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Some Children of the Untouchable Classes.



Some Children of the Untouchable Classes.

**UNTOUCHABLE WORKERS
OF
BOMBAY CITY**

**BY
G. R. PRADHAN, PH. D.**

**WITH A FOREWORD BY
B. R. AMBEDKAR, M. A., PH. D., D. Sc.,
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**KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
BOMBAY**

1938

X:9(Y5927).231

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Printed by M. N. Kulkarni at the Karnatak Printing Press, Chira Bazar,
Bombay 2, and published by him at the Karnatak Publishing House,
Chira Bazar Bombay 2.

FOREWORD

This treatise is a thesis which the author wrote in fulfilment of the requirements prescribed by the University of Bombay for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts. That it was accepted by the University should constitute sufficient recommendation in favour of its merits and no such thing as a Foreword from me should have been thought necessary by the Author. I do not know why the author feels the necessity of a word from me. Probably, that I come from the community whose life has been the subject-matter of his investigation is the reason which has led him to call upon me to write a Foreword and I gladly respond to his invitation.

The author has studied the life of the Untouchables in the City of Bombay under various heads and thus gives a quantitative idea of the extent of the overcrowding, the earnings, employment, debts etc. that prevails among the Untouchables. He has collected data which is certainly valuable. In any statistical investigation the question that arises is whether the cases studied are typical or not. The average to be normal, the cases investigated must be typical. There is no reason to suppose that his cases are not typical. It may, therefore, be taken that the picture of the life of the Untouchables he has given is a true picture.

This study would have been of greater value if it had been a comparative study contrasting the social condition of the Untouchables with that of the Caste-Hindus. But that it is not. Such a study was all the more necessary in view of the opinion expressed by the author that conversion would

make no difference to the condition of the Untouchables. A conclusion to this effect could be right only on a comparison, drawn between Untouchables on the one hand and caste Hindus on the other, if it is proved that the Untouchable does not suffer by reason of his untouchability. But if on comparison it is found that the Untouchable suffers in his earnings, in his employment and in other respects in a competitive society as against a caste Hindu and if this disadvantage is attributable to no factor other than untouchability, then it will have to be admitted that the case for conversion was strong. But all that must await a comparative study. Such a study will have to be undertaken some day either by the author of this book or by someone else if the present study is to be a useful guide for understanding why the conclusions drawn by the author are what they are; and whether the difference if any in the condition of the touchables and untouchables is due to any such social factor as untouchability. As a preliminary to such an effort the booklet must be welcomed.

Rajgrah, Dadar, }
10-2-1938. }

B. R. AMBEDKAR

PREFACE

The Depressed Classes, to whom the data presented in the following pages refers, belong to the Bombay city. Of the schedules, which were collected during the years 1933-35, 985 were collected from the Marathi speaking and 634 from the Gujarati speaking families.

Such a task is too big for a single individual and I sincerely thank all those who helped me in this great task. I respectfully acknowledge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my teacher Professor G. S. Ghurye, Head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Bombay, for without his encouragement, help and guidance it would have been difficult for me to accomplish this task. I am grateful to Dr. B. R. Ambedker for writing a Foreword to this book.

When nobody could undertake to translate the Marathi folk-songs into English Mr. V. K. Joshi, M. A. came to my help and within a remarkably short time translated most of the songs and thus relieved me of a great anxiety. I thank him for the same. I sincerely thank Mr. R. G. Gokhale, B.Com. for making some useful suggestions in regard to the titles to different tables.

Thanks are due to Messrs M. Y. Pradhan and Ganpatbuwa Jadhav for their great help in collecting schedules from the Marathi speaking families and to Messrs. Sopariwalla and Marwadi of the Hindu Sevak Samaj for enabling me to obtain the same from the Gujarati speaking families.

To Messrs. K. G. Akshikar B. A., B. T. and V. M. Dhamankar B. A. I am indebted for correcting proofs and to the latter for helping me to prepare the Index also,

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The proprietor and the staff of the Karnatak Publishing House have shown uniform courtesy for which they deserve my sincere thanks.

Finally, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the substantial help it has granted towards the cost of publication of this work.

36/ B. Dattatraya Nivas }
DADAR, BOMBAY. }
15-2-1938. }

G. R. PRADHAN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

“THE classes called untouchables comprise a number of distinct groups, membership in each of which is generally conferred by birth therein. Each one of these groups ordinarily follows a specific occupation which is traditionally regarded by its members as its proper occupation. Sweeping and scavenging and tanning hides and skins, preparing leather articles, working in bamboo and cane and weaving coarse cloth are the most prominent amongst them. These various occupations have this feature in common that they are looked upon by the other classes of Hindu Society as either degrading or polluting.”¹ In practice the so-called untouchables are really unapproachables.² These backward classes form a large section of our population. In Bombay alone there are 104,977 persons belonging to these classes. Of these, 61,564 are males and 43,413 females.³

1. Prof. G. S. Ghurye, “Untouchable classes and their Assimilation in Hindu Society,” *The Aryan Path*, Vol. IV 2, p. 87.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

3. *Census of India*, 1931 ; Vol. IX, part 1, p. 42 “Cities of Bombay Presidency”—Bombay.

Social reformers from time to time have contributed their mite to ameliorate the conditions of the people who have suffered at the hands of Hindus and non-Hindus alike. To-day they do not depend upon other people for guidance and leadership. On account of the spread of education even they have produced leaders of astonishingly great calibre and intelligence. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who is a Mahar by caste is perhaps the most respected leader among them. On account of his great personality and sound scholarship, he has been able to make the problem of untouchability a burning topic of the day. Since his appointment to the Round Table Conference on Indian Constitutional Reforms, he has given to this problem an international publicity. The famous Poona-Pact gave birth to different schemes for removing the hardships of these people. It is not too much to say that the Depressed Classes are to-day undergoing a radical change at the hands of two great men : Ambedkar and Gandhi, and the problem got an additional impetus at the hands of the former on his proclamation at Yeola a few years ago that he and his followers would discard Hinduism and embrace any other religion.

In this study, I have no intention of entering into the controversy whether the proposed step of Dr. Ambedkar, ratified at the Mahar Conference held at Dadar in 1936, is sound or not. My aim in this study is neither that of an anthropologist unearthing the origin and development of untouchability, nor that of a historian glorifying or condemning past deeds, nor again that of a champion of any religion. But from my study I can confidently say that conversion would not change the economic condition of these people.

Out of 905 Mahar and 12 Mang-Garudi families I studied, four and six respectively are converts to Christianity. Conversion has not changed their position in any way. There is no difference between the living of these converts and that of their Hindu brethren. The convert-Garudi is inclined more towards Hinduism than towards Christianity, a fact which he cannot give out lest he should lose the help of the Church. Such stray conversions are not due to the consciousness among them of the unfair treatment within the Hindu-fold but they are rather due to earthly temptations which more often than not prove elusive. From both the speeches and the writings of Dr. Ambedkar it is clear that he is aware of the fact that conversion would not better their conditions economically but his proclamation shows the awakening amongst them and is prompted by self-respect.

It is possible that criticism may be levelled against me for having selected a cross-section of the Hindu society but one cannot deny the fact, as can be clearly seen from the quotation made above, that the backward classes form, for all practical purposes, an isolated group and schemes have to be devised for their assimilation in the Hindu society.

The Depressed Classes living in Bombay can be divided into two main sections on linguistic basis : the Marathi speaking and the Gujarati speaking. The Marathi speaking people come largely from the Konkan and the Deccan. There are some who even come from distant places like Nagpur and Berar. The Gujarati speaking people come from Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiawar. There is such a great difference between the customs and manners and ways of living between these

two linguistically different societies, that it is sometimes necessary to draw separate conclusions for each unit to avoid creating a wrong impression about any group. It is a well-known fact that in India customs and manners and therefore social and economic conditions in different provinces are different and even in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay these differences are observed no less than in any other town. Under these circumstances, wherever necessary, separate statements have been provided for each group.

"In characterising a society whether ancient or modern there are two elements rather closely interconnected which are of prime importance : one is the economic system and the other is the family system." In these words Mr. Bertrand Russell has given sound advice to a student of a social group. If sound and accurate conclusions are to be drawn, the data must not be purely sociological nor purely economic. These two factors, extensive as they are and though separate they seem to be, are dependent on each other. Schemes of amelioration can be properly devised on the basis of sure and concrete knowledge of the life conditions of the group whose amelioration is aimed at. My aim in this study is therefore to add my humble mite of facts which may help to the right solution of this great problem.

The purpose of this study is to find out the nature of work these people have to do, their income and consequently their social condition. In order to make my

1. Bertrand Russell, *Marriage and Morals*, p. 9, (London, 1929.)

efforts practically useful I have chosen a limited area—Bombay Island—and tried to study the social and economic condition of the Depressed Classes living there. Nowadays schemes are proposed and worked out, thousands of rupees are spent by individuals and by associations for the betterment of these classes. Even if nothing is said about the motives of these individuals and associations one cannot help saying that it is like giving medicine to a patient without making a thorough diagnosis of the disease he is suffering from. I had my modest contribution towards solving this great problem by holding a mirror up to their woes. I propose to unravel the socio-economic life, which these people lead under their present circumstances.

To acquire sufficient data a questionnaire both in Gujarati and Marathi was printed and information was collected by going from door to door of the families belonging to these different groups. The proportion of schedules to be collected from one particular locality was not based on any hard and fast rule ; but an attempt was made to visit almost all the centres where these people live to make the data as representative as possible. I collected 634 and 985 schedules duly filled in from the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes respectively. These people being very ignorant my task was very difficult. Those accustomed to such kind of field work would at once appreciate my difficulties. As there was no official—I mean Government—sanction behind me I had to struggle hard for well-nigh three years for getting this number of schedules.

Following is the classification of schedules with reference to the different localities : The first statement

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being of the Gujarati and the second of the Marathi speaking people.

STATEMENT No. 1.
(Gujarati Speaking People)

| Centre | No of Schedules |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Annesly Road | 22 |
| (2) Arthur Road | 3 |
| (3) Bhendi Bazar | 1 |
| (4) Byculla | 19 |
| (5) Chinchpokly | 4 |
| (6) Dadar Main Road | 73 |
| (7) Dadar Ry. Quarters | 4 |
| (8) Elphinstone Road | 7 |
| (9) Girgaum | 1 |
| (10) J. J. Hospital Quarters | 5 |
| (11) Gunbow Street | 1 |
| (12) Mogul Gully | 8 |
| (13) Mhatarpakhadi | 11 |
| (14) Prabha Devi | 45 |
| (15) Parel, Poibavadi | 31 |
| (16) Sukhalaji Street | 46 |
| (17) Tarvadi | 67 |
| (18) Taikalwadi, Dadar | 69 |
| (19) Umarghadi | 27 |
| (20) Wadpakhadi | 187 |
| (21) Worli | 2 |
| (22) Wadi Bunder | 1 |
| | Total 634 |

STATEMENT No. 2.
(Marathi Speaking People)

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| (1) Agripada | 29 |
| (2) Antop Hill | 41 |
| (3) Byculla | 86 |

STATEMENT No. 2 . (Contd.)
(Marathi Speaking People.)

| | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---------|-----|
| (4) | Cotton-Green | .. .. . | 25 |
| (5) | Delisle Road | .. .. . | 114 |
| (6) | Dharavi | .. .. . | 48 |
| (7) | Elphinstone Road | .. .. . | 68 |
| (8) | Foras Road | .. .. . | 24 |
| (9) | Kamathipura | .. .. . | 100 |
| (10) | Labour Camp, Matunga | .. .. . | 56 |
| (11) | Mang-Garudi Camp, Matunga | .. .. . | 8 |
| (12) | Mazgaon | .. .. . | 124 |
| (13) | Morland Road | .. .. . | 34 |
| (14) | Naigaon Road, Dadar | .. .. . | 72 |
| (15) | Nawab Street | .. .. . | 15 |
| (16) | Parel, Poibavadi | .. .. . | 46 |
| (17) | Parel Village | .. .. . | 6 |
| (18) | Sewree | .. .. . | 31 |
| (19) | Taikawadi, Dadar | .. .. . | 17 |
| (20) | Worli | .. .. . | 41 |

Total 985

^ I am aware that there are other places besides these }
 where the Depressed Classes live but even as it is, my }
 sample should be fairly representative as these centres }
 are scattered all over the Island. Besides these, the }
 centre where the prostitutes belonging to these Classes }
 live was also visited. It was impossible to get infor- }
 mation from them in a prescribed form. I interviewed }
 a dozen women and from a friendly conversation with }
 them, I was able to form some estimate about their }
 living. Prostitutes from these Classes live on the Foras }
 Road, Dunken Road and in the Sukhalaji Street. }

Of the 634 Gujarati and 985 Marathi Schedules, the following classification may be made according to caste :—

STATEMENT No. 3.

(Classification of Gujarati Schedules according to caste)

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|-------|----|-----------|
| (1) Bhangis | .. | .. | 265 | .. | 41.8 p.c. |
| (2) Meghawals | .. | .. | 309 | .. | 48.8 " |
| (3) Dheds | .. | .. | 39 | .. | 6.1 " |
| (4) Chamars | .. | .. | 21 | .. | 3.3 " |
| | | | <hr/> | | |
| Total | | | 634 | | 100 |
| | | | <hr/> | | <hr/> |

STATEMENT No. 4.

(Classification of Marathi Schedules according to caste)

| | | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|-------|----|-----------|
| (1) Mahars | .. | .. | 905 | .. | 91.9 p.c. |
| (2) Chamars | .. | .. | 42 | .. | 4.3 " |
| (3) Kankayyas | .. | .. | 26 | .. | 2.6 " |
| (4) Mang-Garudis | .. | .. | 12 | .. | 1.2 " |
| | | | <hr/> | | |
| Total | | | 985 | | 100 |
| | | | <hr/> | | <hr/> |

It has been already stated that out of 905 Mahars 4 and out of 12 Mang-Garudis 6 are converts to Christianity. From the appendix at the end, which pictures the social and economic life of some individual families, it would be seen that conversion has not changed their social and economic conditions in any way and therefore they are not treated separately.

It would be seen that a fairly large majority of the schedules refers to the Mahars. This is not due to any partiality for or indifference to any particular community. Of these Classes the Mahars are well-organised and are conscious of their emancipation. They are sensitive of their inferior position and are eager therefore to take advantage of any scheme, which they think would do them good. Again there being a number of

leaders in the Mahar community who are more or less recognised as such there is a greater awakening in that community than in any other. This consciousness is also due to one more factor. The Mahars have no other means of livelihood than to serve somebody to earn their daily bread. Naturally therefore they are more conscious of their disabilities due to caste barriers. It is not so with the Chamars because the majority of them are independent workers or follow the profession of their caste. The other castes are very ignorant and too depressed to awake just yet. In Bombay City according to the census of 1931, Mahars form 64 p.c. of the population of the Depressed Classes. There is no wonder, therefore, if Mahars form a large portion in the Marathi Sample.

CHAPTER II

HOUSING

“NO matter how graphic a pen-picture is drawn, how vivid a description is given of existing conditions, it is impossible to convey to the reader any true conception of the actual state of affairs,”¹ thus remarks Mr. Burnett-Hurst about the houses of the workers in Bombay. He has also characterised their houses as “Pestilential plague-spots.” The Rt. Hon. T. Shaw who was a member of the delegation of the International Federation of Textile Workers which toured India in 1926-27 says, “We have seen Indian textile and other workers with even two families in one small covered space, which only by the widest stretch of imagination could be called a room and which it would be a mockery to call a home.” About his experience in Bombay he says, “My poor girl and I were horror-struck, driving back from the first meeting of workers we attended when we almost ran over a child who was asleep on a rug in the street and was evidently intended to sleep there all the night.”

The Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour draws a comparison between the houses in villages and those in urban and industrial areas. “In

1. Burnett-Hurst, *Housing and Labour in Bombay*, p. 23



Two rows of rooms with a gangway in front where all sorts of rubbish is thrown, and through which a gutter runs choked up at places with garbage.



A B. D. D. Chawl. Note the gunny screens hanging down, which provide cover against sunlight by day, and improvise bedrooms by night

the villages," says the Report, "the houses may be dark, unventilated and their surroundings insanitary, but most of them have some sort of enclosure or court-yard which provides light, air and a certain degree of privacy. In the urban and industrial areas, cramped sites, the high value of land and the necessity for the worker to live in the vicinity of his work, have all tended to intensify congestion and over-crowding. Neglect of sanitation is often evidenced by heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage while the absence of latrines enhances the general pollution of air and soil. Houses, many without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation, usually consist of a single small room the only door being a doorway too low to enter without stooping."¹

The area available in the environment of the tenement for subsidiary domestic purposes like cooking, bathing and washing is, however, very small and very often the workers have to supplement the accommodation by enclosing the small verandah with some partition. Thus can be stated the housing problem of the industrial workers. The lot of the Depressed Classes is even worse. They are not given any particular corner of the City to live in but they are spread everywhere. There is, however, one noticeable tendency both among the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes, viz. people of the same caste live together.

