a big damage or an occasional landslide might turn the terraced fields back into a slope, thereby bringing lot of misery to the poor cultivator.

This land is known as *ukhar* or *upraon* land (dry upland). Ordinarily it gives three crops in two years – two *kharif* and one *rabi*. It is all under cultivation every year in the *kharif* season but during the *rabi* season half of it remains fallow, the other half bearing wheat or barley.

The low-lying plots of land situated in the beds of a river or stream, which are irrigated the whole year are called *talaon* or *shera*. Such land is regularly double-cropped and is quite fertile due to its alluvial soil. If the stream has a wide bed, the fields on its bank are full of sand, gravel and boulders but even then they are capable of producing more than the *upraon* land can produce. Such fields have a tendency to be washed away at times due to high floods or change in the course of the stream. This is known as *bagar* land and forms the bone of contention and litigation when it reappears and is brought under cultivation by someone other than its previous tiller.

Irrigation is carried out through canals and gravitational channels (*gul*) by diverting water therein by throwing a *band* across the stream at its upper course. The *gul* is generally constructed along the contour line of the hill. There is acute scarcity of water in the hill villages and hence disputes about water are common and keenly contested. Priority is naturally given to the claim of a village that has been using a particular amount of water (the exact quantity being difficult to measure in actual practice) from before. A dispute crops up when a village wants to share the water, even for drinking purposes, or when the water-supply diminishes due to natural causes and the village at the higher level insists on having its old share, thereby leaving an inadequate and depleted supply for the village at the lower level or when a fresh channel is diverted through land belonging to a person other than the owner of the channel. The disputes are settled by the Sub-Divisional Officer or the Munsif as the case may be.

Unterraced inferior land cultivated intermittently is locally known as *katil* or *khil*

whereas inferior terraced land cultivated, intermittently is called *ijran*.

Land in Garhwal is divided into measured and unmeasured land (*nap* and *benap*). Wasteland is known as *benap* because only cultivated, or culturable and terraced land has been measured at the time of settlement. *Nap* land is settled land and is private property whereas *benap* land is the property of the State. Land that has relapsed into jungle or permanent waste or has never been cultivated is recorded in the name of the State and is known as *Kaisar-i-Hind* land. The villagers have no proprietary rights over such land and subject to certain laid-down restrictions, cultivation can legitimately be extended on them. All the land in a village is by tradition divided into blocks or *thoks*, with separate names. When unmeasured land is brought under cultivation in a separate block not in continuity of the old cultivation, such cultivation is known as *nayabad* (equivalent of *nautor* of the plains) and requires sanction of the Commissioner on the recommendation of the Sub-Divisional Officer. Hamlet of a village is known as *lagga*.

A hill village has a number of proprietors or *hissedars*. "The *hissedari* body often consists of a number of families all of one caste and all more or less inter-related, descended from one or two original founders of the village; sometimes it consists of two sets of families or clans of different castes". The *hissedari* right is an introduction of the British rule. It was conferred on the occupant cultivators. A *hissedar* has full rights of tranfer in the cultivated land of the village. All the *hissedars* are jointly and severally liable for the land revenue assessed on the whole village. Out of the proprietary body, locally called panch *hissedaran*, one person is appointed as pradhan or malguzar. He has to collect the land revenue from the co-sharers.

In every village there is usually some measured land held in common by the whole village community. It is known as *gaon sanjait*. When one *hissedar* gets his proportionate share of the *gaon sanjait* separated by imperfect partition, the remaining land is *sanjait* of certain specific *hissedars* only.

An under-proprietor whose rights as the original occupant cultivator have been usurped by or granted to some other person at some former period is called a *pakka khaikar* whereas an occupant tenant who or whose predecessors had never any higher right is called a *kachcha khaikar*. Thus a *khaikar* "is a permanent tenant with a heritable, but non-transferable right in his holding and paying a rent fixed at settlement, which cannot be altered during the currency of a settlement". The rent to be paid by him is the proportionate amount of revenue assessed on his holdings plus a *malikana* of about 20 per cent.

The *sirtans* or tenants-at-will form the third type of agriculturist in the district. Their number is insignificant. They are equivalent to *asamis* in the plains. They cultivate land which the proprietors cannot, either because of absence or non-availability of adequate labour or other causes. They have no right of occupancy. The tenants pay their rent either in cash or in kind. The rent or *rakm* so paid is termed as *sirti*.

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950, has not been extended to the district as yet. Hence the old system of land tenure is still in force. The village land records consist of *phant* or an abstract village record of rights and revenue roll; the *muntakhib* which gives each separate share in detail of fields with their area, classification of soil and the *thok* they are situated in as also the *hissedars* of each *khata* and the *khaikar* or *sirtan* of each number; the *khasra* which is the original measurement record of fields giving their area, *thok*, *hissedar* and tenant classification and crop and area of crop at the time of settlement.

The total area of the village is 8,502 *nalis* the area of one *nali* being 240 square yards. Out of this only 4,089 *nalis*, i.e., 48 per cent only is cultivated and the remaining land is being utilised as pasture land. The village has no source of irrigation and hence out of an area of 4,089 *nalis* an area of 9 *nalis* only lying in the vicinity of river is irrigated or *talaon*. The remaining land has to depend on the vagaries of the rain god.

The following table gives the area of land under various tenures :—

TABLE NO. 3.2

Area under Various Tenures

Tenure	Area in Nalis	Percentage
1. *Khudkasht*	2,185	53
2. *Khaikar Pakka* ...	1,752	43
3. *Sirtan*	152	4

Evidently, the number of *sirtans* is very few as in any other village of Garhwal. The reason is that a *hissedar* cultivates his land himself or through hired labourers belonging to the Shilpkar community. Only when he cannot get any labourer to cultivate it, he lets out land to a *sirtan*.

As a result of the settlement going on at present, the number of fields has increased from 2,603 to 4,481. The average area of a field comes to about 218 square yards. In the hills, the fields are terraced out of a slope, just like a big staircase and hence the small size of the average field is but natural.

The following table shows the extent of land in cultivatory possession of households :—

TABLE NO. 3.3

Extent of Land in cultivatory Possession of Households

Area of Land	Number of households	Percentage
5 cents and below	1	0.8
5—10 cents	..	..
10—20 cents	3	2.5
20—50 cents	16	13.4
50 cents—1 acre	30	25.0
1—2.4 acres	39	32.5
2.5 to 4.9 acres	21	17.5
5—10 acres	10	8.3

Thus 32.5 per cent households have land between 1.0 to 2.4 acres whereas 25 per cent households have land between half to one acre. Only 8.3 per cent households have land between 5 to 10 acres. On an average one household has 34 *nalis* of land under cultivation which, further coupled with the low productivity in the hilly area, is far below the size of an economic holding.

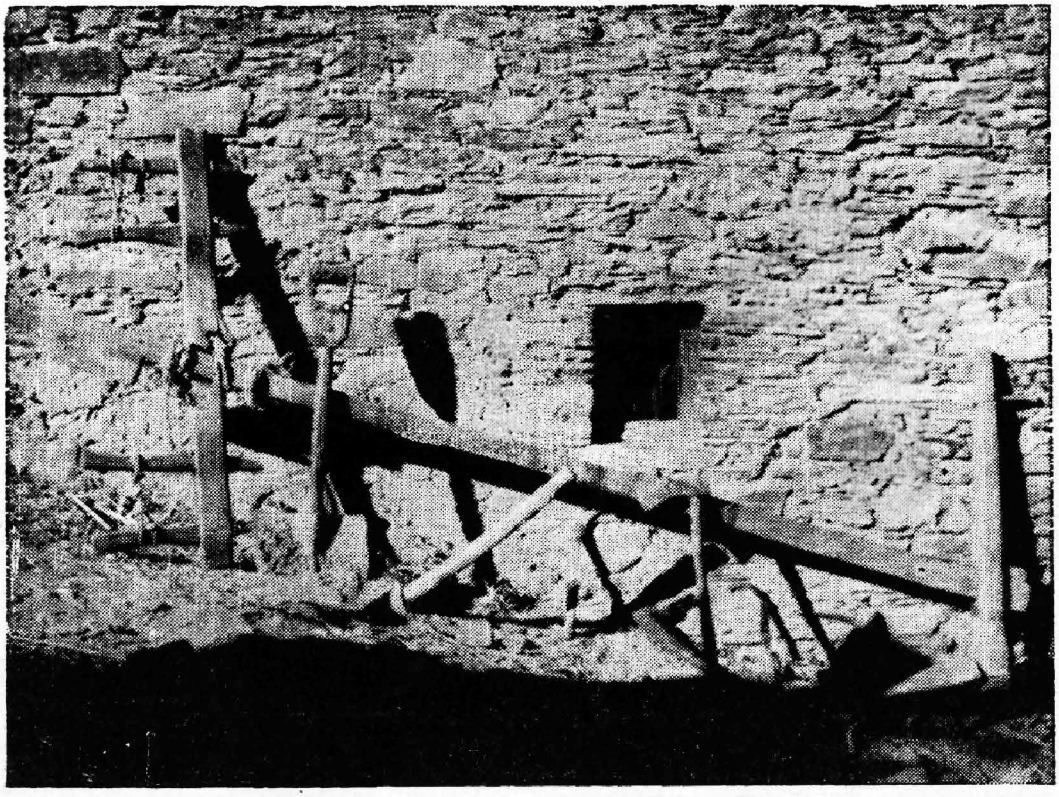
Crops

In this village there are only two crops seasons, viz., the *kharif* and the *rabi*. The crops sown at the commencement of rainy season in June and reaped towards the end of October are known as *kharif* crops. Much water is required for the growth of such crops. The principal *kharif* crops are paddy, *mandua* (eleusine coracana), *jhangora* (panicum crusgalli roxb) and maize. The pulses like *urd* (phaseolus mungo), *gahat* (dolichos biflorus) or *kulat, bhatt, soontha,* or *lobia,* and *rainyas* are also grown in this season. *Mandua* is the staple diet of the villagers. It is slow to digest and is preferred by the hillman because it enables him to work long without feeling the pangs of hunger. It is also nutritious and wholesome and has a good keeping quality. Being hardy, it grows well in the poor dry and stony soil of the hills without much botheration for the cultivator. It is sown in June with the first shower of monsoon in fields from which wheat and barley have been harvested. It does not need careful cultivation. A couple of ploughings and harrowings without any manure are sufficient. The seed rate is about 6 seers per acre. The two crops are cut here about the middle of the stalk. The lower half of the stalks left in the field is burned on being dried. The ashes are ploughed in the field and the soil is allowed to dry for a week or so. By the end of June the seeds are sown broadcast. The crop is harvested by the middle of October. One seer of seed ordinarily yields two maunds of *mandua*.

Paddy is produced in both irrigated and *upraon* land. It requires heat, humidity and lot of labour. The ploughing of fields begins in April and the crop is harvested after 4 months or so.

The *rabi* crop season begins in autumn. The crop is sown in October and is harvested in April or May. The main *rabi* crops are wheat, barley, *masur* and *lai*. After the paddy crop has been harvested, the field is ploughed and exposed for a fortnight for diminishing its humidity. The field is manured and levelled

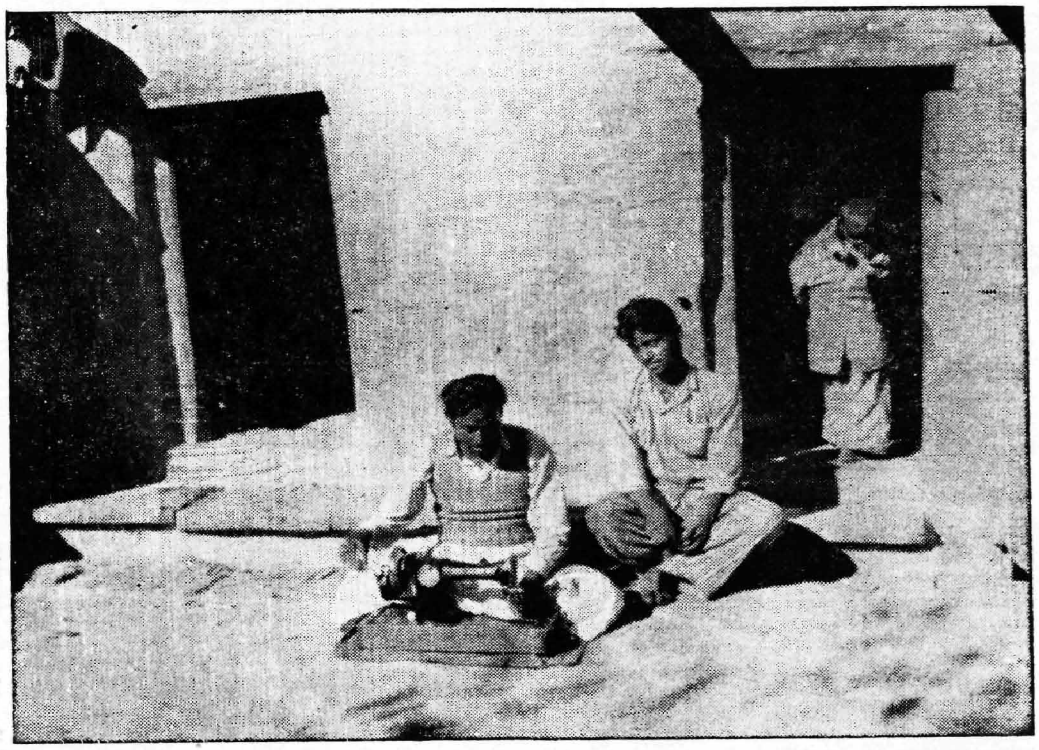
PLATE NO. 18



Some of the agricultural implements used in the village

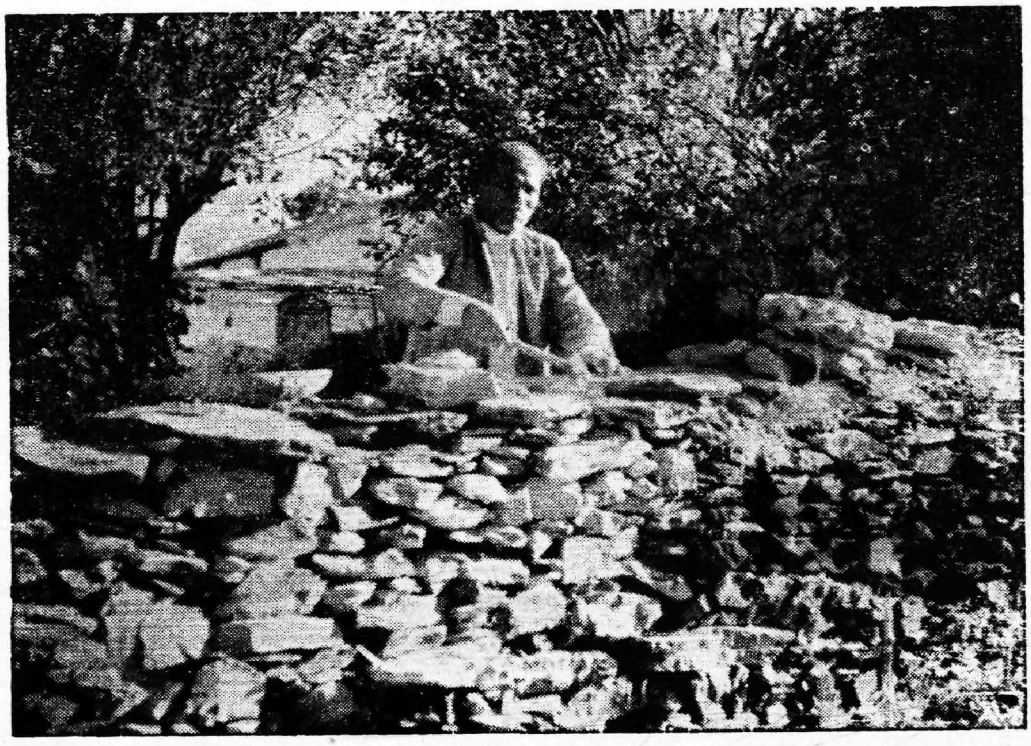
—*Facing page 18.*

PLATE NO. 19



A Shilpkar of the village, engaged in tailoring

PLATE NO. 20



A Shilpkar mason engaged in constructing a wall of stones

— Facing page 19.

and the seed is sown broadcast. It is again levelled and left to grow, to be harvested in April.

Vegetables such as potato, radish, bottle gourd, luffa *(turai)*, bitter gourd *(karela)*, lady's finger, brinjal, pea, ginger, chilly, pumpkin, *dhania*, beans, onion, spinach, broad beans, French beans, asparagus beans, etc. are also grown on a very small scale in the fields near the *abadi* site. They are used for domestic consumption only. Fruit trees such as orange, peaches, bananas are also planted in the courtyards of residential houses. They are fruit yielding. Some apple and almond trees and grape vines too were found planted, but they have not started bearing fruit as yet.

Implements and Methods of Cultivation

No improved implements of cultivation have been introduced into this village. The plough in use is quite crude and primitive and certainly much smaller than the plough used in plains. It is made of wood except the *phal* or iron point which penetrates the soil and opens a V-shaped furrow in the process of tillage. The wooden portion is locally prepared by the carpenter and the blacksmith supplies the iron point. With his left hand the ploughman holds and presses the handle of the plough and with his right hand he drives the puny bullocks. The soil is quite soft and hence the strain on bullocks and the ploughman is not heavy. The ground is ploughed once in the case of coarse *kharif* crops such as *jhangora* and *mandua* and twice in the case of all others. Just after the ground has been broken by the plough, breaking of clods is done by the women or younger people by a wooden mallet with a long handle, locally called *dilara*. Roots of the old crop are freed from the soil clods and stones or boulders in the soil are separated from the soil and removed from the field. The surface is levelled by an implement known as *jol*. It is just like a harrow without teeth. Sometimes the part of the plough to which the iron-shear is nailed by a rough wedge is used as a leveller. In the case of rice and wheat, the ground is ploughed twice or thrice, since these crops require a well-tilled soil. Manure is applied to the levelled field and the seed is sown broadcast. The *jol* is again applied and the surface is levelled; when the *kharif* crop is a few inches high, the toothed harrow is applied. Regular weeding has to be carried out till the crop begins to come into ear. Sickle is used for harvesting the crop. Paddy plants are cut off close at the root. In the case of *jhangora* or *mandua*, the ears only are first cut. After being dried, the stalks are cut and stored as fodder. Wheat and barley are cut about the middle. The ears are chopped off for threshing and the stalk is served to the cattle. What remains on the field is grazed by cattle or even burnt. Straw meant to be stored for cattle is stocked on trees near the homestead.

On the hill slopes paddy is generally sown broadcast in April, the cultivation depending entirely on rain. The terraced fields are heavily manured with compost and the seed is broadcast dry. In the irrigated valley area cultivation, both by transplantation and broadcasting, is practised. Germinated, and not dry seed, is broadcast because of the surety of water availability from the river. If transplantation is done, a nursery is laid down in May. The average yield per acre is larger in case of transplanted cultivation. Hand sickles are used for harvesting. Sheaves are exposed to sun on the field a couple of days after which they are trodden with feet and paddy is separated from the straw.

