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VOLUME XII

CENTRAL PROVINCES & BERAR

PART I—REPORT

BY

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INTRODUCTION

It has been stated that the Superintendent of Census Operations is the most fortunate of Government servants. For a period of two years or more he is generally secure from the cares of district administration and from the attentions of frequent *mulakatis*.* When his work is ended few can question the accuracy of his statements or the figures upon which he bases them, for it is unlikely that, in a busy age, any one will go so far as to attempt to check even the totals of the Tables for which he is responsible. He has the somewhat invidious reputation of being an authority on most matters connected with provincial statistics and upon many questions concerning ethnology and anthropology. If he is careful he may be able to preserve this reputation, at least among those who have not studied the subject more deeply than himself, and after working in his appointment for a few months he is almost bound to become an enthusiastic amateur statistician and anthropologist. If he has high mathematical qualifications such as those possessed by Mr. Roughton, the Superintendent of 1921, his position is almost unassailable.

The task of taking the census is, however, not quite the joyous affair that it was twenty or thirty years ago, when apart from the dry field of figures there was a vast virgin field of research upon which to work. Past Superintendents, and perhaps chief among them the late Mr. Russell, laboured in that field so well that it is difficult to add much to their publications and considerable temerity is needed to challenge anything that they have written.

It has, in fact, now become the business of a census report simply to present the latest information regarding the population, its character, its mode of living and its means of livelihood to a very limited public—and to draw from the figures collected any obvious deductions which may prove change, whether in the way of development or deterioration, during the last decade.

The progress which takes place in the east in the space of ten years is not expected to be very clearly marked. But in the Central Provinces, as in the whole of the vast sub-continent of India, change (and in some communities decay) has probably occurred more rapidly between 1921 and 1931 than in any previous inter-censal period. By change is meant not such upheavals as are brought about by conquests and revolutions but development in matters affecting the daily life of the people and alterations in their customs and ideas such as ultimately create the history of a nation.

It is true that in these Provinces reforms and improvements come slowly, caste customs firmly imposed by mothers-in-law die hard and the man who tries to hurry the east still digs for himself an early grave. But even while the peasant in the interior generally follows agricultural processes handed

*Visitors who come upon public or private business. A few years ago the Deputy Commissioner of a northern district used to receive up to forty a day.

down from Tubal Cain and the Marias of Chanda and Bastar pursue almost the same mode of life as their forefathers of centuries ago, the amazing improvement of internal combustion engines has made development of motor traffic (in India as elsewhere) one of the most remarkable features of the past decade and the intense political activity of the last few years, stimulated by a minority in the population, has probably done more to break down caste and communal prejudices than any amount of missionary effort. To pass an opinion as to whether such changes are good or bad, for the happiness of the individual or for the prosperity of the masses, is not the function of this report. Yet it would perhaps be not irrelevant to recall here the view expressed by an aged rustic of Saugor district to a young Indian Assistant Commissioner. The latter was riding along a road one day when an aeroplane passed overhead. He noticed the old peasant walking with his head bent and eyes upon the ground and asked him why he did not look up and see the wonderful air-craft. The old man with his eyes still fixed on the ground said in vernacular "Sahib, a very great disaster has befallen us".

However that may be, in the chapters which follow an endeavour has been made to trace clearly the changes and progress of the last decade under their appointed heads and to draw from figures such deductions as are irrefutable. Where temptation to express opinion was strong, prudence has generally substituted modest suggestion. It must, however, be clearly understood that where the writer has expressed any definite opinion it is his own and no responsibility for it can be assigned to Government. Repetition of what was written in past reports, upon which improvement does not appear possible, has been avoided except where for the sake of lucidity it was necessary. When such necessity arose, the method of direct quotation has been adopted.

It has, in the past, been usual at the beginning of the report to give some account of the organization of the census operations and, although fuller details will be found in the administrative volume, it seems proper to follow precedent in this introduction. The system which has always been adopted since the first census of the people of these provinces, as now constituted, has been to make local officials, as far as possible, responsible for the enumeration in their districts or States. The Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations issues instructions for their guidance from time to time and keeps in very close touch with them. In many western countries it is customary to have the census schedules filled by the head of the household to be enumerated, if he is literate, but in India such a system is clearly unworkable owing to the large percentage of illiteracy. The schedules are therefore, in almost every case, written by trained enumerators under the supervision of the district or State officials. The results have generally proved more accurate than those obtained by any other method and for this reason in 1931 many western Governments also followed the same course. There is, however, a difference between a census taken in the greater part of India, including the Central Provinces, and one taken in most other countries, because the actual work of enumeration here is carried out either by honorary workers or by Government servants, who perform the duty in addition to their normal work, and no expenditure is therefore incurred on staff except on that of the Provincial Superintendent's office. How creditable it is to the spirit of all those who co-operate in this important public service is sometimes overlooked.

Preliminary arrangements in districts and States have to be made well ahead of the actual date of enumeration and for this purpose the Provincial

Census Superintendent's office is opened about 10 months before the census is taken. Lists are prepared of every village in the provinces to ensure that none is excluded during the numbering of the people. This is a simple matter because except in the most remote States complete land records are now maintained. For the purpose of collecting statistics of the population towns and villages are grouped into charges, circles and blocks. The general principle is that there should be about 40 houses in a block, 12 blocks in a circle and 15 circles in a charge. For such an organization the land revenue system of the Central Provinces is peculiarly well adapted and in most cases the Revenue Inspector automatically became the Charge Superintendent and the *Patwari* the Circle Supervisor. In certain States the land records are kept according to a method different to that of the Central Provinces, but as far as possible a similar census organization was adopted, and it was well understood. Under the control of the Census Supervisors, enumerators were made responsible for each block. In rural areas they were often village officials, schoolmasters, etc., but the majority were non-official volunteers of sufficient education to ensure the proper discharge of their honorary duties and were themselves residents of the blocks for which they had to write the final schedules. The value of such a system is that the Supervisor, who was generally the official maintaining the land records of his circle, and the enumerator, who was a neighbour of those to be enumerated in his block, were both of them familiar with the households with which they had to deal and with their family history. In towns the organization had to be slightly different, and there Charge Superintendents and Circle Supervisors were normally members of municipal committees or municipal servants.

Lists of possible census officials were made by Deputy Commissioners and State Census Officers during the hot weather of 1930, but before blocks were finally allotted to each enumerator a number had to be marked on every residence in the province and house lists were then prepared. This was done during the months of October and November 1930. In order that no individual might escape enumeration it was necessary to give numbers to all places where members of the public might conceivably spend the night of the census, and district officials had to make very careful inspections to ensure that the work was properly carried out particularly in urban areas where owing to the political situation the attitude towards the census was not always as friendly as in villages. In the course of these inspections it was sometimes found that the zeal of subordinates had been excessive. For instance in more places than one census numbers were painted on latrines; and in trying to secure absolute accuracy enumerators in several cases entered the names of Hanuman or other gods to whom temples were dedicated, as householders in their block lists. Some residences are of such a kind that it is impossible to paint a number upon them and therefore an expedient had to be devised to ensure that the numbering was properly effected. In one part of a village in the Sironcha tahsil where it had been necessary to write the house numbers upon wooden labels to be hung on the houses of the Buruds I found that a lazy *patwari* after inscribing the serial numbers upon these labels had dealt them out to the householders like a pack of cards so that there was no series at all in the quarter concerned.

During the preliminary organization the Provincial Superintendent has to visit as many districts and States as possible, to satisfy himself that the numerous instructions issued are understood and obeyed. Arrangements have also to be made for providing a sufficient but not excessive

supply of census forms for every local unit, a somewhat difficult task. Unfortunately in the month of July I was recalled to Saugor district for four months, when the civil disobedience movement was most acute, and found that this break, when it was possible to devote less time to census work than was really essential, produced a large crop of worries at the time of enumeration and slip-copying. The Department was fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. N. R. Chandorkar, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, as Officer on Special Duty during my absence in Saugor, and he did much valuable touring. I would, however, recommend that no future Provincial Superintendent should be required to fill two posts at the same time.

After the house-numbering had been completed the final selection of enumerators was made. Their total number was 104,839 working under 8,928 Circle Supervisors and 728 Charge Superintendents. The fact may again be stressed that for the whole province the only payment made to them was Rs. 246 on account of travelling expenses.

During the months of November and December the census staff was thoroughly trained in its duties, to which end Deputy Commissioners and their Assistants held frequent conferences, and during January and the first half of February a record of preliminary enumeration was made. The value of this record was that it was continually checked by touring officers in the districts and States, so that by the day of the actual census, which was held on February 26, 1931, it was, in most rural areas, remarkably accurate. In the towns the same degree of accuracy could not be expected but as will be shown in the chapters which follow it is not considered that there have been any serious errors in the statistics of population. It was during this period of inspection and correction of mistakes that an entry was discovered wrongly classing Mr. Roughton, the Provincial Superintendent of 1921, as a Presbyterian. This attracted a good deal of attention in the Bombay Press, in which it was suggested that all superior Europeans must be Presbyterians and by that token Scotsmen. At a later date I was able personally to rectify the classification to Mr. Middleton-Stewart, District Superintendent of Police, Akola, and his wife as Indian Christians. Such misclassifications were happily rare.

Special arrangements were made for the proper enumeration of travellers by road or rail on the night of the census; and on February 26th between 7 p.m. and midnight the preliminary records, which had in most cases been actually written by, or under the instructions of, the supervisors, were finally checked and brought up to date by the enumerators, who excluded from the lists all who had died or left their places of residence since the preliminary census and added new arrivals. In a few remote tracts, owing to their inaccessibility, a non-synchronous census had to be taken. This course is not considered to have affected the ultimate totals of the population. As soon as the schedules were ready the enumerators met at appointed places and prepared statements showing the number of the houses and the population of their blocks. The figures were then compiled by the supervisor into a summary for his circle and taken to the charge superintendent, who compiled a similar summary for his charge and sent it to the district or State headquarters where the totals were added together and were reported by telegram. Elaborate arrangements made beforehand for the collection of the totals have been detailed in the Census Administration Report and need not be mentioned here. Sarangarh State reported its population first, as at the two previous censuses, and broke its own record for speed by despatching its telegram at 1 a.m. on February

27th, only an hour after the completion of the schedules. Raigarh State wired its figures only 40 minutes later. Drug would probably have been the first of the British districts but owing to telegraphic communication being broken the Settlement Officer, Mr. P. S. Rau, had to send his report by a special messenger. Seoni results therefore arrived earlier. Of the bigger districts Amraoti, Saugor and Hoshangabad are to be congratulated on sending very prompt returns while the States of Bastar and Surguja once more found no hindrance in difficulty of communication. The hazardous nature of census work in some parts of the province may be appreciated from the fact that a tiger charged a car in which Mr. Grigson, the Administrator of Bastar State, was personally bringing in some census results and only missed his quarry owing to the speed at which it was travelling. The last district to telegraph its figures was Yeotmal at 12-45 on the 4th of March. It is interesting to note how small the difference between the provincial totals, telegraphed a few hours after the census was completed, and the final totals, abstracted from the records collected, was in the case of the units particularly noticed above. This difference in Raigarh was nil, in Sarangarh 2 only, in Drug 158, in Amraoti 371, in Hoshangabad 1,723, in Saugor 742, in Bastar 2,438 and in Surguja 1,824. The difference between the provincial totals and the final totals for the whole province was .2 per cent only, the larger discrepancies being 17,465 or 2.2 per cent in the Jubbulpore district and 13,333 or .9 per cent in the Bilaspur district.

In 1931 as in 1921 the census was taken during a time of intense political upheaval and it is remarkable that, on the whole, operations were carried through without effective obstruction or non-co-operation. In the States, of course, there was no trouble whatever and one or two reports from Ruling Chiefs even mention enthusiasm on the part of the general public. In the British districts the attitude might be summed up in the words of the Deputy Commissioner, Seoni: "The public displayed the usual apathy, but seldom any actual hostility." Some house-numbers were erased in Wardha, and this form of nuisance occurred in various places. It was more often than not the work of mischievous boys and had no effect. In Jubbulpore City, Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara, Buldana and Raipur, District Census Officers had various troubles on account of the civil disobedience movement but the success of the census was unaffected. There was some fear that in Nagpur City and Jubbulpore City the agitators might secure destruction of the enumeration books, and a confidential circular was sent out to the Deputy Commissioners of these districts and of others, where trouble appeared likely, requesting them to make due precautions. In most such places the preliminary record had been prepared in duplicate and so hostile action would have been foiled. In Wardha and Hinganghat towns and Nagpur City processions were organized to interfere with the actual census. The final enumeration was however made either before or after the processions were taken out—and this kind of obstruction proved quite abortive.

Prosecutions under the Census Act were very few. The total number was in fact 28 only, 26 of which resulted in convictions. The fines imposed amounted to Rs. 188. These figures reflect the tact of the district census authorities and the good-sense and co-operation of the general public.

After the census the task of abstraction and tabulation of the statistics collected had to be undertaken. In order that the entries in the schedules regarding the 17,990,937 individuals, who make up the population of these

impossible to select any officials for separate notice. If I single out Mr. Ahmedulla Khan of Sarangarh and Mr. M. C. Joshi of Kanker, it is because I saw something of their organization myself. That of some others may have been equally good, as the results appear to indicate.

In the special census staff the energy and industry of the Officer on Special Duty and the three Deputy Superintendents has been appreciated in the remarks preceding. My own office was for many months weak and disorganized, but eventually it was possible to produce a very good team indeed under the Head Clerk, Mr. G. K. Mohoni, whose cheerful industry deserves acknowledgment. Among the rest the name of my first stenographer and camp clerk, Mr. S. K. V. Raman, a young man of great promise, whose untimely death from typhoid fever occurred when the Report was half-completed, must not be forgotten.

Those who kindly recorded notes which have added greatly to the interest of Appendix III have been mentioned in it, and my thanks are specially due to Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, the collaborator of the late Mr. Russell, for his ready advice at all times on various problems of language and ethnology. Mr. C. F. Waterfall, I.C.S., Commissioner of Settlements, greatly facilitated the organization of Tabulation Offices by helping me to select suitable supervisors from the disbanded settlement staff, and by putting the Land Records staff at the disposal of the Census Department to carry out slip-copying in many districts. The numerous census forms were mostly issued from the Nagpur Central Jail Press and the courteous co-operation of Major N. S. Jatar, D.S.O., I.M.S., must not be overlooked. The Report only was printed at the Government Press in 1921, but on this occasion the ambitious work of printing the tables volume was also undertaken there. The quality of the production speaks for itself. With operatives who were mostly inexperienced in this type of work Mr. G. C. Natarajan, the Superintendent, Government Printing, by his personal interest ensured most satisfactory results. The difficulties of reproducing masses of statistics are obvious and the work of composition and proof-reading was most tedious and laborious. I fear my own impatience was sometimes almost offensive. The result of the diligence and enthusiasm of all concerned has, however, been to secure the publication of the tables ten months earlier than in the previous census and of the Report three months earlier.

Lastly, before closing this long introduction I must express my deep personal gratitude to Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner for India, for his ready advice and patience and sympathy in all the difficulties of a Provincial Superintendent.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Principal Communities in Central Provinces and Berar (as illustrated by the Social Map).

Serial No.	Name of Unit.	Total population.	Number and percentages of—						Remarks.		
			Primitive tribes.		Hindus.		Muslims.	Jains.		Others.	
			Following tribal religions.	Hinduized.	De-pressed Classes.	Others.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
<i>Nerbudda Valley Division.</i>											
1	Saugor and Khurai Tahsils	316,560	526 0.2	19,904 6.3	86,676 27.4	178,192 56.3	19,588 6.1	9,565 3.0	2,109 0.7	Note.—(i) Jains have been included with "Others" in column 9 where they form less than 0.3 per cent of the population. Note.—(ii) Figures of Pardhans (P) and Nagarchis (N) shown in this column against certain units are included under Hinduized Aborigines (column 4) but have been included under Depressed Class in Provincial Table II. The total of the Depressed Classes given here differs from that in Provincial Table II to this extent.	
2	Rehli Tahsil	148,002	18,644 12.6	5,650 3.8	30,180 20.4	84,453 57.0	4,710 3.2	4,332 3.0	33		
3	Banda Tahsil	80,027	245 0.3	8,025 10.0	20,052 25.1	46,989 58.7	1,448 1.8	3,239 4.0	29		
4	Damoh District	305,568	21,331 7.0	13,636 4.5	74,861 24.5	177,211 58.0	10,516 3.4	7,478 2.4	535		
5	Jubbulpore Tahsil	269,084	1,570 0.6	57,073 21.2	34,472 12.8	133,392 49.6	32,056 11.9	2,558 0.9	7,963		
6	Schora and Murwara Tahsils	394,115	10,844 2.8	91,235 23.2	39,431 10.0	237,235 60.1	12,571 3.2	2,020 0.5	779		
7	Patan Tahsil	110,612	847 0.8	24,175 21.9	15,692 14.2	64,650 58.4	2,987 2.7	..	2,261 2.0		
8	Narsinghpur District	321,481	42,890 13.3	4,557 1.4	44,368 13.8	215,308 67.0	11,404 3.6	..	2,954 0.9		
9	Hoshangabad Tahsil	141,553	15,510 10.9	6,467 4.6	22,137 15.6	89,363 63.2	6,361 4.5	..	1,715 1.2		
10	Harda Tahsil	141,674	6,483 4.6	13,330 9.4	7,468 5.3	105,795 74.7	7,689 5.4	..	909 0.6		
11	Sohagpur Tahsil	138,094	15,595 11.3	8,484 6.1	10,459 7.6	95,331 69.0	6,899 5.0	..	1,326 1.0		
12	Seoni-Malwa Tahsil	65,309	7,862 12.0	1,610 2.5	11,460 17.5	41,399 63.4	2,526 3.9	..	452 0.7		
13	Khandwa Tahsil	233,964	7,328 3.1	27,435 11.7	31,926 13.7	141,631 60.5	19,857 8.6	..	5,787 2.4		23 (P).
14	Burhanpur Tahsil	145,241	7 ..	27,230 18.8	11,870 8.2	77,771 53.5	27,481 18.9	..	882 0.6		7 (P).
15	Harsud Tahsil	87,726	28,094 32.0	2,860 3.3	8,861 10.1	42,999 49.0	3,587 4.1	..	1,325 1.5		4 (P).
16	Makrai State	15,516	4,438 28.6	109 0.7	2,602 16.8	7,281 46.9	1,027 6.6	..	59 0.4		..
<i>Plateau Division.</i>											
17	Mandla Tahsil	190,109	58,186 30.6	39,197 20.6	10,544 5.6	76,720 40.3	4,078 2.1	..	1,384 0.8	106 (N).	
18	Dindori Tahsil	139,798	95,215 68.1	2,987 2.1	5,333 3.8	34,469 24.7	1,582 1.1	..	212 0.2	..	
19	Niwās Tahsil	115,859	45,909 39.6	32,227 27.8	8,143 7.0	28,314 24.5	1,206 1.0	..	60 0.1	..	
20	Seoni Tahsil	251,304	84,556 33.6	2,123 0.8	11,600 4.6	139,375 55.5	12,431 5.0	..	1,219 0.5	680 (N).	
21	Lakhnadon Tahsil	142,428	72,638 51.0	242 0.2	10,852 7.6	51,673 36.3	6,075 4.3	..	948 0.6	33 (N).	
22	Betul and Bhainsdehi Tahsils	235,660	97,416 41.3	24,383 10.3	20,850 8.8	87,224 37.1	4,462 1.9	..	1,325 0.6	..	
23	Multaī Tahsil	170,592	24,467 14.3	6,088 3.6	29,805 17.5	106,743 62.6	2,575 1.5	..	914 0.5	..	
24	Amarwara and Chhindwara Tahsil Zamindaris.	77,491	50,288 64.9	8,779 11.3	5,336 6.9	11,807 15.2	1,040 1.4	..	241 0.3	41 (P) and 47 (N).	
25	Chhindwara and Amarwara Tahsils Khalsa and Sausar Tahsil.	495,781	149,885 30.2	9,456 1.9	51,972 10.5	262,250 52.9	19,143 3.8	..	3,075 0.7	334 (P) and 367 (N).	
26	Wardha District.	516,266	39,789 7.7	17,943 3.5	94,474 18.3	339,868 65.8	20,928 4.1	..	3,264 0.6	1,409 (P).	

Note.—For purposes of convenience adjoining districts, tahsils or Zamindaris in which the proportion of the various communities are essentially identical have been amalgamated and shown as single homogeneous units in the map.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Principal Communities in Central Provinces and Berar (as illustrated by the Social Map)—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Unit.	Total population.	Number and percentages of—						Remarks.	
			Primitive tribes.		Hindus.		Muslims.	Jains.		Others.
			Following tribal religions.	Hinduized.	De-pressed Classes.	Others.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<i>Maratha Plain Division.</i>										
27	Nagpur Tahsil ..	377,039	1,167 0.3	17,764 4.7	77,814 20.7	229,163 60.8	39,221 10.4	..	11,910 3.1	2,014 (P).
28	Ramtek Tahsil ..	134,663	6,542 4.9	12,198 9.1	25,340 18.8	87,790 65.2	2,449 1.8	..	344 0.2	1,082 (P) and 123 (N).
29	Umrer Tahsil ..	154,065	7 ..	7,159 4.6	41,776 27.2	101,537 65.9	2,788 1.8	..	798 0.5	1,127 (P).
30	Katol Tahsil ..	148,588	.. ..	12,785 8.6	25,760 17.4	104,283 70.2	5,147 3.4	..	613 0.4	1,510 (P).
31	Saoner Tahsil ..	125,694	2,068 1.6	2,704 2.2	22,109 17.6	94,337 75.1	4,204 3.3	..	272 0.2	454 (P).
32	Chanda, Warora and Brahmapuri Tahsils.	516,927	24,477 4.7	37,670 7.3	95,193 18.4	347,234 67.2	10,562 2.0	..	1,791 0.4	14,065 (P).
33	Garchiroli Tahsil ..	170,090	53,108 31.2	8,849 5.2	20,360 12.3	85,717 50.1	1,923 1.1	..	133 0.1	2,213 (P).
34	Sironcha Tahsil Khalsa ..	32,228	6,774 21.0	154 0.5	1,595 5.0	22,762 70.6	644 2.0	..	299 0.9	17 (P).
35	Ahiri Zamindari ..	40,450	28,968 71.6	1,326 3.3	1,887 4.6	7,770 19.2	427 1.1	..	72 0.2	155 (P).
36	Bhandara Tahsil ..	252,315	9,798 3.9	9,939 3.9	71,776 28.4	153,687 60.9	6,445 2.6	..	670 0.3	238 (P) and 158 (N).
37	Gondia Tahsil ..	338,349	22,704 6.7	25,309 7.5	75,440 22.4	207,942 61.4	6,207 1.8	..	747 0.2	209 (P) and 1,161 (N).
38	Sakoli Tahsil ..	233,832	7,098 3.0	35,816 15.3	72,701 31.1	114,763 49.1	2,832 1.2	..	622 0.3	609 (P) and 34 (N).
39	Balaghat and Waraseoni Tahsils.	462,510	47,445 10.3	23,611 5.1	66,246 14.3	313,898 67.9	10,224 2.2	..	1,086 0.2	1,317 (N).
40	Baihar Tahsil ..	99,092	19,959 20.1	35,381 35.7	7,994 8.1	34,390 34.7	897 0.9	..	471 0.5	304 (N).
41	Amraoti (except Melghat Taluk), Akola and Buldana Districts.	2,536,703	7,953 0.3	95,874 3.8	528,495 20.8	1,636,927 64.5	246,129 9.7	16,454 0.7	4,871 0.2	553 (P).
42	Melghat Taluk ..	47,847	4,460 9.3	29,449 61.5	2,276 4.8	9,991 20.9	1,320 2.8	..	351 0.7	14 (P).
43	Yeotmal Taluk ..	164,208	27,596 16.8	7,504 4.6	22,324 13.6	97,190 59.2	8,242 5.0	1,017 0.6	335 0.2	2,513 (P).
44	Kelapur Taluk ..	167,162	2,865 1.7	47,382 28.4	17,028 10.2	93,170 55.7	5,985 3.6	486 0.3	246 0.1	8,780 (P).
45	Wun Taluk ..	135,291	5,433 4.0	25,413 18.8	12,468 9.3	87,015 64.3	4,592 3.4	..	370 0.2	7,913 (P).
46	Darwaha Taluk ..	201,962	811 0.4	17,741 8.7	36,508 18.2	128,559 63.6	17,155 8.5	1,079 0.5	109 0.1	1,975 (P).
47	Pusad Taluk ..	188,665	34 ..	25,403 13.5	34,626 18.4	111,144 58.9	16,257 8.6	1,044 0.6	157 ..	243 (P).
<i>Chhattisgarh Plain Division.</i>										
48	Raipur Tahsil ..	297,416	438 0.1	12,781 4.3	81,867 27.6	190,442 64.0	9,528 3.2	..	2,360 0.8	84 (P) and 10 (N)
49	Dhamtari Tahsil ..	246,098	37,300 15.1	39,298 16.0	35,558 14.5	129,467 52.6	2,753 1.1	..	1,722 0.7	134 (P) and 17 (N).
50	Baloda Bazar Tahsil Khalsa and Bilaigarh, Bhatgaon and Katgi Zamindaris.	358,126	7,629 2.1	46,940 13.1	117,944 33.0	181,098 50.5	2,700 0.8	..	1,815 0.5	166 (P).
51	Deori Kandia and Phuljhar Zamindaris.	212,077	20,543 9.7	64,849 30.6	35,377 16.8	88,202 41.5	1,390 0.6	..	1,716 0.8	170 (P).
52	Bindranawagarh Zamindari	89,283	6,258 7.0	37,401 41.9	13,161 14.9	31,652 35.4	794 0.8	..	17 ..	219 (P).

APPENDIX I
Distribution of Principal Communities in Central Provinces and Berar (as illustrated by the Social Map)—concl'd.

Serial No.	Name of Unit.	Total population.	Number and percentages of—						Remarks.	
			Primitive tribes.		Hindus.		Muslims.	Jains.		Others.
			Following tribal religions.	Hinduized.	De-pressed Classes.	Others.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<i>Chhattisgarh Plain Division—concl'd.</i>										
53	Mahasamund Tahsil Khalsa and Fingeshwar Zamindari.	130,662	9,024 6.9	22,663 17.3	28,620 21.9	68,527 52.5	1,490 1.1	..	338 0.3	37 (P) and 7 (N).
54	Suamrar, Narra and Khariar Zamindaris.	193,911	14,201 7.3	51,944 26.8	37,097 19.1	88,991 45.9	1,337 0.7	..	341 0.2	38 (P).
55	Bilaspur Tahsil Khalsa and Janjgir Tahsil.	841,161	1,507 0.2	123,494 14.6	277,959 33.0	421,904 50.2	12,462 1.5	..	3,835 0.5	
56	Pendra and Kenda Zamindaris in Bilaspur Tahsil.	119,771	26,161 21.8	42,057 35.2	14,850 12.4	34,123 28.5	1,824 1.5	..	756 0.6	
57	Mungeli Tahsil Khalsa and Kanteli Zamindari.	158,648	3,182 2.0	17,302 10.9	53,869 34.0	81,559 51.4	1,611 1.0	..	1,125 0.7	
58	Pandaria Zamindari ..	65,950	7,536 11.4	3,656 5.5	21,756 33.0	31,977 48.5	911 1.4	..	114 0.2	
59	Katghora Tahsil ..	214,718	30,286 14.1	86,066 40.1	38,899 18.1	57,428 26.9	1,865 0.8	..	174 ..	
60	Drug and Bemetara Tahsils Khalsa and Parpodi Zamindari.	475,489	155 ..	38,298 8.1	114,700 24.1	316,391 66.5	4,068 0.9	..	1,877 0.4	
61	Gundardehi Zamindari ..	23,804	11 ..	3,705 15.6	5,097 21.4	14,842 62.4	113 0.5	..	36 0.1	
62	Bemetara Tahsil Zamindari excluding Parpodi Zamindari.	46,427	1,048 2.3	10,517 22.7	6,998 15.1	26,884 57.9	916 2.0	..	64 ..	
63	Sanjari Tahsil Khalsa ..	166,096	427 0.3	59,991 36.1	20,946 12.6	82,422 49.6	1,082 0.7	..	1,228 0.7	
64	Sanjari Tahsil Zamindari ..	106,108	10,517 9.9	54,486 51.3	11,399 10.7	28,273 26.7	1,160 1.1	..	273 0.3	
65	Bastar State ..	524,721	361,920 69.0	24,299 4.6	45,595 8.7	88,931 16.9	1,967 0.4	..	2,009 0.4	
66	Kanker State ...	136,101	73,462 54.0	18,118 13.3	3,884 2.9	39,784 29.2	674 0.5	..	179 0.1	150 (P).
67	Nandgaon State ..	339,780	1,805 0.6	67,796 20.0	56,261 16.6	206,887 60.8	4,915 1.4	..	2,116 0.6	123 (P) and 29 (N).
68	Khairagarh State ..		5 ..	4,663 14.7	3,936 12.4	22,055 69.7	857 2.7	..	152 0.5	
69	Chhuikhadan State ..		94 0.1	14,249 19.6	15,625 21.5	41,633 57.2	1,083 1.5	..	136 0.1	
70	Kawardha State ..	72,820	198 0.4	14,702 30.3	143 0.3	33,018 68.1	400 0.8	..	28 0.1	
71	Sakti State ..	48,489	..	119,215 43.0	4,143 1.5	152,126 54.8	1,743 0.6	..	342 0.1	
72	Raigarh State ..	277,569	..	37,441 29.0	34,111 26.4	56,991 44.2	330 0.3	..	94 0.1	
<i>Chhota Nagpur Division.</i>										
74	Changbhakar State ..	23,322	16,240 69.6	828 3.6	778 3.3	5,403 23.2	73 0.3	..	..
75	Korea State ..	90,886	64,193 70.6	567 0.6	9,147 10.1	15,909 17.5	1,056 1.2	..	14 ..	
76	Surguja State ..	501,939	61,960 12.3	221,994 44.2	55,852 11.2	154,967 30.9	7,039 1.4	..	131 ..	657 (P).
77	Udaipur State ..	97,738	16,708 17.1	55,426 56.9	3,119 3.1	22,214 22.7	271 0.2	..	..
78	Jashpur State ..	193,698	16,576 8.6	58,111 30.0	16,577 8.6	51,911 26.8	1,823 0.9	..	..	48,700 Christianized tribesmen form the remaining 25.1 per cent of the population as shown by the Social Map.

