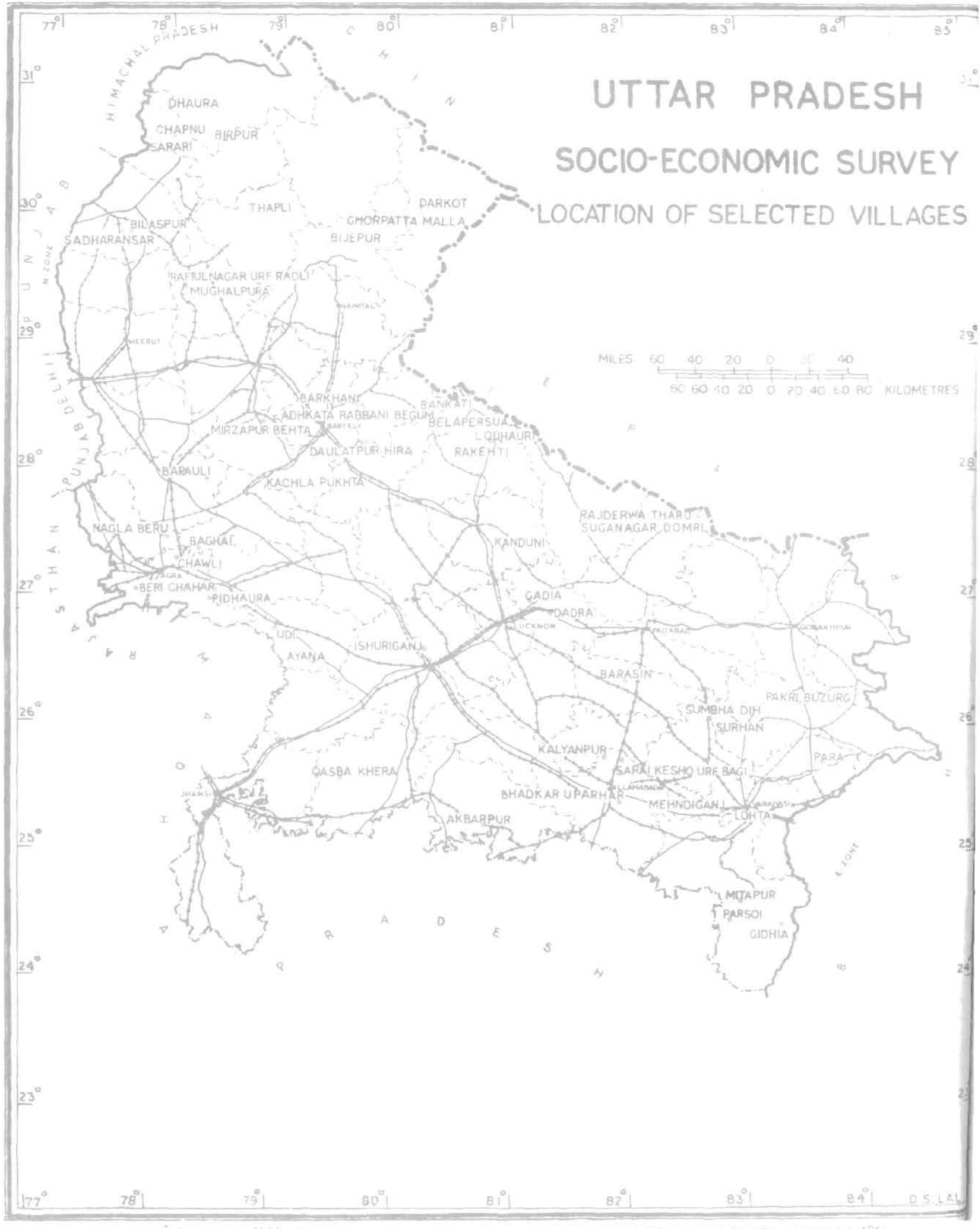
CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

CHAPNU

A VILLAGE SURVEY



UTTAR PRADESH



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Superintendent of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh

VILLAGE CHAPNU
(TAHSIL CHAKRATA, DISTRICT DEHRA DUN)

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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 represenet a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

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

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

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

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

New Delhi:
July 30, 1964.

Asok Mitra
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

In Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation has 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, abolition of Zamindari, extension of Planning and Development activities, and 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. Of the selected villages, some contain a dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people and others have an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of non-availability of the requisite number of villages possessing all the prescribed variables. The 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 a greater degree to the winds of change from various directions.

3. Chapnu, a hill village in tahsil Chakrata, of district Dehra Dun belongs to the second group of villages. It has only 16 households with a total population of 111 persons who are all Koltas by caste. They are the descendants of the original population, occupying the lowest rung in the social ladder of Jaunsar-Bawar. The village has an old and settled character with agriculture as the main occupation. It is situated at a distance of about 6 miles from Kalsi by the side of the Kalsi-Chakrata road. For quite long Jaunsar-Bawar has been an isolated area, with its own peculiar socio-religious customs and usages. The Polyandro-polygynous type of family prevalent throughout the sub-division is an interesting peculiarity of this area.

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 discussions. The local investigation was started by Shri J. P. Misra towards the end of 1961 and completed by Shri G. S. Saksena by the middle of 1962. Both these Socio-Economic Inspectors had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organisation. Shri R. C. Sharma, Deputy Census Superintendent, of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service, visited the village twice in connexion with this study.He is responsible for guiding the investigation, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and finally drafting the report.

5. 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.

LUCKNOW:
March 24, 1964.

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

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Location

Village Chapnu lies in the hilly sub-division of Jaunsar-Bawar of tahsil Chakrata in district Dehra Dun at a distance of about 20 miles to the south of the tahsil headquarters and about 40 miles to the north of Dehra Dun. The village is included in *khat* Bana from revenue and administrative points of view. It is quite remote from the district and tahsil headquarters in view of the distance but in comparison to other hill villages it is easily accessible because it is located at a stone's throw from the main hill road on which regular bus service is available according to gate timings. The northern boundary of the village runs with Dadhau while its southern boundary is formed all along by uncultivated *banjar* land. On the east it is bounded by Amlawa river and *khat* Panjgaon and on its west lies the revenue village Amraha.

Jaunsar-Bawar lies between 30°31′ and 31°3′30″ north latitude and 77°45′ and 78°7′20″ east longitude. On the north and the east it is bounded by Tehri Garhwal; on its west lie the former hill states of Bashar, Raiengarh, Tharoch, Jubal and Sirmoor; and to the south is the beautiful Doon valley. River Tons separates it from Sirmoor State till its confluence with river Yamuna near Kalsi. It has an area of 363.5 sq. miles and a population of 66,684 persons (37,640 males and 29,044 females) consisting of Brahmins, Khasas and Koltas. The residents of Jaunsar-Bawar remained isolated from others for a long time. They evolved a self sufficient economy based on co-operation and inter-dependents at almost every stage, because in this rugged tract Nature is not generous and bountiful in spite of the best efforts of man. They have their own peculiar customs, super natural beliefs and socio-religious rituals. The Brahmins and Khasa Rajputs can and do inter-marry even though preference is given to marriage within the same caste. The Doms consist of a number of sub-castes which are treated as down-trodden and untouchable. The polyandro-polygynous type of family is prevalent throughout the sub-division. The rate of growth of population in this area up to 1951 had been quite slow probably because of the prevalence of venereal diseases and sterility and polyandrous system of marriage. All these and some more peculiarities of this society aroused the interest of a number of anthropologists and sociologists from time to time.

Chapnu is a small-sized village with an area of 67.34 acres and a population of 111 persons, situated at 4,500 ft. above the sea-level. It is occupied only by Koltas who are the descendants of the aborigines, having a link with the race of pre-historic Koll culture. They constitute a Scheduled Caste and have been treated as untouchable serfs. They occupy the lowest place in the social organisation of Jaunsar-Bawar.

Topography and Climate

".....Jaunsar-Bawar has the character of being one of the wildest and most rugged tracts, affording naturally very little level ground, and that only in small patches. The mountains are peculiarly rough and precipitous, there is much cliff and rock and few villages, so that the cultivation is necessarily small and very laborious. The whole rock almost is limestone, which no doubt gives the massy irregular character to the mountains. The ravines are as a rule, deep and sudden in their descent, often ending in dark chasms, sometimes wooded, but, as often, exhibiting bare faces of precipitous rock covered, here and there, with a fine wiry grass, and merely affording space between for the roaring torrent that has worn a way for itself in the lapse of time."*

Chapnu is a typically hilly village situated on a mountain slope. All the 16 houses of the village are not situated on the same level. Instead, they are scattered on small patches of flat land at varying heights. The ridge faces the sun which sets behind the hill a bit earlier than evening. In the afternoon, it descends beyond the hill but without the slightest change of appearance. The scenic beauty of this area is simply enchanting. The area of the revenue village extends from the top of the hill down to the valley of Amlawa river. The Kalsi-Chakrata metalled road cuts the village area into two, leaving the *abadi* area and part of the cultivated land on the left side. The ravines of the river are deep and dark. The nearing hillocks are covered with scattered trees or shrubs or grass only here and there.

Since the village lies in the southern region of Jaunsar-Bawar, the climate is moderately cold. The summer is pleasant but the winter is somewhat chilly; the sensation of cold is experienced even at midday. With the lengthening of shadows, the cold becomes quite biting. December, January and February are the coldest months when the performance of outdoor duties is quite inconvenient. There is no snowfall in the village but

*Atkinson, E. T.: *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India* 1884, pp. 341-42.

the repeated snowfall at Chakrata and other high mountain ranges in the vicinity during January and February intensifies the cold in this village too. When the cold wind blows from the direction of the snow-clad peaks, a chilling sensation unaccountably creeps over everyone. The season from March to the end of October is pleasant and charming and replete with brisk activities excepting, of course, the intervening period of incessant rains when it is difficult to move out. May and June are naturally the hottest months of the year. The village has a healthy and bracing climate, with seasonal vicissitudes of wind and weather.

The village has a predominantly agricultural economy, entirely dependent on rains for raising of crops, because the facilities of artificial irrigation are almost non-existent. Only a limited area in the valley of Amlawa river is irrigated. In the absence of proper irrigation facilities, the rain assumes additional importance for the cultivators in the hills. Since the village is situated in the Himalayan range of mountains, rain is abundant. The first showers are generally heavier, thereby eroding the dry land. On such occasions some of the retaining walls which support the terraced fields give way. Their reconstruction is a costly and laborious affair. The rainy season starts in the last week of June and lasts till the middle of September. There is some rain during the winter season too.

The heaviest rainfall recorded in Chakrata tahsil during the last three years was 62.81 inches in 1960 and the lowest was 59.87 inches in 1959. The average rainfall of Chakrata during the years 1958-1960 was 61.62 inches. Since the village is situated on the slope of a hill, the rain water does not accumulate anywhere but finds an easy escape. Hence there is no problem of drainage or waterlogging. The two sources of potable water (*diggi*) are conveniently situated quite near the *abadi* area.

Means of Communication and Transport

The village lies on a ridge by the side of the metalled road connecting Chakrata with Saharanpur and Dehra Dun. Private buses ply from these places to Chakrata according to the scheduled gate timings. The first gate for regulating the vehicular traffic is located at Kalsi, at a distance of about ½ mile from the Yamuna bridge because the meandering and zig-zag hill road begins from this place. One way traffic has to be enforced between Kalsi and Chakrata because the road is too narrow and dangerous to allow free vehicular traffic both sides. If one wants to travel against the scheduled timings, he has to take written permission from the Military Engineering Services authorities, under whose control this road is. From the roadside there is a steep and narrow bridle foot-path for ascending the village. During the rains it gets damaged, thereby rendering it very difficult for an ordinary plainsman to walk on it without the help of a stick. The distance is hardly 200 yards in length. For transporting goods from the village to the road side and vice versa the human back has invariably to be used. The village is also connected with the neighbouring villages by bridle foot-paths. No wheeled vehicle can be used in the village. The nearest railway station is Dehra Dun, about 40 miles from the village. The post and telegraph offices are located at Kalsi, about 6 miles from Chapnu.

Centres of Administration

The tahsil headquarters is located at Chakrata. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate and Tahsildar are stationed there during the period from March to November. Both these officers and their staff move from Chakrata in the middle of November and stay at Kalsi till the middle of March. The markets nearest to the village are at Sahiya and Kalsi but a more flourishing market is at Choharpur at a distance of about 11 miles from the village. The headquarters of the N. E. S. Block has also been located at Kalsi since 1956. The regular police station is at Chakrata but a police outpost is maintained at Kalsi gate to maintain law and order. A sub-inspector of police is in charge of it. Formerly the village used to be under the revenue police with the Tahsildar as the chief police officer. In the discharge of his police duties he is assisted by the Supervisor Kanungos who exercise the powers of a Sub-inspector of police. In 1952, five *khats* consisting of 85 villages including Chapnu were transferred to the administration of regular police.

The entire Jaunsar-Bawar is divided into 39 *khats* or groups of villages formed for the convenience of administration. Each of the *khats* had a *Khat Sayana* whose duties were to collect revenue from the cultivators and deposit it in Government treasury, to keep the zamindars contented and to help the administration in the maintenance of law and order. They were the eyes and ears of the administration and were allowed some perquisites for the services rendered by them. They were given due regard by the government officers and were naturally held in high esteem and awe by the population of the *khat*. At the lower level was the village *Sayana* who would work as a sort of village headman-*cum*-lambardar. The customary law of Jaunsar-Bawar was incorporated in the *Dastur-ul-Amal* (vide Appendix I) drawn up by Mr. A. Ross, Superintendent of the Doon (District Magistrate) in 1884. Similarly, the rights and duties of the *Sayanas* and some other customs pertaining to the *khat* were laid down in the *Wajib-ul-Arz* of

every *khat*. The Sayanachari system was abolished on July 1, 1961 when the Jaunsar-Bawar Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1956 (U. P. Act No. XI of 1956) was enforced.

Kalsi is known for the stone containing one of Asoka's edicts, lying close to the little villages of Byas and Haripur. "The Kalsi stone is a huge quartz boulder some ten feet high, ten feet long and eight feet broad at the base, the breadth diminishing towards the top. The south-eastern face has been partly smoothed and bears the greater part of the inscription, but a portion of the record has been inscribed on the left-hand side of the rock, the prepared surface having been evidently found insufficient for the whole. On the right-hand side an elephant is traced in outline with the word '*gajatame*' between the legs. The natives call it '*chitra-sila*', 'the inscribed or pictured stone', not '*chatra-sila*' or 'canopied stone'. When first discovered by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being incrusted with the moss of ages; but on removing the black film, the surface became nearly as white as marble. On comparison with the other edicts that at Kalsi was found to be in a more perfect state than any other, and more especially so in that part of the 13th edict which contains the names of the five Greek kings:—Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander, who from western records we identify with Antiochus Theos of Syria who flourished B. C. 263-46: Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, B. C. 285-46: Antigouns Gonnatus of Macedonia, B. C. 276-43: Magas of Cyrene, B. C. 258, and Alexander of Epirus, B. C. 272-54; so that the writing was inscribed in the third century before Christ, or say 253 B. C. The other similar rock edicts are found at Shahbaz-garhi in the Yusufzai district, twenty-five miles north-west of Attak on the Indus, at Girnar in Gujrat, at Dhauli in Kattack and at Jaugada in the Ganjam district. All these contain the whole fourteen edicts, but portions are found in caves and on pillars and rocks elsewhere."*

Language

The dialect of Jaunsar-Bawar is just like the *patois* spoken in the neighbouring areas Jubal and Tehri Garhwal. It is not ordinarily intelligible to the plainsman. For example, *gad* stands for 'stream', *pujhar* for 'woods' *nyar* for 'grass', *hanuwa* for 'to walk' and so on. There is, no separate alphabet of this language. The Hindi alphabet is used.

General

Chapnu is a Kolta village having 16 households inhabited by 111 persons only. In 1951 the village had a population of 110 persons thereby showing that the population has been static during the period of ten years. Everyone in the village smokes, drinks and takes meat. The main occupation is agriculture. They live in double-storeyed houses having stone walls and slanting slate roofs. The doors are narrow and small and the height of the room does not allow one to stand erect throughout the room. Only the upper storey is inhabited by human beings. There has been no immigration into or emigration from this village.

Jaunsar-Bawar used to be an isolated area once. With the passage of time, the local population came into contact with the outside world. Changes in various aspects of life are expected to have occurred in village Chapnu also which is located on the Kalsi-Chakrata road. The enforcement of the Community Development Programme in the area naturally accelerates the process of change. A survey of village Chapnu was undertaken with a view to studying the impact of the various processes of change on the residents of this village.

*Atkinson E. T.; *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. XI*, pp. 388-89.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Ethnic Composition

The original residents of Jaunsar-Bawar are the Brahmans, the Rajputs who call themselves Khasas, and the Doms grouped in several sub-castes such as Bajgi, Auzi, Lohar, Badhi, Chamar, Hurkiya and Kolta. Matrimonial relations between the Brahmans and the Khasas are quite common. The Khasas are Rajputs. They have a "fair complexion, tall stature, aquiline nose and well-defined features of the face". Grierson has observed"....in the extreme north-west of India, on the Hindu-Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and in the Western Panjab there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khasa, which were looked upon as Kshatriyas of Aryan origin. These spoke a language closely allied to Sanskrit, but with a vocabulary partly agreeing with that of the Eranian Avesta. They were considered to have lost their claim to consideration as Aryans, and to have become Mlechhas or barbarians owing to their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic people of India. These Khasas were a warlike tribe, and were well-known to classical writers, who noted, [a]s their special home, the Indian Caucasus of Pliny."

The Khasas who settled in this area were accompanied by some priests also. "The geographical isolation of the region and their racial affinity forced them to close in their rank and take to intermarriage for self-preservation." Originally, the Brahmans accepted brides from the Rajput families but did not give thier own daughters in marriage to the Rajputs. But in course of time the practice of *anulom* marriages was discontinued and Rajputs and Brahmans came to form an endogamous group. The preference for marriage within the same caste, however, continues.

The Doms belong to Scheduled Castes. They cover the functional group consisting of Bajgi, Auzi, Lohar, Badhi, Chamar, Hurkiya and the Kolta. The Bajgi works as a drummer, the Auzi as tailor, the Lohar as blacksmith, the Badhi as carpenter, the Chamar as cobbler and the Hurkiya (from *hurki*, a small drum shaped like an hour-glass and played with one hand only) as professional musician and dancer while the Koltas are usually agricultural labourers. In the social heirarchy the highest rank is occupied by the Bajgi, followed by Lohar, Badhi, Chamar, Hurkiya and the Koltas.

The Koltas have been living in a form of virtual slavery and semi-starvation. They and their wives and children were engaged by the zamindars whole-time servants, ploughmen and herdsmen. They were provided with daily food, poor clothing and a miserable house. Most of them were attached permanently to their respective zamindars ,but were liable to transfer to other zamindars. The system of virtual slavery was perpetuated by the time-long indebtedness to the zamindars which the Koltas could never pay off. The zamindars used to pay the expenses of their marriages and ceremonies but write it up against their names as debt, which was passed on from father to son. According to the customary law as laid down in *Dastur-ul-Amal* drawn up by Mr. Ross in 1851 and the *Wajib-ul-Arz* drawn at the Settlement, owning of land by Koltas was prohibited. They were not allowed any rights in the *nautor* land broken up by them. With the enforcement of the Jaunsar-Bawar Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1956 on July 1,1961 their condition as cultivators has improved considerably. They have got some rights and priveleges now.

All the residents of village Chapnu are Koltas. They are generally dark-coloured while a few of them are fair-complexioned as well. The tallest man in the village is Pachia who has a height of 6 feet. He has a fair-complexion, hazel eyes and well-chiselled features.

The caste Hindus do not take any edible touched by Koltas. They can take tea at a shop but are not allowed to enter the temples. Their children can study in the school where children of higher castes study.

Population

The following table indicates the population of Jaunsar-Bawar at the time of previous census counts :—

TABLE No. 2.1

Population of Jaunsar-Bawar

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage Increase	Sex Ratio
1881	22,400	19,717	45,117	..	776
1891	28,435	22,262	50,697	12.3	783
1901	28,349	22,752	51,101	0.8	803
1911	30,518	24,294	54,812	7.3	796
1921	31,567	24,056	55,623	1.5	762
1931	31,922	24,852	56,774	2.1	779
1941	32,345	25,305	57,650	1.5	782
1951	32,704	25,765	58,469	1.4	788
1961	36,640	29,044	66,684	14.1	733

*Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India Vol. IX* Part IV p. 7.

The net increase in the population showed a downward trend from 1891 to 1951. The population had become more or less static but during the decade 1951-1961 the population increased by 14.1 per cent, which is beyond all expectations. As regards Chapnu, at 1951 census its population was 110 persons while at the time of this survey it was 111 persons. The population of this village has thus been more or less static.

Another marked feature of the population is the acute disparity in sex ratio, which is perhaps one of the main factors responsible for the system of polyandry prevailing in this area. Chapnu has 59 males and 52 females which means that there are 881 females to every 1,000 males. In 1951, the sex ratio in this village was as low as 719. At the time of survey, the age group 15-19 years had 5 males but no females.

The area of the village is 67.34 acres or 0.11 sq. mile and hence the density of population comes to 1,055 persons per sq. mile. This indicates that the village is densely populated as compared with the rest of the tahsil or the district.

Births and Deaths

The births and deaths are entered in a register maintained by the Pradhan of Gaon Sabha in accordance with the provisions of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. According to the entries recorded therein, there was only one death but no birth during the year ending June 30, 1961. This apparently explains why the population is static.

Population by Age Groups

The following table shows the population of this village by age groups :—

Age Group (Years)	Population		
	Male	Female	Total
0—4 ..	3	8	11
5—9 ..	7	7	14
10—14 ..	10	7	17
15—19 ..	5	..	5
20—24 ..	5	3	8
25—29 ..	5	4	9
30—34 ..	1	1	2
35—39 ..	4	2	6
40—44 ..	2	5	7
45—49 ..	5	3	8
50—54 ..	5		9
55—59 ..	3	3	6
60 and over ..	4	5	9
Total ..	59	52	111

Thus 42 persons (37.8 per cent) belong to the age group 0—14 years, 45 persons (40.5 per cent) to the age group 15—49 years and the remaining 24 persons (21.7 per cent) to the age group 50 years and over. According to Sundbarg the population of a place may be of three types, viz., *Progressive*, *Stationary* and *Retrogressive*. The progressive population is one in which the proportion in the age group 0—14 is more than twice in the group 50 & over, the stationary population is one in which this proportion is just twice, and the retrogressive population is one in which this proportion is less than twice. In the case of this village the proportion of population in the age group 0—14 years is less than twice in the group 50 years and over and hence the population is retrogressive in nature, which is an unusual phenomenon.

Marital Status

The following table shows the marital status of the population by broad age groups :—

Age Group (Years)	Married			Unmarried		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
0—14 ..	6	7	13	14	15	29
15—34 ..	10	8	18	6	..	6
35—54 ..	16	13	29	..	1	1
55 and over	7	8	15	..	..	..
Total	39	36	75	20	16	36

There are no widowed or divorced persons in the village. Polyandry is evidently responsible for the absence of widows in the village. As regards age at marriage, one girl was found married at the age of 2 years. In the age group 0–14 years, 6 males and 7 females were found married.

The village presents a mixture of polygamy and polyandry both. A study of the 16 households is quite interesting. Kaisroo aged 50 years was married at the age of 13 years to Thiabri aged 45 years when she was 8 years old. They have two sons, Datti aged 16 years and Meena aged 13 years. At the age of 14 years Datti was married to Paindoo then aged 7 years and Bagoo then aged 5 years. The two girls are automatically the wives of the younger brother Meena also. Thus each brother has two wives and each wife has two husbands—amixture of polygamy and polyandry.

Panthi aged 30 years married Buri aged 30 years when both of them were 10 years old. They have two sons Rujnoo aged 14 years and Goshoo aged 12 years

Two years ago Rujnoo was married to Rondi when she was 12 years of age. She is shared as a wife by both the brothers—Goshoo being 2 years younger to her in age.

Phaichroo, a lame person aged 45 years, was married at the aged of 16 years to Bosagi when she was 11 years old. Mantoor aged 35 years, is the younger brother of Phaichroo. Bosagi is shared by him as a wife.

In another case, Sairi aged 60 years has two wives aged 65 and 58 years. Their sons Khaintoo (28 years), Mannoo (27 years), Goodoo (26 years), Bhajnoo (15 years) have a common wife Punni aged 28 years. This woman would perhaps be a bit too old for the youngest brother (aged 9 years) when he reaches the age of puberty.

Boora aged 52 years has two wives aged 65 years and 50 years. Till four years ago he used to be one of the three husbands of these two women but after the death of his two brothers, he is their only husband. Their two sons have a mental disorder. One son named Madhoo has two wives, which the two mentally afflicted brothers do not share. The other two brothers are too young.