Medium early varieties of rice are grown in the village. The usual duration of a crop is 3-4 months. The rice is of ordinary quality. Improved varieties of seed suited for the hills are not available in the seed stores. Seed is no doubt supplied by the Agriculture Department but looking to the performance of the seed in the fields it appears that proper improved varieties have not been evolved as yet.

The grain is stored in the upper storey of the house in big bins called *dabra* or *kunna*, made of bamboo or *ringal* and covered with a thick layer of dung and clay. They are quite heavy and are not ordinarily moved from one place to another. They are properly covered. The average life of such a bin is 30 years.

Paddy and not rice is stored. Small quantities are hulled by hand according to individual requirements. Thus the nutrients of rice remain intact and insect and weevil too do not attack it.

Rotation of Crops

According to the basic principles of cultivation the same crop should not be raised successively every season in a field. Instead, it should be grown only once in two or three crop seasons in rotation with other crops. In this manner the soil recuperates its lost fertility easily, pests and diseases and weeds particular to a particular crop are not perpetuated, short season crops can be raised and, above all, the yield per acre increases.

Irrigated or *talaon* land gives two crops a year but unirrigated or *uproan* land yields three crops in two years. According to the prevailing system of rotation of crops, paddy crop is sown in May–June and harvested in September–October, to be followed by wheat crop sown in October and reaped in April. Then *mandua* is sown in June and harvested in October and the field is left fallow for the next *rabi* season. Thus the course of rotation generally followed is paddy – wheat – *mandua* – fallow – paddy. Consequently *upraon* land is all under cultivation during the *Kharif* seasons and half of it is fallow for the *Rabi*, the other half having wheat or barley crop. For the purpose of rotation of crops the village is divided into two *sars* or divisions. Rice is grown in one division known as *Satyara* and *mandua* is sown in the other division known as *Kodara* (from *kodon* for *mandua*). During *Rabi*, *Kodara* is left fallow and wheat is sown in *Satyara* and it comes to be known as *Gyunwara* (*gyun*=*gehun*, wheat). Subsequently, when *mandua* follows wheat, it becomes *Kodara* while the *Kodara* of last year becomes *Satyara*. Thus nearly half of the cultivated land in the village remains fallow during the winter.)

Manure

Manures are added to the soil for maintaining the fertility of soil during the course of years and for increasing the yield of crops. Farmyard manure consisting of animal excreta and urine, domestic and farm refuse and general waste materials of plants has been used from the earliest times. In this village, as in most of the villages of Garhwal, the slow-acting farmyard manure consisting of cattle dung and urine absorbed in the straw bedding or litter and domestic refuse is used. Urine contains nitrogen, potash and phosphoric acid and is, therefore, considered more valuable as manure but a large portion, rich as plant food is wasted in the process of collection. Due to absence of trees on a mass scale in the village tree leaves are not available for being used as manure, as in other villages. No manure pits are used for dumping the daily droppings which are heaped up in a corner of the courtyard. During the summer, the cattle are sometimes penned in the fields and the animal waste is collected there to be used as manure.

Manure is usually applied in the fields immediately before the seed is sown. It is then ploughed in with the seed. With the inclusion of this village within the N. E. S. Block, people have started using chemical fertilizers, albeit in an insignificant quantity.

Crop Diseases and Pests

The crops are not free from the attacks of insect, pests and fungus and other diseases. Paddy crop is generally attacked by *khundalya* on account of which the plants do not bear any fruit at all or *haldya*, as a result of which the plants turn yellow and develop ears without corn or *jhola*, which turns both the ears and corn black. The rice stem borer, locally known as *kurungula*, cuts and bores through the roots of the paddy plants whereas another insect, the *gundhi* bug (*Leptocorhiza vericornis*), so named because of its bad smell, is the most destructive pest. It sucks away the milky juice from the developing grains ; consequently, the grains do not fully develop or shrivel up completely.

The millets are attacked by a few fungal diseases or insect pests. The insects which attack young crops are *Amascata albistringa* and the black headed *Diacrisia oblique*. Amongst the fungi, there is the *mandua* smut and leaf blight of *jhangora* coupled occasionally with stunted growth.

Wheat crop is effected by rusts and smuts. Brown and yellow rusts appear from January onward, whereas black rust appears in the end of February. An attack by rust results in partial sterility, poorly filled heads and shrivelled grains. Black rust is also called stem rust because it attacks the stem most severely. It causes brown pustules on stem, leaves, ears and awns.

The cultivators are not aware of modern methods of pest and insect control. Some agriculturists have been using gammexane in their fields but that is not generally effective.

Crop Yield

In spite of hard labour, the inhospitable soil of the hills does not yield produce sufficient for subsistence. The average yield of the important crops is given below :—

TABLE NO. 3.4

Average Yield

	Crop	Seed Sown per Acre	Yield per Acre
			mds.
1.	Paddy	30—40 seers	15—18
2.	Wheat	one md.	8
3.	*Mandua* (Eleusine coracana)	6 seers	12
4.	*Jhangora* (Panicum crusgalli Roxb.)	6 seers	12
5.	Barley	one md.	8

The above figures of average yield per acre were collected from the cultivators of the village. In spite of hard work on the fields, nature is not bountiful. The yield is pretty low as compared to the yield in the plains.

The following figures indicate the total annual produce of various crops in the village as returned by the residents of the village at the time of Survey :—

		maunds
1.	Paddy	645.4
2.	Wheat	341.1
3.	*Jhangora* and *Mandua*	634.5
4.	Pulse	84.4
5.	Barley	29.1

The above produce is utilised for local consumption only. There is no surplus left for marketing.

A number of factors are responsible for low yield. The soil is very poor; means of irrigation are non-existent; artificial fertilisers have not been used as manure; local organic manure is not prepared properly; green manuring is not popular; quality of seeds is poor, there being no surety of good yield even when seed supplied by the Agricultural Department is used; the technique of agriculture in primitive; implements used are not of the improved type; cultivation is carried out mostly by women and children who cannot possibly be good cultivators despite all the hard work put in by them.

Organization of Man-power in Cultivation

Men, women and children are all engaged in the various processes of cultivation in accordance with their capacities. Menfolk generally perform the task of ploughing the fields. The remaining operations such as sowing, weeding, manuring, watering, harvesting and thrashing are carried out by the females and children. Households, where menfolk are not available for ploughing, get the ploughing done either through some willing Shilpkar on payment or through menfolk of friendly households on a mutual help basis, without any payment. Co-operation and mutual help in the various aspects of life is a marked feature of the village.

The following table indicates the workers in cultivation classified by sex and broad age-groups :—

TABLE NO. 3.5

Workers in Cultivation Classified by Sex and Age-Groups

Age Group	Persons	Males	Females
0—14	7	1	6
15—34	118	22	96
35—59	99	21	78
60 and over ..	38	20	18
Total ..	262	64	198

Thus 75 per cent of the workers engaged in cultivation are females, who continue working even after the age of 60 years. In the age-group 15—59 years, out of 217 persons engaged

in cultivation as many as 174 or 81 per cent are females. The predominance of women in the field of agriculture is evident. As cultivators they have their own limitations.

Source of Finance

Credit is obtained partly from the well-to-do residents of the village at high rates of interest and partly from the Kapolsyun Co-operative Society which has its headquarters at Agrora at a distance of about 1½ miles. The society was established in July, 1947. Its membership of 410 persons is spread to 39 villages — village Thapli providing 47 shareholders with a share of Rs.10 each and one shareholder with a share of Rs.20. The society gives loans to its members and also distributes chemical fertilisers and improved varieties of seeds among the members.

At the Annual General Meeting, the members elect a Director who is responsible for the proper working of the society, with the help of a Co-operative Supervisor and under the general guidance of the Co-operative Inspector Kalzikhal who inspects the working of the society. Annual audit is done by the auditors of the Co-operative Department.

From this village only Brahmins and Rajputs are members of the society. Not a single member of the Shilpkar community is a shareholder. In the village itself there is no co-operative society. It is proposed by the Block staff to cover this village with a Service. Co-opertaive Society on the prescribed hill pattern.

Distribution of Land

The following table shows the distribution of land. as returned at the time of survey :—

TABLE NO. 3.6

Distribution of Land

Caste	Number of		Area in Acres	Average per	
	Households	Persons		Household	Person
Rajput	7	26	6.51	0.93	0.25
Shilpkar	40	198	7.47	0.187	0.037
Brahmin	73	328	194.77	2.66	0.69
Total	120	552	208.75	1.74	0.37

Evidently, the average land per household and per person is the highest among the Brahmins and the lowest among the Shilpkars — the land per capita with a Brahmin being roughly 18 times the land per capita with a Shilpkar and 2.8 times the land per capita with a Rajput. Most of the land is concentrated in the hands of Brahmins who constitute the dominant community of the village. The plight of the Shilpkars is simply pitiable. On an average, every household has 1.47 acres of land under cultivation. The average per capita of land is as low as 0.37 acres. This clearly indicates the heavy pressure of population on land, thereby making the holdings uneconomic to the extreme, not sufficing even for a bare livelihood. Hence a large population has to migrate in search of employment of various types, mostly leaving behind the womenfolk to look after the cultivation. Out of 7 households of Rajputs, the heads of 5 households are females, whereas among the Shilpkars out of 40 households, 10 females are heads of households and among the 73 Brahmin households heads of 31 households are females. Thus a large number of males among the Brahmins and Rajputs are living outside the village as employees, sending monthly remittances for supplementing the income from cultivation and visiting the family in the village casually during holidays. Cultivation cannot possibly be carried out by females and children so well as by grown-up males.

The following table shows the extent of land in possession of various households in the village :—

TABLE NO. 3.7

Extent of Land with Households

Area of land	Number of Households
10—20 cents	3
20—50 cents	16
50 cents—one acre	30
1—2.4 acres	39
2.5—4.9 acres	21
5—10 acres	10

Thus only a few households of Brahmins have tolerably big holdings, which are actually small holdings by any standard.

Customs and sayings relating to Agricultural Operations

It is customary in the village to make offerings of some of the *rabi* crop at the temple of Mahadeoji at Ekeshwar before starting consumption in the households. The deity in this temple commands great respect.

The snake god too is held in high esteem. If at the time of ploughing, a snake happens to be wounded by the shear of the plough, the bullocks are given away in charity either to a *mathpal* (priest of a temple) or a Shlipkar *bhera,* the plough is discarded and the ploughman has to perform *chandrayan* or penance to propitiate the snake god.

The sentiment attached to the cow by Hindus is well-known ; killing of the cow or its progeny even accidentally or unknowingly is treated as a serious religious and social offence. The offender has to stay away from his family for 3 months and perform *chandrayan* or hard penance for washing off the stigma. If a cow is found suffering from the disease *Phoola,* it is discarded straightaway.

Appearance of double ears on the same wheat plant is deemed to be inauspicious. The entire produce of the field is given away as charity to a Brahmin from another village, after performance of puja.

As in other villages some sayings based on observation and tradition are common in this village also. For example it is said : ***Barkho*** *Poos gyun jau par jamya jhoos* ***Barkho Mau,*** *gyun jau ka thau.* If there is rain in the month of Poos, wheat and barley crops are expected to be damaged ; if there is rain in the month of Magh, the wheat crop is expected to be good.

Another popular saying is :—

Magh na barse Achla Saptami,
Jeth na barse Mool
Ghagh kahe sun Ghaghni
Sawan urhey bhi dhool.

If there is no rain on the occasion of Achla Saptami in the month of Magh and in Mool Nakshatra in the month of Jeth, there will be no rain in the whole month of Sawan.

It is also a common belief that if there is thundering in the sky in the East and a thick cloud is seen in the west, rainfall is sure, as expressed in the following couplet :—

Poorab chamke bijli Pachhim gehre gaj ;
Mahadeo kahe sun Parvati, Varsa hove aaj.

Livestock

In an Indian village where cultivation is done by indigenous ploughs drawn by bullocks, the draught cattle have to play an important part in making farming efficient and profitable. They are treated as important members of the household. There is a sentimental attachment for the livestock especially the cow, called mother, and her progeny.

Quality and breed of draught cattle in this village are poor. There are 146 draught bullocks in the village for ploughing 4,089 *nalis* of agricultural land. One unit of 2 bullocks has to plough about 36 *nalis* or 1.8 acres of land which is not too much in spite of the

bullocks being ill-bred, weak, under-nourished and ill-housed. The soil is soft and hence the strain on cattle is not heavy.

Out of 120 households, only 72 are in possession of draught animals. Others have to borrow the bullocks at the time of ploughing. In fact the size of most of the holdings is too small to justify maintenance of draught animals in every cultivator family.

The number of milch cattle in the village is 71 only. Out of 73 households of Brahmins, 43 households are in possession of 56 animals in milk; out of 40 families of Shilpkars, 11 families have 12 milch cattle and out of 7 families of Rajputs, 3 families have 3 milch cattle. The number of milch animals is the lowest among the Shilpkars who are under-nourished and ill-fed.

In this village, there are 41 dry cows, 12 dry buffaloes, 112 she-calves and only 2 goats. The progeny of the cow is apparently very predominant. A large percentage of cows is black, which are quite uncommon in the plains.

There is no dearth of fodder in the village. It consists mainly of *bhionl* leaves or grass collected from precipitous hill sides by womenfolk or straw stacked upon trees near the homestead for consumption whenever required. The cattle graze among the stubble of harvested fields, in the forest area or village pastures.

The yield of milk is quite low both in the case of cows and buffaloes. On an average a cow does not yield more than 2 seers of milk a day. Goat milk is not used for human consumption at all.

Proper improvement in agriculture cannot possibly be brought about without proper livestock development. Quality of draught and milch cattle has to be improved by proper breeding, adequate feeding, and elimination of useless animals by castration of scrub bulls.

There is no fish-rearing or forest industry in the village.

Village Industries

Industries do not occupy an important place in the occupational structure of the village. There are 5 tailors, 2 blacksmiths, 2 braziers and 2 carpenters in the village – all belonging to the Shilpkar community. All of them work on a small scale for meeting the limited everyday needs of the village communtiy. They do not work on a commercial scale. The agricultural implements are prepared and repaired by the carpenters and blacksmiths who also carry out the wood work and iron work in connection with construction of buildings. According to the prevalent custom, carpenters and blacksmiths are paid in kind at the time of every harvest in lieu of the services rendered by them in connection with agriculture. The braziers carry out the work of repairing copper and brassware. With the availability of copper and brasswares produced on a large scale in other districts, the indigenous industry is almost extinct, without any chance of revival. The workers are not engaged in these industries throughout the year since the scope of earning therefrom is too limited. They are engaged in this work according to their convenience and livelihood requirements during various periods of the year in addition to the little cultivation done by them. They are too poor to improve upon themselves without any substantial economic help by the government. They are quite conscious of their abject poverty and low status in life and have their aspirations too to ameliorate their lot but they feel helpless.

As regards Brahmins and Rajputs they have the will and the means to impart proper education and training to their children who naturally move out of the village in search of fresh fields and pastures new. Out of the 53 persons of this village who are engaged in service outside the village, only one belongs to the Shilpkar community whereas the remaining 52 persons are either Brahmins or Rajputs. Almost every household has its aspiration to see at least one of its male members in service because cultivation is not profitable or even adequate for subsistence and the pressure on land is already too heavy. Out of the 120 heads of households interrogated, 55 heads wanted their sons to be in service. Only one person wanted him to be a mason. The remain-

ing 34 persons did not express any opinion, partly because some of them had no sons. Thus the aspiration of every one is to see the future generation in service. As already mentioned, a number of persons are employed in service under various departments outside the village. Most of them have left behind the womenfolk and elderly people to manage agriculture in the village. They send remittances to their dependents in the village.

There is no barber or shoemaker in the village. Safety or cut-throat razors are used by some people. Hair is cut after long intervals by mutual help.

Shoes are not worn by most of the people especially the womenfolk. Shoe-repairing has got to be done at Pauri whenever anyone happens to go there.

Non-workers

Out of the total population of 552 persons, the number of workers not gainfully employed is 250, or 45 per cent. The following table gives the distribution of non-workers according to age and sex :—

TABLE NO. 3.8

Distribution of Non-workers by Age and Sex

Age Group	Persons	Males	Females
0—14	234	111	123
15—34	16	11	5
All Ages	250	122	128

Out of the 234 non-workers in the age-group 0—14 years consisting of 111 males and 123 females only 48 males and 44 females are whole time students. The remaining 63 males and 79 females consist of infants pertaining to non-school going age. All the 16 non-workers in the 15—34 age-group are whole-time students.

Every person belonging to the working age group is gainfully employed. Even aged persons who are past sixty years keep themselves engaged in various processes of cultivation.

Indebtedness

Poverty invariably leads to indebtedness which simply saps out the vitality of the man in debt. In spite of the caution 'Neither a borrower nor a lender be', people have to borrow and they do borrow. The following table shows the extent of indebtedness in this village :—

TABLE NO. 3.9

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group	Total number of households	Number of households in debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average indebtedness per household in debt Rs. nP.	Amount of Debt Rs. nP
Rs.25 and below	19	9	47.4	306.70	2,760.00
Rs.26—50	40	23	57.5	465.20	10,700.00
Rs.51—75	22	6	27.3	241.70	1,450.00
Rs.76—100	20	4	20.0	525.00	2,100.00
Rs.101 and above	19	2	10.5	850.00	1,700.00
Total ..	120	44	36.7	425.20	18,710.00

Out of the 120 households in the village 44 households, i.e., 36.7 per cent are in debt. The total debt is Rs.18,710 and the average debt per household in debt is Rs.425.20 only. Out of these 44 households, 11 or 25 per cent belong to Brahmin community and the remaining 75 per cent are Shilpkar by caste. The *Kshatriya* household were not found under debt. Out of 73 Brahmin households, 11 households, i.e., 15 per cent are in debt whereas out

of 40 Shilpkar households, 33 households, i.e., 82.5 per cent are in debt. About 21.3 per cent of the total debt has been incurred by the Brahmins and the remaining 78.7 per cent by the Shilpkars. The high extent of indebtedness among the Shilpkars clearly indicates their state of abject poverty.

In the income group of Rs.25 and below 47.4 per cent households are in debt, each household having an average debt of Rs.306.70. Out of nine indebted households in this group, only one household is of Brahmins. In the income group of Rs.26 to Rs.50, 57.5 per cent households are in debt, each household having an average debt of Rs.465.20 only. Out of 23 indebted households in this group, only 3 households are of Brahmin community. This income group has the highest extent of indebtedness. With the increase in income, the extent of indebtedness declines. In the income group of Rs.76 to Rs.100 only 27.3 per cent households are in debt, each household having an average debt of Rs.241.70. Out of 6 indebted households in this income group, 4 are of Brahmins. In the income group of Rs.76 to Rs.100, 20 per cent households are in debt, each household having an average debt of Rs.525. The number of indebted Brahmin and Shilpkar households in this group is equal just as in the next income group of Rs.101 and above, where the average debt incurred by each of the two households is Rs.850.