APPENDIX II

The Depressed Classes of the Central Provinces and Berar.

1. The statistics of the population of the depressed classes of the Province have been given in Provincial Table II and have already been examined in Chapter XII of this Report. The social map clearly shows the proportion of these classes to other communities, which is also discussed in Chapter XI. Information regarding literacy among them is available in Chapter IX. In this appendix it is intended to record a brief account of the position of those castes who are regarded as unclean by their fellow Hindus and of any changes in the treatment of them which may have taken place during the period with which the census report deals.

2. There has always been some difficulty in formulating a precise definition as to the castes to be included under the classification "Depressed classes". In the Central Provinces this difficulty is acknowledged to be less serious than it is in some other parts of India. The Indian Franchise Committee expressed the opinion that the term should be applied to those who are "untouchables" and this was the definition adopted by the members for purposes of their report. They accepted as tests of "untouchability" of any caste—

- (i) that it is denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples; and
- (ii) that it causes pollution—
 - (a) by touch, or
 - (b) within a certain distance.

In collecting figures of the number of members of the depressed classes in this Province therefore I requested the Deputy Commissioners to include in the returns for their districts only those who are regarded as "untouchable" in the sense indicated.

3. Information available from past records had to be considered before a decision could be made regarding the correct classification of doubtful cases.

In the Report of the Census of 1921 the castes mentioned in the margin were stated to be the principal of those whose touch meant pollution to their fellowmen. It was mentioned that owing to the omission of minor castes the number of untouchables was actually greater than that shown, which, in fact, was no less than 19 per cent of the population of the Province. All the castes mentioned were regarded as depressed throughout the Province. Investigations made during the present census operations have proved, however, that Dhobis (washermen) and Kumhars (potters) are not now regarded as impure except in a very few districts. It is only certain sub-castes of these two communities which are generally treated as untouchable. In Saugor, for instance, Kumhars are divided into four sub-castes, (1) Adi, (2) Bardhia, (3) Gadhera and (4) Sungarha. The first two are not untouchable because their occupation of preparing earthen pots is not regarded as unclean and they do not keep donkeys. On the other hand, Gadheras and Sungarhas are beyond the pale, because they keep donkeys. The same is true in some places regarding other castes who keep donkeys. The association of castes with unclean animals is indeed often a very important factor in their classification. People who keep swine and donkeys are widely considered as outside decent society. In a manner which recalls the ancient veneration of the Totem the position of certain higher castes was also in the past indicated by identification with certain animals. Castes were in fact assigned to animals and trees. The horse, a beast of which the nobility is universally recognized, is a Rajput. Some trees are Sudras and twigs from them must not be used for cleaning the teeth. More will be recorded upon the subject in the course of this note; first it is necessary to continue the discussion regarding the castes which may properly be included among the depressed classes, for although the figures for Dhobis and Kumhars shown in the 1921 Report were probably even then an overestimate of the number in those castes regarded as untouchables, there were actually one or two marked omissions in the list of that year. Thus Ghasias who were in 1931 classed as depressed in 16 districts are not mentioned as being untouchables in the Report of 1921. It is in Chhattisgarh that this caste is regarded as most degraded, but in the Maratha Plain also the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur has observed:—"I am surprised that anyone could even suggest Ghasias not to be untouchable in any district. They are usually regarded as lowest of the low even by Maria Gonds and for that reason are commonly employed as duns by *sahukars* (money-lenders), because a man will pay rather than become polluted by a Ghasia's shadow."

4. Apart from anything recorded in previous census reports there are certain supplementary sources of information concerning untouchables. During the intercensal period Rai Bahadur Hira Lal published in a monograph a list of castes regarded as impure in the Central Provinces. Most of those have been treated under the classification "Depressed classes" for purposes of this report, but not in every case for the whole Province, and one or two castes of minor numerical importance have been excluded entirely. The list will be found in paragraph 8. Further, for educational purposes, the Director of Public Instruction had, during the last decade prepared lists of the depressed classes in each district in consultation with the local authorities. In classifying the castes concerned these lists were of very great use to the Census Department, but were not always found to be accurate. Finally, the General Secretary of the All India Depressed Classes Association submitted a list of 76 castes belonging

to six religious sects claiming to be Adi-Hindus or in other words members of the depressed classes in this Province. This list contained a good many little-known sub-castes and although very many of them have been classified as untouchable for census purposes, others have not. Some of these sub-castes moreover are common to many castes both high and low, e.g., Maratha, Laria, Chauhan, Somvanshi, etc. To sum up, with the lists of the previous census and those supplied by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary of the All India Depressed Classes Association as a basis it was possible, after more than 18 months' correspondence with Deputy Commissioners and other local authorities to produce what has now been accepted by most communities as an authoritative roll of the impure castes of this Province. (It will be observed from details given below that the attitude towards some castes or their sub-castes varies from district to district and even from tahsil to tahsil. In the more backward tracts of Mandla, for instance, Mahars, who are otherwise regarded as impure throughout the Province except in two tahsils of the Hoshangabad district, are not subject to any particular social disabilities. The Kolis, descendants of an aboriginal tribe, which has become almost entirely Hinduised, were reported to be regarded as untouchables in the Buldana district, although in its neighbour, Akola, where social conditions are practically the same, they are not regarded as impure. After tabulation of the figures a representation was received from the Koli Samaj of Buldana protesting against the classification and on further enquiry the Deputy Commissioner, a Hindu, reported that although his predecessor, also a Hindu, had classified the Kolis as depressed in the district, he had done so wrongly. It was pointed out that the tribe is very backward but suffers no social disability there. A revision of the figures therefore became necessary. It must be acknowledged that in other cases the scope of the enquiry did not make it possible to deal at all with sub-castes and the classification will no doubt, in some instances, be subject to criticism. In view of the varying attitude of different schools of Hindus to their humbler brethren this was unavoidable.)

5. Owing to the importance which the subject has assumed during the process of framing a new constitution for the Provinces in India there have, of course, been many special difficulties in the way of the enquiry. On the one hand, some of the leaders of the depressed classes have been anxious to obtain official figures to show that their population is greater than it really is. On the other hand, their political opponents have adopted a very different attitude. It can, however, be claimed that the care devoted to dealing with the matter in districts has produced results satisfactory to most critics. The minute of dissent published in the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee (Volume I, page 217) suggests that the castes which are listed as untouchables, not throughout the Province, but in certain districts only, should not be treated in those districts as belonging to the depressed classes, on the ground that the principle is unsound and would prove unsafe in practice. Although the matter is naturally regarded as one of principle by the politician and social reformer, it is, for purposes of this report, one of fact only and that fact is that there are, as shown in paragraph 14 of Chapter XII, large depressed communities in various districts, who are not regarded as impure when they move into other parts of the country. The reason for this in some cases is that the castes concerned are strong in the districts where they are treated as impure, while their numbers are comparatively small and they are little-known in other districts. Audheliyas, for instance, are found almost exclusively in Bilaspur district, and the Chauhans of Chhattisgarh seldom move to other divisions. In a few tracts, on the other hand, the numbers of some castes regarded as untouchable there are almost negligible. In view of the very definite reports received from districts, mostly from Hindu officers, it seems quite impossible to depart from the classification given here and approved by Government. The names of the actual castes found to be untouchable in various parts of the Province and already recorded in Chapter XII, are, for the sake of convenience, repeated below. As in 1921 a few minor castes have been omitted. The figures for these are inconsiderable and are generally made up of members of depressed classes from other Provinces, who have migrated in small numbers into the Central Provinces.

(1) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the British districts of the Central Provinces and Berar :—

Mehra or Mahar (except in the Harda tahsil and Sohagpur tahsil of Hoshangabad district), Basor or Burud, Mehtar or Bhangi, Dom, Chamar, Satnami, Mochi, Ganda, Mang.

(2) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the old Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Divisions :—

Kori, Mala, Balahi.

(3) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the old Nagpur and Berar Divisions :—

Balahi, Madgi, Pardhan (except in the Balaghat district), Ghasia, Katia, Panka, Khatik, Kaikari (except in the Balaghat district), Dohor.

(4) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the Chhattisgarh Division :—

Ghasia, Katia, Panka, Dewar.

(5) Castes regarded as untouchable in certain districts but not throughout the divisions in which they lie :—

Dhobi.—Saugor, Damoh, Bhandara, Raipur, Bilaspur, Buldana districts :
Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils.

Nagarchi.—Mandla, Seoni, Chhindwara, Nagpur, Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur.
Katia.—Saugor, Nimar, Betul, Chhindwara districts: Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils.
Khangar.—Saugor, Damoh, Bhandara, Buldana districts: Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils.
Kumhar.—Saugor, Damoh, Bhandara, Buldana districts: Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils.
Kori.—Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur, Amraoti, Buldana.
Ojha.—Mandla, Bhandara, Balaghat districts: Hoshangabad tahsil.
Chadar.—Saugor, Damoh, Bhandara.
Pardhan.—Nimar, Chhindwara, Raipur.
Panka.—Saugor, Damoh, Chhindwara.
Khatik.—Saugor, Chhindwara; Hoshangabad tahsil.
Dhimar.—Bhandara, Buldana.
Bedar.—Amraoti, Akola.
Koli.—Chanda, Bhandara.
Holiya.—Bhandara, Balaghat.
Malā.—Balaghat.
Bahna.—Amraoti.
Chauhan.—Drug.
Audhelia.—Bilaspur.
Pardhi.—Narsinghpur.
Dahayat.—Damoh.
Jangam.—Bhandara.
Dhanuk.—Saugor.
Rajjhar.—Sohagpur tahsil.

The situation is slightly different in the Central Provinces States where the attitude is generally rather more tolerant. In Jashpur the local aborigines do not regard any caste or tribe as actually impure. They freely mix with one another without any distinction. But foreigners, especially Brahmans and others of the upper classes residing in the State regard Ghasias, Chamars, Pankas, Doms, Gandas, Dhobis, Pasis, Badis, Bhangis and Chicks as untouchable in their dealings with them. Only the Mehtar caste is treated as untouchable throughout the States. Other impure castes are shown below with the names of the States in which they are so regarded against them :—

Chamar.—Makrai, Bastar, Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha, Sarangarh, Changbhakar, Korea, Surguja, Udaipur, Jashpur.
Ghasia.—Bastar, Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Korea, Surguja, Udaipur, Jashpur.
Dewar.—Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Sakti, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Surguja.
Panka.—Bastar, Nandgaon, Kawardha, Sarangarh, Korea, Surguja, Jashpur.
Ganda.—Bastar, Nandgaon, Kawardha, Sarangarh, Udaipur, Jashpur.
Mehra or Mahar.—Bastar, Kanker, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha.
Dom.—Khairagarh, Surguja, Udaipur, Jashpur.
Basor.—Nandgaon, Chhuikhadan, Changbhakar, Korea.
Pardhan.—Kanker, Nandgaon, Surguja.
Dhobi.—Nandgaon, Wardha, Jashpur.
Kumhar.—Kawardha, Changbhakar.
Mang.—Makrai, Nandgaon.
Mochi.—Bastar, Khairagarh.
Nagarchi.—Nandgaon.
Chadar.—Bastar.
Satnami.—Bastar.
Lohar.—Kanker.
Dhimar.—Kawardha.
Balahi.—Makrai.
Mangiya.—Bastar.
Katia.—Bastar, Kawardha.
Chauhan.—Nandgaon, Kawardha.

6. It will be noticed that in the lists above one or two aboriginal tribes are included among the untouchables. For instance the Pardhan minstrels of the Gonds, whose position is degraded even among the Gonds themselves, are regarded as impure by Hindus in a large number of districts. It is hardly within the scope of this note to discuss whether the idea of the untouchability originated in the attitude of their fellow-tribesmen or was assimilated from Hindu ideas.

7. The method of strictly defining the districts within which the various castes named in paragraph 6 are held to be impure is, it may be mentioned, supported by the representative of the depressed classes on the Franchise Committee and it will not be out of place here to quote from his note published in the Report of the Committee, since that note was recorded long after the classification of the depressed classes in various districts had been laid by the Census Department of this Province.

"It is urged in some quarters that whatever tests are applied for ascertaining the untouchable classes they must be applied uniformly all over India. In this connection I desire to point out that in a matter of this sort it would hardly be appropriate to apply the same test or tests all over India. India is not a single homogeneous country. It is a continent. The various Provinces are marked by extreme diversity of conditions, and there is no tie of race or language. Owing to the absence of communication each Province has evolved along its own lines with its own peculiar manners and modes of social life. In such circumstances the degree of uniformity with which most of the tests of untouchability are found to apply all over India is indeed remarkable. For instance, bar against temple entry exists everywhere in India. Even the tests of well-water and pollution by touch apply in every Province, although not with the same rigidity everywhere. But to insist on absolute uniformity in a system like that of untouchability, which after all is a matter of social behaviour and which must therefore vary with the circumstances of each Province and also of each individual, is simply to trifle with the problem. The Statutory Commission was quite alive to this possible line of argument and after careful consideration rejected it by recognizing the principle of diversity in the application of tests of untouchability. On page 67 of Volume II which contains its recommendations it observed 'It will plainly be necessary, after the main principles of the new system of representation have been settled, to entrust to some specially appointed body (like the former Franchise Committee) the task of drawing up fresh electoral rules to carry these principles into effect, and one of the tasks of such a body will be to frame for each province a definition of 'depressed classes' (which may well vary, sometimes even between parts of the same province), and to determine their numbers as so defined.'" Another point which I wish to emphasize is the futility of insisting upon the application of uniform tests of untouchability all over India. It is a fundamental mistake to suppose that differences in tests of untouchability indicate differences in the conditions of the untouchables. On a correct analysis of the mental attitude they indicate it will be found that whether the test is causing pollution by touch or refusal to use a common well the notion underlying both is one and the same. Both are outward registers of the same inward feeling of defilement, odium, aversion and contempt. Why will not a Hindu touch an untouchable? Why will not a Hindu allow an untouchable to enter the temple or use the village well? Why will not a Hindu admit an untouchable in the inn? The answer to each one of these questions is the same. It is that the untouchable is an unclean person not fit for social intercourse. Again, why will not a Brahmin priest officiate at religious ceremonies performed by an untouchable? Why will not a barber serve an untouchable? In these cases also the answer is the same. It is that it is below dignity to do so. If our aim is to demarcate the class of people who suffer from social odium then it matters very little which test we apply. For as I have pointed out each of these tests is indicative of the same social attitude on the part of the touchables towards the untouchables."

8. The difficulties of classification of the depressed classes have now been described and the names of the various castes reported to be untouchable to a greater or less degree in each district of the Province have been given. The total number of those enumerated under this head in the Central Provinces and Berar in 1931 was 3,180,075 or 17.7 per cent of the total population of the Province. It will be noticed that the proportion is less than in 1921 when it was 19 per cent. The decrease is of course due only to a stricter method of classification. The distribution of this depressed population between the British districts and the States of the Province is 2,927,936 and 252,732 respectively. With these facts before us we may proceed to consider the extent of the disabilities under which so large a percentage of the population exists and their origin. These are generally known to the residents of the Province and to officials serving the Provincial Government, but a survey of the situation as it was at the beginning of the decade cannot be given in a more readable form than that of the following published by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, retired Deputy Commissioner, in 1923, which he has most kindly permitted me to reproduce here:—

"On the margin are noted the names of castes who are considered impure in the Central Provinces. Their touch is supposed to defile persons of a higher caste, but the pollution is taken off by a mere bath or sprinkling of water on the head of the person polluted. It will be seen that the castes in the list are generally weavers, leather-workers, potters, bamboo workers, washermen and scavengers. Most of these occupations are despised ones, but Mr. Russell in his Census Report of 1901 has given reasons to show that the occupations do not fully account for the impurity attached to the castes. Thus while leather-curing and scavenging may be unclean in themselves, he points out that there is nothing unclean about bamboo-work and weaving. After examining the subject from all other points of view he comes to the conclusion that this was the means by which the Brahmans sought to preserve the higher race from degradation by inter-marriage with the black and despised tribes, whom the Aryans had met and subjugated on entering the country. It is, he adds, only the feeling engendered by difference of race and difference of colour,

Impure castes.	
Audhelia	Kori.
Bala'ii.	Kuchbandhia.
Basor	Kumbar.
Bedar.	Lalbegi.
Bhangi.	Madgi.
Chamar.	Mehara.
Chuhre.	Mola.
Daphali.	Mang.
Dhobi.	Mangan.
Dholi.	Mehar.
Dohor.	Nagarchi.
Dom.	Panka.
Ganda	Paraiyan.
Ghasia.	Pardhan.
Kaikadi.	Pasi.
Khanger.	Solaha.
Katia.	Tanti.

the pride of blood and the fear of its pollution that could cause so violent an antipathy between man and man. In spite of the forcible arguments which Mr. Russell has put forward to support his theory there is still much to be said in favour of the lowness of the occupations which brings impurity to the castes which follow them. It is a well-known fact that those who practise what appear to be clean occupations are merely off-shoots of the unclean workers; for instance, the Basors or bamboo workers are really an off-shoot of the Dom or scavenging caste and the continuation of their close association with the Doms could not but make them an impure caste. Similarly the weavers are an off-shoot of the Chamar caste and their traditional connection survives in the phrase "Chamar Kori" up to this day. While those relations subsisted the Koris could not shake off their impurity by the fact of their having taken to cloth-weaving. In the matter of social position of a caste, a good deal depends on the pretensions of the caste itself. A case in point is that of the Bedars. They are still regarded in Berar as equal to the Dheds but, through the exertions of some of its educated members, the caste has almost acquired the status of a Kunbi. The advanced portion of the community disowns connection with what may be regarded as the Dhed Bedars, but in course of time if these abandon what is regarded as disreputable conduct, they might claim the same status which their advanced brethren have achieved. In the list of impure castes, there is hardly any whose occupation is not unclean. Thus whatever may have been the original cause of differentiation, there can be no doubt that uncleanness of occupation had much to do with it. In higher castes where certain sections took up unclean work, they were looked down upon and ostracised though not actually reduced to the status of an impure caste. For instance, hemp-growing created a separate sub-caste of Kunbis called Santora Kunbis. The growing of the plant is not in itself unclean, it is the process of taking out fibre which is very dirty. The Kumhars have the title of Pande, chiefly restricted to Brahmans, and are not unclean, but those who began to rear pigs or use donkeys as pack-animals got degraded as Sungaria or Gadhere Kumhars and sank to the category of impure castes. In the northern districts very great attention is not paid to the impurity caused by contact with these castes except in the case of sweepers, but in the South pollution is even caused by an impure person coming within a certain distance of the high-born. This is accentuated in the Madras Presidency, but these provinces are free from such deep prejudice. The Mahar boys may attend the same school as the Brahmans, though the former are not allowed to sit in the main hall but in the verandahs to prevent contact with high caste boys. In the Northern districts Chamar boys are known to have sat on the same bench as the high caste quondam rulers of a territory. A somewhat curious example of impurity by contact is found among Koltas who are temporarily out-casted if a stick thrown by a Ganda of Ghasia on a mango tree accidentally falls on their body even after remaining on the tree for one or two days.

"Many acts which are considered impure are abrogated for the sake of convenience. A Dhimar is as unclean as a Sungaria Kumhar as both rear and eat that unclean animal, the pig, and yet a Brahman of the highest section would not hesitate in taking water from his hand though he may refuse to take it from his brethren of the same caste, if in his eyes they are of a somewhat lower status than himself. It is merely convenience that gives sanction to this conduct. In Chhattisgarh there was apparently a lack of Dhimars, so the caste that was sanctified was the Rawat and hence nobody drinks water from a Dhimar in Chhattisgarh. Again nobody takes even water from the hands of a Bharia, but at the time of marriage many castes allow him to carry their *pukka* food from the bride's village to that of the bride-groom and *vice versa*. This is an abrogation for want of a sufficient number of carriers of high castes. In Berar the Bamhanjais may drink water from Kunbis and Malis at the time of marriages but not at other times. At grand feasts even Brahmans may sit on roads and other places not cleaned with cow-dung, but when individually fed they would insist on their *chouka* and would not let anybody come close to it because that pollutes the food. The ground where one has eaten is considered most polluted and requires cleaning with cow-dung, but on occasions referred to above even a Brahman may eat where another has eaten, a mere sprinkling of water being held sufficient to clean the spot. Present day circumstances have created further abrogations, such, for instance, as in Railway journeys, catchery attendance, etc. Water is now almost universally carried and drunk in railway trains. Ganges water may be brought by any caste and may be drunk by even Brahmans. It may be said that it has a sanctity of its own, but, at any rate, soda water has none. A Brahman who would not touch the water brought by a Musalman from a well does not find any difficulty in drinking it when it is aerated. It loses its character of pure water as it becomes soda water. Water may not be taken from a *mashak* or leather bag, but where water is scarce and cannot easily be brought without the use of a leather bag, the objection is withdrawn, as in Berar where most castes take it from the *mashak*. In the railway carriages and bazars, Mehtars rub shoulders with others, but nobody cares to bathe after a railway journey or a visit to a bazaar. In Berar, a Mahar is allowed to yoke and unyoke bullocks to or from a cart in which a person of a higher caste is actually sitting. In Jubbulpore they drive *tongas* which are engaged by everybody. Again, all are perfectly aware that a hawker of sweets and *puris* touches everybody high or low, and his basket is touched by anybody in the throng through which he passes to and fro, and yet even high castes do not refrain from purchasing *pukka* food from him.

"There are certain abrogations permitted on ceremonial occasions, at festivals or at sacred places. The Ponwars of Balaghat and Bhandara worship a god called Narayan Deo. The deity is kept in the house of a Mahar who brings it to the Ponwars when they wish to worship it. On this occasion the Mahars come and eat in a Ponwar's house along with guests of other castes invited, caste restrictions being relaxed. As soon as the cock crows in the morning the feast is stopped and caste distinctions are resumed. In the Bhairavi *chakra* of the Bammargis not only are restrictions of food relaxed, but conjugal liberty between different castes during the period of ceremony is allowed. The Hindus who belong to the Shadawal sect throw off all eating and drinking restrictions and take food even from a Musalman for a number of days during which a goat-sacrifice is arranged for. The liberty begins from the time the Musalman Fakir ties a *nada* or band to the wrist of the devotee of Shadawal and ends with the closing meal during which period the devotees wander about eating whatever is offered to them by any body regardless of caste. In this case, however, the other caste people require the devotee of Shadawal to undergo a purificatory ceremony accompanied with a feast to the caste before he is re-admitted to caste intercourse. On festivals when feasts are given to large bodies of persons such as at marriages, Hom, etc., all niceties of restrictions are done away with, as already referred to. At sacred places like Jagannath Puri, Bhuvaneshwar, etc., caste restrictions regarding food are totally abrogated as the food is taken after it is offered to the deity. It is called *prasad* which, if *pukka*, is free from pollution everywhere, but at Puri even *kuccha* food is sanctified.

"Again there is abrogation of impurity when a person changes his religion. A Mehtar or Chamar when he becomes a Christian or Musalman loses with his religion the impurity attached to him. An interesting case in point is that of Meghs, which occurred in the Punjab some time ago when a party of Megh coolies working on a railway line wanted to draw water from a well, for they were very thirsty. A high caste neighbour objected and raised a hue and cry. No other source of drinkable water was accessible in the neighbourhood and the coolies in indignation and despair hit upon a plan which made the water available to them in a couple of hours. Muhammadans could draw water from the well, but not the Meghs. The coolies therefore went to the nearest mosque, embraced Islam and returned with a party of Musalmans to the well and the high caste Hindu at once yielded. Some time ago 30,000 Meghs were reclaimed. They have gained in social status, which they could not do under ordinary circumstances without becoming a Muhammadan or Christian. An examination of Mission work would show that the largest number of converts is from low castes, mostly untouchable. Although these classes have hardly any education and have no ambitions being quite content with their lowly lot they sometimes naturally feel a resentment against the treatment meted out to them by the self-styled castes. This sometimes impels them to change their religion, though they generally look for some more substantial gain than mere social position. Exemption from *begar*, for instance, has been a great inducement for Chamars of Chhattisgarh to change their religion. Nevertheless the Missions have improved the social position of many depressed castes and opened avenues for their prosperity. The educated classes have now begun to see the iniquity of the treatment meted out to the depressed classes and they have latterly been taking steps to ameliorate their condition. In some places very bold and strong steps have been taken; for instance, in the Punjab, a number of polluted castes were admitted to commensality with the higher castes, more than a decade ago.

"It may be noted that the depressed classes are not without self-respect. If the higher castes despise them they take reciprocal measures and taboo the overbearing castes; for instance, a Ghasia may never take salt from a Kayastha, a Mehtar may not eat at a Kayastha's or a Darji's. The presence of Brahmans causes impurity to Bhunjias. If a Brahman were to touch a Bhunjia hut, he would set fire to it as polluted beyond reparation. A Betul Teli does not drink water from a Brahman though he may do it from a Gond. By the way it may be mentioned that mixed castes entertain a very exaggerated notion of their purity. Taking the case of Bhunjias again, a caste of mixed origin formed from Binjhvars and Gonds, these people will not even allow their own daughter to enter their house after she is married and has become the wife of another. When she wishes to see her parents she comes with her husband, cooks her food separately and lives in a separate hut. The Bankas and Sonjharas who are similarly mixed would not eat with anybody of their own caste."

9. The foregoing note confirms the fairness of the reports received from various district officers upon which the present classification was based. As is natural, at a time when improvement of educational facilities for all backward classes is occupying the careful attention of Government and when the educated members of those classes are themselves demanding special consideration, the position of the impure castes in educational institutions has been stressed by the Rai Bahadur. It is therefore proper here to record something about the present position of the depressed classes as regards education. It will be recalled from Chapter IX that the number of males literate in this community is 28 per mille and the number of females 1 per mille only as against 110 males per mille and 11 females per mille literate for the total population of the Province. In the year 1930 the Local Government instructed Mr. E. G. Kilroe, I.E.S., Inspector of Schools, to investigate the position of the depressed classes in

regard to educational facilities in the Province. The general statistics published in his memorandum on the subject are interesting and are therefore quoted below :—

"The number of the depressed classes and the number of depressed class children in schools are shown in the table below :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Population (1921) Census ...	1,320,349	1,355,457	2,675,806
Pupils ...	42,412	2,353	44,765
Percentage ...	3.12	.17	1.67

The percentage of boys enrolled to the male population was, in 1929-30, as follows :—

Amongst depressed classes ... 3.12 per cent.
Amongst all classes ... 5.84 per cent.

Of the total depressed class students enrolled, 43.6 per cent are in the first class; of the general population, 37.0 per cent are in the first class. In the higher stages the proportion of depressed class boys drops rapidly and soon becomes almost negligible.

The following table shows the numbers of depressed class boys in classes I to XI :—

Class.	1925-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30
Class I	19,552	17,339	17,172	17,302
Class II	8,241	8,572	8,810	9,022
Class III	5,766	6,378	6,750	6,986
Class IV	3,817	4,325	5,042	5,379
Class V	678	774	897	850
Class VI	400	474	480	571
Class VII	217	255	357	376
Class VIII	63	97	119	147
Class IX	26	35	38	72
Class X	21	26	25	30
Class XI	13	12	12	16
Total	38,794	38,287	39,702	40,751

The number of depressed class students in colleges was 19 in 1929-30."

The remarks of the author of the memorandum in regard to the attitude to the different castes included in the community are very suggestive and illustrate to some extent what they meant by the expression above "greater or less degree of untouchability" :—

"To the admission of Dhobis into schools there would probably be little opposition anywhere, and Mahars have won by their own efforts 'the right to be taught'. The castes against the admission of whom there is the greatest opposition are Sweepers, Basors, Mangs and Chamars. Everywhere the caste of sweepers provides a test case. If they are admitted, all are admitted. There are 68 different depressed castes. Some are found only in one out of the twenty-two districts. Some are considered 'untouchable' within one district, but touchable across the border. The degree of objection taken to the various castes in schools varies with the caste, the area, the school committee and the staff. Generally speaking, the crucial person is the Head Master. If the opinion of the school staff is united in favour of admission, depressed class boys will be admitted. If a strong inducement be offered, the staff can, it is understood, enforce almost compulsory attendance on depressed class boys. In towns prejudice is less strong. But even in towns which have made education compulsory, there is variation. Jubbulpore Municipality treats all castes exactly alike; Bilaspur, Raipur and Nagpur maintain separate schools for Sweepers. In large and small villages every type of treatment is found. In some schools the lower amongst the depressed castes are not admitted at all, even to the verandahs; others admit all children, except Sweepers, while a few, e.g., in the Nagpur district, accept all castes and treat them much the same. The Marathi are stated to be more liberal than the Hindi districts. Both amongst the representatives of depressed and other classes there is agreement that the progress towards equal treatment has been rapid in recent years."