The houses of the members of the Depressed Classes present a dismal appearance. I do not know how their home can be the abode of harmony or peace, much less

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour*, p. 272.

a paradise. To turn a verandah—if there is one—into a bedroom they fix up gunny bags all around it, and to protect themselves from the sun and the rain they put worn-out pieces of gunny or even of rags on the windows and doors and these pieces become extremely dirty on account of the fuel they use. They generally use sawdust, dung-balls, rags, waste paper, inferior wood and very rarely coal, as fuel. Naturally the room is full of smoke : walls, roofs, pillars and in fact everything in the room becomes dark. One can imagine how much they suffer from smoke nuisance. At night kerosene oil tin-pots are used as lamps ; the tin-pots have no glass to serve as a chimney. Many people keep these "lamps" burning all through the night and thus suffer from the injurious effects of carbonic acid gas.

Generally each family has one room—it is a very liberal estimate as it would be seen from the statement no. 8, 35. 1 p. c. families of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes share one room between two or even more families. It is a kitchen, a sitting room, a sleeping room, a sick room and a lying-in room all in one. A married couple sleeps in the same room with other members. In some cases I was told if there are two or more married couples in the same room, each couple takes advantage of the room by turns or women sleep in the room and men outside the room and arrange anyhow for conjugal union. Even if there are more than one couple sleeping in the same room they cannot afford to have and also they cannot have any partition between two couples sleeping there. Privacy which is necessary for happy and successful conjugal relations is denied to them. Can one imagine two married couples sleeping in the same room with children around them and among

so many things—a 'zoli' or a cradle, cots and utensils? On account of insufficient space the natural sex functions of the married couples take place with the full consciousness of the presence of other inmates in the same room. It is not strange, therefore, that boys and girls of tender age exhibit sex tendencies earlier. Ironically enough the dictum, 'Necessity is the mother of invention' holds good in case of some of these people as well. To accommodate more couples than one in the same room a very high cot or platform is used. Upon this sleeps one couple and beneath it another. This ingenious device is made use of for other aspects of life such as cooking, taking food, etc. This was found in Mahimwalla's chawl at Elphinstone Road and in some rooms from the Labour Camp, Matunga.

All the families do not live in buildings constructed by the Bombay Development Department or the Bombay Municipality or by any other public body. There are many among them who live in huts made of 'zaolis,' or of tin pieces of kerosene oil cases. Even some municipal workers have erected tin sheds or huts of 'zaolis' for them to live in. There are a number of families living in the worst possible localities. For example, the municipal quarters in the Sukhalaji street are situated in a locality where prostitution of the lowest grade is going on. Here I have no intention of entering into the question of prostitution as an institution but wish to point out its consequences in so far as they affect these people. The people whose social and economic condition I am discussing are extremely poor, they never can make both the ends of their family budgets meet, they never have the satisfaction of a full meal and they cannot have sufficient

clothing. It is no wonder, under these circumstances, if young girls of these classes are easily seduced or are attracted to this profession. Quarters for poor people in such localities are, to my mind, highly injurious to their morality.

Though housing has a direct bearing on the health and the morals of the people still no serious attention seems to have been paid to it. As they find it very difficult to pay the rent of the room, they generally share it with sub-tenants. The report of the Lady Doctor appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the question of maternity benefits to industrial workers, published in 1922, contains one extreme example of sub-letting. The Lady Doctor says, "In one room on the 2nd floor of a chawl measuring some 15' x 12' I found six families living. Six separate ovens on the floor proved this statement. On enquiry I ascertained that the actual number of adults and children living in this room was 30."¹ In this connection it is of interest also to quote from the Report of the Industrial Disputes Committee which reported to Government of Bombay in the year 1922. They say in their Report, "The profit on sub-letting is said to be as high as twenty rupees a month. Until an adequate supply of sanitary rooms, let at rents within the means of the ordinary wage earners, is available, every effort really to improve the condition of the operative classes is putting a will-o-the-wisp. All the increased wages are swallowed in rent, there is no fixity of tenure; and the people will not nor can they be

¹ "Report of the Lady Doctor," *Labour Gazette*, September, 1922.

expected to improve their homes!." Though many years have passed since these two Reports were published and though the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour remarks, "In dwellings such as these human beings are born, sleep and eat, live and die,"² nothing has been done to improve the housing conditions of workers, much less of the workers of the Depressed Classes.

It is, however, true in some cases that people consider it foolish to occupy one room per family even if they can afford to pay the rent of the whole room. Even people earning Rs. 60 or more per month keep sub-tenants. Unfortunately this view is shared by men of fair position like teachers. I asked a municipal teacher at Byculla why he had a sub-tenant in his room though he was drawing a sufficient salary to keep one room at least. He could not give me a convincing reply. I asked him whether he had a partition in the room (as both the teacher and his partner were married) and he told me that there was none. But such cases are rare. The truth is that these people cannot afford to have one room per family. Sub-tenants are not only kept in privately owned buildings but also in the buildings owned by the Bombay Development Department and Bombay Improvement Trust. The rules of these two public bodies disallow sub-letting but somehow the evil goes on unchecked. If these public bodies really mean that their laws shall be respected and that the advantage of the chawls be

1. Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bombay to the Royal Commission on Indian Labour, p. 32.

2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour*, p. 271.

taken in the spirit in which they are constructed, they ought to lower the rents of the chawls in general and of the chawls, where these people live, in particular.

Publicly managed buildings—in spite of many defects—are much better than privately owned buildings. If one goes round these quarters and sees them, one feels sad at the sight of almost every room being over-crowded. It is no wonder, therefore, that children and elders roam about and squat on the public roads. In some chawls food is cooked in the small, narrow and dark passage outside the room. In one way it is good as the room is free from smoke and heat, but cooking outside the room presents a gloomy spectacle. The darkness of the passages is intensified when they are full of smoke. In this darkness so many 'chulas' twinkle and the long passage between the two rows of rooms appears to be some devil's den and not a residence of human beings. In this way even the small space which is available for a little free movement is utilised. At night people sleep among 'chulas' and ash. To add to this confusion some people keep sheep and dogs!

Of all the places I visited the worst is Dharavi, a village near Mahim, where many leather workers, chiefly Chamars and Kankayyas live. This spot is a disgrace to our *Urbis Prima in Indis* though in the general elections of the Bombay Corporation from "G" or Mahim Ward, votes from this place count to decide the fate of a candidate. The lanes are so narrow and zig-zag that it is impossible to take a gharry or a motor car through them. The huts, the old fashioned chawls, and the houses are unsuitable for dwelling. * There are public taps from which people take water. At these



An open passage with a gutter side by, showing a berth (in front of the room) where a couple sleeps, and another couple on the ground underneath.



Tin huts. Notice the rubbish on the tin roof.

centres waste and filthy water accumulates. Water of these taps and also of the water-closets is sometimes taken to a low level where vegetable is grown. In the great fire that broke out here in 1931 all the houses of the potters were reduced to ashes because the fire-brigade people could not take their engines to the place of fire.

At Taikalwadi (Dadar) and Kamathipura some municipal workers live in huts made chiefly of zaolis. At Taikalwadi the huts being in a wadi people have sufficient open space, but at Kamathipura their state is pitiable. The quarters, not being enclosed, even members of the public make free use of the taps and water-closets. Loafers, taking advantage of this situation, carry on criminal conversation with women living there. At Kamathipura I noticed a prostitute, neatly dressed and having ornaments on her body, freely visiting these quarters and having an access to women and young girls. Some responsible people told me that loafers regularly haunt these places. The gangways of the chawls are used as short cuts by these 'busy bodies'. They also visit the chawls under the mask of hawkers. It is however very difficult to remedy this evil.

Many untouchable workers live in the Labour Camp at Matunga. The tin sheds in this camp are constructed by the Bombay Improvement Trust. The rental per room is Re. 1 per week and is to be paid on each Saturday in advance. Each room has one window, the shutters of which are always drawn as the people are afraid of thieves, the windows being without iron bars. The inmates, therefore, though the huts are erected on open space, are deprived of the use of free air in their rooms.

The Bombay Port Trust chawls at Antop hill, Wadala, are fairly good. There is a welfare centre of Young Men's Christian Association. Children and elders alike take advantage of the Centre and of the lawn of the Association. Barring a few isolated cases of one or two, each family here has one room.

The following statement furnishes almost conclusive evidence of overcrowding among the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking untouchable workers :—

STATEMENT No. 5.

(Analysis of rooms by number of occupants)

| No. of rooms at the disposal of each family | Total no. of rooms occupied | Total no. of families | Total no. of persons living |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| one room between two or more families | 1364 | 362 | 1271 |
| 1 | 1218 | 1218 | 5648 |
| 2 | 70 | 35 | 263 |
| 3 | 9 | 3 | 24 |
| 4 | 4 | 1 | 15 |
| Total | 1437.4 | 1619 | 7221 |

From the above statement it can be seen that in the case of the Depressed Classes 5.02 persons live in one room and each family has .9 room on an average. The above statement can be further so tabulated as to show the average number of people living in each class of tenement, the percentage of families living in that tenement and the percentage of rooms in each class

in the case of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes. Happily in the Gujarati speaking families there are only 16 families which share one room between two families. But the state of the Marathi speaking families is appalling. There are as many as 346 families which share one room between two or more families. 68 families out of these, with a total strength of 102 persons, are homeless and how the remaining of these families live would be seen from the following :—

STATEMENT No. 6.

(Two or more Marathi speaking families sharing the same room)

| No. of families sharing one room | Total no. of families. | Total no. of persons | Rooms occupied. |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| <u>5</u> | 2 | 14 | 4 |
| 4 | 30 | 96 | 7.5 |
| 3 | 15 | 57 | 5.0 |
| 2 | 231 | 968 | 115.5 |

The average number of persons living in each room, the percentage of families living in that tenement and percentage of rooms in each class would be determined from the following statements. The results can also be compared with those of the Census Report (1931).

STATEMENT No. 7.

(Gujarati speaking.)

| No. of rooms at the disposal of each family. | Percentage of rooms to the total no. of rooms (651). | Percentage of families living. | Average no. of persons living in each room. |
|--|--|--------------------------------|---|
| ½ | 2.5 | 2.5 | 4.3 |
| 1 | 94.0 | 94.0 | 4.6 |
| 2 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 4.0 |
| 3 | .2 | .2 | 3.3 |
| 4 | .2 | .2 | 3.8 |

STATEMENT No. 8.

(Marathi speaking)

| No. of rooms at the disposal of families. | Percentage of rooms to the total no. of rooms (7864). | Percentage of families living. | Average no. of persons living in each room. |
|--|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Sharing one room between two or more families. | 16.3 | 35.1 | 9.5 |
| 1 | 79.1 | 63.1 | 4.7 |
| 2 | 3.8 | 1.5 | 3.4 |
| 3 | .8 | .2 | 2.3 |

The above two statements can be compared with the following results published in the Census Report¹ (1931) in respect of Bombay city.

| No. of Rooms in Tenements. | Percentage of each class to the Total Tenement. | | Average No. of persons in each room. | |
|----------------------------|---|------|--------------------------------------|------|
| | 1931 | 1921 | 1931 | 1921 |
| 1 | 81 | 70 | 4·01 | 4·03 |
| 2 | 11 | 14 | 2·51 | 2·11 |
| 3 | 3 | 7 | 2·01 | 1·60 |
| 4 | 2 | 4 | 1·70 | 1·30 |
| 5 | 1 | 3 | 1·50 | 1·06 |
| 6 | 2 | 3 | ... | ... |

It will be noticed from the above statements that there is greater overcrowding in each room in the case of the Depressed Classes in general and of the Marathi speaking people in particular. For 'overcrowding' the number of rooms at the disposal of each family does not matter so much as the size of each room and the age of persons living in it.² It can be observed that the dimensions of the rooms occupied by these people are generally 10'×10'. The rooms of the B.D.D. or B.I.T. chawls are, however, larger in dimensions. If a round is taken in the early morning in the localities

1. *Census of India*, Vol. ix, part 1 (1931).

"Cities of Bombay Presidency", Bombay, p. 90, Statement No. 21.

2. A. L. Bowley, *The Measurement of Social Phenomena*, p. 184. (London, 1923.)

where the Depressed Classes live, we notice men, women, and children sleeping on the foot-paths adjoining their quarters wherever possible. That 94 per cent. of the Gujarati speaking families have one room each is chiefly due to the fact that a great majority of them are employed in the Bombay Municipality and get rooms at a nominal rent.¹ Distant relations with a view to finding a job in Bombay come and stay with their relatives here causing overcrowding in the tenements of the Depressed Classes. This phenomenon is very marked in the case of the Marathi speaking people.

If there are two or more than two families living in one room, there are as many 'chulas' as are the families. But in some chawls of the Bombay Development Department it was found that each family uses the 'chula' by turn. Taking into consideration the kind of fuel these people use, one can imagine the heat and smoke in each room. In this heat and smoke, little children sleep, school-going children study and the sick and the tired take rest. Pleasures of home are denied to them. A wooden box, a bamboo or even a broom is placed between two beds at night if there are two or more couples living in one room. The number of such boxes is generally a sure indication of the number of tenants in the room, showing too clearly

1. "In the Health Department, annas ten per month are charged to each halalkhore man or woman, annas eight per month for each male scavenger and annas five for each female scavenger. Rs. two per month are charged for each outsider who is a male relative of a municipal employee and rupee one per month for each outsider who is a female relative of the employee."

From "The Memorandum of the Government of Bombay to the Royal Commission on Indian Labour," p. 28.

that the 'home' is no more than a place in which to cook food and to store possessions.¹

In private chawls water-closets and water taps are quite insufficient. The Improvement Trust or the Development Department Chawls might have been provided with water-closets and water taps in proportion to the rooms but in some cases there is a faulty distribution. When the number of people living per room is decidedly larger, these ought to be distributed on the basis of the number of people living in that quarter. On account of the rush and inadequacy of water-closets and water taps these centres are generally filthy and dirty. The corners where these two are constructed are the most dirty spots in the chawls.

The following statement would enable the reader to know the different rates of rent paid per month by each family.

STATEMENT No. 9.
(House-rents per month)

| Monthly rents in Rs. | No. of families | Total rent in Rs. | Average rent in Rs. |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 to 2.5 | 518 | 910.5 | 1.7 |
| 2.5 to 5 | 430 | 1683.0 | 3.9 |
| 5 to 7.5 | 204 | 1308.5 | 6.4 |
| 8 to 10 | 123 | 1045.0 | 8.4 |
| 10.5 to 11.25 | 5 | 53.75 | 10.7 |
| 14 | 1 | 14.0 | 14.0 |
| 18.5 | 1 | 18.5 | 18.0 |
| Total | 1282 | 5033.25 | 3.9 |

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour*, p. 245.

Thus it can be worked out that each family pays Rs. 3·9 on an average per month as rent. It should be noted that 68 families belonging to the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes are homeless and 173 and 69 families belonging to the Marathi and the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes respectively have been provided with free quarters by their employers. In the case of the Gujarati speaking family the average rent per month is Rs. 2·5 while that of the Marathi speaking family is Rs. 4·9.

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE

MEMBERS of the Depressed Classes have got the same ideas as regards marriage as those of the Advanced Classes. A Hindu father or mother, belonging to the Advanced Classes, is eager to get his son or daughter married as early as possible. It is commonly believed that a man or woman gets the advantage of "Kashi-Yatra" (A pilgrimage to holy Benares) if he or she sees the face of a grand-child. Among them, unlike the high caste Hindus, Dejdowry—has to be given to the bride's father or guardian by the bridegroom's party.

The age at marriage is not fixed and a man gets married whenever and as many times as he likes, but in the case of the minors it depends upon the will and caprice of the guardians. School-going boys, if they oppose their parents and refuse to marry, have to suffer great rebuke at the hands of the latter but those who do not go to schools do not oppose their parents, rather, on account of the peculiar consciousness created in them that it is the acme of man's happiness, are eager to catch the opportunity of getting married.