Causes of Indebtedness

The causes of indebtedness are varied. The following table gives the causes of indebtedness :—

TABLE NO. 3.10

Indebtedness by Causes

	Cause	Amount of Debt	Number of families in debt	Percentage of debt due to cause to total debt
		Rs.		
1.	Purchase of Land	1,000	1	5.3
2.	House Construction	900	1	4.8
3.	Marriages ..	300	1	1.6
4.	Sickness ..	100	1	0.7
5.	Ordinary Wants	15,810	39	84.6
6.	Household Cultivation	600	1	3.2
	Total ..	18,710	44	100

Debt was incurred mainly for meeting day-to-day domestic expenditure. Out of 44 families in debt, as many as 39, i.e., 84.6 per cent families had incurred a debt of Rs.15,810. This is an indication of the straitened circumstances of the Shilpkar families in debt. Since the debt is not for a productive purpose, it is very difficult to pay it off. In fact the debtor cannot pay even the interest, not to say of the principal. Once debt is incurred, it goes on piling up, justifying the truth of the oft-quoted saying that an "Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt, dies in debt and bequeaths debt."

The Brahmins generally borrow money from the Co-operative Credit Society at Agrora at about 8.75 per cent as rate of interest but the Shilpkars are not members of this society and hence they have to borrow from the well-to-do Brahmin families in the village at a high rate of interest. It is no doubt easier to borrow from an individual, but the loan is invariably usurious and the debtor has to pay it off by rendering personal services for a very long time.

Income and Expenditure Pattern

Thapli has 120 households, with a vast majority of Brahmins, followed by Shilpkars and Kshartriyas. Brahmins and Kshatriyas are mainly engaged in cultivation, their income being further supplemented by income from casual remittances from members of the family working outside. Members of the Shilpkar community are not generally in service outside the village. They are engaged in cultivation or as agricultural labourers or in construction and industry as masons and mason assistants, tailors, braziers, carpenters and blacksmiths.

Out of 73 Brahmin households, 5 households are engaged principally in teaching work, one as driver, 5 households as forest *munshis, munim,* clerk and peon and 62 households are engaged principally in agriculture. The households mainly engaged in occupations other than cultivation follow cultivation as a subsidiary occupation.

All the seven Kshatriya families are engaged in cultivation as the principal occupation.

Out of 40 households belonging to Shilpkar community, 21 households are engaged in cultivation as the principal occupation even though every household cultivates some land. They possess insufficient land for cultivation. Hence they derive some income from their subsidiary occupations such as by working as mason, tailor, brazier, carpenter and blacksmith.

All the 120 households of this village are distributed below according to various income ranges :-

TABLE NO. 3.11

Occupational Distribution by Income Groups

Occupation	Number of households	Number of Households with Monthly Income of				
		0—25	26—50	51—75	76—100	101 and above
Teacher	5	...	...	..	1	4
Forest *munshi*, *munim*, clerk and peons	5	..	..	2	3	..
Cultivators	90	19	29	17	11	14
Driver	1	..	...	...	1	..
Masons, Tailors, Braziers, Carpenters and Blacksmiths	18	...	10	3	4	1
Chowkidar	1	...	1	...	..	..

Out of the five households whose main occupation is teaching, one falls in the income range of Rs.75—100 whereas the remaining four have an income of Rs.101 and over. The income of Rs.55 per mensem from teaching of the former household is supplemented by Rs.15.00 per month from cultivation and Rs.30 per month as pension. In the remaining 4 households on an average the income from teaching of every household is Rs.88.60 nP per month, supplemented by an income of Rs.40.00 per month per household from cultivation and in case of one household by Rs.80.00 per month as remittance.

Out of the 5 households falling within the next occupational group, i.e., forest *munshi, munim,* clerk and peon, 2 fall within the income group of Rs.51—75 and 3 within the income range of Rs.76—100. In the former 2 houses, on an average Rs.40 per month are derived from pay and Rs.20 per month are derived from cultivation. In the latter 3 households the average income per family is Rs.65 per month from pay and Rs.23.60 nP per month from cultivation.

The most important occupation of this village is agriculture in which 90 households are engaged. Nineteen households in this occupation have an income of less than Rs.25 per month. The income from cultivation is Rs.14 per month, four households have an average income of Rs.11 per month each from wages and 8 households receive Rs.10 per month as remittances. Out of 29 households of this occupation group which lie within the income group of Rs.26—50 each household gets Rs.31.10 per month from cultivation, 4 households get Rs.12 per month each as wages by working as labourers in agriculture, one household gets Rs.15.00 per month as pension, and 20 households get Rs.28.00 per month each as remittances. Thus many households have more than one source of income. The 17 households of this occupation group which fall in the income range of Rs.51—75 derive an income of Rs.40.40 per month each from cultivation, 3 households get pension of Rs.35 per month each and ten households get Rs.35 per month each as remittances. The 11 households in the income group of Rs.76—100 get an average income of Rs.70 per month each from cultivation, 2 households gets Rs.40 per month each as pension, 8 households get remittances of Rs.30 per month each. The 14 households within the income range of Rs.101 and over derive an income of Rs.85.20 per month each from cultivation, 12 households have an income of Rs.45

per month each from remittances. The households within this income range belong to Brahmin community only.

The head of one Brahmin household works as a casual driver in Garhwal Motor Owners' Union, Limited and gets an average amount of Rs.57 per month from this profession. He supplements his pay with the income from cultivation which is about Rs.30 per month.

There are 18 households in this village working mainly as masons, tailors, braziers, carpenters and blacksmiths all belonging to Shilpkar community. All the 10 households within the income range of Rs.26–50 earn Rs.30 per month each as wages or salary, 6 households earn Rs.12 per month each from industry, 10 households earn Rs.10 per month each from cultivation, whereas one household gets Rs.20 per month as remittance. One person in this group belonging to the Shilpkar community is employed outside and remits money to his family members residing in this village. One household of mason gets Rs.92 per month as salary and Rs.12 per month as income from cultivation.

One household of Shilpkar community is deriving the major income from watchmanship and 2 members of this caste work as chowkidar in forest, getting an average amount of Rs.45 per month. The income from service as chowkidar is supplemented to the extent of Rs.5 per month as income from cultivation.

Expenditure Pattern

The consumption pattern of the village has its own peculiarities. The staple diet of the villagers consists of *urd* or *lentil* pulses and *chapaties* of *mandua* or *jhangora* which are more easily grown in the hill soil and which have the additional virtue of staying long in the stomach. Some of the well-to-do families consume wheat also in addition to *mandua* and *jhangora*. *Chapaties* of *mandua* with a covering of wheat dough are also prepared. Vegetables grown locally in the kitchen gardens are generally consumed in Brahmin and Rajput families. The Shilpkars too casually grow some vegetables for their consumption. Majority of the population is of non-vegetarians but due to its high price meat is consumed only casually in the village. Liquor is generally consumed in most of the hill villages but in this village no one admitted to be a consumer of liquor. It is just possible, the information has been held back for obvious reasons. Tea is taken frequently in every house. It may be sweetened with sugar or *gur*. Milk is no doubt added but if it is not available, tea is taken without milk even. Milk is consumed mostly by children in households having animals in milk.

There is no expenditure on barber and washerman. Since there are no barbers in the village, hair cutting and shaving are done on a mutual help basis within each community. The consumption of soap among the Shilpkar families is very small. Ghee and oil are used in limited quantities. The Shilpkars cannot afford to use ghee and hence they use oil only for frying purposes.

The expenditure on purchase of shoes is small as compared to the expenditure in plains, because in the hills shoe is not used so frequently. Women and children do not generally use any shoes. Smoking *biris* or the bamboo *hookah* is a common habit. Females among Brahmins and Rajputs do not smoke but some of those belonging to Shilpkar community do smoke.

The expenditure on education up to VI class is little, since no fees are to be paid. Money is spent over the purchase of books and stationery only. Some of the well-to-do Brahmin families do impart higher education to their children and hence the percentage of their expenditure on education is higher.

The percentage of expenditure on food items is high within the lower income groups whereas it is comparatively low in the higher income groups. There is no shop in the village. Hence purchases have to be made from Paidul or Pauri. Extravagant expenditure in day-to-day life is thus held in check.

The standard of living of Brahmins and Kshatriyas is high but that of the Philpkars is comparatively low.

The budgets of a number of families belonging to all the three castes *viz.*, Brahmin, Kshatriya, and Shilpkar were studied for determining the general expenditure pattern. Budgets of the following five households which are of a representative character are discussed here :—

(1) A cultivator named Shri Jayanand son of Sri Ganga Ram Thapliyal, Brahmin by caste, in the income group of Rs.101 and over ;

(2) A Primary School teacher named Smt. Mangli Devi widow of Shri Narain Datta, Brahmin by caste, in the income group of Rs.76—100 ;

(3) A cultivator named Shri Gaur Singh, Kshatriya by caste, with an average income of Rs.67.50 ;

(4) A mason named Shri Brindaban son of Sheo Kanthu, Shilpkar by caste, with an average income of Rs.105 ; and

(5) A mason named Shri Bharose Lal son of Subaki, Shilpkar by caste, with an average income of Rs.55.

The household of Shri Jaya Nand consists of 9 members including one domestic servant aged 14 years, five of them being above 12 years of age and 4 below 8 years. Two of his sons who are employed outside send a remittance of Rs.100 per month. The average income of this household is Rs.200 per month, i.e., Rs.100 from cultivation and Rs.100 from remittances. Details of his expenditure are as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure* Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	85.00
2. Vegetables	12.00
3. Milk	30.00
4. Oil	8.00
5. Ghee	12.00
6. Other food items (including tea, smoking, sugar and spices)	16.16
7. Fuel and lighting	7.00
8. Clothing	13.00
9. Other items	2.00
10. Pay of the servant	10.00
Total ..	195.16

Thus expenditure on food items is about 83.58 per cent of the total expenditure. Smoking and tea are quite a big item of expenditure. The budget is surplus by Rs.4.84. No expenditure is incurred on education. The standard of living of this household is easily the best in the village.

Smt. Mangli Devi is a widow engaged as a teacher in the village Primary School for girls. The average income is Rs.81 per month, i.e., Rs.51 as pay and Rs.30 from cultivation. She is alone. Her monthly expenditure was as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure* Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	12.50
2. Vegetable	2.00
3. Milk	2.50
4. Ghee	12.00
5. Other items of food	5.84
6. Fuel and lighting	2.87
7. Clothing	8.29
8. Soap	2.00
9. Medical expenses	5.00
10. Religious items	10.00
Total ..	63.00

There is a saving of Rs.18 in the budget. She incurs 55.55 per cent of the total expenditure on food items. Some amount has been spent on medicine and religious activities.

Gaur Singh is a Kshatriya by caste with an average income of Rs.67.50 nP. per month i.e., Rs.40.50 nP. from cultivation and Rs.27 as pension. He is a retired military man. His family has 6 members consisting of three daughters aged 10, 7 and 5 years and an infant son besides himself and his wife. The husband and wife cultivate 1.01 acres of land. Their expenditure pattern is as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure* Rs.
1. Cereals	42.50
2. Vegetables	2.00
3. Milk	4.50
4. Oil	2.00
5. Other items of food	7.63
6. Fuel and lighting	3.87
7. Clothing	4.00
8. Soap	1.00
Total ..	67.50

Out of the total expenditure about 88.05 per cent is incurred on food items.

Brindaban son of Sheo Kanthu is a Shilpkar by caste with an average income of Rs.105 per month, i.e., Rs.80 from wages and Rs.25 from cultivation. The family consists of 8 members, 5 of them being earners and 3 being non-earning dependants. Brindaban is aged 60 years and works as mason while his wife aged 55 years, his son aged 30 years, wives of his two sons aged 24 and 26 years work as agricultural labourers. The area under cultivation of this household is 0.51 acres only. The expenditure pattern was reported as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure*
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	64.00
2. Vegetables	4.00
3. Milk	15.00
4. Mustard oil	2.00
5. Other items of food	8.62
6. Fuel and lighting	3.87
7. Clothing	16.00
8. Soap	2.00
Total ..	115.49

About 81.73 per cent of the total expenditure was incurred on food items alone. There is a deficit of Rs.10.49 nP. in the budget. The household seems to have under-stated the family income.

Bharose Lal son of Subaki is a Shilpkar by caste with an average income of Rs.55 per month consisting of Rs.50 from wages and Rs.5 from cultivation. This household consists of 5 members out of which 4 are earners. The earners consist of the head aged 27 years, his wife aged 19 years, his brother aged 30 years and his mother aged 61 years. The head is engaged as a mason and the others as agricultural labourers.

The family budget was of the following pattern :—

Items	*Expenditure*
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	42.50
2. Vegetables	1.50
3. Mustard oil	1.00
4. Other items of food	3.81
5. Fuel and lighting	2.94
6. Clothing	8.00
7. Soap	1.00
Total ..	60.75

The expenditure on food items is 80.33 per cent of the total expenditure. There was a deficit of Rs.5.75. An under-estimated income seems to have been returned by the household.

CHAPTER IV

Social and Cultural Life

Brief Review of Population

During the Survey, the population of this village was 552 persons, consisting of 219 males and 333 females. At the time of the 1951 Census the population was 477 persons consisting of 190 males and 287 females. Thus there has been an increase of 15.7 per cent in the population during a period of 10 years, which is quite near the 16.54 per cent increase of population over the whole of Uttar Pradesh. The increase in the male and female population is 15.3 per cent and 16.02 per cent respectively.

According to the 1961 population figures, the increase in population of district Garhwal during the period 1951–61 was 13.38 per cent. The percentage of increase of population in the village was thus higher than that in the district as a whole. Many husbands are out of the village for long periods in connection with employment. The spells of prolonged abstinence are broken by casual visits of the menfolk during holidays or long leave.

The distribution of population by age groups is as follows :—

Table No. 4.1

Population by Age Groups

Age Group	Total	Percentage	Males	Females	Excess of Females over Males
0—4	89	16.1	43	46	3
5—9	83	15.0	38	45	7
10—14	73	13.2	32	41	9
15—19	46	8.3	15	31	16
20—24	40	7.2	10	30	20
25—29	32	5.8	10	22	12
30—34	28	5.0	8	20	12
35—44	44	7.9	12	32	20
45—59	75	13.5	27	48	21
60 and over	42	7.6	24	18	—6
Total	552	100.0	219	333	114

Evidently, the population of the village is progressive. About 44.3 per cent of the population consists of persons in the age-group 0—14 years and only 7.6 per cent of the population consists of persons of 60 years of age and above. The remaining 48.1 per cent pertains to the working age-group (15—59 years).

Density

According to revenue records the area of this village was 372.75 acres and hence the density of population comes to 947 persons per square mile. This is very high for a hill village, especially as compared with the density of population for the district which is only 227 persons per square mile. The density of population of this village in 1951 was 818 persons only. Thus with the increase in population the pressure on land has naturally increased because of the limited extent of emigration.

Sex Ratio

Out of the total population 60.33 per cent are females and 39.67 per cent are males. There are 152 females for every 100 males. In 1951 there were 151 females for every 100 males. The sex ratio has remained practically unchanged during the last 10 years. In the district as a whole there are 117.07 females for

100 males. The uneven sex ratio is "no doubt partly due to the habit of emigration acquired by the superfluous male population in excess of that which can find occupation on the land."* The excess of females over males in the age group 15—59 years is marked. It indicates that a number of persons of the working age-group emigrate to other places for service leaving behind the females to look after the cultivation and hearth and home. Among the 7 Rajput families in the village, 5 heads of households are females, one being a widow. This indicates that *kartas* of 4 families are working out of the village. Similarly, out of 73 Brahmin families, 31 heads of households are females, 19 being widows. This indicates that *kartas* of 12 families of Brahmins are earning their livelihood outside the village. Among the Shilpkars, emigration is not so marked. Out of 40 families, 10 females are heads of households, one being a widow. Thus *kartas* of 9 families are residing outside the village. On the whole it was pointed out that about 3 scores of persons are earning their livelihood at various places outside the village. Some of them have their families also with them. Their visits to the village are casual, during holidays or long leave.

Another reason of the uneven sex ratio is the comparatively high death rate among the males. For example, during the year ending June 30, 1961, 15 males and 14 females were born in this village. Nine persons, all males, died during this period, which indicates that the average vitality of males is less. Walton has correctly observed, "And as the emigrants are for the most part young men in the vigour of life their removal reduces the average vitality of their sex, which may to some extent account for the excessive male mortality."*

Births and Deaths

The record of births and deaths used to be maintained by the village chowkidar up to 1947 but thereafter this duty is being performed by the Gaon Sabha, as prescribed in the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act. Since the village people do not realise the value of the entries in the register of births and deaths, some of the births and deaths are liable to escape registration out of sheer negligence. Such omissions were liable to take place previously also when the figures were registered by the village chowkidar. During the year ending June 30, 1961, 29 births, 15 males and 14 females, took place in the village. The number of deaths was 9, all males and no females, thereby indicating excessive male mortality.

Marital Status

Out of 219 males and 333 females in the village, 80 males and 149 females are married and 132 males and 146 females are unmarried. Reckoning males and females together, the unmarried persons are 50.36 per cent of the total population. The following table shows the marital status of the population in the various age groups :—

TABLE No. 4.2

Showing Marital Status according to Age Groups

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
Years	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All Ages	552	219	333	132	146	80	149	7	37
0—14	245	123	132	113	131	..	..	..	..
15—29	118	35	93	19	15	16	67	..	1
30—44	72	20	52	..	..	20	47	..	5
45—59	75	27	48	..	..	37	25	..	22
60 and over	42	24	18	..	..	17	9	7	9

*Walton's *Gazetteer of District Garhwal*, 1910; Page 55.

There are only 80 married males as against 149 married females living in the village. Many married males are living outside the village at different places, earning their livelihood.

Out of the males 36.53 per cent are married, 60.28 per cent are unmarried and 3.19 per cent are widowed. Up to the age of 19 years not a single male was found married. Similarly only one female was found married in the age group of 10–14 years.

The following table shows the age of males and females at marriages performed before 1950 and in 1950 or after :–

TABLE No. 4.3

Age at Marriage

Caste	Marriages performed before 1950				Marriages performed in or after 1950			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Number of marriages	Number of marriages at the age of less than 18 years	Number of marriages	Number of marriages at the age of less than 14 years	Total number of marriages	Number of marriages at the age of less than 18 years	Number of marriages	Number of marriages at the age of less than 14 years
Brahmin	35	10	81	20	10	..	29	2
Kshatriya	2	1	6	2	..	..	1	..
Shilpkar	29	9	45	25	11	2	24	4
Total ..	66	20	132	47	21	2	54	6

Out of 66 marriages of males performed before 1950 in 30.3 per cent cases the age of the bridegroom at the time of marriage was less than 18 years, whereas for marriages performed in 1950 or after, the number of such cases is only 9.52 per cent. In the case of females, the number of marriages at 14 years or less came down from 35.6 per cent to 11.11 per cent.