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classes' pupils. In regard to the secondary schools it has been noted that in some places caste prejudice has been overcome to such an extent that the same drinking water supply is used by all.

11. The difficulty of giving a fair chance of education to the depressed classes does not however begin or end with the question of toleration. Amongst some of them, especially the Mahars of the Maratha country and to a much less extent the Satnamis of Chhattisgarh, the value of education is realized, but elsewhere the members of the community generally see insufficient benefit in education to compensate for the loss of wages which the child might have earned had he not been at school. The fact that there is no tradition of education behind them means that the depressed classes have little chance of being successful in schools where competition is now very severe. To lower the standard is obviously of no benefit to them. But to meet the difficulty, in some cases, the authorities have made a provision for reservation of places for the depressed classes in the more advanced institutions. The same difficulty is not, of course, generally felt in primary schools, but there are a number of these now in certain areas where orthodoxy prevails, which cater for the depressed classes only. It is interesting to notice that in Mr. Kilroe's note regarding the position in normal schools it is mentioned that the prejudice against lodging all castes in a common hostel is alleged to be greater in women's institutions than elsewhere owing to the conservatism of women. The general position is well summed up in the fact that, although no action was taken upon the suggestion, the creation of a post of a Protector of the depressed classes was suggested by the Education Department.

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Chhindwara.—"The status of the depressed classes is improving a little, public motor transport and close contact in schools having some effect. There has been no agitation in this district either about wells or about entering temples. Among the depressed classes particularly of Sausar tahsil there are signs of class consciousness and this has particularly taken the form of attempts to secure better pay and conditions for the kotwars. A number of Mahars and Chamars are now engaged in cultivation."

Damoh.—"Chadars, Basors, Khangars, Bhangis, Kumhars and Dhobis are treated as untouchable but the untouchability is slowly lessening in degree and as compared to the past considerable improvement is noticeable in this direction. Not uncommonly children of these castes are seen sitting together with children of other castes in the same school. At some places also they are even permitted to draw water from a common well."

Bhandara.—"Of all the castes and communities resident in this district, Mahars have made the greatest advance both socially and economically. Having no objection

regard to educational facilities in the Province. The general statistics published in his memorandum on the subject are interesting and are therefore quoted below :—

"The number of the depressed classes and the number of depressed class children in schools are shown in the table below :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Population (1921) Census	1,320,349	1,355,457	2,675,806
Pupils	42,412	2,353	44,765
Percentage	3.12	.17	1.67

The percentage of boys enrolled to the male population was, in 1929-30, as follows :—

Amongst depressed classes ... 3.12 per cent.
Amongst all classes ... 5.84 per cent.

Of the total depressed class students enrolled, 43.6 per cent are in the first class; of the general population, 37.0 per cent are in the first class. In the higher stages the proportion of depressed class boys drops rapidly and soon becomes almost negligible.

The following table shows the numbers of depressed class boys in classes I to XI :—

Class.	1925-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30
Class I	19,552	17,339	17,172	17,302
Class II	8,241	8,572	8,810	9,022
Class III	5,766	6,378	6,750	6,986
Class IV	3,817	4,325	5,042	5,379
Class V	678	774	897	850
Class VI	400	474	480	571
Class VII	217	255	357	376
Class VIII	63	97	119	147
Class IX	26	35	38	72
Class X	21	26	25	30
Class XI	13	12	12	16
Total	38,794	38,287	39,702	40,751

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Bhandara.—"Of all the castes and communities resident in this district, Mahars have made the greatest advance both socially and economically. Having no objection

to any calling they are to be seen in all spheres of life and are gaining in material prosperity. They have given up eating the flesh of dead animals and in some places have also given up eating even fresh flesh and drinking wine. They are asserting themselves as citizens and fighting for equality in the matter of the use of wells and of entry into temples. They refuse to do the customary dirty work. Instances of this type have occurred in the Gondia and Sakoli tahsils of the district. It seems likely that before the year 1941 has passed the Mahars will have broken the age-long bonds of servility and untouchability."

Nimar.—"The depressed classes since they have been receiving proper teaching through Government agency are found to be improving. In Burhanpur two primary schools purely for the depressed classes have been started and about 65 boys are being educated. It will not be out of place here to mention that progress is greatly retarded owing to the poor financial condition of the members of the community and the conservatism of orthodox Hindus."

Kanker State.—"A number of Pankas, Gandas and Telis have accepted Kabirpanth and they interdine on certain occasions. A large number of Chamars have become Satnamis. These put on the sacred thread of the Hindus, have given up their principal occupation of making country shoes and have taken to agriculture. They have, moreover, turned into vegetarians and teetotallers."

13. The foregoing extracts selected more or less at random from district and state reports give a very good idea of the position of the impure castes in various parts of the Province at the present time. The rise of the depressed classes in the Amraoti district has already been described in paragraph 5 of Chapter XI. Throughout the Chhattisgarh Plain Division those Chamars, who now style themselves Satnamis or Rohidas, have generally taken to wearing the sacred thread and in many cases have given up drinking country liquor and eating the flesh of dead animals.

14. The very definite attempts within the community to raise its own social status could not of course, have met with much success without the sympathy of many of the higher castes. The extent of relaxation of caste restrictions during the past ten years has already been discussed in paragraph 6 of Chapter XII. It has there been mentioned that the custom among the high caste Hindus of purifying themselves after a railway journey has now almost universally been abandoned. I have been informed by a comparatively young Shrivastava Kayasth gentleman that when he was a boy it was still the custom to sprinkle water on the clothes brought to the house by the Dhobi in order to purify them and the Dhobi was not allowed within the house. Similarly a few years ago an orthodox Hindu being measured for shoes by a Chamar, would have had the measurement taken from a distance and probably have gone through a ceremony of purification afterwards. The shoemaker is now generally allowed to come into the house without hindrance. The Kotwar (village watchman) of Katol recalls the time when his caste-fellows had to wear a small basket, in which to spit, strung around their necks. The reason for its use was that if a Kotwar spat in the village, higher castes were polluted. The Kotwars also had to go far outside the village to urinate. It is rather curious to find that the village watchman is nearly always a member of one of the untouchable castes—a Mahar, a Chadar, a Katia, a Chauhan or a Dahayat. His occupation is presumably thought degraded, because of the many unpleasant duties which he has to perform. It is on the other hand easy to understand the custom of regarding the Dhobi as impure when it is realized that the village people generally wash all their own clothes but that after the birth of a child or death, it is the village Dhobis, who has to wash absolutely everything in the house including bedding, etc. He is thus naturally regarded as a polluted person. Such an attitude leads back to the question as to how far a man can become clean upon deserting an unclean calling, just as for instance, the Satnamis now claim to be clean, and the second question is again recalled as to whether the untouchables were originally regarded as unclean because of their occupations or the socially depressed were forced to do the most uncongenial work merely because of their economic position. It appears that these questions are now never to be satisfactorily answered, but what is certain is that leaders of the Hindu community are definitely aiming at the final abolition of untouchability. The late Rao Bahadur Mahajani of Akola, extracts from whose notes already appear in this report, has observed:—

"Even an orthodox community like the Marwari has been convinced of the necessity of this innovation (removal of untouchability) and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj of Wardha has taken up the subject very seriously and erected a temple in which the Mahars and other members of the so-called depressed classes have unrestricted admission. The National Congress has also tried to draw the attention of the whole country to the necessity of introducing this reform at an early date, and the Hindu community has been giving a fair response. The depressed classes too are very keen on asserting their rights as will be seen from the *satyagraha* practised by them in order to force entry in the temple of Parbati at Poona and the Kalaram temple at Nasik. On the last Rakshabandhan day the members of the depressed classes underwent the ceremony of receiving the sacred thread from the hands of higher classes on the sea-shore at Bombay. This is a marked improvement since the last decade. The attempt made by the Mahar community is also spreading its influence amongst the

other castes included in the depressed classes. I had myself an occasion to witness such an attempt made by some members of the Pardhan community of Hiwarkhed in the Akot taluq."

15. In this appendix I have taken the opportunity of quoting from as many sources of information as possible, particularly because the present attitude towards the exterior castes does vary from place to place, indeed from individual to individual. As Deputy Commissioner of Saugor and Narsinghpur I was continually approached in the course of tours in the interior by members of the depressed classes, generally Chamars, who wished the local Government or the District Council to build in their villages separate wells for their use, because often they had to walk very long distances to the nearest rivulet in order to obtain water, which was denied to them by the orthodox. In considering problems of this kind the distribution of castes shown in the maps in Chapter XII is of course interesting. While this report was still under preparation great progress was made, by agreement among all communities, towards the removal of the disabilities under which the exterior castes have laboured for many years. That this progress was secured by means of political pressure rather than social reform is immaterial to the result. To sum up the position, as it was at the time of the census, and the changes in the previous decade it will be most fair to quote from notes recorded by local leaders of the community concerned. It must be mentioned that these notes were written early in the year 1932. Mr. G. M. Thaware, Honorary Assistant General Secretary of the All-India Depressed Classes Association, the office of which is at Nagpur, after remarking upon the refusal of certain people to purchase articles from members of the depressed classes or to permit them to work in some factories, and stressing particularly the extent of unemployment among these classes has written—

"There has been no legislation affecting the Depressed Classes since 1921. So far as I am aware there have been no orders by the Local Government save and except the endorsement of the policy of the local bodies in allowing public use of public wells, schools, *serais*, etc., by the Depressed Classes. In boys' schools no caste distinction is being observed. There are some cases in girls' schools where the caste distinction is still in existence. And for public wells, *serais*, etc., in actual practice, the use continues to be as rare as before, the resolutions of the local bodies being mere pious documents.

"As regards the present position of the Depressed Classes, there does not seem to be any appreciable change for the better. Of course among the educated classes, a good deal of sympathy is observable and there are signs that the high classes Hindus are being awakened to their sense of responsibility in the matter and are influencing the masses, though by slow degrees, to abandon caste distinction. In Umrer and Akola Local Boards two Mahar members have been elected by the Hindu voters on their majority. It is however clear that a long time must elapse before any tangible results are achieved."

The appendix may be concluded by the note of Mr. G. A. Gavai, M.L.C., the General Secretary of the All-India Depressed Classes Association :—

"What are called the depressed or untouchables are not a caste but a diversity of castes. They differ in their manners and occupations, which are hereditary. There is no inter-dining among these castes—not to tell of inter-marriages. The only thing which is common in them is untouchability and there too some castes are regarded more untouchable and others less. Some have access to the houses of the caste Hindu to a certain limit, while some are allowed not even to enter the compound and stand on the sprinkling of their cowdung wash. This class as a whole is heterogeneous. It is since very recent times that these untouchable castes are included among the Hindus and they (the untouchables) consider themselves as such. The nomenclature that they have recently given to themselves is *Adi Hindus*, meaning thereby that they are the ancient inhabitants of this country and a race distinct from the Aryans who invaded India, conquered them and reduced them to slaves. They say they are the descendants of the people who were described in the *puranic* times as *Dasyus* and *Rakshas* who fought with the *Devas*—the *Arya Brahmins*. How far it is true is for the anthropologist and historian to say. But the fact is that the depressed classes, though regarded as Hindus, have no status as such in Hinduism and they have no place in the *Steel Frame* of the *Chaturvarna* system (the system of four castes or colour) of Hinduism. Their religion can be said to be different from that of the Hindus. The mystic ghosts and devils are their gods. It is fortunate that they have not created the Creator! Some of their rites of worship must be regarded as cruel. Devotees of incarnations, such as Ram and Krishna can be found in these classes and their devotion to the minor Gods is rendered extinct.

"I have said above that untouchability is the only common cause which can unite these classes in social and political matters. This cohesion has been possible for a cause such as this only since the establishment of the British Rule in this country. It must be admitted here that there has been a great change between the treatment accorded to these classes by the Hindus before the advent of the British rule in India and the treatment now given; and consequently the whole credit for this better treatment must go to the British Government. However, in the far off hamlets untouched by the modern social and political activities their condition does not seem to have

been redressed so much. Their *bastis* are separate just as they were in the past. One cannot get a house in the locality of the caste Hindus. This condition holds good in a more or less degree in the towns and cities as well. Though they do not get difficulty in securing admission to boys in village schools yet they have to sit outside the class rooms even to this day. Of course this is not the case to be found in the English schools of the Towns and Cities. In the foreign institutions such as railways, post offices, motors and dispensaries, etc., the grip of pollution is not so fast, but in the antiquated establishments such as the bullock carts, *serais*, rivers, and tanks, the problem of untouchability does hold its sway grimly as ever. In some cases the untouchable patient has to stand outside the village dispensary and even such cases can be discovered wherein doctors are not prepared to touch an untouchable patient.

"The untouchability has affected the economic condition of the people a great deal. In the near past these people owned agricultural lands. Some of the castes did hand ginning, spinning and weaving works. With the rise in price of land the Marwaris in this part kept an eye on the lands of the people, put them under debts and consequently snatched their lands away from them. The introduction of machinery gave a terrible death-blow to their hand ginning and handlooms. Thus a big class of people had no other occupation but manual and agricultural labour. The demand for crudely tanned leather having declined, the number of people given to this occupation greatly diminished while the people who tanned the leather by refined form flourished. The same is applicable to shoe-making as well. There is less ear for old-fashioned musical instruments and the place of musicians in this class has been taken up by Mahomedans playing on bands and drums. Nowadays nursing and midwifery not being considered as low occupations even by Brahmin ladies, these people have almost lost them. Their occupations being in such a squandered state, they naturally longed for other employment. But their untouchability always stood and still stands in their way to make it possible. They not only cannot sell food stuffs but they cannot freely give themselves up to occupations such as tailoring, tonga driving, etc.

"Before the coming of the English and especially in the rule of the Peshwas there is ample proof to show that the Hindus observed untouchability strictly according to the precepts of the Manu Smriti. However, it is hard to say whether the depressed classes then were conscious of the gravity of the oppression and untouchability. But it is a fact that they did not make organized efforts to come out of this social ostracism. It is in the British rule that they have begun their efforts—nay it became possible for them to do so. Temple entry and tank *satyagrahas* are the proof in point. They have begun to realize the value of education and they are crying for as many more concessions and reforms as possible from the Government. Government have not given a total deaf ear to their grievances. They give them encouragement by way of free studentships and scholarships to boys and by way of giving grants to their hostels and schools, and it is on account of the sympathy of Government and the awakening among this class that we find by now a few university graduates among these people. We find their magistrates in law courts to which they had no access. This class becomes conscious at times, holds meetings and conferences and resolutions for introduction of interdining, inter-marriage, for discouragement of early marriages and dowry system and drinking, etc., are passed. They are now conscious of their civil rights as they have got representation, though by nomination, to the Legislative Council, Municipalities and Local Boards, and thus a sense of ambition has been aroused among them. But the little awakening hitherto spoken of is limited only to some particular castes of the depressed classes. Others are as blank as ever. I do not think any special reason can be given for this fact."

APPENDIX III

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

A.—*The effect on the tribes of contacts with civilization.*

There are, as stated in chapters XI and XII of this report, over 4,000,000 members of aboriginal tribes in these Provinces. Of these 1,969,214 were returned at the census as following tribal religions, and the remainder were stated to have become Hindus or Christians. The number of Christianized tribesmen is in fact negligible except in Jashpur State where there are 47,479, almost all Oraons. In the British districts of the Central Provinces and Berar the number of aborigines is about 3,000,000 of whom over 1,600,000 were returned as followers of the Hindu Religion. Change of religion is of some importance as an indication of the influence upon the primitive tribes of contact with a culture foreign to their own, but how slowly that influence has worked will be clear from a study of books by earlier observers, such as Forsyth, and comparison of their notes with those taken quite recently by various officials in the more remote tracts of the country. Some of the latter are reproduced in this appendix. It would, however, be incorrect to class the Hinduized aboriginal with the ordinary Hindu villager of the Central Provinces for, although, after centuries of varying degrees of contact, each may have assimilated ideas and customs from the other, their cultures are most obviously distinct. This is a fact which, while the Census Report was in Press, was recently stressed in the columns of an influential local periodical. The test of religion is in itself very fallible and the difficulty of obtaining accurate returns of those retaining their tribal creeds has already been explained in chapter XI. The position was briefly defined by Mr. Stent in his report upon the census of the Amraoti district:—

“During the recent census the tendency of all enumerators was to record all aboriginal tribes as Hindus, and it was found almost impossible to induce them to question the members of these tribes regarding their religion. The majority of enumerators no doubt assumed without question that persons who were not Muhammadans, Parsis or Christians must be Hindus; but some of them were certainly animated by the conscious desire to extend the scope of Hinduism. It is significant that the Korku Revenue Inspector of the Dharni tahsil, in his report on this subject, remarks that all Korkus are followers of the Hindu religion. As a matter of fact few, if any, of the Korkus in the Melghat can be accurately described as Hindus. Those men who have settled in the plains have to some extent adopted Hindu Gods and customs in addition to their own, but the dwellers in the Melghat retain their ancient beliefs.”

The difficulty was accentuated because many of those tribesmen, who are more closely associated with the cultivators of the plains, themselves deliberately returned Hinduism as their religion, considering that such a return would elevate them in the social scale, while to the more simple of them the term Hindu does not convey any connection with religion but merely indicates a race. The actual returns of religion are not, however, necessarily material to any discussion of the effects upon the tribes of contact with cultures other than their own. The bare fact is that the descendants of the original inhabitants of the Province, who before repeated invasions withdrew to the hills and forests where they have lived their own lives and for centuries developed upon their own lines, form more than 20 per cent of the population. The extension of communications and the development of mechanical transport has increased their association with villagers in the plains, and a considerable proportion of them are now indistinguishable from the ordinary cultivator. The majority are however distinct in appearance, interest and custom from their more civilized neighbours, and it is therefore not improper, without touching upon the forbidden subject of politics, to comment upon the fact that according to the recent Communal Award only a single seat in the Reformed Legislature would be granted to the aborigines of the Province. Those who wish to do so will of course have the opportunity of voting in general constituencies but few have the necessary qualifications and it can be asserted without danger of contradiction that in the more backward tracts, where education even if available is frankly disliked by the people of the forests, the number of such voters would be entirely negligible. The contrast between the treatment given to the depressed classes and to this other great non-vocal community is obvious and that there is, in certain circumstances, a definite danger of exploitation of the aborigines has been proved in the recent past.

The results of the contact of races in the Central Provinces are not so obvious as in some other parts of the world or in some other parts of India—Assam for instance. Possibly this is because different races have mingled together in the past, and different cultures have existed side by side for many centuries. The differences between the descendants of Aryan invaders and the true autochthonous stock in fact became stereotyped long years ago. There was much in the religion of each which could easily be assimilated to that of the other. As already stated the aborigines generally withdrew to the forests and hills before a new civilization, where they were protected by natural obstacles and by malaria, from frequent

disturbance, and for this and various other reasons, so far from the race dying out as has happened to the aborigines in other parts of the world, it has continued to form the most fecund element in the Provinces. In recent times occasional contact with Europeans has had no appreciable effect upon the tribes. The devastating results of the activities of traders and mission workers upon the ancient culture of the Pacific and elsewhere, which have recently occupied the attention of many distinguished ethnologists, have only a very dim reflection in Central India. Perhaps this is due to the policy of official toleration which has, in regard to the customs and religion of the people, been followed by the Government of the country for a very long time. In general it may be said that in most tracts no deliberate attempt has been made to supplant the old culture. It is true that education, missionary zeal—whether Christian or Hindu—and mere casual contacts in *bazaars* must have their effect, and that ordinary laws are often unsuited to the primitive tribes—but it would not be fair in any way to draw a parallel between the condition of the aborigines of this province and, for example, that of the disappearing tribes of the Pacific, of whom Captain Pitt-Rivers has written:—

“The inevitable result of destroying all the old culture-forms and environmental conditions in the endeavour to impose too dissimilar a culture upon a people specialized by a long process of adaptation to particular conditions is actually to exterminate them.” (*The Clash of Culture and Contact of Races.*)

It has already been observed in this Report that the motor-horn will sound the death-knell of the aboriginal tribes as such. Facts and statistics all point to their gradual absorption in the Hindu fold. When they themselves claim inclusion in it, their object as mentioned above is to attain social uplift. It is, however, rather doubtful whether that object is generally achieved. The Gandas and Pankas, aboriginal people who have lost their identity and are not included in the list of primitive tribes, are regarded as untouchable almost throughout the Province. The Kolis, who have all become Hindus, both in religion and in custom, are included among the depressed classes in several districts where they are numerically important. The Pardhans, Ojhas and Nagarchis are also treated as impure particularly in the west of the Province. The inference is obvious and remarks recorded by Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., regarding the position of the primitive tribes in Chhattisgarh twenty years ago are still relevant:—

“There is evidence to show that the present social organization in these open *zamindaris* has been substituted in comparatively recent times for the more archaic semi-tribal form which still persists in the hill estates, and that this change has taken place owing simply to the natural facilities for immigration offered to the *khalsa* castes. Thus a tradition is recorded by the Settlement Officer of 1868 that the whole Mungeli tahsil was at one time held entirely by Gonds. This we can well believe, for there were in the Rajput and early Maratha days Gond *Zamindars* not only in Pandaria but also in Nawagarh and at Mungeli itself. At the present time the Gonds form an altogether negligible fraction of the population in the west of the district, being found in any numbers only in the hills to the north of Pandaria towards the Mandla border. A similar phenomenon is found in the Raipur estates of Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh-Katgi. Here, too, though the *Zamindar* of Bilaigarh-Katgi is himself a Gond, his tribesmen are found nowhere but in the fringe of forest villages along the Phuljhar border in the southern hills. One inference from these facts is obvious, that in the more accessible estates the mere presence of an aboriginal *Zamindar* has afforded inadequate protection to his fellow tribesmen against dispossession at the hands of the more forceful *khalsa* immigrant Brahmins, Kshatris, Kurmis, Telis and Chamars. Granted a facility for immigration and at once the *khalsa* people have begun to drive off the earlier settlers to the hills.

“This introduces an important problem of future *zamindari* administration. Every year sees greater inducements and fresh facilities offered for immigration to the wilder portions of the district, the present stronghold of the aboriginal tribes, and past history shows that this new factor, if uncontrolled, will mean their steady, if gradual, displacement by traders and agriculturists from the open country. Is it incumbent on the Government to check this natural movement, or should it stand aside and allow free play to the competing forces, letting the weakest go to the wall? The chief peculiarity of the hill estates is the large predominance of the non-Aryan peoples—Kanwars, Gonds and the like, who are racially distinct from the people of the plains, and represent an earlier stage of social development. Their institutions are still predominantly tribal and, though the influence of Hinduism and the Hindu caste system has modified the line of separation between, say, the Kavar in the forest and the Kurmi in the open country, yet they are still sufficiently distinct to require in many respects differential treatment. The need for a definite policy of protection for the local indigenous tribes of the Satgarh is a matter which requires to be specially emphasized in the course of this report, not only because it has hitherto not received the attention it deserves but because the view has been advanced in certain quarters that such protection is unnecessary in the interests of the aboriginals themselves, and undesirable on a consideration of the general welfare of the tract. Against any policy of antagonism to the indigenous inhabitants or even of *laissez faire* where their interests clash with those of the *Khalsa* people

who press upon their borders, I would enter a serious protest. Such a policy would be foreign to the traditions of our rule. The Land Alienation Acts of other Provinces, our own policy in the Melghat taluk of Berar, the gift of a statutory status to the tenancy of these Provinces, are all indications that the play of free competition among the conflicting interests of a simple agricultural people is recognized as being fraught with grave dangers to the welfare of the country.

"The displacement of the aboriginal is an accomplished fact practically over the whole of the open country estates. Interest in their preservation therefore must in this district be centred on the seven northern estates, the Satgarh, in which the aboriginal is still socially predominant but where there are already signs that his predominance is being undermined. A brief description of the social organization of this tribal stronghold, and a reference to the recent census enumeration and to the inferences that can be drawn therefrom will show clearly how matters stand at present, and will serve to emphasize the importance of protecting this primitive people until they have had time to adjust their own defence against the new forces they have now to meet.

"With a view to disclosing the general division of the population of these seven estates into immigrant on the one hand and what may be loosely called indigenous on the other, and to show how far in the last 45 years the latter have yielded to the former, an abstract was prepared showing the population of these zamindaris, caste by caste, for 1866 and 1911. In Pendra the percentage of the indigenous castes has fallen from 79 to 68, in Matin from 88 to 78, in Chhuri from 86 to 75, in Khenda from 88 to 76, in Pandaria from 32 to 21, in Kanteli from 32 to 16 and in Champa from 51 to 37. The fall in the other estates is not so marked (figures for Bhatgaon and Bilaigarh are not available).

"It is apparent at once that the local tribes have during the past half century lost considerable ground. They have lost more relatively in the open country, where the process of displacement is nearing completion, than in the hills where it is only just commencing. But, what is a more serious matter from the point of view of their social predominance, they have lost village headships in the same proportion as their numerical superiority has decreased. From statistics abstracted from the Settlement records it appears that in 1868, 87 per cent of the headmen in the Satgarh were aboriginals. The percentage now is 79. In the other five estates 22 per cent of the headmen were of indigenous origin in 1868 but only 12 per cent were so recorded in 1911. This shows that the dispossession disclosed by the general figures of population is genuinely affecting the social influence of the older inhabitant. The significance of this will only be fully apparent to those with some close acquaintance with a forest tract. The removal of a headman will not infrequently mean the departure of a very large section, perhaps the whole, of the tenantry, who would rather follow the fortunes of their old leader than risk suffering from the want of sympathy of an alien lessee. It was just this substitution of foreign for local headmen in the adjoining Province of Chhota Nagpur which led to the Kol rebellions of 1820 and 1831, and although the process is in Bilaspur far too gradual to awaken violent opposition among the people yet they recognize the threat to their social supremacy offered by the gradual increase of outside influence, and express their dislike for the *khalsa* immigrant in many ways." (*Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspur Zamindari estates, 1912.*)

Mr. Wills was not opposed to the improvement of the aboriginal tribes by contacts with civilization, but only urged that they should be given breathing space and a fair opportunity of adapting themselves to new conditions. This is clear from what he wrote of the Kawars:—

"By their partial acceptance of the Hindu creed they indicate their desire for social advancement. The Paikra Kanwars, a very numerous, well disposed and prosperous community in all these seven northern zamindaris are an instance of what Hinduism can do to teach primitive people social decency and self respect, carrying with it lessons of thrift, industry and self-restraint; and what is true of the Paikras is true to a less extent of all the other component classes in the superior social stratum of these estates. They are now rapidly improving their standard of living and this means greater industry, greater credit and greater agricultural stability. Nor is social improvement through Hinduism confined to the better class of aboriginal. Even the low class Panika has in these estates an important Kabirpanti shrine at Kudurmal in the Korba Zamindari, and though their social practice is not on a par with the more exalted level of their religious tenets (as the Hindu expresses it, their *karm* is defective though their *dharm* is good), yet the influence of religious precept is not altogether lost as is proved by the abstention of many Panikas from intoxicants in deference to Kabirpanti doctrine. When in addition to these signs of social advancement it is possible to point, as will be seen hereafter, to remarkable agricultural developments, thousands of acres brought under new cultivation year by year and land embanked at such a pace that it is a difficult task to keep the field survey work up-to-date, it is clear that we are dealing with a people suited to their environment, vigorous, capable of being developed into excellent agriculturists, and at least worthy of encouragement and protection sufficient to enable them to work out their own salvation, unhampered for a time by undue competition from outside."

It was many years after the remarks above had been recorded that the Central Provinces Land Alienation Act was passed and applied to certain districts in order to protect aboriginal proprietors from unfair exploitation by adventurers. Mr. Lillie's observations upon this subject in his report on the recent revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of Mandla district are interesting:—

"The Act has certainly served the purpose for which it was passed. The ground lost by the aboriginals since settlement, in small shares, is 15 mahals approximately, largely previous to the passing of the Land Alienation Act. The process which the Act interrupted is readily discernible in the Dindori tahsil, where it is usual to find in villages owned by Gond Malguzars, one or two small shares that have passed to non-aboriginals, generally Banias resident in Mandla. Since 1916, this process by which ultimately the whole village passes to non-residents has been materially checked. Whether the Gond malguzar is good or not for the general prosperity of his village is a question on which two opinions are possible. But to my mind the fact that he is invariably a resident cultivator, and is on friendly terms with his tenants, whom he treats well, far outweighs his defects of improvidence and intemperance. In any case, whatever view be taken of his value to the community, nothing can be said in support of those to whom his villages usually pass, through usury, deceit and trickery. They are nearly always oppressive Banias, who treat their villages on the most strict commercial lines, levy all sorts and kinds of illegal dues, and have no regard whatever for tenants' rights and interests. The men to whom such villages would pass if the Act were not in force, are those to whom the small shares have already been transferred, and neither I nor any revenue officer with experience of the district, would hesitate to describe them as worst possible landlords."

Mr. Lillie's statement is true of many districts besides Mandla. There are in fact various ways in which in the past the ordinary laws of the land have operated unfavourably to the aboriginal tribes. The custom of human sacrifice has, of course, disappeared with the substitution of an animal for the victim, and the earlier savage ritual is not missed, but this custom which was well-known among the Kondhs, and probably also among the Marias and Gonds is recalled almost every year in the evidence in murder cases in Chanda district or Bastar State and several apparently genuine instances of resort by individuals to human sacrifice in times of extreme difficulty have come to notice. The murder of wizards or witches, alleged to have cast spells over the accused, is comparatively common, and often appears to command the sympathy of the people in the more backward tracts. That civilized law should punish offences of this kind is now recognized in the most remote places—but the prohibition of marriage by capture, shifting cultivation and distillation of liquor by a beneficent Government is not so cheerfully accepted.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal states:—

"Among the Gonds, particularly in the wild tracts of Chanda and Bastar, marriage by capture was formerly the rule. But the magistracy treated this social custom as an offence against the penal code, and inflicted punishment upon the so-called wrong-doers. This alarmed the simple forest people, who had to invent a device for following their time-honoured custom, without offending a code of laws foreign to their ideas. This device was to make the capture merely a formal ceremony, after settling the marriage between the man and girl.