The Sarda Act is not observed in many cases even by the members of the Advanced Classes and as far

as the Depressed Classes are concerned this Act is absolutely ineffective. It appears that some of them are ignorant of its existence. Marriage of a year-old baby was celebrated with the usual pomp and ceremonies some years ago (1933 or 34) with a boy of six or seven years of age in the Labour Camp, Matunga, where many Marathi speaking people live. The same is the case among the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes. I went to witness a marriage ceremony of a Meghawal at Delisle Road. Some preliminary ceremonies were performed that night and I was told that the marriage would take place the next day in the evening. The next day I was told that the marriage was cancelled but some days after I came to know that the wedding was celebrated at midnight. As the bride and the bridegroom were too young they thought that I might inform the police. They therefore did not inform me of the hour and time of the ceremony. A round in the quarters, where members of the Depressed Classes live, would reveal that girls of five or six years of age have Mangalsutra—the sure sign of married state among Hindu women in Maharashtra. To my dismay I found that some of these young wives had become widows—much too prematurely—before they could know what wifehood was!

Out of 634 adult males (principal heads of the families) 612 are married among the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes and 24 are unmarried; thus it would be found that 96.5 p.c. adults are married. Similarly, out of 985 adult males of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes 923 are married, 60 are unmarried and 2 have kept mistresses. This means that 93.6

p.c. of the adult males are married. The adults who are unmarried in both the Classes, are unmarried not because they are against marriage but some of them are too poor to get married while some of them are unemployed. The following statement shows how many times an adult is married.

STATEMENT No. 10.

(Male adults classified according to number of times they were married.)

| | Married. | | | | | | Total. |
|-------------------|----------|-------|--------|------------|------------|-------------|--------|
| | Once | Twice | Thrice | Four times | Five times | Eight times | |
| Gujarati speaking | 506 | 97 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 612 |
| Marathi speaking | 747 | 135 | 27 | 8 | 6 | — | 923 |

It would be seen from the above that 17.3 p.c. and 19 p.c. adults are married more than once among the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes respectively. The first marriage of a man is generally with a virgin. In the second or subsequent marriages virgins are very rarely selected. It has already been pointed out that girls are married when they are too young, therefore with a view to begin marital relations immediately after marriage, a man prefers a widow in the second and subsequent marriages. In the case of the Gujarati speaking people all subsequent marriages are generally with widows. Only the man who is shown in the above statement as hav-

ing married eight times, had four of his marriages with virgins and four with widows. And in the case of the Marathi speaking people out of 176 males who married more than once, 141 or 80.1 p.c. males married widows, while 17 or 9.7 p.c. males married virgins and 18 or 10.2 p.c. males married virgins and widows.

The death of the first wife is ordinarily the chief and foremost excuse for a man to get married a second time. But there is another equally important excuse also. If a woman does not bear a child within a few years after marriage, a man comes to the conclusion that his wife cannot bear children and therefore marries a second time. They are very anxious to have a child—preferably a male child. When asked as to why they do not wait a little longer to see if the first wife would bear a child or not, their reply was that the second marriage was necessary, as it was not certain whether, with the passage of further time, their wives would bear a child, though it was noticed in some cases that the first wife did have children after her husband's second marriage. Out of 97 men from the Gujarati speaking people, married twice, it was found that 68 married for a second time because their first wives were dead, 19 married a second time, in the life-time of their first wife for children and the remaining 10 married a second time only for pleasure. A more detailed information could be gathered from the Marathi speaking people who married more than once :

STATEMENT No. 11.

(Reasons furnished for remarriage)

| Number of instances | Causes. |
|---------------------|---|
| 128 | Death of previous wives. |
| 29 | For children. |
| 8 | Out of pleasure. |
| 1 | Father's desire. |
| 1 | First wife being too young to give carnal pleasure. |
| 1 | First wife being always sickly. |
| 1 | First wife became mad. |
| 2 | First wife became blind. |
| 4 | Either the husband or the wife discarded the other. |
| 1 | To work at the native place. |
| 176 | Total |

Among the 29 persons marrying for children, one man has three wives. This man told me that his two wives had no issue and therefore he married a third time ; another told me that he married a second time because his first wife gave birth to a dumb child. There are four cases where either the husband or the wife had discarded the other. In two cases out of these I was told that the wives had extra-marital relations with their neighbours and therefore they were driven away. In the remaining two cases the wives discarded their husbands and went to live with their paramours.

It is already shown that the 612 principal heads of the Gujarati speaking families who are married, have 737 wives. It would thus be seen that each married man has 1.2 wives. Of the 737 wives 615 are married once and 122 are married more than once or 83.5 per cent. of the women are married once while 16.5 per cent. of them are married more than once, not to mention cases of third or even of fourth marriage. Out of the 985 principal heads of the Marathi speaking families 923 are married 1160 times which means they have 1160 wives or each married man has 1.3 wives. It was not possible in the case of females, to acquire definite information regarding their second or subsequent marriages, and hence, women, who are married twice or more often had to be grouped together. Out of 1160 women, 957 are married once and 203 are married more than once, i.e. 17.5 per cent. of the married women have married more than once.

It has already been stated that marriage takes place when boys and girls are too young. But though they are married rather young, they are conscious of their relations with each other. To this is added the instigation of neighbours, friends and other relations. Women generally ask a young wife whether she slept with her husband and so forth. Graphic and realistically sensuous accounts are related before her. The boy in his circle has the same experiences. In the case of the Marathi speaking people there is an additional factor rousing their sex instinct. Boys are in the habit of witnessing 'Tamashas'—especially in the Parel centre—and those living in Kamathipura see the life of prostitutes. Again the peculiar housing conditions

favour the early growth of sex knowledge. Under these circumstances it is quite common and natural that there is pre-puberty intercourse among these people. They are so poor that in a small room as many as four married couples with their children sleep, with the inevitable result that sometimes even the general tone of morality suffers. The married couples cannot afford to have even a cloth curtain between them. At the most a wooden box is placed between two married couples! I asked an elderly woman and some men whether they (married couples) did not feel a sense of restraint in carrying on the sex act within the knowledge of the people sleeping in the room. But they said "What else could be done?" Some asked me if they were dogs and other beasts, not to feel the humiliating situation. As this sort of life has become a routine it is no wonder if father and mother, uncle and aunt, brother and his wife, sleep in one room, nay even on a broad common mattress. Under these circumstances it would be a great surprise if pre-puberty intercourse were of less frequent occurrence.

Caste-dinners, dowry, and clothes are the chief items of expenditure in connection with marriage among these people. *Dej* or dowry is given by the bridegroom and it is not fixed. If the people on the bridegroom's side like the girl very much and the people on the bride's side know this fact, they demand an exorbitant dowry. Generally the scale of dowry in the first marriage—first marriage of a woman—is larger than that in subsequent marriages. In some castes there is a form of marriage known as "marriage of equals." In this form the father or guardian of the

bridegroom pays seven pice to the guardian of the bride. Generally this course is followed if both the sides are of equal status, in other cases 'dej' is given. During the marriage festival there are two or three dinners given to the people of the community. In addition to sweet dishes, mutton is also served by some people. 'Telchya', 'Puranpoli', 'Vadas' and 'Bundi' are among the dishes. Among the Mangs, when the members of the 'Panchayat' go to settle the marriage at the bride's place, they are entertained to a liquor party. Marriage dinners are always reciprocal and there is a keen competition as to whose dinner proves to be the better one. Music, dances, and ballad singing are among the favourite items in the marriage programme. Nowadays there is also a tendency to hold meetings of the community during the marriage festival. Leaders take advantage of the congregation to agitate, rouse and educate their fellow-men. At such meetings a number of vows are made and generally the meetings terminate with a unanimous expression of confidence in the leaders.

I have collected figures of expenditure in the first marriage of a man. Sometimes it so happens that a man spends more amount on his second marriage. It is due partly to the fact that in that marriage the man being a major, marries a woman of his own choice and partly because sometimes he has to pay more 'dej'. The following statement shows the different sums of money spent on first marriages :—

STATEMENT No. 12.
(*Marriage Expenses.*)

| Amount spent on marriage (in Rs.) | No. of cases. | Total amount (in Rs.) |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 100 and below | 55 | 4850 |
| 101 200 | 384 | 71200 |
| 201 300 | 382 | 103475 |
| 301 400 | 141 | 53875 |
| 401 500 | 271 | 133650 |
| 501 600 | 74 | 43750 |
| 601 and above | 34 | 26575 |
| Total ... | 1341 | 437375 |

It must be mentioned that the above statement includes two cases of Meghawals who have spent Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,200 and one case of a Marathi speaking Chamar who has spent Rs. 1,500 each on marriage. From the above statement it would be seen that Rs. 326.2 are spent on every marriage on an average. It must be pointed out, however, that Rs. 2,25,875 and Rs. 2,11,500 are spent on 555 and 786 marriages of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes respectively. It would be seen from this that Rs. 406.9 and Rs. 269.08 are spent on an average on every marriage in the case of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking families respective-

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I was able to collect figures of expenditure in the case of only 70 re-marriages of the Marathi speaking people.

STATEMENT No. 13.
(Expenses on remarriages)

| Amount spent on remarriage (in Rs.) | No. of cases | Total amount (in Rs.) |
|--|--------------|--------------------------|
| 100 and below | 40 | 2890 |
| 101 200 | 21 | 3600 |
| 201 500 | 9 | 3010 |
| Total ... | 70 | 9500 |

Thus it would be seen that Rs. 135.7 are spent on every remarriage on an average.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY

THE Industrial Revolution may have changed the outlook of family or inspired individualistic theory but so far as these people are concerned there is no serious change in the composition of their family. They have left their native homes in search of food and money in industrial centres but they have not left them permanently. A major brother or son leaves his native home and goes to a city to earn and thus it may look that his family is a separate unit and the old family is broken, but in reality it is not so. The ties continue. The man who has come to a city sends money, clothing or other useful things to his people living in his native home, and makes it a point to go and live with his men at the cost even of his service. The native homes have hitherto provided a measure of safeguard against the effects of the various changes which may reduce, interrupt or destroy the earning capacity of the worker. In sickness and in maternity, in strikes and lock-outs, in unemployment and in old age the village home is a refuge for many, and the fact that it exists affords a sense of security.

In Bombay not only father and sons and brothers but even distant relations live together. People come in search of employment and stay with their relatives in Bombay and their relatives consider it to be their duty to accommodate their unemployed kin. But the majority of the families of the Gujarati Speaking Depressed Classes are natural families no doubt. This might be due to quarters which some of them get from their employers. To show this clearly I have worked out separate statements for each group.

It would be seen from the following statements that the data on which the details are based consist of 745 men, 793 women and 1,404 children in the case of the Gujarati speaking, and 1,536 men, 1,432 women and 1,311 children in the case of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes. Thus an average resident household group in these two samples consists of 1.2 men, 1.2 women and 2.2 children or 4.6 persons and 1.55 men, 1.45 women and 1.33 children or 4.33 persons. It must be borne in mind that the family group does not consist of the principal man, wife and their children alone, it is likely that the number of children shown in the following two statements may not have been born of the principal man and his wife only.

FAMILY

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STATEMENT No. 14.

(Composition of Gujarati speaking families.)

| Adults. | Number of families with number of children. | | | | | | | | | | Total no. of families. | | |
|-----------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|---|---|------------------------|-----|-----|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | | 10 | |
| 1 Man | 6 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | |
| 1 M & 1 W | 64 | 110 | 91 | 85 | 39 | 25 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 435 | |
| 1 M & 2 W | 12 | 20 | 24 | 18 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 90 | |
| 1 M & 3 W | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | |
| 2 Men | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | |
| 2 M & 1 W | 11 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 35 | |
| 2 M & 2 W | 2 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 | |
| 2 M & 3 W | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | |
| 2 M & 4 W | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| 3 Men | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| 3 M & 2 W | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | |
| 3 M & 3 W | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | |
| 3 M & 4 W | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| 4 M & 2 W | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| 4 M & 4 W | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| 6 Men | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| Total | ... | 99 | 153 | 130 | 124 | 61 | 41 | 18 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 634 |

STATEMENT No. 15.

(Composition of Marathi speaking families.)

| Adults. | Number of families with number of children. | | | | | | | | Total no. of families. |
|-----------|---|----|----|----|----|---|---|---|------------------------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| 1 Man | 89 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 94 |
| 1 M & 1 W | 100 | 89 | 77 | 41 | 22 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 342 |
| 1 M & 2 W | 33 | 37 | 29 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 121 |
| 1 M & 3 W | 8 | 11 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 30 |
| 1 M & 4 W | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 1 M & 5 W | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 M & 7 W | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2 Men | 16 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| 2 M & 1 W | 44 | 17 | 21 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 98 |
| 2 M & 2 W | 32 | 39 | 16 | 23 | 5 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 122 |
| 2 M & 3 W | 5 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 |
| 2 M & 4 W | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 2 M & 5 W | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 3 Men | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 3 M & 1 W | 10 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25 |
| 3 M & 2 W | 12 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 32 |
| 3 M & 3 W | 4 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| 3 M & 4 W | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 3 M & 5 W | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |

FAMILY

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STATEMENT No. 15 (Continued)

(Composition of Marathi speaking families.)

| Adults. | No. of families with number of children. | | | | | | | | Total no. of families. |
|------------------|--|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|------------------------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | |
| 4 Men | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 4 M & 1 W | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 4 M & 2 W | 7 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 4 M & 3 W | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 4 M & 4 W | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 4 M & 5 W | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 5 M & 3 W | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 5 M & 4 W | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 5 M & 7 W | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 6 M & 4 W | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total ... | 373 | 236 | 191 | 100 | 48 | 23 | 12 | 2 | 985 |

CHAPTER V

FERTILITY

OUT of 634 principal heads of the Gujarati speaking families, 22 are unmarried and 612 are married, out of whom 58 have no children. It would thus be seen that 2,211 children born as shown in the statement No. 52 are born of 554 persons.

The number of children born per Gujarati and Marathi speaking man can be seen from the following :—

STATEMENT No. 16.

(Number of children born per Gujarati speaking man.)

| No. of children born per man | Cases | P.c. to the total cases | Total no. of children |
|------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 86 | 15.5 | 86 |
| 2 | 96 | 17.3 | 192 |
| 3 | 88 | 15.8 | 264 |
| 4 | 81 | 14.6 | 324 |
| 5 | 74 | 13.3 | 370 |
| 6 | 47 | 8.4 | 282 |
| 7 | 26 | 4.7 | 182 |
| 8 | 26 | 4.7 | 208 |
| 9 | 12 | negligible | 108 |
| 10 | 11 | " | 110 |
| 11 | 2 | " | 22 |
| 12 | 2 | " | 24 |
| 13 | 3 | " | 39 |
| Total ... | 554 | | 2211 |

Thus each man has on an average 3.99 children. If the average number of children born per each married man is to be determined then 2211 children born would be considered to have been born of 612 married men, which then works out at 3.6 children born per each married head of the Gujarati speaking person of the Depressed Classes.

Similarly out of 985 principal heads of the Marathi speaking families 60 are unmarried and of the remaining 925¹ married heads 239 have no issue. Thus it is clear that 2,488 children as shown in the statement No. 52 are born of 686 principal heads of the families.

STATEMENT No. 17.

(Number of children born per Marathi speaking man.)

| No. of children born per man | Cases | P. c. to the total cases. | Total no. of children. |
|------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 140 | 20.4 | 140 |
| 2 | 154 | 22.4 | 308 |
| 3 | 103 | 15.01 | 309 |
| 4 | 100 | 14.5 | 400 |
| 5 | 57 | 8.3 | 285 |
| 6 | 41 | 5.9 | 246 |
| 7 | 24 | 3.4 | 168 |
| 8 | 24 | 3.4 | 192 |
| 9 | 18 | 2.6 | 162 |
| 10 | 11 | negligible | 110 |
| 11 | 4 | " | 44 |
| 12 | 7 | " | 84 |
| 13 | 2 | " | 26 |
| 14 | 1 | " | 14 |
| Total ... | 686 | | 2488 |

1. For the purpose of calculating the fertility of each man and woman I have included the two cases where the two principal heads have kept mistresses.

Thus it would be seen that each man has on an average 3.6 children. But if 239 men who are married but who have no children are added, then it would be seen that the average number of children born per married man falls to 2.7.

It has already been pointed out that the married principal heads of the Gujarati speaking families have 737 wives. Therefore if the total number of children born of the principal heads is considered as having been born of the total number of wives it would mean that each wife has 3 children on an average. Similarly 925 principal heads of the Marathi speaking people have 1,162 wives (this includes 2 mistresses). If 2,488 children are regarded as having been born of the total number of wives, it would work out that 2.1 children are born per wife.

In the following statements to find out the rates of fertility of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking women only such women were selected in whose case the number of children born to each one of them could be definitely ascertained.

STATEMENT No. 18.