Among the Brahmins and Shilpkars out of the marriages performed before 1950, the number of bridegrooms whose age at the time of marriage was less than 18 years was 20.57 per cent and 31.03 per cent respectively but for marriages in 1950 or after the number came down to nil among Brahmins and 18.18 per cent among Shilpkars. Similarly, the number of brides whose age was less than 14 years at the time of marriage came down from 24.69 per cent to 6.89 per cent among the Brahmins and from 55.55 per cent to 16.67 per cent among the Shilpkars. This clearly indicates that the custom of early marriages is on the decline, especially among the higher castes.

There is not a single person in the age group 25–60 years and above who was never married. This indicates the truth of the observation : 'Almost every Garhwali would rather run the risk of a lifelong misery of debt in marriage, than to remain a bachelor, on the pretext of getting a male offspring, which the Garhwalis believe to be one of the choicest gifts of God'.

In the age group 15–60 years there are 80 married males and 148 married females. This indicates that not only some of the husbands are living outside but also that the practice of polygamy is prevalent in this village as in the district itself. Among the Shilpkars three persons were found having two wives each, whereas among the Brahmins two persons had two wives each. No polygamous marriage was found among the Rajputs. No community has, however, any objection to polygamy.

There are only 7 widowers, all pertaining to the age group 60 years and over but there are as many as 37 widows of various age groups. The largest number of widows is in the age group 55–59 years. The existence of a large number of widows, even of young and marriageable ages, is due to non-existence of the practice of widow remarriages in this village. Also a widow is not allowed to go outside the fold of the husband's family and is generally absorbed

in the same family as the wife of her husband's brother or even as a widow. As a whole-time worker in the fields and the household, she is treated as a precious possession, not easily to be parted with.

Health, Sanitation and Medical Facilities

Village Thapli is situated at a height of about 5,000 feet above the sea-level. The residents of the village, except for the Shilpkars, are economically well-off. Hence their general health is quite good. The females are healthier and stouter than the males, who are lean and thin in appearance. Both the males and females are sure-footed as a goat while climbing the hill tops or collecting grass or fuel from high slopes. They can easily walk about long distances on high hills and deep valleys with heavy bundles of luggage without showing any sign of exhaustion. The females are actually more hard-working. They nearly do all the field work except the actual ploughing, which is usually done by the males. They carry the manure in huge baskets on their heads into the fields, break the clods, sow the fields, take out the weeds and reap the harvest and carry it on their heads to their houses. Collecting fuel and fodder from the neighbouring hills and plots is part of their daily household routine. The better health and vitality of the womenfolk is, therefore, natural. The Garhwali male is reputed to be indolent and lazy by nature, whiling away his time in gossips, smoking and tea-drinking. In Garhwal's Gazetteer, Walton observes : "The indolence of the Garhwali and his proneness to falsehood have been insisted upon by all writers. These charges must be admitted with certain palliations. The relations between the writers of these remarks and the Garhwali have usually been that of employer and workman and the connecting link has not been labour simply but labour plus a certain amount of compulsion . . . . The lies of the Garhwali on the other hand are not usually lies absolute so much as additions to or deviations from simple truth. A very short acquaintance with him is sufficient to teach one where to look for the kernel of actuality in the shell of hyperbole. Still though a liar he is honest above the average and faithful to his trust. Theft is practically unknown. He is sober, frugal and as a rule good-tempered : childishly suspicious, he is very impatient of restraint or compulsion. He has independence and a certain amount of self-respect. He is, however, litigious, envious of his neighbour's good fortune and objects to all innovations on principle. He is always ready to keep another and his charity is reflected in the rarity of beggars. He has courage and, if not a natural soldier, has many dormant martial qualities . . . . The Garhwali of the outer ranges is often a miserable creature, abject in poverty, truculent and offensive in prosperity or in enjoyment of a little brief authority. In the north he is a simple, engaging creature. Dirt is the characteristic of all. And all smoke and gamble to excess, though gambling is not such a common vice in Garhwal as in Almora". On account of their bad economic conditions the Shilpkars are under-fed and under-nourished with the resultant poor health. Their abject poverty is writ large on their faces.

There is paucity of water and plenty of cold. Hence the residents of the village, like the remaining population of Garhwal, do not take frequent baths. The well-to-do clean their clothes and bodies with soap, but the poorer section can afford soap only rarely. Naturally, therefore, they continue putting on dirty clothes and some of them, especially among the Shilpkars, are quite foul smelling.

The dwellings too are not neat and clean. Cow dung and litter are stored in the courtyard of houses. Almost every house has got some animals, which are tethered on the ground floor of the house, the first storey being reserved for human beings. Existence of foul smell and insanitary conditions is the natural result. The smell of the rotting cow-dung and urine just within the inhabited area is simply intolerable at times. Luckily the village is situated on the slope of hill, which provides natural drainage system. There is no accumulation of water anywhere. Also there is no dust or mud as found in the villages of the plains.

A number of persons are found huddled together in the same room without a ventilator,

in an unhygienic and unhealthy manner. The beddings too are quite dirty. There are no cots in most of the houses. People sleep on the wooden floor, infested with bed bugs, which cannot be destroyed by the use of gammexane or boiling water even because they readily retreat back into the slits of the wooden floor.

The most common diseases are fever, dysentery and goitre. Potable water is available at a distance of about four furlongs. It is not filtered or cleaned scientifically with chemicals and is, therefore, prone to create water-borne diseases. There is no incidence of small-pox. In minor ailments the local *vaid* or physician is consulted. There is a Government dispensary at Paidul at a distance of four miles from the village and the medicines are obtained from there. When required people get medicines from the District Hospital at Pauri, which is not far off. Medical aid is thus conveniently available to the residents of this village because of its situation by the roadside. Some persons mainly belonging to the Shilpkar community believe in quacks and offer sacrifices to gods to ward off an epidemic or disease. Labour cases in the village are almost invariably conducted by a *dai,* belonging to the Scheduled Caste. Only a very complicated case is referred to the Hospital at Pauri. The *dai* has no scientific and technical training in conducting such cases. Her knowledge is empirical, picked up by trial and error. She is unclean and dirty and uses indigenous medicines. Even then her services have to be utilized because no trained nurses are available. Unfortunately, the occupation of a nurse is not looked upon as quite a respectable profession and hence girls in adequate numbers are not forthcoming for being trained for the job by the Medical Department.

Literacy and Education

The following table indicates the position of literacy and education in the village :—

TABLE No. 4.4

Literacy according to Age Groups

Age Group	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	552	219	333	352	101	251	200	118	82
0—14	245	113	132	152	65	87	93	48	39
15—34	146	43	103	84	5	79	62	38	24
35—59	119	39	80	88	19	69	31	20	11
60 and over	42	24	18	28	12	16	14	12	2

Thus out of the total population, 36.23 per cent are literate, which is creditable in view of the literacy of 22.69 per cent for the whole of Uttar Pradesh. Out of 219 males, 118, i.e., 53.9 per cent are literate and out of 333 females 82, i.e., 24.6 per cent are literate. The percentage of literacy among the males is higher but the percentage of literacy amongst the females too is not low—looking to the 5.89 per cent literacy amongst females in the district and 6.82 per cent literacy for the whole of Uttar Pradesh. The literacy in the age group 5—14 years is 59.61 per cent as out of 156 persons within this age group 93 persons are literate. In the age group 10—14 years, the percentage of literacy is 84.93, the highest in any age group. This figure indicates that the younger generation is receiving proper education. Out of the total educated persons living in the village at the time of Survey, two were graduates, one had passed the Intermediate examination whereas 11 had passed the High School examination. All of them are males. Thus higher education is generally imparted to the males, whereas females are educated up to Primary or Junior High School level only.

At the time of 1951 Census only 127 persons, i.e., 26.2 per cent were literate out of a total population of 477 persons. Also, 80 males out of 190, i.e., 42.1 per cent were literate, whereas 47 females out of 287, i.e., 16.3 per cent were literate. During the period of the last 10 years, literacy in the village has gone up from 26.2 per cent to 36.2 per cent.

Castewise Literacy and Education

The following table indicates the position of literacy and education in the village :—

TABLE NO. 4.5

Standard of Education by Castes

Caste	Total No. of Literates			Literate without Standard		Primary or Basic		Middle or Junior High School		High School		Inter-mediate		Graduate or Post-Graduate	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Brahmin	157	86	71	16	31	36	29	21	11	10	..	1	..	2	..
Kshatriya	14	6	8	2	3	3	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shilpkar	29	26	3	12	3	11	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	200	118	82	30	37	50	33	24	12	11	..	1	..	2	..

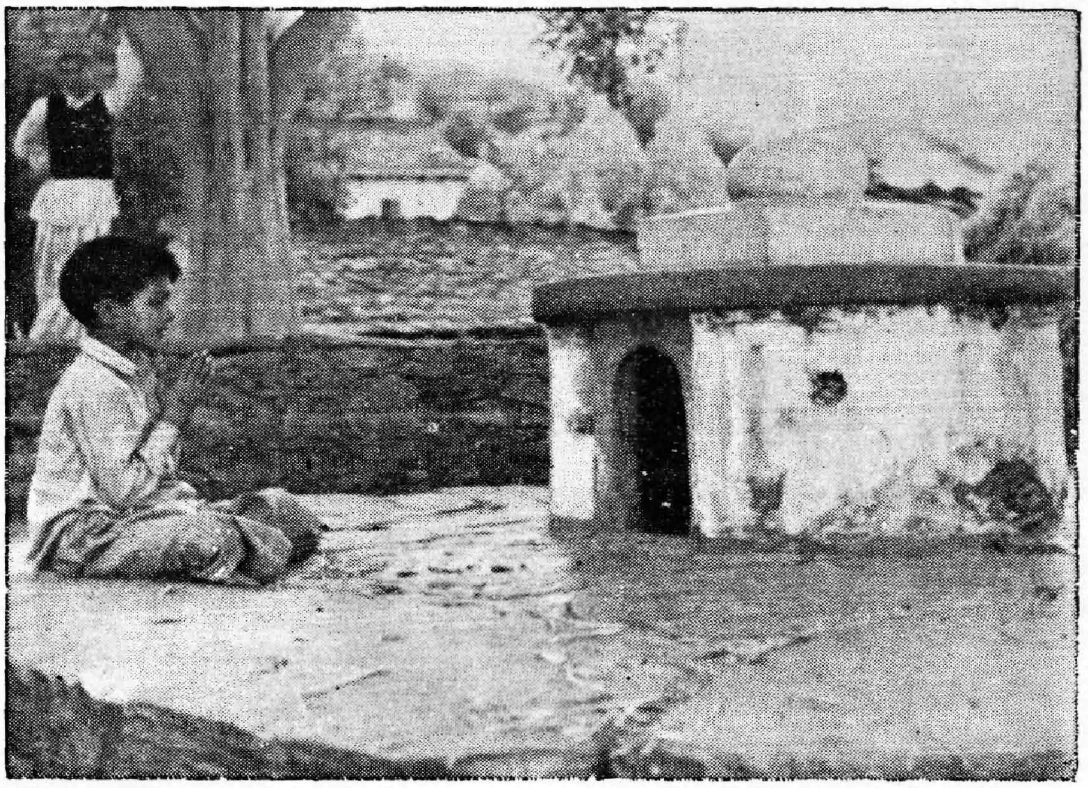
Out of the literates in the village, 78.5 per cent are Brahmins, 14.5 per cent are Shilpkars and 7.00 per cent are Kshatriyas. Thus literacy percentage is the highest among the Brahmins. Out of the total population of Brahmins, 46.45 per cent in all (68.25 per cent males and 33.49 per cent females) were found literate and educated. Both the graduates living in the village are Brahmins. Among the Kshatriyas 87.5 per cent in all (100 per cent males and 80 per cent females) were found literate and educated. Among the Shilpkars 14.64 per cent in all (29.88 per cent males and 27 per cent females) were found literate and educated.

Adequate educational facilities are available in this village. About 25 years ago, a basic school for girls was started in the village. The District Board (now the Zila Parishad) has been giving grants-in-aid to the school for the last 20 years. It is functioning with 2 teachers and 58 students. In July 1961 the school was raised to the status of Junior High School for girls. It has 10 students in VI class and 2 students in VII class. A grant-in-aid of Rs.7,500 has been given out of the N. E. S. Block funds for meeting part of the cost of construction of a building for this school, which is in progress.

For the education of boys, a Primary School was opened in the village about 90 years ago. It has been running as a Basic Primary School for the last 40 years or so, imparting education up to IV class. It has two teachers and 100 students. There is a Junior High School in the neighbouring village. Jakheti which is in fact a *lagga* of this village. The school was started in 1948 in this unpopulated village with the co-operation and contribution of the residents of Patti Kapolsyun, the major share having been contributed by the inhabitants of this village. In 1957, Government contributed a sewing machine and also appointed a tailoring teacher in the school. In July 1961 the institution was taken over by the Zila Parishad. The building of this school is one of the best in the district.

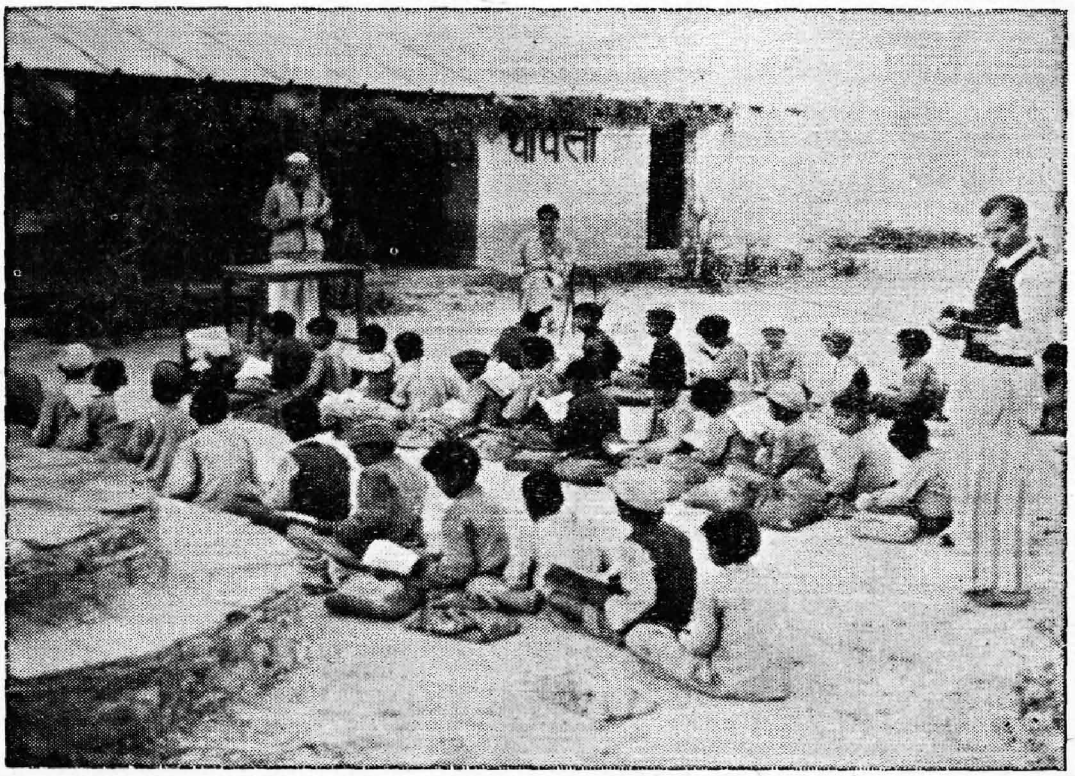
All the schools are running smoothly. The public has been taking a keen interest in the provision of proper educational facilities for the children. The situation of the village on the main road quite near Pauri, the district headquarters, has added to the enlightenment of the residents. Every one tries to impart education to his children up to the standards, facilities for which are available in the village. The well-to-do send their sons out for higher education but those who cannot afford have to remain content with ordinary education. Boys and girls both begin rendering active help in the field or at home at quite an early age. The general opinion about female education is that they should learn only how to read and write so that they may write out a letter whenever required to do so. Higher education is thought to be a waste, since it is not expected to be a source of livelihood to them. They marry, settle down and perform the usual domestic chores. In 1910 it was observed, "Female education can hardly be said to be popular : as the hillman says, girls are too valuable to waste their time over

PLATE NO. 21



A young boy offering prayers at the shrine of *Gram Devta at* Thapli

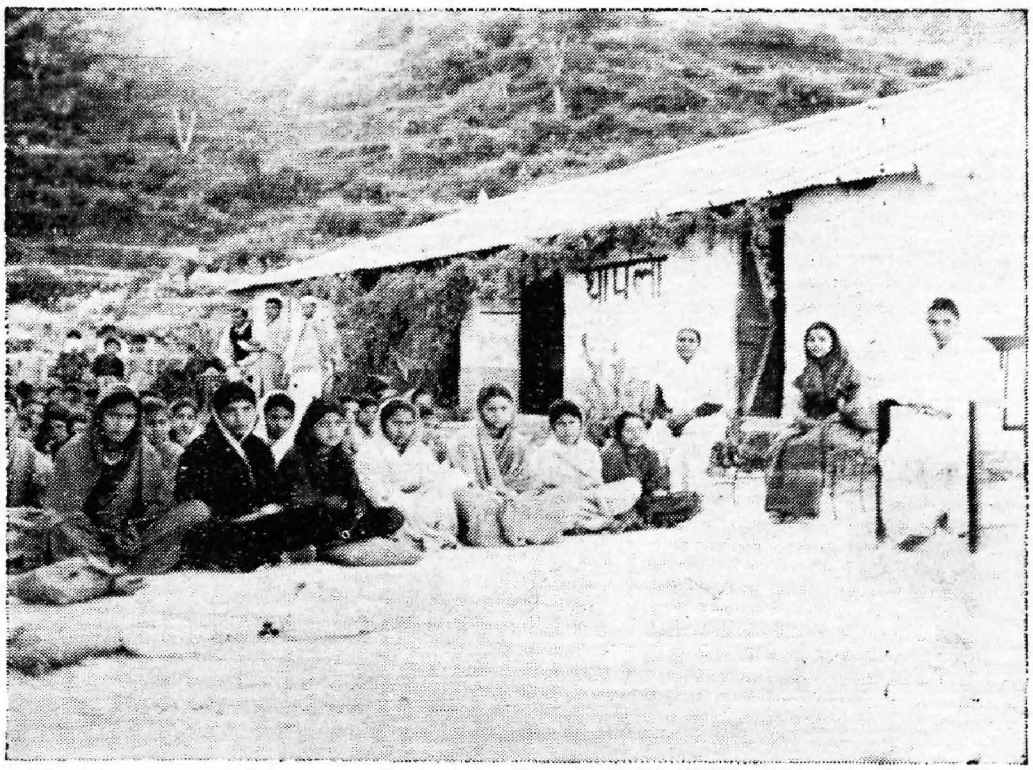
PLATE NO. 22



The Primary School at Thapli

—Facing page 36

PLATE NO. 23



The Junior High School for girls located at Thapli

PLATE NO. 24



The Junior High School at Jakheti

—*Facing page 37.*

book-learning : they have plenty of work in the way of carrying in grass and wood."* Fortunately this observation does not apply with equal force to this village today, as there is a tendency to get girls educated up to the primary standards and even above. The view that "Agriculture alone can no longer support the Garhwali and he has recourse to service and, therefore, to education" is applicable to Brahmins and Kshatriyas of this village.