Mungshairoo aged 65 years has two wives, viz., Shaoni aged 60 years and Maori aged 55 years. He married thrice, his age on the three occasions being 12, 20 and 25 years. Shaoni was aged 15 when she married. Maori married twice, her age at the two marriages being 10 years and 15 years.

Mauloo aged 62 years was married at the age of 12 years to Borey who was then 5 years old only. Dayanoo, the younger brother of Mauloo, shares this wife. His son Rati has two wives Arsoo and Baisekhi. At the time of marriage Rati and Arsoo were 9 years old, while Baisekhi was 7 years and 12 years at the time of her two marriages.

Nathia aged 45 years and his brother Galloo aged 35 years share the common wife Gumani aged 40 years. She was married twice, her age on the two occasions being 8 years and 15 years. Nathia was married thrice, his age being 10 years, 16 years and 20 years on these occasions.

Magoo aged 45 years is married to Boshi aged 40 years, who is the co-wife of Dontia aged 35 years, younger brother of Magoo. Both Magoo and Boshi married twice. At the time of first marriage he was 8 years old and she was 6 years old. When they were married he was 43 years old and she was 38 years old. Magoo had to pay Rs. 800 as bride price for Boshi.

Parchia and Toloo share a common wife Shukri. At the time of marriage Parchia was 10 years old and Shukri was 5 years old. Phooloo, the son's wife, was purchased for Rs. 800. At the time of first marriage she was 6 years old and at the time of second marriage 19 years old.

Seeboo and his brothers Gairoo and Zinda have a common wife Gumani. At the time of marriage Seeboo was 8 years and Gumani was only 2 years old. Two sons of this household have married two girls who are not shared in common. This is indicative of the tendency of the younger generation not to share wives.

Kishia aged 50 years has two wives-Agooni aged 50 years who fell in his lot at the time of family partition, and Kanati aged 28 years who was married thrice at the age of 10 years, 20 years and 27 years.

It is only in four households that neither polyandry nor polygamy is practised. Almost in every case, the first marriage of every male in the village was performed before attaining the age of 18 years and of every female before the age of 14 years, as is evident from the following table showing the age at marriage of the married persons in the village :—

TABLE No. 2·2

Age at Marriage

Age at Marriage	Males	Females
2	..	1
5	1	4
6	3	5
7	1	4
8	8	5
9	1	1
10	8	9
11	2	1
12	4	3
14	2	..
15	2	..
16	3	2
17	..	1
19	1	..
20	1	..
21	1	..
27	1	..
Total	39	36

The average age at marriage of male was thus $10\frac{1}{2}$ years and that of a female $8\frac{3}{4}$ years. Child marriage are still the order of the day, in spite of the provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 (Act No. XXV of 1955).

Ornaments

The males do not wear any ornaments at all but the Jaunsari females are quite loaded with jewellery. The males spend huge sums of money over the procurement of gold ornaments for their wives. The Brahman and Khasa females wear a number of gold ornaments but the Kolta females can afford only silver ornaments. The following statement shows some of the ornaments used by the females :—

Name of Ornament	Description
1. *Tilli*	A small nose-pin worn on the left portion of the nose
2. *Laung*	A big nose-pin
3. *Bulak*	A pendant worn on the cartilage of the nose; it hangs up to the chin
4. *Nath*	A large nose-ring, held up by a chain or string attached to the head-gear to relieve the strain on the nose; it is worn by old women even. The hole in which *tilli* and *nath* are worn is the same and hence both the ornaments cannot be worn simultaneously.
5. *Jhumku*	A betel leaf-shaped ornament suspended from the ear lobe
6. *Tungal*	Set of silver rings worn round the outer edge of the ear
7. *Kanthi*	A garland of silver rupees with *ghungroo*
8. *Kanduri*	A garland of silver rupees with a *moonga* bead in the centre
9. *Har*	A necklace having a number (usually 8) of chains
10. *Gulband*	A type of silver collar worn round the neck
11. *Sooch*	An ordinary garland
12. *Khagli*	A necklace of round silver bar
13. *Kantha*	A *khagli* with pendant in the centre
14. *Dorsu*	A garland with several chains of 4 as., 8 as., and 1 rupee coins united to a single chain which forms the back portion
15. *Utreyan*	Head chain
16. *Choori*	Silver bangles
17. *Karey*	Bracelets of solid silver
18. Angoothi	Ring worn on fingers
19. Pauli	Ring worn in the digits of feet

The number of ornaments worn by the womenfolk depends upon the financial condition of the household. A number of holes are pierced in the ears of every woman. The prolonged use of ornaments invariably causes disfigurement of the ears because the holes are gradually widened and the lobes are pulled down.

Dress

During summer men wear a loin cloth, a woollen or cotton cap and one or two shirts. The mill-made cotton cloth is imported from the plains. It is purchasd by the people from Sahiya, Kalsi or Choharpur. During winter they use woollen pyjamas, locally called *jhangail* and a short woollen coat. If it is very cold a blanket may be used. The woollen cloth and blankets which are used are generally manufactured in pargana Jaunsar-Bawar itself from home-spun wool. Country- made shoes are also used by a few people.

The women wear a *ghaghra*, a *kurti* and *dhantu*. The *ghaghra* is just like a voluminous petticoat extending up to the ankles. It is tied round the waist. The *Kurti* resembles a tight-fitting short coat tied like the *angarkha*. Some women use the double-breasted *kurti*, to safeguard against the cold. The *dhantu*, which is used as a head-gear, is usually a square piece of coloured cloth, placed on the head and tied with a knot behind. Even young girls cover their head with *dhantu*. In fact no woman would be found with an uncovered head. They do not use the *sari*, obviously because it does not suit the climatic and geographical conditions of this area of rugged hills. Some womenfolk who belong to better-off families use *ghaghra* and *kurti* of brighter colours, with pattern border of another colour, especially on the occasions of fairs and festivals. No shoes are used by the womenfolk.

Food

All the 16 households are non-vegetarian. *Mandua*, *jhangora* and rice are the staple diets of the villagers. *Mandua* and *jhangora* are grown locally. *Mandua* has the additional virtue of staying long in the stomach, as it is slow to digest. Sometimes wheat, maize and barley are also used for preparing *chapaties*. *Sattu* of maize is consumed with curd and salt. Vegetables and pulses grown locally are used in the village.

Only 3 households were found taking tea and sugar. Everyone in the village smokes tobacco. Locally-prepared liquor is consumed in every household. The typical utensils used in distillation of liquor are shown in photo plate no. 16.

"Liquor is prepared in two ways. First of all water is mixed with barley flour and certain powdered intoxicating roots. Then big cakes, each weighing about 6 chataks, are prepared and stored up in some place, generally an under-ground chamber. These cakes are just like the common *gurbheli* in the plains and are called *kheem* or *keem*. This operation is undertaken during the spare months of the winter season. Whenever liquor is to be prepared, *mandua* or *jhangora* flour is mixed with water in a vessel and a few *keem* are dropped according to the quantity and strength of the drink desired. The vessel is then covered and stored away for about three days for fermentation. The contents are now heated on fire in a vessel and distilled. The distilled liquid is then collected in bottles and is locally called *soor* or *daru*. While the bottles are being filled, a small quantity of the liquor is every now and then thrown into the fire to test its strength and quality. So long as it catches fire at once, it is graded as *phool* (i.e., superior), but as soon as it becomes slow to catch the fire, it is graded as inferior.

"The alternative method consists in mixing a number *keem* in flour of barley or *jhangora* with a large quantity of water in it. The whole mixture is then stored away for a long time, usually one to two months. During this interval, fermentation takes place and beer is prepared. This beer is locally called *ghankati* or *pankhuri*. The *pankhuri* is stored in a big iron vessel having a capacity of over 1½ maund. It is taken out in an earthen pot, called *gudki* and then served to the people in shallow utensils."*

Furniture and Utensils

Except cots there is no furniture worth the name. Cots are found in 7 households only and they too are in a rotten condition. Everyone sleeps on the wood floor of the upper storey after spreading animal skins or *durrie*. The bugs in the wood roof are a regular nuisance. It is very difficult to combat this menace because whenever one would make an attempt to catch and kill them, they beat a hasty retreat into the crevices of the floor. The main utensils and articles used in the village are as follows :—

(i) *Patili* or *tauli* of brass or alumunium which is used for cooking *dal* and *meat*

(ii) *Batua* of brass, used for carrying and storing water

(iii) *Tawa* (called *utawa* in the local dialect) of iron used for preparing chapaties

(iv) *Mugai* or *thali* (plate) of *kansa* used for taking food

(v) *Katora* (bowl-shaped utensil) of *kansa* used for taking liquor, *lassi*, water or food

(vi) Brass *gilas* (tumbler) used for taking water etc.

(vii) *Tambia* of brass which is a big utensil for taking bath

(viii) *Prat*, a big brass plate used for preparing dough

(ix) *Karahi* (frying pan) made of iron but rarely of brass

(x) *Kathia* of wood for milking the cow, a big *kathia* is used for preparing curd and churning butter out of it.

(xi) Jharna of iron for making mustard oil *puris*

(xii) Iron *tasla* or wash basin for washing hands

(xiii) *Khalta* of goat or sheep skin for storing flour

(xiv) Iron *phukia* or pipe for blowing at fire

(xv) *Chimta* (pair of tongs) of iron used while handling fire

(xvi) Earthen pitchers for cooling water during summer or for boiling it during winter

(xvii) *Chalni* or sieve made of iron gauze and frame

(xviii) *Soop* or winnowing basket for cleaning grain, millets and pulses.

Dwellings

The Jaunsaries are fond of constructing good-looking residences. They invest huge sums of money in the ornamentation and construction of their houses which are well-built and comfortable as well. Usually, the houses are double-storeyed. The walls of the ground floor are usually made of stones. The upper storey is made entirely of *deodar* wood. It is divided into two or three apartments having sloping roofs on either side. The roofs are covered with slabs of slate, taken out of rocks. These slabs are naturally of various sizes. They are arranged irregularly over the wooden ceiling provided by planks supported on poles or beams in which long nails are driven so that the slabs might not slip down the roof. The upper portion of the building is used for human habitation while the lower one is meant for tethering the cattle or storage of grains. The doors are small and narrow and one can enter the room only by stooping

*Saksena R. N. : *Social Economy of a Polyandrous People*, 1962, p. 38.

low. In the middle of the room the ceiling is sufficiently high to permit one to stand erect on the floor without fear of being struck against the roof. On the sides, the ceiling is too low to allow one to stand erect. The upper portion is accessible from both the sides by means of wood ladder or stone staircase constructed for the purpose. There are small openings both in the walls and the roof. Usually there is one apartment only serving both as bed-room and kitchen. If there are two compartments one is used as sleeping room while the other is used as kitchen. On either side of the room there are small verandahs used as sitting rooms or for accommodating guests.

The building materials, e.g., stones for walls and slate for roof are available from rocks in the vicinity of the village. *Deodar* wood has to be brought from near Deoban forests, at a distance of about 25 miles or so. This involves lot of time and labour. The villagers have got their customary right to get some trees free from the reserved forests for domestic use on a year-to-year basis. Every year six *deodar* trees are made available to the villages lying in Khat Bana and they are divided equitably in all the villages of this Khat in accordance with the population and requirements of the people. Since timber is allotted to all the villages collectively, the zamindars and superior caste people grab the lion's share while the Koltas and lower caste people are sometimes deprived of their legitimate share. Construction of a house also requires on an average 7 poles of *sal* or *halder*. These are procured free of cost from Kalsi about 6 miles away.

The construction of a house in the village is treated as an occasion of social importance and festivity. Whenever wood has to be brought from a distance, an invitation is extended to the entire village. Feast and folk dances are arranged at the expense of the builder of the house. Next day able-bodied persons from each household go to the distant place for bringing wood because an individual cannot possibly do so single-handed. In the same manner people co-operate with each other in bringing other materials, e.g., stones, slates, etc.

Before laying the foundation, a Brahmin priest is consulted for indicating the auspicious hour and day for doing so. He puts two Paise of copper under each of the four corner stones before construction of foundation is started. Earthen lamp filled with mustard oil is lighted and placed in the middle of the floor space. Perquisite varying between Rs. 1 and 4 is given to the priest. For some days this lamp is regularly kindled at the place for a week or so. Two community feasts are generally arranged—one after the erection of the four walls of the first floor and the other after the completion of the entire house. Goats or pigs are slaughtered and members of other households of the village are invited to participate in the feasts. The first feast might cost Rs. 100 or so while the second feast would require Rs. 400 or so. When the house is complete, the family shifts into it after finding out an auspicious time and date.

No plan of the house is formally prepared before undertaking construction. There is no superstition governing the direction of the entrance. Generally the houses face the sun.

The village has 16 residential houses, each accommodating one household. These houses have 22 rooms in which the entire population of 111 persons lives. One household has three rooms for accommodating 11 family members, 4 households have two rooms each for 36 family members and the remaining 11 households have single room only in which as many as 64 persons live. The households and houses with a single room accommodation are the most prevalent type in the village.

Cost of Construction

The construction of houses costs much in money, labour and time in the village. The village people cooperate with each other in bringing building materials for which they do not charge anything but costly feasts have to be arranged for them. Constructing a house would require about Rs. 2,000—Rs. 500 on feasts, Rs. 800 as carpenter's and mason's charges, Rs. 700 on quarrying stones and slates, on wood if it falls short, and on paints and iron material. In fact the cost of construction varies from house to house, depending on its size and decoration.

Health

Men are comparatively healthier than women who have to work hard outside the house and have to cater to the whims of their husbands inside the house. Next to bullocks, woman is perhaps the next primary necessity of successful execution of cultivation. She gets up early in the morning, fetches water from a distance, cooks food for a big family and attends to multifarious duties outside the house. She has to satisfy the sex-instincts of one of her husbands in the house and of the other husbands generally outside the house. All these engagements leave her exhausted and fatigued. Jaunsar-Bawar has been known for the prevalence of venereal diseases both in men and women. Leucorrhoea is common amongst women. All this lead to sterility in a number of cases. The stable population in the village is not due to heavy death rate but on account of low birth rate. Fever with cough is the common ailment. There have been no cases of small-pox for the last 3 years. Only one person in the village was unvaccinated. Con-

finements take place without the help of *dai* (midwife). After delivery the mothers do not get proper rest and nourishing food. No case of medical treatment was reported from the village during the last one year.

Medical Facilities

Medical facilities are not available in the village. At Kalsi, up to 1963 there used to be a State Government V. D. Control mobile team headed by a medical officer. The team toured rural areas for 20 days in a month and for 10 days they camped at Kalsi, giving medical advice and treatment. The average attendance of patients at Kalsi ranged from 25 to 30 per day. This team functioned from 1953 to 1963 in this area. There is no private medical practitioner of any repute in the vicinity of the village.

There is a dispensary at Sahiya about 4 miles from Chapnu, under the management of Zila Parishad. It has a medical officer but for long periods the compounder remains in charge of the dispensary. The dispensary is often frequented by the villagers for medical treatment. The patient is taken there by bus. If there is no accommodation in the bus, he has to be carried on human back.

Sanitation

The village and its surroundings are not clean. Domestic fowls and pigs are a positive hinderance in the maintenance of sanitation in the village. There are no built-up latrines and urinals. The open place near the village is used for answering the call of nature. The human beings are followed by the pigs. The cattle and pigs are made to rest in the lower portion of the house. Garbage is accumulated in heaps near the residential houses for preparing manure. The narrow openings and lanes between the houses are not properly and timely cleaned.

The villagers themselves are quite dirty and take little care of their personal hygiene and cleanliness. They are in the habit of easing themselves near the water source and then cleaning themselves with the water in a pit nearby. They would blow the nose in the kitchen and put the outflow into the hearth where food is cooked. Bath is taken only occasionally.

Drainage

The village lies in the watershed of river Amlawa which joins river Yamuna. There is no problem of water-logging since the village is situated on a slope. Kitchen water flows in the village lanes itself because there is no drainage system.

Literacy

The village is backward in the matter of education, as only one male was found to be literate. At the 1951 census not a single person was returned as literate from this village. Education is non-existent because 'woman for the hearth and man for the field is still the guiding principle in the village. There is a Primary school in village Panjia, about a mile from the village, where the children of this village can study, but no one bothers to send them to school. Even small children are put on the job of tending cattle, goats, sheep and pigs and thus reduce the burden of toilsome life to some extent.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Workers and Non-workers

The following table shows the number of workers and non-workers by age groups and sex :—

TABLE No. 3.1

Workers and Non-workers by Age and Sex

Age group (years)	Workers			Non-workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
0—14 ..	17	11	6	25	9	16
15—34 ..	22	14	8	2	2	..
35—59 ..	34	18	16	2	1	1
60 and Over	7	3	4	2	1	1
Total	80	46	34	31	13	18

About 72 per cent of the population consists of workers, 42.5 per cent of whom are females. The children start working early and the old people continue working till nature makes them totally incapable of working. On an average one earner has to provide for only 0.39 non-earning dependant. The extent of female participation in economic activities is quite high. In fact women work side by side with the men in the fields. The age group 15 years and over has 30 females but only 2 of them are non-workers.

Occupational Pattern

The following table shows the classification of workers by occupation and age groups :—

TABLE No. 3.2

Workers by Occupation and Age Groups

Occupation	Age Groups							
	0—14		15—34		35—59		60&Over	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Cultivation	4	5	9	8	9	16	1	4
2. Road Worker	..	..	4	..	8	..	1	..
3. Animal rearing	6	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
4. Worker in flour-mill	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
5. Mason	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

It will be seen from the above that out of 80 workers in the village, 70 per cent work as cultivators, 16.25 per cent in construction on the road, while 10 per cent are engaged in animal rearing, 2.5 per cent as workers in flour-mill and only 0.25 per cent as mason. Out of the 34 female workers, 33 are engaged in cultivation and one in animal rearing. The women do not work as labourers on the road. The highest number of workers is in the age group 35-59 years and 15–34 years respectively. Thus Chapnu is predominantly an agriculturist village.

At the time of 1951 census, out of 110 persons in this village, 100 persons depended on agriculture either as earners or as dependants. Thus about 91 per cent of the population depended on agriculture. At the time of this survey it was found that 87 persons (about 78 per cent of the population) depended on agriculture as the principal means of livelihood. The slight change in the livelihood pattern has been brought about by the engagement of some persons on road construction work.

Change in traditional Occupations

Out of 16 households in the village cultivation is done in all the households. It is followed as the main occupation in 12 families and as a subsidiary occupation in the remaining 4 families. Thus 12 households have been treated as agricultural households, even though one of the members thereof might be engaged either as a worker on the road or on the flour-mill. Only in 4 households, the income from agricultural pursuits is less than the income from non-agricultural occupations. These 4 households have therefore been classified as non-agricultural. In the 12 agricultural households no change in occupation as compared with the father's occupation was reported. In the remaining 4 non-agricultural households either the father continues to be an agriculturist or the father used to be a cultivator.

Heads of all the 16 households were asked to indicate the occupation which they wanted their sons to follow. There were no sons in 4 households and hence no opinion was expressed by the heads of these households. Of the remaining 12 households, 10 did not want any change. One household, the principal occupation of which is cultivation, wanted his son to get into service. The head of another household, who works as a mason, also wanted his son to get into service.

As is evident, there is not much of change in the occupational pattern of the village. In fact there is nothing to pick and choose from. The Kolta of this village can be a cultivator, a labourer on the road or a mason. There is no education and hence no one has taken to a white collared job. There is no one from this

village who might have migrated outside and hence the possibility of the young men of this village being attracted outside with the help of such a person is also ruled out.

Agriculture

The total area of the village is 67.34 acres according to the revenue records for the year 1368F. Out of this only 41.92 acres are under cultivation while 25.42 acres are constituted of *abadi* over 3.48 acres, *banjar* (16.62 acres), new fallow (3.96 acres) and *khad* (1·36 acres). *Sankara*, the poor stony land, is the prevailing soil of the village.

Size of Holdings

The following table shows the size of holdings in the village :—

Table No. 3·3.
Size of Holdings

Size	Number of Households
0.50–1.00 acres	3
1.00–2.49 ,,	6
2.50–4.99 ,,	5
5.00–10·00 ,,	2

The minimum holding has an area of 0.11 acres and the maximum holding has an area of 8.11 acres. The holdings in the village are naturally small, scattered and uneconomic. They are just like ascending stairs. As observed by Atkinson, "The terraces rise one above the other up the hill side. All these terraces have to be supported by stone retaining-walls, varying from a height of 4 to 10 ft. The expense of making these walls is very great in time and trouble, because the cultivators make the walls themselves. A land slip or an extra heavy thunder-shower will sometimes wash away a whole hill side of these terraces, thus either ruining the unfortunate cultivator or involving him in fresh work for years to come. Wherever there is any good land there terraced fields exist. There are very many little isolated plots where fresh terraces can be made and cultivation increased, but within the village bonds there is nowhere a block of good untilled land in one place sufficiently large to form a separate village. Wherever it is possible water is led on to these terraces from streams and springs : some of these *kuls* or small canals are carried great distances through most impracticable ground and great expense".* Such small plots are locally known as *dandas*. Land lying in the bed of the river or a stream, which can be irrigated without any difficulty is locally known as *kyarik*. The soil is alluvial and hence fertile. Such land is generally double-cropped. In addition, sometimes shifting cultivation is done on plots of land, after clearing the shrubery, from time to time. This is known as *khil* cultivation.

In 1365 F. the irrigated area in this village was 1.34 acres; in 1368 F. it came down to 1.24 acres. The little irrigated land lies in the bed of stream Amlawa. The cultivators have to depend on the vagaries of weather in so far as rain is concerned.

Manure

The commonest form of manure is the cow-shed litter. The cattle are bedded on dry or green leaves which are removed along with urine and dung of these cattle after some days. These are heaped up at a convenient spot, in the vicinity of the *abadi* area. No one in this village uses chemical fertilizers. The ashes of the stalks of *mandua* (*Eleusine coracana*) and other crops are also used as manure. The plants are cut somewhere near the middle and taken to the threshing floor. The standing stalks are burnt and ploughed in the fields.

Agricultural Tools and Implements

The following implements are used in cultivation:—

(1) A light wooden plough with an iron blade is used for ploughing the fields. It has to be very light and small so that there might be no difficulty in carrying it to the fields and turning it round in the small plots.

(2) *Gainti*, having an iron blade and a wooden handle is used for digging the hard clay.

(3) *Goru* is a tool used for weeding . It is also used for collecting manure or digging it out from the refuse dump.

(4) *Garasi* is used for cutting fodder, to be served to the cattle.

(5) *Samai* is used for yoking the bullocks.

(6) *Belcha* is used for throwing mud, earth or manure from one place to another. It has a wooden handle and an iron blade.

(7) *Mui* is a leveller made of wood.

(8) *Rambha*, made of steel, is used for taking out stones from the earth.

(9) *Ghan* is used for breaking the stones. It is made of iron and has a wooden handle.

(10) *Hathauri* or hammer is used for various purposes.

(11) *Gillo* is a basket of bamboo used for transporting manure from the dump to the field.

(12) *Dangra* is a sharp-edged weapon used for killing goats.

*Atkinson, E. T.: *Gaze teer of the Himalayan District of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 348.

Land Utilisation

The following statement shows the area under *Kharif* (locally called *Bhadandi*) and *Rabi* (locally called *Ruri*) crops during the year ending June 30, 1961 :—

(1) *Kharif Crops*

Maize	16.24	acres
Mandua	9.10	,,
Sawan	4.26	,,
Kulthi	3.93	,,
Gagli	2.09	,,
Ginger	1.30	,,
Kyari Paddy	1.24	,,
Kamni	0.88	,,
Cheri	0.79	,,
Urd	0.60	,,
Dhan	0.29	,,
Phapra	0.24	,,
Chilli	0.24	,,
Total	41.20	,,

(2) *Rabi Crops*

Wheat, barley and *masur*	28.35	acres

The *Kharif* crops are sown in June and harvested towards the end of October. Maize, *mandua, kulthi, gagli*, ginger and paddy are the principal crops of the season in which a larger area than in Rabi is covered. *Rabi* crops are sown in October/November and harvested in April/May. Wheat, barley and *masur* (lentil) are the main crops of the season.

According to the information supplied by the cultivators at the time of survey, the entire village produced 38 maunds of paddy, 73 maunds of wheat, 79 maunds of maize, 49 maunds of vegetables, 40 maunds of tobacco, 10 maunds of oil seeds, 8 maunds of ginger and 80 maunds of other crops. The production is not apparently so high as might leave a big surplus for being sold in the open market. Some vegetables, ginger, chilli, etc., are sold for obtaining money for the payment of land revenue. These products are sold away at Sahiya or Kalsi or Choharpur.