"Another great check upon the freedom of the tribes was the prohibition of cultivation by the *dahia* or *bewar* process. It was the habit of these wild people to cut down trees, burn them and sow seed in the ashes, instead of ploughing the land. When Government found it expedient to limit this extravagant mode of agriculture, the people in forest tracts regarded it as a great grievance.

"Lastly according to ancient tradition the gods of the tribe required offerings of liquor distilled by the family worshipping them. The excise rules now prohibit such distillation, and the majority of the tribesmen yield to the law and now offer to their gods liquor purchased from a licensed shop, but many continue stealthily to distil their own and to satisfy their gods and godlings as their forefathers did."

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal also mentions the decay of the authority of the tribal panchayat, and its revival in a different form, as another example of the disadvantages suffered by the primitive tribes under the ordinary code of laws and administration. The opinion of selected Deputy Commissioners upon the same subject is worth quoting.

The Deputy Commissioner, Amraoti.—"Under the present excise policy of the Central Provinces Government the progressive increase in the duty rate in pursuance of the policy of gradual prohibition has put Government liquor beyond the purse of the poor Korku inhabitants of the Melghat. In consequence those who live within easy reach of the Betul border smuggle Government liquor from the low-duty shops in the Betul district. Last year some 10 Korkus living in a village only two or three miles from one of these low-duty shops in the Betul district were fined sums varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 for smuggling liquor from that shop, though the nearest Government liquor shops in this district were 20 miles away. I reported the case to the High Court and had the fines reduced to Rs. 5 and Rs. 10. In fact I was informed that the original fines had completely impoverished the village and forced several of the accused to sell their property, or cattle,

or to have recourse to the money-lenders who lend in this area at exorbitant rates of interest. This difficulty has now been solved by putting the majority of the forest villages in the Melghat area in the same low-duty area as the neighbouring parts of Betul. The ryotwari tracts and Chikalda alone remain at a high rate. In this district it has not been found that Korkus resort to any degree of illicit distillation as Gonds in similar circumstances do. There is no doubt however that the high price of Government liquor does operate very harshly on all these aboriginals. The use of liquor is still regarded as a necessity in marriages and other tribal ceremonies.

"I regret I have been unable to obtain any definite instances of the operation of other laws. In general it is reported that the ordinary law of contract operates harshly owing to the poverty, ignorance and honesty of the Korkus. Being illiterate they are unaware of the terms of the bonds into which they enter for repayment of loans. They are generally inclined to trust the *Saokars* to be as honest as they are themselves. They will always pay whatever is demanded to the utmost of their power. The money-lenders of course take advantage of their ignorance to impose exorbitant rates of interest, to put down more in the bond than was actually advanced, and so on. The Usurious Loans Act does not give much protection because the Korku debtor will not plead it and as he is unable to calculate the amount of his interest he accepts the money-lender's word as to the amount he owes him.

"It has been reported to me that the restricted tenure of land also has occasional ill-effects but on the whole I am of opinion that it is a necessary and desirable protection. I have not come across any other particular instances of disabilities suffered by the aboriginals from the ordinary laws."

The Deputy Commissioner, Hoshangabad.—"I think it is true to say that the aboriginal is handicapped in the courts by the system of law and procedure of which a rich man can reap the advantage which a poorer man, because of his poverty, cannot. A rich man can brief pleaders who by means of the rules of procedure can frequently defeat justice. This a poor man cannot do, and an aboriginal is a poor man. How many poor men (including aboriginals) are acquitted of a murder charge? On the contrary, how difficult it is to convict a rich man of murder. For one thing, the rich man is able to buy up prosecution witnesses and suborn defence witnesses.

"On the civil side, what a small chance a poor man has against an unscrupulous money-lender! These considerations are so notorious, that it is unnecessary to quote instances."

The Deputy Commissioner, Balaghat.—"The existing laws in some respects operate harshly upon some aboriginal tribes, particularly Gonds, who in accordance with their religious ideas and practices must have liquor at certain social functions and the price of the liquor being high, they are sometimes forced to resort to illicit distillation even knowing well the consequences."

The Deputy Commissioner, Raipur.—"The Land Alienation Act has not been extended to any part of the district. Attention is, however, invited to paragraph 304 of the Excise Manual, Volume I, which contains a general provision for not imposing sentences of imprisonment on the aboriginals for petty cases of illicit distillation. The strictness of the excise administration no doubt is strongly opposed to aboriginal sentiment but no special orders have been issued in this connection for lenient treatment of members of aboriginal tribes in this district."

The Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur.—"The Excise laws of course are the hardest in their application to Gonds. For many festivals the Gonds require liquor for offering to their gods or for their tribal feasts. Traditionally the liquor should have been distilled beforehand for the occasion. The prohibition policy of Government has operated very harshly on the Gonds with the result that many are driven to illicit distillation, while when illicitly distilled liquor is not available they cannot afford Government liquor and so are driven to offering their gods a mixture of sugar and water. This is undoubtedly having its effect in promoting the decay of rites and ceremonies and adding to the general depression in the Gond villages in the district.

"The land revenue policy of Government adopted in the sixties was ill-considered so far as Gonds were considered. Their tribal system is naturally one of a village headman and ryotwari tenure, the village lands being regarded as the property of the community rather than of individuals. A limited number of Gonds were given proprietary rights in the sixties, but ever since their numbers have steadily fallen owing to their ignorance of the civil laws and the ease with which they have become a prey to money-lenders. For no sound reasons the Land Alienation Act was not extended to the district and there are now only half a dozen Gond malguzars, leaving out of account the Gond Raja of Nagpur. At the present time the tendency is also to expropriate Gond tenants. In nearly every Gond village in the Deolapar tract the Gonds are dissatisfied with their Hindu or Moslem malguzars, and many of the Gonds are abandoning their tenancy land rather than put up with alien landlords. Several of them go to the forest villages, where they are fairly happy, but most are degenerating into landless labourers. Outside the Ramtek tahsil practically all Gonds are landless labourers, except in a portion of Saoner.

"I have not had time to study the effect of the ideas of Hindu law on Gonds in the district; nevertheless they appear to be degenerating into a low caste on the borders of Hinduism. Hindu ideas of succession are gradually affecting them to the detriment of the old idea of succession by the senior efficient member of the family.

"The sections of the Indian Penal Code dealing with offences against marriages are utterly unsuited even now for Gonds in this and all other districts. The vast majority of Gonds ignore them however and leave such matters to the decision of their own panchayats. From time to time however if dissatisfied with the panchayat's decision or if the case is one that it is not likely to succeed before the panchayat, bad Gonds do bring complaints in a Criminal Court. There is much to be said for a simplification of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code in its application to aboriginals, as in the Madras Agency tracts and the Assam Hills. The Gond however of the Nagpur district is probably too advanced for this, but there can be little doubt that it would be a sound measure in the Plateau districts and considerable parts of several other districts of the Province."

In considering the opinions recorded it may be recalled that when the Reformed Government was constituted certain tracts in this Province were excluded from the area of the constituencies of the Legislative Councils. These were the Sironcha tahsil of Chanda district, the whole of the Mandla district and various zamindaris of the Chanda and Chhindwara districts and of the Chhattisgarh Division. Three of the latter—Chandrapur, Padampur and Malkharoda—were enfranchised in 1923 and Mandla district was enfranchised in 1926, but it is doubtful whether many of the real aborigines qualify for a vote or use it.

Regarding the general subject of the effect on the primitive tribes of contacts with civilization something has been recorded in chapter XII, and more particularly in chapter VII, Mr. Grigson's note at the end of which is especially suggestive. It cannot be denied that the development of communications while it has immensely facilitated internal trade has undoubtedly spread disease. Owing to official control distilled liquor has generally taken the place of rice-beer, a comparatively innocuous beverage; and when liquor cannot be obtained the substitution of opium and other harmful drugs is the obvious alternative. Clothing, of which the aboriginals cannot have sufficient to change with the variations of climate, and which they will not generally wash because the process causes wear, is a source of dirt and disease. The prude who tries to teach them that clothing has any useful purpose except as a protection against the weather is one of their worst enemies.

It may be argued with considerable justification that the benefits bestowed upon the aborigines by the march of civilization more than balance the loss of many features in their own culture, and that the administration of an ordered Government is far more favourable to them than the autocratic rule of the chiefs and zamindars of the past and its attendant *begar* (forced labour) and oppression. There is however a very reasonable answer to such argument. The primitive tribes were allowed the freedom of the forest with little disturbance in the past; the system of *begar* was well suited to this Province until very recent times, and it has to be remembered that many of the most noble buildings in India, monuments of her ancient civilization, were constructed almost entirely by this form of labour, to say nothing of the numerous useful local forts and water tanks, which protected and benefitted not only the lord of the village but also the peasants by whose hands they were built. The remarks in paragraph 25 to chapter VIII are relevant to this subject.

Enough has been written in this appendix and elsewhere in the Report to give a fairly clear idea of the results of the contact of the Aryan invader and the primitive tribes. Even now the methods of cultivation of many of the latter are almost unbelievably primitive; in some tracts plough cattle are unknown and the attitude to the modern luxury of riding in a cart to which reference is made in paragraph 46 of chapter I is not confined to Bastar State. This part of the appendix may be closed by another interesting quotation from Mr. Grigson's notes regarding Bastar State:—

"There has been little change in the style of house construction. From the experience of wide touring for four years in the State I can say that the best and cleanest aboriginal houses are those in the Abujmar hills. There the cleanliness is due to the practice of shifting the village site every fourth or fifth year when the adjacent hill-slope or *penda* cultivation is exhausted, or for some purely superstitious reasons. A hill Maria village in the last year before its shifting is a dirty affair, but for the first two years at all events it is a sanitorium in comparison with many of the settled Parja, Bhattra or Muria villages even close to Jagdalpur. The huts in the settled villages are generally smaller than those in the shifting villages.

"The hill tribes and wilder aboriginals have no hesitation about killing and eating cattle, and in fact there is very little meat that they will not eat, whether the animal has died a natural death or has been killed four days or more before by a tiger. Around Jagdalpur, Murias and Bhattras have largely given up beef eating, and actually out-caste persons who take beef. In one case, a witch caught walking naked in a cremation ground at night was forced to eat beef as a preliminary to

being out-casted. Even the Dandami Marias in the Jagdalpur tahsil and the Marias of the Abujmar Hills on the Dantewara side are being affected by the Hindu ideas about beef eating. The latter now say that they only eat beef when it has been sacrificed to their clan god, or is sacrificed and eaten at the ceremony of erecting a monolith in honour of the dead; they declare that they have given up eating the flesh of dead cattle. The Dandami Marias have in their villages a place, generally on rocky ground, set apart for killing, cooking and eating beef. There are occasions even now when beef is felt to be a necessity, but instead of killing their own cattle, they often employ the professional thief of the village to steal an animal from the nearest non-Maria village. Jagdalpur Jail usually has at least 40 Dandami Maria cattle thief convicts and though they are very reticent about the complicity in their crime of their fellow-villagers, they are often compensated by village subscription for their period of detention. Most of the Hindus in the State are to some extent meat-eaters on occasions, goat and chicken being the usual meat. The buffaloes sacrificed at Dashera are eaten by Halbas and Mahras and other low castes. But in general it may be said that as the population becomes more Hinduized, it eats less meat. The physique of the more Hinduized aboriginals is certainly inferior to that of the wilder ones. It would be unsafe to attribute this entirely to meat-eating, as the wilder tribes have generally four meals a day, *pej* or gruel twice and *bhat* twice a day as compared with the two meals normally taken amongst the average population of India.

"Lastly, the imitation of Hindu marriage custom has not proceeded far in the State; pre-puberty marriage is practically unknown amongst the aboriginals though there are signs of a tendency to introduce it amongst the more Hinduized Dandami Marias."

B.—Notes on fifteen tribes.

These notes are selected from a large number which I recorded during the course of my own tours and from others kindly collected by Mr. M. Ikramullah, I.C.S., in Mandla district, by Mr. Amir Khan, Superintendent of Udaipur State, Khan Sahib Abdul Gaffar Khan, Superintendent and Mr. M. N. Ghosal, Assistant Superintendent of Jashpur State. Most of the notes upon the people of Bastar State were written by Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., to whom I am greatly indebted. Ethnologists must look forward eagerly to the publication of his book on the tribes of Bastar. I have endeavoured to exclude as far as possible anything which has already appeared in the late Mr. Russell's great work, or in other local ethnological literature. The photographs of the Bison-head Maria dance and wedding and the woman and child were kindly lent by Mr. Grigson. The others are my own.

Little has been recorded in the past regarding some of the tribes mentioned in the following pages; in the case of others the object of the notes has been merely to supplement existing knowledge. It must be observed that many customs, particularly in connection with wedding and funeral ceremonies vary not so much from tribe to tribe as from tract to tract. Naturally each tribe is bound to assimilate ideas from its immediate neighbours. It will also generally be found that the village Baiga (Bhumia or Goonia) propitiates certain universal gods on behalf of a village or group of villages—and these are quite distinct from the separate gods of the tribe, or clan or household. In the Chhota Nagpur States images of the gods were not usually forthcoming in the villages which I visited, and it was stated in most cases that no emblems for them existed.

The Korkus, Bhils and some other people of numerical importance are not mentioned in this part of the appendix because I had no opportunity of making a special study of them. Lack of time and space has in fact rendered it imperative to include articles on a few tribes only and much of the material available has of necessity been omitted. For the same reason six or seven notes at the end of the series have been reduced to a very summary form and are merely reproduced to give a rough idea of the culture of the tribes described.

1. THE BAIGAS OF MANDLA AND BALAGHAT.

The difficulty of identifying tribes in different parts of India, on account of the changes which their names undergo from tract to tract, and owing to the fact that, in the past, various clans have from time to time broken away completely from the parent tribe has often been mentioned in ethnological literature. In Table XVIII separate figures are shown for Baigas, Binjhwar, Bhainas and Bharia-Bhumias. Although in many places members of the Binjhwar clan return themselves as belonging to the Baiga tribe, in Chhattisgarh as pointed out by Russell the Binjhwar have successfully cut themselves off from the original tribe and boast many sub-tribes of their own. It is however generally acknowledged that the Chhattisgarhi Binjhwar and the Baiga are most probably of the same stock. Mr. Lillie, who, as Settlement Officer of Mandla, was familiar with the Baigas, was surprised in Raipur to find them passing under the name of Bhumias. There were few returns of either Baiga or Bhumia from Raipur district at the Census and it is highly probable that these Bhumias gave their tribe-name as Binjhwar to the enumerators. "Bhumia is the name of an office, that of the priest of the village

* Also Mr. Beni Prasad, Assistant Superintendent of Land Records, Udaipur

and local deities, which is held by one of the forest tribes. In the tract where the Baigas live, they, as the most ancient residents, are usually the priests of the indigenous gods; but in Jubbulpore the same office is held by another tribe, the Bharias. The name of the office often attaches itself to members of the tribe, who consider it as somewhat more respectable than their own, and it is therefore generally true to say that the people known as Bhumias in Jubbulpore are really Bharias, but in Mandla and Bilaspur they are Baigas." (*Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*, Volume II, page 78). There is also a group called Bharia-Baigas in Mandla and so the difficulty of correctly classifying each entry in the census records is obvious. It was clearly only possible to show the returns under the tribe-name given in each case. Another wild tribe, the Bhainas of Bilaspur and the surrounding country, who have now a very distinct organization, is supposed to be descended from irregular unions between the Baigas and the Kawars and lastly the Bhuiyas or Bhuinhars of the Chhota Nagpur States, whose tribal name, is etymologically the same as Bhumia and means roughly "aboriginal", have by some authorities been identified with the Baigas, alleged to be the branch of the Bhuiyas which settled in the Central Provinces. The tribes named are now all sufficiently distinct to have been treated separately by Russell. His article on the Baigas is full and available for reference to all who read this Report. In the following notes recorded by Mr. M. Ikramullah, I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner, there is, however, some interesting additional information regarding them which has not hitherto been published.

"The Baiga *Chak* is a small block of Government Forest in Karanja range where a special reserve for Baigas has been created. Its area is 20,000 acres. Baigas used to practice *Bewar* cultivation whenever they were found but this was stopped by Government and they were settled in the '*Chak*'. Here they are allowed to practise *Bewar* cultivation and live their own lives. I was rather disappointed when I visited the place because I found them wearing more clothes than I liked. In fact they are getting civilized. I missed the fine physique which has been described in Russell's book. They have started regular cultivation side by side with *bewar*. They are, however, still a very amiable set of people jolly and inquisitive. They would insist on having a ride in the car!

"Baigas are scattered in small groups all over the South Mandla Forest Division. In some cases they appear to be just like the Gonds. My note should be read with Russell's chapter on Baigas.

"*Clans*. These Baigas state:— We are all *Bharotia* Baigas. *Binjhwar* and *Bhaina* Baigas are not found in this district. We do not inter-dine with them. Nor have we anything to do with *Bharia* Baigas who eat beef. We do not eat beef. All Baigas originally came from Deonaori and Summer Pahar. We do not know where these places are situated. So far as we know we have always been speaking the same language as you hear from us (corrupt Chhattisgarhi). We have no language like the *Parsi* of the Gonds who live round about Ghugri.

"*Tribal Legend*. Bhagnan had a Guru. His name was Baba Vishisht Muni. Kari Nagin used to look after him and wash his loin cloth. One day she found a little semen on it. In spite of her repeated efforts to clean it she could not. So she thought of removing the spot by licking it. The moment she licked it, the clot was purified but she became pregnant. She gave birth to Naga (probably Nanga) Baiga. We are all descended from Nanga Baiga. He married Nangi Baigan. Nangi Baigan was also known as Bhinj Baigan. Their son was Urgan Baiga. Urgan Baiga's son was named Pargan Baiga.

"Kari Nangin's younger sister was Ranmat. We do not know the name of her husband. From her was born Ravan Bangi who is responsible for the birth of all the Gonds.

"Kari Nagin had a third sister whose name we do not know. Nor do we know whom she married. Her son was Nanga Jogi. It is from him that all 'Jogis' have descended.

"It was Burra Deo who taught us how to cut trees and do *bewar* cultivation. He also taught Gonds (locally known as Kisans) how to cultivate land—(vide page 79, *Tribes and Castes*, Volume II).

"*Sub-Tribes*.—We have many sub-tribes among Baigas. A few have already been mentioned above. These sub-tribes are endogamous. If any one marries out of his sub-tribe he is out-casted.

"*Septs*.—We have many septs in each sub-tribe. These septs are exogamous. Members of the same tribe can marry into various other septs but not in their own septs. Our septs are:—(1) Tataria, (2) Sadia, (3) Daria, (4) Nadia, (5) Sararia, (6) Rathoria, (7) Mudakia, (8) Bararia, (9) Ghangaria, (10) Lamothia, (11) Chandronia, (12) Kusaria, (13) Devadia, (14) Pangaria.

"These various septs are merely branches of the same family and all are equal in status. The septs like Markam, etc. (vide page 81, paragraph 2, *Tribes and Castes*) are not our septs. They are Gond septs.

"*Religion*.—Burra Deo and Dulha Deo are the same. Other gods are Narayan and Thakur Deo. We have only these gods. They are all equally powerful. Dharti Mata (the earth) is married to Thakur Deo, who lives in a saj tree.

"Methods of worship. Have been correctly in the *Tribes and Castes*, page 85.

"No Gond can ever be admitted into the Baiga fold. Nor can a Gond woman (even a virgin) marry a Baiga. Those who say that they can are not proper Baigas.

"Marriage.—One cannot marry in his own sept but he marries in the same sub-division, which worships the same gods. A boy can marry his father's sister's daughter but not his father's brother's daughter because those two will be in the same sept. The sept is continued through males only.

"The marriage is always between adults. The parents of the boy and the girl have to consider beforehand if he or she would like to marry a particular person. Marriage takes place only when the boy or the girl do not object to each other. Such enquiries are not made directly but through others. A girl sometimes selects the man she wants to marry and informs her parents of the choice. If she is married to a person whom she has not herself chosen she generally runs away.

"The boy's parents have to pay Rs. 5, 7 or 9 to the girl's parents. If they are too poor to pay the boy has to work for his father-in-law, sometimes for three years. If a man seduces another's wife, the husband is entitled to compensation.

"The day the choice of the bride is confirmed the boy's father has to produce two bottles of liquor. Some is given to Burra Deo and the rest is served among all those present. The ceremony is known as *Sagai*. A fortnight later the bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house with four bottles of liquor. A feast is given by the girl's parents and a date for the marriage is fixed. The ceremony is known as *Barokhi*. The girl's parents get at least 10 days to make arrangements for the marriage. After that the groom's party goes for the wedding. No women accompany them as women are not supposed to go to another village. The party starts on a Tuesday and generally gets to the girl's village on the same day. The girl's party feed them and all dance the night through. Liquor is provided by the girl's parents. The boy's parents take only two bottles of liquor with them. Next day *Bhanwar* takes place in the afternoon. A 'pandal' is erected for the purpose and a pole is fixed in the ground round which the boy conducts the girl five times. Then the party leaves for the boy's house, the father and the mother of the girl accompanying their daughter. There is another *pandal* and a pole at the boy's home and the boy and the girl have to go round it seven times. This is followed by a feast and a dance at the boy's house.

"The boy does not ride the improvised 'elephant' mentioned in the *Tribes and Castes*. It is only the girl's brother who rides it. He is given some liquor. Sometimes he gets a rupee or two. Parched rice or *maka* (Indian corn) are thrown by the bride and bridegroom at each other. After this the boy puts a brass or copper ring on the small or ring finger of the right hand of the girl, and the boy and girl have their feet washed by their elders. They are taken inside the girl's house and fed separately. The anointing of the girl takes place on Tuesday evening. After they have been fed they are taken out and *Bhanwars* take place as mentioned above.

"The elder brother cannot marry a younger brother's widow. Nor can the younger marry his elder brother's widow.

"Naming.—See page 83 of the *Tribes and Castes*.

The naming ceremony of a child takes place 15 or 20 days after its birth and the name is selected by an old man.

"Burial.—A man or woman who dies within five days of illness is buried—others are burnt. Sometimes a coin is put into the mouth of a dying person. It is taken away after the death and is made into a ring.

"See page 85 of *Tribes and Castes*. The tail of the pig is cut off and it is castrated and left alone for three years before it is sacrificed to Narayan Deo.

"See page 86. Flowers are offered to Nag Deo. If the unmarried die they become *bhuts* (ghosts), but married persons become good spirits after death. Good spirits can be driven away by burning *Ral* (Sal resin).

"No one in a panchayat can contradict an elder. He declares what action to be taken. They have wooden seats in their houses but elders sit on them.

"They do not know what the sun, moon and the stars are. The dark spots in the moon are a black buck."

Enquiries which I made personally at Supkar and Piprawada in the Balaghat district among Baigas of the Binjwar clan, apart from small local differences, confirmed information already recorded by Russell and supplemented by Mr. Ikramullah's notes. There is no room to deal with purely local customs here but it may be noted that—

- (1) the Baigas have no bachelors' quarters;
- (2) they state that they bathe every three or four days;
- (3) the Binjwar clan burns its dead when it can be afforded, but those, for instance, who have no relatives are buried—with their feet to the south. Stones are placed to cover the whole body at the spot where a man is burned or buried;

- (4) the Binjhwars do not eat cow or bison or buffalo;
 (5) when a field is first sown a young cock is sacrificed, but there is no worship at harvest time.

2. THE GONDS

In *The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces* Russell included among Gonds—Agarias, Ojhas, Pardhans, Parjas, Koyas, Bhatras, Marias and Murias, although separate articles were written in that work upon the Agarias, Pardhans, Parjas and Bhatras. It is a pity that information regarding the Marias and Murias also was not separately recorded, for their customs are in many details distinct from those of the Gonds and the arrangement of the matter dealing with these various tribes or sub-tribes is somewhat confusing. In chapter XII it has been pointed out that physically the Marias (and also the Murias) appear to the casual observer to differ from the Gonds in many ways. Hislop's description of the Gonds, quoted by Russell is anything but flattering although it is accurate enough, but the Marias are on the whole good-looking people. As already observed the leptorhine type is commonly met among them and aquiline noses are not infrequent. (There were many in the group of Chanda Marias shown in the illustrations). Such contrast with the Gonds might suggest intermarriage with some Aryan stock yet the Marias are the most retiring and primitive people of the Province. I do not propose to rush in where angels fear to tread and pit my inexperienced observation against seasoned ethnologists, but I feel that the fact of the existence of contrast which are striking to the amateur fully justified the separation of Marias and others from the Gonds in this report. It may be mentioned as a further justification that, as far as I have ascertained, the Marias and Murias do not worship Burra Deo, the universal deity of the Gonds, and their treatment of the dead differs in some details from that of the various sub-tribes of Gonds. In these Provinces there are more than 2,260,000 true Gonds, who form over 12 per cent of the population and are incomparably more numerous than any other tribe or caste. One hundred pages were devoted to them by Russell. The following notes regarding those who live in the States of Khairagarh and Jashpur indicate variations in tribal names, and customs in different parts of the country, and changes in the last twenty years due to Hindu influence.

Khairagarh State.—Lachna and surrounding villages.—There are three sub-tribes in the State, Raj Gond, Dhur Gond and Gaitiya (Gotte) Gond. I saw no Gotte Gonds, but the Raj Gonds and Dhur Gonds are obviously becoming Hinduized. They call themselves Hindus and do not eat the flesh of the cow. They do however eat all other kinds of meat, including that of the bison if they can get it. They worship Burra Deo, Devi and Dulha Deo and for the sake of safety are willing to acknowledge gods of all denominations. Bhagwan (Mahadeo) is to them the great God whom all the world worships but Burra Deo is the great special god of the Gonds. The Raj Gonds of the state do not appear to retain many traces of animism in their religion and do not worship the spirits in streams or trees, but the Dhur Gonds do worship streams. The Goddess Devi (whom they seem to identify with Kali or Durga) is apparently the same as the Hindu deity. She is worshipped periodically in the months of Chait or Mang and is specially propitiated when there is an outbreak of small-pox. Dulha Deo is worshipped in Chait and after weddings "to prevent him worrying people". Prayers may be offered to the sun, whom they know as Suraj Narayan. It was also stated that the moon is worshipped in Mang, but the statement was made with hesitation. Offerings of *malida* (wheat cakes reduced to powder and mixed with molasses and *ghee*) are also made to the Hindu Bhagwan (Mahadeo). These Gonds are agnostic regarding the after life. They do not wear the sacred thread.

Treatment of dead.—The dead are burned, if they have been married, but virgins of both sexes are buried—head to south and feet to north. The body is laid on its back naked. A mound of earth is made where a body was cremated, but there is no such mound over a person who has been buried. If a man dies on a cot, it is left at the place of burial or cremation because his life went out on the cot and people are afraid of his ghost. After a funeral a goat is sacrificed by a *samdi* (connection by marriage) of the deceased and thereby the spirit of the dead man is held to be amalgamated with that of Burra Deo. This is simply in the nature of a sacrifice.

Weddings.—Marriages are performed by the Baiga who is responsible for other ceremonies also. The ceremony is of the usual tribal type influenced by Hindu ritual. The two bridal parties come from the house of the bride's father and from the house of the bridegroom's father; they meet half-way between the two and exchange gifts. The final rite is when the bride and bridegroom go seven times round the sacred object, which in the case of the Gonds of this tract is stated to be water. Dancing is popular especially after weddings, and when liquor is available. There are four dances, the *dhandra* (stick) dance, the *beohar* and two others.

Septs.—There are the following *gotras* in the tract around Lachna:—Chegarya, Tekam, Maday, Kunjawan, Pusam, Masram, Nakmutta, Balaiyi,

Markam, Korappa and Kusram. People obtain information as to their *gotras* exclusively from their own *Bhats*, who form a kind a local college of heralds, and belong to the Pardhan tribe. Marriage with a person of the same *gotra* is forbidden. Sons of course take the *gotra* of their father. The *gotra* names of the Dhur Gonds and of the Raj Gonds are the same and a Dhur Gond may give his daughter to a Raj Gond in marriage but a Raj Gond will not lower himself to give his daughter to a Dhur Gond. It was stated that there are 12½ sub-divisions among the Gonds, but I am doubtful of the accuracy of this statement. 12½ has a double meaning. It is considered unlucky throughout the State to use the number 13, but the 13th sub-division of the Gonds is said to consist of eunuchs and hermaphrodites and is therefore reckoned as only half a division. In regard to the superstition about the number 13 a member of one of the leading families of the state quoted an amusing couplet, to show that the superstition is supposed to have arisen from the similarity of the words *tera* (thine) and *terah* (thirteen), since it is unlucky for a thing to belong to someone else :—

"Tera kouri tere pas
Tera bahin mere pas,"

which may mean "You have thirteen pieces of money and I have thirteen sisters", or changing the translation of *tera* may have three different meanings.

Panchayats.—Tribal councils are called to give decisions in small matters, field disputes, etc. All adult men sit in these councils to deal with purely tribal matters. To settle extraneous disputes the *mukaddam* (head-man) of the village may also be invited to be a member of the Council, whatever his caste or tribe may be. Such *panchayats* of course deal also with cases of conjugal infidelity. The price of a wife is regarded as from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60. About Rs. 10 is given to the *panchayat* and the wife is then retained by her seducer.