Better education turns out better citizens, who can better understand their rights and duties and can also face boldly the complexities and problems of modern life. They are a source of regular contact between the New and the Old, thereby bringing modern culture to the orthodox homes. The resultant interpenetration of cultures leads to progressive and dynamic standards of life.

Family Structure

Family plays an important role in the socio-economic life of the Indian village community. It is a dominant force of social control, economic progress and ritual performance. Marriage and family life form an important part of the life cycle. A male heir is essential for continuation of the family line. A childless couple is extremely unhappy, more so the childless woman who is looked upon by other women more with feelings of despise and less with sentiments of pity and sympathy. Further remorse is added by the religious belief that souls of the departed can have peace only when a male offspring is there to perform the ritual ceremonies after death. The consequent desire to have a male child sometimes leads to polygamy even, when a wife is not able to give birth to a son.

In village Thapli, out of 120 households, 37 (i.e., 31 per cent) were simple, consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children, 9 households (i.e., 7.5 per cent) were intermediate, consisting of a married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents, whereas 21 households (i.e., 17.5 per cent) were joint, consisting of a married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters. Among the Brahmins there is not a single family where father and son are living separately. In seven cases, real brothers have separated after the death of the father — thereby splitting up into 16 households. Among the Kshatriyas there was no such case but among the Shilpkars, in one case the son has separated from his father whereas in seven cases real brothers have separated after the death of the father, thereby splitting up into 19 households. Most of those who have totally shifted from the village along with their families have automatically separated from their joint families, if any, in the village. Thus the ancient institution of joint family in the village is slowly on the way to disintegration.

Some of the male earning members who are employed outside the village have left behind their families in the village. If one had separated from the joint family, in his absence from the village also, the wife and children continue to live separately from other members of the once-joint family but they receive all help and guidance, whenever required, from the male members living in the village unless the relations are strained. In that case, male members of another friendly family help. If no separation has taken place the wife and children continue living with the joint family, just like other members of the household. The prolonged period of absence of the husband has its own repercussions on the psychological, physiological and sexual life of the wife, especially when she belonged to the younger age group. The casual visits of the husband after prolonged absence are naturally a source of great satisfaction and relief. By tradition the Garhwali females are used to such a way of life.

In a joint family, the presence of parents is a great uniting factor among their children in spite of their individual idiosyncrasies. The parents in their youth and early middle age have a say in every household affair and their behests are respected and carried out by the younger generation. With the growing age of the parents,

*Walton's *Gazetteer of British Garhwal*, 1910 ; page 106.

on attainment of majority the males are generally left free to conduct the management of the family as they like.

The death of the parents, however, sets in the process of disintegration in the family. It would not be exaggerating the fact if the main cause of the splitting of family is attributed to the womenfolk. In a family consisting of parents, unmarried sons and married/unmarried daughters there is little friction. There may be occasional tiffs but no serious tension is there in the emotional attachment of the brothers, brothers and sisters, and parents and children. But the marriage of the sons in a family changes the hue of cordiality in the home. There is an inevitable conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, and later among the daughters-in-law themselves. The point of abrasion can be anything on earth ; it may be the idleness of one brother or the disproportionate multiplication of another couple. The new couples usually feel that their independence is marred by the joint family system or that they work harder in the fields, but get no extra reward for that. The first few discords may result in the setting up of separate cooking arrangements but the repeated clashes see the family definitely disintegrated. The friction, great or small, is aggravated by the fact that the Garhwali male would rather take the side of his wife than apply his impartial discretion to the cause of conflict. This lack of accommodating nature and foresight apparently breaks the bonds of affection among the erstwhile joint family.

The division of the land does not lead to any happy results ; instead, it paralyses the family security that is provided by the joint set-up. The unmarried brother suffers the most. He does not have any particular household to turn to and thus is usually at the goodwill of any of the married brothers. The share of the land that a couple gets is usually very small, With the addition of children a condition of economic unstability prevails. The land is not sufficient for the subsistence of the whole family. The children who could have had leisure day after day in a joint family where they have their uncles and elder brothers to toil in the fields, have to share the hardships of their fathers. But even the hard work does not always ensure a square meal since the land per capita is too little and Nature is not bountiful. Hence, the usual practice for many a Garhwali child, to which Thapli is no exception, above the age of nine or ten is to escape to the plains and seek his livelihood by working as a domestic servant, to begin with.

In some families where the chains of love are stronger and where out of economic necessity some of the males have to come down to the plains the family remains united even though separated by distance. The folks in the village would till the land while their brothers or sons would work in the plains in order to collect money either for a new house or a marriage in the family. If the people serving in the plains get good jobs sometimes they would try to settle then and there for the rest of their lives.

The disintegration of the family, however, does not leave the hearts of the separated people cold for a long time. The bonds of blood are pretty difficult to dissolve, however heavy the dose of bitterness may be. In times of emergency and crisis the feeling of being blood relations overwhelms the rest of the emotions. In course of time the memory of past fads weakens and the family wounds are healed up. Deaths, births and marriage functions are periods of crises in the family and serve as centripetal forces bringing about cordial reunions of separated families.

Intra-Family Relationship

In a Garhwali village the relations of a couple are directly governed by the circumstances in which they have to live. The marriage for a male is not only a biological and social necessity but economic as well. The yields of the land on which they have to depend is a hard-earned one. No one from the family is spared from work. Womenfolk are in fact the main cultivators. Hence, marriage for the man does not only provide him with a life companion, but also the main hand for the field work. A woman has to do more work than the man. Right from early morning she is busy in preparing meals for

the family, bringing water from a distant stream, casually washing clothes, getting fuel from the forest on a distant hill top and looking after the children and the cattle. Besides this she has to work for a considerable period of the day in the fields. Walton has also observed in his Gazetteer : "In Garhwal women, except in respect of their possibilities as agricultural labourers, are held in rather low esteem and they themselves are apt to live up to their reputation. They do nearly all the field work except the actual ploughing. They sow, weed and reap and between harvests are fully employed in carrying in fuel and fodder from the neighbouring hills. The men will not, however, permit their women to work on a public road, the idea being that women must not appear too openly before men of another village."

She has her distinct place in a family whether joint or independent. Since she has an equally important role to play in the smooth running of the family economy, a woman is not regarded anything ornamental for the Garhwali male. Only by virtue of being a man the husband maintains his superiority over his wife. It is always his will that prevails. A woman cannot do anything independently without prior consent of the husband. A husband on the other hand is not that predominating type who would take sadistic pleasure in suppressing the will of his wife. In fact a Garhwali couple is more accommodating to each other than a couple of a village in the plains. A couple as it grows in age becomes more and more self-contented and starts flowing in the conventional stream — marrying the sons and daughters and leading a quiet life.

The mode of marriage also moulds the subsequent behaviour of the couple for the rest of the life. The marriage system in the village of Garhwal has a peculiarity of its own. The family of the bridegroom has usually to pay some money to parents or guardians of the bride. This system saturates the girl with a feeling that she is like an object bought for the hard cash and presupposes her to be faithful to her master and husband. She makes her position in a family secure and honourable by proving her fertility by producing children. Children fill the home with harmony because the husband is no more worried about the line of the family being kept alive for times to come.

In a place where struggle for existence is most clearly marked by the hard labour that the people have to do to stay alive the parents can be anything towards their children but doting parents. They know that only till the age of eight or nine the children are to be treated tenderly and after that they have to assign them some work in the field. Even the daughters, till they are married, have to work alongwith their brothers or parents in the field. There are also moments when the parents feel that the yield from agriculture is not sufficient for the upkeep of the whole family and they have to send their sons even at a tender age to work in the plains. The children maintain their ties with the family even when they are separated by distance. The daughters occasionally visit their parents after marriage. The sons as a rule are obedient to their parents and share the work in the fields ungrudgingly.

The new bride in the family does not take much time to adjust herself in the new surroundings. In fact she finds everything going on the same pattern as in her father's house, and picking up of the threads of daily routine is only a matter of days. The attitude of the father-in-law towards the bride is that of disinterested affection. He rarely meddles in her ways of life. But when the proverbial mother-in-law comes in the picture the situation is considerably changed. In very rare cases the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law have absolutely harmonious relations. The mother-in-law probably feels that her control over her son has diminished due to the presence of the daughter-in-law. The youngish pranks that might be fun for the new couple are points of irritation for the mother-in-law. The low percentage of education among women (excluding the new generation) is perhaps one of the causes of this irrational attitude towards each other.

The relations outside the family are usually formal. The relatives who are scattered in the villages considerably away from each other

meet only at ceremonial occasions like birth, marriage, death, social functions, fairs etc. Otherwise they remain busy with their own routine work.

Inheritance of Property

As laid down in Panna Lall's Hindu Customary Law in Kumaun, the rules of inheritance are followed in Garhwal :—

Sons by a woman kept as wife (whether with or without a marriage ceremony) inherit fully like legitimate sons. Sons by *dhanti* or other wives with whom no marriage ceremony has been gone through get no share in the inheritance amongst some castes and *Banias* by birth.

A widow inherits her deceased husband's estate even in a joint family. All women whose sons would be thus entitled to a full share are themselves entitled to inherit in the absence of sons. A widow represents her deceased husband in inheriting to collaterals.

A daughter and a daughter's son are no heirs at all. There is no difference between brothers of the whole blood and consanguine brothers. Uterine brothers, however, are not entitled to succeed as brothers. There is no difference between divided and undivided or reunited brothers. They share the inheritance together in equal shares. On the inheritance devolving upon brothers, a predeceased brother is represented by his sons, son's issues, or by his widow ; and his share is taken by them.

On the inheritance devolving upon the nephews or grand-nephews alone they do not take *per capita*. They represent their deceased fathers and take the inheritance *per stirpes*.

Sons, legitimate and illegitimate, who are entitled to succeed to their father's property, are entitled to succeed as heirs to collateral relations also.

In the absence of heirs the inheritance devolves upon the village community, i.e., the *panch hissedars* or the *panch khaikars*, according as the village is a *kachcha* or *pakka khaikari* village.

On a division the eldest brother usually gets something more than his share, a field, a piece of jewellery, a cow, or the like. It is called *Jethon*. But the custom depends upon the consent of the younger brothers and is not enforceable at law.

There was a custom called *Sautia bant*, whereby sons of a father by different mothers did not inherit equally *per capita*, but took their mothers' share *per stirpes*. The customs was found obsolete in 1920—all sons getting an equal share.

Brahmcharis, lepers, blind persons, and deaf and dumb, lame and impotent are not disqualified from succeeding. But a leper who has left home permanently to go to an asylum or elsewhere is excluded.

The special mode of devolution prescribed by the *Mitakshara* is not followed. It devolves like other property.

A son, legitimate or illegitimate, is entitled to maintenance until his attaining majority. A daughter, legitimate or illegitimate, though not an heir, is entitled to maintenance until her marriage, and to her marriage expenses, if any, being defrayed out of her father's assets. All women kept as wives whether married or not, are entitled to maintenance, like lawfully married wives or widows from their last husband or his estate. The right of women to maintenance exists only as long as they live in the family home and are chaste. But a woman compelled to leave the home by ill-treatment, or other sufficient cause, does not forfeit her maintenance as long as she remains chaste. When a man takes to wife the wife or widow of another, and she is accompanied by a child of the first husband, such child called *Jhantela* is entitled to adequate maintenance from his foster father or his assets until attaining majority if a boy, and until marriage if a girl.

A co-parcener can transfer his share or a part of his share of the family property without the consent of his other co-parceners. But he cannot transfer any specific property unless the same has been in his possession by *a Gharbatwara* or family partition. During the lifetime of a man his descendants have no share in or claim to the property, ancestral or self-acquired. Hence they cannot ask for a partition in his lifetime, and the property in the

hands of the father is not liable for the debts of his sons or sons issues. The father can transfer his property (ancestral or self-acquired) *inter vivos* in any way he likes. The widow of a co-parcener succeeds to the share of her dead husband if he dies without issue, after the vesting of the property in him.

A widow succeeding to her husband's inheritance is disinherited if she leaves her home voluntarily and becomes the wife or concubine of another or leads an unchaste life generally. A widow leaving her home to live with her husband's brother as his wife is disinherited. A widow who does not leave her family home is not disinherited, even if she brings a man to live with her as her husband.

A man can dispose of by will only his self-acquired property, not his ancestral property.

With the enforcement of Hindu Succession Act, 1956, the above customs legally ceased to have effect with respect to matters for which a provision has been made in the Act. It applies in cases of succession to property and proprietary rights in land and not to the devolution of tenancy rights, which continue to be governed by the above customs of inheritance which have the force of law.

Leisure and Recreation

Dances in Garhwali villages provide a rich pastime to the village folks and also reflect the cultural heritage of the whole race. There are variations in rhythms and movements from one place to another because there are no specific rules and regulations regarding the execution of the movements. One of such dances, popularly known as *Pandava Nritya,* is practised in winter. The dance is more or less like an opera with the difference that it is not accompanied by any musical instruments. This dance is confined only to the males. The steps are guided by the singing of the participants.

Another dance *Chhanchhari* is also accompanied by singing and is performed in the spring season. The words in the singing usually are in a story form telling sometimes the woes of a bride in a new home or the sentiments of a wife whose husband has gone out for a job. Both men and women participate in his dance.

A marked characteristic of these dances of the hills is the absence of vigour in the movement of steps and rhythm. There is nothing like the drum beats or blaring of trumpets of a modern jazz. A peculiar sort of drowsiness prevails over the moving bodies.

Besides dances, festivals and fairs have a special diversional value for the village folk. They would walk a considerable distance to participate in the festivities of a fair. Both men and women feel entertained at the fairs.

Locally, men and women both indulge in gossiping about in small groups whenever they find time to do so. All sorts of topics are discussed and dissected and commented upon for sheer amusement. Sometimes, when there is nothing new to talk about, they would indulge in story telling. The males are used to smoking on a large scale. Even children of over ten years of age are given to smoking. Women, with the exception of those belonging to the Shilpkars, do not usually smoke. At the gossip session or social get-togethers the *hookah* keeps the men-folk busy who have a pull at it turn by turn. It is largely responsible for maintenance of affinity and brotherhood among the various caste groups. Casually, the educated persons go to Jakheti and listen to the community radio. If there is any sensational news it is discussed and talked over.

Religious Institutions

The hills are the birth place of Hinduism which is a montheistic religion believing in the Supreme Being, the various manifestations of which are worshipped in visible forms because not every one is capable of concentration on the abstract. The Hindu trinity is represented by Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Shiva the Destroyer and Reproducer of life. Shiva is represented as an ascetic living at the peaks of Kailasa with poisonous snakes coiled round his blue body. He has a third eye in the centre of his august forehead and a crescent moon over his head. He mounts the sacred bull Nandi. He is generally worshipped, in the form of a *Linga,* as an indication of the

power behind creation. He is believed to be an incarnation of the forces of Nature in their most terrible form and is, therefore, propitiated with awe and reverence in almost every hill village.

The most important deity in this village is the idol of Bhaironji which is installed on a well-built stone *chabutra* under the shade of a huge *peepal* (Ficus religiosa) tree in the centre of the village. It is also known as *Gram Devata* (village deity) or *Bhoomia*. The idol is as old as the village itself. It is maintained and repaired properly. The daily routine *puja* is performed by a village pandit. The deity is specially worshipped during *Nauratra*. *Rote* is offered by the villagers on every other festival also. The Shilpkars are also allowed to offer *puja*, though with some reservation.

Another place of worship is the temple of *Nagraj* or the Snake god. This temple is situated at a very congested place and is not maintained and looked after properly, even though *puja* is performed daily and *rote* is offered by the villagers on the occasion of festivals.

Mahadeoji is worshipped by the villagers in village Jakh at a distance of one mile, especially on Shivaratri. Another temple of Mahadeoji is situated in village Dharkot at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of this village. A *mahant* looks after its management. Residents of this village visit the temple generally on Shivaratri. A temple of Mahadeoji is in village Nauli at a distance of about one mile to the north of this village.

Yet another temple, quite well-known in the district, is the Jwalpa Devi temple situated at a distance of about three miles from this village on the road to Kotdwara on the right side of river Nayar. This goddess is worshipped by the Thapliyal Brahmins as their *Isht Devi*. Anthwal Brahmins work as *pujaris* of this temple. Some landed property has been donated for meeting the every-day expenses of the temple. The land is in the possession and management of the *pujaris*. Residents of this village and other neighbouring villages go to this temple and worship Bhagwati during *Nauratra* and especially on Dasehra.

With the enforcement of the law against untouchability and the spread of education, the Shilpkars too have access to the places of worship, even though this liberty is resented, sometimes actively, by the higher castes. Thus the access to temples is not quite free and unrestricted. Social customs and religious dogmas die hard in a caste-ridden society that Hindu religion has established. In spite of social legislation for removal of untouchability, the Shilpkars still suffer from the slings and arrows of social disabilities and religious handicaps.

With the passage of time, adherence of religious practices and observance thereof is on the decline. The uneducated and womenfolk are no doubt blind followers of religious tenets. The average educated person of the village is more orthodox in the matter of religion as compared to his counterpart in the plains, because modern culture with its scientific and rational approach even to religion has been slow in penetrating the hilly area.

Festivals

In spite of prevailing poverty, India is a land of feasts, fasts and festivals. Fairs and festivals provide a natural opportunity for strengthening and re-affirmation of the family ties and the clan and village solidarity. They provide a relief from the common place and monotonous life of the village and serve as interludes full of joy and mirth.

The Hindu festivals are spread almost evenly over the whole year. According to the Western calendar, the Hindu months which determine the date of the festivals would be as follows :—

Hindu Months	*Corresponding English Months*
Magha ..	.. January/February
Phalguna ..	.. February/March
Chaitra ..	.. March/April
Vaisakha ..	.. April/May
Jyeshtha ..	.. May/June
Ashadha ..	.. June/July
Sravana ..	.. July/August
Bhadrapada	.. August/September
Asvin ..	.. September/October
Kartika ..	.. October/November
Margasirsha	.. November/December
Paushya ..	.. December/January

The festivals generally observed in the village are described in order of their occurrence.

Basant Panchmi falls on the fifth day of *shukla paksha* of Magh when the fields are full of yellow flowers and the spring season is at its height. On this day everyone looks gay and jubilant. Yellow-coloured clothes are donned by some people especially the womenfolk and children who go to *melas* also, held on the occasion of Basant Panchmi. Shiva is worshipped.

In the plains a pole with a yellow banner is fixed up at a place where Holi bonfire is to be lighted and some firewood is also collected round the pole, thereby giving an indication of the impending arrival of Holi. But no such pole is fixed in this village or in Garhwal district as a whole.