Processes of Cultivation

As already pointed out the fields are very small and the soil is stony and poor. The various agricultural operations therefore naturally require lot of hard labour which yields comparatively poor returns. The ploughing in the field is done by the males while the remaining agricultural operations are mainly done by the females assisted by grownup children. While preparing land for sowing, it is ploughed only once for *kharif* crops such as *jhangora* (*Oplismenus frumentaceus*) and *mandua* and twice for the *Rabi* crops. In the case of wheat, sometimes the plots are ploughed thrice. As a rule manure is applied to the land prior to sowing. In case of wheat, however, it is applied after germination of the seedlings. *Nautor* (*newly cultivated*) land has to be made cultivable with the use of *gainti* and *rambha*—implements used for digging of stones and rocks and removal thereof.

Crops

Maize is the most important crop of the *Kharif* season. The land is ploughed in June and levelled after removing the stones and bolders. Manure is then deposited on the plots which are ploughed and levelled again. Maize is sown in line in the furrows created by the plough. After a month or earlier the weeds are removed from the plots with the help of a *godni*. The average yield of maize is about 5 maunds per acre.

Mandua

It is another important crop of the hills and forms the staple diet of the people. It can be raised without much labour in the stony soil of the hills. It is slow to digest and is therefore suitable for the hillmen. Besides it is also used in the preparation of indigenous liquor. Generally it is sown in fields from where the wheat crop is harvested. The seed is sown broadcast, by the end of June. A little manure is applied to it after a month of sowing. Ordinarily one seer of seed yields 40 seers of *mandua*.

Ginger and Chilli

These crops are sown at lower levels because they require a lot of heat. Greater amount of manure has to be applied. The field is ploughed twice. The chilli seedlings which are raised separately are transplanted in the prepared soil. Chilli plants last for several years. Only the weeds have to be removed and manure has to be applied. Ginger is sown in April over plots from which the wheat crop has been harvested. The plots have to be ploughed three times. Tubers of ginger are then buried in 6 inch deep trenches in lines one foot apart from each other. The soil is then covered with leaves of trees. This covering imparts additional heat to the tubers, thereby helping them in germination. The leaves are covered with light bamboo or wooden sticks so that these might not be blown away. In course of time the leaves become decomposed in the rainy season and serve the purpose of manure. Weeding is done as and when required.

Paddy

Paddy is grown over a very small area only. The seed is first soaked in water for 3-4 days. It is then taken out and placed in bamboo baskets for about a couple of days. It is kept covered with walnut leaves. This seed is then sown in the muddy fields by the bro-

adcasting method. Weeding takes place when the seedlings have attained the height of about six inches. In the beginning, the fields are irrigated at short intervals but afterwards a bigger gap is allowed. The crop is harvested in September/October.

Wheat

The field is ploughed in the month of October. It is exposed to the sun for a couple of weeks and is then levelled by a wooden leveller. The seed is sown by the broadcasting method. Compost manure is also used. The harvest is reaped in the month of April.

Crop Diseases and Pests

The paddy crop is sometimes attacked from September to October by a bug called *gundhi* (Leptocorhiza vericornis) which sucks away the milky juice from the developing grains. To combat this pest 5% B.H.C. dust is suggested by the Block people but cultivators in this village have not been using it.

Wheat crop is affected by rusts and smuts. Black rust, which is also called stem, rust causes prominent brown coloured pustules on stem, leaves, ears and awns. Their colour turns black later on. The yellow rust attacks the leaves most severely and causes yellow pustules arranged in longitudinal rows on the leaves. These pustules turn black later on. Brown rust appears only on the leaves. It produces orange coloured pustules which also turn black later on. As a consequence of this disease, the plants become partially sterile, with poorly filled heads and shrivelled grains. The initial infection of a few plants is sufficient to spread the disease throughout the fields.

The loose smut effects the whole ear which assumes the appearance of a blackish powdery mass of spores. These spores are blown away with the wind and get lodged on the flowers of neighbouring wheat plants. Humid, cool weather, dew and wind are favourable for dissemination of spores and infection.

The stem borer attacks the maize crops sometimes. *Mandua* crop is also effected by it in the month of July.

The cultivators of this village do not use any effective methods for combating these crop diseases and pests.

System of Land Tenure

The latest Settlement was made by the U. P. Government in Jaunsar-Bawar in 1949-51. At this Settlement the government took over the exclusive right to assess and to revise the revenue payable by each cultivator individually. The *sayanas* were deprived of their rights to make alterations in the land revenue of individuals. The *khat sayanas* continued their duty of collecting land revenue and depositing it into the treasury. The lower castes, especially the Koltas were not allowed to own land but thenceforth this disability was removed. They could now own land and also reclaim new land by *nautor*.

The Jaunsar-Bawar Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act 1956 (U. P. Act No. XI of 1956) was enforced in Jaunsar-Bawar on July 1, 1961. As in the rest of Uttar Pradesh, the old variety of tenure-holders has been replaced by only three classes of tenure-holders, namely, *bhumidhar*, *sirdar* and *asami*. The *bhumidhar* has the right to transfer and to put to any use the land under his cultivation. A *sirdar* cannot transfer his land. He can use it for specified purposes only, generally connected with agriculture and horticulture. *Bhumidhari* rights can be acquired by the *sirdars* on payment of ten times their annual rent. *Asamis* are temporary tenants of *bhumidhars* or of the *gaon samaj*. Letting out of land is permissible only in special circumstances, for example, in the case of a widow, a person suffering from certain disabilities or one employed in the armed forces. The land revenue is no longer collected by the *khat sayanas*. Instead, it is collected through the agency of collection *amins* attached to the tahsils, as is being done in the plains area.

Livestock

One household does not have any livestock at all, even though it is an agricultural household, cultivating 2.01 acres of land. Of the remaining 15 households there is a pair of bullocks in 14 households while there is only one bullock in one household. Buffaloes are not popular in the hills. The village has only 4 buffaloes owned by 4 households. The 19 cows in the village are owned by 13 households, 6 of the households having 2 cows each. The village has 10 households owning 21 calves—4 in one household, 3 each in 2 households and 2 each in 4 households. There are 50 goats owned by 13 households, 11 sheep owned by 6 households, 19 pigs owned by 11 households and 38 fowls owned by 13 households.

The bullocks are used in cultivation for the purpose of draught; milk of buffaloes and cows is used; the meat of goats, sheep and pigs is consumed in the households; fowls provide chicken and eggs. If a goat or sheep dies as a result of accidental fall from a hill, its meat is consumed.

The entire livestock in the village is of the indigenous variety. No facilities are available for improving it. Cattle can be got treated at the Livestock Centres at Sahiya and Kalsi but no one from this village has ever taken an animal for treatment there. The villagers also pointed out that the animals in their village had never been given a preventive inoculation.

Planning and Development Activities

Chapnu falls in the jurisdiction of N. E. S. Block Kalsi. The Village Level Worker lives at Kalsi. He reported that 126 fruit-bearing trees have been given in this village out of the government grant meant for the welfare of Harijans. An amount of Rs. 200 was also sanctioned to a cultivator by the Harijan Welfare Department. The Village Level Worker contacts cultivators of this village and explains to them the various schemes of the department for the betterment of agriculture. The response is, however, poor. Irrigation facilities do not exist and hence chemical fertilizers cannot be used because the danger of plants being desiccated is lurking there. The cultivators are poor and hence it is not possible for them to arrange substantial amount for experimenting with the improved methods of cultivation. Seed of improved variety is sometimes used by them but it does not seem to make much difference. The residents of this village are simple and ignorant. The Planning and Development Department does not seem to have brought any change in their lot. In fact only four out of sixteen heads of households were aware of the existence of the N. E. S. Block. They asserted that no benefits had accrued to them on account of the Block. None of them was aware of the functions of the Village Level Worker. None of them could describe the main functions of the panchayat established under the U. P Panchayat Raj Act 1947. According to them no improvement was brought about in the village by the panchayat.

Other Occupations

In this village 13 persons were found engaged as labourers in construction work on the road. They are employed by the contractor from time to time. Some of them work on daily wages basis whereas others on piece-rate wages. This work is not however a permanent feature. The labourers return to their village either when there is no work or when they do not feel like working on the terms and conditions laid down by the contractor. The women do not work as labourers on the road.

Animal rearing is done either by the younger generation or the older generation because it does not require hard work. Of the 8 persons engaged in this work 6 males and 1 female belong to the age group 0–14 and 1 male belongs to the age group 60 years and over.

Two males—one in the age group 0—14 years and the other in the age group 35–59 years—are engaged as workers in the flour-mill locally called *gharat* which are worked with the force of water currents.

One person only works as a mason. He also works as a carpenter and is therefore designated as a *mistri*. One more person works as a mason from time to time in a subsidiary capacity.

Recently one household in the village has taken up the manufacture of wooden hooks as a subsidiary occupation. It does not require any specialised skill or huge investment. The products are sold either in the village itself or at Sahiya.

Non-workers

Out of 31 non-workers, whose distribution by age groups has been shown in Table No. 3.1, 8 persons (26 per cent) are engaged in household work and the remaining 23 persons (74 per cent) fall within the category of infants, children not attending school, and persons permanently disabled. In the age group 15-34 years 2 persons are non-workers because they are lame and, therefore, physically handicapped. Similarly in the age group 35–59 years one man and one woman are non-workers because they are physically disabled.

Indebtedness

The following table shows the extent of indebtedness by income groups :—

TABLE No. 3.4

Indebtedness by Income Group

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. 25—50	1	1	100	Rs. 700.00
Rs. 51—75	4	4	100	Rs. 157.50
Rs .76—100	6	6	100	Rs. 250.00
Rs. 101 and over	5	4	80	Rs. 295.00

As is seen, out of 16 households, 15 families (93.75 per cent) are in debt. In the three income groups Rs.51-75., Rs. 76-100 and Rs. 101 and over the average indebtedness per household in debt is the lowest in the income group Rs. 51.75. Only one household, lying in the income group Rs. 101 and over, is free from debt.

The total debt in the village is Rs. 4,010 which indicates that the average indebtedness per household in debt is Rs. 267.33 Paise.

Of the total amount of debt, an amount of Rs. 3,110 (78 per cent) was incurred by 13 households for the satisfaction of ordinary wants, while an amount of Rs. 900 (22 per cent) was borrowed by 2 households for being spent on marriages. The fact that the entire debt has been incurred for unproductive purposes indicates that the local population is not able to make both ends meet. It is very difficult to pay off such a debt.

The local Koltas borrow money either from the ex-zamindars or money-lenders at Sahiya. They have to pay about 37½ per annum as interest. In local language the amount of interest is termed as *ganth khulai.*

Co-operative Movement

Village Chapnu is covered by the Co-operative Society set up at Kalsi on May 4, 1959. The main aim of the society is to advance loans at cheap rates and create healthy circumstances for the sale and purchase of the goods so that the members may have the maximum share of profits. The society had 620 members when it started in May 1959. In 1961 the membership increased to 825. Its Board of Directors consists of 11 persons, all Rajputs by caste—4 from Kalsi, 5 from Lakhwar and 2 from Desau. From this village 7 Koltas have become members of this society after paying Rs. 318 as share money. Out of them 6 have taken a loan of Rs. 776. 76 paise, while the 7th member has not borrowed any money. The society charges 8¼% per annum as interest and it has to pay 5½% to the U. P. Co-operative Bank Limited, from where it borrows money.

Sources of Income

The main occupation of 12 households in this village is agriculture. Some of the members of these households work in principal or subsidiary capacity either as labourers on the road or at *gharat.* One of the households falls in the income group Rs. 26-50, 3 households in the income group Rs. 51-75, 4 households in the income group Rs. 76-100 and 4 households in the income group Rs. 101 and over. These households have 87 members in all, the average number of persons per household thus being 7.25 out of whom 3.17 males and 2.33 females are above 12 years of age and 0.83 males and 0.92 females are below 12 years of age. On an average 5.17 persons are gainfully employed per household.

Of the four non-agricultural households, one household falls within the income group Rs. 51-75, 2 households in the income group Rs. 76-100 and 1 household in the income group Rs. 101 and over. On an average, a household has 2.5 males and 1.25 females above 12 years of age and 0.25 males and 2 females below 12 years of age. The number of gainfully employed persons is 4 per household.

The total monthly income of the village comes to Rs. 1,665, i.e., Rs. 104.06 paise per household of about 7 persons. The village has 80 workers and hence the monthly income per worker comes to Rs. 20.81 Paise.

Expenditure Pattern

For studying the expenditure pattern the expenditure incurred by all the households in the village during a period of one month was noted down. The following family budgets which are of a representative character, would throw some light on the expenditure pattern of the residents of this village :—

The household of Bhoora aged 52 years comprises 11 members—his two wives aged 65 and 50 years, his five sons aged 28 years, 20 years, 15 years, 8 years and 3 years, his sons wives each aged 25 years and his sons daughter aged 3 years. His two sons aged 20 years and 15 years are insane and are not, therefore, engaged in economic activities. The household has 8.11 acres of land under cultivation. Bhoora, his two wives and his son's two wives are engaged in agriculture, thereby earning about Rs. 150 per month. His son is a worker on the road and he himself works as a labourer on the road as a subsidiary occupation, whenever he has spare time. The income from working on the road is about Rs. 50 per month. Thus the total income of the family is about Rs. 200 per month. The monthly expenditure was reported as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
1. Cereals and Pulses	
Wheat	Rs. 20·00
Rice	Rs. 20·00
Other grains	Rs. 52·50
Pulses	Rs. 7·50
2. Vegetables	Rs. 2·50
3. Meat	Rs. 4·00
4. Ghee and Oil	
Mustard oil	Rs. 3·50
Ghee	Rs. 5·50
5. Condiments	Rs. 3·56
6. *Gur*	Re. 1·00
7. Liquor	Rs. 4·00
8. Fuel and light	Rs. 1·12
9. Tobacco	Rs. 5 00
10. Clothing and footwear	Rs. 30·00
11. Repair of house	Rs. 5·00
Miscellaneous	Rs. 10·00
Repayment of Debt	Rs. 15·00
Total	Rs. 190·18

It is a well-to-do family with an average saving of Rs. 9.82 Paise per month for the rainy day. The household had borrowed Rs. 100 for domestic expenditure. Repayment of this loan is being done. About 68 per cent of the total expenditure is incurred on food items. Milk, vegetable, oils and tea are not consumed in the household. In the hilly region *pan* (betel), *supari* (betel-nut) and chewing tobacco are not used, even though

hookah tobacco is used in abundance in every household. The household does not take *bhang* but ordinarily four bottles of liquor are consumed every month. There is no expenditure on fuel because it is gathered from the jungle by the womenfolk. Similarly there is no regular expenditure on the house, the annual repairs have however, to be carried out. There is no expenditure on education, washerman, amusements, litigation and servants.

The poorest household in the village is that of Magoo comprising the head of the household aged 45 years, his brother aged 35 years and their common wife aged 40 years. Magoo and his wife cultivate 2.13 acres of land while the younger brother works as a labourer on the road. The household has an income of Rs. 50 per month—Rs. 35 from cultivation and Rs. 15 from working on the road. The expenditure pattern of this household was reported as follows :—

Item	Expenditure
1. Cereals and Pulses	
Wheat	Rs. 5–00
Rice	Rs. 5–00
Other grains	Rs. 22–50
Pulses	Rs. 3–75
2. Vegetables	Rs. 1–25
3. Meat	Rs. 2–50
4. Mustard oil	Rs. 1–75
5. Condiments	Re. 0–88
6. *Gur*	Re. 0–50
7. Liquor	Rs. 1–50
8. Kerosene oil	Re. 0–37
9. Tobacco	Re. 1–00
10. Clothing and footwear	Rs. 5·00
11. Miscellaneous	Re. 1·00
Total	Rs. 52·00

The budget is deficit by Rs. 2. The expenditure on food is about 83 per cent of the total expenditure of the household. Since the income of this family is very low, they have to remain satisfied with the bare necessities of life. The expenditure pattern of this family is more or less the same as that of the previous family. An amount of Rs. 700 was borrowed by Magoo two years ago for meeting part of the expenses on the acquisition of common wife. They have not started paying back the loan.

The 12 agricultural households having 87 members returned an income of Rs. 1,235 per month which gives an average of Rs. 102.90 Paise per household of 7.25 persons. The average monthly expenditure per household was reported to be Rs. 109.50 Paise of which 74 per cent was incurred on food items only. The four non-agriculturist families, having 24 members, returned an income of Rs. 430 per month which gives an average income of Rs. 107.50 Paise per household, each household having 6 members. The expenditure per household was reported to be Rs. 100.89 Paise per family—about 72 per cent of the expenses being incurred on food items. The percentage of expenditure on food in the non-agriculturist group is lower because the number of persons per household is smaller. The budgets of 3 out of 4 families have a deficit budget. It has already been pointed out that 15 out of 16 households are in debt.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

The residents of Jaunsar-Bawar have their own social customs which are at variance with the customs followed at other places. There has been almost no change because the population of this area has not come in active social contact of the people residing outside this area.

(a) Birth Customs

During the period of pregnancy, no special diet is given to the pregnant woman because people cannot afford it. The birth invariably takes place at the house of the husband. An elderly woman of the household gets the delivery conducted. Sometimes she may get the assistance of other elderly and experienced women of the village. In difficult cases, a midwife can be called in from Sahiya or Kalsi. In this village a midwife has not been called from outside even in a single case. Sacrifices to gods and goddesses are vouchsafed if the delivery takes place safely.

Just after birth, the infant is washed in tepid water. Liquor is administered to the mother for giving her warmth and strength. She has to remain in the room of confinement for ten days. During this period, wheat flour mixed in boiled water of *gur* is given to her as food. The infant begins to be fed on the mother's milk the next day of its birth.

The main function on this occasion is the *Dashrata* or *Dashotan*, which is performed on the tenth day of birth. If it is a male issue it is an occasion of great rejoicing. The birth of the first male issue is heralded with great merriment and fanfare, involving a lot of expenditure. Relatives and clansmen are invited to the household, where delivery has taken place, a day before the *Dashrata* ceremony. Singing and dancing goes on for the whole night. Next morning the mother and the infant are bathed in tepid water. The relatives and clansmen who are present congratulate the mother and bless the infant. The maternal uncle of the infant also gives him presents in cash and clothes. A grand feast mainly consisting of meat and drink is given to these persons on this occasion. Those who cannot afford to perform the *Dashrata* ceremony on the tenth day postpone it to the sixth month.

(b) Marriage Customs

In matter of marriage the initiative is taken by the father of the boy. A close relative acts as the mediator, he contacts the parents of a suitable girl and if they agree he informs the boy's parents. Thereafter, the boy's father goes to the house of the bride and formally puts forth the proposal of the marriage. If the proposal is acceptable to the bride's people, a pandit is consulted for finding out if the *rashi* and *varg* of the bride and the groom agree. If yes, the groom's father gives Re. 1 to the bride's father as *bandho* or *jeodhan*. If one can afford, a wrist or neck ornament is also presented to the bride. After this ceremony neither the groom nor the girl can marry at any other place.

A few days after, the groom's father consults the pandit to find out an auspicious day for the marriage ceremony. This date and time is communicated to the bride's people and if they agree, preparations for the marriage ceremony start. A day or two before the actual marriage ceremony some persons (numbering from two to ten) reach the bride's house. In the evening a grand feast in which the friends and relatives of the bride's people also participate takes place at the bride's house. Goats are slaughtered and their meat cooked; excessive drinking is also indulged in. Next morning the bride is made to wear the clothes and ornaments brought by the groom's people. The ornament that she is made to wear in her nose or ear at this auspicious time indicated by the pandit is known as *suhag*. She is not expected to take it off till her husband is alive. It is only on the death of her husband that this ornament is taken off.

The characteristic feature of marriage in this area is that the bride goes in procession to the groom's house on the day of marriage along with her relatives. She would start in the morning and reach the groom's house say by afternoon. If her village is situated at a distance, she might halt for the night in some village on the way. Members of the marriage party are known as *jojoria*. The marriage party is led by a few Bajgis who go on playing on the drums and other musical instruments. There would be singing and dancing throughout on the way. The party might consist of 25 to 30 persons. The bride's procession is received by the groom's people. The feet of the guests are washed with warm water. The bride's party stays in a separate house.

The marriage ceremony is a simple affair. There is no circumambulation round the fire. The bride is welcomed by her mother-in-law with *dhoop*. The hems of one of the clothes of the bride and the groom are tied to-gether

and they are made to sit side by side. The Brahmin (*purot*) applies a *tilak* on the forehead of the bride and the bridegroom, and recites some *mantras* in the local dialect. The groom's mother also applies a *tilak* on the forehead of the bride. The husband offers a loaf of bread to the bride and *vice versa*. The vermilion mark (*tilak*) is also applied to the forehead of a he-goat, which is then slaughtered. The marriage ceremony is then complete.

A grand feast is organised to mark this occasion. Goats are slaughtered and mutton cooked. Other articles in the menu usually are *poori*, *halwa*, vegetables, rice, *kheer*, fish, etc. Lot of ghee is consumed in the feast. Everyone drinks to one's heart contents. After the feast, drinking and dancing goes on throughout the night. It is locally known as *Bhairashakha* dance. Tea and meals are again served to them next morning. A few outdoor dances are then organised. By midday, the *jojorias* depart for their village, leaving behind the bride at her husband's house.

The girl's father also sends a few utensils of domestic use and one or more cows/goats with the bride by way of dowry, which is locally known as *painta*.

Such type of marriage is called the *Bajdia* marriage, because the bride's party is led by *bajas*, i.e., drums and other musical instruments. It is usually performed when the groom and the bride are being married for the first time.

The second type of marriage is called the *Boidodi*. It differs from the *Bajdia* form in so far as the drummers and musicians do not accompany it. The number of members in the bride's party is smaller and the amount of dowry is less than in a *Bajdia* marriage.

The third form of marriage is known as *Bewa* marriage, when either the bride or the groom or both are being married for the second or subsequent time. It is a simpler affair. Only 2-4 persons accompany the bride as members of the marriage party. The Bajgis do not accompany the bride. Also there is no dancing and singing in the night. A *thali* and *katora* only are given in dowry. The expenditure incurred over this marriage is nominal.

Traditionally the Jaunsari woman leads a hardy but interesting life. "As a wife in her husband's house she is known as *rhanti*, where she has to work from early morning till late in the night. She gets up early and brings water from distant water-holes or springs. Then she does the cooking before she goes to the field to do each and every kind of work. She pounds paddy, breaks up clods of earth, transplants paddy and reaps the harvest. She goes to the forests and climbs steep slopes of the mountains to cut grass. When she returns in the evening, she again brings water for the whole family and does all the cooking. She is the first to get up in the morning, usually long before sunrise, and the last to go to bed. Over and above that she has to meet the sex demands of all the brothers. She is denied all rights to own property. If she is divorced, she has to leave all her ornaments and other jewellery behind. She is strictly prohibited from taking any kind of liberty with any other member of the community except her husbands. The slightest disloyalty or the slightest slip will be finalised by divorce (*chhut*) or life-long ill-treatment from the husbands' family, without any one to sympathise with her.

"But once she goes to her parent's house during the festivals, she is free to do things at her own pleasure. In her parents' village she is known as *dhanti*. A *dhant* goes to her *mayta* generally during fairs and festivals. She moves freely in her village, talks, sings and dances freely with her friends. She is also permitted considerable freedom in her 'affairs' and society ignores her *amours* in her own village. In fact she becomes a gay bird there. Thus, a double standard of morality exists for women.

"When there are a number of co-wives in a family, the first wife enjoys many rights and privileges which she makes good use of. She is known as *ghariawi*. Hers is the ruling hand in the family. She keeps the key of the wardrobe where all clothes and ornaments are kept and she distributes them among the co-wives when any occasion arises. She wields the same dominating power over the co-wives as the eldest brother exercises over the group of brothers. In household management her word is the last. Every member of the family has to look up to her with a feeling of great reverence."*

Divorce

The system of divorce is prevalent in village Chapnu just as in the whole of Jaunsar Bawar. The husband and the wife have equal rights to divorce each other. If the wife does not feel satisfied with her husband or is maltreated by him, she would divorce him. Similarly if the husband is not satisfied with her or her conduct, he can divorce her. When there is a tussle between them, the wife goes to her *mait* (paternal house) and refuses to return to her husband's house. When he goes to her house to fetch her, all the grievances of the wife are projected at him. If he wants to take her with him he has to remove all her grievances, express regrets for what he has done and make a promise to her satisfaction that he would not torment her in future. Thereafter she may return to him. If he does not want a compromise he does not admit that he was at fault and levies counter-

*Saksena, R. N.: *Social Economy of a Polyandrous People*, 1962, pp. 28-29.

charges against her. If there is separation between the two, the parents of the woman arrange to get her married off to another suitable person. The new husband has to make payment of money to the previous husband to compensate him for the amount spent by him over his marriage. The divorce deed is executed in the presence of the Caste Panchayat.