(Different rates of fertility among Gujarati speaking women.)

| No. of children born per woman | Cases | P.c. to the total cases | Total no. of children |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 87 | 18.58 | 87 |
| 2 | 84 | 17.94 | 168 |
| 3 | 69 | 14.74 | 207 |
| 4 | 56 | 11.96 | 224 |
| 5 | 63 | 13.46 | 315 |
| 6 | 42 | 8.97 | 252 |
| 7 | 21 | 4.48 | 147 |
| 8 | 21 | 4.48 | 168 |
| 9 | 11 | 2.35 | 99 |
| 10 | 8 | negligible | 80 |
| 11 | 2 | " | 22 |
| 12 | 1 | " | 12 |
| 13 | 3 | " | 39 |
| Total ... | 468 | | 1820 |

It would be seen that 3.88 children are born per woman on an average. But there are 63 married women who have borne no children; if this number of married women is added to the total number of women, it would be found that 1,820 children are born of 531 women, showing thereby that 3.5 children are born per woman.

STATEMENT No. 19.

(Different rates of fertility among Marathi speaking women.)

| No. of children born per woman. | Cases | P.c. of the total cases | Total no. of children |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 112 | 21.41 | 112 |
| 2 | 126 | 24.09 | 252 |
| 3 | 69 | 13.19 | 207 |
| 4 | 83 | 15.86 | 332 |
| 5 | 46 | 8.79 | 230 |
| 6 | 26 | 4.97 | 156 |
| 7 | 19 | 3.63 | 133 |
| 8 | 18 | 3.44 | 144 |
| 9 | 10 | negligible | 90 |
| 10 | 7 | " | 70 |
| 11 | 2 | " | 22 |
| 12 | 3 | " | 36 |
| 13 | 1 | " | 13 |
| 14 | 1 | " | 14 |
| Total ... | 523 | | 1811 |

From the above statement it would be seen that 3.5 children are born per woman on an average but there are 269 married women who have borne no children. If this number is added to the number of married women in the above statement it would be seen that the number of children born per woman is 2.2 on an average.

The following statements show the number of living children¹ per family :—

¹ Children born of the principal head.

STATEMENT No. 20.

(Number of living children per Gujarati speaking family.)

| No. of children | No. of families | P.c. of the total families | Total no. of children surviving up to the date of enquiry. |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1 | 149 | 27.59 | 149 |
| 2 | 128 | 23.70 | 256 |
| 3 | 132 | 24.44 | 396 |
| 4 | 56 | 10.37 | 224 |
| 5 | 41 | 7.59 | 205 |
| 6 | 21 | 3.87 | 126 |
| 7 | 8 | Negligible | 56 |
| 8 | 3 | " | 24 |
| 10 | 2 | " | 20 |
| Total ... | 540 | | 1456 |

The Gujarati sample consists of 634 families. Therefore it can be seen that 94 or 14.8 p.c. families have no child living. The average number of living children per family is 2.3.

STATEMENT No. 21.

(Number of living children per Marathi speaking family.)

| No. of children | No. of families | P.c. of the total families | Total no. of children surviving up to the date of enquiry. |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1 | 207 | 34.55 | 207 |
| 2 | 167 | 27.87 | 334 |
| 3 | 116 | 19.36 | 348 |
| 4 | 59 | 9.84 | 236 |
| 5 | 29 | 4.84 | 145 |
| 6 | 13 | 2.17 | 78 |
| 7 | 6 | Negligible | 42 |
| 8 | 2 | " | 16 |
| Total ... | 599 | | 1406 |

It would be seen that in the Marathi sample 386 or 39.1 p.c. families have no child surviving, but on an average each family has 1.4 surviving children.

CHAPTER VI

EMPLOYMENT

THE present chapter treats of the number of adult earners and the nature of their employment in respect of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking families. It has been already pointed out that a fairly large number of schedules of the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes belongs to the Meghawals and the Bhangis and of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes to the Mahars. Though persons belonging to these castes can be employed for scavenging it would be noticed that a great majority of the Meghawals and the Bhangis is employed for this kind of work while only 14 p.c. of the Mahars are engaged in this work ; they are employed to do different types of work. To show this difference very clearly I have dealt with the two groups severally : Section I deals with the Gujarati speaking families and Section II with the Marathi speaking ones.

SECTION I (*Gujarati speaking*)

STATEMENT No. 22.

(*Analysis of families according to number of earners.*)

(P—Principal earner. M—Male earner other than P; W—Woman earner.)

| No. of families. | P. | M. | Women. | Total no. of earners. |
|------------------|-----|----|--------|-----------------------|
| 214 | 214 | 0 | 0 | 214 |
| 365 | 365 | 0 | 360 | 730 |
| 29 | 29 | 29 | 0 | 58 |
| 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 42 |
| 6 | 6 | 12 | 0 | 18 |
| 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| 634 | 634 | 63 | 388 | 1085 |

Out of 745 men 697 and out of 793 women 388 are employed. This means 92.2 per cent. men and 49.5 per cent. women are employed. The small percentage of the unemployed may not necessarily be taken to mean that there is very little unemployment, for these men are migrators from outside Bombay and when they are unemployed, they do not stay in the City but go to their native places. Again they are not employed to do any skilled labour but the work entrusted to them is of the lowest order. It would be seen from Statements 23 to 25 that the majority of them are employed in the Municipality as scavengers or 'halalkhores'. As this work is supposed to be done only

by the people from a particular class or community there is no fear of any competition from others. As the Health Department of the Bombay Municipality requires women workers, many of them have found employment in it, and only 50.5 per cent. women are unemployed. The cause of lesser unemployment both among the men and women is also due to the fact that there is a great demand for these people of both sexes in different offices, schools and private buildings as scavengers, etc.

The following statement will show where the principal earners are employed according to their employers :—

STATEMENT No. 23.

(Classification of principal earners according to their employers.)

| Employers. | Cases. | Percentage to the total. |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Municipality | 517 | 81.5 |
| Mills | 35 | 5.5 |
| Railways | 26 | 4.1 |
| Private Bldgs. | 20 | 3.1 |
| Offices, shops &c. | 15 | 2.3 |
| Police (Quarters) | 6 | negligible |
| Hospital | 5 | " |
| Docks | 5 | " |
| Jail | 1 | " |
| Total | 630 | |

Principal earners whose nature of employment is different :—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Private Motor Driver | 1 |
| Second-hand Article Dealers | 3 |

Grand Total .. 634

It can be seen from the above statement that 81.5 per cent. of the principal earners are employed in the Municipality where except 10 all are scavengers. The nature of the work of these 10 is as follows :—

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Teachers | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 |
| Painters | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| Fitters | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |
| Carpenter | | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Peon | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Total .. | | | | | | 10 |

Almost all the principal earners employed in mills, railways and private buildings, hospitals, police quarters, etc. are scavengers. Out of 15 principal earners employed in offices, shops, etc., one is a clerk and another is an office boy while the remaining 13 are scavengers.

It would be thus seen that out of 634 principal earners only 16 earners or 2.5 per cent. of the total do that sort of work in which there is fear of competition from other castes while 618 earners except a few earners who are employed as coolies either in the mills or in railways and who are chiefly chamars, are scavengers in public or private bodies. It also shows that the occupation of the people is almost entirely their traditional one.

Besides the heads of the families, as principal earners, there are 63 other male earners who contribute to the income of the family. The nature of the work of these 63 men is as follows :—

STATEMENT No. 24.

| Employers | Total No. of cases | Percentage to the total number |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Municipality | 39 | 61.9 |
| Private | 11 | 17.5 |
| Railways | 7 | 11.1 |
| Mills | 5 | 7.9 |
| Docks | 1 | 1.6 |
| Total | 63 | 100.0 |

Of these 61.9 per cent. men are employed in the Municipality so it may be inferred that a great majority of the earners from these classes are employed in the Municipality. Another important thing to be deduced from the nature of work of the principal earners and other earners of families is that the dependent earner generally follows the occupation of the principal one.

Of the 388 women earners the following classification can be made according to their employers :—

STATEMENT No. 25.

| Employers. | Total No. of cases. | Percentage to the total No. |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Municipality | 222 | 57.2 |
| Private Buildings | 132 | 34.0 |
| Mills | 22 | 5.7 |
| Hospitals | 8 | 2.1 |
| Railways | 4 | 1.0 |
| Total | 388 | 100.0 |

It may be mentioned here also that all the women earners are scavengers. It will be noticed that 57.2

per cent. of the total employed women are employed in the Municipality.

SECTION II (Marathi Speaking)

STATEMENT No. 26.

(Analysis of families according to number of earners.)

(P—Principal earner, M—Male earners other than P; W—Wife of the P, F—Other female earner.)

| No. of families | P. | M. | W. | F. | Total No. of earners |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|----------------------|
| 581 | 581 | — | — | — | 581 |
| 74 | 74 | — | 77* | — | 151 |
| 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | — | 15 |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | 4 |
| 6 | 6 | — | 6 | 6 | 18 |
| 2 | 2 | — | 2 | 4 | 8 |
| 148 | 148 | 148 | — | — | 296 |
| 8 | 8 | 8 | — | 8 | 24 |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | — | 4 | 8 |
| 25 | 25 | 50 | — | — | 75 |
| 2 | 2 | 4 | — | 4 | 10 |
| 3 | 3 | 9 | — | — | 12 |
| 1 | 1 | 4 | — | — | 5 |
| 29 | 29 | — | — | 29 | 58 |
| 2 | 2 | — | — | 4 | 6 |
| 18 | — | — | 20† | — | 20 |
| 2 | — | 2 | 2 | — | 4 |
| 4 | — | — | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 25 | — | 25 | — | — | 25 |
| 3 | — | 3 | — | 3 | 6 |
| 9 | — | — | — | 9 | 9 |
| 4 | — | 8 | — | — | 8 |
| 954 | 889 | 270 | 117 | 75 | 1351 |

* Three men have two wives each.

† Two men have two wives each.

There are 31 families of which not a single member is employed. It would be seen from the above statement that 889 out of 985 principal heads of the families are employed. This means 96 out of 985 or 9.7 per cent. heads of the families are unemployed. It would be seen from the statement 15 that I have considered in this work 1,536 male and 1,432 female adults. From the above statement it would be seen that 1,158 male and 192 female adults are employed. This means 377 male and 1,240 female adults are unemployed. Thus it would be seen that 24.5 p.c. males and 86.5 per cent. females are not employed. These percentages would be greatly increased if it is taken into consideration that out of 134 males and 74 females shown as the independent workers in statements 33 and 35 *infra* many are mere coolies, ash and earth sellers and dealers in old bottles. These persons hardly get Rs. 3 to 4 per month; but as they earn something they are included as earners in the above statement.

From the following statement the nature of employment of the principal heads of families will be seen :—

STATEMENT No. 27.

(Establishments where the heads of families are employed).

| Establishments | No. of earners. | Percentage to total. |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Railways | 240 | 30.4 |
| Mills | 253 | 32.0 |
| Municipality | 138 | 17.4 |
| Factories and Workshops | 49 | 6.2 |
| Companies etc. | 96 | 12.2 |
| B. E. S. T. Co., Ltd. | 14 | 1.8 |
| Total | 790 | 100 |

Besides these there are 97 heads of families who have given their profession as independent. This comes to 9.8 per cent of the total number. Only 2 are pensioners.

Occupational distribution of these men in different establishments can be seen from the following :—

STATEMENT, No. 28.

(Railways).

| Employment | No. of earners. | Percentage to total. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Coolies | 111 | 46.3 |
| Gangmen | 59 | 24.6 |
| Trollymen | 16 | 6.7 |
| Fitters | 21 | 8.8 |
| Gatekeepers | 8 | 3.3 |
| Rough Painters | 6 | 2.5 |
| Wiremen | 4 | Negligible |
| Signaller | 1 | " |
| Polishers | 2 | " |
| Carpenters | 5 | " |
| No. Takers | 3 | " |
| Office boys | 2 | " |
| Clerks | 2 | " |
| Total ... | 240 | |

EMPLOYMENT

55

STATEMENT No. 29.

(Mills).

| Employment | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Ring | 208 | 82.6 |
| Roving | 23 | 9.5 |
| Bigarees and Coolies | 13 | 5.1 |
| Blow | 1 | Negligible |
| Sizing | 2 | " |
| Beaming | 1 | " |
| Engine | 1 | " |
| Moulding | 1 | " |
| Dyer | 1 | " |
| Fitter | 1 | " |
| Watchman | 1 | " |
| Total ... | 253 | |

STATEMENT No. 30.

(Municipality).

| Employment | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Sweepers | 86 | 62.3 |
| Cart drivers | 20 | 14.5 |
| Coolies | 19 | 13.8 |
| Motor Drivers & Cleaners | 4 | 2.9 |
| Peons | 4 | 2.9 |
| Teachers | 3 | Negligible |
| Timekeeper | 1 | " |
| Fitter | 1 | " |
| Total | 138 | |

STATEMENT No. 31.
(Factories & Workshops)

| Employment | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Coolies | 22 | 44.9 |
| Machinememen | 9 | 18.4 |
| Fitters | 9 | 18.4 |
| Solderers | 3 | 6.1 |
| Boilermaker | 1 | Negligible |
| Polisher | 1 | " |
| Cleaner | 1 | " |
| Motor Mechanic... .. | 1 | " |
| Painter | 1 | " |
| Crane Driver | 1 | " |
| Total | 49 | |

STATEMENT No. 32.
(Companies, etc.).

| Employment | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|--|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Coolies | 42 | 43.8 |
| Peons | 16 | 16.7 |
| Biscuit Co. (Packers) | 5 | 5.2 |
| Tanners | 6 | 6.3 |
| Clerks | 5 | 5.2 |
| Gymkhana Boys | 5 | 5.2 |
| Dyers | 2 | Negligible |
| Carpenters | 3 | " |
| Cigarette Factory (Packer) | 1 | " |
| Painter | 1 | " |
| Mechanic (Dentist) | 1 | " |
| Mason | 1 | " |
| Agent: Society for the Prevention of the Cruelty to Animals | 1 | " |
| Hospital Ward boy | 1 | " |
| Race Course Painters | 2 | " |
| Flour Mill (Engine Department) | 2 | " |
| Watchman | 1 | " |
| Gardening | 1 | " |
| Total | 96 | |

STATEMENT No. 33.
(*B.E.S.T. Co., Ltd.*).

| Employment | Number of earners. |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Rough Painters | 4 |
| Wiremen | 2 |
| Oilman | 1 |
| Coolies | 4 |
| Drivers | 3 |
| Total ... | 14 |

There are 97 heads of families who have an independent employment whose nature is as follows :—

STATEMENT No. 34.

| Employment | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Hamals | 46 | 47.4 |
| Masons | 16 | 16.5 |
| Shoemakers | 13 | 13.4 |
| Ash Sellers | 3 | Negligible |
| Tea Seller | 1 | " |
| Flowers & Vegetables Seller | 1 | " |
| Tailors | 3 | " |
| Cloth Sellers | 2 | " |
| Mendicants | 3 | " |
| Carpenter | 1 | " |
| Painter | 1 | " |
| Wood Sellers | 2 | " |
| Bidi Merchant | 1 | " |
| Barbers | 2 | " |
| Musician | 1 | " |
| Landlord | 1 | " |
| Total ... | 97 | |

The nature of establishments where other male earners work is as follows :—

STATEMENT No. 35.

| Establishments | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Railways ... | 39 | 14.4 |
| Municipality... | 27 | 10.0 |
| Mills ... | 117 | 43.3 |
| B. E. S. T. Co., Ltd. ... | 5 | 1.9 |
| Factories ... | 13 | 4.8 |
| Companies etc. ... | 25 | 9.3 |
| Office boys (In Offices etc.) ... | 7 | 2.6 |
| Independent Earners ... | 37 | 13.7 |
| Total | 270 | 100.0 |

The nature of establishment where female earners work is as follows :—

STATEMENT No. 36.

| Establishments | No. of earners | Percentage to total. |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Railway ... | 4 | ... |
| Municipality ... | 36 | 18.7 |
| Mills ... | 56 | 29.1 |
| Factories ... | 2 | ... |
| Domestic servants ... | 14 | 7.2 |
| Miscellaneous ... | 6 | ... |
| Independent Earners ... | 74 | 33.5 |
| Total ... | 192 | ... |

It would be seen from the above statements that generally the work given to these men is of the lowest grade. 46.3 per cent. of the principal heads employed in railways are coolies and 24.6 per cent. are gangmen. In the mills 82.6 per cent of the principal heads are em-

ployed in the ring department which is the most poorly paid department in the mill industry.* In the Municipality, 62.3 per cent. of the principal heads are employed as sweepers and 13.3 per cent are coolies, while 14.5 per cent are cart drivers. In the factories and workshops 44.9 per cent. and in the companies, etc. 43.8 per cent. are mere coolies. Of the independent principal earners 47.4 per cent. are hamals, 13.4 per cent. are shoemakers and repairers, and 16.5 per cent. are masons. It must be mentioned here that a great majority of the independent workers are forced by circumstances to be independent, e.g., the hamals and ash sellers. Under this head there are 3 mendicants. A great majority of the female independent workers consists of ash sellers, dealers in old bottles and earth sellers. Almost all the female employees in the mills are employed in the reeling department. Those who are employed as domestic servants are employed either by Parsee or Goan Christians. Out of 36 women employed in the Municipality all, except one who is a school-mistress, are sweepers.