Shivaratri falls on the fourteenth day of *krishna paksha* (dark fortnight) of Magh. A fast is observed on this day and Shiva is worshipped in the evening. Offerings are made at the *Gram Devata.*

Holi, the major festival of Hindus having a wide appeal, is observed on the full moon day in the month of Phalgun. A Holi bonfire with lot of firewood is not burnt as in the plains. Instead, only a *jhanda* (banner), which is fixed on *Ekadashi* day on a thin pole of *Mehlu* wood is burnt on the *Poornamashi* night, locally known as *Chharoli.* The ashes are smeared by the villagers on each other's faces. *Gulal* (coloured powder) is also freely smeared and coloured water is sprinkled on the next day. In fact, womenfolk start getting together and singing songs at night from *Ekadashi* and continue enjoying themselves in this manner up to *Pooranamashi* and the day after. *Gulal* and coloured water continue to be used during this period of one week. It is essentially a festival of colour in which everyone, from the highest to the lowest and from the oldest to the youngest, actively participates with full gusto and vigour. People forget their old rivalries, if any, and hug each other warmly as a token of their hearts getting emotionally united. The Brahmins and Thakurs flock with each other only and continue to maintain their distinguished identity of a higher strata of the social set-up by keeping aloof from the Shilpkars who enjoy among themselves within their limited means. The pivot of activity is the house of an elderly retired headmaster of District Board school, who is a Brahmin by caste.

The festival of Sravani, known as *Raksha Bandhan* (Bond of Protection) in the plains, is observed on the *Poornima* of Sravana. It is said that Indra, the Pauranic king of heavens, lost heavily in the war with demons. On the suggestion of Brahaspati, Indrani, the consort of Indra tied a *rakhi* (wrist-band) around his wrist, as a result of which he got victory over the demons. Now-a-days this is observed essentially as a festival for annually renewing the pledge of the brother to protect his sister. On this day a *rakhi* is tied by the sister around the wrist of her brother, the latter giving her some money or gifts in return. The Brahmin priests also earn some money by presenting *rakhies* to their patrons.

Krishna Janamashtmi is observed on the eighth day of the *krishna paksha* (dark fortnight) of Bhadrapada, to celebrate the birth anniversary of Lord Krishna. Worship takes place at midnight when Lord Krishna is said to have been born. Devotional songs are recited and sweets are distributed.

The Dasehra festival of *Navratra* is observed in the month of Asvin from the first to the tenth day of the *shukla paksha.* Durga Saptshati is recited by the village pandits. Goats are sacrificed at the altar of goddess Durga, the dreaded incarnation of Parvati on the tenth day, Dasehra which marks the culmination of the festival. It symbolises the triumph of Good over Evil and reminds us of the epic times when Lord Rama invoked the help of Durga, the war-goddess to defeat the demon king Ravana.

Diwali (or Deepawali), the festival of lights, is another major festival of the Hindus. It is attributed to the gay celebrations on Lord Rama's return to his capital after exile. All the houses are cleaned and washed. Diwali heralds the approach of winter and marks the end of rainy season. Every house is lighted with earthen lamps and there is rejoicing all round. In the

night, Lakshmi the goddess of wealth and prosperity is worshipped. No fasts are observed on this day as this is a festival of feasts only.

On the following day Goverdhan Puja is performed. A big heap of cow-dung is worshipped, apparently because cow-dung (*gobar*) is wealth (*dhan*) – since it is used as fuel in the fields. Cows are also worshipped at night.

Other festivals observed by the villagers are Hartalika Teej, Baikunth Chaturdashi and Makar Sankranti, but they are only minor and insignificant festivals.

Fairs

Fairs play an important part in the social, religious and economic life of the village community. No fair is held in this village but the village folk visit a number of fairs in the neighbourhood.

A fair is held at the temple of Sapta Mukheshwar Mahadeo near village Aligaon at a distance of about 4 miles to the north of this village on the occasion of Shivaratri and Makar Sankranti. Shops from Kotdwara and Najibabad and other places come to the *mela*. Games and sports are also organised by the village folk. One who craves to have a son lets go a young bull sacred to the name of Mahadeoji.

Another fair is held at the temple of Mundeshwar Mahadeo in the month of Jyeshtha at a distance of 5 miles to the west of the village. The temple stands on a hillock. Young male buffaloes are also sacrificed at the temple. Various small shops come to the fair.

At a distance of 9 miles to the south of this village is the temple of Ekeshwar Mahadeo where a fair is held on Bikhpati Sankranti. It is a fairly well-attended fair. New grains of *rabi* crop are offered at the idol of Shivaji before starting to consume any grain from the new crop.

Some villagers also visit the temple of Kyon Kaleshwar, situated at a height of about 5,000 feet above sea-level at a distance of 1½ miles from Pauri and about 14½ miles from the village. The temple holds a commanding view of Kyonkala peak. It is managed by a Jogi *mahant*. The fair is held on the occasion of Shivratri on a large scale.

The most important fair of the locality is the one held at Srinagar on *Baikunth Chaturdashi* and the following day, at a distance of about 32 miles from the village. Throughout the night of *Baikunth Chaturdashi* women desirous of an offspring (usually a son) stand around the idol of Kamleshwar Mahadeo within the precincts of the temple with lamps, burning with ghee, in their hands. Women who are unable to stand for the whole night are replaced by their husbands for a few hours. Those who can stand till dawn with their lamps alight worship the idol and get blessings. There is likelihood of their desire being fulfilled in due course.

On the occasion of this fair, the annual Planning and Development Exhibition of district Garhwal is also held.

Inter-Caste Relationship

The village is inhabited by Brahmins, Rajputs and Shilpkars. Brahmins are further divided into Sarolas and Gangaris. The former are regarded as superior to the latter in the socio-religious hierarchy. Everyone accepts food cooked by them but they would accept only pukka food from Gangaris and Rajputs. Cooked rice and *dal* alone constitute *kachcha* food unlike the plains where *chapaties* too are considered *kachcha* food. Sarolas avoid having matrimonial alliances with Gangaris, so far as possible. If in some unavoidable circumstances such a matrimonial tie has to be entered into, the couple is almost socially cut off from the Sarolas. The offsprings of such a union would belong to the Gangaris whether the father is a Gangari or the mother is so. If a Sarola girl is married to a Gangari husband, after marriage food cooked by her would not be accepted in her parents' house. Spread of education and contact with outside world has not been able to bring about any decipherable change in the orthodox adherence to these religious tenets and diehard dogmas.

The Rajputs mix freely with the Brahmins. They accept food and water from them but the Brahmins would not accept cooked *dal* and boiled rice from a Rajput. In the socio-religious hierarchy the Rajputs come next to the Brahmins. There is however a very rigid line between the

Brahmins and Rajputs as high caste Hindus and the Shilpkars—the down-trodden Doms, who hold very little land and generally form a class of menial servants and workers in metal, leather and wood. They are of aboriginal non-Aryan blood and continue to live in utter backwardness. They are looked down upon by the higher castes.

Till about a decade back their plight was simply pitiable. They were kept away from the doors of the twice-born ; they could not take tea at any stall nor could they have water from the source used by others or enter into a temple for worship. They were literally treated as untouchables. They could not use *dola* for the bride or *palki* for the groom. They were down-trodden and depressed. In the 1920's the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab began working in Garhwal for their cultural uplift and social emancipation. Later on the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, U. P. joined the movement. Most of them were converted to the Arya Dharma. They were given the sacred thread (*janeo*) to wear, which used to be worn only by the twice-born till then. It was impressed on them that they were in no way inferior to the so-called higher castes. Under the influence of Arya Samaj, they began calling themselves as Aryas. The artisan class among them came to be known collectively as Shilpkar (Hindi for one engaged as an artisan or worker in craft). Unfortunately, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas were not tackled to join the Arya Dharma, as was done in the plains, and hence they assumed a hostile attitude towards the Shilpkars. There was no mental change in their contemptuous attitude towards this community. The tempo of Arya Samaj activity, therefore, dwindled down faster than was expected. The organisation is not very effective in the district. This village too was effected by the movement just like other villages. The Arya Samaj has no organisational framework in the village. The Arya Samaj movement succeeded in making the seriousness of the situation felt by the social reformers and government. After some struggle, they obtained the privilege of using *dola* and *palki* at the time of marriage. The Constitution of India, Article 17 of which has abolished untouchability and has forbidden its practice in any form, afforded a legislative check on untouchability. The U. P. Social Disabilities Act, 1947 was another corrective step in this direction. In June, 1955 it was repealed by the Untouchability (Offences) Act according to which practice of untouchability is a cognisable offence. The U. P. Temple Entry (Declaration of Rights) Act was enforced in 1956. Side by side with the legislation, public opinion too became a bit more vigilant with the political awakening after the attainment of independence. The untouchables too have been asserting their rights of equality with others. As a result of alround awakening and social legislation in the wake of independence, the status of Shilpkars in society has slightly improved. Now children of Shilpkars can study with others in the same school ; a Shilpkar can have tea in any restaurant and food in any hotel. Whereas formerly a Shilpkar — working as an agricultural servant at the house of a high caste Hindu — was served food in the courtyard just near the cow-shed, now he insists and successfully too, on being served in the verandah on the upper storey of the house used for human habitation. Brahmins who go to attend ceremonies or functions in Shilpkar households are treated as outcast by others. With a view to minimising the inconvenience on such occasions, some Shilpkars themselves have started performing all the duties of a priest at such functions. The Shilpkar can offer *puja* from a distance only ; he cannot have water from a place used by the higher castes.

Thus even though the condition of the Shilpkars has improved, a change of heart is hardly visible. Unfortunately, the crux of the problem is that untouchability is practised by the untouchables even among themselves. Untouchability, being an old institution, has taken very deep roots in the social pattern of Indian society. Effective persuasion through the process of social education might create in the hearts of the higher castes a softer corner for the Shilpkars. Economic emancipation through government help might also solve the problem to some extent.

On the whole, the relations between the various castes are quite cordial. There is scarcely any chance of inter-caste dissension or tension, in spite of the fact that the Shilpkars are treated with contempt.

Inter-Hamlet Relationship

Thapli is one of the most important villages of Kapolsyun *patti*. It contains a number of educated persons, working in civil and military departments. The residents of the *patti* have formed an organisation for promoting brotherly feelings, social welfare and economic advancement for all the villages in its jurisdiction. It is known as Kapolsyun Bhratra Sammelan and has its headquarters in this village, with Shri Jayanand Thapliyal, a retired headmaster of a District Board School as its president. A Junior High School for girls has been started in this village and another such school for boys was started in the adjoining hamlet Jakheti, with the active co-operation and financial assistance of residents of this *patti*. There is a Co-operative Union with its headquarters at Agrora at a distance of 3 miles. Its Sarpanch and a number of its members are from this village.

It is only occasionally that people living in different villages meet each other. A caste ceremony, a market, a fair, a meeting of the *Sammelan* or the Co-operative Society and a Nyaya Panchayat provide an opportunity for such casual meetings. There is close co-operation among the residents of the various hamlets and villages.

Organs of Democratic Decentralization

The U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, seeks to establish self-government through Panchayats in all villages on a popular basis. A village or a group of villages has a Gaon Sabha with all adults permanently residing in the village or group thereof, barring those who are disqualified. The Sabha has an executive committee known as Panchayat whose members are elected by the members of the Sabha. Ordinarily three to five Gaon Sabhas are grouped together for the purpose of establishing a Panchayati Adalat. A panel of five panches is appointed from each constituent Gaon Sabha.

The Panchayats have the power to levy certain taxes, manage their funds, control sanitation, establish and maintain primary schools, dispensaries, grazing grounds and other institutions for the common benefit of the people, assist the development of agriculture, commerce and industry, construct, repair and maintain water supply, plant and maintain trees, etc. Registration of births and deaths too is done by the Panchayats. Civil, Revenue and Criminal justice is administered to some extent through Panchayati Adalats. Thus the main object of the Act is to revitalise village corporate life and instil in the people the spirit of self-reliance and common endeavour to ameliorate their condition without depending too much on Government agencies.

Since the enforcement of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, there have been three elections in the State in 1949, 1956 and 1961. The last election was held in January, 1961. Previously, the voting was done by show of hands but now this practice has been discontinued in the case of election of Pradhan and voting for his post is done by secret ballot papers. During the elections, there has never been any contest. All the 14 members and the Pradhan of the Gaon Panchayat were elected unopposed. Shri Kedar Datt Thapliyal worked as Pradhan for two terms whereas Shri Kunwar Singh Rawat was elected unopposed as Pradhan for the third term. Out of the 15 members of Gaon Panchayat, 4 belong to the Scheduled Caste.

The sources of income of the Gaon Panchayat are limited and the income is very poor. The following table shows the income and expenditure for the year ending June 30, 1961 :—

Source of Income	Amount	Item of Expenditure	Amount
	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.
Balance ..	66.38	Repayment of Debt.	150.00
Taxes ..	185.58	Stationery ..	5.87
Govt. Contribution.	89.71	Wages ..	20.15
Fines ..	4.00	Pipe construction	61.71
P. L. A. ..	93.00	Stone ..	52.00
		Pass book ..	6.00
	438.67		295.73

Balance : Rs. 142.94 nP.

Evidently, house tax and building tax are the main sources of whatever meagre income the Panchayat has. Most of the expenditure has been incurred on pipe for drinking water and purchase of stones for school building.

The village falls within the jurisdiction of Nyaya Panchayat, Agrora, at a distance of two miles only. Two members of this Gaon Sabha are members of the Nyaya Panchayat. Whatever minor cases were instituted in the Nyaya Panchayat from this village were compromised through the good offices of the village elders. The caste Panchayats are not quite active in the village.

There is a *Mahila Mangal Dal*, a *Nav Yuvak Mangal Dal* and a *Bal Mangal Dal* in the village, all functioning in a co-ordinated manner as agencies of social education and cultural uplift. The *Mahila Mangal Dal* was established in the year 1958, the *Nav Yuvak Mangal Dal* in 1956, and the *Bal Mangal Dal* in the year, 1959. From time to time drama, *bhajan, kirtan, shramdan* and other programmes for the general welfare of the village community are organised by these organisations. A spirit of mutual help and co-operation is thereby aroused and maintained. Due to the underlying spirit of apathy towards the Shilpkars, the latter cannot participate freely in the functions of these organisations. They are also not encouraged to be members thereof.

There is a library of the *Bal Mangal Dal* and another library in the Basic Primary School, which was opened with the grant of the Education Extension Department. Students and educated persons living in the village are benefited by these books.

There is a community radio-set in the Junior High School at Jakheti a hamlet of this village at a distance of about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the village. It is utilised by the school teachers and casually by other people of the neighbouring villages.

There is little awareness of the reform measures introduced by Government. Out of 120 heads of household who were interviewed only 4 knew of the existence of the Untouchability (Offences) Act and none of them was a Shilpkar. Similarly, only one person knew about the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956. In a general manner people are no doubt aware that observance of untouchability is an offence but there have been no complaints of this type either because of fear or because the Shilpkars have got used to such treatment.

People on the whole do not react favourably to the idea of a daughter inheriting equally with the sons, obviously because after marriage her affection and interest are transferred to the husband's house. Even persons supporting the equality of rights of men and women feel a bit uneasy at the idea of their daughters having equal rights of inheritance with their sons! Somehow the daughters, too, are not quite keen to have equal rights of inheritance for fear of their good relations with their parental household being spoilt. They would gladly forego their share in the property rather than lose the love and affection of the brothers, who welcome them to the *maika*, gladly share in their joys and sorrows and render them all help and support in an hour of crisis in their married lives.

Superstitions and Beliefs

Superstitions and blind faith are interwoven in the warp and woof of the village life, more so in the villages of Garhwal, which is a backward hill district. The aged people and womenfolk are firm believers but the educated persons have a lukewarm attitude towards these traditional superstitions passed on to them from generation to generations.

It is a common belief that a journey in the eastern direction should commence on Tuesday whereas Tuesday and Thursday are auspicious days for going west, that one should not go south except on Monday and Saturday and north except on Friday. If a journey is performed on the prohibited days, an accident or something more inauspicious might happen. The educated persons might follow the above in practice not because they actually believe in it but because they would not like to harm the sentiments of their elders for nothing or because

there is no possibility of any loss by doing so whereas there can be chances of a mishap by not following the traditional practice. Another argument of the believers is that since the practice has been in vogue since times immemorial, there should have been some logic behind it.

While starting on a journey it is inauspicious if anyone asks the destination or sneezes all of a sudden or if a cat or a snake crosses the path from right to left or call of a jackal or owl is heard or anyone with empty vessels comes across.

Putting a curd and vermilion mark on the forehead or consumption of curd with *gur* or blowing the conch shell before starting on a journey or meeting anyone with filled up vessels or the appearance of a black bird called *shyama* are believed to lead to a comfortable and fruitful journey.

Some people still believe that disease and epidemics are an indication of the wrath of gods and goddesses and hence they offer *puja* and sacrifice goats for propitiating the gods, goddesses and spirits as a mode of warding off epidemic and disease. Such beliefs and practices are, however, disappearing gradually because injections and allopathic drugs have definitely proved to be more efficacious. When drugs fail to cure a disease the last resort is naturally *puja* and sacrifice.

Folk Songs

Folk songs depict the various facets of culture of a people, shorn of external influences. Garhwal is a land of high hills and deep valleys. The God-fearing Garhwalis remained in isolation for centuries, leading a simple and conservative life. With the dawn of British rule, Garhwal supplied a number of soldiers to the armed forces. With the increased pressure of population on land, some people migrated to other places in search of livelihood, leaving behind their families in the village. The resultant impact of such a life is reflected in their folk songs.

A popular folk song in Garhwali language depicting the emotions of a couple when the husband goes to war is as follows :—

मैं होणीं चा देर सिपणीं राम राम लड़ाई लागीगे
तुम होणीं चा देर सिपाई जो हाय हाय लड़ाई लागी गे

तेल की कड़ाई सिपई तेल की कड़ाई
तुम होणीं चा देर सिपंजी राम राम
विगुल बाजीगे लड़ाई लागीगे,

झगोरी को वोट सिपणी झंकारी को वोट
मैं होणीं च देर सिपणी छोड़ दे मेरो कोट
सिपणी राम राम लड़ाई लागी गे।

तौली फुटो तागी सिपंजी तोली फूटो टागो
माग मा क्या होलो सिपंजी मलकनी च आंखो
राम राम.....

हांसुली गड़ाई सपैणी हांसुली गड़ाई
मैं लड़ाई जोंदू सिपैणी तू नौनौ पड़ई सिपैणी
राम राम.....

तू मेरी छै साकी सिपणी तू मेरी छै सांकी
गौरा देणी होली प्यारी ये भरोसो राखी
सिपैणी राम राम लड़ाई लागी गे।

The soldier takes leave of his wife while going to the war front. She has her own apprehensions for future because her eyes are fluttering which is an indication of ill-omen and hence she would not let him go. But he reassures her of his profound love for her and asks her not to hold him by the coat any longer since the bugle of war has been blowing and he must go without any delay. He also tells her to get the children educated properly in his absence.