If the husband wants to divorce his wife, he would inform his wife when she has gone to the house of her parents during festivals that she need not return to him. Even then if she chooses to return she is mal-treated by her husband and his people and is almost forced to leave the house. In any case the father of this woman goes to the husband's house and fixes up the amount of money that has to be paid to the husband. Divorce is so common that it has come to be recognised as a necessary hazard involved in marriages. It is the privilege of the husband to divorce his wife. He is compensated adequately when the woman married to another person. The amount of compensation naturally increases with the number of times the woman has been divorced. If a woman has been divorced twice, bride price equivalent to the amount paid by the second husband to the first husband plus the additional compensation claimed by the second husband has to be paid by the third husband and so on. If a woman has already proved her fertility by giving birth to sons, her bride price goes up. If the woman is past forty years and is nearing the period of menopause, there is a slump in the price to be paid for her.

Ordinarily divorce takes place on account of the following reasons :—

(i) The main reason is the sterility of a woman. The husband marries another woman and his affection for the barren wife naturally wanes. Consequently, either she seeks divorce or if he is not able to support two wives he would divorce her.

(ii) Adultery on the part of the woman when she is living in her husband's house is another reason of divorce by the husband.

(iii) Sometimes the wife does not feel satisfied with the ornaments, clothes, food, etc., given to her by her husband and seeks separation from him.

(iv) Another reason for divorce may be mal-treatment by the husband or excessively hard work which the wife is required to do.

(v) In addition, the woman would seek divorce if the husband is impotent.

(vi) Another important reason of divorce is the custom of child marriages. When marriage takes place none of them understands its implications. When the couple grows up, sometimes either of the two does not like the other. The inevitable result is divorce.

Systems of Marriage

As already pointed out, monogamy, polyandry, polygamy as also a mixture of polyandry and polygamy exists in this village, as in the rest of Jaunsar-Bawar. The Koltas marry in Kolta households outside the village, avoiding close blood relations. The Bajgis marry amongst Bajgis and the Lohars amongst the Lohars. Ordinarily the Brahmins marry amongst Brahmins and the Khasa Rajputs amongst the Khasa Rajputs but at some places the Brahmins and the Rajputs inter-marry freely.

Reasons of Polyandry

Polyandry is attributed mainly to the following reasons :—

(i) The residents of Jaunsar-Bawar claim to be the descendants of the Pandavas who followed the polyandrous form of marriage in so far as Daraupdi was the common wife of the five brothers. Following the example of the Pandavas they too have adopted the plyandrous form of marriage.

(ii) Another reason is apparently the geo-economic condition of the area. Cultivable land is limited and the nature is not bountiful. Lot of human labour has to be put into the land to extract whatever little production is forth-coming. Hence a joint family is perhaps the only solution. If all the brothers marry separately, there would be a number of children of the various couples, ultimately leading to family feuds and dissensions and partition of the family property. Thus the land ownership would be shattered into bits and the number of persons in a family would be too small to cultivate the land properly. Consequently, the standard of living will further go down. In a polyandrous society all the brothers are centered round one or two wives. Normally they would not think of partition. The common wife thus serves as a uniting force in the family.

(iii) Lack of education is another reason of the continuation of this system. Those who have received education have a tendency to revolt against the system. Such persons would like to practise monogamy rather than a wife in common.

(iv) Some people say that the low sex ratio in Jaunsar-Bawar is responsible for the system. The number of boys of marriageable age is more than the number of girls and hence a wife is shared by more than one person. Undoubtedly the paucity of women and plethora of men constitutes one of the contributory factors responsible for polyandry.

(c) Death Customs

On the occurrence of death, information is sent to all the households in the village and to all relatives in the nearing villages. When a married woman dies intimation is also sent to her paternal home. According to the prevalent custom the dead body of a married woman would not be taken to the cremation ground unless some one from her *mait* has arrived. If the *mait* is situated at a distance, it might take even two days or more for some one to come from there. The cremation of the dead body has to wait till then.

The dead body is bathed in water, then wrapped in a white shroud and tied securely to a *deodar* plank. It is decorated suitably. The corpse is taken out from the village with its head downwards and feet towards the village. Since the hill track is narrow, the bier is carried on the shoulders of only two persons at a time. The Bajgis lead the procession, playing on their drums. After covering half the distance the direction of the dead body is reversed, i.e., its head is turned towards the village and feet towards the river. On reaching the bank of river Amlawa the pyre is arranged and the dead body is placed on it parallel to the river bank. After the corpse has been burnt, the ashes are thrown in the river. A son gets himself shaved only when his father or mother has died, otherwise there is no shaving.

On the third day a feast of *poori*, pulse of *kulath* and boiled rice is given to the villagers and relatives. Goats and pigs are not slaughtered on this occasion even though liquor is served. This is known as *Tija* ceremony. Thereafter, the ritual impurity of the household stands removed. No ceremony is performed on the 10th or the 13th day. They do not perform the *Varshi* or the *Shradh* of the dead.

Children, lepers and persons dying of infectious diseases are buried.

Inheritance

The people of Jaunsar-Bawar have their own system of inheritance, according to which the eldest brother receives double the share and the youngest brother one and a half times the share received by each of the other brothers. For example if the family property is to be divided between four brothers A, B, C, and D—A being the eldest and D being the youngest—the property would be divided into five and a half shares. A will get two shares, D will get one and a half share and B and C will get one share each. The eldest brother is allowed first preference over the fields, the cattle, the domestic articles, the common wife and the children born of her. She can go with one of the younger brother only with his permission. If she is bent upon going with one of the younger brother in spite of the refusal of the eldest brother, there is no alternative but to dissolve the marriage. She is then at liberty to marry the younger brother. If she falls in the share of the eldest brother, even after partition the other brothers are not denied access to her.

Intra Family Relationship

The joint family system continues to be the popular pattern of family life in this village as in the rest of Jaunsar-Bawar. The common wife is one of the uniting forces of the family. It is the eldest brother who gets married to a woman; other brothers automatically become the husbands of this woman. The eldest brother is the *karta* (head) of the household. He manages the affairs of the family both within and outside the village. According to the prevailing custom the younger brothers cannot have sex relations with the common wife when the eldest brother is at home. But since he has to go out often in connection with the affairs of the household, the other brothers get adequate opportunity to have access to the common wife. Sometimes they would seek an opportunity in the fields or at some other place outside the house. Each of the brothers is known as her *khawind* (husband). Similarly her children would call each of her husbands as *Baba*. Thus a child may have three *Babas* or four *Babas* and so on. In the schools or at other places the name of the eldest brother is mentioned as father of the child.

The relations between the co-wives are also cordial. They share the bed with the eldest brother turn by turn and with the other brothers according to the available opportunities. Equal number of clothes and ornaments are given to the co-wives. They call each other as *Dadi* (sister). "In order to avoid quarrels between co-wives a certain ceremony is observed when the newly-wedded wife comes into the house. The new wife is made to sit in a corner of the room and the old one sits opposite her. Two elderly women stand by each holding a lighted stick in her hands. The light is held in such a manner that the shadow of one wife does not fall on the other. A third woman joins their hands and each gives the other a silver coin. If there be more than one wife in the house, this ceremony is repeated with each one of them."*

*Saksena, R. N.: *Social Economy of a Polyandrous People*, pp. 21-22.

The customary rule of partition has also recognised the importance of the elder brother by allowing him to have one more share in the property, as also the first preference in matter of cultivated fields, cattle, domestic articles, wife and children. Ordinarily the eldest wife would go with the eldest brother because they have naturally closer contacts.

Within the village there is a lot of brotherhood and co-operation among the various families especially because all of them are Koltas. They help each other on various occasions. They sit together and gossip, they smoke together, sing and dance together and thus share in each others joys and sorrows :

Fairs and Festivals

The life in a hill village is a ceaseless endeavour against the forces of nature. Everyone has to work hard. During a period of comparative inactivity, the villagers naturally enjoy themselves by drinking and dancing. The fairs in this area are more centres of social recreations rather than of trade and commerce. The main fairs and festivals are described below :

(1) Magh Festival

This is the biggest festival of the winter season. It starts in the middle of January and goes on till the end of February. According to Hindu calendar the celebration begins on the 28th day of Pausha when pigs or goats are slaughtered in well-to-do houses. In the local language this day is known as *maroj*. During this period singing and dancing programme is fixed up for every night turn by turn in every house. Not only the villagers but other relatives too are invited for the night and given a feast of boiled rice, *poori*, meat and liquor. In the dancing sessions the womenfolk are only passive spectators. They sit aside and watch the performance, which is a sort of sole dance. A few persons go on singing a folk song to the tune of which one person at a time dances in the centre of the room. The songs pertain to old events, gods and goddesses and other subjects.

(2) Bissu Fair

The Magh festival is followed by Bissu *mela*. In fact the word Bissu is a spoilt form of the word Vaishakhi. The festival starts on the first day of Vaishakh (April). Close relatives sometimes arrive on this occasion. No fair is held in this village. Small fairs do take place in the neighbouring villages Panjia and Donda which are visited by the residents of this village also. About 400 persons of the surrounding villages collect in the compound of the Primary School at Panjia and rejoice by singing and dancing. The Bajgis play on various musical instruments such as *dhol, damama, karnai, ransingha, bayain, dhak, shahnai*, etc. Both men and women participate in singing and dancing. The men have a separate line and the women are arranged in another row. Both the parties sing turn by turn. The woman dancers are dressed very colourfully and are loaded with their ornaments. They clasp each others waist and go on moving round in a circle in a rhythmic manner. The male dancers sometimes depict a mock-fight, locally known as *thorua*. They go on waving their swords or sticks. One distinctive feature of the *mela* is that there are no shops and hence there is no expenditure.

(3) Jagra

It is a festival connected with the worship of Mahasu, the supreme god of Jaunsar-Bawar. It is held towards the end of August. In village Chapnu there is no temple of Mahasu and hence on this occasion the residents of this village go to village Thaina of Panjgaon Khat for paying their homage to the *deota*. A fast is kept on the previous day and everyone keeps awake throughout the night. In village Thaina the priest hands over the idol of Mahasu from the temple to the eager crowd which assembles near the temple. The idol is bathed in the river and handed back to the *pujari* in the temple. The Bajgi women dance in front of the temple on this occasion.

(4) Panchon

This festival coincides with the Dashehra festival in the plains. Fairs are held at various places on the Dashehra day, the most famous fair being the one held a Utpalta where people of surrounding villages first stage a mock-fight to the beating of drums by Bajgis and then greet each other affectionately. All of them assemble in the temple courtyard and sing and dance to the accompaniment of local music. In village Chapnu, a twenty four hour fast is observed on this occasion. Goats are slaughtered and special food prepared. They eat, drink and dance on this occasion. Some people go to the fair at Utpalta.

(5) Diwali

This festival is observed in Jaunsar-Bawar twenty days after the festival of Diwali in the plains. The married women return to their *mait* on this occasion. On the day of Bari Diwali, which is locally called *Huliat*, wood is collected in one big heap at one place in the village and set afire early in the morning. The menfolk pull out pieces of burning wood from the heap and go about in the village brandishing these sticks. The womenfolk also join them. During the day dancing takes place. The womenfolk stage the dance, locally known as *rasho*, in which two women take part at a time,

Other festivals like Raksha Bandhan, Janmashtami, Shiva Ratri, Ram Naumi, Karva Chauth etc. are not observed by them.

Religious Beliefs

The residents of this village are Hindus. In fact the entire population of Jaunsar-Bawar consists of orthodox Hindus. The Jaunsaris worship Mahasu, who is regarded as their guiding star and presiding deity. This *deota* is not worshipped by Hindus in any other area.

The story of Mahasu is quite interesting. It has been described by Atkinson in the following words :—

"In Jaunsar-Bawar, there are deities known collectively as the Mahasu debtas, Basak, Pibasak, Buthiya or Baitha and Chalta or Chalda. The first three abide in temples dedicated to them at Ranor in Khat Bawar, at Tahnu in Khat Pachgaon and at Anwar. The fourth or Chalta Mahasu took up his residence at Behrat in Khat Kuru and moves from Khat (sub-division) to Khat as occasion arises. These deities came from Kashmir some four or five hundred years ago in this wise :— Una Bhat lived in khat Mendrat and had a large family of relatives and dependants. At this time, a demon named Kirbir Dana (Danava) made his appearance at the confluence of the Tons and Jumna near Kalsi and day by day ate some of Una's people until only Una, his three sons and one daughter remained. Una fled to the forest of the Jumna and wandered about from place to place seeking means to destroy the demon and revenge the death of his relatives. One night the *debta* Mahasu appeared to him in a dream and said :— "Be of good cheer, O Una, proceed to Kashmir where the four Mahasus dwell and invoke their aid-they will destroy the demon, for no one else can. " Una set out for Kashmir the next day and arrived at the place where the watchman of Mahasu lay fast asleep with two great iron clubs some hundred maunds in weight beside him. No one could approach Mahasu without the watchman's permission, so Una took up one of the clubs and placed it at the foot of the sleeping watchman who soon awoke and demanded the name of the intruder and his business. Una at once answered :— "*Mamu.* I am thy nephew." The watchman replied :— "*Bhai*, you are not my nephew, but as you have chosen to address me, what has brought you here ?" Una told his story and the watchman dissuaded him from attempting the perilous journey, but finding Una resolved to proceed, gave him some rice and lentiles and told him that he should first reach the forest of Ghagti and if troubled by storms, a handful of the rice and lentiles sprinkled in the air would cause the storm to abate. He would next reach Kanari Tal or lake of Kanana, into which he was to spit and throw some of his hair. If his saliva turned into cowries and his hair into snakes, he would know that he was in the miracle working land of Kashmir. There were but two dwellings in the great plain, one of the Mahasus and the other of Kelubir, an attendant and athlete. On Saturday he was to hide himself in Kelubir's house and about ten at night the four Mahasus might be seen arriving in palanquins and retiring to their house to rest. Early in the morning, the Mahasus went out to the sound of drums: first Basak to hold his court, then Pibasak, then Baitha and then Chalta. When the last came out Una should go to him and lay his case before him and be guided by his advice.

"Una followed the instructions of the watchman and his petition was favourably received by the Mahasus, who eventually told him to return to his own country and they would destroy Kirbir. Chalta gave Una a handful of rice, an earthen vessel and his own staff, and told him that when hungry he need only strike the staff on the earth and water would come forth with which the rice might be prepared for food. This, too, would prove that Mahasu was with him, and if in addition when he arrived at Mendrat he threw some of the rice into the Tons, Kirbir could do him no harm. On the first Sunday after his arrival he should yoke an unbroken heijer to a plough and have it driven by an unmarried boy who had never before driven a plough and he would find that the plough would turn to gold and the share to silver. He should then plough five furrows, in each of which a stone image would be found representing the four Mahasus and their mother Deolari. Una on his return, did as directed and the images appeared in the furrows. Basak appeared first with his thigh transfixed by the plough share, then came Pibasak with a wound in his ear and then Baitha with his eye injured. Chalta alone appeared sound and free, and hence the three first remain in the temples dedicated to them whilst Chalta is able to move about . Deolari, the mother, appeared in the fifth furrow and a temple of her name was errected in the field. Una worshipped the Mahasus and ordered his youngest son to serve them. He obeyed and became a *Deopujari.* The second son was directed to strike a gong and became a Rajput, whilst the third became a musician or Bajgi. Then the Mahasus formed a garden (*gangari*) and filled it with narcissues plants from Kashmir to serve as offerings to them on festivals. Una then built houses for Kelu Bir, Kadasiri Bir, Sakrar Bir, and sixty four other Birs, who attended the Mahasus. The Mahasus then sought for Kirbir, but as he did not appear, Sakrar was sent to seize him, and was promised a loaf and a sweetmeat on every Sankrant should he be successful. Kirbir still remained at large and Kelu Bir was then sent with a promise of four times, the amount of offerings and

that all goats sacrificed to the Mahasu should be killed at the door of his house. Kelu killed Kirbir and hung up his head in Mahasu's temple. Basak and Pibasak took Garhwal, as their share and Jaunsar-Bawar fell to Baitha and Chalta. The temples to the Mahasus in Jaunsar were built by the zamindars long after Una's time. There are temples to Sangru at Mandhan in Khat Koru and Udpalta, whence he is carried about Khats Samalta, Udpalta, Koru and Seri. The temples of the Mahasus are now served by Sarsuti Brahmans and the offerings consist of male kids, coin, rice, water and narcissus flowers."*

The Mahasu is held in high esteem by the residents of this village as of the whole of Jaunsar-Bawar. They are extremely afraid of this deity and invoke him whenever in trouble. If you tell a Jaunsari that he should speak the truth, otherwise Mahasu would get offended with him, out of fear he would even divulge the details of crime done by him. The following beliefs prevalent in village Chapnu, as in the rest of Jaunsar-Bawar, are supposed to have been introduced according to the wishes of the Mahasu:—

(i) They take cow's milk only sparingly. Goat's milk also is used sparingly and that too for the children only. Ordinarily the milk of buffalo is consumed. The cow and its progeny are held in great reverance. They would not be killed or tormented.

(ii) Ordinarily, they do not sleep on a charpoy. Instead they lie on the floor.

(iii) Another practice based on the decree of Mahasu is to sacrifice the best goats at the altar of the *deota*.

Apart from the Mahasu, the five Pandavas are also worshipped. Out of them Bhima is the most popular.

An evil spirit of which the people are much afraid is Narsingh. The Koltas sacrifice goats to propitiate this spirit. The popular belief is that this spirit can be used for harming or even killing human beings as well as cattle.

In this area the *baki* (witch doctor) is quite popular. Whenever one falls ill or an epidemic breaks out in the village the *baki* is consulted. He sits down to invoke his supernatural power. He mutters some incantations and throws a little rice in various directions. After some time he is able to diagnose the cause of the malady and indicate the remedy to the person concerned. Whenever a theft takes place, the *baki* is requested to tell the name of the thief. He charges his fees and tells the name.

The only place of worship in this village is the *sthan* of a local deity named Kapil Bir. It is installed on a small raised platform of stone. Its existence in this village is said to be very ancient. On the festivals of Sankranti, Bissu and Diwali the womenfolk offer milk and rice to this deity.

Village Institutions

The Koltas do not have a caste panchayat of their own. Whenever necessary they form *ad hoc* panchayats for settling their disputes in connection with marriage, divorce, adultery, etc.

For settling the various kinds of disputes in the village the *sayana* plays an important role. The *sayana* is a sort of head man appointed for assisting the administration in various ways. The office is hereditary, but the succession is confirmed by the District Magistrate, Dehra Dun. There are four kinds of *Sayanas*—the Village *Sayana*, the *Khat Sayana*, the *Khag Sayana* and the *Chauntru Sayana*.

The village *Sayana* is authorised to settle all the disputes of the village through a panchayat locally called *khumri*. The complainant would present Re. 1 to the *Sayana* and narrate his complaint before him. The *Sayana* then calls the panchayat and the opposite party. Both the parties put up their case before the panchayat and examine their witnesses in support of their respective contentions. The panchayat then gives the decision. Ordinarily, fine is imposed on the accused. If both the parties agree to the decision given by the panchayat they have to pay the expenses involved in calling the panchayat. This amount is known as *bishtara* and is distributed amongst the *panches*. If one of the parties does not agree to the decision given by the panchayat, this party has to pay an amount equal to half the amount of *bishtara*. This amount is known as *ushtara*. It is rarely that none of the two parties agrees to the decision.

The village *Sayana* was appointed by the Khat *Sayana*, but this office also was by custom hereditary. He did not have a direct dealing with the administration. Whenever an officer visited the village, it was the *Sayana* who was supposed to look after him. His luggage was also got sent from one place to another by the *Sayana* with the help of the Koltas.

Th duties of the *Sadar Sayana* consisted of keeping the zamindar contented, collecting the dues of government, settling all quarrels and looking after the *ryot*. The *Khat Sayana* distributed the government revenue assessment over the villages in his *Khat*. He had to sent information to the police about matters pertaining

*Atkinson, E.-T. : The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II 1884, pp. 836-839.

to law and order; he rendered help in arresting the offenders; he also distributed in the villages of his *Khat* the timber granted annually by the Forest Department. He also used to make family partitions of property. He was authorised to settle all quarrels and disputes by holding a panchayat. Fines were imposed for minor criminal offences. The fine imposed was known as *dand.* At the *Khat* level, the panchayat is known as *Khat* panchayat. It is always presided over by the *Khat Sayana.*

When a *Khat* is unmanageable it was divided into two parts, locally called Khag. One part is under the jurisdiction of the Khat *Sayana* and the other part under the Khag *Sayana* who holds a subordinate position.

The whole of Jaunsar-Bawar had got four chief *Sayanas* who are known as *Chauntru.* They were supposed to be the wisest and ablest of all.

In addition to the above, Gaon Sabhas were established in Jaunsar-Bawar also under the provisions of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. The headquarters of the Gaon Panchayat in which Chapnu is situated is at Jhotaya. Nine other revenue villages fall within this panchayat. In all, it has twenty members, only one member being from Chapnu. The gaon pradhan is a resident of village Panjia. The election was uncontested at every level.

The main sources of income of this Gaon Panchayat are panchayat tax and fees realised from tradesmen. During the year ending March 31, 1961 an income of Rs. 227.02 Paise accrued to the Gaon Panchayat. There was a balance of Rs. 19.44 Paise only at the close of the year. Out of the expenditure of Rs. 207.58 Paise nothing was reported to have been spent on village Chapnu.

This village lies in the Nyaya Panchayat Kalsi. None of the *panches* is from this village. No case from this village was ever referred to the Nyaya Panchayat for decision. The people are peaceful and quiet.

General

After the enforcement of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 the traditional *khumri* has no doubt been weakened, but it is still active. Under the Panchayat Raj Act the administrative functions have been given to the Gaon Sabha, and the judicial functions to the Nyaya Panchayat but the *khumri* exercises both judicial and administrative functions. Sometimes, the same case is taken to the Nyaya Panchayat, then the *khumri* and then to the court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate for decision. As the traditional body for settling disputes promptly the *khumri* is still very popular among the people of Jaunsar-Bawar.

Social Legislation

The villagers are not aware of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, the Hindu Marriage Act, 1956, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956. Within the village there is no social disability because all the households are Kolta by caste. They have no access to a temple or place of worship where there is a Brahmin *pujari.* They can go to a restaurant, hotel or tea shop or any other place of public resort without any difficulty. The barber has no objection to serving them but the Brahmin does keep them at a distance. They do not require the services of a washerman. They are not avoided by caste Hindus in regard to touch but cooked food or water is not accepted from a Kolta by a Brahmin or Khasa. As regards other customs, all have remained unchanged in spite of legislation. The extent of change in the various aspects of life is in fact negligible.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Chapnu is a small Kolta village in Jaunsar-Bawar, which is a kind of 'sleepy hollow' within the hills where the winds of change are slow to penetrate and slower to react. Even though the village is situated by the road-side at a distance of 6 miles from Kalsi, the N. E. S. Block headquarters, on the Kalsi-Chakrata road, it has continued to remain backward from the social, cultural and economic points of view. The residents of this village are still steeped in ignorance and poverty.

Their social organisation has its own customs and usages which appear quite peculiar to the outsider. They have a polyandro-polygynous type of family which is perhaps quite suitable under the geo-economic conditions of this area. The system of early marriage continues to be prevalent. The bride comes to the groom's house with a *barat*. If a woman is married again, her new husband has to compensate the previous husbands. The woman enjoys a lower status, just as in a pastoral society and can be divorced at will. She has no right over property. If she is divorced she cannot take with her even her ornaments. At her husband's house she has to work hard both on the fields and in the house. She has to be faithful to her husband(s). In her *maita*, however, she is allowed great freedom to talk, sing, dance and enjoy with her friends. Her avertures are ignored. This double standard of morality is rarely found in other societies. The system of socio-religious rituals, the belief in the supernatural and the observance of festivals is also at variance with that in the plains.

All the families are non-vegetarian. Everyone in the village smokes and drinks the locally-distilled liquor. The residents of Jaunsar-Bawar do not acquire a license for distillation of liquor. Their staple diet is *mandua*. They have to be hard working because nature is not generous and bountiful in this area. They have their own peculiar dress to meet the local physical conditions. They do not take bath often because the climate is cold and water is scarce. With a single exception, everyone in the village is illiterate. They do not realise the value of sending their children to school. As soon as possible, every human being gets engaged in some economic activity for the household.

Their occupational pattern too has little scope for change. They work as cultivators, in cattle-rearing, as workers on the *gharat* or as labourers on the road. They have not migrated outside the village in search of fresh fields and pastures new. They continue to be 'hewers of wood' and 'drawers of water'.