The Gonds in this part of the world are regarded as the true aborigines. They are certainly the most primitive people of the tract but it is doubtful whether they are the real *autochthones*.

Gonds of Jashpur. *Chetba and Chirora villages*.—The Gonds of Jashpur are immigrants from Phuljhar Zamindari in the Raipur district. They are divided into six classes—

- (1) Maharaj Gonds, that is those belonging to ruling families.
- (2) Raj Gonds those who were Sardars or Dewans of the rulers.
- (3) Pachasi Gonds, who were followers of the Maharajas.

These three classes are superior to the others. They eat goats, birds, fish, fowls and eggs but do not eat pigs, rats, snakes, bats, ravens, tigers, etc.

(4) Badi Gonds, those born of mixed parentage. The tradition is that the Phuljhar Gonds had gone to invade Delhi. After they were repulsed there, if their women had illicit connection with men of any other tribe or caste the children were known as Badis. Their profession is tattooing. In Udaipur State I found that the Badis were regarded as an entirely separate tribe and claimed to be unconnected with any other caste or tribe. Reference to various authorities regarding this apparently new tribe gave no clue to their origin, and only the fact that they worship Burra Deo was in any way significant. It was after obtaining information regarding the Gonds of Jashpur that I was able to identify them.

(5) Thukel Gonds, who on return from the Delhi invasion were driven away by superior Gonds spitting in their face. They do tattooing work and deal in cattle.

(6) Dokhar Gonds who when repulsed fell at their conqueror's feet and apologized. They deal in cattle and mill-stones and do tattooing work.

The last three classes of Gonds are scattered all over the State, there being one or two houses of them in each village. They are regarded as untouchable by the higher classes, who will not take even tobacco from them. They can of course take water or cooked food from the three superior divisions. Maharaj Gond males will eat any food cooked by male Raj Gonds, whether it is from an earthen vessel or a brass one; and male Raj Gonds will eat food cooked by male Pachasi Gonds, but only from a brass vessel. The women of a superior class will not however eat any food cooked by a woman of an inferior class. Raj Gonds and Pachasi Gonds of both sexes will eat any food cooked by a person of a class higher than their own.

Tattooing.—All Gond women are tattooed, generally on the chest, forearms, legs, shoulders and ankles, by women of one of the inferior classes, but they never have their foreheads tattooed. This is a contrast to other tribes and castes in the tract and to the Marias of the south who have their foreheads tattooed also. There is no particular design peculiar to the tribe, and tattooing is not compulsory. It is generally done after the age of 8 years.

Septs.—Members of the following septs are found in the State :—

- (i) Marpachi (tortoise)—these will not eat tortoises. (From Lanjihigarh).
- (ii) Jaghat or Goha (Gecko), who will not kill the gecko. (From Chandagarh).

- (iii) Kana—a kind of fish with a sensitive tail. It is callous to a touch on any other part. Members of the *gotra* will not eat this fish. (From Hiragarh).
 (iv) Bagh (tiger)—They will not eat tiger flesh. A member of the sept who sees a tiger killed will throw away one of his earthen pots and fast for one meal. (From Sumergarh).
 (v) Marai (Cobra)—who will not kill cobras. (From Garh-Mandla).
 (vi) Baisia (Hawk)—who will not use hawks for catching birds. (From Bairagarh).

The six classes of Gonds all have the same septs which are exogamous. (The children of sisters and brothers can marry since they belong to different septs.) *The tradition regarding these *gotras*, which are more clearly defined and more obviously totemistic than in most places, is that when the Gonds were migrating from Phuljhar they found the Gondki river in flood. Each group selected a different animal to take it across the river, and these were adopted as the totems of their *gotras*. Eventually they settled in various places, each being called a *garh*, and the members of each different *gotra* all settled in a separate *garh*.

Customs.—Marriage is performed by a Brahman, thus indicating Hinduizing tendencies. Some of these Gonds wear the sacred thread also. There are separate bachelors' quarters for boys and for girls in each village. (The Gonds in other parts of the Province have not this custom, although the Marias of Chanda and Bastar have. It is significant that the custom is common among the Oraons and Pandos of the tract.) Marriage is at any age. The Gonds of the tract worship Burra Deo as their principal deity. Khan Saheb Abdul Gaffar Khan has described the rites in the following words:—

"All the tribe gathers and proceeds to the forest. There a small platform is constructed which is completely covered by cloth. The *Pujari* brings two iron *sujas* (thin pointed arrows about a foot long) which he had previously kept in the hollow of a tree. A new earthen pot full of water is placed upon the platform and the *sujas* are washed in this. The feet of *Bharaos* (people familiar with spirits) are also washed in the same water. One *suja* tied with *chirobin* (a kind of forest grass) is given to each *Bharao* and the latter hold them and begin to shake their bodies and hands. Five seers of *ghee* and 12 seers of milk are poured over the *Bharaos* who proceed to shiver and wave the *sujas* above their heads until they are tired out, when they sit down. The *Pujari* then sacrifices five he-goats (not castrated) before these *Bharaos*. The cost of the goats is subscribed in the village. All Gonds who come to this sacrifice bring with them either a fowl or a goat or a coconut. Animals are killed by *Balwas*, each man cutting the throat of his own offering. The offerings are all collected on one side and the *Bharaos* are seated upon the platform. After this ceremony the *Pujari* prepares a meal of rice and of the flesh from the heads of the five goats in the enclosure. Outside the enclosure his brothers cook the remaining flesh of the goats. At a little distance the other Gonds prepare a meal from the remaining sacrifices. When the *Pujari's* feast is ready he calls upon others asking whether they will eat the sacrifices of Burra Deo. The reply is of course in the affirmative. They then sit down to the feast in which only males, adults or children, join. No female is allowed to partake of it. If anything is left over it is put into a pit and burnt and taken back to the village. When the feast is complete the *sujas* are washed by the *Pujari* and replaced in the hollow of the tree from which they were removed. All the six classes of Gonds join in the worship of Burra Deo who is the only principal god of the Gonds. Ancestor worship is unknown but the village Baiga performs ceremonies in honour of Mahadeo to which the Gonds as well as all other local castes and tribes make their contribution." (It may be mentioned that according to the statement of Khan Saheb Abdul Gaffar Khan no girls take part in the dances of this tract.)

Treatment of dead bodies.—The dead are buried whether male or female. They are buried face upward, head to the north and feet to the south in the clothes in which they died with a new cloth spread over the body. The body is not washed before burial. The ritual is as follows:—The eldest son of the deceased after bathing fetches a pot-full of water and then burns a bundle of dried grass with his back to the grave, pulls it apart with his hands and then drops the burning grass over his head and behind his back into the grave. Water is poured on the burning grass and the corpse is covered. At the head of the grave a small quantity of paddy and cotton is placed. This of course indicates the agricultural occupation of the deceased before his death. Cotton and paddy are also dropped along the path on the way to burial. All the dead are buried in a single *marghat*. Those who accompany the funeral party take a bath before returning home. All the Gonds in the village on the day of death, give one handful of rice to the bereaved family. On the same day all the earthen pots in the house are thrown away and until the third day of the death the food of the family is cooked in brass pots. On the 3rd day a ceremony known as *tirni* or *pitagi* is performed. The Gonds of the village gather at the house of the bereaved family. The nearest male relative (a son, or failing that a brother's son) shaves his head, moustache and beard. Other relatives and members of the tribe shave only their beards and foreheads. They then go to

*Compare the similar traditions given by Russell and in the second part of Trench's Condi grammar.

a stream to bathe. There one of the Gonds takes a *lota* of water from the stream and distributes to all others. It is first given to the senior member of the bereaved family. All take water in the palm of their hands and suck it. This is called the *Bisar Pani* ceremony. Its significance could not be explained. When the gathering returns to the house of the bereaved family one of them fetches new earthen vessels from the potter and gives them to the family. The price is paid by the bereaved family. There is also a tenth day ceremony when another bath is taken and a feast is given at the house of the bereaved family. On the same day the local Brahman is given a meal and other charity and then immediately is driven away. It is believed that if a man dies before marriage he becomes a ghost and haunts the house whenever this occurs. *Matis* or people who know the proper charms are called to drive the ghost away."

Gonds of Mandla. (Notes by M. Ikramullah, I.C.S.)—There are the following clans among the Gonds:—

- (a) The Jhalarias, who do not cut their hair.
- (b) The Porabias, who live in towns.
- (c) The Surajbansis, who do not eat beef or chickens.
- (d) The Ravanbansis, who eat both beef and chickens. They are however giving up the habit under the influence of Hinduism.

These clans are endogamous and there are exogamous *gotras* within the clans.

A poor Gond generally wears a *bandi* (half-sleeved waistcoat) and a *dhoti*. The rich wear a *saluka* (full-sleeved shirt) and a coat with the *dhoti*. They all now wear turbans, and their favourite colour is red. Black is the colour for Ahirs and Pankas and yellow for Pankas and Patharis.

The sun is female and the moon is male because the moon is absent for a day in every month—but the sun is ever present. The black spots on the moon are because of the black buck. The sky is nothing but a cloud. There are three kinds of clouds—white, black and blue. Stars shoot when they die. A comet is known as a "broom-star" and when it appears many people are "swept away". The rainbow is called the *ghora* (horse). When the clouds are full of water they contain waves. The thunder is merely the noise of those waves.

Children and young persons are buried, and also who die of cholera or plague. Older men and women are burned. Those who die of disease cannot be burned because it is thought to spread infection. (The ritual is much the same as elsewhere.) On the top of the grave stones are placed on a layer of thorns to prevent wild animals digging up the body; if they do the deceased must have been a sinner. Graves disappear during the rains, but for persons of importance a piece of timber is sometimes set up by the roadside and all persons passing by are expected to place a stone near it; the accumulation of stones forms the *Ghuri* of the dead man, a sort of memorial.

Gonds of Nagpur.—A note regarding the household gods of the Gonds has already been included in this Report as an appendix to chapter XI. It is of interest to quote again from Mr. Grigson's notes regarding the festivals of the Gonds of Nagpur:—

"The first takes place in Chait (April) when coconuts are offered to Bhimsen at the festival of Mata Devi. The god is represented by an oval stone by which three dancing sticks (*saila*) are buried in the ground. Matadai is the sister of Bhimsen, who is a Maravi by clan. Men and women join in this festival which is held under a *ber* tree; but a *mandap* is made of nim leaves. The goddess is given bits of yellow cloth, thread, bangles and combs. The stones and *trisuls* are given offerings of vermilion and coconuts. There is also a sacrifice which is always of both a he-goat and a nanny goat. The nanny is first sacrificed to Matadai by the Bhumka who belongs to the Kokodia clan, and then the he-goat is sacrificed to "Gariwan" (the driver). The Matadai stones must always be on the east side of the tree and the "Gariwan's" on the north, or in front. All stand up and as the goats are sacrificed urge Matadai to bless them during the next year and look after their wives and children. The Bhumka cuts off the head of the goat with a sacrificial knife kept in his house for the purpose. First he washes the feet of the animal and sprinkles water on it. He then sets its feet in the direction of the goddess, praying her for a good year, waits for the goat to shiver and sacrifices it by cutting the throat upwards. The Kumri clan reverences goats and on their behalf the Bhumka sacrifices a hen to the goddess and a cock to Gariwan. The bird does not shiver but is made to eat a grain before it is killed. While the goats are being sacrificed all members of the Kumri clan go to a *mahua* tree for if a goat merely touches a Kumri's *handi* (pot) on this occasion it has to be broken.

"The tradition of this sacrifice is that originally a man of the Kumri clan was sacrificing a Brahman boy. His parents came in pursuit and he prayed the goddess to save him. She substituted a goat for the boy and so now the goat is regarded as a boy. (Compare the Jewish legend of Isaac and the Muslim version regarding Ishmael.)

"(The Bhumka's wife leaps the sacrificial platform with mud every Tuesday. Tuesday and Saturday are the special days of the goddess and of Bhimsen.)

"After the sacrifice the goats are cooked and eaten inside the *mandap*, except by the Kumris who are defiled by goats' blood and eat their fowls outside. Clans do not sit together. Before the goats are skinned the Bhumka cuts off their right fore-legs and hangs them to the roof of the *mandap* to show all who come that the ceremony is over.

"There is no dancing at this festival. At Til Sankrant there is no ceremonial hunt but all go out hunting and slay a male animal which is eaten in the home. This has no religious significance.

"The second festival is Sanjari Bidri in the month of Asarh before the rain falls. This takes place before the shrine of Bhimsen. He is given vermilion and coconuts and the *malguzar* supplies grain of all kinds which the Bhumka offers to Bhimsen, afterwards giving a few grains in a leaf cup to each cultivator who mixes it with the seed which he has with him for sowing in the coming season. Then all cook the grain which they have brought and have a vegetarian feast. After this festival sowing begins and the dancing season commences.

"Liquor is never offered to Matadai but it is offered to Bhimsen when it can be afforded. People who are ill offer to Matadai a *Koraberi* (a sort of handcuff) which they first place on their hands and then, bowing before the goddess, leave at her shrine.

"The third festival is in Baishakh, the *Nawa Tindana* (*Nâyâ Khânâ*) or *Gara Nawa*. This takes place in the house and the Bhumka has no part in it. The kernel of fresh *mahua* fruit is extracted and is burned in *ghee* on the *Hom* fire. Before this if a man has in his house a *gadwa pen* *or *sanâl handi* (vessel containing the ghosts of his ancestors) he adds to it new *tora* oil prepared for the purpose. In Diwali month new *tilli* oil is poured into the *gadwa* pot. If it has been broken a penal offering of a goat has to be made at the threshing floor of the gods. Coconut, vermilion and dried fruit are given to the household gods at Diwali and Phag, although these and one or two other festivals observed are not truly Gond."

Bastar State.—The Raj-Gond zamindars of Bhopalpatnam are buried standing, having been kept in that position before burial by tying the corpse under the arms to a post. It must remain like that until the arrival of the next-of-kin. After burial in the same position a stone lingam is put up on the grave.

3. THE MARIAS

The Marias who number 181,095 or 1.01 per cent of the population are the most attractive people in the province, and some of the bravest. It was only a few years ago that the life of the Divisional Forest Officer of South Chanda, who was picked up and carried off by a man-eating tiger, was saved by a Maria. The latter was awarded the Albert medal, the only resident of this province who has received that honour. When His Excellency the Governor was to decorate him with the medal it was decided that he could not pin it on as the hero was dressed in only a loin cloth. The Marias are noticed in Chapters XI and XII, where the distinction and relationship between Marias and Murias has been discussed. It was explained there how much the objects of their worship vary from village to village—and so notes from various places reproduced here could perhaps be contradicted from other tracts. Those now collected should, however, give some idea of the general organization and customs of the tribe. The distinction between the Bison-head Marias (called by Mr. Grigson Dandami Marias) and other Marias in Chanda and Bastar must be mentioned.

The Marias of Amarelli (Chanda District).

As stated in Chapter XI, seven gods are worshipped in this village—

- (1) *Chikatraj*, to whom offerings of rice boiled in milk are given to ensure good health, good crops, etc.
- (2) *Bhane Ghare*, a goddess who must be propitiated to ward off disease from cattle. Her worshippers dance all night and sacrifice to her goats and chickens.
- (3) *Edmari*, to whom chickens are sacrificed before the crops is reaped.
- (4) *Ura Marad*.—The worshippers sacrifice chickens and goats to this deity and dance before him in order to avert devils.
- (5) *Bhumi Siradu*, the most important god of all to whom goats and chickens are sacrificed when there is a scarcity of rain. The Marias also dance before him.
- (6) *Ghuntepoo*.—The object of worshipping this god is to avert tigers. Goats and chickens are sacrificed to him.
- (7) *Radelpoo*, to whom sugar and *dal* are offered in order to keep away from the village anyone suffering from an epidemic.

Some of these names indicate Kanarese influence.

Enquiries in Bastar State disclosed that only Chikatraj was a well-known deity over the border, but possibly some of the others appear with altered names. Something has been recorded of the gods in villages near Jagdalpur in Chapter XI. In Amarelli village the gods are all worshipped once a year on a particular day and also at other times of adversity or need. If in any year the crop is not good, in the

*Bastri-hanal.



MARIAS OF CHANDA DISTRICT.



DEHARI KORWA WOMEN



A BISON HEAD MARIA
(Bastar State.)



PANDOS. (Udaipur.)



KORWAS (Jashpur).



PAHARI KORWAS



TEMPORARY HUTS OF PAHARI KORWAS.

following season a pig is killed at the altar of the god Bhumi Siradu. Its blood is mixed with paddy and thrown on the boundary of the field which is to be sown. A chicken is always sacrificed before a field is sown and at the time of harvest chickens are again sacrificed.

Marriage ceremonies.—Marriage takes place when the girl is mature. She is chosen by the bridegroom, who makes arrangements with her father and mother and she has no say in the matter. The ceremony takes place at the house of the bridegroom, to which the bride is brought by her father and mother. No god is worshipped at the time of marriage, but a goat is killed and liquor is distributed to caste-fellows. Marriages may be arranged between a man's son and his sister's daughter, but the marriages between those of closer connection, for instance, the children of brothers, are not permitted. (Exogamous septs were not named, but undoubtedly exist.) Alliances outside the tribe are extremely rare, but a Kapewar patwari in this tract has taken a Maria woman as his wife. He has to cook the food and she takes it from him. She now wears clothing like a Kunbi woman and the marriage is said to be happy.

Disposal of the dead.—Important men are burned and poor men are buried. The ashes of those who are burned are left where they lie and corpses are buried with feet to the west and the head to the east, face upward, flat on the back. The burial-place is close to the public path. A stone is fixed at the head of each place where a person is buried or burned, its size varying according to the status of the deceased. Notes regarding the treatment of the dead in Bastar State are given separately below, but it may be mentioned that near Jagdalpur the custom appears to be to burn and then to bury the dead*. In the case of an important man there a stepped grave is made surmounted by what are probably fertility symbols of some kind. Nearby where travellers will sit is placed a tall carved post often more or less like a lingam at the top but otherwise square and containing carved panels representing the activities of the deceased and various animals.

Dress.—Men generally wear a single cloth round the waist with a flap coming down in the front. They also have necklaces of beads, and when they dance put cock's plumes and peacock's feathers in their turbans. Unmarried girls wear a tri-coloured cloth of red, green and white as may be seen from the photograph. They purchase those from weavers from Sironcha tahsil headquarters and normally wear nothing above the waist. Married women are generally clothed in a white cloth. All of them have toe-rings of brass or white metal and masses of beads of all colours round their necks. Most of them also wear bracelets of scrolled brass and necklaces of some white metal. Ear-rings are very popular. Some of them are of German silver and others of plain brass. All of them are obtained in neighbouring bazars as a rule in exchange for rice and other grain. Many of the girls wear ordinary collar-studs in their ears, purchased at one pice each. They are profusely tattooed, especially on their faces, and some of them on their legs as well. The type of tattooing is said to be according to the taste of the individual and it is done with thorns and needles. On ceremonial occasions the unmarried girls bind their hair with a snood of red cotton as is shown in the photograph, with bunches of pompoms of red and blue colour behind. In their hair many of them stick the feathers of jungle cocks and their heads are also adorned with combs of wood and tin and brass. The wooden combs are made by the Marias themselves and the brass ones are made by blacksmiths. The men wear their hair long or short or with a long scalp lock only according to their individual taste.

Household customs.—In sacrifices a knife is used and the men have axes which they purchase from the bazars. But the Marias of Amarelli have no other weapons. They used to carry spears until Government prohibited the custom. Axes and knives were prepared by a Maria blacksmith at the village of Jinghi, but as he is dead they are now purchased from Sironcha. Earthen pots are generally used, which are brought from the bazars, but those who can afford them use brass pots. Meals are eaten from the leaves of the Pallas tree unless the family can afford earthen plates. Hunting horns made of cast brass are found in most villages.

Food.—In summer the staple food is the fruit of the mahua tree and in winter it is maize. In March, April and May people live largely on toddy and also eat the fruit of the toddy palm and other forest fruits. This diet is supplemented with *kolta* and minor millets. Rice is consumed only at special feasts. Except in the hot weather meals are taken morning and evening. The Marias will eat any kind of flesh which they can get but find it difficult to obtain meat from the jungle nowadays.

Houses.—The houses stand in large enclosures very far apart, that is to say, 50 to 100 yards, unlike the houses in an ordinary Indian village. They are built of bamboo wattle and mud and thatched with palm leaves. Inside they are very neat. On pegs set in the walls there are hung small rounds of rope for carrying pots on the head, wooden instruments for pounding, hollow gourds, wooden spoons, etc. Bundles of *bhutta* (Indian corn) are also in evidence and hollow bamboos for holding oil. Earthen pots, etc., are hung up in nets. In the verandahs of the houses which I entered, I found bundles of bamboos tied together for use when

* Mr. Grigson question this.

tapping toddy. A false roof of palm leaves forms a loft and store. Big baskets for holding grain, etc., *bhuttas*, and small pots, some full and some empty, are kept there. The *chulha* or hearth is inside the main room generally with an earthen pot simmering on the fire. Usually the huts have two rooms. In one house which I entered the inner room was a kind of store and in another both were used for living. The cattle shed is separate in the houses of the more substantial people. At one place in the village all the cattle of the neighbouring village, which had been sent to graze, were kept in a pen. The villagers sleep on the floor of their houses and the bachelors sleep outside in the open. In other places the Maria bachelors have separate quarters. One man was living in the jungle all alone, about half a mile from the village. The tract is infested with man-eating tigers and two head of this man's cattle had been taken away by them. But he stated that if he was destined to die it was merely a matter of fate.

Marias of Bastar State.—In Bagmundipanera village the Marias belong to the Mami *gotra* and state that they will eat almost anything except the flesh of tigers, horses and bears. Chickens are eaten but not wild birds. In the *gotra* only one god is worshipped. He is Kosa Deo, to whom pigs are sacrificed once a year. Girls wear white clothes except when there is a dance on and then they wear coloured clothes. dead are burned except those who die of small-pox or in child-birth or are killed by tigers. The head is set to the east and the feet to the west. In Bastanar village the Marias are of the same *gotra* as those of Bagmundipanera. Three gods are worshipped—(1) Mata Deo, to whom a goat is sacrificed or a promise made that if no goat is available one will be sacrificed next time. This happens on a Monday every three months and the god is also propitiated at the time of sickness; (2) Anda Deo, to whom a pig is sacrificed each year in the month of Chait to avert great calamities from men, cattle and crops; (3) Kosa Deo, to whom a pig is sacrificed in Chait to avert illness. Brass rings are also given to this god.

I noticed that the men in the Bastar villages wore their hair in buns and the women were tattooed in various parts of their bodies. A separate menstruation-hut is kept for women. The following notes of Mr. Grigson give most interesting details regarding Marias and Murias of the State:—

Notes on the Marias (and related tribes) of Bastar State by W. V. Grigson, I.C.S.

In the following notes the terms "*dadabhai*" and "*akomama*" relatives are often used. The distinction is based on the rules of exogamy. All members of clan A are related as "*dadabhai*" to their fellow-clansmen and to members of other clans from which they may not take a wife; they are related as "*akomama*" to clansmen of clans from which they may take a wife.

(i) A DANDAMI (BISON-HEAD MARIA) WEDDING AT MASSENAR, DANTEWARA
TAHSIL, BASTAR STATE (MAY 1930)

We went first to the house of the girl's father. There a smallish crowd had gathered. The girl had gone to the *munda* (tank) to be bathed by her sister and her brother's wife. The bridegroom was there, walking about and talking to his friends. A few drums sounded, but no men were wearing any *Tallagulla* (bison-horn dancing head-dress). Around the door of the sleeping house some 30 women were standing shoulder to shoulder swaying to and fro, singing the most obscene things they could, led by a laughing Gondin in the centre, whom they answered in chorus, with a refrain of *Kokolin-Waya!* Another band of women hurled abuse at them, and each leader tried to out-Billingsgate the other.

When the girl had been bathed, she emerged with a cloth over her shoulders and was dragged into a closely-linked (arm in arm) chain of girls dancing and singing, while the bridegroom, also with a cloth over his shoulders, was pushed into another chain. These circled and gyrated in and out seemingly inextricably mixed up together, only to disentangle miraculously and weave themselves into fresh spirals and circles, singing abuse at each other. All the while the standing group of girls went on swaying and singing at the door. They caused great laughter by improvising a refrain warning all girls to be careful that night, for the Diwan, the Tahsildar and the Circle Inspector were watching them and who knew what might happen after dark?

Before we arrived the boy's party had arrived with the "bride-price" consisting of one slaughtered pig, one living pig, five *handis* of *landa* (fermented rice gruel), four yards of Mahra cloth for the girl's mother, five *pailis chanwal* (rice), one rupee. Then the sister of the girl's mother came out and displayed the girl's "going away" presents—a *Masni* or sleeping mat, a little basket with a *paili* or so of rice, a *handi* of *landa*, while they also sent for her to her new house a young bull calf newly weaned.

After dancing and singing to a loud accompaniment of bamboo flutes and drums, the boy and girl arrived together, with the girl's father and the boy's elder brother holding the hands of the girl and boy. Then the old father held up his hand for silence, and started a long speech, asking the boy's brother:—"Have you come



A BISON HEAD MARIA DANCE



A BISON HEAD MARIA WOMAN

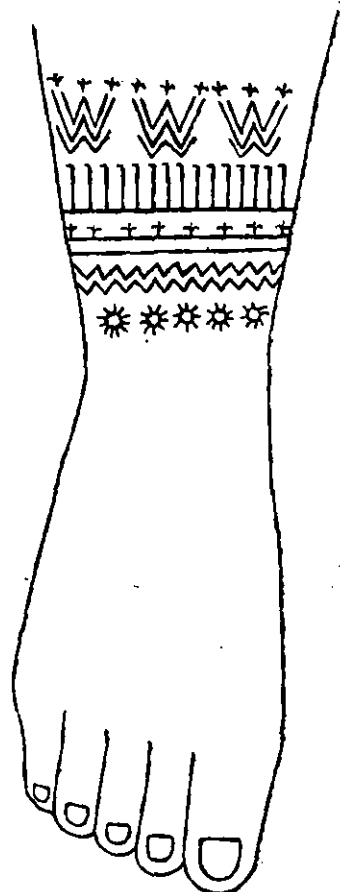


A BISON HEAD MARIA WEDDING



MARIAS OF BASTAR STATE

TATTOOING ON AN ORAON WOMAN.



willingly for this flower? Will you wear it and cherish it? It is fresh and tender, and will not bear rough handling. Know you not how witless women are? If she is a poor housekeeper, pardon her. If she cooks badly, pardon her. If she speaks to other men, do not take it amiss, but pardon her," etc., etc., to all of which the brother of the bridegroom replied "yes". (N.B.—The boy was 19 years of age, the girl probably 20.) Then the father took the girl, who took the boy's right hand, pulled off a ring from her little finger and placed it on the boy's little finger. He then did the same from his other to her other hand, cloths held the while over their heads. Then the boy took off another ring, which the girl's elder sister received in her outstretched cloth, while she said "From now onwards you must not touch me or utter my name till I am dead. If you do so, all will laugh at you and your brethren will fine you." (At death he will take a ring off her little finger and wear it on the middle finger of his right hand.) He also gave a ring to his wife's younger sister which he put on her finger, for he can touch her and talk of her. Then the boy's brother touched the old man's feet, and the old man touched his. Then each placed his hands on the other's shoulders, and leaned forward, first on his right, then on his left shoulder. Each then salaamed the other with both hands and said *Juhar*. Then they did the same to all other near relatives (*Saga*) and important guests. I came in for my share of it; it was not a sweet-savoured performance.

Then the girls started singing again, telling the bride that she must leave them and go to her man, and that her lot would be hard and that if she did not like her husband she should make up her mind to leave him. Meanwhile the boy slipped off over the fields to his father's house to be ready there to receive his wife's bridal party.

Then the procession formed up led by 30 women, singing and side-stepping along the narrow jungle-path in the gathering darkness. After them walked the elders, then a party of drummers, followed by the bride pretending to struggle against the cluster of laughing girls pushing her to Massenar, the bridegroom's village. All danced as they went, beating their jangling dancing staves on the ground in tune with the drums and the steps of the dance. It took two and half hours for them to cover the two miles to the boy's father's house.

There a multitude of other girls and men received them, all in the traditional dancing costume, with a thundering roll of drums and dozens of explosions of "*putakus*" of gunpowder and rice chaff. The full moon beat down on a sea of tossing plumes or shone back from the glistening horns of the head dresses, till the whole courtyard seemed full of rampaging and fantastic movement. The boy and girl were seized by 50 girls and made to sit with them in front of the house, where they were later to live, packed as closely as sardines, all swaying to and fro on their hips as they sat, and singing foul obscenities in full-throated chorus while the hapless boy and girl with cloths over their heads were plucked at and prodded all over their bodies by the jostling girls, who did not spare their most intimate members.

I returned to the scene at midnight. The crowd had swollen and every forest path was thronged with eager men and women, with drums and dancing kit, hastening to join the dance. Some came from 25 or 30 miles, but showed no sign of fatigue. Around the dance many were lying already drunk, for 60 large *handis* of *landa* were provided for the guests. And now and again an excited boy and girl left the dance, but not to sleep. In the end there must have been over 2,000 dancing men. They were still dancing, or lying drunk, or resting with piled drums and headdress, when I again returned at 7.30 a.m. Now many men with horrible black gourd masks and hair and beards of bear's fur carrying staves, dummy guns and nets rushed in and out among the dancers, making the most suggestive and obscenest imaginable gestures with their staves at the dancing or watching girls, to the general amusement. Looking for the bride and bridegroom, I found them still covered with the same cloths, riding "pig-a-back" on the shoulders of their sister's husbands in the middle of a long chain of girls with outstretched arms and hands linked, who headed off all the efforts of the "steeds" to break out of the circle of dancers.