Another popular song recited at the time of folk dancing, depicting the pangs of separation of a husband from his wife is reproduced below :—

तू होली उची डाँड्यों माँ बीरा, घसियारी का भेष माँ।
खुद माँ तेरी सड़क्यूं पर मी, रुणूं छौं परदेश माँ।।

उचि–निसी डाडी गाड-गदीना, हिंसर अर किनगोड़ी माँ।
तुलबुल बणिगे होली डाली, ग्वेर दगड़्या तोड़ला।।

सर-सर हवा आणी होली, बद्रीनाथ का डांडा की।
मुख मां लटूली उडणी होली, ठण्डी हवा न डांडा की।।

पर मी म्वरणूं छौं ठण्ड, अर भूकन ये देश माँ।
गौड़ी-भैंसी म्वां-म्वां करदी, रमदी-लैंदी जब आली।।

ऊँकि गुसैंण भांडी लेकी, गौड़ी-भैंसी पिजाली।
सौंण-भादो का मैना जब, लोग धाण सब जाला।।

गढ़वाल की भूमि, सारी मगन च, हे देवतौं का आदेश माँ।
खुद मां तेरी सड़क्यों पर मी, रुणू छौं परदेश माँ।।

The husband is far away from the village earning his livelihood but the wife is left behind in the village. He visualises her as roaming on hill tops collecting grass and his friends in the village picking ripe fruit from *hinsar* and *kingod* trees on the ups and downs of the hills. The cool breeze from the snowy peak of Badrinath might be playing with her flowing hair; in the evening the cows might be returning to the households and bestowing all love on their calves. Everyone might be happy and gay but alas ! he is far away from his beloved, weeping bitterly at times when the pangs of separation become unbearable.

A romantic song popular with the youth runs as :—

मैं छऊं दिलदार तू छै मन बांकी बौ
घणा गौं की बाट नी आणू माया जांदी बौ।

माया लगाईक तै छुयालुं न देण खोई बौ।
और चीज लैणी देणी जवानी फिर नी आणी बौ।

लोक बोलणदेणा क्या लिजाणा कैन बौ।
इनी लाणी मायां जु पाणी ना छीरु बौ।

Here the romantic sentiments of a youngman are projected to the wife of his elder brother on the line of "Gather ye rosebuds whence ye may."

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

Traditionally, the Indian village enjoys the reputation of being static, dogmatically clinging to the old order which might change and yield place to a new order anywhere but not in the rural area of India. This applies with greater force to a village in Garhwal where outside influences have been very slow to penetrate and act. The foregoing study of Thapli, however, exposes to a great extent the fallacy of this view. The wind of change has been blowing from various directions, thereby replacing the old concepts and standards on the social, economic and political scene.

The major factors influencing the village in general consist of contacts with government officials, education, planning and development activities, agitation for social reform by the Arya Samaj, administrative reforms and elections at the Panchayat, Assembly and Parliament level. Formerly, the Patwari was the most important official with whom the villagers came in contact. He was a powerful officer having revenue and police powers both. He was held in awe and respect. Now and then the Deputy Commissioner, Sub-Divisional Magistrate and Tahsildar would happen to visit the village in connection with winter tours or the Naib-Tahsildar or Kanungo would appear for making a spot inspection or holding a local inquiry. The visits of high officers were associated with incurring expenditure in making their camp arrangements or free labour for carrying tents and other equipments. They were hardly accessible. With the change in administration after attainment of freedom, the frequency of visits of officers has increased but the botheration to the villagers has disappeared for they are hardly required to make any arrangements for them now. A patient hearing is given to everyone who has any complaint, may be against the subordinates, and prompt action is taken to redress the grievance. The number of officials visiting the village has also multiplied. Representatives of planning and development departments such as Village Level Worker, Agriculture Inspector, Stockman, Panchayat Secretary, Sanitary Inspector, Co-operative Supervisor and Inspector, Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools and Assistant Development Officers visit the village to enforce their schemes in the village. They disseminate new ideas and techniques of socio-economic development of the villagers, who listen to them with attention. A large number of persons are employed in service outside the village. Whenever they pay even casual visits, they leave their own stamp on the way of thought and action of the villagers. They too visit the urban areas in connection with official work or a periodical social contact with their friends and relatives. During such contacts the way of life of the urban people is closely observed by them with a view to emulating what can easily be emulated. "The rural communities clearly take the lead from the urban areas, although not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and initial resistence . . . . petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognised as leaders of the community, but all the same, they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture and several items of the national and western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community."*

Construction of roads and introduction of bus service has greatly facilitated the contacts with the outside world. The community listening set in the school at Jakheti and 8 radio-sets in

* *Indian Village*, 1955 by S. C. Dube.

the households of Brahmins keep the villagers in touch with important events in India and thus broaden their outlook on life. As a result of such contacts, the way of life of the residents of Thapli has greatly changed. The style of dress, both of males and females, is being gradually replaced by more modern dress such as *kurta,* shirt, bush-shirt, pants, half-pants, bodice, blouse, petti-coat, *sari,* pullover and *coat.* Girls of school going age are taking to *kameez* and *shilwar,* which is a Punjabi dress, popular in the towns of plains. *Khaki* drill pants and army shoes are being used in the village partly because some residents of the village are employed in the defence forces. Mill-made cotton cloth is generally used. The woollen cloth prepared in the villages continues to be preferred because of its extra warmth and durability. There are 105 hurricane lanterns, 5 petromax lamps, 8 torches, 8 kerosene oil stoves, 8 radio-sets and 5 gramophones in the village itself, which is an index of prosperity of this village. Sun glasses too, are used by some people. Modern furniture, mirrors, tea-sets, safety razors and fountain pens are used by a number of persons. Tea is very popular and is taken daily in every house.

There has been almost no change in the working of the artisans and their tools or the agricultural implements used by the cultivators. Improved seeds and chemical fertilisers are no doubt used but to a limited extent. The change in methods of farming is almost negligible. In the absence of demonstration farms, the cultivators do not easily feel convinced of the utility of improved methods of cultivation suggested to them by the youngish village level worker, who has almost no practical background.

Education in the village has been on the increase. It can boast of five Masters of Arts, 17 graduates including one girl, one Sahitya Ratna, 11 under-graduates, and 35 matriculates including 4 girls. Twelve persons have taken technical training too of various types. Even though a majority of these educated persons is employed outside the village, their casual visits even have their own repercussions on the way of life in this village. With the dissemination of education, superstition is being replaced by reason, though gradually. Instead of magic and chants, people increasingly use modern medicine and injections which give a quicker and surer relief from disease.

Having seen three Panchayat and Assembly elections, the population has grown politically conscious. They no longer cast their vote blindly; instead they weigh the pros and cons of every candidate and then cast their vote according to the dictates of their own conscience.

The social structure, too, is changing. The caste Panchayats no longer enjoy the powers wielded by them in the past. Instead of accepting their decisions, people would like to get a verdict from a court of law. The growing spirit of individualism is gradually leading to the disintegration of the joint family system. Regard for age and custom is diminishing though slowly. The Shilpkars have been trying hard to go a rung higher on the ladder of social hierarchy. Instead of Shilpkars they call themselves as 'Aryas' and have adopted this surname. They have succeeded to some extent in removing the disabilities suffered by them, but the attitude of the higher castes towards them has hardly changed.

There is a marked trend towards service among the Brahmins and Rajputs. Since agriculture is not a profitable economic pursuit, everyone wants his son to come into services. At the same time the attachment with the soil of the native village is a bit too deep to allow any family to emigrate permanently from the village. The Shilpkars too yearn for service but by sheer force of circumstances they are in an almost static state.

The *Mahila Mangal Dal,* the *Nav Yuvak Mangal Dal* and the *Bal Mangal Dal* have their contribution to the cultural and social uplift of the village population. An *espirit de corps* has been created in the village, which is found actively throbbing with life. Unfortunately, the Shilpkars are not equal participants in these social and cultural activities, for caste at the time of birth continues to determine the status of a man in every facet of his life. The concept

of equality of men irrespective of their caste and creed is simply laughed at by the higher castes, even though in subdued tones, because of their conservative attitude based on orthodox Hindu religion.

The way of life in this village has been changing at a quick pace. Spread of education has warmed up this tempo of change but the socio-religious background of the population pulls its weight back in the direction of tradition on some fronts. Fatalistic attitude is disappearing fast and the necessity of falling in line with the changing needs of times is generally realised by almost everyone. The attitude is no doubt receptive but the lurking suspicion in their minds allows the adoption of new concepts and practices with care and caution. With the establishment of a Development Block at Kalsikhal, the winds of change are expected to blow faster but even then there is no likelihood of the village attaining self-sufficiency because the economic resources are limited, incapable of yielding even static returns, not to say of increasing returns in spite of the intensity of human efforts. For meeting the day-to-day necessities of the population earnings from outside will continue to be necessary for supplementing the meagre income of the various households from the resources within the village.

TABLE I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in		Density per Square Mile	No. of Houses	No. of Households	Population		
Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
372.75	150.85	947 persons	109	120	552	219	333

TABLE II

Population by Age Groups

Total of all Ages			0—4		5—9		10—14		15—19		20—24		25—29		30—34		35—44		45—59		60 and above	
Persons	Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
552	219	333	43	46	38	45	32	41	15	31	10	30	10	22	8	20	12	32	27	48	24	18

TABLE III

Size and Composition of Households

Total Number of Households	Single member			2-3 members			4—6 members			7—9 members			10 members and over		
	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F
120	14	..	14	25	19	39	55	109	160	22	75	95	4	16	25

TABLE IV

Caste and Nature of the Family

Caste	Total Number of Households	Types of Families living in the Household			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Brahmin	73	20	5	10	38
Kshatriya	7	2	..	..	5
Shilpkar	40	15	4	11	10
Total	120	37	9	21	53

N. B.—Simple family consists of married couple and unmarried children.

Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brothers or sisters or one of the parents.

Joint family consists of married couple living with married children or married brothers.

'Others' refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE V

Households classified by Religion, Castes and Sub-castes

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Persons	Males	Females	Number of households
Hinduism	Brahmin	1. Thapliyal	338	126	212	73
		2. Chandola	..	..	..	24
		3. Musora	..	..	..	9
		4. Sundriyal	..	..	..	2
		5. Naithani	..	..	..	5
		6. Bahuguna	..	..	..	3
		7. Jugran	..	..	..	2
		8. Malasi	..	..	..	2
		9. Panthri	..	..	..	1
		10. Juyal	..	..	..	1
	Kshatriya	Rawat	16	6	10	7
	Shilpkar (Arya)	Shilpkar	198	87	111	40
		Total	552	219	333	120

TABLE VI

Age and Marital Status

Age Group	Total Population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Ages	552	219	333	132	146	80	149	7	37	..	1
0—4	89	43	46	43	46	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	83	38	45	38	45	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	73	32	41	32	40	..	1	..	..	..	..
15—19	46	15	31	15	15	..	16	..	..	..	..
20—24	40	10	30	4	..	6	29	..	1	..	..
25—29	32	10	22	..	..	10	22	..	..	..	..
30—34	28	8	20	..	..	8	18	..	2	..	..
35—39	29	6	23	..	..	6	22	..	1	..	..
40..44	15	6	9	..	..	6	7	..	2	..	..
45—49	27	11	16	..	..	11	12	..	4	..	..
50—54	20	8	12	..	..	8	6	..	5	..	1
55—59	28	8	20	..	..	8	7	..	13	..	..
60 and over.	42	24	18	..	..	17	9	7	9	..	..

TABLE VII

Education

Age Group	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate without educational standard			Primary or Basic			High School			Intermediate			Graduate			Any other Qualification		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	552	219	333	352	101	251	67	30	37	83	50	33	11	11	..	1	1		2	2	..	36	24	12
0—4	89	43	46	89	43	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	83	38	45	52	21	31	31	17	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	73	32	41	11	1	10	34	12	22	23	16	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	3	2
15—19	46	15	31	22	2	20	2	1	1	10	3	7	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4	3
20—24	40	10	30	25	1	24	..	..	..	5	2	3	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	6	3	3
25—29	32	10	22	18	1	17	..	..	..	10	7	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	2
30—34	28	8	20	19	1	18	..	..	..	8	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
35—39	29	6	23	24	4	20	..	..	..	4	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40—44	15	6	9	11	3	8	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1
45—49	27	11	16	20	6	14	..	..	..	5	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
50—54	20	8	12	14	2	12	..	..	..	3	3	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
55—59	28	8	20	19	4	15	..	..	..	5	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3	1
60 and over	42	24	18	28	12	16	..	..	..	8	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6	..

TABLE VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad Age Groups

Age Group	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	552	219	333	302	102	200	250	117	133
0—14	245	113	132	7	1	6	238	112	126
15—34	146	43	103	134	38	96	12	5	
35—59	119	39	80	119	39	80	..	..	..
60 and over	42	24	18	42	24	18	..	..	..

TABLE IX

Workers classified by Sex, broad Age Groups and Occupation

Age Group	Teacher			Clerk			Cultivator			Driver			Mason			Chowkidar			Peon			Brazier			Tailor			Blacksmith			Carpenter		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	7	5	2	4	4	..	262	64	198	1	1	..	13	13	..	2	2	..	2	2	..	2	2	..	5	5	..	2	2	..	2	2	..
0—14	...	..	..	..	...	...	7	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	...
15—34	2	2	..	2	2		118	22	96	1	1	..	4	4	..	..	..		2	2	..	..	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35—59	5	3	2	2	2		99	21	78	..	..	..	8	8	..	1	1		..	..	..	2	2	..	..	...	..	...	..	...	2	2	..
60 and over	..	..	..	..	...	..	38	20	18	..	...		1	1		1	1		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	...

TABLE X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons occupying

Total Number of House-holds	Total Number of Family Members	Households with no regular Room		Households with one Room		Households with two Rooms		Households with three Rooms		Households with four Rooms		Households with five Rooms		Households with five Rooms and more	
		No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of family members
120	552	—	—	48	178	43	198	11	54	11	65	3	22	4	35

TABLE XI

Livestock

Caste	Milch Cattle		Draught Bull		Goats and Sheep		Dry Cow		Dry Buffalo		She-Calf	
	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.
Shilpkar (Arya)	11	12	21	44	1	1	9	11	7	10	17	20
Brahmin	43	56	47	93	1	1	31	45	4	5	50	89
Kshatriya	3	3	4	9	..	..	1	2	1	1	2	3
Total ..	57	71	72	146	2	2	41	58	12	16	69	112

TABLE XII

Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

Name of Products	Paddy	Wheat	Pulse	Jhingora and Mandua	Barley
Annual quantity produced (in mds.)	645.4	341.1	84.4	634.5	29.1
Annual quantity consumed by the producing households ..	645.4	341.1	84.4	634.5	29.1
Annual quantity available for sale	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE XIII

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group	Total No. of Households	No. of Households in Debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average Indebtedness per Household in Debt	Total Debt
					Rs.
Rs. 25 and below	19	9	47.4	306.7	2,760
Rs. 26 to 50	40	23	57.5	565.2	10,700
Rs. 51 to 75	22	6	27.3	241.7	1,450
Rs. 76 to 100	20	4	20.0	525.0	2,100
Rs. 101 and above	19	2	10.5	850.0	1,700
Total ..	120	44	36.7	425.2	18,710

TABLE XIV

Indebtedness by Causes

Cause	Amount of Debt	Number of Families in Debt	Proportion of Debt due to Cause to the Total Amount of Debt
(*a*) Purchase of land	1,000	1	5.3
(*b*) House construction or repairs to existing building	900	1	4.8
(*c*) Marriages	300	1	1.6
(*d*) Sickness	100	1	0.5
(*e*) Ordinary wants	15,810	39	84.6
(*f*) Household cultivation	600	1	3.2
Total ..	18,710	44	100

GLOSSARY

Terms connected with Cultivation

Nali .. .. 1. A measure of capacity equal to two seers of grain
2. A measure of land equal to 240 square yards ; twenty *nalis* are equivalent to an acre approximately.

Hissa or bant .. .. Coparcenary share of a proprietor

Hissedar .. .. Coparcenary proprietor

Bhai bant .. .. Division *per capita*

Sautia bant .. .. Division half and half between the sons of two wives

Zamindar .. .. An agriculturist ; the term has none of the connotation that it has in plains.

Sanjait zamin .. .. Undivided measured common land, either common to the whole community (*gaon sanjait*) or common to certain families or co-sharers only

Muwasa .. .. A family

Malguzar or padhan .. The headman of a village from whom the revenue engagement is taken and who is responsible for collecting and paying in the revenue of the village

Khaikar .. .. 1. An under-proprietor whose rights as the original occupant cultivator have been usurped by or granted to some other person at some former period; this is the *pakka khaikar*.
2. An occupancy tenant who or whose predecessors never had any higher right; this is the *kachcha khaikar*.

Sirtan .. .. A tenant-at-will ; sirti is his rent.

Talaon shera .. Permanently irrigated land

Upraon .. .. Dry terraced land ("upland"), first class (*awwal*) and second class (*doyum*)

Ijran .. .. Inferior terraced land cultivated intermittently

Katil, khil .. .. Unterraced inferior land cultivated intermittently

Nayabad .. .. *Kaisar-i-Hind* land freshly brought under cultivation

Lagga .. .. A subsidiary village attached to the chief or parent village; it is sometimes merely an outlying portion and offshoot of the chief village and sometimes a small separate village which has been attached to the parent village.

Malikana .. .. Cess

Other Terms

Abadi .. .. Residential area

Chowki .. .. Post

Dai .. .. Midwife

Dandi, dola, palki .. Palanquins for carrying bride and bridegroom

Devata .. .. A god

Dhoti .. .. An Indian dress consisting of a five-yard cloth to be wrapped rather loosely round the waist

Gadhera .. .. Stream

Garh .. .. Fortress

Grah bhoj .. .. Feast given prior to occupation of a newly constructed house

Gur .. .. Jaggery

Havan	..	.. Hindu way of making purificatory offerings to fire to the chanting of verses from *Vedas*
Kachcha food	..	.. Boiled rice and pulse
Lath Panchayat		.. An unofficial body of village people for management of communal forests
Pakora	..	.. Edible cooked in oil
Patti		.. Jurisdiction of a Patwari extending over a dozen villages or so
Shradha	..	Hindu ceremony of making offerings in the name of the dead

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LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN UTTAR PRADESH

Serial no.	Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
1.	Uttarkashi	Dunda	Birpur	44
2.	Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla	45
			Darkot	25
3.	Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli	55
4.	Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur	51
5.	Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafiulnagar *urf* Raoli	161
			Mughalpura	175
6.	Budaun	Bisauli	Mirzapur Behta	110
		Budaun	Kachla Pukhta	21
7.	Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begum	8
			Barkhan	198
8.	Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira	174
9.	Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura	118
			Chapnu	332
			Sarari	224
10.	Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar	98
			Bilaspur	22
11.	Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli	71
12.	Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru	122
13.	Agra	Kheragarh	Beri Chahar	104
		Etmadpur	Chawli	47
		Bah	Pidhaura	109
14.	Etah	Jalesar	Baghai	91
15.	Etawah	Etawah	Udi	34
		Auraiya	Ayana	14
16.	Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj	17
17.	Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho *urf* Bagi	216
			Kalyanpur	24
		Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar	151
18.	Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khera	4
19.	Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur	2

Serial no.	Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
20.	Kheri	Nighasan	Belapersua	122
			Bankati	..
			Lodhauri	492
			Rakehti	301
21.	Sitapur	Biswan	Kanduni	354
22.	Gonda	Balrampur	Suganagar Domri	383
			Rajderwa Tharu	312
23.	Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia	124
			Dadra	20
24.	Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin	42
25.	Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbha Dih	364
			Surhan	87
		Ghosi	Pakri Buzurg	444
26.	Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Para	64
27.	Varanasi	Varanasi	Lohta	123
			Mehndiganj	248
28.	Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur	104
			Gidhia	36
			Parsoi	70

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
1960-61

UTTAR PRADESH
CENSUS 1961

Name of District———————

PART I
HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station

Name of Village

Number of Village on the List

1. Serial Number of Household
2. (*a*) Name of Head of Household
   (*b*) Sex
   (*c*) Age
   (*d*) Caste or Tribe
3. Composition of Household, including Head :

Serial no.	Name	Education	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Marital Status	Age at Marriage	Occupation	
								Main	Subsidiary
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

A. Duration of Residence

4. (*a*) For how many generations, counting from head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this village?