The village is situated by the side of the main road. Means of transport and communication are also easily available. The residents of this village go to Sahiya, Kalsi and Choharpur and come into contact with outsiders but somehow this social intercourse has not brought about any change in their mode of life and way of thinking. They appear to be conservative in their outlook and would not, therefore, adopt a change unless it is foisted on them, perhaps under authority.

The U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 came in force in Jaunsar-Bawar in December 1953 but even up to this time the *khumri* is more powerful and popular. No case from this village was referred to the Gaon Panchayat or Nyaya Panchayat for administrative or judicial decision. The Gaon Panchayat has not done any thing for the amelioration of the lot of the people. Similarly, the community development programme in Jaunsar-Bawar was introduced in 1953 and the N. E. S. Block Kalsi, in which Chapnu falls, was carved out in October 1956. The programmes initiated and executed by the Block staff do not appear to have had any impact on this village. Some help to the Koltas has no doubt been given by the Harijan Welfare Department.

The Sayanachari system in Jaunsar-Bawar was abolished on July 1, 1961, with the enforcem ent of the Jaunsar-Bawar Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1956 (U. P. Act No. XI of 1956). Now the land revenue is collected through the *amins* appointed by the Collector Dehra Dun. The Koltas who were generally holding land from the zamindars as tenants-at-will have acquired *sirdari* rights over such land. Those who have deposited 10 times the annual rent have acquired *bhumidhari* rights. This is a definite deliverance of Koltas from their serfdom to the zamindars. They are heaving a sigh of relief as a result of this measure of land reform.

The above study of this backward village indicates that the various measures of reform and programmes of development have brought about no perceptible change in the way of thinking and living, cultural pattern, social behaviour and wordly knowledge of the residents of this village. The people feel happy and content. They do not apparently aspire for a change probably because they do not think a change in their lot is possible.

SOME GLIMPSES
OF
CHAPNU

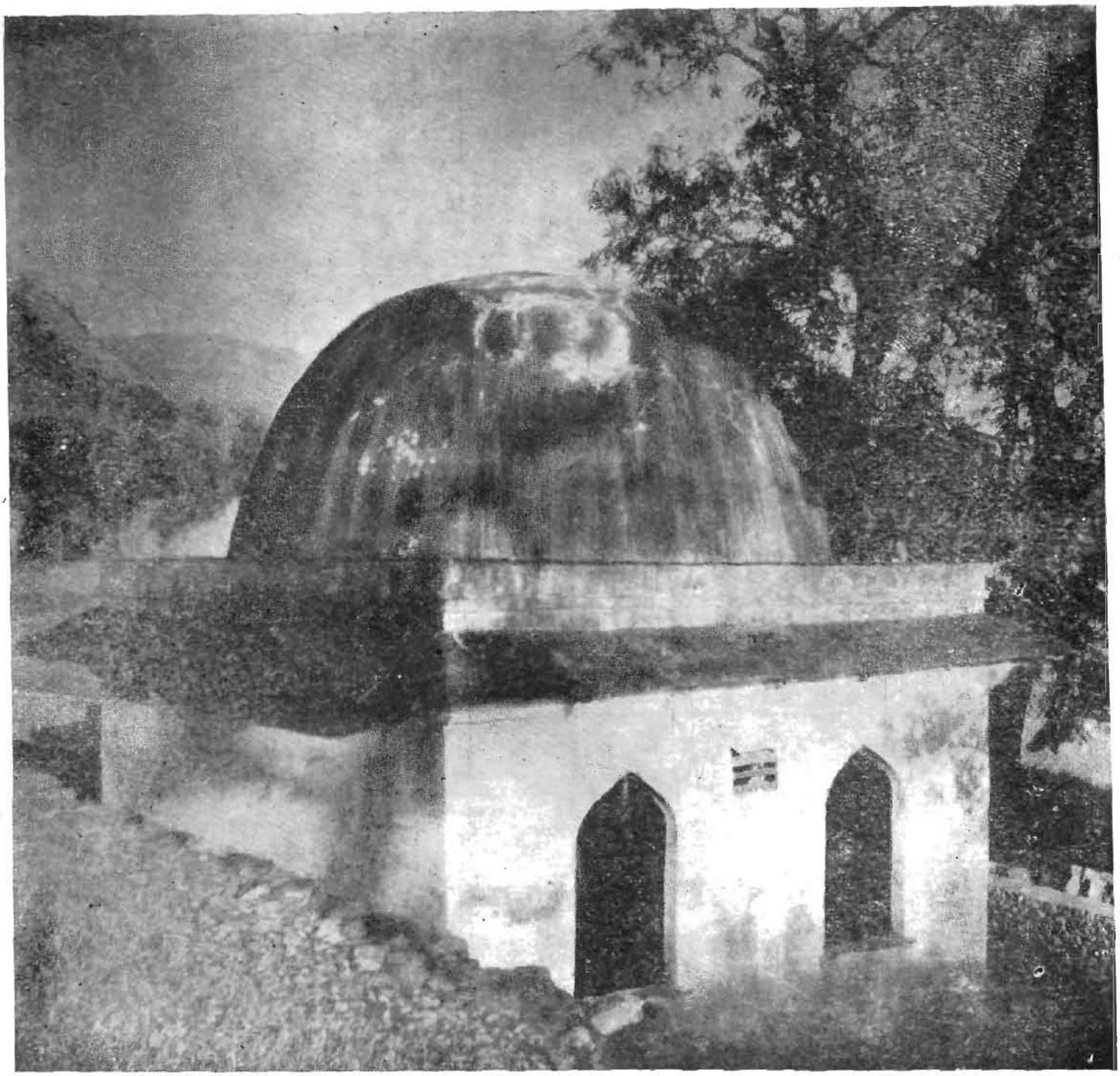
PLATE No. 1



A view of the iron-girder bridge
across the Yamuna on the Saharanpur-Chakrata road, with the
Himalayas in the background

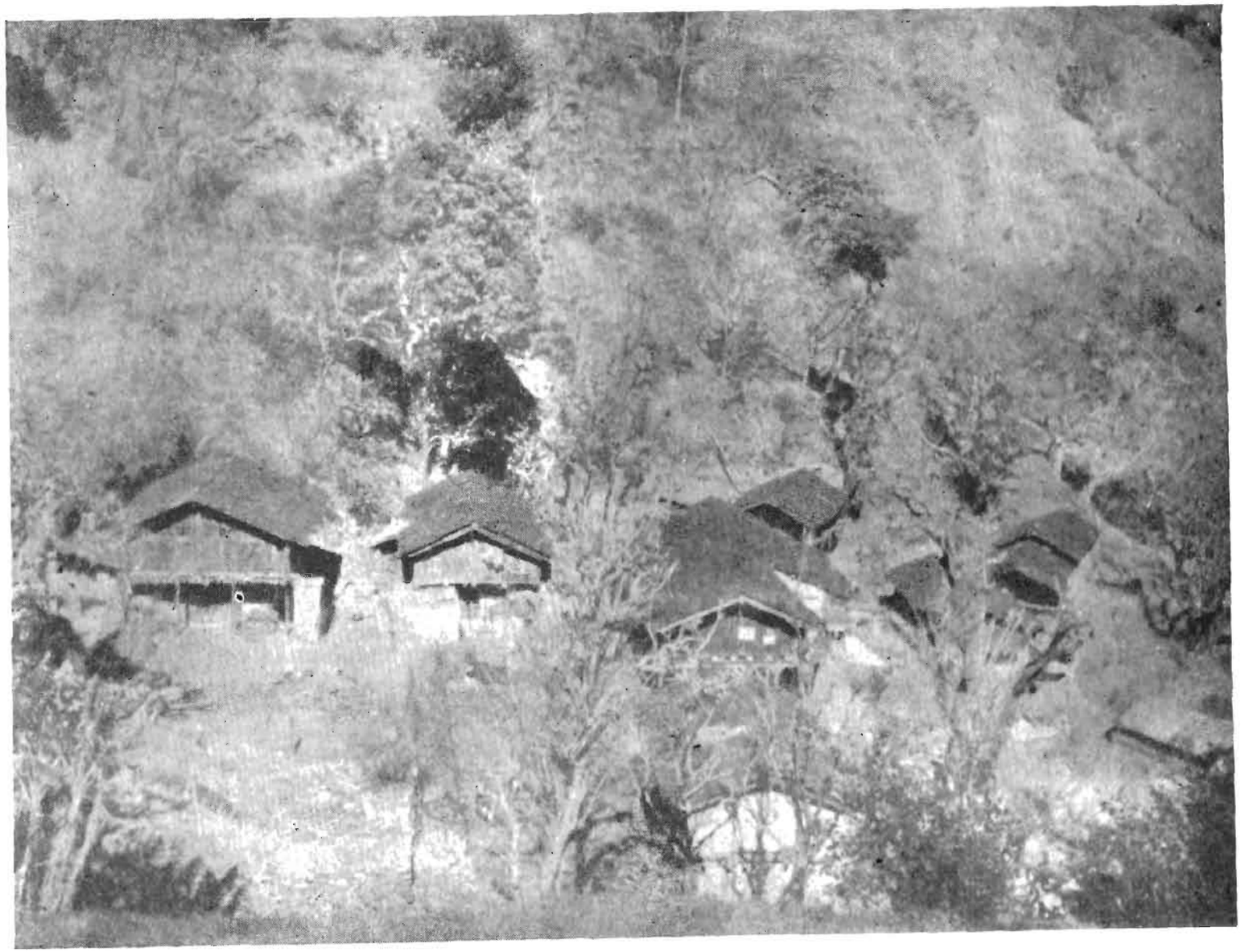
—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 2



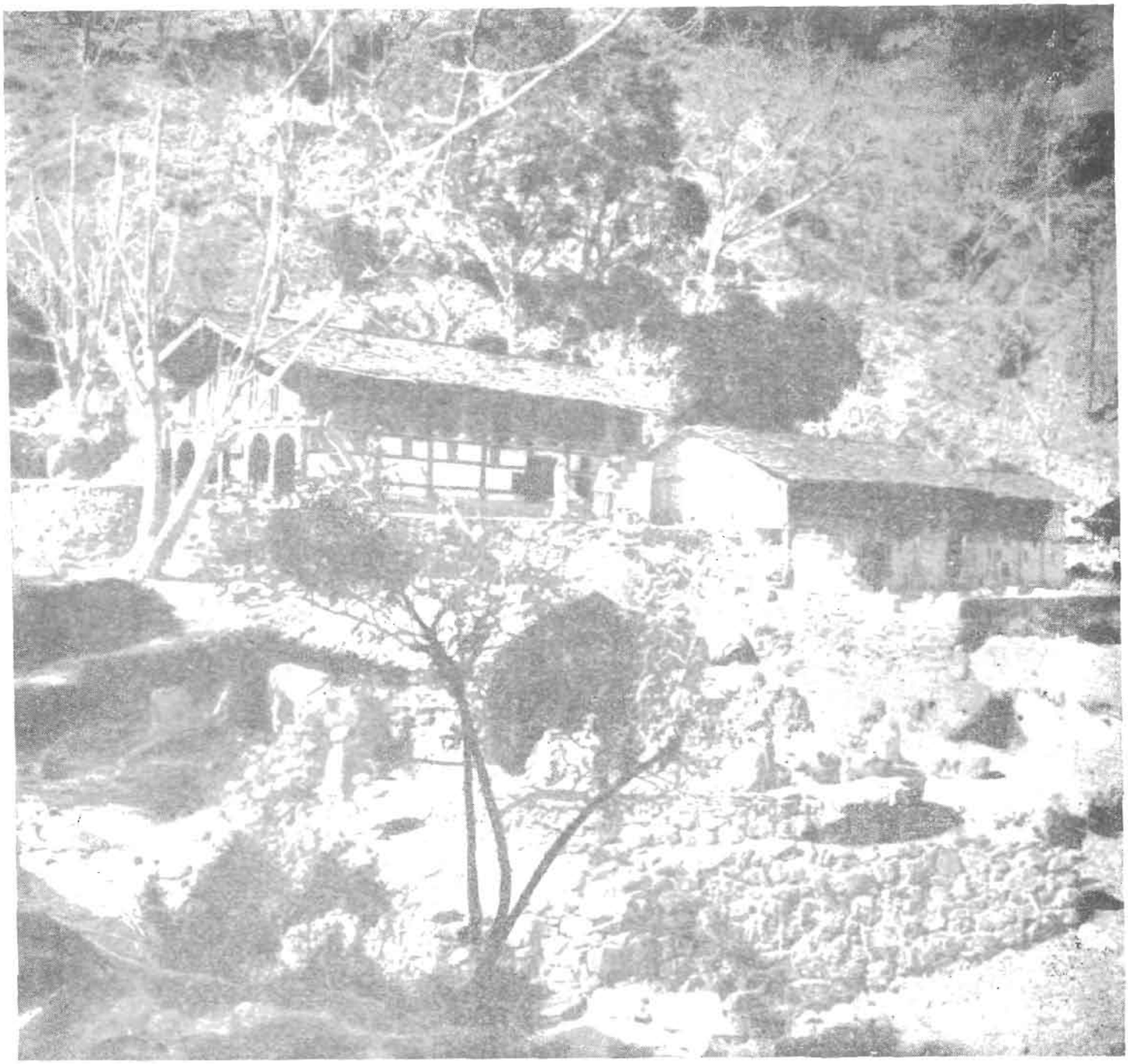
A view of the building containing
the huge quartz boulder on which one of Ashoka's edicts is inscribed
—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 3



A view of village Chapnu from a distance —*Photo by Ramesh*

PLATE No. 4



Another view of village Chapnu from a closer distance

—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 5



An aged Kolta couple relaxing after hard work by placidly their hookas

—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 6



A group of Kolta women and children of Chapnu

—Photo by Ramesh

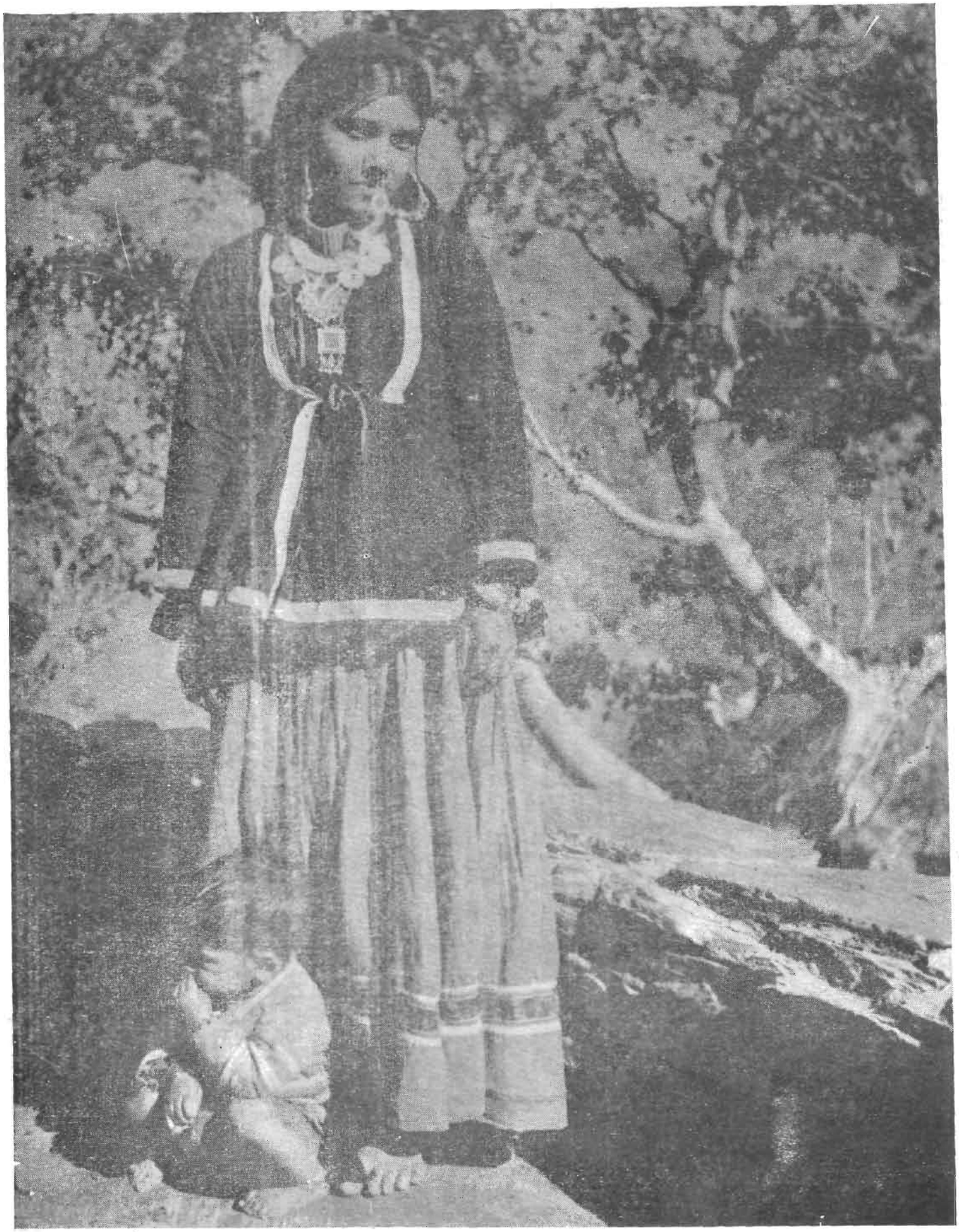
PLATE No. 7



A Kolta woman of village Chapnu returning after collecting some fuel

—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 8



A Kolta woman and her child

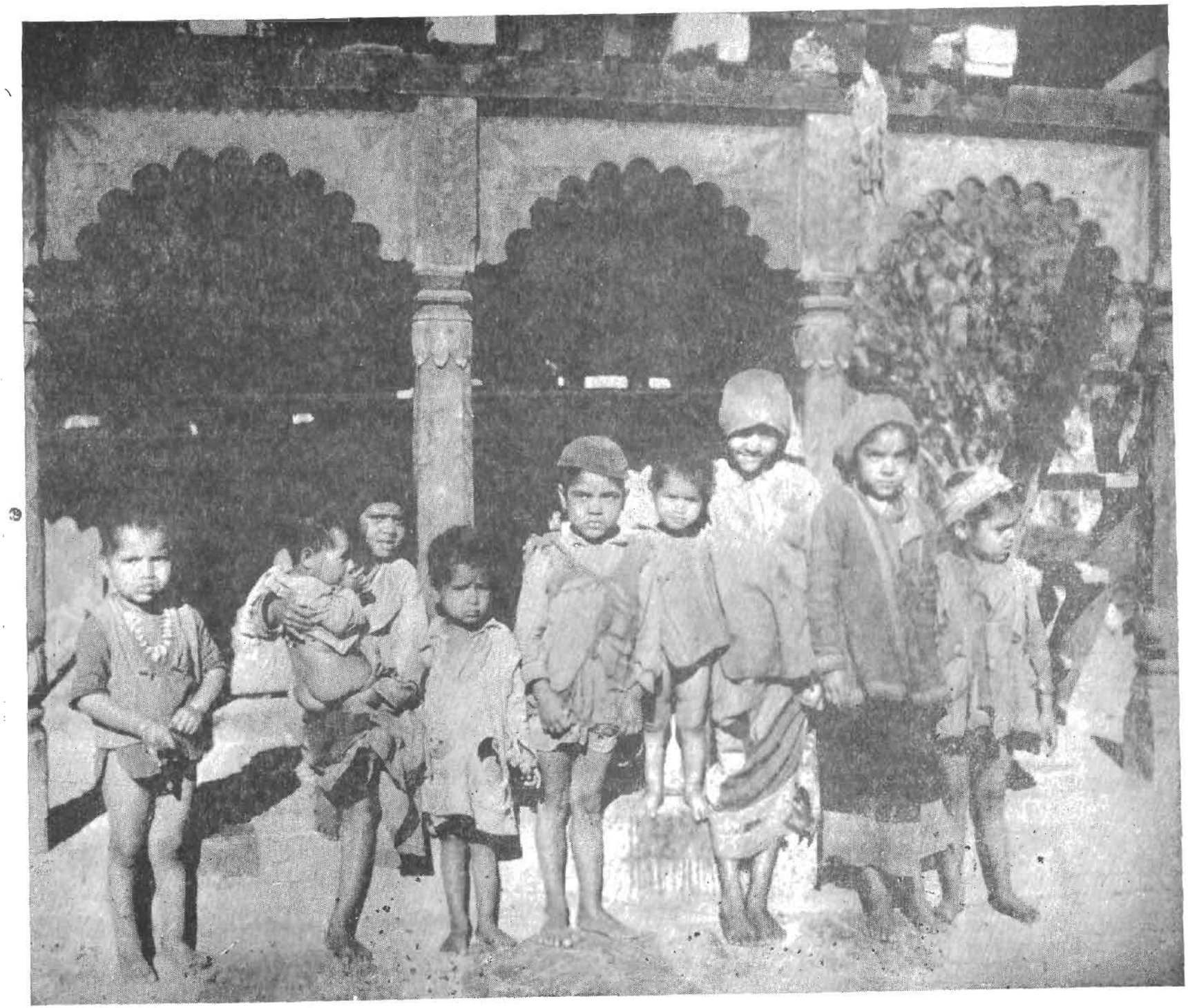
—*Photo by Ramesh*

PLATE No. 9



A Khasa woman of Jaunsar-Bawar
—Photo by courtesy, Information Centre, Dehra Dun

PLATE No. 10



A group of children of village Chapnu

—Photo by Ramesh

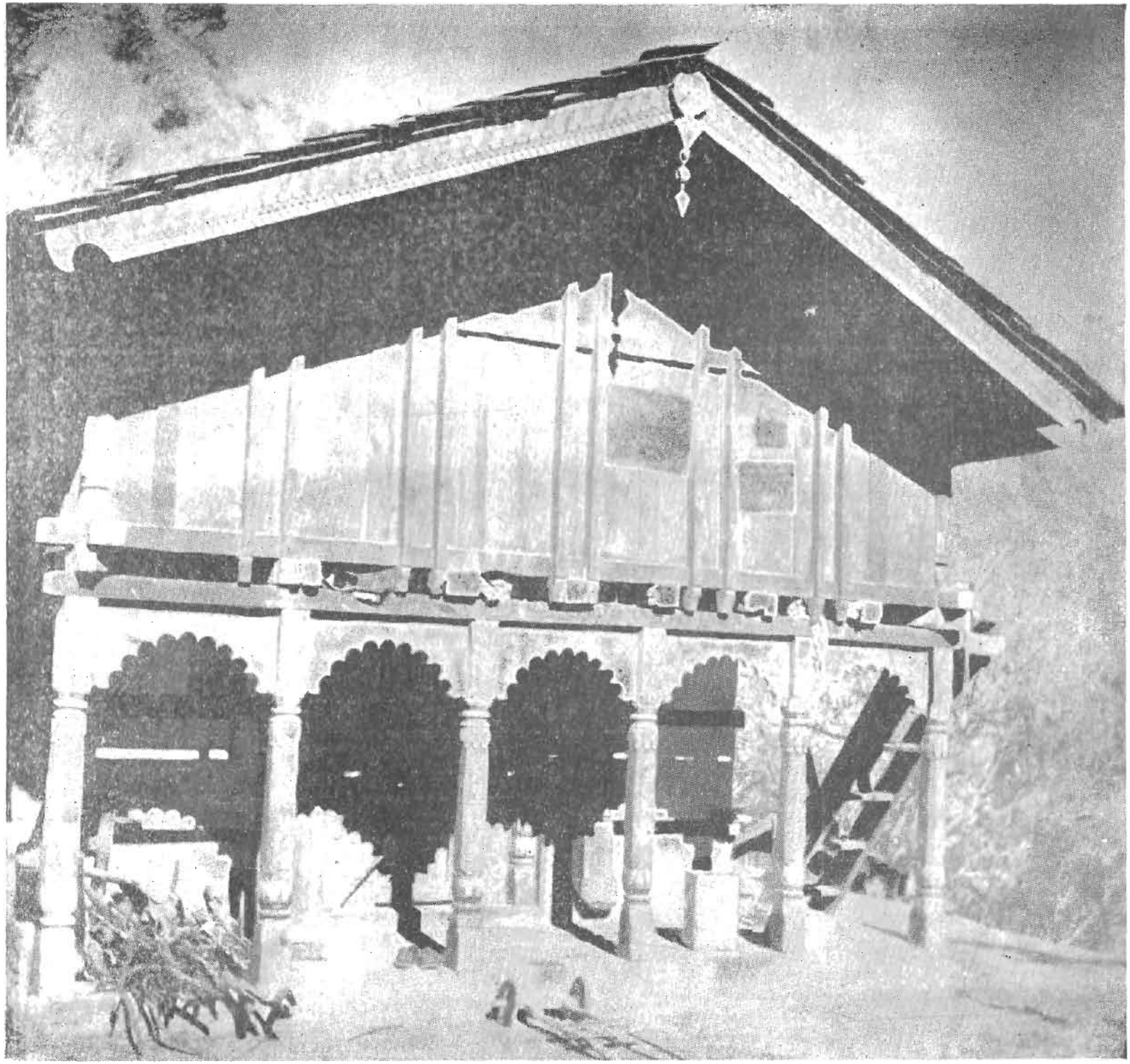
PLATE No. 11



Two Kolta women carrying water from the village diggi.