The fathers of the couple now decided that the time for the final ceremonies had come: the sun was getting hot, and *landa* supplies low, for dancers continually left the dance for a drink and a nap before the maddening beat of the drums called to them once again. A hurdle was placed in front of the opened door of the hut where they were to pass their married life. To this the boy and girl were led, and freed at last from the cloths which they had had to wear over their heads for 12 hours, were stood up together, hand in hand, on the hurdle. A man, the girl's father's brother, climbed on to the eaves of the roof, and from there suddenly tipped a large *handi* of cold and dirty water over the couple, whereupon amid general laughter the boy seized the girl, and they rushed together into the house where the door was closed upon them. But they had only ten minutes privacy "to discuss what they would do that night", as the old man explained, and even then the din of the dance, which never ceased for a moment, not even when the water was poured over them, cannot have let them hear each other speak. After 10

minutes the bride reappeared, surrounded by the girls of her own village, who in unison sang to her advice on housekeeping and leaving her husband and returning to them if he ill-treated her, while she provided a chorus of simulated wailing. They took her off to a room and sat all the morning and afternoon with her, where all had their food, while the guests finished the *landa*, and slowly dispersed, beating their drums, along the forest paths. At 5-30 p.m. the new husband entered his house alone. His younger brother went to the house where the bride had spent the day, and cried "Come, sister-in-law, it is time you were bedded", caught her by her hand and tried to drag her off. She screamed and feigned resistance, when he called 4 or 5 other lads to help him, and between them they pulled the girl to the door, opened it and pushed her in, barring the door from outside. Then they stole a cock from the bridegroom's coop, and plucking its feathers as they went and scattering them along the path, took it to a forest clearing, cooked and ate it with the girl's attendants, and all dispersed.

(ii) THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BACHELORS' QUARTERS (KHAIRKATTA VILLAGE—FEBRUARY 1931)

The Murias call the boys' quarters *Chelik Gotul* and the girls' *Motiari Gotul*. The *Gotul* ranks in order of precedence were stated to be as follows:—

Boys.	Girls.
1. Silledar	1. Jhaliyaru.
2. Subhedar.	2. Lahari.
3. Laharsi	3. Manjaro.
4. Ramsu.	4. Suliaro (Suliyaro).
5. Jhaiyarsi	

The *Silledar* is the *Leyur-Gaita* (boys' headman) and head of all, including the *Jhaliyaru* and girl officials.

The *Subhedar's* work is to arrange for the boys and girls to collect small pieces of wood for burning as torches.

The *Laharsi's* duty is to call boys and girls to the *gotul* to dance after supper. If any boy or girl is absent on any day, he enquires if sick, etc. Any *chelik* or *motiari* absent for 2 days without good reason is expelled from the *gotul* and only readmitted on payment of a fine of tobacco to the *Silledar* who divides it among the *cheliks*, if the absentee is a *chelik*, or to the *Jhaliyaru*, in the case of a *motiari* absentee, whose fine is divided among *motiaris*.

The *Ramsu's* work is to see that the girls keep the verandah and compound clan. Expulsion is the penalty for slackness on the part of a girl.

The *Jhaiyarsi* has to arrange for the supply of firewood, deputing the smaller boys to fetch a log from each house in the village. The boys are punished if slack by extra "fagging" or expulsion from the *gotul*. Girls do not collect fuel. There is no penalty for a householder who refuses to supply a log.

The *Jhaliyaru* is the head girl and sends girls home after the night's *gotul* round of dancing, etc. (Hereabout the girls do not sleep at night in the *gotul*, but each in her own home.)

The *Lahari* fetches the girls in the evening to the *gotul* to dance.

The *Manjaro* is responsible for bringing girls to *leep* and sweep the *gotul*: but obviously she has some other function, as my informers were all very reluctant to describe her duties.

The *Suliyaro* supervises the work of the girls brought by the *Manjaro* at the direction of the *Manjaro*.

There are various minor punishments for slackness and breaches of *gotul* discipline. The most common is a fine of a bottle of liquor.

Other ranks stated later, for which no function could be assigned or was admitted, nor could the names be explained:—

Boys.	Girls.
6. Laharu.	5. Nirosa
7. Jalka.	6. Jhelo.
8. Jolsai.	7. Saiko.
9. Jolu.	8. Gujaro
10. Joria	9. Piyosa.
	10. Belca

All dormitory boy officials are chosen by a *panchayat* of all the boys and girls. The senior boys always hold office. There are no insignia of office.

Admission into *Gotul*.—There is no initiation ceremony for boys or girls: there is no *handi* for urination, and spitting ceremony. At *Taroki Gotul* I was told that when a boy enters the *gotul*, he offers the *Silledar* a bottle of liquor and prays for admission into the fraternity.

Relations of sexes in *Gotul*.—Each *chelik* pairs off with a *motiari* and the attachment lasts till either of the two leaves the *gotul* on marriage. The idea of infidelity among *gotul* couples was absolutely unheard of, and so there are no penalties prescribed.

It was readily admitted that the *chelik*s and *motiaris* by mixing in the *gotul* learn the meaning and functions of sex, and co-habit. There are no ceremonies on the attainment of puberty such as the insertion of a boy's penis in a cleft stick among the Oraons. But when a boy is "old enough to work a plough" one of his elder companions teaches him how to copulate, demonstrating, with him as a girl, how to take a girl by her breasts, lay her on the ground, place her legs round his thighs, catch her by the shoulders, and have intercourse with her.

A *chelik* and his *motiari* must not co-habit in the *gotul-ghar*, but outside in some secluded spot. In theory a *chelik* should pair off only with a *motiari* who is of an *akomama* clan whom he could legally marry. Of course illicit unions between *dadabhais* do occur, but the penalty is out-casting; the child, if any of such a union, is given to the *father*.

It is wrong for a girl in the *gotul* to become pregnant, but it is worse for her to try to secure abortion. If she is found to be pregnant, she is told to name the youth responsible, and goes and takes him by the hand. He always, they say, admits his fatherhood, and then takes the girl to his house. He has to celebrate a wedding by *tika* with her, even if owing to poverty they have to wait 2 years to collect the wherewithal. They will be married by having water poured over them as in all Bastar Gond marriages, but from the eaves of his house, not of a special marriage *mandap*, as for a regular wedding.

Marriages often result between the boy-friend and girl-friend of *gotul* days; but in many villages all the children are of the same clan, and *dadabhai* to each other, so that there is no *akomama* girl available to be *gotul* girl-friend and subsequent marriage is thus out of the question. Moreover, there is a general idea that a young man should marry a girl from another village, as then there will be a three days "*beano*" in this village before the wedding. But when a girl or youth is going to marry a spouse other than the *gotul* companion she or he takes a formal farewell of the *gotul* companion, at which they say that there is no ill-feeling shown, and exchanges gifts such as bead necklaces. They stated positively that after such a farewell there is never any further connection between *gotul* companions, and that they had never heard of a girl running away from her husband with her former *gotul* "boy-friend".

Three days before a wedding the bridegroom-elect or bride-elect, as the case may be, gives a farewell feast to the *gotul-gudi* of a pig, a fowl, a goat, rice, and liquor.

During *gotul* days each *motiari* among the Murias around Koilibera and Partapur regularly attends on her "boy-friend" after the night's dancing, when they massage their arms (not their legs) and waists and comb their hair. The boys do not reciprocate this service. Each *motiari* regularly makes bead necklaces, ear-ring tassels, hair bead chains, etc., for her *chelik* with the beads supplied by him, and a good *chelik* make wooden combs for his *motiari* to wear in her hair.

The Marias of Chhote Mar (Tapalibhum), Bare Mar (both formerly in Paralkot Zamindari) and Sonpur parganas told me in February 1931 that their *gotuls* are strictly reserved for unmarried youths and boys, that girls are not allowed in them, that there is no kind of training in them, and that there are no *gotul* ranks or special names. Dancing, they said, was learnt by nightly practice on the village dancing ground (*Enaanna-Kara*). Yet they admitted that the girls string bead ornaments for the boys and youths, and that girls and boys co-habit freely from puberty onwards till marriage, if only with *akomama* partners; they are out-casted for co-habiting with *dadabhai* partners; in such cases the child, if any, of such "incestuous" unions goes to the father, who can be received back into the clan on the payment of the usual penalty. The girl, however, remains beyond the pale unless she subsequently marries an *akomama* spouse. These admissions, coupled with the clearer description of *gotul* life in Padaldesh, Nurbhum and Tapalibhum given me by Padalis and Tapalis at Koilibera in May 1932 show that the *gotul* life of the Murias of North Antagarh and the Marias of adjacent parganas (Padaldesh, Nurdesh, Baremar, Chhotemar, Tapalibhum and Sonpur) is practically the same; at least the northern Marias are copying the northern Murias.

Amongst the Antagarh Marias and Murias and Jhorias I can find no case at all in which boys and girls sleep together in the *gotul*. Yet this is common among the Murias of Kondagaon tahsil: anyone can see on any night boys and girls sleeping together, as I saw at midnight on 27th February 1931 some 28 boys and girls fast asleep higgledy-piggledy over the floor of the *gotul* in the Jamkot-para of Kondagaon itself, each boy paired off with his girl, often sleeping in each other's arms. (The Jamkot *gotul* had only one door, like a hutch-door, window-size and window-height above the ground. There were no windows.) This practice is known to some Antagarh Murias and Jhorias and condemned by them as wrong.

Religious and magico-religious observances.—There is nothing at all corresponding to the ceremonies described in Roy's "Oraons of Chhota Nagpur", viz., the provision of each new *chelik* with 3 new earthen jugs, and their magical water-filling and the final sacrifice of the contents of the jugs to the *Chandi* spirit. There

is no naked ritual and no magic ceremony for increasing strength; the only things done at any stage of childhood to secure strength or beauty are the bathing by mothers of babies with warm water, the rubbing of their bodies with mango kernel oil and the manipulation of their soft skulls to make them shapely and symmetrical.

There is no ceremonial hunting among the *cheliks*; they do not hunt at all but occasionally *chelik* and *motiari* go together to catch fish for their *gotul* feasts. Nothing like the Oraon micturation ceremony takes place.

Training in social duties.—The *gotul* is really a school for training Maria youth in social duties and the lore of the clan, and the *gotul* officials are little more than prefects and monitors. The *Gaita* and cultivators of the village often ask the *Silledar* and *Jhaliyaru* for the help of *cheliks* and *motiaris* respectively in field work. The owner of the field has to feed them and pay wages for their work to the *Silledar*, who spends the money on a *gotul* feast for *cheliks* and *motiaris*. They may be similarly hired for other forms of labour, such as thatching houses, etc. At weddings *cheliks* and *motiaris* have to build the wedding *mandap*, collect fuel and leaves for fuel and leaves for plates and cups, and to serve the food to the guests; but they are never employed as cooks though the *motiaris* make rice cakes in the *gotul* for wedding feasts but do not get any special rice as their wages, nor is there any singing or merriment while making the cakes.

The *gotul* has no funeral functions and is not employed at funerals.

At the village festivals they have to collect fuel and leaves for plates and cups, and have to dance.

The *cheliks* commonly, in fact invariably, have to attend the camp of any important state official as *begaris*, preparing the camp beforehand, fetching and carrying, beating for game, sleeping around the camp, and collecting supplies. They carry food supplies for their elders; if the camp lasts for 4 or 5 days, fresh supplies are brought by women and *motiaris*; and it is always considered the right thing for the official to celebrate at least the last night in camp with a dance, the dancers among the Marias of Antagarh, the Jhorias and the Murias who have only recently ceased to be Marias being invariably *cheliks* and *motiaris*; among the Murias, e.g., of Amabera, Antagarh pargana and parts of Kondagaon, married men and occasionally wives join in the dance.

Dancing is in fact learnt in the *gotul*, purely by imitation. On every fine night the *cheliks* and *motiaris* dance. From the first day of admission into the *gotul* the novice may drink and dance. There is no rule that dancers should be ranged in order of age, eldest to the right and youngest to the left. They also play various games in the *gotul*, such as *koko*, hide-and-seek (*Wikachha* in Halbi, *Kork karsana Gondi*), *Dudu* and blindman's buff (*Andu Andakarsana*, Gondi). They learn the seasonal songs and the *gotul* song.

(iii) TIGER-NETTING BY MARIAS (1932)

The purpose of our Koilibera camp was to kill man-eating tigers. For this purpose, *inter alios*, 140 Barsur Dandamis had been called with their tiger nets. These they arrange on a line about 5 feet off the ground propped on two bamboo poles leaning lightly against each other, one on each side of the net. Any animal driven by the beaters dashes into the nets which fall on the animal. About 20 paces behind the nets they make little shelters of leaves, and wait there with spears. As soon as an animal is entangled they rush forward. The first man spears and holds the animal down, while the others also blood their spears. The first spear gets the right hind leg from buttock to knee as his portion, and the *peda* (headman) the saddle, and the *waddai* (clan-priest) the liver, the portion always reserved for the *hanal* (spirits of the dead). I saw several barking deer, four-horned antelope, and a panther and a tiger netted. The panther was badly entangled, the net being in high grass which added to the entanglement. This made it seem to me very safe behind the nets, and so I was there with a group of Dandami spearmen on the afternoon of the 6th May when a tiger, shot at twice but missed from the *machans* in front, hurled itself at full gallop into the net 20 yards on my right. It fell over at once, entangled in the net; but the net was an old and dry one, fixed over rocky and ungrassed ground, and the tiger's huge weight and velocity smashed the sustaining rope and burst a hole in the net. There was a brief vision of a mighty right forearm sweeping aside the encumbrance and the tiger was free, and rushed roaring just past the next group of spearmen so close that it could have been touched. Wisely no one tried to do so, but as soon as the tiger passed the line of spearmen a shot rang out from the back *machan*. Whether this hit the tiger or not we could not find out but the tiger swung round and started to charge back. I fired, the Chief Forest Officer, the Tahsildar and a friend of the Chief Forest Officer fired as soon as the tiger was safely out of the line of spearmen but only one of our bullets hit the tiger passing through and breaking its left forearm. The headman of the net men (the Barsur *pargana*) had an old 12-bore gun, patched with iron bands and wire and as loose in the breach and stock as a gun could be. Yet he saved the situation by firing and hitting the tiger in the neck with a contractile bullet which killed it outright. It was a bulky 9 feet 5 inches tiger.

All four tigers were drummed back to camp by Murias and Marias to the beat uu—, uu—. The Marias broke into a dance over a tigress which I shot at Partabpur, advancing and retreating before the dead tiger to the same anapaestic drum beats. As usual the women everywhere held ropes across the road to bar our entrance to their villages after shooting tigers.

At Jiramtarai, where a man-eater shot had 10 days before killed the village shikari, there was on the wall of the *gotul* a clay relief of a large tiger painted with black and white stripes, killing a *Sambhar*, while two naked shikaris pursued, one firing a gun with a tripod hanging from the barrels, and the other, in front, with an axe raised above his head to strike. Both men were shown naked, the marksman with erect penis of which the tip and testicles were coloured with vermilion. The other wall had rude drawing in red ochre and white of deer and a horse and black "cup markings".

The dead shikari's remains had been burnt in the jungle where he was left by the tiger. They refused to perform further obsequies or to "bring back" his soul, for fear of their bringing a tiger back also.

Another unique event in a tiger-beat at Partabpur was the presence in the beat of both a tigress and six red dogs, which barked at her and snapped round her hind quarters. She was shot, and I shot one of the red dogs, the leader, who had left the pack and started by my machan to call them with a peculiarly liquid, clear bell-note, like a single note of a bird, of particular intensity.

(iv) MARIA TREATMENT OF THE DEAD

In the heart of the Abujmar Hills burial is the usual thing, but there are exceptions: thus at Tondabera (Neghalur Tondabera) the Neghalur cremate all their dead. At Lakka (Lanka) at the foot of the hills on the Kutru side they ordinarily bury their dead; but there and in the next village of Bodel they burn the bodies of men of standing, such as Gaitas and Pedas and their old wives and mothers.

When a person dies, there is no beating of a drum to announce the fact; the statement in Russell (iii) 89 to that effect is not true of Marias but only of Dandamis, who have in the past not been distinguished from other Marias. The custom of beating a drum is however now creeping into Abujmar from the Dantewara and Bhairamgarh sides, where the Dandamis predominate, and has reached Lakka and Karangul, but is reserved for men of higher status. The drum used is the Turam drum; it is beaten by boys of the village continuously from death till the body is buried or cremated, day and night. There is no special village drum for the purpose; but in the smaller villages usually the only Turam drums are village property and are kept in the *Gotul*.

News is sent to all the *dadabhai* and *ahomama* relatives in other villages, and to friends as well. The funeral takes place when they arrive, on the 2nd or even the 3rd day. All the women of the village assemble and weep and wail in and around the house where the body is lying. They never let a dying person die on a cot, but lift him on to the ground—this does not apply to women, who in any case are not supposed to lie on a cot—but they say they only do this because they do not want him to fall off the cot in any death convulsion. They close the eyes, and straighten out the corpse, which is lifted on to a bier. It is burned or buried with the loincloth that was on it at death and all the jewellery. If other clothes are in the house which the deceased wore, they are taken to the grave for burning or burying with the corpse, or for hanging up around it. All his dancing clothes and ornaments, his axe (not his bow and arrows) his *godari* (*horki*), (digging tool), but not spears, are buried with him or burnt with him; in the latter case they are often picked up by passers-by after a few days and taken into everyday use. No money is ever buried with the body.

The corpse, which is not washed or otherwise prepared but is carried out just as it was composed after death, is carried out on a hurdle. The work of carrying it may be done by anyone, except a *Waddai* (clan-priest), whether he be a relative or not. The hurdle goes first, followed by all the relatives and villagers, all wailing and beating their breasts.

If the death is due to cholera or small-pox, or to suicide, the corpse is not buried in the regular burial ground (or burned in the regular cremation ground) but in another spot at some distance away. Persons killed by tigers are *burned* where they are found, or where they are after the inquest, and should not be touched; logs are piled under the remains and kindled. They have no *marmangal* or *kotokal* stone, are given no food at cremation, and only have burned with them whatever is found with the body or at the spot where it was attacked; no dancing dresses or other property are brought from the deceased's house to be burned with him.

Both for burial and cremation most Marias place the body in the grave or on the ground with the head face upwards towards the east and the feet towards the sunset, the *Usendis* of Orcha and other villagers however reverse this. The *Waddai* ordinarily goes as a spectator, just like anyone else there; but he must not touch the corpse.

If there is no doubt as to the cause of death, the following ceremony is omitted. But, if, e.g., a young man or woman dies suddenly for no obvious reason, then the bearers halt on the path just by the grave or burning place, and stand there with the hurdle on their shoulders. The *Waddai* takes 7 *saja* leaves, and places them in a row on the ground some 7 or 8 paces away from the corpse. One leaf represents the Earth or *Bhum*, standing for death through the displeasure of the Village Mother; the second represents death from sickness; the third death through the displeasure of gods and ghosts (*pen-hanal*); the fourth death through the magic of a fellow villager; the fifth from magic of a man whose enmity has arisen from a quarrel or exchange of abuses; the sixth death from the magic of a wizard, witch or *sirha*; and the seventh normal death. The *Waddai*, or, if there is none, the *Gaita* or *Peda*, strikes the earth three times with an axe, and calls on the corpse to disclose the cause of its death. The corpse then impels the bearers to rush to one of the leaves and stand on it; or else the *Waddai* first excites the corpse by scattering rice over it, till it moves its bearers to one of the leaves. Then the bearers leap away some 8 or 9 paces from the leaf, and behind their backs the order of the leaves is changed, and the former process repeated. If in 3 or 4 tests the same leaf is always indicated, they are satisfied that the cause of death has been revealed. If it is witchcraft, nowadays they do not proceed immediately to hunt for the witch; but a seed of suspicion has been planted that will grow in the dark jungles of their minds and will sooner or later lead to assault or murder. If the corpse makes several mistakes, they do not waste further time, and assume that the death was natural. They admit that in old times if witchcraft was pointed out as the cause of death, the corpse was next asked by the *Waddai* to point out the magician among these present at the funeral, or in the dead man's village or an adjacent village.

Then, if it is burial, the bearers bring the corpse up to the grave, which is shallow, only waist-deep, lift it off the hurdle and into the grave, with feet towards the sunset and feet upwards. The senior near *dadabhai* relative then throws a clod of earth on the corpse's head, and says "This is all I can now do for you, and I give you my portion". He is followed in turn by each of the *dadabhai* close relatives who throw clods all over the body; after them five elders of the village, who are distant *dadabhai* kin, do the same, and after them any *akomama* relatives who happen to be present; in the absence of any near *dadabhai* relatives, the 5 *dadabhai* elders take the lead in the ceremony. Then earth is shovelled in from all sides. His wife's brother (*Erramtogh*) will have carried all his property to be buried with him from the house to the grave, and placed it in the grave by the head of the corpse as soon as it has been laid in the grave. Over the heaped earth leaves are strewn, and over these logs. Then carved wooden posts are set up; they are called *Hanalgutta*, and there should be four smaller ones at each corner of the actual grave and two larger ones in front. The posts have roughly carved wooden peacocks on the top, and have been made ready beforehand by the villagers in the jungle near the burial or burning ground, from *saja* wood, at the time of digging the grave. These posts having been set up, at the foot of the two front posts a little stone cromlech, known as *Hanalgarya* (Ghost's throne) is set up by the dead man's *Erramtogh* (If a woman is being buried, it will be her brother but not her husband's kin). The *Erramtogh* then pours a little mahua liquor on the ground near each post, and lays some rice on the headstone of the cromlech, on which also he has poured a little liquor. He then takes a cock, and twists its neck, breaking the skin as though to * *hald* it with his nails, so that blood may be sprinkled on to the rice; he leaves the cock there, and no one eats it. Then he drinks some liquor himself, and after him all the *akomama* relatives present, then the *dadabhais* and then others present. The *Erramtogh* also offers rice and *kosra* in a little basket to the *hanal* and an empty *handi*, small in size. The food and drink are paid for by the dead person's *dadabhai* kin. Before the drinking of the liquor, but after the sacrifice of the cock, the *erramtogh* ties a piece of his own cloth and pieces handed to him by other relatives and others who wish to honour the dead to the boughs of an overhanging tree. A bamboo fence is then made round the grave except the two front wooden posts.

For a cremation the ritual is much the same. The pyre is prepared beforehand, and the corpse laid on it; no wood is placed on the corpse, in the manner of Hindus. The *Erramtogh* brings from the deadman's house a burning log, and with it he kindles the pyre; and then *dadabhais*, village elders, and other *akomamas* each place a small piece of wood on the head of the corpse, just as in a burial they throw clods of earth, using the same formula. They do not pile any leaves or wood over the ashes, but leave them there in the open, with a fence around them; and then the usual *hanalguttas* and *hanalgarya* are set up.

In some places, particularly on the Narainpur side of the country no *hanal guttas* are set up, or only one. Also the mahua liquor ritual differs; after the earth, leaves and wood have been piled over the grave and the *hanal gutta* (if any) and the *hanalgarya* (if any) set up, the *erramtogh* takes a leaf-cup of liquor, pours a little from it over the earth above the head of the corpse, and drinks the remainder; this is done after him in turn by the *akomama* men, the *dadabhai* men, and then by the women present.

It is probably evening by the time that all this has finished; but at any rate the next ceremony must take place at evening. Most people proceed direct to it

* Cut its throat.

from the burial or cremation, but a few forget their offering of rice and have to return to fetch it. All proceed to a spot by the roadside near the entrance to the village, and there the senior *akomama*, the *errantogh* or next nearest *akomama* relative, builds a cairn of stones from 1½ to 2½ feet high, surmounted by a flat cap-stone; this cairn is called a *marmangal*. Then he and each of the householders present places a pinch of rice or *kosra* grain on the capstone, addressing the dead man's *hanal* by his name, and saying that he gives him this grain to eat. Then they go home.

A house or a portion of a house where a death has occurred should be shut up and not inhabited. It is not pulled down, but it is not repaired. It is considered that so long as it stands it will be a memorial of the dead.

If a man is rich enough to put up a stone to the dead in the *kotokal*, without waiting to collect sufficient funds, he should do so after four days; in any case mourning is observed for four days, and no one goes to work. On the day after the funeral the house and the *angan* are cleaned out, and the floors are *leaped*.

If on the fourth day the son or heir of the deceased cannot afford to set up a stone in the *Kotokal*, he goes to the graveside, and bows before the *hanalgarya*, and tells the ghost he is sorry, but cannot afford yet to put up his stone, and begs him to be patient to forgive him for the delay and not to harass him.

When he has enough grain and money collected to pay for the food and drink required, he calls together his friends and relatives and they all go off into the jungle to look for a suitable stone. There is no ritual for selecting one; they just take whatever stone they think suitable, and one which will require only as many bearers as they can afford to provide with food and drink. The highest that I saw in Abujmar were in Lanka, where several were from 6 to 8 feet in height. They drag out the stone and place under it several cross pieces of wood, the stone lying between two long and stout poles, to which the cross-pieces of wood, are lashed; the stone lying is then lashed to the cross pieces, and the poles are lifted on to the shoulders of the bearers, up to 20 or 25 or even 30 in number, and the journey to the *Kotokal* begins. At intervals they stop to drink, as mahua gives them strength to bear the burden. They are given a meal on the way by the dead man's heir. So they arrive ultimately at the *Kotokal*, and deposit the stone on the ground at the selected spot. A hole is dug in the ground at one end of the stone, and then the stone, if small, is pulled upright by willing hands, and held there while the earth is shovelled in. If it is large and heavy, ropes are lashed round its far end and used to pull it to a vertical position, while 10 men or so on each side hold poles across the top of it to prevent it falling over while stones and earth are rammed round its foot. When the stone has been erected at its foot a "*hanalgarya*" cromlech is made, about 1 foot high. Around the *Kutru* side of the Abujmar hills the heir then comes up to the *hanalgarya*, and squats down with his back to the stone. He takes a small 8 or 9 days' old chicken and holding it behind his back and never looking at the stone, *halals* it with his hands and nails, sprinkles blood on the capstone of the cromlech and then pushes the body of the chicken under the stone; next he places an offering of rice or grain on the capstone. As he makes the offerings he speaks to the ghost, saying "whether you were killed by magic, or by any angry *hanals* or gods, or died naturally, I know not. But now I have put up this stone for you, and you must wander no more. Stay here in peace for ever, and do not worry us, your descendants." He then runs off, with his back still to the stone, which he must not see, to the nearest water, where he and all who have been present at the ceremony wash their hands and legs, and disperse to their homes. Men and women are present at the ceremony, but no one must look at it; all sit with their backs to the stone. This finally lays the ghost, and no further funeral ceremony takes place.

But until the stone is erected in the *kotokal*, the *hanal* must be fed every year at the *Nawakhani* festival at the *hanalgarya* at the grave, not at the *marmangal*.

Around Karangul and Lanka they say they do not erect the stones brought to the *Kotokal* for women and children, but leave them flat on the ground.

Everyone believes that these stones increase or decrease in size according as the *hanal* is satisfied or not.

Around Orcha, Hikpulla, Ader etc., a cow or pig is sacrificed in the village, and portions of the flesh cooked are placed under the *hanalgarya*, while the tail and sometimes a hoof, are fastened by a cord from the top of the stone. There is also a regular feast in the village afterwards at which the rest of the beef and pork are eaten, and there is dancing and liquor. Needless to say this is a far more expensive procedure, and many *hanals* there have to be content with *marmangal* cairns; which there they say frankly they put up if they cannot afford a *kotokal* ceremony.

I could find no separate ceremony for "bringing back the soul"; obviously it is hardly necessary if there is a *kotokal* ceremony. If a man dies in a village other than his natal village or if a woman dies in a village other than her husband's natal village, or rather than natal village, the traditional village of his *katta*, then the stone is erected in the traditional *katta* village, not in the village where he died. The Usendi woman who had just died at Tondabera (Naghalpur) when I visited the village was to be buried at Tondabera, but her *marmanga* cairn was to be put up just outside the Usendi village of Orcha, where her husband's *katta* live.

The whole ceremony seems to be one of re-uniting the *hanals* with *Bhum*, the earth and universal hanal, which also they will occasionally say is their *Bhera Pen*, their *Ispural* and their Village Mother.

NOTE.—In a separate description of burial customs Mr. Grigson has remarked that the Dandamis (Bison-head Marias) do not burn their dead but bury them, unless killed by tigers or dying from cholera, small-pox and women dying in child-birth. Among them the *hotokal* of the Abujh Marias is known as *Uraskal*. In some tracts he found that no *Uraskal* stones had been erected within the last 10 or 15 years because of the expense. Since the ceremony involves killing at least one goat, two bullocks and the provision of three or four *Khandis* of grain as well as rice gruel and *mabua* liquor, it is of course expensive, but in Mr. Grigson's opinion it is being abandoned more because the Dandamis as they raise themselves socially are forgetting their Maria customs than on account of the cost since the same people will entertain a thousand guests at a wedding. In connection with this a reference may be made to the remarks regarding the title "Marias" in Chapter XII.