(*b*) If head of household has migrated to this village, together with the household, where was his ancestral home ?

B. Religion

5. (*a*) Religion .. .. ..
   (*b*) Sect .. .. ..
   (*c*) Tribe or Caste .. ..
   (*d*) Sub-tribe or Sub-caste ..

6. (*a*) Is there a deity or object of worship or a sacred plant in the house ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If 'Yes', where is the deity or object of worship located in the house ?

(*c*) What is the name of the deity or object of worship or sacred plant and what is the form of worship ?

7. Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law ? (Answer Yes/No).

C. Marriage

8. (*a*) Has any marriage in contravention of caste or tribal law taken place in this household ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If such a marriage has taken place, give details about the marriage.

(*c*) With what castes or tribes other than the caste or tribe of the household is marriage permissible ?

(*d*) With which of such castes or tribes would marriage be desirable ?

(*e*) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the son ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount).

(*f*) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount).

9. (*a*) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Marriage Act ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', what do you think of the salient features of the Hindu Marriage Act ?)

10. Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same social and economic status as yours but belonging to the following communities ? (Mark with a (√) the names of the communities against which you have no objection).

(1) Baidya
(2) Mahisya
(3) Dom
(4) Brahman
(5) Dhobi
(6) Bauri
(7) Bhotia
(8) Napit
(9) Santal
(10) Muslim
(11) Chamar
(12) European
(13) Karmakar
(14) Kayastha
(15) Pod
(16) Rajbanshi
(17) Namasudra
(18) Bagdi
(19) Chinese

D. Inheritance

11. (*a*) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, what do you think are the salient features on recent changes ?

12. (*a*) Do you think that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Succession Act (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, what do you think are the sailent features of such changes ?

13. (*a*) Which relatives, including male members and widows and daughters, married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household ?

(*b*) What is the share of each such member ?

14. Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons ?

E. Property

Land

15. If the household possesses land, give—

(*a*) Total area in acres
(*b*) Total area under cultivation
(*c*) Area comprising homestead
(*d*) Name of Crop

	Quantity obtained last year	Quantity sold
(i) Paddy		
(ii) Wheat		
(iii) Maize, *jowar* or *bajra* ..		
(iv) Pulses, including gram ..		
(v) Sugarcane		
(vi) Barley		
(vii) Vegetables		
(viii) Jute		
(ix) Chillies		
(x) Tobacco		
(xi) Oilseeds ..		
(xii) Cotton		
(xiii) Ginger		
(xiv) Fodder or bamboo or cane ..		
(xv) Fruits		
(xvi) Other agricultural crops ..		

(*e*) What is the organic manure used ?

(*f*) Do you use chemical fertilizers ?

(*g*) Do you use any new agricultural implement which has been taught to you for the first time in the last five years ?

(*h*) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation ?

(*i*) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting ?

(*j*) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour ?

(*k*) Adoption of land improvement measures like reclamation, soil conservation, consolidation, etc.

(*l*) Increase in irrigated area .. .. ..

24. What kind of work would you like your son to do ?

25. (*a*) If you are engaged in trade or business, mention the commodities dealt in.

(*b*) How do you get your finance ?

(*c*) What is your approximate profit ?

G. Indebtedness

26. If the household is in debt, mention

(*a*) Amount of debt outstanding

(*b*) Source of credit

27. (*a*) Are you content with the present occupation ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If no, what other work are you doing ?

H. Education

28. (*a*) How much did you spend last year on the education of your children ?

(*b*) How many of your children are reading at school or college ?

School : Male/Female

College : Male/Female

(*c*) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper or listen to news broadcasts through the community radio sets ?

I. Community

29. (*a*) Does the head of the household know name of the Zila Parishad/Panchayat/Thana/District in which his village is situated ?

(*b*) Does the head of the household know names of the principal rivers flowing through the district ?

30. (*a*) Do you think that abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights has resulted in any good to you ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, indicate how you have benefited.

(*c*) If no, why have you not been benefited ?

31. If you are a share-cropper,

(*a*) Could you get yourself recorded as a share-cropper in the revisionary Settlement ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) Have you been evicted from your land as a result of recent land legislation ? (Answer Yes/No). If 'Yes', give particulars.

32. (*a*) Have you benefited from any scheme of land reclamation or land development ? (Answer Yes/No.)

(*b*) If yes, explain how have you benefited.

33. (*a*) Is there a co-operative society in your village ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, are you a member ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*c*) If no, why are you not a member ?

34. (*a*) Is there a N. E. S. Block in your area ?

(*b*) Do you know the functions of Gram Sevak ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*c*) If yes, describe his functions.

(*d*) Has the Gram Sevak ever come and talked to you ?

(*e*) Has he demonstrated any of the improved agricultural practices mentioned above ? If so, did you follow his advice ?

35. (*a*) Have you been benefited from the N. E. S. Block ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, how have you been benefited ?

36. (*a*) Is there a Panchayat in your village ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, how long has the Panchayat been in your village ?

(*c*) What are the main functions of the Panchayat ?

(*d*) What are the main parties in your Panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat ?

(*e*) Has there been any improvement in your village since the Panchayat was established ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*f*) If yes, what have been the improvements ?

(*g*) What activities or works of community benefit (school buildings, wells, Panchayatghars, youth clubs, etc.) have been taken up in your village since the establishment of the Panchayat ?

(*h*) Did you participate in these (by contributing land, labour, cash or material, etc.) ? If not, why not ?

(*i*) Have you benefited from the work/activity ?

37. (*a*) Has any caste or tribe of your village got a separate panchayat of its own ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayat ?

(*c*) Since the statutory Panchayats are functioning, why do you think these caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue ?

38. (*a*) Is there a family planning centre in your area ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) Do you know that man and wife can prevent conception of a child by deliberate means, if they wish to do so ?

(*c*) Does the head of the household wish that no more children were born to him ?

J. Diet

39. (*a*) How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals ?

(*b*) What are the usual items of diet at each meal ?

(*c*) What are the foods or drinks prohibited ?

(*d*) Does the household take sugar/tea ?

K. Utensils

40. (*a*) What utensils are used for preparing food and for storage of drinking water ?

(*b*) Of what materials are important untensils made ?

L. Fuel

41. What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking ?

M. Furniture and ornaments

42. (*a*) Does the household possess a bedstead khatia/chair/table/mirror/bench/stool/jalchowki/wall shelf ? (Cross out those not found).

(*b*) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years ?

(*c*) Does the household use mosquito net ?

43. List of all the ornaments used by (*a*) men and (*b*) women. Give the local names and mention whether gold or silver or brass or any other material is mainly used. Give drawings.

N. Houses

44. Give a plan of the house and compound showing the main places, the material of the roof, walls and doors and the measurements of the bed-room.

Give sketches and photographs wherever possible.

O. Consumer Goods

45. (*a*) Does the household possess hurricane lantern/petromax or hazak/torch/kerosene stove/bicycle/gramophone/radio set ?

(*b*) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ?

(*c*) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap ?

(*d*) Are clothes sent to washerman to be cleaned ?

SCHEDULE FOR COLLECTION OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

I. Educational Qualifications—

(i) Illiterate

(ii) Without educational standard

(iii) Primary or basic

(iv) High School

(v) Intermediate

(vi) Graduate

(vii) Post-graduate

(viii) Diploma

(ix) Holders of Oriental Titles

(x) Any other qualifications

II. Types of non-Workers—

(i) Full time student or child attending school

(ii) Engaged only in household duties

(iii) Dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled

(iv) Retired persons not re-employed, rentiers, persons living on agriculture, royalty, rent or dividend or persons of independent means

(v) Beggars, vagrants, independent women without indication of source of existence

(vi) Inmates of penal, mental and charitable institutions

(vii) Persons seeking employment for the first time

(viii) Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work

III. Land—

(i) Area owned by household .. ..

(ii) Area held from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership..

(iii) Area leased in .. ..

(iv) Area leased out .. ..

IV. Number of rooms in the house—

V. Have you during the last ten years—

(i) Acquired any property .. .. Name of Property | Value in Rupees

(ii) Made any savings in cash/National Savings Certificates

Cash | National Savings Certificates

(iii) Invested capital in any new undertaking or building (give value in Rs.)
(iv) Secured better irrigation facilities — Yes/No
(v) Purchased better cattle — Yes/No
(vi) Acquired more land for cultivation — Yes/No
(vii) Invested by taking a debt

Details of investment	Value in Rupees

(viii) Sold any property

Details of property	Value in Rupees

VI. Diet

(i) Is your family—
(*a*) Vegetarian
(*b*) Non-Vegetarian

NOTE—A vegetarian family is that which does not allow meat, eggs, etc. in its kitchen.

(ii) What is household's staple diet ? (Give details).

VII. Income—

Household's gross monthly income in rupees from :

(i) Salary or wages
(ii) Industry run by the household
(iii) Business run by the household
(iv) Cultivation of the household
(v) Rent from land leased out
(vi) Rent from house
(vii) Pension
(viii) Gifts and presents
(ix) Help from relatives
(x) Other sources

VIII. Expenditure—

Household's monthly expenditure—

A. Food Crops—

1. *Cereals and Pulses*

	Unit	Quantity in Mds.	Seers	Value in Rupees	Remarks
Wheat	Mds.	..	..	..	..
Rice	„	..	..	..	..
Other grains	„	..	..	..	..
Dal	Seers				
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..

	Unit	Quantity in Mds. Seers	Value in Rupees	Remarks
2. *Vegetables*				
Potato	Mds.			
Onion	Seers			
Other Vegetables	,,			
Total ..	..	..	..	..
3. *Meat and Fish*				
Meat	Seers			
Fish	,,			
Others	,,			
Total ..	..	..	..	..
4. *Milk*	Mds.			
5. *Ghee and Oil*				
Vegetable oil	Seers			
Mustard oil	,,			
Ghee *Desi*	,,			
Total ..	..	..	..	..
6. *Condiments*				
Chillies	Seers			
Tamarind	,,			
Salt	,,			
Others	,,			
Total ..	..	..	..	..
7. *Sugar and Gur*				
Sugar	Seers			
Khandsari	,,			
Gur	,,			
Total ..	..	..	..	..
8. *Tea and Coffee*				
Tea	Packet of 1/8 lb.			
Coffee				
Total ..	..	..	..	..

		Unit	Quantity in Mds.	Quantity in Seers	Value in Rupees	Remarks
9. *Intoxicants*						
Liquor		Bottle of 24 oz.				
Bhang		Tola				
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	..
10. *Fuel and Light*						
Fuel		Mds.				
Kerosene oil		Bottle of 24 oz.				
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	..
11. *Tobacco*						
Smoking		Seers				
Chewing		Chattaks				
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	..
12. *Other Foods*						
Pan		No.				
Supari		Seers				
Refreshments, etc.		„				
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	..
13. *Clothing and Footwear*						
Dhoti		Pair				
Saree		„				
Other cloth		Yard				
Shoe (Desi)		Pair				
Shoe (English)		„				
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	..
14. *House*						
House rent						
Repair of house, if owned						
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	..

	Unit	Quantity in Mds.	Seers	Value in Rupees	Remarks
B. Miscellaneous Expenditure—					
1. Education	..	..	..	..	..
2. Dhobi or Soap	..	..	..	..	..
3. Barber	..	..	..	..	..
4. Travelling	..	..	..	..	..
5. Medical fees and medicines	..	..	..	..	..
6. Religious observances	..	..	..	..	..
7. Amusements	..	..	..	..	..
8. Provident Fund and other compulsory savings	..	..	..	..	..
9. Payment of debt	..	..	..	..	..
10. Remittances to dependents living elsewhere	..	..	..	..	..
11. Litigation	..	..	..	..	..
12. Servants	..	..	..	..	..
13. Other items, if any (specify)	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..
C. Cultivation, Industries and Business—					
1. Cultivation run by the household	..	..	..	..	..
2. Industry run by the household	..	..	..	..	..
3. Business run by the household	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..

N. B.—Total of column 1 will not be done.

D. Grand total of A to C (value only)

E. Surplus or Deficit

MEDICAL CARE

A. Maternity Cases—

1. Number of cases hospitalized
2. Number of cases—
   (*a*) Confined in hospital
   (*b*) Confined by bringing doctor home
   (*c*) Confined by qualified midwife at home
   (*d*) Confined by unqualified dai at home
   (*e*) Confined without assistance

B. Ordinary Medical Treatment—

(*a*) Allopath
(*b*) Ayurvedic
(*c*) Homeopath
(*d*) Combination of more than one system
(*e*) Unani
(*f*) Quack

C. Medical Consultation—

(*a*) In public hospitals and dispensaries

(*b*) In private hospitals and dispensaries

(*c*) By calling in physicians, allopaths, homeopaths, etc.

D. Whether vaccinated (Yes/No)

CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

	Amount of debt in Rupees
1. Purchase of land	
2. House construction or repairs to existing buildings	
3. Marriages	
4. Funerals	
5. To give dowry	
6. To clear old outstanding debts	
7. Sickness	
8. Ordinary wants	
9. Household cultivations	
10. Industry run by the household	
11. Business run by the household	
12. Others, if any, specify	

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

1. Does your household get a daily newspaper ? (Yes/No).
2. Does any member of your household work for social uplift ? (Yes/No).
3. Does any member/members of your household take active part in politics ? (Yes/No).
4. Has any member/members of your household joined a Co-operative Society ? (Yes/No) If yes, specify the type of Co-operative Society.

SCHEDULES

PART II

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station

Name of village....., number of village.....

Area of the village....., number of household.....

What is the religion which majority of the villagers profess ? .....

1. Topography of the village—

   (*a*) Is the village situated on a plain/on an undulating surface / on a plateau/on a hillock/ or at the bottom of a depression ? .. ..

   (*b*) The system of grouping of houses—average distance between two clusters of houses—reason for such grouping, e.g., whether on account of the nature of the surface of land or on account of social custom .. ..

   (*c*) Internal roads—tanks—village common—any stream or other extensive source of water—proximity or otherwise of any jungle—approximate number of shade-bearing trees and how they are arranged .. ..

2. What is the local legend about the village ? .. ..

3. Detailed description of average house of the members of each caste, religious group, occupational group in the village .. ..

4. Name and distance of *hat* or *hats* to which surplus produce of the village is taken for sale .....

5. Name and distance of the nearest Railway station and Bus route .. ..

6. Distance by road from Police Station and sub-division headquarters .. ..

7. (*a*) Distance of the Post office from the village .. ..

   (*b*) Distance of the Telegraph office from the village .. ..

   (*c*) Can money be sent through that Post office? .. ..

8. Religious practices followed by members of each caste, tribe and religious group in the village. The description of the religious practice in each case should begin with the name or names under which the Supreme Being is known and then proceed from ceremonies that might be observed in respect of a person from some time before he is born and end with the funeral rites after his death .. ..

9. Give details of places of common religious worship, if any .. ..

10. Describe community festivals if held in the village. .. ..

11. Dress commonly worn by the villagers with special reference to peculiarities on account of caste, tribe or religious sanction or economic status .. ..

12 Number and types of schools in the village .. ..

13. Describe social recreation centres, if any .. ..

14. State of co-operative movement in the village .. ..

(number and names of co-operatives).

SCHEDULES

Nature of Social disabilities suffered by different castes in the village

(I)	(II)			(III)				(IV)			(V)
	Access to			Disability regarding services				Avoided by caste Hindu in regard to			
Name of Caste	Shop, hotel, restaurant	Temple or place of worship	Any other place of public resort	Brahman priest	Barber	Washerman	Any other village servant	Touch	Serving cooked food	Serving water	Remarks

Village Disputes referred to different authorities last year

(I)	(II)			(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)
	Leading members of each disputant party						
Nature of adjudicating authority	Caste Panchayat	Name	Caste/Tribe	Nature of dispute	Decision of the adjudicating authority	Nature of sanction	Remarks (Whether the decision was enforced, whether there is preference for adjudication by particular type of authority, in particular type of case, place of trial, etc.)
Caste Panchayat ..							
Informal Panchayat ..							
Statutory Village Panchayat							
Court							
Others (Specify) ..							

Village Leaders, Members of Panchayat, Priests and other office-bearers

(I)	(II)								(III)
	Members								
Name of Organization	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the office	How gained position	Remuneration, if any	Other offices held inside the village	Remarks
Statutory Panchayat ..									
Caste Panchayat (name of caste)									
Other Leaders ..									
Members of Board of Directors of Co-operative Society									

Cultural Life of the Village

(I)	(II)	(III)		(IV)					(V)	(VI)	(VII)
		Rough proportion of members belonging to		Office-bearers							
Names of clubs, libraries, drama parties or other cultural organizations in the village	When established	Different castes	Different occupations/ groups	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Education	Brief note on basis of membership, subscription, signing of pledge, etc.	Brief note on objective of the organization	Brief note on activities of the organization

Recreational and Artistic Activities enjoyed by the Villagers

(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	(VI)	(VII)		(VIII)	(IX)
						If activity is in village, do visitors from other village participate			
Type of activity*	Brief description	Where room placed (if outside the village, name and distance of the place)	Frequency and duration (specify whether daily, monthly, seasonal, etc.)	Extent of active participation of people of the main castes and communities in performance (many, few, some)	Extent of participation of people of the main castes or communities as audience (many, few, some)	Approximate number	Role (player, audience otherwise)	What agency sponsors, promotes or finances	Who trains, players, etc. (His name, address, caste, occupation)
1. Sports and games									
2. Drama, music, dancing, etc. ..									
3. Cinema ..									
4. Filmstrip, puppet-show, etc. ..									
5. Fairs ..									
6. Festivals ..									
7. Other entertainments ..									

*Indicate nature and reason of celebration.