—*Photo by Ramesh*

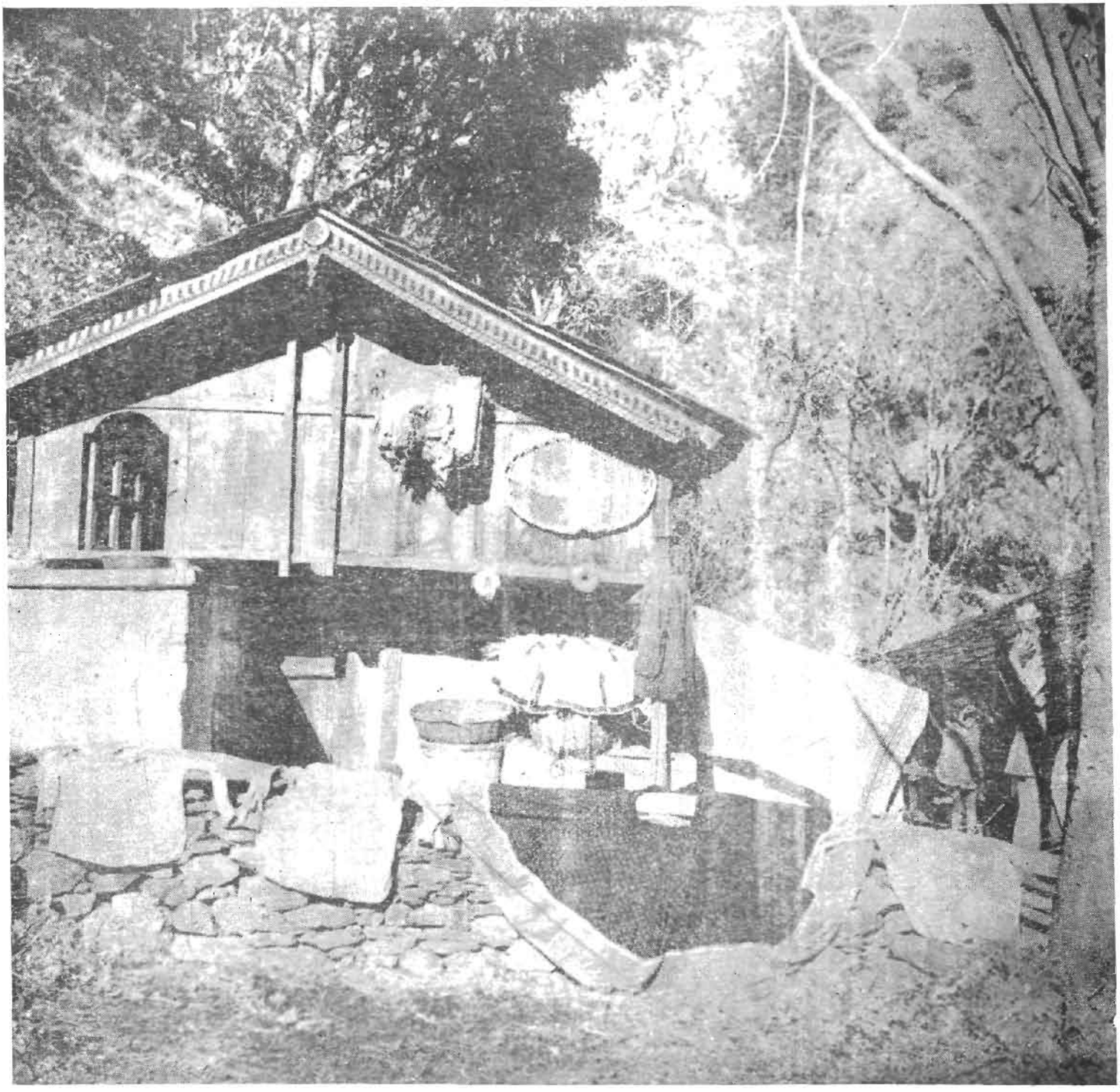
PLATE No. 12



A double-storeyed house in Chapnu

—Photo by Ramesh

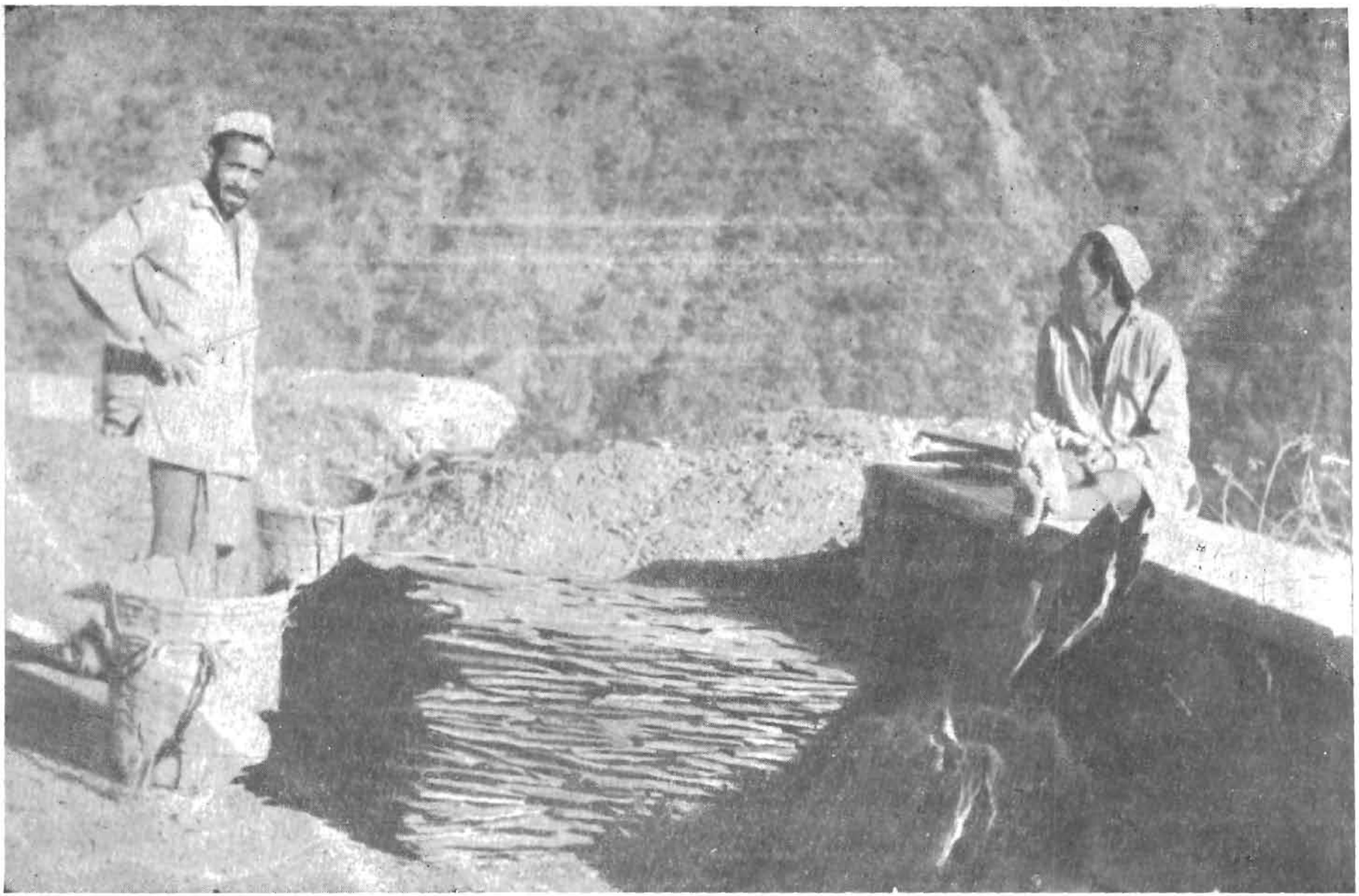
PLATE No. 13



A house and some household articles in village Chapnu

—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 14



Two persons engaged in carrying quartzite slabs to village Chapnu

—*Photo by Ramesh*

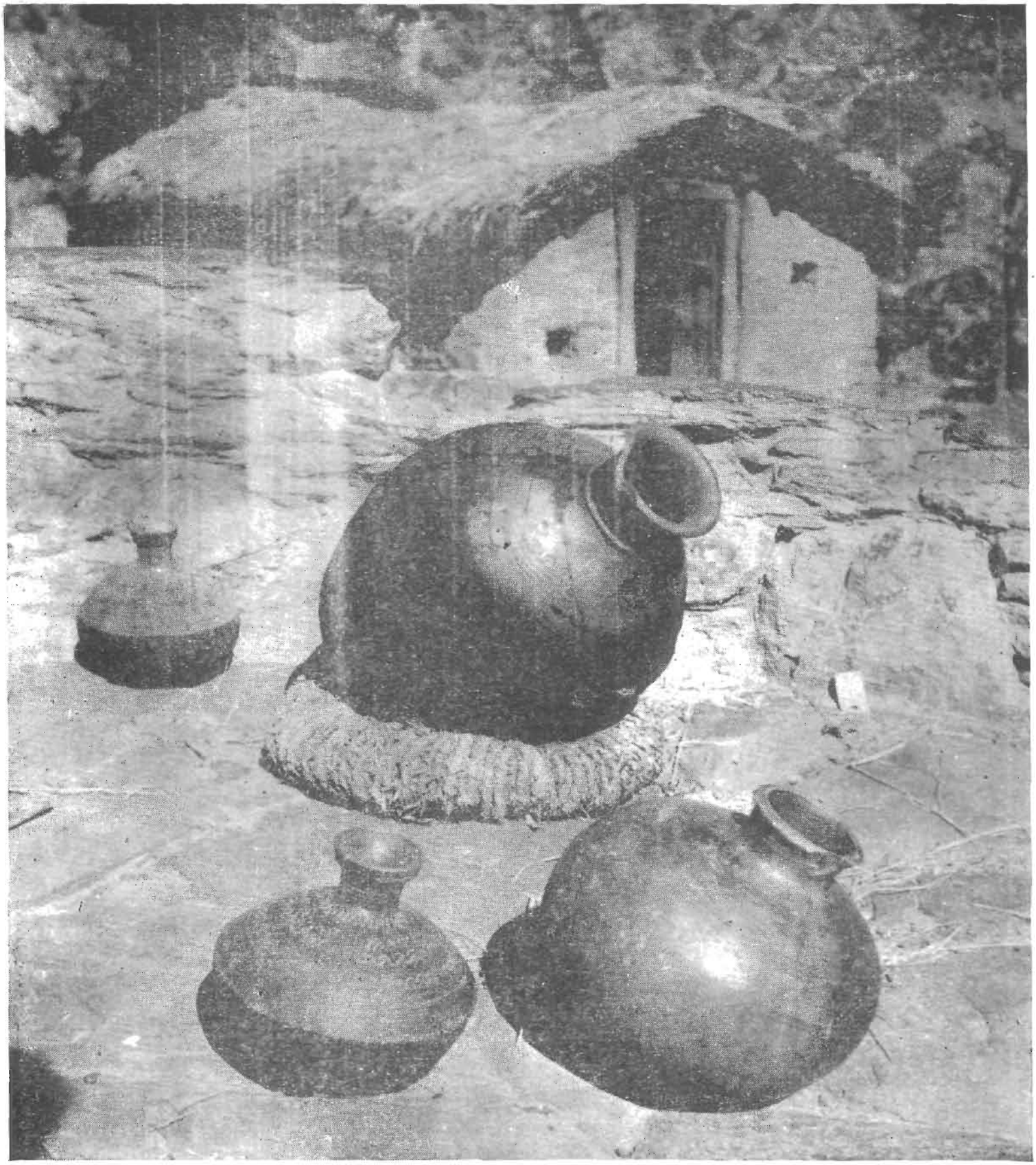
PLATE No. 15



A few utensils and household goods used by a Kolta household

—Photo by Ramesh

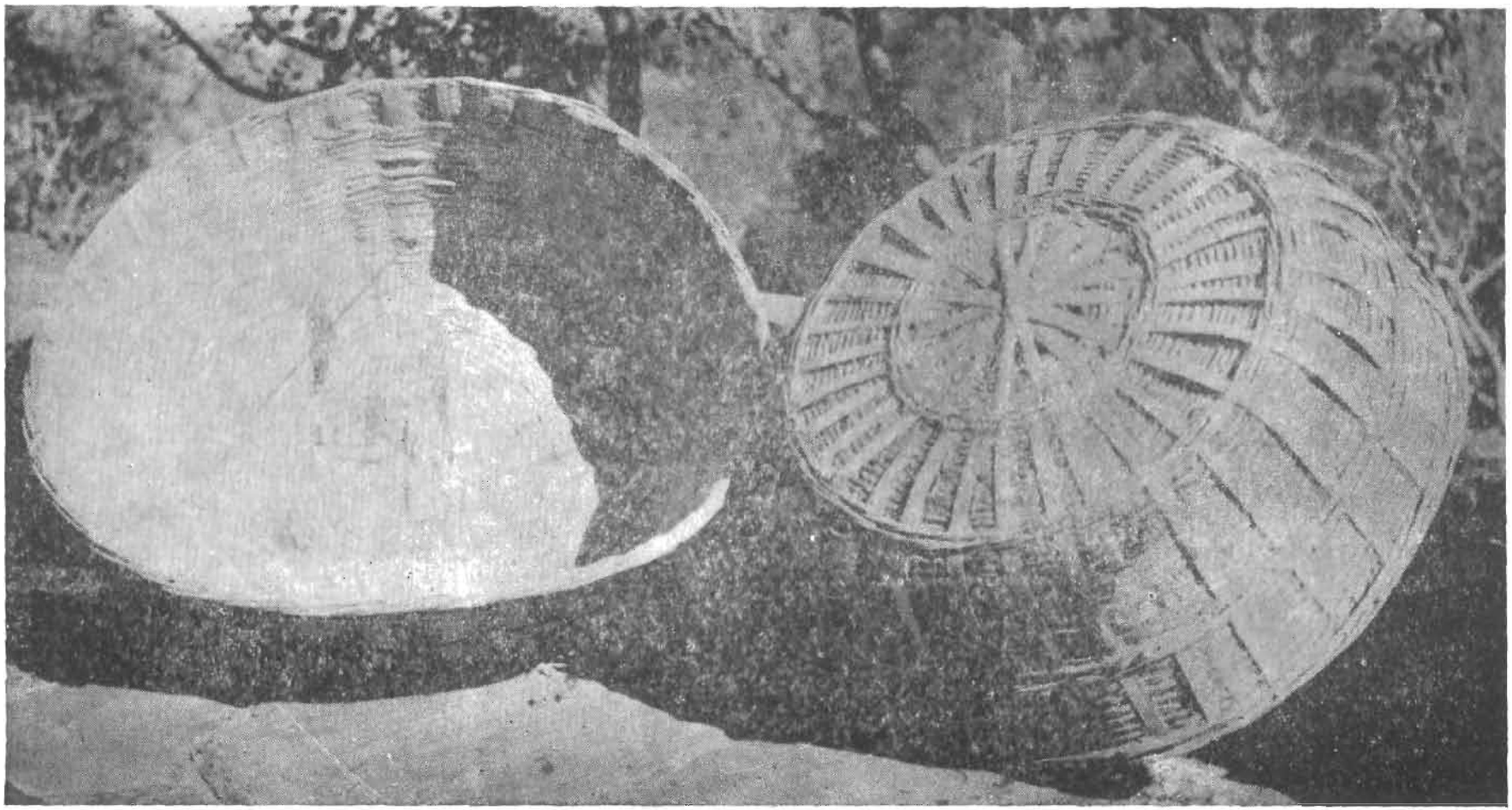
PLATE No. 16



A few earthenware used in distillation of liquor in village Chapnu.

—Photo by Ramesh

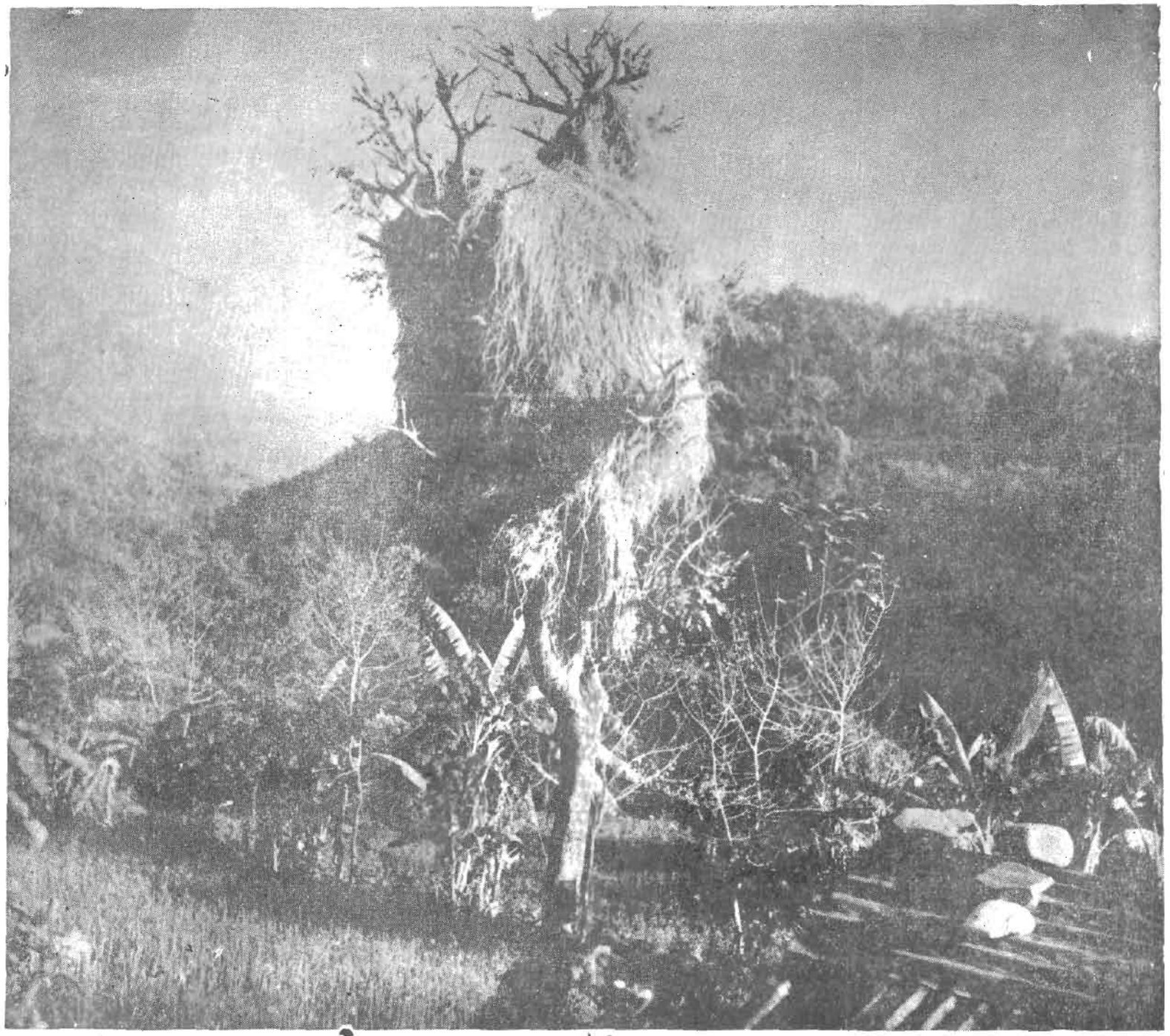
PLATE No. 17



Baskets used in the village

—Photo by Ramesh

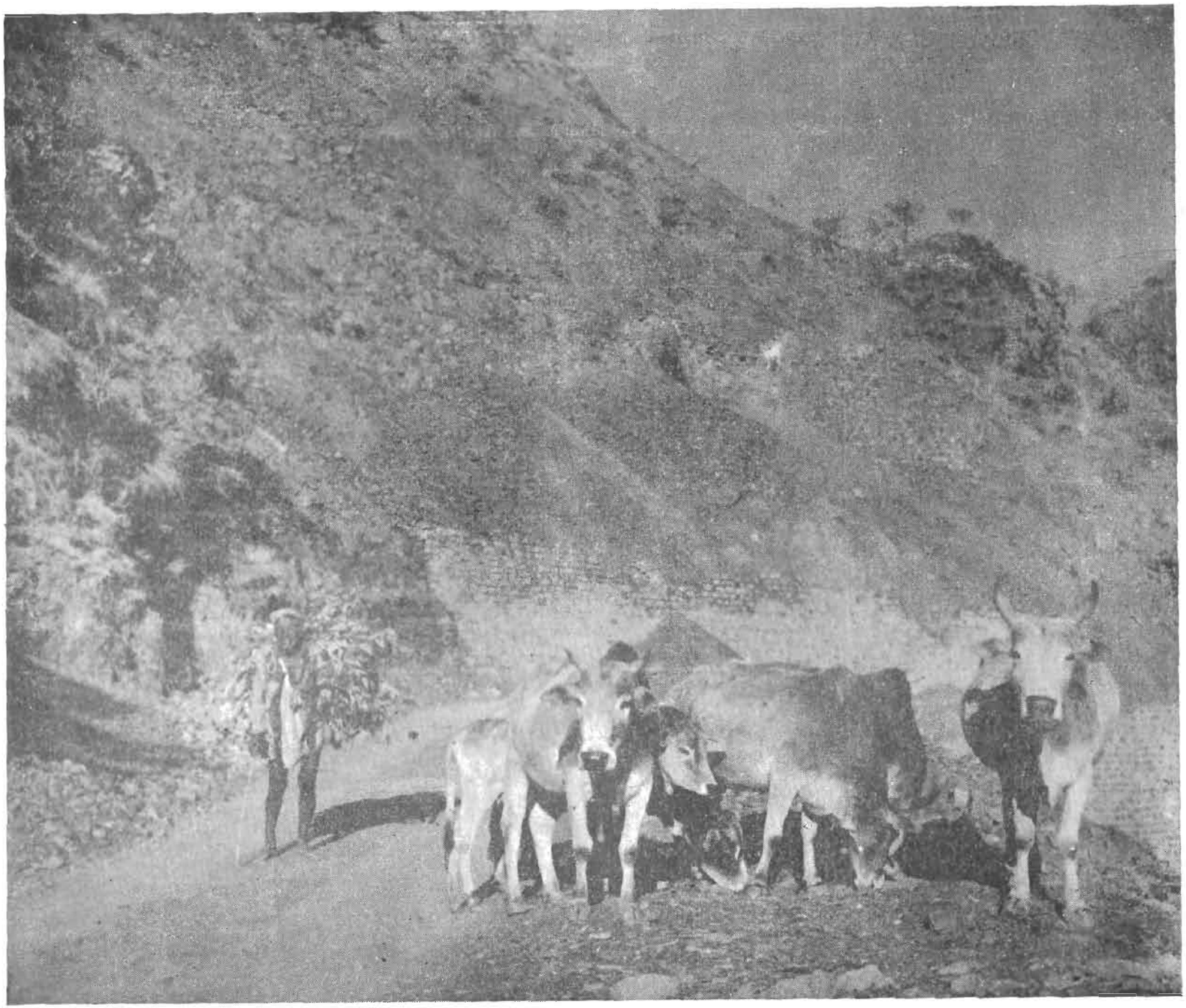
PLATE No. 18



The usual mode of stocking fodder in hills is to stack the hay on tree tops—to be consumed as and when required.