The general nature of the employment of the non-principal male earners is generally the same as that of the principal heads of the families.

* They are employed either as doffer boys or tarawallas which are poorly paid jobs as can be seen from any enquiry of the Labour Office on the subject.

CHAPTER VII

EARNINGS

THE following statement studies the heads of families in relation to the income-groups.

STATEMENT No. 37.

(Number of heads of families by income-groups)

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of principal earners. | Percentage to the total. |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| nil | 96 | 5.9 |
| 10 and Below | 47 | 2.9 |
| 11 ... 15 | 63 | 3.9 |
| 16 ... 20 | 224 | 13.8 |
| 21 ... 25 | 825 | 50.9 |
| 26 ... 30 | 223 | 13.8 |
| 31 ... 35 | 54 | 3.3 |
| 36 ... 40 | 36 | Negligible |
| 41 ... 45 | 14 | " |
| 46 ... 50 | 14 | " |
| 51 ... 55 | 1 | " |
| 55 ... 60 | 12 | " |
| 65 ... 70 | 1 | " |
| 66 ... 70 | 2 | " |
| 75 | 2 | " |
| 80 | 1 | " |
| 95 | 1 | " |
| 96 ... 100 | 3 | " |
| Total ... | 1619 | |

It would be seen from the above that a majority of the principal heads earn between 16 to 30 rupees per month per capita. There are 96 principal heads of families whose earnings are nil and those of the rest amount to Rs. 37,166, thus the average income per month per head of the family is Rs. 22.9.

The following statement classifies families according to income-groups.

STATEMENT No. 38.

(Classification of families according to income-groups)

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families | Percentage to the total |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| nil | 31 | 1.9 |
| 10 and Below | 37 | 2.3 |
| 11 ... 15 | 50 | 3.1 |
| 16 ... 20 | 152 | 9.4 |
| 21 ... 25 | 431 | 26.6 |
| 26 ... 30 | 290 | 17.9 |
| 31 ... 35 | 132 | 8.2 |
| 36 ... 40 | 122 | 7.5 |
| 41 ... 45 | 114 | 7.0 |
| 46 ... 50 | 137 | 8.5 |
| 51 ... 55 | 23 | Negligible |
| 56 ... 60 | 32 | " |
| 61 ... 65 | 12 | " |
| 66 ... 70 | 13 | " |
| 71 ... 75 | 9 | " |
| 76 ... 80 | 3 | " |
| 81 ... 85 | 5 | " |
| 86 ... 90 | 8 | " |
| 91 ... 95 | 5 | " |
| 96 ... 100 | 9 | " |
| 110 | 1 | " |
| 116 ... 120 | 3 | " |
| Total ... | 1619 | |

The total earnings of all the families per month amount to Rs. 52,770, thus the average income per family is Rs. 32.5 per month. The earnings of the heads of the Gujarati speaking families are Rs. 14,075 per month while those of the Marathi speaking families are Rs. 23,091, i.e., Rs. 22.2 and Rs. 23.5 on an average are earned by the head of each family respectively. Similarly the earnings of the Gujarati and Marathi speaking families are Rs. 22,076 and Rs. 30,694 respectively i.e., each family earns Rs. 34.8 and Rs. 31.1 on an average per month respectively. Thus it would be seen that the average income of each head of the Gujarati speaking family is supplemented by Rs. 12.6 per month and that of the Marathi speaking head by Rs. 7.6 per month. While finding out the extent of indebtedness and the castes and the communities from whom these persons borrow it was seen that some of them have mortgaged their lands in their native places, but it was not possible to estimate how much income a man derives from this source every month.

STATEMENT No. 39.

(Average number of persons per family according to income-groups.) (Gujarati speaking).

| Income-groups (in Rs.). | No. of families. | Number of persons in families | | | | Average No. of persons per family |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|---|
| | | men | women | child- ren | Total | |
| 0-20 | 45 | 47 | 41 | 69 | 157 | 3.4 |
| 21-25 | 175 | 193 | 183 | 320 | 696 | 3.9 |
| 26-30 | 123 | 127 | 152 | 256 | 535 | 4.3 |
| 31-35 | 68 | 68 | 78 | 157 | 303 | 4.4 |
| 36-40 | 62 | 80 | 90 | 133 | 303 | 4.8 |
| 41-45 | 44 | 48 | 48 | 93 | 189 | 4.2 |
| 46 and above | 117 | 182 | 201 | 376 | 759 | 6.4 |
| All incomes | 634 | 745 | 793 | 1404 | 2942 | 4.6 |

STATEMENT, No. 40.

(Marathi speaking).

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families. | Number of persons in families. | | | | Average No. of persons per family. |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|--|
| | | men | women | child- ren | Total | |
| 0-15 | 118 | 149 | 147 | 138 | 434 | 3.6 |
| 16-20 | 107 | 139 | 127 | 125 | 391 | 3.6 |
| 21-25 | 256 | 335 | 341 | 315 | 991 | 3.8 |
| 26-30 | 167 | 261 | 227 | 227 | 715 | 4.2 |
| 31-35 | 64 | 97 | 88 | 90 | 275 | 4.3 |
| 36-40 | 60 | 112 | 100 | 110 | 322 | 5.4 |
| 41-45 | 70 | 128 | 104 | 89 | 321 | 4.6 |
| 46 and above | 143 | 315 | 298 | 217 | 830 | 5.8 |
| All incomes | 985 | 1536 | 1432 | 1311 | 4279 | 4.3 |

Statements 41 and 42 analyse Gujarati and Marathi speaking families according to (1) number of rooms occupied by them and (2) income-groups.

STATEMENT No. 41.

(Gujarati speaking)

| Income- groups (in Rs.) | Number of families living in | | | | | Total No. of families. |
|-------------------------------|---|--------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| | Sharing one room between two or more families. | One room. | Two rooms. | Three rooms. | Four rooms. | |
| 20 and below | 2 | 43 | — | — | — | 45 |
| 21-25 | 11 | 162 | 2 | — | — | 175 |
| 26-30 | — | 123 | — | — | — | 123 |
| 31-35 | 1 | 66 | 1 | — | — | 68 |
| 36-40 | — | 60 | 2 | — | — | 62 |
| 41-45 | 1 | 42 | 1 | — | — | 44 |
| 46 and above | 1 | 100 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 117 |
| All incomes | 16 | 596 | 20 | 1 | 1 | 634 |

STATEMENT No. 42.

(Marathi speaking).

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families living in | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | Sharing one room between two or more families | One room. | Two rooms. | Three rooms. | Total No. of families. |
| 0-15 | 87 | 30 | 1 | — | 118 |
| 16-20 | 38 | 69 | — | — | 107 |
| 21-25 | 81 | 175 | — | — | 256 |
| 26-30 | 62 | 105 | — | — | 167 |
| 31-35 | 20 | 44 | — | — | 64 |
| 36-40 | 17 | 40 | 3 | — | 60 |
| 41-45 | 12 | 55 | 3 | — | 70 |
| 46 and above | 29 | 104 | 8 | 2 | 143 |
| All incomes | 346 | 622 | 15 | 2 | 985 |

CHAPTER VIII

FOOD

THE food of these people consists of bread, curry and rice. Beef is preferred to mutton as it is very cheap. Chapati is prepared on holidays as a special dish. Some families bring curry and rice from hotels mostly Irani and Mahomedan. In many cases it was noticed that even tea is not prepared at home but is ordered from hotels. In some chawls there are tea stalls managed by the people of these classes. Generally people take food thrice : morning, noon and night. The first two meals consist of bread and chutney. School-going children generally take food at 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon and at 9 or 10 o'clock at night. Those whose income is too inadequate beg or even eat the crumbs from other's dishes. Not infrequently rotten fish, vegetables and fruits are bought by some of them but there are some families whose food is quite good.

(Total expenditure on food per month, and the average expenditure on food per adult and per family are determined in the following statements according to the

scale adopted by the Inter Allied Scientific Food Commission :

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Male over 14 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1'00 |
| Female ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0'83 |
| Children below 14 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0'67 |

It was not possible to ascertain the ages of children ; therefore, the average of the following scale was taken as equivalent to one child : child 10 to 14—83, 6 to 16—7 and under 6—5).

Statements 43 and 44 show the average expenditure on food per adult per month in families classified according to their total expenditure on food.

STATEMENT No. 43.

(Gujarati speaking.)

| Expenditure-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families | Average no. of adults per family | Average expenditure on food per adult (in Rs.) |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1-15 | 101 | 2.51 | 5.5 |
| 16-20 | 149 | 3.17 | 4.1 |
| 21-25 | 123 | 3.63 | 6.3 |
| 26-30 | 157 | 3.89 | 7.6 |
| 31-35 | 20 | 4.81 | 7.2 |
| 36-40 | 29 | 4.81 | 8.1 |
| 41-45 | 20 | 5.35 | 8.4 |
| 46 and above | 35 | 6.18 | 8.9 |
| All groups ... | 634 | 3.69 | 6.6 |

STATEMENT No. 44.

(Marathi speaking.)

| Expenditure-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families | Average no. of adults per family | Average expenditure on food per adult (in Rs.) |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 0-15 | 400 | 2.61 | 4.6 |
| 16-20 | 273 | 3.71 | 4.8 |
| 21-25 | 151 | 4.38 | 5.5 |
| 26-30 | 90 | 4.72 | 6.3 |
| 31-35 | 25 | 4.93 | 6.9 |
| 36-40 | 29 | 6.99 | 5.6 |
| 45 and above | 17 | 7.12 | 7.5 |
| All groups ... | 985 | 3.65 | 5.3 |

Relation between the monthly income of each group and the monthly expenditure of the families in that group on food can be known from the following :—

STATEMENT No. 45.

(Gujarati speaking.)

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families | Average income of the family (in Rupees) | Average expenditure on food per family (in Rupees) | P. C. expenditure to the total income |
|------------------------|-----------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| 20 and below | 45 | 16.9 | 18.1 | 106.9 |
| 21 ... 25 | 175 | 23.4 | 19.05 | 81.1 |
| 26 ... 30 | 123 | 28.5 | 23.1 | 80.9 |
| 31 ... 35 | 68 | 33.5 | 24.4 | 72.9 |
| 36 ... 40 | 62 | 38.1 | 30.8 | 80.7 |
| 41 ... 45 | 44 | 43.3 | 27.8 | 64.3 |
| 45 and above | 117 | 60.9 | 32.1 | 52.7 |
| All incomes | 634 | 34.8 | 24.5 | 70.4 |

STATEMENT No. 46.

(Marathi speaking.)

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of families | Average income of the family (in Rupees) | Average expenditure on food per family (in Rupees.) | P. C. expenditure to the total income. |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---|---|---|
| 0—15 | 118 | 9.3 | 11.9 | 127.9 |
| 16—20 | 107 | 17.9 | 14.7 | 82.1 |
| 21—25 | 256 | 23.8 | 14.5 | 61.1 |
| 26—30 | 167 | 29.3 | 15.4 | 52.7 |
| 31—35 | 64 | 33.1 | 20.1 | 60.6 |
| 36—40 | 60 | 39.9 | 25.1 | 62.9 |
| 41—45 | 70 | 44.6 | 22.3 | 49.9 |
| 46 and above | 143 | 63.0 | 37.9 | 60.2 |
| All incomes | 985 | 31.1 | 19.3 | 62.2 |

Relation between the income per adult and the expenditure on food per adult is brought out by the following :—

STATEMENT No. 47.

(Gujarati speaking.)

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | No. of adults | Average income per adult (in Rs.) | Average ex- penditure on food per adult (in Rs.) | P. C. expendi- ture on food to the total income. |
|---------------------------|------------------|--|---|---|
| 20 and below. | 127.26 | 5.9 | 6.4 | 108.4 |
| 21-25 | 559.29 | 7.3 | 5.9 | 80.8 |
| 25-30 | 424.68 | 8.2 | 6.7 | 81.7 |
| 31-35 | 237.93 | 9.5 | 6.8 | 71.5 |
| 36-40 | 243.81 | 9.3 | 7.8 | 83.8 |
| 41-45 | 150.15 | 12.7 | 8.1 | 63.7 |
| 46 and above | 600.75 | 11.8 | 6.2 | 52.5 |
| All incomes | 2343.87 | 9.4 | 6.6 | 70.2 |

STATEMENT No. 48.

(Marathi speaking.)

| Income groups (in Rs.) | No. of adults | Average income per adult (in Rs.) | Average Ex- penditure on food per adult in Rs. | P. C. expendi- ture on food to the total income. |
|---------------------------|------------------|--|---|---|
| 0-15 | 363-47 | 3-3 | 3-8 | 115-1 |
| 16-20 | 328-16 | 5-8 | 4-8 | 82-7 |
| 21-25 | 829-08 | 7-3 | 4-5 | 61-6 |
| 26-30 | 601-50 | 8-1 | 4-2 | 51-8 |
| 31-35 | 230-34 | 9-2 | 5-9 | 64-1 |
| 36-40 | 268-70 | 8-9 | 5-6 | 62-8 |
| 41-45 | 273-95 | 10-4 | 5-7 | 54-8 |
| 46 and above | 707-73 | 12-7 | 7-6 | 59-8 |
| All incomes | 3602-93 | 8-5 | 5-3 | 62-3 |

It would be seen from the above statements that in the case of the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes Rs. 24.5 per family or Rs. 6.6 per adult are spent on food per month. The average income of each family is Rs. 34.8 and therefore 70.2 per cent. of the total income is spent on food. Similarly in the case of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes the average monthly income per family is 31.1 out of which Rs. 19.3 are spent on food per month. Thus it would be seen that 62.3 per cent. of the total monthly income is spent on food. The average expenditure on food per adult is Rs. 5.3 per month. It would be of some interest to see the difference between the expenditure per adult on food and also percentage of the income spent on food of these two different communities.

CHAPTER IX

CLOTHING

THE clothes of these men are generally made of very coarse cloth. Pheta, dhoti and a shirt form the dress of the males. There are some, who, instead of a pheta use a cap ; but in a majority of cases, as they have to work in the sun, they use a pheta as a head-gear. Coats are not very common with the older people. Some of the older people wear a garment called 'upar-na' round their shoulders. School-boys and youths use a pyjama. Children are generally naked. Women wear a saree and bodice. Young girls nowadays use white sarees. The Marathi speaking women tuck sarees, but the Gujarati speaking women wear a ghagra or a skirt upon which a cloth 3 to 5 yards in length is used to serve the purpose of a saree. Their (Gujarati) bodice covers only the bust while the back is exposed.

The clothes which are generally made of cotton are in a majority of cases insufficient and very dirty. They are sometimes purchased second-hand by many people. A long spreading of gunny bags with a quilt of torn clothes upon it, is used to sleep on by all the people sleeping in the room. Pillows are in many cases made

of rags. Cotton blankets or even torn pieces of dhotis or sarees are used as covers. People coming from the Deccan generally bring with them coarse blankets which are popularly known as 'ghongdis.' In short, their clothes reveal their pitiable poverty.

STATEMENT No. 49.

(Annual expenses on clothing).

| Expenditure-groups (in Rs.) | No. of cases. | P. C. to the total no. of cases |
|--------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 0 | 18 | negligible |
| 1 ... 10 | 288 | 17.8 |
| 11 ... 15 | 90 | 5.5 |
| 16 ... 20 | 57 | 3.5 |
| 21 ... 25 | 303 | 18.7 |
| 26 ... 30 | 280 | 17.2 |
| 31 ... 35 | 2 | negligible |
| 36 ... 40 | 106 | 6.5 |
| 41 ... 45 | 183 | 11.3 |
| 46 ... 50 | 21 | negligible |
| 51 ... 55 | 4 | " |
| 56 ... 60 | 140 | 8.6 |
| 61 ... 65 | 7 | negligible |
| 66 ... 70 | 3 | " |
| 71 ... 75 | 53 | 3.2 |
| 86 ... 90 | 40 | negligible |
| 95 | 1 | " |
| 96 ... 100 | 2 | " |
| 101 ... 105 | 10 | " |
| 116 ... 120 | 5 | " |
| 126 ... 130 | 2 | " |
| 146 ... 150 | 3 | " |
| 180 | 1 | " |
| Total ... | 1619 | |

The total expenses on clothing are Rs. 56,172 per year which means Rs. 34.7 per year or Rs. 2.8 per

month are spent on clothing on an average by each family. It should be noted that there are four Gujarati and nineteen Marathi speaking families who spend more than a hundred rupees on clothing each year. The average expenses on clothing of a Gujarati and a Marathi speaking family are respectively Rs. 1.9 and Rs. 3.5 per month.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

BOOTH the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking people were disinclined to furnish sufficient information about the education of their children. Many of them seemed to be unconcerned about it. In the F and G wards on account of compulsory education many children attend primary schools but very few attend English Schools. My personal experience compels me to agree with the complaints of the parents that education is many times beyond their means. It is costly not only from the point of view of purchasing books or paying the monthly fees but from many other points also. In the case of English Schools children do not always get concession in paying fees which is more than two rupees per month. The parents do not grumble so long as the children are in the primary schools where fees are nominal and boys can attend schools even without sufficient clothes on their bodies. Again, in the company of other touchable children, they develop such habits that parents have to stop them from going to schools.