4. THE PANDOS OF UDAIPUR STATE

Returns of a Pando language in Udaipur State led me to undertake some enquiry regarding the people speaking it. State officials reported definitely that this language or dialect was spoken only by the tribe of the same name, with which no other tribe in the state could be identified, and it was classed by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal as a broken dialect of Chhattisgarhi, mixed with tribal words, some of which resembled Korwa and some Oriya. Nowhere in ethnological literature is any reference to the Pandos to be found. They were amalgamated at the 1921 census with Bhuinhars, who also speak a broken dialect of Chhattisgarhi, but no information is forthcoming to show the reason for this amalgamation and they will not themselves acknowledge any connection with other tribes in the Chhota Nagpur Plateau. Physically they were some of the finest men, whom I have met in this Province. They did not in any way resemble the Bhuinhars of the same tract. Their custom of maintaining bachelors' quarters is, however, according to Risley and Russell, observed also by the Bhuinhars or Bhuiyas (although those residing in villages near the Pandos do not follow that custom) and it is possible that the god Boram mentioned by Dalton as one of the gods of the Bhuiyas is the same as the Pandos' god Baraihan. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has suggested that the Pandos are akin to Kawars the descendants according to a tradition of the Kauravas of the Mahabharat, whose cousins were the Pandavas, a theory which is not supported by my notes regarding their customs. There is, however, a marked similarity between the Pandos and the Korwa whose photograph appears in Crooke's Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and there are certain other resemblances between Pandos and Korwas. But until further evidence is forthcoming it is clearly only fair to treat the Pandos as quite a separate community. The notes recorded below are taken from statements made by the Pandos themselves.

Social divisions.—The tribe is found in the Sompur, Kandro, Tejpur, Rairumakhurd and Guttri-Gogra villages of Udaipur State and probably elsewhere. There are branches in Surguja with whom the Pandos of Udaipur intermarry. The Pandos acknowledge relationship with no other castes or tribes, but there are two sub-tribes known as Utarha and Surgujiha. They have exogamous divisions or *gotras* and gave me the following names of them:—Jau, Takey, Naupan, Jissey, Karwayhan, Kanhariya and Jannoo. Additional names of other *gotras* found in various villages were Baren (fig tree), Ithi (an insect),*Kirketta (a bird), Gohity (a gecko) and one or two others. Naupan is, it appears, a name of a village. Many of these *gotras* are evidently totemistic in their origin, but the history of the names of some of them is unknown. People of the *baren gotra* will not eat figs, those of the *gohity gotra* will not eat the gecko, those of the *kirketta* will not eat the *kirketta* bird and so on. Information regarding *gotras* is given to the tribes by their Baigas or Goonias (priests).

Religion.—They worship one God Baraihan and also venerate their ancestors. The form of ancestral worship is to get resin from the saray (Sal) tree and burn it over the fire. Whilst it is being burnt a prayer is made to all ancestors not to trouble them and to protect them. There is no shrine but *chour* (rice) is spread on the ground while the worship is being made. It takes place in the month of Phagun and at the Dassehra—that is at the time of harvest. The worship of Baraihan is in the nature of a sacrifice. A goat is killed in the yard of any house in which a goat is available at Dassehra or in Phagun. The head is consumed in the *gotra* of the family making the sacrifice but all the Pandos in the village are given the meat. There is no special shrine to the god. If no goat is available, an offering of rice is made.

They venerate the Sun, that is, salute it occasionally but they do not worship it. Worship of Mahadeo is performed by the village Baiga, and not actually by members of the tribe. Pandos themselves do not become Baigas; the latter are drawn from different tribes, Majhis and so on.

Food.—Cows are not eaten nor are she-goats but he-goats, pigs and other ordinary kinds of flesh are eaten.

Disposal of the dead.—The dead are buried ("We cannot afford to burn them"), head to the north, feet to the south. New clothes are put on the corpse

* Identified as the Kingfisher.

and other clothes and the personal effects, axe, etc., of the dead man are put in the grave. Three big stones, 2 or 3 feet high, are put at the grave at the top, bottom and in the middle. I was unable to inspect a grave because the village which I visited was newly settled. No rice is put into the mouth of the corpse but *dhan* is thrown over the grave and water is also sprinkled on it so that the soul of the dead man may have rice and water with it wherever it goes and when it goes into a new body. "Souls pass into the bodies of those born in the same *gotra*. Baigas who are Goonias tell us—we do not know about it."

Marriage customs.—Before marriage the bachelors live in a separate house called the "Bhangra". The unmarried girls also live in a separate *Bhangra* or *Derua Kuria*, generally with some elderly widow as chaperone, but both girls and boys feed with their fathers and mothers. I was allowed to inspect these *Bhangras* although the Pandos would not allow me to go into houses where they did their cooking. They were small and clean huts capable of holding about six people each and the two which I saw, one for men and one for girls, each had a couple of cots of wood and bamboo fibre in them. There were several bachelors' quarters in the village because the huts were not very large. If a boy is absent from his quarters for five consecutive nights a *panchayat* is held to enquire into his conduct. The girls marry at ten or twelve; the boys from 18 to 20. The mother and father arrange the marriage. If two young people run away together, they are subsequently allowed to marry and if a girl has a child by a man, he is forced by caste custom to marry her. The marriage ceremony leads up to the common custom of circling seven times round a pole set up for the occasion. Dancing is performed at any time. They take wine when they can get it.

Dress.—Nearly all the men have the front of their head shaved and allow the back hair to grow long. Those who do not are said to be copying other castes. In the day time they wear a single loin-cloth of scanty dimensions. The women wear a cloth round their waists reaching almost to their feet and looking like a skirt. They also wear separately a loose cloth wrapped round their shoulders and over their head in which they sling their babies if they have any, *i.e.*, their dress is by no means of the nature of one piece *saree*. The men have bows and arrows made of bamboo. The bow string is of bamboo fibre and the arrows are balanced by peacock feathers. The heavy iron barb is made by a blacksmith.

The village.—The village which I saw was very well built from stout timber with thick mud walls unlike many other aboriginal villages where no mud is applied on the wattle at all. The outside of the house was *leaped* and in some cases done over with white clay and ornamented with a wavy pattern. The houses were built all round a centre square which was very clean, and levelled. The inhabitants made their living principally by making baskets from peeled bamboos. They complained that they preferred *Dahia* cultivation by breaking up the jungle which the State forbids them to do. They are a very well set up and cheerful looking lot of people. Utarha Pandos have only one door to their houses, but Surgujiha Pandos have two, the second for the exclusive use of women during the period of menstruation.

Another group of Pandos from Maheshpur village gave similar general information regarding the tribe, but stated that they worship only Dulha Deo and their ancestors. This is an instance of the way in which the name of the "Great God" alters from tract to tract, and of how often the matter is influenced by the custom of all the tribes of a village rather than of a single tribe. It may be noted that the Pandos of Maheshpur like those of Sonpur, etc., etc., maintain bachelors' quarters for both boys and girls.

5. THE KORWAS

Risley, in the Tribes and Castes of Bengal, stated that the Korwas appeared to be divided into four sub-tribes, the Agaria-Korwa, probably a cross with the Agarias, the Dand-Korwa, the Dih-Korwa, settled in regular villages, and the Paharia-Korwa. Russell mentioned the principal sub-divisions as the Diharia Korwas and the Paharia Korwas. It is these two divisions which are now found in Udaipur and Jashpur. They will not intermarry and the Diharia Korwas will not take food or drink from the Paharia Korwas, although the Paharia Korwas, who are still a very wild community, will take food and drink from the Diharias. On the Surguja border there is a third division known as the Bhadiya Korwas, who will not intermarry with or eat with the Diharias. The notes regarding the two principal sub-tribes are given separately. (The Khoraku division is not found in Jashpur or Udaipur and is apparently confined to Surguja.)

(a) PAHARI KORWAS OR HILL KORWAS

Social Divisions.—The following exogamous groups, or *gotras*, are found in Udaipur and Jashpur—Hansdwar, Edigwar, Mudhiyar, Samat, Ginnur and Rehla. The members of the tribe do not seem to know anything about totem taboos in relation to these *gotras*.

Religion.—Russell wrote:—"The Korwas worship Dulha Deo, the bridegroom god of the Gonds, and in Surguja their principal deity is Khuriz Rani, the tutelary

goddess of the Khuria plateau. The hill Korwas of the Khuria zamindari of Jashpur State, however, worship no gods. They sacrifice only to the spirits of their ancestors. It may be mentioned that Colonel Dalton found only ancestor worship among them in Surguja also, while Risley stated that it was in the Jashpur Zamindari that Khuria Rani is the object of veneration. The explanation is that religious custom varies considerably from tract to tract. At Jaldegar (Udaipur State) Mahadeo is the name under which the tribal diety is honoured. The Pahari Korwas of Kardhana (Jashpur State) worship Mudkhuri and Barendra Bhut as their principal gods and claim to have done so from time immemorial. Perhaps Mudkhuri is a local name for Khuria Rani, changed in the course of migration. In this village they worship also Dulha Deo. Mudkhuri is the wife of Barendra Bhut. The names are being handed down from father to son and nothing is known of the origin of these gods. They are worshipped for general welfare and in particular for the purpose of obtaining good harvests. No images or emblems of any kind are kept to represent the deities. Similarly the veneration of Dulha Deo has been handed down from generation to generation. No legend concerning him is known. All these deities are especially worshipped in Kartik (October) and in Kuar when the new corn is eaten. The latter is the Nawa festival celebrated throughout the tract. (The Deothan feast mentioned by Russell is also observed in some villages.) Ancestors are all worshipped at these times along with the gods. As many heaps of *chour* (husked rice) are made as there are *Bhuts* to be worshipped. Two fowls are brought and fed on these heaps of grain. It is not considered necessary that these fowls should be of any special colour. (This is mentioned because very often for similar ceremonials the colour of the sacrificial victim is important.) When they have eaten, the throats of the fowls are cut, and the name of the *Bhut* to be worshipped is called. "This worship is done for you—keep the family happy." At the same sacrifice ancestors are included in the invocation. Their separate names are not mentioned but the head of the family says:—"*Mara masan loe*", meaning "Dead people take this." There is no regular shrine in the house on which this sacrifice is made, but before it is performed the place is *leaped* with cow-dung. The same form of worship is followed at each of the two festivals, and it takes place in every house. Afterwards the birds are cooked and eaten by the family and neighbours.

The sacrifices at the festivals may be on different days in different houses. After the chicken has been killed a little rice-beer (*Handia*) is poured as a libation and the tribesmen also consume some. The feast is enjoyed by men, women and children together and after it there is dancing. Men and women all dance together whether they are married, unmarried or widowed.

At times of illness there are special forms of ceremonials for which the *Dewars* are responsible. These *Dewars* are of the Korwas' own community. They know the *Bhuts* who are unknown to the people in general. When anybody is sick, the *Dewar* puts rice into a basket and begins to winnow it. He mentions the name of a *Bhut* and says "If you have come upon this sick person you must go away". If he hits upon the name of the particular *Bhut* responsible, the *Bhut* is duly driven out. A chicken is then sacrificed on a heap of rice and the name of the *Bhut* is invoked. The head of the chicken and the rice are thrown into the jungle and the *Bhut* is warned not to come again. The rice and the chicken are eaten by the *Dewar*. Apart from this method of laying diseases, the Korwas use various forest herbs as medicines. Curiously enough in Kardhana village they have never had any small-pox and so no special mode of propitiating a small-pox goddess is prescribed.

They do not have a *Baiga* for the tribe but there is a *Baiga* in a neighbouring village who performs certain ceremonies of worship on behalf of all the tribes of the tract and the Korwas take help from him also. Apparently he performs his worship in the village where he lives and, as he is concerned with the welfare of the whole tract, the Korwas as well as others contribute chickens for the performance. The *Baiga* keeps these chickens until the time comes for the ceremonies. This system is said to save trouble. The Korwas of Kardhana do not go to this *pooja* nor do they know the names of the gods whom the *Baiga* worships.

Disposal of the dead.—The dead are buried with heads to the north and feet to the south, on the back. If the family can afford it, the corpse is wrapped in a new cloth, but otherwise it is buried in the clothes which were worn at the time of death. Some water is put into the mouth of the corpse before burial so that he or she may not be thirsty. Anything made of iron which belonged to the deceased is buried with him and his ornaments, waist-band and the dishes from which he ate and drank are also generally deposited in the grave. The usual custom is, for each one of those who go to the burial, to throw a handful of earth on the grave commencing with the nearest relative of the dead person. Sometimes a handful of paddy is thrown at the head of the grave. Babies who have not yet commenced to eat cooked rice are taken to be buried by their mothers and no funeral rites are performed for them. The mat of leaves on which the deceased had slept is thrown away but old clothes are kept for family use. Stones are put upon the grave to keep away animals. Those who are left behind fear the ghosts of the dead, but they have no special fear of the ghosts of a murdered man or of a woman dying in child-birth or of children like some other tribes; and all are interred in the same burial ground. There does not appear to be any belief in after-life, but when a child is born the soul of a deceased ancestor is

supposed to enter into it. The ghosts of the dead remain in the burial ground awaiting the opportunity of such a birth. There is a feast after each funeral on the 9th or 10th day in the case of the death of adults and on the 7th day in the case of children. All the relatives gather together, the male members of the deceased's own household shaving their heads, beards and moustaches and others shaving only their heads and beards. All then bathe, smearing their bodies with oil and turmeric, and drink rice-beer. This is regarded as a method of purification.

Marriage customs.—The Pahari Korwas do not have bachelors' quarters. Marriages are generally performed when both the bride and bridegroom are adult. A boy who is ready to marry goes with his relatives to the house of some suitable girl and arrangements are made. How soon the marriage takes place depends generally upon his means. Persons of one *gotra* cannot of course intermarry. The actual form of wedding ceremony varies slightly in detail in different villages. The day before the wedding the bridegroom and his relatives go to the bride's father's house with gifts, among which a suitably large quantity of rice-beer is prominent. If the pot in which rice-beer is being taken to the house of the bride is by any chance broken, the mishap is considered most inauspicious. Throughout the night before the wedding the couple are anointed by unmarried girls with oil or, in some villages, with *haldi*. In the most backward places the actual ceremony is very simple. The bride and the bridegroom are seated cross-legged under a *mandwa* (shelter) made of leaves. Their mothers or maternal uncles anoint their foreheads with oil, and rice-beer is given to them in a cup of leaves. The groom drinks first and a portion is left for the bride. She drinks and still leaves a little which is given to the bridegroom. (It is a tribal custom for a wife generally to set aside a portion of her meal for her husband.) Meanwhile the rest of the party supply music. The married couple salute their relatives and the ceremony is complete. In some villages the unmarried girls come with vermilion and oil, singing as they approach the *mandwa*, in which the bride and bridegroom are seated on stools on long grass, and it is the bridegroom who applies this once with his finger to the forehead of the girl, while she in return applies some to his throat. In some places vermilion and turmeric are used, in others they are not. It all seems to depend largely upon taste, expense and local custom, and small differences in ritual are as unimportant as those in a Christian wedding performed at St. Margaret's Westminster, contrasted with that in the village church. Divorce is easy. A man dissatisfied with his wife can say:—"Go, I will not keep you." She then goes to her parents and can marry anyone else. The husband finds another wife. A woman, of course, has no power to divorce. Widow remarriage by *sagai* is usual. The procedure is simple. The bridegroom goes to the woman's parents with rice-beer, and asks for their daughter. He takes her as his wife before witnesses.

Other customs.—In each hut there is a small opening at the back for the special use of women during their periods of menstruation. At that time they are not allowed to enter the house by the front door for five full days. The object of this is to avoid the danger of their touching any man and thus polluting him. During that period they never do any cooking. When the time is completed the women are purified by taking a bath.

After child-birth the mother is impure and is not allowed to do household work or to cook food for about two months. Then the feet of both the child and the mother are washed with rice-beer. The mother drinks rice-beer and pours a libation of a few drops in the name of the child.

The women are not tattooed.

General.—The following information has been supplied by Mr. B. N. Ghosal, Assistant Superintendent of Jashpur State.

"Five years ago Pahari Korwas were to be found only in the thickest forests on the hills. Families lived separately from each other often at great distances in isolated huts and it was never their habit to visit villages on the plains. But whenever they found that the need of food or clothing was serious they used to form gangs and go on plundering expeditions into the plains. They had no land or plough cattle or proper agricultural implements. They carried bows and arrows and axes for cutting wood. All the cultivation which they knew was what is known as *beora*, that is to say, they used to fell trees on the slopes of the hills and burn them. Then, when the monsoon broke they would just scratch the surface of the ground with small iron implements and sow millets known locally as *madua*, *rahir*, *bendey*, *sutru*, etc."

Owing to their habits the Pahari Korwas were regarded simply as a wandering gang of looters and so the State authorities compelled them to come down from the hills and settle in villages. They were supplied with land and plough-cattle and seed grain. Mr. Ghosal states further that they generally pass the whole day roaming about on the hills and in the forests and still live on the edible roots which they collect there. They also eat any kind of meat which they can get including that of the cow although it is said that they are beginning, no doubt under Hindu influence, to give up this habit.

(b) DIHARI KORWAS OR VILLAGE KORWAS

The Dihari Korwas are noticeably cleaner than the Pahari Korwas, especially the women. Their customs, however, vary very little from those of the sub-tribe living in the hills except that, of course, they are not so primitive. The exogamous groups have generally the same names as those of the Pahari Korwas, but the Hansdwar *gotra* is regarded as superior to the others and in some villages men of this *gotra* will not dine with those of others.

Religion.—Religious observances are slightly different to those of the Pahari Korwas. The principal creed is ancestor worship. Dulha Deo is also an object of veneration and Mahadeo is propitiated through the agency of the village *Baiga*. The principal festival of the year is at the *Nawa Khana* when Dulha Deo and the family ancestors are worshipped on the same day. The worship is done by placing a small heap of new rice on a specially cleaned spot in the house. A brown* coloured hen is set to feed on this rice. If it refuses, its life is saved and nothing is offered to the ancestors in that year. If the hen eats the rice the father of the family calls out "Good parents and grand parents, here are our offerings to you. Please take them and keep the family in good health." Then the victim is killed by blows of the fist and further offerings of cooked rice and *dal* and rice-beer are made. Later in the festival a similar ceremony is performed in the name of Dulha Deo, but for this a red coloured hen is the victim. The prayer pronounced is "Good Dulha Deo, here is our offering. I am bowing to you. You are our ancestral god. Keep our cultivation prosperous and the members of our family in good health." The throat of the hen is then cut with a knife. This form of worship takes place once only in the year. For the propitiation of Mahadeo each household gives a small hen and a handful of rice to the village *Baiga* annually. No other deities or ghosts are separately worshipped by the Dihari Korwas but the *Baiga* is responsible for the propitiation of the village *Bhuts*, of whom the principal are *Path Bhut* and *Kunth Bhut*. *Bhuts* exist in every corner of the village. In some villages sacrifice is performed only to ancestors and not to Dulha Deo. In most places the *Sohraid* is observed when the horns of the village cattle are smeared with oil and their feet washed with rice-beer. The cattle are also given rice to eat on this occasion. It is not customary for anybody to sow his field until the *Baiga* has sacrificed the hens collected from the villagers and has first sown his own. (The significance of the selection of a bird of a certain colour for sacrifice is not known but is regarded as important in almost all Dihari Korwa villages. Among other tribes goats which are sacrificed at certain festivals are also required to be of particular colours.) In the case of any epidemic appearing in the village an offering, in which the fruit of the castor plant and fowls form the principal part, is made by the *Baiga*, who thus keeps evil spirits out of the village.

Burial and marriage ceremonies.—Dead bodies are disposed of in practically the same way as among the Pahari Korwas. An interesting rite is described as follows by the Korwas themselves:—

"Near the head of the grave we generally keep small quantities of paddy, millet, cotton, etc., and water in an earthen pot, the brim of which is invariably slightly broken. We also place there sticks used for cleaning the teeth. The number of the sticks depends upon the number of days which are to elapse before the final funeral ceremonies. [*This custom is observed also by the Bhuinhars of this tract.*] For boys and girls these are performed 5 days after death, for young men and women 7 days after death and for grown-up persons 10 days after death". Females are generally buried with their faces upwards and males with their faces downwards, the head, as in the case of the Pahari Korwas, pointing to the north."

In some villages it is considered that a pregnant woman will become an unfriendly ghost after death; but in others this belief appears to be non-existent. The details of funeral ceremonies, like those of wedding ceremonies, vary considerably from village to village.

When negotiations are being made for a wedding, it is considered extremely unpropitious if a fox crosses the path of the bridegroom's party. The actual wedding ceremony is in some particulars very similar to that of the Oraons, Rautias and other tribes in the same tract. By the side of the *Mandwa* post a grind stone is placed on the ground and upon it five small heaps of rice are placed separately. On one heap a copper pice is laid, on a second a piece of *haldi*, on a third a betel nut. The bride stands in front of the bridegroom with a winnowing basket in her hands. Her younger brother places some fried paddy in this (winnowing basket) while the bridegroom holds the hands of the bride from behind. They then move round the *Mandwa* five times shaking the winnowing basket until all the rice falls on the ground. Each time as they circle the mill-stone the bridegroom catches hold of the leg of the bride and knocks over one of the heaps of rice. The usual anointing with oil or signing with vermilion of course follows. This form of ceremony is observed in Pandhrapath and other villages, but in Kardhana, which I visited, the most important part of the wedding ceremony appeared to be for the bridegroom to stand with his left foot upon the right foot of the bride, who remained in a sitting posture, and to anoint her head five times from a leaf full of oil his hand being guided by an elder relation. Upon completion of this ritual all the spectators cheer loudly and a similar ritual is performed by the bride.

* Probably the colour of a painted partridge.

6. CHIKS OF JASHPUR (KHARSODA)

1. Cannot eat or drink with Gandas or Pankas, but do the same work. Where Gandas and Pankas are found Chiks are not. Consider themselves Hindus but do not wear the sacred thread.
2. Worship only their ancestors. The village *Baiga* propitiates Mahadeo on their behalf.
3. Eat most kinds of flesh, but not cow, rat, snake, cat or monkey.
4. The marriage ceremony is much the same as that already described for the Dihari Korwas of the tract and followed also by the Rautias and Oraons.
5. Dead buried, head north, feet south, flat on back. No food is put in the grave or in the mouth of the corpse, but unhusked rice is scattered from the house of the deceased to the burial ground and all that remains is left with the basket at the head of the completed grave. No memorial is erected. There is a caste dinner from 5 to 10 days after death according to the age of the dead person. No belief in after life.

7. NAGASIAS (UDAIPUR STATE)

1. There are no sub-tribes, but there are at least twenty-four *gotras*, each one named after a different kind of snake.
2. The Nagasias will not dine with nor take water from Nagbansis, who mark their foreheads with vermilion and whose bodies are tattooed. The Nagasias have neither of these customs. Their women wear bangles of brass and wear white clothing. Nose-rings and coloured clothing are not allowed. Their tradition is that they came from Nagpur (presumably Chhota Nagpur) and that they are descendants of Shesh Nag, who was white.
3. The wedding ceremony is the usual mixture of tribal and Hindu ritual. There is no sacrifice of an animal or bird, but after a ceremonial bath in the river, the bridegroom shoots an imaginary deer seven times with a bow and arrow. At the seventh attempt the *Bhanto* (sister's husband) of the bridegroom, who conducts most of the marriage rites, runs away with the arrow. The bridegroom pursues him and if he cannot catch him has to pay a fine of one anna.
4. The objects of worship are Nag Deo, the cobra or snake god, the Sun, the Moon, Dulha Deo, Bhagwan (presumably Mahadeo) and ancestors. Ghosts and spirits of trees, etc., are not worshipped. For snake worship an idol representing the cobra is prepared from kneaded flour. No other images are made. In times of illness the *Baiga* is summoned to propitiate Shitala Devi.
5. Dead are generally buried, head north, feet south. Paddy and cotton are scattered on the way to the grave. A pot of water is placed by the grave. A little water is sprinkled in the mouth of the corpse with some mango leaves, first by his next-of-kin and then by other relatives. Stones or logs of wood or thorns are placed over ordinary graves to keep off wild animals, but for an important man a monument of plastered mud is made with a fence. The cot on which he died or was carried to the grave is left there. The remaining ceremonies resemble those of other tribes in the neighbourhood.
6. There are very definite contrasts between the Nagasias of Udaipur and the Nagasias of Jashpur, who are known locally as Kisans. The latter have two sub-tribes the Senduria and the Teliha, the former of whom use vermilion and possibly correspond to the Nagbansis of Udaipur. The Teliha Nagasias of the Khuria hills who were questioned stated that they had no *gotras* at all. Ancestor worship is really the only form of religion, the ordinary festivals of the tract are observed and at the *Nawakhana* chickens are sacrificed to the spirits of the dead with ritual very similar to that followed by the Korwas of Jashpur. Dulha Deo is not venerated, but *Baigas* perform ceremonies for the village gods and ghosts. In some villages the dead are burned; in other they are buried head north and face upwards. On a cremation pyre females are laid face upwards and males face downwards. The funeral ceremonies and wedding ceremonies resemble those of other tribes in the same tract.

8. NAGBANSIS

Russell mentions Nagbansis only as sub-tribes or clans of Rajputs, Daharias and Gonds. I have been unable to identify them definitely but those in Udaipur and Jashpur certainly do not appear to be either Gonds or Daharias. They state, in fact, specifically that they are not Gonds. It appears likely that they are merely a division of the Senduria Nagasias mentioned above or a branch of the Kharias who have a Nagbansi division. The following is briefly the information obtained from them:—

- (1) Their *gotras* are:—Kumar, Baghin, Dadhkanra, Suara, Manakhia, Baranga, Kherwar, Bagaria, Kansar, Lohra, Samrath, Kutuwan, Biruiyan, Pradhan, Baiga, Manjhi and Rajpuria. These are exogamous sects. After a girl is married she will take no food cooked in the vessels of her parents but she will eat food cooked by her brother in metal and not earthen pots. She will not eat food cooked by her brother's wife even in metal pots.

(2) Mahadeo and Dulha Deo are worshipped in the month of Kartik when a goat and coconut and spices are offered to them. There are no special shrines but Dulha Deo is worshipped within the house and Mahadeo outside the house after leaping the place where the sacrifice is to take place. A *Baiga* is called to officiate at the ceremony to Mahadeo.

(3) The dead bodies of well-to-do persons are burnt but others are buried with the head to the north and feet to the south. No monument is erected.

(4) The Nagbansis say that their ancestors came from Nagpur (presumably Chhota Nagpur) and that they are named after Nag, the snake. They eat all kinds of flesh except the cow, the pig and other unclean meat. They regard themselves as Hindus and assume the sacred thread when they are married but not earlier. It would appear that they are Hinduized Nagasias or Kharias.

9. RAUTIAS OF JASHPUR STATE

These notes are additional to those to be found in Russell's *Castes and Tribes*.

1. Three sub-divisions—Baraik, Naik and Parah. The order is that of their precedence. They consider themselves Hindus and the first two sub-divisions wear the sacred thread. The sub-divisions are exogamous.

2. There are the following exogamous septs:—Kirketta (Kirketta bird), Aind (eel), Nag (cobra), Bagh (tiger), Singh (lion), Dandwa (Dandwa fish) and Barwa (wild dog). They are totemistic and the sept animal is duly venerated.

3. Near Jashpur both Dulha Deo and ancestors are the object of worship; in the Khuria hills only ancestors. No images for worship are kept in the house or in the village. The ritual is almost exactly as described for the Dihari Korwas. The *Baiga* of a group of villages, as elsewhere, performs the ceremonies for the village gods and the spirits of hills and corners (*Khunta pat*). The *Baiga* calls on many names but in Champa Toli village the people remember only Sri Pat. In Sitonga village two rivers have their source—Sri and Bonki. From the day they rose the spirit Sri has been worshipped through the *Baiga*, who is a Nagasia by tribe.

4. There are no bachelors' quarters. The marriage ceremony in the Khuria hills is the same as that already described for the Dihari Korwas in many details. When a bride is being sought it is most unlucky to see a partridge or a *sui* bird. The following is the description of the worship of Dulha Deo at a wedding given to me by Rautias in Champa Toli village:—The girl is taken in a sort of palanquin to the wedding which in some villages, is borne by Oraons. After completion of the marriage ceremony a heap of rice is made and a goat of *hasia* colour (reddish colour with black markings) is brought and fed on this rice. It is then killed outside the house by a blow of an axe on the back of the neck. The blood is brought into the house and sprinkled on the rice and Dulha Deo is invoked three times, first when the rice is heaped, next when the goat is fed and last when the blood is sprinkled. The prayer is for the happiness of the husband and wife. Afterwards the rice is thrown into the stream and the flesh of the goat is eaten by the family and the guests. Other details of the ceremony are similar to those of other tribes in the neighbourhood but on the second day a mango tree is worshipped by a barber who may be either male or female. The bridegroom is carried to any mango tree where resin is burnt and he has to sprinkle *ghee*, flour, molasses and resin on the fire. A thread is tied round the tree and a branch taken from it or from any other mango tree to be fixed in the ground under the bride's *mandva*. The barber then takes the bride to perform the same ceremony. The usual ritual of applying vermilion to the face and throat of the newly married couple follows and after this has been done the barber distributes rice to all the guests and sprinkles water with the mango leaves first upon the bridegroom and then upon the bride. He also ties together the cloths of the bride and bridegroom. The ceremony at the mango tree is said to have been handed down according to the tradition of their ancestors.

5. In the Khuria hills those who can afford it burn their adult dead. Children and those who die unnatural deaths are buried. Nearer Jashpur the tribe generally buries its dead—head north, feet south, flat on the back. No implements or ornaments are buried with the body but paddy is scattered from the house of the deceased to the grave and some is left at the head of the grave. No memorial is erected.

6. Forms of tattooing and style of dressing the hair are a matter of taste. But the *choondi* (long scalp lock) must be left. The women wear earrings of rolled leaves like the Dihari Korwa women of the neighbourhood shown in the illustration.

10. BHUINHARS

Much will be found about the Bhuinhars or Bhuiyas in Risley and Russell. The process of time has however brought about a good many changes.