--Photo by Ramesh

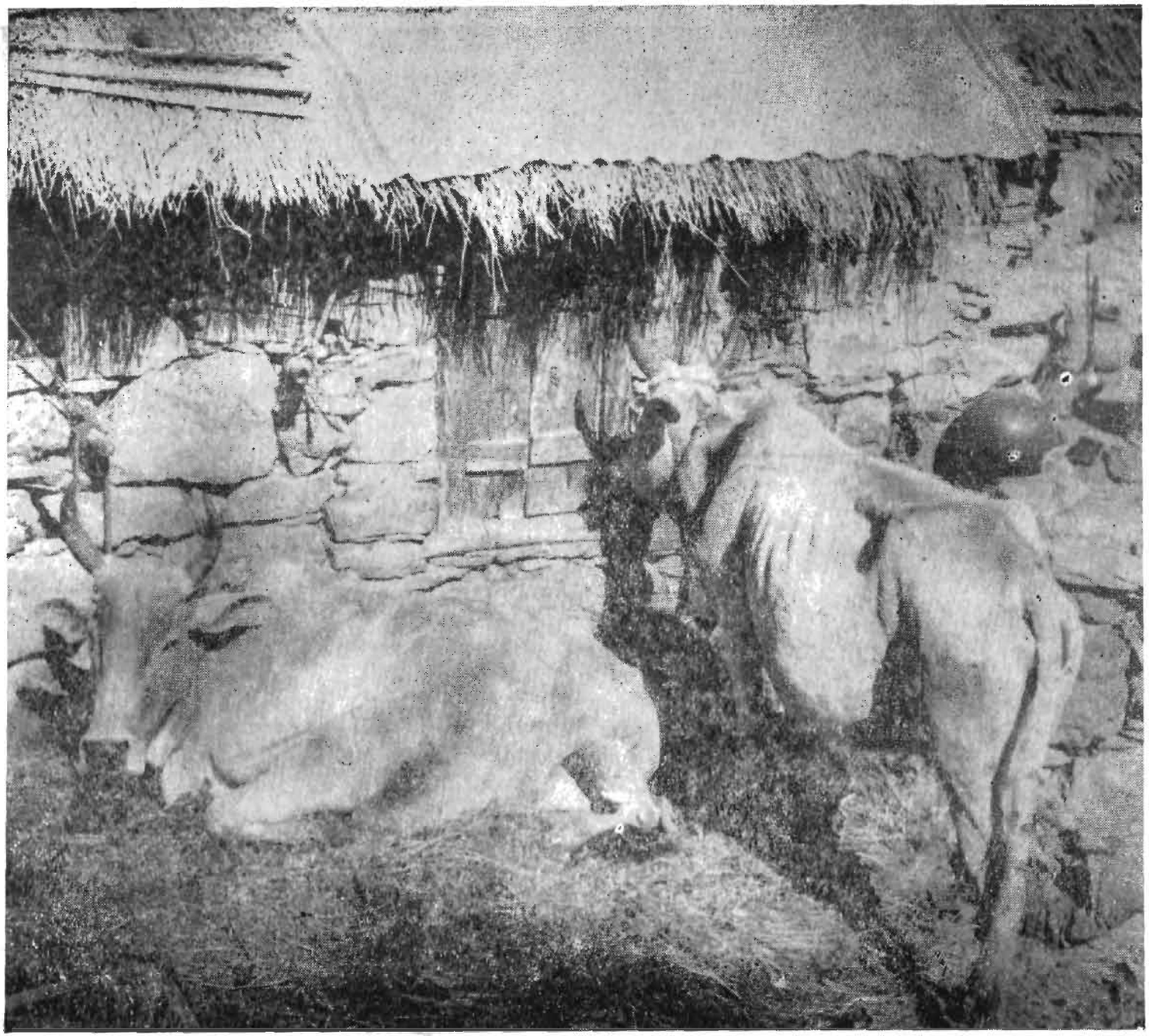
PLATE No. 19



The village cattle returning home after grazing for the day

—*Photo by Ramesh*

PLATE No. 20



A pair of bullocks resting outside the cattle shed in village Chapnu

—Photo by Ramesh

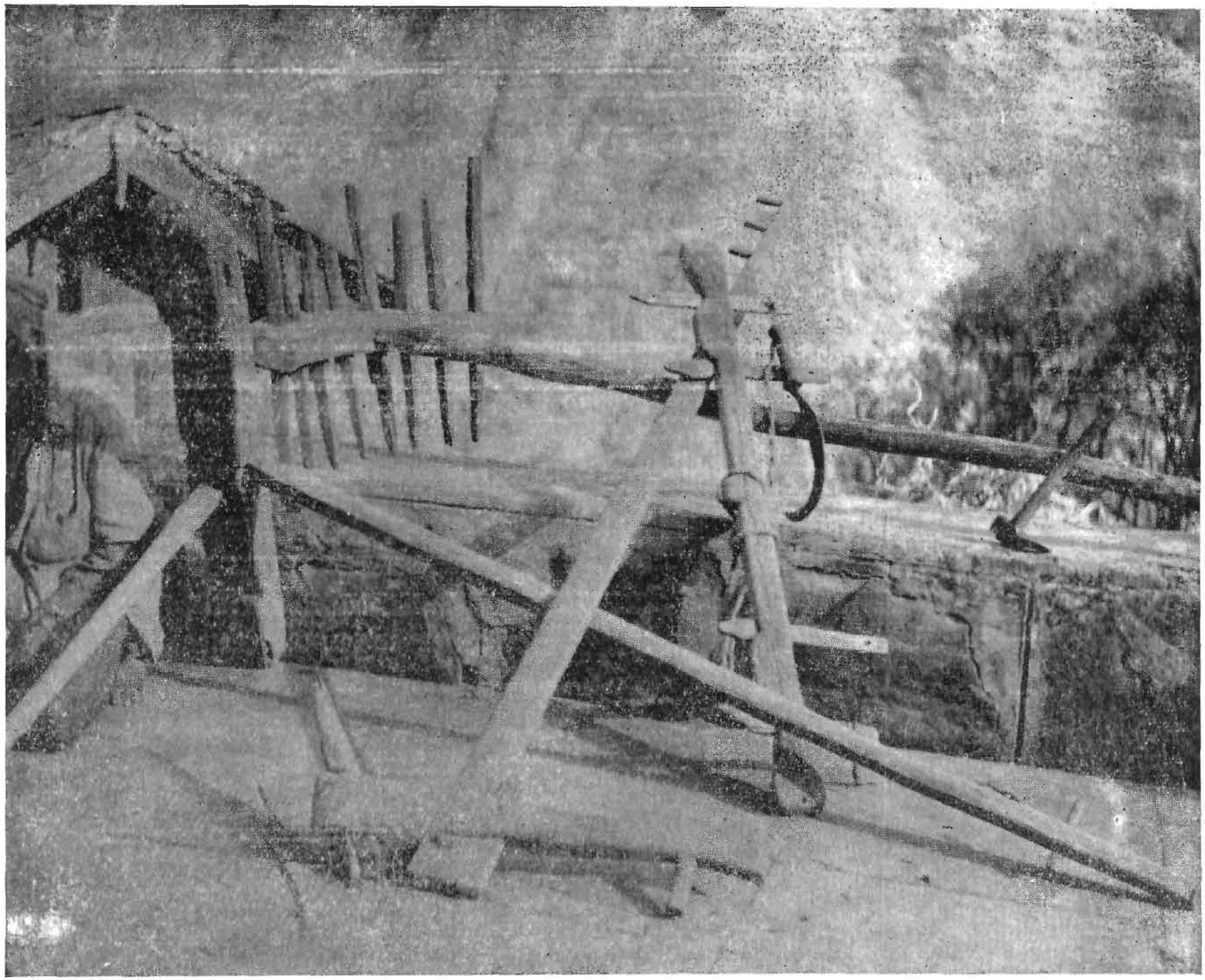
PLATE No. 21



Sheep and goats returning to the village after a day of grazing on the hills

—Photo by Ramesh

PLATE No. 22



Some agricultural implements used in village Chapnu

—*Photo by Ramesh*

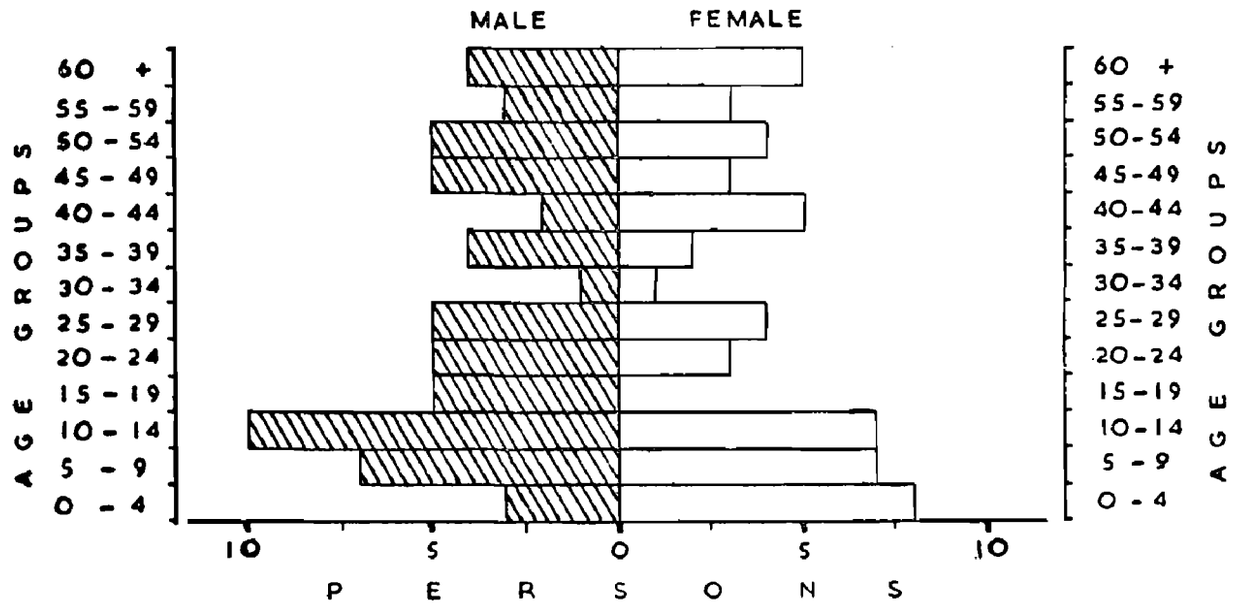
PLATE No. 23



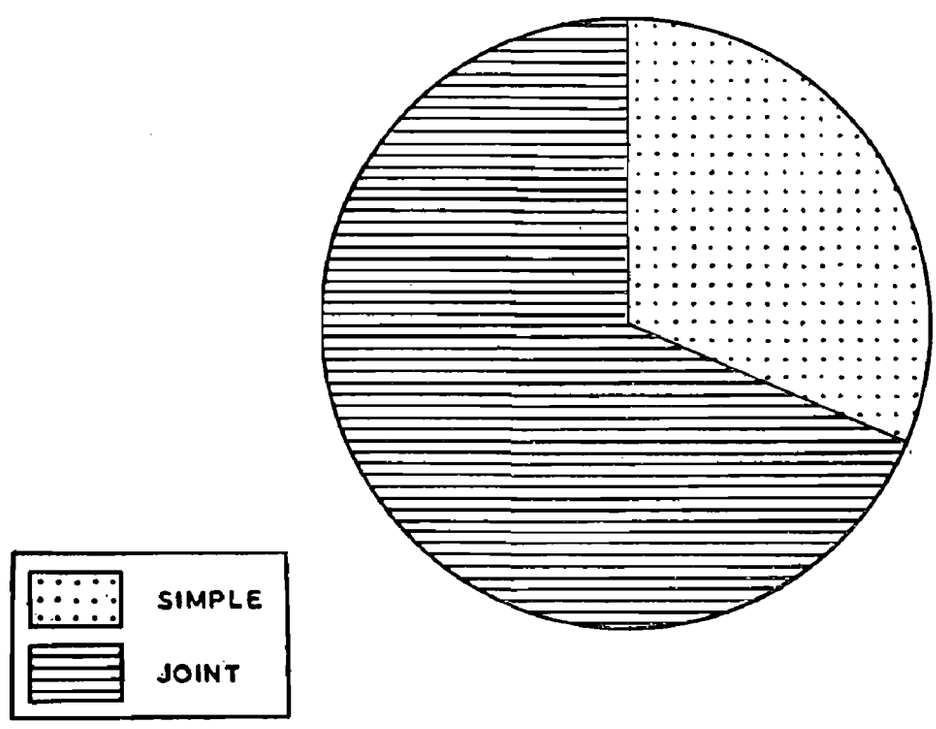
A view of the terraced fields of village Chapnu

—Photo by Ramesh

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

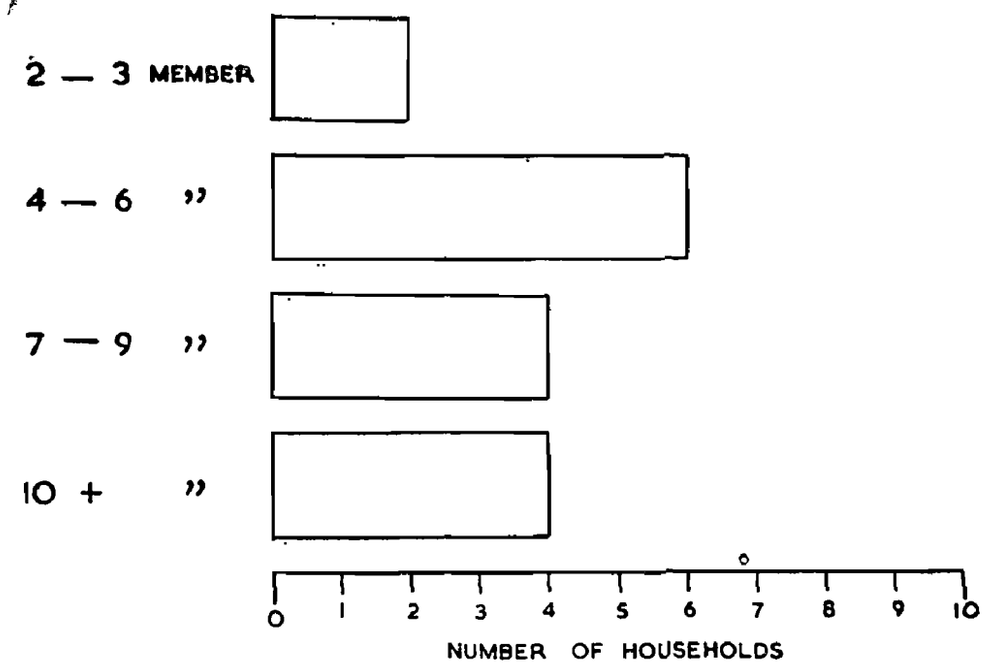


NATURE OF FAMILY

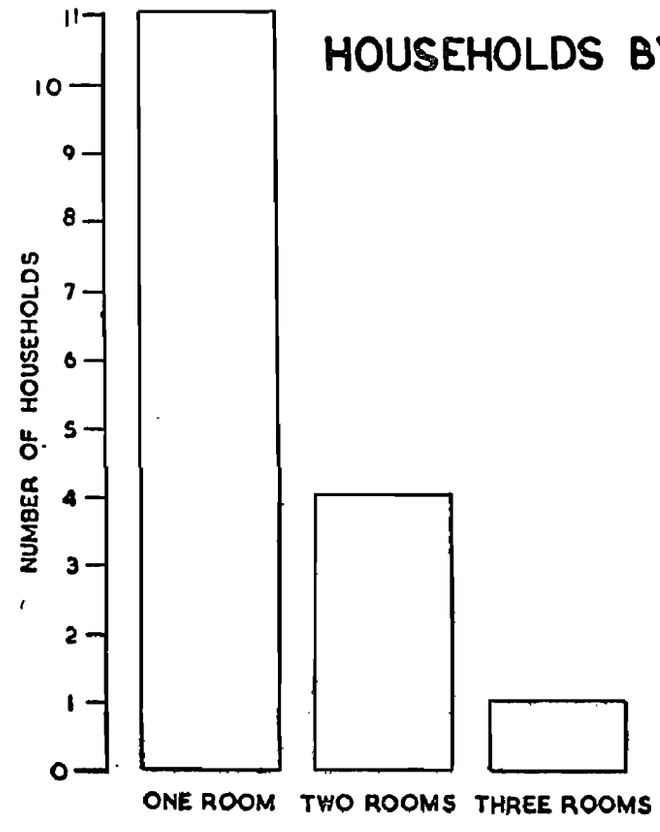


D. S. LAL

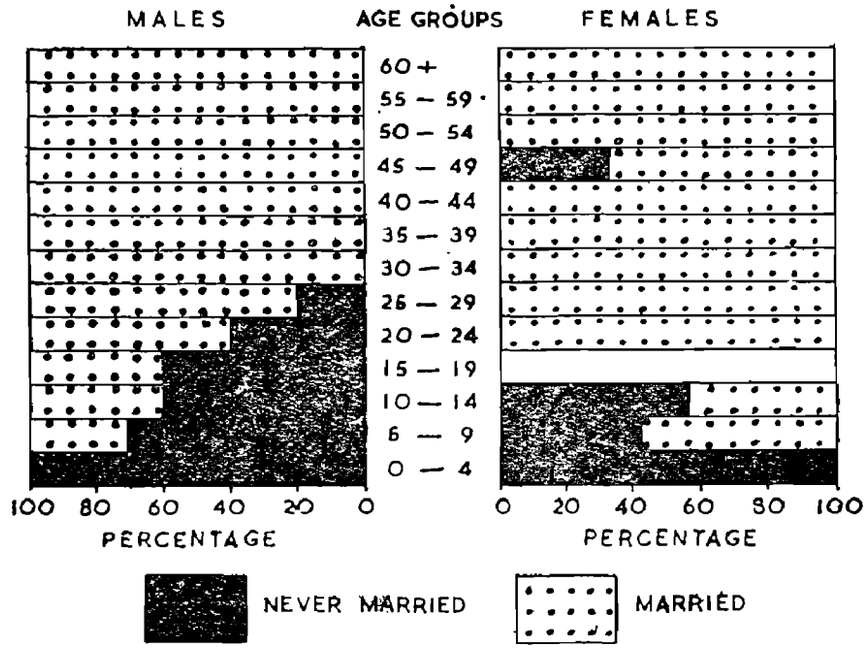
SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS



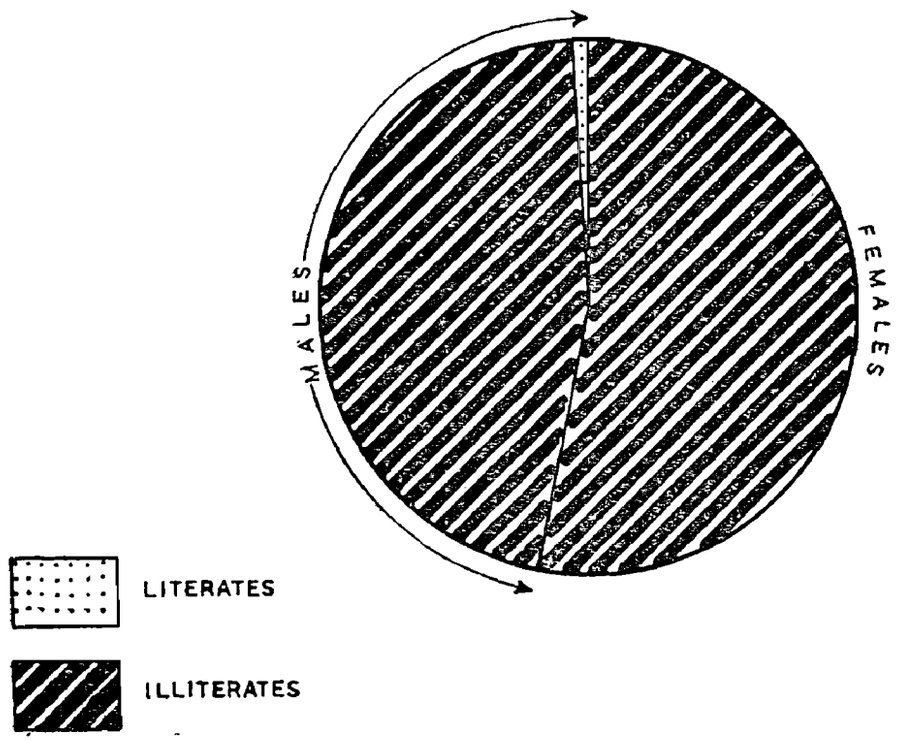
HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS



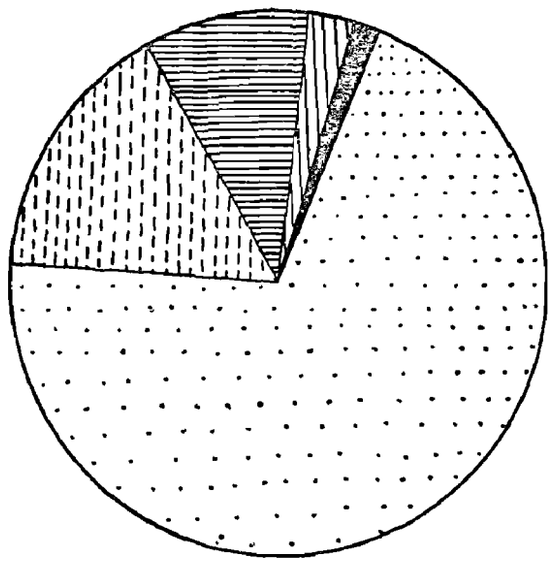
MARITAL STATUS BY AGE GROUPS & SEX



EDUCATION BY SEX

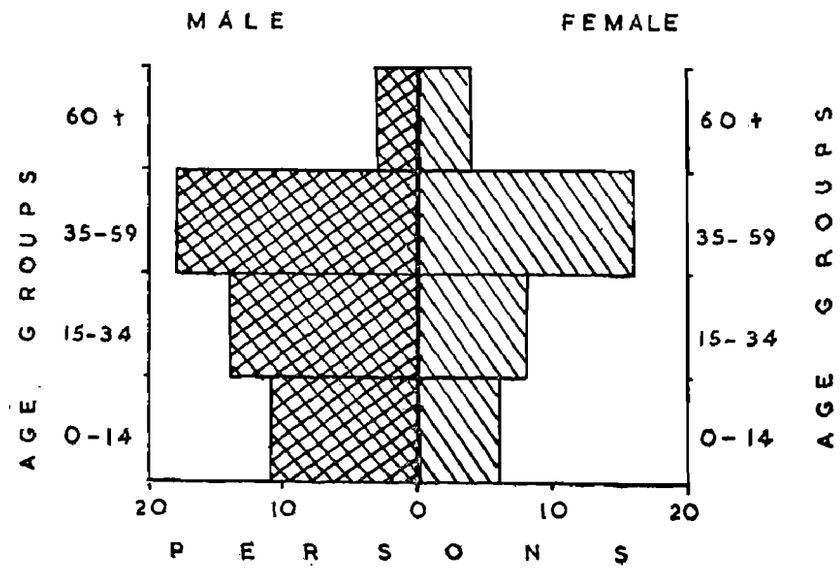


WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONS

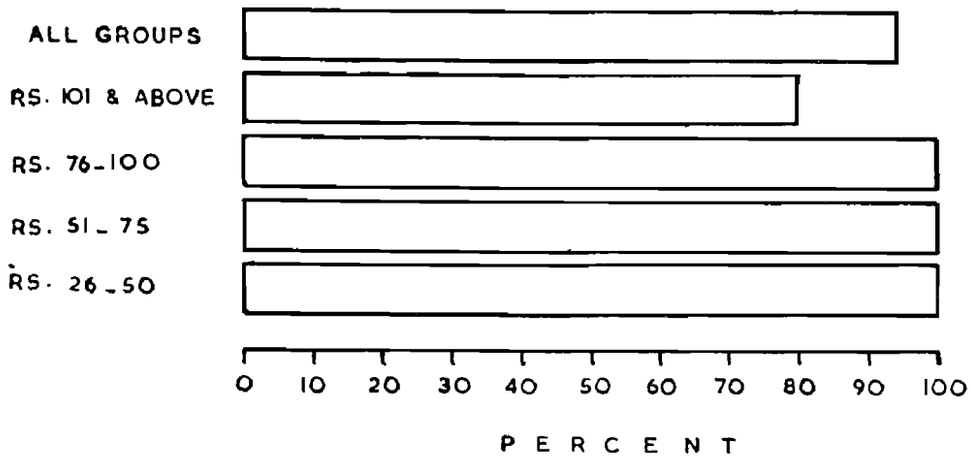


CULTIVATION
ROAD WORKER
ANIMAL REARING
WORKER IN GHARAT
MASON

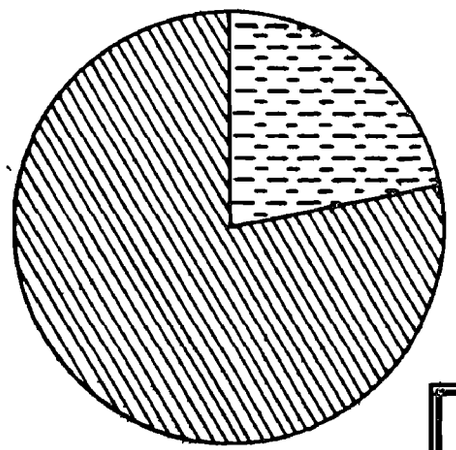
WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE GROUPS

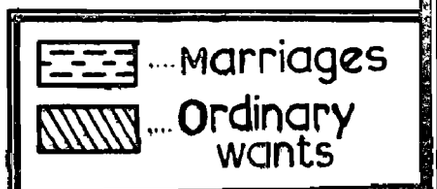


INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE OF DEBT





T.N.SRIVASTAVA

APPENDIX I

Dastur-ul-Amal of Jaunsar-Bawar, as drawn up by Mr. A. Ross, in 1851.