A welfare-worker was once complaining that sometimes parents abuse him for teaching children to be

very clean in body, dress and in many other respects. Children insist on good food and cleanliness in their homes, which parents are unable to provide on account of poverty. Under these circumstances the general tendency of parents is to put their children to some work as soon as they have completed their primary education. Even in the case of those children who are sent to English Schools, not infrequently they have to remain at home for not being able to pay fees for some months. There are a few parents who have sent their boys to colleges for higher education but the general tendency seems to be to put the child to some work in order that it may earn and supplement the family income.

CHAPTER XI

DISEASES AND CURES

THE general ailments of the Depressed Classes are fever, cold, cough, etc. There is hardly a house which is free from these. Besides, there are the ailments of children. To my mind housing conditions are responsible for the different diseases always found among them. In addition to this great factor, there is the great problem of food-stuffs. Generally the food-stuffs used by them are devoid of any vitalising power. Men and women have to do 'hard labour' during the whole day and in return they receive very low remuneration in which they have to manage all household affairs. It is hard to find a house where all the members are employed. Children cannot get milk which is necessary for healthy and sound growth. Instead of milk they get dirty and unhealthy eatables from the street hawkers. They cannot use even water freely. The next important factor is of clothes. Due to heavy work they have to do there is much wear and tear to their clothes. They cannot afford to change their clothes after work, so clothes which are full of dirt and sweat are on their back for all the hours of the day, and are washed when they get a holiday. Under these circumstances they never feel fresh. Taking into consideration the glaring facts re-

vealed in our survey of the 'Housing'—half a dozen persons living in a room of 10' × 10' and the use of tin-pot oil lamps which are highly injurious on account of the carbonic acid gas—there is no wonder if these people are unhealthy and susceptible to diseases.

In an attempt to see how these people face diseases I came to know of many things which are worth considering seriously. I have mentioned in my discussion in the next chapter on "Vital Statistics" that these people prefer sacred ash or black magic thread to medicines and go to the quacks instead of to the qualified medical men. That they cannot pay the bills of the doctors is true; but that they do not take advantage of the free medical help in the way they should is also a fact. Nor are they able to buy good patent medicines from the chemist. Knowing this state of the people many quacks are seen loitering in their localities. They (quacks) are good orators and carry with them attractive advertisements with the result that these men buy cheap 'medicines' from them. But the result is awfully bad. Because "What the ancients fabulously reported of Pandora's Box is strictly true of the Doctor's packet namely that it contains in it seeds and principles of diseases."¹ But like Defoe I am not inclined to attribute stupidity to these people because of their fondness for taking medicines from the quacks who are very sweet talkers and courteous in their manners. In addition to these street 'doctors', there are many quacks who open dispensaries in these localities and make a good living.

They cannot go to the qualified medical men because they cannot afford to pay their charges. But

1. Daniel Defoe, "Description of a Quack Doctor."

when they find that sacred ash or magic thread or even the guaranteed 'medicines' of the quacks are of no avail, they go to the qualified men and it is generally too late. But taking into consideration the poisonous ingredients in the medicines of the quacks one is tempted to conclude that the insistence on the sacred ash or magic thread is the lesser evil.

This leaves one to wonder why they do not take advantage of the free hospitals and dispensaries. That they should take advantage of these is natural but that they do not take their advantage in the way they should is the grim reality. People are afraid of charitable dispensaries and hospitals. They unfortunately think that instead of getting cured they might die earlier if they go to the hospitals or take medicines from the free dispensaries. Besides this, people have other grievances which I shall discuss at length.

Generally the charitable dispensaries open at 8 a.m. and close at 11 a.m. but during these hours the workers—the poor people for whom the charitable dispensaries are chiefly meant—are away toiling for their bread. When they come home the free dispensaries are closed. Naturally they have to give to their suffering dependents some private medical help. If they can, they go to the private certified medical practitioners, but generally they buy ague or cough mixtures or some such mixtures whose healing powers are graphically described in their localities. These mixtures are supposed to cure any disease! If they buy patented mixtures, the evil will decidedly be a lesser one, but these mixtures always are prepared by quacks.

A cursory glance at the localities where the workers live will convince any one of the vast amount of sale

their preparations which are also very cheap have. People blindly trust their operations of eyes, nose and of other limbs of their body to these devils. I have seen a magic pain balm sold for two pice. The bottles of this pain balm sold like hot cakes! About a 100 bottles were sold in less than half an hour. I was greatly amused to see the quack telling the people that he would pay Rs. 500 if the pain balm was proved to be ineffective! Effective it was. No sooner did I apply it to my forehead than it became tan in colour, the skin being burnt up. To come to my original argument, on account of the awkward hours of free dispensaries and their attendance at their respective places of work, these people cannot take advantage of the free dispensaries. Only the mill workers from this point of view are better off. The dispensaries being in the mill compound they can make use of them if they mean to. The municipal workers told me their reasons for not taking advantage of the municipal dispensaries. Their chief contention is that they have to attend to their duties at 7 a.m. while the dispensaries open at 8 a.m. If they go to these dispensaries to save six annas they lose their wages for the day.

But the greatest reason on account of which these people hesitate to take advantage of the charitable dispensaries is worth giving attention to. I have to give it out with a due sense of duty, or I would be failing in my responsibility of revealing their true conditions. With apologies and due respect to the medical profession, I have to say that these people are afraid of the doctors and nurses. It is far from me to suggest that they are neglected or are not properly taken care of. In India even educated people have a prejudice against hospitals

—not to speak of public hospitals—and they go to them only as a last resort. It would be too much to expect of these people to take advantage of the free hospitals and dispensaries. They are afraid, and become nervous if anybody tells them to take advantage of the free medical help. They look upon doctors and nurses with awe and fear. They never feel comfortable and safe with them. Doctors and nurses to them are supernatural beings. People do want to be cured ; they go to the hospitals with that hope. Doctors and nurses try their best to cure the patients. But they are devoid of one thing—soothing words—which is more than a balm to a patient. Doctors come, examine and go away, nurses come at the appointed time to give medicines, etc. There is a clocklike routine. There is no exchange of sympathising words. The people, being ignorant and poor, misunderstand this attitude of the staff and come to the conclusion that they are neglected. Even when they go to the hospitals, not infrequently, they leave them before the disease is cured.

Much propaganda and agitation is necessary in this behalf to impress upon the minds of the people that doctors visit the charitable dispensaries and hospitals at great personal sacrifice to serve the humanity and, therefore, in no way should people distrust them. Also if our medical men soon recognise that their ignorant brethren look upon them with awe and fear and that there is therefore a tendency to shun them it would be better. Sweet words attract these people towards the quacks. Once it is admitted that these people are ignorant the onus of saving their lives lies on their more educated fellow-countrymen.

Cough, fever and rheumatic pains are the constant

ailments reported by many families. In the case of 467 Gujarati and 283 Marathi speaking families following ailments are returned more or less as habitual.

STATEMENT No. 50.

(Ailments.)

| Ailment | No. of families | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Gujarati speaking | Marathi speaking |
| Fever and cough ... | 332 | 134 |
| Fever | 92 | 122 |
| Dysentery | 22 | 2 |
| Asthma | 12 | 8 |
| Consumption & Anæmia | 5 | 3 |
| Syphilis | 2 | — |
| Rheumatism | 2 | 7 |
| Stomach pain & Kidney trouble | — | 6 |
| Hook-worm | — | 1 |
| Total ... | 467 | 283 |

In addition to the above there are the recurring ailments of children. Upon my enquiry into the treatment etc. it was discovered that generally home-medicines are resorted to, in case of their failure quacks are consulted, and if they too fail qualified medical help is taken as a last resort. Only 127 out of 985 Marathi speaking families, or 12.9 per cent. families take advantage of free medical help. Majority of the Gujarati speaking families however, take free medical help. My attempt to ascertain the medical expenses per month per family was not well materialised as I found that

the heads of families could not say it with certainty. Even the monthly expenses on medicine given in the following statement in the case of 138 Marathi families should be taken with some reservation.

STATEMENT No. 51

(Expenses on sickness).

| Expenses on sickness (in Rs.) | No. of families | Total amount (in Rs.) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | 7 | 7 |
| 2 | 38 | 76 |
| 3 | 14 | 42 |
| 4 | 14 | 56 |
| 5 | 28 | 140 |
| 6 | 3 | 18 |
| 7 | 1 | 7 |
| 8 | 4 | 32 |
| 10 | 19 | 190 |
| 12 | 2 | 24 |
| 15 | 2 | 30 |
| 20 | 6 | 120 |
| Total ... | 138 | 742 |

Thus the average expense per family per month due to sickness comes to be Rs. 5.4.

CHAPTER XII

VITAL STATISTICS

THE general tone of the health of the children of the Depressed Classes is far from satisfactory. This is due to want of proper feeding, ignorance and poverty. In almost all the quarters, I found hawkers with sweets for children, but these as is well-known, are prepared and kept in a most unscientific and unhygienic condition. Sweets are full of street dust and flooded with flies. The same is the case with sweet-meat shops in these localities. The following description of a village sweet-meat shop applies equally to shops in these localities. "The shop window is a fond resort of flies, bees and red-wasps which hum about the place in large numbers, while dust from the wayside constantly settles upon the unscreened trays of sweet-meats placed prominently for show."¹ The piece of cloth used to ward off flies is so dirty and greasy that he who may see it may conclude that it has not been washed since it came out of a mill!

In some quarters, I found hawkers selling mutton-sticks but the meat was rotten. There are also many

1. M. B. Ahmed, *The Problem of Rural Uplift in India*, p. 125.

hawkers frequently visiting these places with articles of food prepared from beef. These articles, being very cheap, children and elders alike flock to purchase them. At Walpakhadi, I bought some cabbobs prepared from beef. They were very cheap and for one pice we could get two or three of them, but its smell, on account of the inferior oil used to fry them, was extremely nauseating. I was also surprised to see a long piece of 'tilli' (liver) of a cow sold for a pice. In my Sunday rounds I noticed women hawkers belonging to the Depressed Classes selling beef from door to door at two annas per pound. The way in which the meat was handled by the hawkers was extremely shocking.

Hawkers sell 'kanji' and curry also. Half a tumbler of 'kanji' is sold for a pice and this is purchased for babies. The remarks about the sweet-meat trays are also applicable to the pots containing 'kanji'! Pieces of loaves, curry, cooked vegetables, mutton and many other eatables are bought either from the hawkers or hotels.

From morning to nightfall there is a regular procession of hawkers in these quarters and out of love parents buy from them for their children. It may even be a general rule that there is scarcely a father or mother who does not give a pice or two to his or her children. Children—grown up and small—without even a piece of cloth on their body, with dirty eatables in their hands given by their elders to eat, sit outside their 'houses' in groups, talking, playing or eating in yards, or even on roads, by the side of gutters or other filth and dirt.

Cough, cold, fever, rickets and dysentery seem to be the common diseases prevalent among the children

of these Classes. In some cases bellies of the children appear like drums while in others quite the reverse is the case. Itches are very common. On account of unsound health children always cry and are of irritable nature. Children play in the filth and dust and are often seen playing by the side of water-closets, water taps and gutters ! They have not sufficient clothing to wear and what scanty clothes they wear, are worn out, torn and extremely dirty. It may be pointed out, however, that it is not a feature peculiar to untouchables only. Even among the children of the so-called touchables, belonging to the lower strata of Hindu society, this state of affairs does exist. School-going children are comparatively cleaner, thanks to the efforts of benevolent institutions like the Young Men's Christian Association and the Hindu Sevak Samaj.

In the following statement children born of the principal heads of the family are considered.

STATEMENT No. 52.

(Children Born)

| | Boys | Girls | Total |
|-----------------------|------|-------|-------|
| Gujarati speaking ... | 1163 | 1042 | 2211 |
| Marathi speaking ... | 1368 | 1120 | 2488 |

It would be seen that in the case of the Gujarati speaking people of the Depressed Classes for every

1. The word 'children' includes all the children born of the principal head of the family.



A street-hawker selling kanji to Untouchable children. (The small measure to his left is for measuring one-pice worth of the kanji).



An untouchable child being cropped by a Muhammadan barber.

1,000 boys born there are 891.4 girls and for 1,000 girls born there are 1,121.8 boys. The proportion among the Marathi speaking people is that for 1,000 boys born there are 818.7 girls and 1,000 girls born there are 1,221.4 boys. Of the children born 755 and 1,082 have been dead in the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking people respectively thus giving a death rate of 341.5 and 434.8 per 1,000 children respectively.

(The death rates among children.)

STATEMENT No. 53.

(Gujarati speaking)

| Stages at which children died | Open to risk | Dead | Death rate per 1,000 children |
|---|--------------|------|-------------------------------|
| At birth including still births ¹ ... | 2211 | 32 | 14.4 |
| Within one year ... | 2179 | 339 | 155.5 |
| After one year but before completing the fifth year ... | 1840 | 314 | 170.6 |

1. Generally the death rate is calculated on the basis of live births but I was not able to follow this method in this and other subsequent statements as the people being very ignorant could not understand the difference between the two events viz., death at birth and still birth.

STATEMENT No. 54.

(Marathi speaking)

| Stages at which children died | Open to risk | Dead | Death rate per 1,000 children |
|---|--------------|------|-------------------------------|
| At birth including still births ... | 2488 | 93 | 37.37 |
| Within one year ... | 2395 | 553 | 230.89 |
| After one year but before completing the fifth year ... | 1842 | 371 | 201.4 |

The above two statements would show that the death rates among the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes are greater than the corresponding death rates among the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes. The death rates of children dying after one year but before completing the fifth year and of children dying within one year in the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes respectively are much greater than the other death rates among them. It would be noticed that out of 1000 children born, 309.8 and 408.7 children die before completing the fifth year of their life in the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes respectively. The above statements can be further analysed to see the death rates among boys and girls.



A Meghwal beef-seller.



One of the main gutters in the north of Bombay, with a chawl on its bank. The gutter and the 15 feet strip in between, with all the rubbish characteristic of such a place, is the children's playground.

(Death rates among male children.)

STATEMENT No. 55.

(Gujarati speaking)

| Stages at which children died | Open to risk | Dead | Death rate per 1,000 children |
|---|--------------|------|-------------------------------|
| At birth including still-births ... | 1169 | 21 | 17.9 |
| Within one year ... | 1148 | 164 | 142.8 |
| After one year but before completing the fifth year ... | 984 | 184 | 186.9 |

STATEMENT No. 56.

(Marathi speaking)

| Stages at which children died | Open to risk | Dead | Death rate per 1,000 children |
|---|--------------|------|-------------------------------|
| At birth including still-births ... | 1368 | 56 | 40.9 |
| Within one year ... | 1312 | 296 | 225.6 |
| After one year but before completing the fifth year ... | 1016 | 221 | 217.5 |

It would be seen from the above that out of 1169 boys 369, and out of 1368 boys 573 boys die in the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking people respectively, during the first five years of their life giving the death rate of 315.5 in the Gujarati and 418.8 in the Marathi speaking people per 1000 boys born.

(Death rates among female children)

STATEMENT No. 57.

(Gujarati speaking)

| Stages at which children died | Open to risk | Dead | Death rate per 1,000 children |
|---|--------------|------|-------------------------------|
| At birth including still-births ... | 1,042 | 11 | 10.5 |
| Within one year ... | 1,031 | 175 | 169.7 |
| After one year but before completing the fifth year ... | 856 | 130 | 151.8 |

STATEMENT No. 58.