1. The Bhuinhars of the neighbourhood of Pathalgaon in Udaipur State stoutly deny that they are the same as Bhuiyas, who live in Gunpur and Raigarh. These Bhuinhars claim to have come from Garha Mandla.

2. Around Pathalgaon the following exogamous *gotras* are found. They are definitely totemistic, Dumen (the dumen tree), Murhi (a vegetable), Sali (a tree), Nag (cobra), Sukra (spear grass), Maji, Chitki, Raki and Ali. In Jashpur State the *gotras* seem to be different. The following were found:—Ahind (eel), Harhuria (a species of snake), Kirketta (a species of bird), Goha (Jecko), Beng (frog), Thithio, Tope, Saras (various kinds of birds), and Chorant (spear grass). Veneration of the totem is observed in various ways, for instance people of the *Chorant gotra* take a ceremonial bath if there is a forest fire. It may be noticed that in Jashpur the totem names are the same for many neighbouring tribes.

3. Ancestors are worshipped especially at the *Nawakhana* festival. In Jashpur chickens are sacrificed but not in Udaipur. In villages of both states resin is burned as a ritual. Around Pathalgaon (Udaipur) the Bhuinhars separately worship also the sun and the moon. Mata Devi is propitiated for small-pox.

4. The dead are buried, head north, feet south. In the Khuria Zamindari males are interred face downwards and females on their backs. Other ritual is similar to that among various tribes in the tract (including the custom of placing sticks for cleaning teeth on the grave). Logs and stones are placed on graves to keep off animals.

5. Other ceremonies vary little from those already described as common in the Chhota Nagpur States. In the Khuria hills rice-beer is used freely in their performance.

6. Bhuinhar women are tattooed on their arms and ankles, but there are no particularly distinct forms. The Khurai Bhuinhars stated that there are also Munda Bhuinhars and Sonjhara Bhuinhars from whom they will not take cooked food.

11. BIRHORS

Russell has a very brief note upon this tribe, but a full account of it will be found in Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy's book "The Birhors". Colonel Dalton's description of the tribe was "a small dirty, miserable looking race, who have the credit of devouring their parents", and the physical characteristics of those whom I saw in Udaipur bore out the first part of this description. They still wear their hair long and matted, and often hanging over their faces.

2. There are no sub-tribes in the tract of Udaipur around Rairooma Khurd. The exogamous *gotras* there are:—Sanwani Bandi, Barih, Kasondih, Goira and Chenga. None of these names appear in Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy's list of the totemistic clans of which he had information. Marriage is adult and is performed almost exactly according to the ritual of the local Kanwars and Gonds.

3. The dead are buried, head north, feet south, on the back. (Roy states "head pointing south"). For important men a *chabutra* (platform) of mud is raised over the grave, and some roofing is put up over it. The cot on which a man died—if he did die on a cot—or his bier is left near the grave, and also an earthen pot with a little rice in it. No rice is scattered on the way to the burial ground. A purification ceremony is performed from two to eight days after the funeral according to the time which it takes to collect the kinsmen for the feast.

4. Mahadeo is the object of veneration. These people seem to have forgotten the gods or spirits worshipped by their ancestors. A day is set apart for a ceremonial sacrifice in the month of Kartik. There is no image or shrine, but the place where the offering is to be made is leaped with cow-dung and water. Coconuts and betel nut are offered, after "Hom" has been burned. There is no animal sacrifice to Mahadeo. The Birhors do not consider themselves to be Hindus.

5. There are certain special birth ceremonies. As usual among almost all tribes the navel cord is cut by the mother. It is buried, not, as generally, in front of the entrance to the house, but at the place where the birth takes place. Seven days after a birth a chicken is sacrificed to the ancestors of the family. The feet of the child are washed with milk, and water is poured into an earthen pot. The names of individual ancestors are called in turn, and as each is called a grain of rice is dropped into the pot. When one of these grains floats the child is given the names of that ancestor and it is thought that the soul of the latter has returned in the new-born child. This ceremony, which is exactly the same as the naming ceremony of the Oraons described by Father Dehon, is generally performed by the head of the house but occasionally a *Baiga* is called to do it. In times of illness the *Baiga* is called to propitiate Mata.

6. Almost every kind of meat is eaten except cows, cats, snakes, dogs, rats, crows, tigers and bears. They eat monkeys but have had none for six years. The monkeys are snared in a net, cut up like a goat and curried; the flesh is rather tough. These Birhors have no recollection of having eaten human flesh.

7. There are bachelors' quarters for both sexes in Birhor villages, known as the "Derwa Ghar". Boys live separately from the girls.

8. The Birhors are bi-lingual, speaking their own language and Chhattisgarhi. They work as labourers and also follow their traditional occupation of making rope from creepers. The women are tattooed, if they can afford it.

9. Dalton held that the Birhors are a sub-tribe of Kharias. Those in Udaipur resemble the Kharias very little. The latter have in fact become largely Hinduized and their customs are similar to those of other Hinduized tribes in the tract. They have totemistic *gotras*:—the Kirketta bird, the dhum dhum fish, etc. In this tract Dulha Deo is their god: otherwise they still follow the description given in Russell.

12. MAJHWARS (UDUDHA, UDAIPUR STATE)

They claim to have no connection with the Majhis or with any other tribe, and have no sub-tribes. They have the following exogamous *gotras* (which do not correspond to the list in Russell):—

Sunwani (Suwar is a title), Khunta (a peg), Jhingri (tree frog), Dhuma (a flower), Murihi, Sitar and Chhengga (meanings not explained).

2. Mahadeo alone is worshipped. (Russell says Dulha Deo.) There is a platform for him in every house, but no image. A goat is sacrificed to him once or twice a year, at sowing time and at Holi. Chickens are not sacrificed. Betel nut and rice are also offered up. Marriages are performed according to common rites by the *Baiga* and *panches*.

3. Dead are buried, head north, feet south—lying on the right side. The personal effects of the deceased are placed on top of the grave. For important men a small temple or house (Matt) is erected over the grave.

4. Dancing is popular. They begin ceremonial dances in Chait and finish in Phagun, before sowing. They also dance at weddings and have the Karam Raja dance as described by Russell.

13. SAONTAS (SEMIPALLI, UDAIPUR)

This tribe or sub-tribe offers a curious example of degradation due to economic reasons. They state that they are really Kisan Majhi who migrated from Sirguja, where there are large numbers of their relatives. They have taken to basket work and are therefore classed with the low caste Turis, and have changed their name of Saonta. They are related to the Majhis of Chiro village and intermarry with them. The title Manjhi, "village headman," is invariably adopted by the Santals (Saontas) in some tracts (see Russell's short note). The Saontas dine with Majhis, but not with Majhwars, which confirms the claim of the Majhwars that they are distinct from Majhis.

2. Exogamous *gotras* are:—Murhi (a species of vegetable), Baiha Sua (a parrot), Tuchsi sua (a different species of parrot), Koksa (a kind of fish), Paridhia and Doma. The totems are respected in the usual way.

3. Mahadeo and Dulha Deo are worshipped in Phagun, and at sowing time. There is a small shrine of Dulha Deo in each house and a covered shrine of Mahadeo for the village. Ancestors are also worshipped.

4. They do not eat cows, pigs, cats, dogs, snakes, frogs, crocodiles, etc., but eat other kinds of flesh.

5. Dead are buried, head north and feet south, on the back, with new and old clothing in the grave. A handful of rice is thrown on the grave. There is no memorial stone.

6. The marriage ceremony is ordinary. Two young unmarried girls take a leading part in the ritual.

7. Like all the tribesmen of Chhota Nagpur the Saontas are great dancers. I noted that their big drums were larger than those of any other tribal dancers in the neighbourhood.

14. ORAONS

The customs of these cheerful and prolific people vary from tract to tract in Chhota Nagpur, but most of them will be found detailed in the works of Father Dehon or of Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, or in Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*. The god Dharmes (Dharmesha) mentioned by those three observers was known only in certain villages in Udaipur State. Elsewhere in the Central Provinces the Oraons, except of course the Christians, worship principally their ancestors, and Dulha Deo and Burra Deo (equivalent presumably to Dharmes), whilst the village *Baiga* as usual propitiates Mahadeo, Mata Devi, etc. Everywhere they have their own *Dewars* who know magic and are called in time of sickness and to lay evil spirits. These may belong to any caste or tribe.

2. The various local ceremonials of sacrifice, marriage and burial are according to ritual already described for the Korwas, and other tribes of the same tract. Squirrels are inauspicious to Oraon wedding parties in some villages. Dead bodies are burned by those who can afford it. Others are buried, head south, feet north, on the back. Ornaments are buried with the dead. No monuments are raised. There seems to be little difference between the ritual performed in Udaipur, the Khuria hills and the Jashpur plateau.

3. The exogamous *gotras* are named after various totems—animal, vegetable or mineral. There is no social precedence and Oraons throughout Chhota Nagpur appear to be permitted to marry into any *gotra* other than their own.

4. The bachelors' quarters, known as the *Dhunkuria* are separate for boys and girls. As mentioned in Chapter XI the Christian Oraons still retain a bachelors dormitory and continue the ceremonial of cicatrization. It is said that they also often perform weddings according to tribal rites after the church ceremony.

5. The tattooing of Oraon women is rather distinctive—and is generally profuse. The illustration is prepared from a diagram kindly sent by the Superintendent of Udaipur State. Tattooing is shown on one arm only because the pattern on each arm is generally the same. There is no definite custom that it should be done on either arm or on both arms.

6. On the Jashpur Plateau where most of the Oraons are Christians, they are contented and fairly industrious cultivators and labourers, distinguishable only from other castes and tribes by their physical characteristics. Of those in the Khurni Zamindari Mr. Ghosal writes:—

“Both males and females are very ill-clad. The women do not generally cover the upper part of their body when they move about among their fellow villagers, but conceal their breasts when they see a stranger. They usually wear a cloth only from their waist to their knees.”

7. The Oraons are great dancers and must be ranked with the Marias, Murias and Parjas as the leading exponents of the art in these Provinces. They are of course extremely fond of *handia* (rice-beer).

15. GADABAS

I met a few Gadabas in Bastar State, the census total is 395 only and the tribe is not found elsewhere in these Provinces. The younger people speak only Bhatri, but the old ones know their own language, which is quite unlike any other in the tract. They say that they are the hereditary palki-bearers of the State. They consider themselves like the Murias and will eat food cooked by Murias although the latter will not take anything cooked by them. In the houses inspected, which were constructed of bamboo wattle and mud they had a separate room for a kitchen “because of the heat”. They bury their dead on their backs, naked, head to east and feet to west. It is stated that stone slabs are erected as memorials—where sacrifices are offered occasionally. The men wear their hair in buns behind and shaved in front. I missed in Bastar the dress which I had seen Gadaba woman wearing some years previously in the neighbouring district of Vizagapatam. Evidently the Bastar Gadabas belong to either the Ollar, Bodo or Parangi section of the tribe, who do not wear the dress peculiar to other sections. The latter is so remarkable as to merit a summary of the description from the Vizagapatam Gazetteer:—

“The dress of the men is ordinary. Women have round their waists a fringed narrow cloth woven by them on primitive handlooms, the warp being hand spun fibre of different jungle shrubs, the woof cotton dyed at home with indigo and *morinda citrifolia* and arranged in stripes red, blue and white. Over or under this is a bustle made of some 40 strands of stout black cloth woven from other shrubs and tied together at the ends. Round the upper part of the body is another cloth similar to but smaller than the waist-cloth. On the right forearm from wrist to elbow are a number of brass bracelets. Over the forehead is a chaplet of cowrie shells, white *kusa* grass seeds, or the red and black berries of the *ahrus precatomis*. In the ears are enormous coils of thick brass wire (one specimen was found to be 8 inches across and contained 20 strands), which hang down on their shoulders and in extreme cases prevent them turning their heads except slowly and with care. Details of the costume vary locally. The reason for the bustle is that a goddess incognito visited a Gadba village and asked a woman leave to sit on a cot. She was told that the floor was the proper place for beggars and therefore decreed that all Gadba women should wear bustles to remind them of their churlishness.”

I endeavoured to get photographs of these picturesque people in Jeypore on several occasions, but although they frequently work on Public Works Department road construction they were shy of the ordeal.

APPENDIX IV

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

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A brief note on the growth of the trade and main industries of the province during the decade may be of interest.

2. Trade of the province.—Enough has been said in the body of the report about the importance of agriculture as the main industry of the province and about its staple crops. Cotton, oil-seeds, grain and pulse are the larger items in the exports from the province varying from 60 to 86 per cent of the total volume of exports. During the decade the minimum volume of exports was 46,447,000 maunds in 1924. The peak year for cotton prices was 1924 and, although the actual volume of exports was the largest in 1928 in respect of value, the balance of trade in favour of the province was the highest (Rs. 23 $\frac{7}{10}$ crores) in the former year. The maximum favourable trade balance in the previous decade had been 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores in 1912. Since the year 1924 there was a steady fall in the balance of trade in favour of the province, the figure reaching Rs. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores in 1931, the lowest in the decade. The successive crop failures in the northern districts in the latter half of the decade and the collapse in prices which set in about the autumn of 1929 accentuated this downward trend. With agriculture as the basic industry and the decade consisting of cycles of good, bad and indifferent years, a steady rise in the balance of trade every year is hardly to be expected; but that in spite of these natural and economic causes there accrued a clear balance in favour of the province every year certainly speaks of its economic vitality.

3. Larger industrial establishments.—The total number of industrial establishments to which the Indian Factories Act applies stood at 911 in 1931 as against 472 in 1921. All these establishments employed ten or more workers. The increase in the number of registered factories was, however, due largely to the extension of the definition of factory by the Act of 1922 and only partly to the industrial development in the decade.

The cotton boom continued during the first triennium after 1921 and the maximum number of cotton ginning and pressing factories during the decade rose to 617 in 1929 against 434 in 1921. The maximum number of workers employed in these factories was 40,669 in 1924 against 30,958 in 1921. An over-investment of capital occurred in this industry and led to the growth of the system of pools under which many factories remained idle and the lower number of factories that worked created monopolistic conditions in the industry resulting in an increase in the cost of ginning and pressing. This operated as a fresh inroad of middlemen into the prices which agriculturists could obtain for their produce. The evil has attracted the attention of Government and those interested in the cotton trade and the possibility of minimizing it is being explored.

The number of cotton spinning and weaving mills increased by two only (*vide* paragraph 8 of chapter II of report). This industry suffered a set-back during the period from 1923 to 1927 but as a result of the abolition of the excise duties and the imposition of successive tariffs on foreign yarn and piece-goods since the year 1925 and the impetus provided by the *swadeshi* and boycott movement in 1930 and 1931 the output of the provincial mills increased appreciably. The maximum output during the post-tariff period was 45,110,508 lbs. of yarn and 21,647,910 lbs. of piece-goods in the years 1930 and 1931 respectively. Considerable progress was made in the production of finer counts of yarn during the last two years of the decade.

The establishment of rice mills in the rice area of the province was a special feature of the decade. In 1921 there was not a single rice mill in the province but by the close of 1931 the number of such mills was 47 employing 1,161 workers.

The number of oil mills in 1921 was only 4; but there are now 28 such mills in the province, employing 953 workers.

The coal-mining industry made further progress during the decade. Central Provinces coal is about 30 to 40 per cent inferior to Bengal coal but the raisings of the mines increased to 973,040 tons in 1931. The maximum output in the previous decade was 712,746 tons in 1921. The number of mines, however, decreased to 24 from 44 in 1921, employing 8,624 workers against 12,339 in 1921. The mines closed down were small ones containing generally inferior ores and it is the more organized working of the superior mines which has increased the output.

The manganese industry in the province continued to be in a very prosperous condition until the year 1928. The maximum raisings were 757,053 tons in 1926 against the maximum of 649,307 tons in 1913 in the previous decade. Since the year 1928 cut-throat Russian competition coupled with the general trade depression has caused a set back to the industry. The exports in 1931 were only 276,409 tons, the lowest since 1912. The maximum number of workers employed in the industry was 25,853 in 1927. Central Provinces manganese ores are of a very high grade but the future of the industry is uncertain.

In 1921 Mr. Roughton wrote, "Electric enterprise is still in its infancy"; and there was only one electric power supply company, viz., the one at Nagpur; but

by the end of the decade a public supply of electrical energy was available in 12 towns. These undertakings employed 400 workers as against 54 employed at the Nagpur concern in 1921.

Two more match factories were established during the decade in addition to the one existing in 1921 but only one worked off and on.

Wood and metal industrial establishments have increased from 15 to 47. Of the latter the most important is the Gun Carriage Factory in Jubbulpore which employed 2,528 persons in 1931 as against 1,853 in 1921. Industries dealing with processes of stone and glass have made good progress. There are 103 stone and stone dressing works and 3 cement works, employing 607 and 1,137 persons respectively. The 368 brick and tile works employ 4,485 persons. One of the cement factories was closed down owing to over-production of material. Trade depression eventually affected railway traffic and the number of workshops was reduced from 18 to 6 and the employees from 3,771 to 1,181 respectively. The 7 cement and pottery works, 5 of which are confined to the Jubbulpore district, employed 2,244 persons. The lime and lime-stone works were responsible for the employment of 1,392 operatives. There was only one glass factory at Jubbulpore prior to 1921 which was closed down owing to mismanagement. Three new glass works were established during the decade employing 243 persons.

Exclusive of oil mills and match factories, which have been referred to above, industries connected with chemicals and dyes increased to 43 employing 6,168; of these 22 lac factories and 15 myrobalam works employ 5,304 persons. The food drink and tobacco establishments showed a considerable increase. *Dal* mills numbered 17 with 706 employees and flour mills,—681 employing 1,720 persons. The *swadeshi* and boycott movement gave the *bidi* industry a further impetus and it made very great strides during the decade. The number of *bidi*-making establishments was 818 employing 42,240 workers as against 164 and 7,680 respectively in 1921. Printing presses increased from 10 to 46 and their employees from 620 to 1,209.

4. The condition of the labouring classes: labour welfare.—The Indian Factories Act was revised in the years 1922 and 1926. A separate staff for the inspection of factories with a Chief Inspector and two inspectors was provided in 1922, and during the decade increasing attention began to be devoted to the welfare of industrial labour. The other legislative measures during the decade for bettering the conditions of labour were the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 and the Central Provinces Maternity Benefit Act of 1930.

The average number of cases and the amount of compensation paid under the Workmen's Compensation Act till the end of 1931 was 40 and Rs. 7,012 respectively. The Maternity Benefit Act came into force from January 1st, 1931, and 488 women received benefit under the Act at the close of the year to the extent of Rs. 9,766.

Apart from legislation much was done during the decade by constant persuasion and appeal on the part of the Inspectors to the generous instincts of the employers for improving the working conditions of labour in industrial establishments. The Empress Mills, Nagpur, continued to set a very high standard in the treatment of its employees. The following improvements also took place during the decade:—

- (i) Guards, safety appliances, improved conditions of ventilation and reduction of temperature in factories received greater attention from the employers.
- (ii) There was an increase in the provision of regular housing accommodation; 8 textile mills, 2 pottery works and the Gun Carriage Factory provided such accommodation for 6,300 operatives as against 4,000 in 1921.
- (iii) Crèches for babies are provided in 6 cotton mills and one pottery works, where about 260 babies are looked after by trained nurses.
- (iv) There was an expansion of medical facilities provided in the larger factories.
- (v) Factory schools also continue to be provided in some of the larger concerns; but as less children were employed owing to the age of half-time workers being raised the number of children attending the schools decreased.

In 1929 a Royal Commission on Labour was appointed to make a general enquiry into labour conditions. The visit of the Commission to the province awakened considerable interest in the problems of labour welfare both on the part of the employers as well as such organizations of workers as existed in the province.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee which published their reports during the latter part of the decade focussed official and non-official opinion on the problems of rural labour.

5. The Organization of Labour: Growth of Trade Unionism.—Since 1921 there were 44 strikes affecting the various industrial undertakings in the province of which 33 were in cotton mills, one in a printing press, one in a manganese mine, two in railway workshops, one of taxi drivers and six of sweepers. Most of the strikes were of a minor nature and related to demands for increase in wages, allowance, bonuses or demands for shorter hours of work. It was only in the case of two strikes that political causes were operative in one (at the Pulgaon Mills) in 1921 the management refused to close the mills on a *hartal* day (13th April) but the strikers also put

forward demands for raising their grain compensation allowances in the course of the strike. The other strike on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway was a demonstration of sympathy with an office-bearer of the Railway Union who was arrested in connection with a strike outside the province. Outside influences were traceable in only eight out of the 44 strikes. Only five strikes, three at Nagpur and two at Pulgaon, were organized by labour unions. One strike at the Jubbulpore Mills in 1923 is reported to have been inspired by sympathy with strikers at Ahmedabad. Otherwise the strikes were for the most part local and did not present any special features though the demands of the strikers were occasionally extravagant. More than half the number of strikes ended within 15 days while 6 strikes lasted between 15 to 30 days and 7 strikes continued over 30 days. About half the strikes ended with results entirely unfavourable to the strikers; about one-seventh yielded favourable results to strikers and the remaining were inconclusive. The incidence of the strikes and the consequent loss mostly fell on the employers, *viz.*, the textile mills.

Apart from general economic and politico-social causes the moving force behind some of the strikes was the more advanced programmes of labour ideals adopted by the workers' organizations in the western countries. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the activities of the International Labour Office began to inspire Indian labour leaders to set up a higher standard of life before Indian labour. In 1921 Mr. Roughton wrote "The day appears to be far off when trade unionism on a scale approaching that of most advanced countries will be a powerful factor in the industrial world;" but with the passing of the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, trade unionism made its appearance as an active force in the labour politics of the province. The total number of trade unions registered since the introduction of the Act is eleven of which five consist of workers in textile mills, one of press employees, one of scavengers of a municipality, one of motor drivers, one of workshop workers and one of *bidi* workers. Of the five unions of textile workers, the certificate of registration of one union was cancelled as it ceased to function while another appears to exist only in name. Thus the number of trade unions which actually function in the province is only nine. The total membership of all the registered unions is 6,853 of which 5,200 are textile workers, 249 press employees, 270 scavengers, 710 motor drivers, 209 workshop workers and 215 *bidi* workers. One or two of the larger unions of textile workers conducted a few of the strikes during the decade. The Nagpur Textile Union compiled a useful memorandum presenting its recommendations to the Royal Commission on Labour appointed during the year. Trade unionism is, however, still in its infancy in the province and is more under the control of politically-minded members of the intelligentsia than of genuine workers. The two or three most active leaders of the trade union movement in this province belong to the legal profession.

The Trade Disputes Act came into force in the province with effect from the 8th May 1929. No application for the appointment of a court of inquiry or a board of conciliation was received in 1929 or 1930 while in 1931 only one application was received from a registered trade union under section 3 of the Act for the appointment of a board of conciliation in connection with an apprehended strike in the Model Mills, Nagpur, Limited, Nagpur, but as a result of endeavours made by the Registrar of Trade Unions to settle the dispute by mutual agreement, the application was eventually withdrawn.

6. Local and cottage industries.—Paragraph 224 of the census report of 1921 dealt with the principal cottage industries of the province. Paragraphs 1291 to 1319 of the report of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1929-30) contain a more up to date and fuller account of these industries. There is not very much to say on the history of these industries during the decade. Weaving continued to be the main cottage industry. The textile section of the Department of Industries which started work in 1916 went on introducing improved sleys amongst the handloom weavers. By the end of the decade the improved sley and a few other accessory appliances became fairly popular at all the important weaving centres. About 30,000 of these sleys were introduced by the end of the decade. These sleys increased the output of the handlooms by at least 75 per cent. The result was over-production which created fresh problems for the industry. For want of proper marketing facilities the increased products are not easily sold nor have the weavers been able to make any other use of the increased leisure which the new sleys bring to them. The classes using hand-woven fabrics are taking more and more to mill-made fabrics. The weavers cannot readily produce goods of more modern pattern to keep pace with changing fashions. Only those weavers who turn out finer and more artistic fabrics which cannot be manufactured in factories could hold their own in the industry. The competition of factory-made piece-goods continued to hit the rest hard during the decade. The condition of the vast mass of handloom weavers engaged in the manufacture of ordinary *sarees* and *dhoties* is thus deteriorating still further. It is doubtful whether anything can be done to keep up this portion of the handloom weaving industry. It is only in tracts where conservative fashions in *sarees* still survive, *e.g.*, in Chhattisgarh, that the handloom weaver is not yet too badly off. The famous gold thread industry of Burhanpur decayed still further. The use of improved appliances have enabled the weavers of Surat and Madras to

produce and sell gold threads at cheaper rates and by the end of the decade not more than half a dozen craftsmen at Burhanpur were producing gold thread on a very small scale. Electric power has, however, been recently made available in the town and high hopes are entertained about the possibilities of reviving the industry by reducing the cost of production. The silk and tasar industry decayed still further and now exists on a small scale only in the Bilaspur, Chanda, Bhandara and Nagpur districts. The bulk of the yarn used is foreign or locally spun from cocoons imported from Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. The dyeing and calico printing industry continue to survive but are in a moribund condition. During the last 3 years of the decade the department of industries employed a demonstrator and the propaganda done by him in improved methods of dyeing and printing has resulted in increasing the earnings of the dyers in many cases. It is only the *bidi*-making industry which made great strides during the decade (*vide* paragraph 4). The bell-metal and brass industry continues to survive in the Chhattisgarh districts, Bhandara and Mundla, but the margin of profit is decreasing every day. Cheaper and more finished bell-metal *lotas*, imported from Bankura in Bengal, have begun to compete with *lotas* made in Chhattisgarh towns. The tanning and shoe-making industry also continues to exist on a considerable scale. The tanning industry was hit hard by the slump in prices which set in towards the end of 1929; while cheaper Japanese and Czecho-Slovakian shoes are fast replacing the crude though durable shoes made by the cottage workers. The manufacture of carpets, *nwar*, rope and woollen blankets is carried on in a few places. The village Kumhar still continues to provide the earthenware for the poorer rural population. Steady urbanization of the country side is thus proving destructive to most of the cottage industry. There has been no improvement in the craftsmanship of the various cottage workers and machine-made goods are thus making a steady inroad into their spheres.

The following statistics compiled from information collected by the census staff give some idea of the extent of the minor cottage industries in the province:—

Class of Industry.	Central Provinces and Berar.		Central Provinces States.	
	Number of industries.	Total number of persons employed.	Number of industries.	Total number of persons employed.
1. Bangles (glass, lac and horn) ...	39	132	2	35
2. Bell-metal industry ...	183	403	41	101
3. Brass industry ...	55	184	3	8
4. Bamboo works (wood, pulp, etc.) ...	1,493	6,397	78	165
5. Butter and ghee ...	286	895	55	130
6. Book-binding and card-board articles ...	10	27	...	...
7. Bakery (including biscuits and confectionery) ...	383	661	34	72
8. Buttons ...	1	77	...	...
9. Brooms ...	326	540	5	7
10. Carpentry (including carving, combing, etc.) ...	17	514	8	88
11. Cattha-making ...	...	...	...	...
12. Country lime ...	37	2,590	...	...
13. Charcoal ...	42	52	...	...
14. Cutlery (pohknives, cutters, razors, scissors, etc.) ...	177	377	1	1
15. Dyeing and printing ...	12	32	...	...
16. File works ...	7	14	...	...
17. Gold and silver embroidery ...	4	11	...	...
18. Gold and silver leaves ...	1,953	3,035	141	208
19. Gold and silver ornaments ...	196	1,861	...	...
20. Gur and sugar ...	1	1	...	...
21. Honey and wax ...	2	2	...	...
22. Ink ...	169	331	6	34
23. Leather tanning ...	2,841	6,075	156	351
24. Leather goods (including boots, shoes, sandals, ornamental footwear and saddlery). ...	571	1,232	76	178
25. Laundry ...	15	34	9	42
26. Matting (of bamboo and sindi leaves) ...	657	1,386	29	61
27. Oils (including scented and medicinal oils) ...	408	1,204	128	400
28. Pottery (domestic and ornamental) ...	15	20	1	1
29. Paintings and photography ...	108	314	38	133
30. Rope-making ...	12	13	...	...
31. Stone sculpture and sand-making ...	7	126	...	...
32. Soap works ...	18	47	...	...
33. Snuff and scented tobacco ...	17	24	...	...
34. Toilet materials (including red paste, tooth powder, etc.) ...	8	25	...	...
35. Toys (stone, wood and clay) ...	36	39	5	7
36. Tin works ...	826	1,168	83	132
37. Tailoring ...	...	...	...	...
38. Weaving including—	5,463	15,930	385	1,016
(a) Silk and cotton sarees, dhoties and other cloth ...	...	...	...	...
(b) Lace sarees, kinkhab, etc. ...	248	547	64	189
(c) Blankets ...	44	115	...	...
(d) Carpets, gossas and durries ...	...	...	...	...
(e) Embroidered laces, fitas, etc. ...	...	...	...	...

Government Department of Industries.—In accordance with recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission the Government department of industries was re-organized in 1919. The organization for the inspection of boilers and factories and promotion of schemes for public supply of electrical energy was regularized. No special assistance was considered necessary for such of the larger industries as were successfully established by private enterprise, for example, spinning and weaving mills, oil mills, cement and pottery works. Advice and help were provided to promote the establishment of small power plants. Considerable work was done in the way of introducing improved appliances and methods in the hand-loom weaving, dyeing and calico-printing and tanning industries. Facilities have also been provided in three Government and five aided industrial schools for training in carpentry, smithy and tailoring. An emporium for the collection, advertisement and sale of the products of cottage industries was also established at the Museum at Nagpur. Progress in such activities has been held up by lack of funds.