Whereas the revenue is fixed on the general resources of the Zamindars as well as upon the lands actually under cultivation and not as in the Doon and plains, it is necessary to have knowledge of the capabilities of the people as regards quantity of sheep, goats, plough-cattle, labourers, and quantity of land; and of its produce, *viz.*, walnut-trees, apricots, etc. cabbages, honey. All this is referred to as, on account of the frequent changes or distribution of shares, a requent change of the revenue is necessary.

2. In this paragraph, land is not measured in beegahs and biswas in the usual manner; there is only the measurement of the beegah, that is to say, as many pathas of seed as they sow in their lands the measurement of that land is called to many pathas, namely such and such a field is four-pathas or five-pathas. The patha is one kind of measurement, of which mention is made in paragraph 3. In the new measurement, according to the orders of Government, each piece of cutlivated land has been measured in blocks by acres—one acre four beegahs, of one beegah one rood.

3. The weight is according to paemanas, viz., the kutcha seer is called two seers and a half, and four kutcha seers make one patha (of rice or *oorud*), sixteen pathas make one doon, and twenty doons make one khar, and twenty seers kutcha make anadhooue, forty seers kutcha make sixteen pucca seers; the chattank and adhopu are not used here, but the quarter-seer and half seer are.

4. 1st.—There are two kinds of cultivators, one *mouroosee* and the other *gair mouroosee*. Cultivators are of the Brahmin and Rajput caste, and have the power to sell or otherwise dispose of their lands. They have in every way a right and title to their villages, but the *gair mouroosee* cultivators have no right to sell or otherwise dispose of their lands; but to the Zamindar, whose land they cultivate, they pay rent in money; this payment is called *kara*.

2nd.—If any *mouroosee* cultivator removes or runs away from his villages the land in the first place should be made over to his brother, nephew, or any other nearest relation he may have; if he has no relations, the sayana of the *khut* distributes the land among the *mouroosee* cultivators of the village. But if they do not agree to such an arrangement the sayana gives it to some other person on a *gair mouroosee* tenure, and settles the quota of revenue payable by him. And if any such land cannot be settled in the above manner it lies fallow, and the sayana distributes the due from it over the whole *khut*, according to the capabilities of each person: but no Dome, Bajgi, or any such castes can get possession of such land; only Brahmins and Rajputs can, and they can only hold it on a *gair mouroosee* tenure.

3rd.—As regards a runaway cultivator, it was always the custom that, without any limitation as to time, whenever he chose to re-settle and take possession of his land, whatever Government revenue was due could be collected from him, and he cannot forego his claim to his land unless he became a *mouroosee* cultivator in another place, or resigned his claim by writing a *bainama*. As this causes confusion, and loss of revenue to Government, we have, with the permission of Government, ordained that a runaway cultivator can reclaim his right to his land within five years, after which time the new cultivator can lay claim to the land, no matter if the former cultivator has or has not become a *mouroosee* of any other place.

4th—If the sayana should make a *gair mouroosee* a *mouroosee* cultivator, he should give such person or persons a bond: the candidate must give Rs. 2 to the sayana, Rs. 4 and a goat to the *panchayat*, and Rs. 2 to the residents of the village of which he is made a *mouroosee* cultivator.

5th.—When the tenant of any *khut* or *mehal* settled in another, the practice was that there was still a claim upon him for the revenue of his former tenures, and in his new *khut* he gave *kara*. Now we have to ordain that in such a case, there be no claim upon him for his tenures in his former *khut*, and he will only pay the revenue in his new *khut*.

6th.—If a cultivator dies, leaving a widow and young children, and the widow takes to herself another husband, the husband can claim the tenures of the former one as *gair mouroosee*, but in any such case it is customary to take a written document from the new husband that the claim to any such tenures (as he may have got by marriage of the widow) of the children of the former husband, and any that might be born of him shall be as follows :—Two-thirds are claimable by the children of the former husband and one-third by any children that might be born of him;

if, however, a cultivator should at his death be in debt and have no heirs, then whoever takes possession of his effects is liable for and must pay his debts.

5. When land that has been lying fallow is taken possession of for cultivation, and natural boundaries of the village should be looked to, such as trees, khuds, water-courses. Land for grazing goats and sheep can be taken without reference to boundaries.

6. If there should be a quarrel with any other *khut* about boundaries, it is settled either by *punchayat* or by making oath, but it is settled by oath only where it cannot be settled by *punchayat*. The person in possession should take the oath, and if the sayana is interested he must take the oath, and in case he should refuse, the opposite party should be given the oath. Any quarrel about the lands in each *khut* is settled in the same way.

7. The customs of the *punchayats* are, that when a case has been settled by *punchayat*, the punchayat can claim a rupee from both sides, and as regards the claim of the *punchayat* in heavy cases of quarrel about boundaries, as described in para 6, or regarding abductions of females, vide para 15, the punchayat can claim two rupees from each side.

8. 1st.—In the whole parganah there are thirty-five *khuts*. Each *khut* contains several villages. The head man of the *khut* is called sayana. The duties of the sayana are as follows: To keep the Zamindars contented, to collect the dues of Government according to custom only, equal shares according to the capabilities of each one; to settle all quarrels; and look after the welfare of new ryots; and obey the orders of Government. The sayana and Zamindars of *khuts* are of the same caste and parentage, but the title of sayana is hereditary. In some *khuts* there is a difference of caste between the sayana and the Zamindars.

2nd.—The sayana is appointed in the following way:—On the death of a sayana his eldest son succeeds; but if he should be under age, or otherwise unfit, the title of sayana still continues in his name. His brother or any other son of the deceased, does the work for him as his deputy, or *naib*, and if the sayana wishes, he can make his eldest son sayana during his lifetime ; but his brothers have no claim to the sayana because they are Zamindars; the sayana can, if he chooses, allow them to receive a portion of the *bis-outa*. In case of division of property, the sayana *charee* is not distributed, though all other property is. A younger son cannot take the title of sayana. If the eldest son should die and have children, such children can claim it.

3rd. —When a sayana dies without issue, his wife cannot claim the title of sayana; deceased's brother succeeds to the post.

4th.—In each *khut* there are several sayanas, but that person is considered the head sayana whose orders and power extend throughout the *khuts*. In this parganah the village of such a sayana is called *khoond*.

5th.—If the sayana should in any way injure the Government revenue, or act contrary to the Government orders, or injure the ryots by harsh measures, or wrongfully levy fines from the ryots of Government, or should be remiss in obeying the orders of his superiors (or Government), he may, according to the orders of Government, be dismissed. In such a case the person who has the next claim, and is capable will succeed to the *sayana-charee*, if approved by the district office. If he should wish, for any particular reason, to give up his claim, to the *sayana-charee*, it is customary to do it in the following manner:—First, he resigns his claim to his brother, then to any other person; but the rightful owner cannot sell it to destroy the rights of the next person.

9. In many *khuts* in each of the villages there is an officer of lower rank than the sayana, who is called in the language of the district, '*chuckroutta*'. There is this difference between him and the Zamindar, that in some *khuts* the sayana from his own share gives them one or two rupees each, and in some *khuts* the sayana at the termination of any suit makes the Zamindars give him something. These *chukrait* do all the work of the *khut* under the guidance of the sayana, but if he should disobey the orders of the sayana, the sayana can dismiss him and appoint another person (*chukrait*) in his place.

10. If a sayana should have to attend kutcherry or the district officer on his tour, he is entitled to a coolie as a servant, and another to carry a load; he also receives one seer of *atta* from each Zamindar. Formerly sayanas were in the habit of distributing any heavy expenses incurred by them over the whole parganah. On account of the great injury done to the Zamindars by this, that custom is abolished, and in future a sayana will be entitled once a year, to levy from each Zamindar at the rate of one-half anna per rupee of jumma payable by him, to cover his expenses when employed on business in the *khut*; but he can claim no other fees except small perquisites that he is entitled to from his office.

11. 1st.—If a Zamindar wishes to sell any portion of the land he has under cultivation, he must first through the sayana get the permission of the share-holders of his village, and also of the Zamindars of the *khuts*. When a person of that *khut* wishes to buy it, he cannot sell or mortgage it to a resident of another *khut*.

2nd.—It was formerly usual that a purchaser of land was responsible for the revenue, and a mortgager was not

responsible. Not approving of this we have changed it as follows, viz.,:—in either case—viz.: either of a mortgage or sale—the person in possession is responsible for the revenue.

3rd.—Formerly, in case of sales, if the purchaser and seller lived in the same *khut*, the purchaser gave a dinner to the relatives of the seller, and four annas for their having been witnesses. All the other witnesses of the sale received one anna per rupee on the value of the sale. Besides the price of the land, he gave one rupee (*khurtawun*), or gave a dinner to the relatives of the seller. The sayana of the *khut*, the relatives of the seller, and other residents, attest the deed of sale; if the purchaser belongs to another *khut* his relatives should be witnesses, but receive nothing for it.

4th.—With regard to mortgage. It can only be completed by permission of the sayana. No period is fixed for the duration of the mortgage, and no fees are paid ; and the sayana receives four annas for writing the deed, the mortgage must be recorded by the *karkoon.*

5th.—If any one sells or mortgages any thing to two people, and the first purchaser takes possession, and the money is returned to the second, the seller is considered dishonest.

12. 1st.—If, according to custom, four brothers have two or perhaps one, wife between them, and four or five, daughters are born, and one of the brothers marries again the children are not shared between them, but remain with the woman; and the woman cannot go to the younger brothers, but must live with the elder; but the children are entitled to equal shares from the four brothers, which are paid to the elder. If they separate, the elder brother bears expenses of the marriages.

2nd.—Goods are divided in the following manner, viz.: After deducting one thing of each kind, and one field for *pitans*, viz., rights on account of seniority, and half of that field, viz., *kanchoo*—for the youngest, all the rest are divided equally among them: but if there should be any bought land, viz., by mortgage or sale, or if there is any of their own land mortgaged in another place, that is also divided among them.

3rd.—If the mother or father should be alive, the brothers with whom they live must provide them with a cow, plate, clothes, *budlen* currie; but if there are two fathers and mothers the second receive nothing.

4th.—If any man have three wives, and they have children in unequal numbers, viz., one have two, another three at the time of sharing, the children all receive equal shares, except that the son with whom the first mother is to live receives a little more,

5th.—If two brothers have one wife, and have two children at the death of the wife, and both brothers marry again, and after the marriage the elder brother dies; leaving four sons at the time of sharing, after deducting half the whole property for the children by the first marriage, the remainder is divided into six equal shares: from those six shares two more besides the half previously deducted, are given to the children by the first marriage.

6th.—Daughters can claim no shares in the paternal property only the following is the custom—that the father should provide whatever is necessary for marriage ceremonies ; and if he has any grown-up brothers, he should get them married.

13. The following are the customs as regard marriages. That only the Mai and Rawuth castes intermarry with the Kunnaith and Bhat castes, Brahmins and Rajputs; in this district the marriage ceremony is called '*Jhajerae*'.

1st.—The bridegroom's father gives the father of the bride one rupee as earnest money ; the father of the young women will give him afeast (dinner) of pourees; this makes the betrothal binding. The bride's father having dressed the young woman in a *chola*, a *damun* and a *dhatoo* (head-dress) and having given her as many dishes, etc., as in his power, goes with all his relatives to the bridegroom's father's house, and the bride-groom's father gives them one or two dinners.

2nd.—If the bridegroom's father should decline to fulfil the contract of marriage after the betrothal has taken place, he must not take back the earnest money he has given; but if the bride's father should give her in marriage to another party without the permission of the young men's father to whom she is betrothed, the girl's father will pay the youngman's father sixty rupees.

14. When a son and heir is born, alms are distributed according to the means of the parents; and if any one be in great sorrow, their relatives give them a he-goat and a rupee, to try and dispel their sorrow.

15. If any person of low caste should run away with the wife of a respectable man, then, either the person who runs away with her, or any person who allows them to remain in the district, must pay one hundred and twenty five rupees; or else the woman, together with the person who ran-away with her, should go out of the country. If it be proved that intimacy has previously existed, the man should be made to pay twenty-five rupees through the sayana. If any person of respectable caste, he is made to pay a fine of sixty rupees.

16. The following is the custom in this district as regard bargains :—There are no written documents taken; everything is done verbally; if any person knows how to

write, he will write it down. If any quarrel arise on this account, it is settled in the following way:—If a debtor denies his entire debt, the *sahokar* has to swear to it in the name of his deity, but if a debtor denies a part of his debt and acknowledges a part, the *sahokar* gets that portion of the money which the debtor acknowledges, and for the remaining he must make the usual oath.

2nd.—As regards interest the following is the custom. The debtor has to give the sahokar eight pucca seers of corn at each harvest for each rupees until the original sum is paid up, and if any one is unable to pay interest , and becomes insolvent, the sahokar takes his original amount in the presence of four arbitrators and if the *kooth* (viz., the eight seers paid annually) remain due, he foregoes it. If a debtor cannot pay his interest to the *sahokar* and has to give much grain then the *sahokar* makes him pay double the original debt.

3rd.—The following is the custom with regard to debts of grain :—That for the space of one year the original quantity is increased 50 per cent, and in the second year the accumulated amount, or that which remains after a part being paid back, is again increased 50 per cent. If the debtor has not paid any interest, and becomes poor and insolvent, then the *sahokar* takes three times the original amount of his debt.

17. 1st.—In this district the most binding oath is by the Deity Mukasoon (*sic*). To swear by, especially the one in Kally Bole, viz., Benoli, is more particularly binding.

2nd. There was also the following custom prevalent in this district :—Often in cases of quarrels amongst themselves, people used to offer up at the temple of their deity stones from the *khuts* and mud from their houses; and that house having become the residence of their deity, fell to ruins—no person could take possession of it. In several cases deities were in the habit of ordering "land or house be freed" and this order of the deity was made known by the Mallees, who come from Garhwal. The Government having thought this custom wrong, did away with it.

18. Besides persons of high caste, there are other people of low caste, such as carpenters, bajgis, kolis, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, chamars, etc., but these attend to their own trades and get pay for the work they each perform. Every Zamindar gives to the blacksmith, bajgi, and carpenters only four pathas of corn; the chamar does the work of the master in whose service he is, if he gives him food and clothing, and gives a little land to his family.

19. If any person steals sheep, goats, etc., and eat them or sell them, if the theft of one of these be proved, seven will be taken from him in exchange for each one he has stolen and if the person will not give them, then he will be forwarded to the kutcherry and punished as a thief.

20. If any serious case of murder etc., occurs, it was the custom to decide such case by punchayat. It is now no longer in the power of the people to interfere in such cases ; the cases must be decided by the District Officer.

21. If there is any quarrel among the people, generally they settle it themselves, or the sayana settles it, and if the sayana even, should not be able to settle it, the case is brought before the Magistrate to be settled.

22. 1st.—Besides the above mentioned customs, some of the customs of the under mentioned *khuts*, viz., Churtharee, Mulaitha, Kothal, Rungao, Hurreepore Beas, differ somewhat from the customs of the other *khuts* in the district of Jaunsar-Bawar.

2nd.—For in these *khuts* the entire family of the sayana are entitled to receive *bisouta*. One person from amongst them is made for sadar sayana, and whatever power the sadar sayana has in other *khuts* is given to the whole of the sayanas family in these. After the sadar sayana the eldest son becomes sadar sayana.

3rd.—All the cultivators of these *khuts* are *gair mouroosee*; none of them have power to sell their cultivated lands. The sayana has power to make them cultivate the lands, or to take away the land from them.

4th.—In the *khuts* of Kalsi, viz., Hurreepore Beas, there is one custom quite different from the rest of Jaunsar that is to say, the revenue in this *khut* is not taken upon the capabilities of each one. There is plenty of cultivable land; the sayanas take the rest in *bhutaee*; and all the remaining customs of the whole parganah are the same.

The following modifications were proposed by Mr. J. C. Robertson :—

All trees are the property of Government, except a few near villages which were included in the *chucks*, and were planted by the Zamindars. The Zamindars have, however, permission to cut wood for making ploughs, houses, or for their own private use as fire-wood, but are not allowed to sell it; and those in whose *khuts* there is no deodar, are allowed to bring them from the *khuts* they have been accustomed, subject to the above conditions. And the persons from whose *khuts* the wood is cut are not allowed to charge for it. They have a complete right to all *bansie* jungle, and to medicines, such as *kakua*, *singhie*; and as they pay revenue on those, they also possess the right of grazing cattle. But other rights, such as mines, belong to Government, and no Zamindars can cultivate

any barren land which has not been included in any *chuch*, without permission of the Collector. And Government has the right of selling and letting that land to whomsoever it chooses.

Measurements having been made, and boundary-pillars erected to avoid future disputes, a report is to be made within fifteen days after a case has been decided, stating what decision has been arrived at, and what objections either of the parties make to the decision; if no proper objection is filed within fifteen days, the decision of the arbitrators will be confirmed.

One *khut* constitutes a *mehal*.

If any ryot does not pay his dues, the sayana can sue him in court for the amount, and if a cultivator should run away, he can distrain his effects, through the Tehsildar, that they may be forthcoming when called for by the authorities, in order that Government may not be a loser; and if he cannot by any means in his power collect the Government revenue he must re-arrange the *phant* over his *khut*. The phant *bundee* must be filed in the Tehsil in December; if the sayana should fail to do this, he makes himself liable for such arrears. But even if no alteration is made, the *phant bundee* must be filed, in order that the arrangements for the following year may be looked into, and may be settled by the end of April.

But the deed of mortgage must contain a condition that only the Zamindaree rights are mortgaged, not the land itself; but when the mortgage takes possession, he is only entitled to it till his claim has been paid, or till the expiry of any period agreed on at the time of the mortgage. The mortgager is also responsible for the revenue. All charges of possession must be entered in the *phant bundee*.

2. All disputes between servants and master to be referred to arbitrators.

TABLES

TABLE No. I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in		Density per sq. mile	Number of Houses	Number of House-holds	Population		
Acres	Hectares				P	M	F
67.34	27.25	1,055 persons	16	16	111	59	52

TABLE No. II

Population by Age Groups

Age Groups (Years)	Population		
	P	M	F
All Ages	111	59	52
0—4	11	3	8
5—9	14	7	7
10—14	17	10	7
15—19	5	5	..
20—24	8	5	3
25—29	9	5	4
30—34	2	1	1
35—39	6	4	2
40—44	7	2	5
45—49	8	5	3
50—54	9	5	4
55—59 ..	6	3	3
60 & over ..	9	4	5

TABLE No. III

Size and Composition of Households

Size of Household	Number of Households	Population		
		Males	Females	Persons
Single Member	..	..	..	..
2—3 Members ..	2	3	3	6
4—6 Members ..	6	14	15	29
7—9 Members ..	4	16	16	32
10 Member and over	4	26	18	44
Total ..	16	59	52	111

TABLE No. IV

Caste and Nature of Familie.

Caste	Total Number of Households	Types of Families living in the Households		
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Kolta ..	16	5	..	11

N.B.—Simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.

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

Joint family consists of married couple with married sons, daughters or with married brothers and sisters.

TABLE No. V

Households classified by Religion, Caste and Sub-Caste

Religion	Caste	Sub-Caste	Population			Number of House-holds
			Persons	Males	Females	
Hinduism	Dom	Kolta	111	59	52	16

TABLE No. VI

Matrial Status of Population by Age Groups and Sex

Age Group (Years)	Total Population			Never Married		Married	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F
All Ages	111	59	52	20	16	39	36
0—4	11	3	8	3	8	..	..
5—9	14	7	7	5	3	2	4
10—14	17	10	7	6	4	4	3
15—19	5	5	..	3	..	2	..
20—24	8	5	3	2	..	3	3
25—29	9	5	4	1	..	4	4
30—34	2	1	1	..	..	1	1
35—39	6	4	2	..	..	4	2
40—44	7	2	5	..	..	2	5
45—49	8	5	3	..	1	5	2
50—54	9	5	4	..	..	5	4
55—59	6	3	3	..	..	3	3
60 & over	9	4	5	..	..	4	5

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TABLE No. VII

Education

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate without Educational Standard		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	111	59	52	110	58	52	1	1	..
0—14	42	20	22	42	20	22	..	..	..
15—34	24	16	8	23	15	8	1	1	..
35—59	36	19	17	36	19	17	..	..	..
60 & over	9	4	5	9	4	5	..	..	..

TABLE No. VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad Age Groups

Age-grou (Years)	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	111	59	52	80	46	34	31	13	18
0—14	42	20	22	17	11	6	25	9	16
15—34	24	16	8	22	14	8	2	2	..
35—59	36	19	17	34	18	16	2	1	1
60 &over	9	4	5	7	3	4	2	1	1

TABLE No. IX

Workers classified by Sex, broad Age Groups and Occupations

Occupation	0—14			15—34			35—59			60& over		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	
Cultivation	9	4	5	17	9	8	25	9	16	5	1	4
Road worker	..	..	..	4	4	..	8	8	..	1	1	..
Animal rearing	7	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Worker in *gharat*	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Mason	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	17	11	6	22	14	8	34	18	16	7	3	4

TABLE No. X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Persons Occupying

Number of Rooms	Number of Family Members	Households with					
		One room		Two rooms		Three rooms	
		Number of Households	Number of Family Members	Number of Households	Number of Family Members	Number of Households	Number of Family Members
22	111	11	64	4	36	1	11

TABLE No. XI

Livestock

Animal	Number of Households owning	Total Number
1. Draught bullocks ..	5	29
2. Cows	13	19
3. Calves	10	21
4. Buffaloes	4	4
5. Goats	13	50
6. Sheep	6	11
7. Pigs	12	19
8. Fowls	13	38

TABLE No. XII

Annual Agricultural roduce (in Maunds) of the Village and its Disposal

Produce	Quantity produced	Quantity consumed by the producing Households	Quantity available for Sale
1. Paddy ..	38	38	..
2. Wheat ..	73	73	..
3. Maize ..	79	79	..
4. Barley ..	49	49	..
5. Pulses ..	7	7	..
6. Vegetables ..	60	16	44
7. Tobacco ..	40	40	..
8. Oilseeds .	10	10	..
9. Ginger ..	8	5	3
10. Other crops	80	80	..

TABLE No. XIII

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group Rs.	Number of Households	Number of Households in Debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average Indebtedness per Household in Debt	Amount of Debt
				Rs.	Rs.
26—50	1	1	100	700.00	700.00
51—75	4	4	100	157.50	620.00
76—100	6	6	100	250.00	1,500.00
101 & over	5	4	80	295.00	1,180.00
Total	16	15	93.75	267.33	4,010

TABLE No. XIV

Indebtedness by Cause of Debt

Cause	Amount of Debt	Number of Families in Debt	Percentage of debt due to Cause, to the total Debt
	Rs.		
1. Marriages ..	900	2	22
2. Ordinary wants	3,110	13	78
Total ..	4,010	15	100

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

District	Tahsil	Village	District	Tahsil	Village
1. Uttar Kashi	Dunda	Birpur	16. Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj
2. Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla	17. Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho *urf* Bagi
		Darkot			Kalyanpur
3. Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli		Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar
4. Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur	18. Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khera
5. Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafiulnagar *urf* Raoli	19. Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur
		Mughalpura	20. Kheri	Nighasan	Belapersua
6. Budaun	Bisauli	Mirzapur Behta			Bankati
	Budaun	Kachla Pukhta			Lodhauri
7. Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani			Rakehti
		Begum	21. Sitapur	Biswan	Kanduni
		Barkhan	22. Gonda	Balrampur	Suganagar Domri
8. Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira			Rajderwa Tharu
9. Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura	23. Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Cadia
		Chapnu			Dadra
		Sarari	24. Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin
10. Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar	25. Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbha Dih
		Bilaspur			Surhan
11. Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli		Ghosi	Pakri Buzurg
12. Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru	26. Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Para
13. Agra	Kheragarh	Beri Chahar	27. Varanasi	Varanasi	Lohta
	Etmadpur	Chawli			Mehndiganj
	Bah	Pidhaura	28. Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur
14. Etah	Jalesar	Baghai			Gidhia
15. Etawah	Etawah	Udi			Parsoi
	Auraiya	Ayana			