(Marathi speaking)

| Stages at which children died | Open to risk | Dead | Death rate per 1,000 children |
|---|--------------|------|-------------------------------|
| At birth including still-births ... | 1,120 | 37 | 33.3 |
| Within one year ... | 1,083 | 257 | 237.3 |
| After one year but before completing the fifth year ... | 826 | 150 | 181.6 |

It would be seen that 316 girls out of 1,042 girls born die within the first five years of their life thus giving a death rate of 303.2 per 1,000 girls in respect of the Gujarati speaking people while in the case of the

Marathi speaking people out of 1,120 girls born 444 die, the death rate being 396.4 per 1,000 for the corresponding period. If the respective death rates of both boys and girls from these two sections are compared it would be clearly noticed that the death rates of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes are much higher than the corresponding death rates of the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes.

The statements regarding the death rates of children among the Gujarati speaking people would show that the death rate of boys at birth is larger than the corresponding death rate of girls. The death rate of girls dying within one year is much greater than that of the boys at the same age ; while the death rates among boys dying after one year but before completing the fifth year is far greater than the same death rate among girls. If the death rate of boys dying within the first five years of life is considered, it would be seen that it is greater than the corresponding death rate of girls.

Similarly if the respective death rates of both boys and girls of the Marathi speaking people are compared it would be seen that the death rate of boys dying at birth is much higher than that of girls dying at the same age. The death rate of girls dying within one year is higher than the corresponding death rate among boys. But the death rate of boys dying after one year but before completing the fifth year is much higher than the corresponding rate among girls.

In the case of 241 children belonging to the Gujarati and 219 children of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes, the immediate cause of their death could

be ascertained. In almost all cases fever was accompanied by cough. Fevers, however, could not be classified.

(Causes of death.)

STATEMENT No. 59.

(Gujarati speaking)

| Causes of death | No. of children | P. c. to the total no. |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| Fever & Cough ... | 190 | 78.84 |
| Dysentery ... | 33 | 13.69 |
| Small-pox ... | 18 | 7.47 |
| Total ... | 241 | 100 |

STATEMENT No. 60.

(Marathi speaking)

| Causes of death | No. of children | P. c. to the total no. |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| Fever & Cough ... | 141 | 64.38 |
| Small-pox ... | 24 | 10.95 |
| Chicken-pox ... | 12 | 5.47 |
| Consumption ... | 10 | 4.56 |
| Intestinal diseases ... | 10 | 4.56 |
| Dysentery ... | 8 | 3.65 |
| Cholera ... | 6 | 2.7 |
| Plague ... | 2 | negligible |
| Teething ... | 2 | negligible |
| Convulsions ... | 2 | negligible |
| Rickets ... | 1 | " |
| Cancer ... | 1 | " |
| Total ... | 219 | |

It was not possible to get details of the ages at which the children died; the above statements are useful in so far as they enable us to know the different causes of mortality.

In the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes confinement generally takes place in the free maternity hospitals but quite the reverse is the case as regards the Marathi speaking people, the reason, in a majority of cases, being prejudice. They believe that either the mother or the child dies in the hospital! Some Mahar and Chamar women told me that if a very hot bath and good warmth with a shegree is taken for about a couple of months after delivery, then the woman keeps herself fit. After the bath the woman is wrapped up in a coarse blanket—ghongdi—and thus all efforts are made to give her as much warmth as possible. But the woman seldom gets rest. Even as regards the Gujarati women, once they return home with their new born babes from the hospitals, the whole environment changes. The woman, whether Gujarati or Marathi speaking can neither have rest nor nourishing food, nay, she cannot even get plenty of fresh air with the result that babies, in a majority of cases, die a premature death. When babies suffer from any disease these people prefer sacred ash or black thread supposed to possess magic properties to medicine and would rather consult 'mantriks' and astrologers than qualified medical men. They are prone to accuse their neighbours of witchcraft!

I enquired of 591 Gujarati and 693 Marathi speaking women as to how they arrange for their delivery. The findings are as under :—

STATEMENT No. 61.

| | Home | Hospital | Home & Hospital | Total |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Gujarati speaking | 59 (10 p. c.) | 504 (85.2 p. c.) | 28 (4.8 p. c.) | 591 (100) |
| Marathi speaking | 542 (78.2 p. c.) | 130 (18.8 p. c.) | 21 (3 p. c.) | 693 (100) |

The following are the available figures of expenditure on each delivery :—

STATEMENT No. 62.

(Maternity expenses)

| Amount (in Rs.) | No. of cases | Total amount (in Rs.) |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 5 | 42 | 210 |
| 10 | 174 | 1,740 |
| 15 | 184 | 2,760 |
| 20 | 124 | 2,480 |
| 25 | 114 | 2,850 |
| 30 | 51 | 1,530 |
| 35 | 8 | 280 |
| 40 | 41 | 1,640 |
| 45 | 4 | 180 |
| 50 | 29 | 1,450 |
| 60 and above | 8 | 575 |
| Total ... | 779 | 15,695 |

Thus it would be seen that on an average Rs. 20-1 are spent on each maternity among the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking people. The figures, however, do not cover only the actual expenses in connection with maternity, but they also include the amounts which a man spends for 'pan-supari', tea and coffee given to the friends and relatives in honour of the birth of a child. Many times 'bhajans', 'jalsas', and different kinds of entertainment are arranged to celebrate the occasion particularly if there is a male child. There is also a tendency to contribute one's mite to some institutions belonging to the community or which serve some useful purpose. Out of the total expenditure, very little amount is spent on the mother or the child. The expenses do not vary much even if the delivery takes place in the hospitals.

CHAPTER XIII

VICE

PROSTITUTION :—Among these Classes open prostitution goes on on a large scale at Kamathipura. In Bombay there are different grades of prostitutes and those of these Classes belong to the lowest among them. Many of the prostitutes from these Classes live a miserable and a wretched life in spite of their outward wantonness.

Women from the Depressed Classes who have taken to this profession come from all the quarters of the presidency. Some of them appear to be extremely dirty, their clothes are torn and worn out, the pillows are without cases and even the rotten cotton peeps out of them. I marked their mattresses and pillows etc. which seemed to be full of dirty and ugly patches. Rarely I found a bed sheet on the bed ; the question of changing a sheet after each union therefore does not arise ! In short the whole atmosphere is disgusting and shocking. If this sort of prostitution is tolerated it would not only spread venereal diseases but other infectious diseases also.

Customers do not visit them with the idea of pleasure and satisfaction but to calm the brute in them.

They being completely dominated by the brute, are not aware of the surrounding atmosphere, nor care to take notice of it. They are poor Parsees, Muhammadans, Hindus and Christians. Some of these prostitutes dress themselves as Christians i. e. wear gowns and try to attract the Tommies. I followed a prostitute in the company of a Tommy on the Reclamation ground and to my great surprise I found the couple not having exchanged a single word during about two hours. They do not know English except the figures from 1 to 10 and settle bargains with the Tommies by telling them the figures they would charge for their services. Many girls from the Foras Road even though dressed like Christians are not Christians but belong to the Depressed Classes.

On account of poverty in some cases parents are responsible for this evil to some extent. They connive at their daughters in the beginning if they go 'a little astray' as it indeed brings more money than any other profession does. The greatest opposition that came to the "Aniti Vidhavansak Sangh" which was started at Kamathipura a few years ago, was from the parents. The attempt of some of the young energetic men of the Depressed Classes to stop this growing menace to their community proved in vain. Also old women given to this life seduce young girls to court this profession. Young girls thus seduced, in spite of the wretched and the most dirty life like this profession because not only are they able to lead a free life but if they are good looking and strong then at the cost of their customers, are able to eat and drink. Beer is the favourite drink with them. Young and

handsome girls earn more than old women who are indeed miserable.

I happened to see an old woman of about forty years of age. She was haggard and stout and completely out of shape. She was eating out of dirty tin pots. She told me that she had not taken a morsel of food in two days because she being old had no attraction for any customer. With sobs she said to me, "Time is changed." This woman was a Devadasi. I asked her why she became a Devadasi, and she told me, "I was always sickly in my girlhood and so I was offered to God. Now I must lead the life of a prostitute otherwise God would be angry." She was hardly getting one visitor per day though her charge was not more than four annas per intercourse. Another prostitute whom I interviewed told me that she was about twenty seven years old. She was from Phaltan. She was married and came to Bombay along with her husband thirteen years ago. Her husband was a drunkard and used to beat her every day. She was seduced by some old women and then she came to live on the Foras Road, to live the life of a prostitute. She gets five to six rupees a day. During the last thirteen years the highest number of men with whom she cohabited during one night was six—not to speak of the number of intercourses. She had a daughter born of a customer. While talking with me she was conscious of her shameful life. Another woman of about twenty-five years of age told me that she was following the profession for the last ten years. She was married but she admitted that she had extra-marital relations with different persons long before

her marriage. Once her husband having caught her red-handed drove her away. She had copulated with twelve different persons in one night. Another woman told me that she had gone to Ajmere in the company of her parents, where she was living along with them but being tired of them she came to Bombay with a Muhammadan five years ago. She told me, "I am getting on well." Another prostitute told me that she was from Deolali and took to this profession three years ago. She had copulated with ten different persons in one night.

All these women were firm on one point that they were not prepared to give up their profession. When I asked them, "What would you do in your old days?". They replied, "We shall die as beggars." I asked them whether they would be willing to live with one man as his keep or wife. They answered in the negative. They refused to be under the domination of man. "Even good women are treated harshly and are neglected, what guarantee is there that we, who after all are prostitutes, would be properly treated? At the most for the first few days man would make a show of his love but afterwards he is bound to drive us away. In these circumstances our state would be most lamentable." These words depict their feelings and difficulties. Is it then a wonder that they were not willing to give up their profession? They seemed willing however, to pass a night in the company of one man if he gave them three to five rupees.

Customers who visit these places have to settle the price according to the time or the number of intercourses. In addition to this he has to pay for the

beer and other eatables if asked for. I asked one of the prostitutes how they keep up their strength in spite of the fact that during one night they have more than a dozen intercourses. "It is beer", they said. They induce the customer to give them beer, a glass of which is taken after each union.

They try to squeeze their customers as much as possible ; yet they are not free from debts. They borrow from the Marwari, Pathan and other money lenders. Each prostitute in addition to her daily visitors has a "lover". He is a bully. He does nothing and whatever she earns, she gives him. She submits to his force ungrudgingly. He gives her 'spiritual' satisfaction.

In conclusion, I repeat that the foremost reason on account of which women from the Depressed Classes are easily seduced into prostitution is their poverty. There are different agencies in this locality which are on the look out for the girls, and are commission agents of the prostitutes. I may illustrate my point. A man has a 'pan' or a cycle shop but either of these is his side business, his real business being to procure customers for the prostitute who gives him a good commission. It would not be out of place to mention one more scandal. There are many shop-keepers who purchase bottles of beer and sell them to the customers of the prostitutes for double the price when the bars from the locality are closed. Thus the shop-keeper is able to get a large profit on a small capital. The prostitute too gets her commission from him.

(2) *Intoxicants* :—624 principal heads out of 985 Marathi speaking families are in the habit of taking

some kind of intoxicant. Toddy, country liquor and beer are some of the drinks in which these people indulge. Thus 63·4 p.c. of the heads are addicted to some intoxicants while the remaining 36·6 p.c. said that they did not take any drink. Out of 624 men 12 are habituated to 'ganja.' Those who take toddy do not prefer fresh toddy but that which is very stale because with less quantity and money, they get the satisfaction of intoxication. Some Mangs told me that they took "Denatured Spirit" because for four or five annas they get a bottle containing about 28 ozs. of spirit.

Out of 612 men who are in the habit of taking liquor 104 told me quite candidly that they are habituals while out of the remaining 508 some take it once in every month—on the pay day—some twice and so on. The habitual drunkards thus form 16·9 p. c. of those who take liquor. I am inclined to take the statement of the second group of people at some discount because many of them, out of shame tried to conceal the real state from me.

Out of 634 principal heads of the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes, one is in the habit of taking opium. He also smokes Ganja. Of the remaining 633 men 406 flatly denied having taken intoxicants. Out of the remaining 227 men 66 admitted that they sometimes, especially when they attend any marriage or funeral, take liquor. While 161 men said that they took liquor every day. Thus it would be seen that 35·9 p.c. men of the total principal heads of families take liquor. Of those who take intoxicants 70·2 p. c. take it always.

(3) *Cotton Figures* :—Men, women and children of these Classes are in the habit of backing cotton figures. I was very much surprised to see their blind faith in a madman or an odd-looking fellow. They consult them, give them pice, toddy or liquor to know the correct figure to be backed that day. Madness or any other oddity has become a good profession. No sooner an oddity is seen than its possessor is besieged by the people—not only of these particular classes but by all. There are many sadhus who drive a brisk business. I have seen in many localities where working class people live, sadhus or fakirs in victorias or taxies loitering here and there and surrounded by people who are anxiously waiting for the sadhus to speak something which is suggestive of the figure to be backed on that day. Cheap newspapers have a good sale in their localities because they give “the sure chance” of the day or of the week. There are besides, many people, who write on the streets, walls of the compound, lavatories and footpath ; in fact everywhere figures are written with chalk or charcoal and these people, with the idea of getting money to support them in their household expenditure, back the number.

A round at night in their localities will show men and women waiting for the ‘boy’ crying ‘opening’ and ‘closing’ etc. It is a harrowing sight to see these men—poor people—giving a pice—a portion of their hard earned wage—for a paper which is of the size of the postcard and on which many times the opening and the closing rates are stamped with rubber. Besides the amount backed on a particular day an anna or two, is spent for purchasing sure tips and the opening and

the closing rates of the New York Market. I have seen many boys and men who sell the opening and the closing rates, stamping on the paper any figure with a rubber stamp. People are mad over this. They sacrifice their sleep and their rest. In the first instance I was told by one of them that one backs a figure to become rich and that when he is defeated he backs again in order to recoup his loss. Not a few persons borrow money from Pathans and Marwaris in order to be able to back a figure.

CHAPTER XIV

EXPENSES ON RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

MAJORITY of the Marathi speaking people of the Depressed Classes undertake some pilgrimage and spend even beyond their means in different religious functions. There are 164 persons who have spent Rs. 3,436 on different pilgrimages. If not every year, at least once every two years they undertake pilgrimages to places like Pandharpur, Jejuri and Alandi. On an enquiry why so much money is required, it was found that a pilgrim gives a dinner either at the holy place or after his return from the pilgrimage to his neighbours, etc.

There are two families spending Rs. 120 per year for worshipping God Shanker. Another man spends Rs. 20 on the Akshay Tertiya day. Rs. 40 are spent by one on Gondhal every year. There are 12 families performing Satya Narayan puja at a total cost of Rs. 156 per year. In 90 families Gaur and Ganpati are worshipped and Rs. 1,360 are spent on that account. In the month of Bhadrapad death anniversaries of the dead relations are observed, and for this 83 families spend Rs. 547. In the month of Shravan, puranas written in the vernacular are read in different houses.

Reading of one puran lasts for a week called Saptah. On the termination of the reading, relatives and friends are entertained to dinner. There are 228 families which spend Rs. 2,465.5, on that account.

Generally religious ceremonies are followed by caste-dinner, hence so much expenditure is incurred. Besides these many families contribute their mite to the bhajans which take place every week in their locality.

It was not possible to note the expenses for particular functions in the case of the Gujarati speaking persons, but it was seen that they organise bhajan parties. Both the groups, however, observe the Hindu holidays and fasts.

CHAPTER XV

INDEBTEDNESS

INDEBTEDNESS must be given a high place among the causes responsible for the low standard of living of the workers. Majority of industrial workers are in debt for the greater part of their working lives. Many, indeed, are born in debt and it evokes both admiration and regret to find how commonly a son assumes responsibility for his father's debt, an obligation which rests on religious and social but seldom on legal sanctions.¹ Deaths, marriages and different religious ceremonies such as pilgrimages, etc. and sicknesses are responsible to a very great degree for swelling the debts of these people. When a man dies his heir gives caste dinner and performs some religious rites ; in marriages dej and caste dinners are the two important items of expenditure ; pilgrimages to Dehu, Alandi, Pandharpur, and other sacred places are generally undertaken every year, some amount is usually spent on the 'Jatra' which takes place yearly at one's native place ; and the last but the most important fact that the earnings are too

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour*, pp. 224, 225.

inadequate to make both the ends meet, all these causes combined make a heavy load of debt under which a worker is buried.

The prompt repayment of the capital is not usually desired by the money-lender. He prefers to remain a creditor and receive interest, and in most cases he does not receive the full amount of interest with regularity.¹ The Pathans say, "Cursed be the Mother of the capital." As the defaults are added to the capital, not infrequently a trifling sum becomes a permanent and heavy load of debt. In a number of families a stage is reached where a creditor takes from the worker the whole of his wages and also of other members of his family if need be, and pays him only just sufficient for their subsistence.² A worker is obliged to stint himself and his family of bare necessities of life to meet interest charges without the faintest prospect of ever being able to reduce the principal.³ Many money-lenders take the precaution of making their dues the first charge on labour and outside the gates of many, perhaps most, large factories on pay day stands the Pathan or other money-lender awaiting his dues.⁴ Out of 634 Gujarati speaking families only 15 and out of 985 Marathi speaking families only 137 are free from debts. Thus it would be seen that 97.6 per cent of the Gujarati and 86.9 per cent. of the Marathi speaking families are indebted.

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 225.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. *Ibid.*

The following list gives the castes and communities of the persons from whom these persons have either borrowed money or are otherwise indebted to them and their number. But it was found that some of the Gujarati speaking families which are indebted were unwilling to disclose the name or names of their creditors.

STATEMENT No. 63

(Classification of indebted families according to creditors.)

| Creditor | No. of families indebted | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| | Gujarati speaking | Marathi speaking |
| Bhangis ... | 9 | — |
| Bhayyas ... | 2 | 2 |
| Brahmins ... | — | 11 |
| Christians ... | 1 | — |
| Marathas ... | — | 20 |
| Marwaris ... | 507 | 47 |
| Pathans ... | 14 | 13 |
| Wanis ... | 26 | 579 |
| Marwari & Pathan ... | 22 | 1 |
| Marwaris & Wanis ... | — | 25 |
| Marwaris, Pathans & Wanis ... | — | 19 |
| Pathan & Wani ... | — | 44 |
| Total ... | 581 | 761 |

There are only two families from the Gujarati speaking and six families from the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes who have borrowed money from the Co-operative Credit Societies ; besides these among the

Marathi speaking Depressed Classes there are forty families who have borrowed money from their own relations ; nine families have either borrowed money from marwaris and relations, pathans and relations or wanis and relations. Twenty-five families have mortgaged their land to the sawkars from their native places and four families have mortgaged their ornaments.

Out of the indebted families the following furnished information regarding the amount of their total debts.

STATEMENT No. 64

(Families classified according to magnitude of debts).

| Amount of debt | No. of families indebted | p. c. to the total families indebted |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 100 and below | 111 | 20.9 |
| 101 ... 200 | 141 | 27.4 |
| 201 ... 300 | 88 | 16.5 |
| 301 ... 400 | 62 | 11.7 |
| 401 ... 500 | 86 | 16.1 |
| 501 ... 600 | 11 | negligible |
| 601 ... 700 | 10 | " |
| 701 ... 800 | 8 | " |
| 1000 and above | 15 | " |
| Total ... | 532 | |

The total amount of debts of the above 532 families is Rs. 1,61,586. Thus it would be seen that each indebted family has a debt of Rs. 303.7 on an average. It should be noted that the above statement includes ten families belonging to the Gujarati speaking and five families belonging to the Marathi speaking Depressed

Classes who are indebted to the extent of over a thousand rupees each. The total amount of debts of 223 Gujarati speaking families comes to Rs. 97,800 which means each indebted family has a debt of Rs. 438.5 on an average. Similarly the total amount of debts of 309 Marathi speaking families comes to Rs. 63,785 which means that on an average each indebted family has a debt of Rs. 206.4. It is very difficult to ascertain the amount of interest paid by each family to the sawkar as the money is not borrowed from one single creditor.

Out of 11 Brahmin sawkars 4 charge 25% per annum as interest or what is called Sawai. There are two who charge 75%, three charge 37½% and two charge 18½% per annum. The last is the lowest rate of interest!

In case of land mortgage, I was told that these families had to yield crops to the sawkars in exchange for interest. There are four cases where ornaments are pledged. The rate of interest in one case is 75%, in two cases 37½% and in one case 18½% per annum. The land or the ornaments are pledged either with a Brahmin or a Maratha or a Marwari sawkar.

The Marathas too charge as high as 225% interest, their lowest charge being 18½% per annum.

The Pathan sawkars charge 300%, the Marwari sawkars charge 150% and the Wanis charge 75% interest per annum. The Pathans and the Marwaris recover their interest of the first month in advance. They also give commission to the people if 'clients' are taken to them, which is in the form of lower rate of interest!

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

HAVING considered the socio-economic conditions of the Depressed Classes so far, it can be stated that the problem of untouchability is four-fold. "First, there is the immediate need of removing the disabilities that actually hamper the development of the individual by acting as hindrance in the way of better and cleaner living. Second, to enable these classes to appreciate a cleaner and more moral mode of life. Third, to accustom the members of other sections to a freer social intercourse with these people. And lastly to undermine and eradicate the exclusivist spirit of caste."¹

It is essential to compare the socio-economic conditions of the Depressed Classes with those of other Classes to ascertain the extent to which the members of the untouchable classes suffer and how far their progress is retarded on account of untouchability. The only investigations so far made with a claim to statistical adequacy are those conducted by the Labour Office of Bombay in the principal industrial centres of

1. G. S. Ghurye, "Untouchable classes and their Assimilation in the Hindu Society," *Aryan Path*, Feb. 1933, p. 89.

the presidency. Mr. M. G. Bhagat's study of the "Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra" is useful for comparison of the life-conditions of the Depressed Classes of Bombay city with those of Maharashtra. The Report on the Enquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay city, 1935, is very useful as it enables us to compare the condition of the Untouchable workers with that of other workers of Bombay.

The percentage distribution of families in the various income-groups of the present sample and that of the sample in Mr. Bhagat's enquiry as also in that of the Labour Office is presented in the following statement :—

STATEMENT No. 65

| Income-groups (in Rs.) | Per cent Families. | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| | Labour Office Enquiry ¹ | Mr. Bhagat's Enquiry ² | Present Enquiry | |
| | | | Gujarati speaking | Marathi speak- ing |
| 30 and below | 12.2 | 91.2 | 38.5 | 57.6 |
| 30 ... 40 | 20.2 | 4.8 | 29.7 | 17.2 |
| 40 ... 50 | 26.2 | 2.1 | 22.6 | 13.5 |
| 50 ... 60 | 16.3 | 1.9 (Rs. | 5.5 | 5.3 |
| 60 ... 70 | 10.0 | 50 and above) | .3 | 3.2 |
| 70 ... 80 | 5.2 | | 1.9 | .7 |
| 80 ... 90 | 4.1 | | .6 | .6 |
| 90 and above | 5.8 | | .9 | 1.9 |
| Total ... | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

1. *Enquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay City (1935)*, the percentages are computed from the statement on p. 31, column 2.

2. M. G. Bhagat, "The Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra", *Journal of the Bombay University*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 147, Table 21.

It has already been shown in statements 37 and 38 that the earnings of the principal earner and that of the family are Rs. 22·9 and Rs. 32·5 respectively per month. From the above analysis it would be noticed that in the Gujarati speaking families 38·5 per cent. and in the Marathi speaking families 57·6 per cent. earn less than Rs. 30 per month. Whereas nearly 53 per cent. of the families of the working classes comprising the sample of the Labour Office Enquiry, earn between 40 to 70 rupees per month, only 29 per cent. of the Gujarati speaking and 22 per cent. of the Marathi speaking untouchable workers in the present sample earn as much. The average monthly income per family of these classes according to the same Enquiry is Rs. 50·1·7 while my sample reveals that the average monthly incomes of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking families are Rs. 34·8 and Rs. 31·1 respectively, per family. Whether these lower rates of earning are due to untouchability or something else is very difficult to say. But it is significant to note in this connection that in the Labour Office Report 64·47 per cent. of the budgets are shown to belong to the mill workers, a great majority of whom are employed as weavers, jobbers, mukadams and spinners,¹ whereas in the present Enquiry it has been shown very clearly that the members of the Depressed Classes are not employed in those departments where good wages are paid. Further according to the Report on the Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay of 1923 the average monthly income of scavengers was Rs. 42 ; and 39·9 per cent. families earned between Rs. 40 and 50 per month.²

¹ Op. cit., p. 5

² 1923, p. 230, Table XLVII.

A great majority of earners from the Gujarati speaking families in the present sample are employed as scavengers and their monthly average earnings per family are Rs. 34.8 and only 19 per cent. of them earn between Rs. 40 and 50. It would be seen that the earnings of the scavengers have fallen from Rs. 42 to Rs. 34.8 per month during the last decade.

Leaving aside the expenditure on barber, sickness and other occasional items, there should be no difficulty (looking at the averages on food, rent and clothing) for these people to get food to eat and 'room' to live in. But such a deduction would be highly erroneous because there are debts to reckon with. The average amount of debt per family according to statement 64, is Rs. 303.7, while that in the case of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking families is Rs. 438.5 and Rs. 206.4 respectively. Even assuming for the sake of argument that the rate of interest is one anna per month per rupee, it should be remembered that a lion's share of the worker's wages is taken away by the 'sawkar.' Thus the apparently balanced budget is being upset ruthlessly. Though the income of the working classes is higher than that of the untouchable workers, a family of the former group is indebted to the extent of Rs. 174.9-2.¹ The position of the untouchable workers, who as we have seen already, are worse off as regards their earnings, is rendered still more difficult by their heavier indebtedness.

To make this burden lighter, I would suggest that a committee be formed under the presidency of a judge of the Small Causes Court. The money lenders should

¹ Op. cit., 1935, p. 31.

register their claims with the committee who, after considering the amount of interest paid, should fix up the sum of the loan. A low rate of interest should be charged and the debtors should be made to pay the instalments in the office of the committee. The new loans should not be recognized unless registered in the committee's office and the amount paid in the presence of a member of the committee. This scheme would involve great difficulties no doubt but unless such an effective measure is put into operation nothing can save the debtors from the tyranny of the 'sawkars' and it would be impossible for them to balance their monthly budgets. Earnings must be increased but increment in wages without any protection from the exorbitant claims of the creditors would result in filling the coffers of the money-lenders.

Comparing these two types of workers in respect of their housing it is seen that the Depressed Classes are no better as the following statement almost conclusively proves it :—

STATEMENT No. 66

| | Per cent Families | | | | |
|--|---|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| | sharing one room between two or more families | one room | two rooms | three rooms | four rooms |
| Workers of the 1935 Enquiry ¹ | 9.87 | 68.96 | 20.56 | .14 | .47 |
| Gujarati speaking | 2.5 | 94.0 | 3.1 | .2 | .2 |
| Marathi " | 35.1 | 63.1 | 1.5 | .2 | .0 |

1. Statement on p. 23 of the 1935 Enquiry of the Labour Office is in the terms of tenements, with the help of the foot-note on that page it is computed to find out families per room for this comparison.

To get still more adequate idea of overcrowding among these classes it is essential to examine the average size of family of these classes with that of the other labouring classes of Bombay. The following statement is useful for this purpose :—

STATEMENT No. 67

| | Number of Persons in the Family | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Men | Women | Children | Total |
| Labour Office Enquiry 1935 ¹ ... | 1.33 | 1.26 | 1.11 | 3.70 |
| Gujarati speaking | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.2 | 4.6 |
| Marathi " | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 4.2 |

It is seen that the average size of the family of the Depressed Classes is larger than that of the other classes ; and this holds good also for rural areas. Mr. Bhagat's study shows that the average number of persons per family is 7.8² which is larger than the average size of a family in Pimla-Saudagar as also in Jategaon Budruk which is found to be 5³ while in the Kolaba district it is found to be 5.66⁴ and in the Konkan

1. 1935 Enquiry of the Labour Office, p. 8.

2. The average is computed from the Table 3 of Mr. Bhagat's study.

3. H. H. Mann, *Land & Labour in a Deccan Village* : Study I, p. 124 and Study II, p. 107.

4. S. R. Deshpande and G. S. Ghurye, "Some Village Studies" : *Indian Journal of Economics*, Vol. VII, p. 472.

village it is 4.6.¹ The overcrowding per room among the Depressed Classes living in Bombay is indeed alarming.

Thus it would be noticed that the untouchable classes are really depressed in every way. They are on the lowest rung of the ladder in all aspects of life as a result of more than one cause. Untouchability cutting them off from social contact with better ways of living as it does is one of them. It is the duty of every one to see that birth does not come in the way of any one to realise his or her potentialities. Much propaganda is, therefore, necessary both among the touchables and untouchables in this direction. Mr. Bhagat says that reformers as well as those who have taken the responsibility of eradicating untouchability should try to introduce freer intercourse between touchables and untouchables by means of "Bhajans, Kirtans and Pravachans"² but "the path of social reforms, like the path to heaven, at any rate in India, is strewn with many difficulties"³ and the chief and foremost among them is the spirit of caste. Professor G. S. Ghurye has in clear and unequivocal words stated that removal of untouchability depends on the disappearance of the spirit of caste.⁴ As a spokesman of untouchables the following remark of Dr. B. R. Ambedker epitomizes his attitude. He says, "As an economic organization caste is... a harmful institution, inasmuch as, it in-

1. V. G. Ranade, *Economic & Social Survey of a Konkan Village*, p. 60.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

3. B. R. Ambedker, *Annihilation of Caste*, p. 2.

4. G. S. Ghurye, *op. cit.*

volves the subordination of Man's natural powers and inclinations to the exigencies of social rules."¹

The problem of housing the Depressed Classes is the most important one because the existing housing conditions have marked detrimental effects on their health and efficiency. They are to-day a crowd of sick people, tired, dull and cheerless. It can be truly said that hours spent outside in earning bread are far healthier than those spent in chawls. On human grounds at least, the problem must be solved, cost what it may. To provide good houses to these people is the immediate need ; by good houses I do not mean houses of brick and stone ; what is meant is sufficient space with a good deal of privacy, plenty of free air and water and a sufficient number of baths and lavatories. Besides, the passages in the chawls ought to be cleaned twice a day and there ought to be many dust bins. Railways, municipalities and large industrial concerns should provide their workers with good quarters the rent of which must be proportionate to the earnings and extremely moderate. An airy room, of reasonable dimensions with a small kitchen, would suffice for each family. If the rents are nominal the rule that a room should not be shared between different families should be rigorously applied.

It is true that the living and the homes of the members of the Depressed Classes are far more dirty than those of the touchable working classes and therefore unless housing of the former is improved no amount of propaganda in the direction of cleanliness would yield any tangible results. Tin sheds with

1. Op. cit., p. 14.

tiled roofs would not require much investment and so it would be possible to rent out rooms at cheaper rates. In the vicinity of such camps there should be a big hall—shed—for conducting different industrial classes both for males and females during the day time. It would be a shelter—dormitory—for the homeless, for the bachelors and for the students to recreate, to study and to sleep. Such an arrangement would greatly minimise the overcrowding in each room. If some open space is provided near such a colony, people would be able to keep sheep—poor man's cow—and children would get milk.

Apart from overcrowding, water supply and sanitation leave much to be desired so far as the working class localities are concerned.¹ To promote cleaner life municipalities must provide baths and lavatories in the localities of the working classes in general and of the Depressed Classes in particular. To help the scavenging section of the Depressed Classes to become cleanly, ways and means should be devised to enable them to carry on their work without bringing their bodies in direct contact with the dirty material that has to be handled.²

Improved housing alone would help to reduce substantially the present appalling child mortality among these people. Excessive mortality in infancy implies excessive mortality in later life because those children who, on account of their superior resistance do live to maturity are often seriously impaired in health. The survivors of infant mortality bear in their bodies the

1. Labour Office (1935), p. 27.

2. G. S. Ghurye, *Op. cit.* p. 90.

marks of its causes and conditions. Weak in body or mind, or both, they become the fathers and mothers of the next generation and social regeneration is indefinitely delayed.¹ To stop this shocking drain on human life Government and municipalities should offer plots of ground gratis for the construction of houses to any private association or individual who wants to build up a colony for these people as suggested above with control over rent. It is the job of the appropriate authorities at all costs to put an end to defective housing, to institute modern methods of sewage disposal, to provide for adequate and suitable sanitary arrangements and water supplies and to see that the people are trained in the right use of all these services. Unless there are radical changes in these matters the population is bound to be ravished by millions of deaths.

That the present hours of attendance of the free dispensaries do not suit the working classes is obvious. Due to inadequacy of the number of dispensaries there is always a great rush at them and unless a few hours are spent it is not possible to get medicine. The opening hours of the dispensaries should be changed and they should be kept open from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. When private dispensaries are kept open at these hours, I do not see any difficulty in keeping free dispensaries open at these hours. I have also received some complaints that sometimes some members of the staff of these dispensaries ask the members of the Depressed Classes to go to their leaders for medicines. The staff must be instructed to be very kind and helpful.

1. *Infant-welfare Work in Europe*, (Department of Labour U. S. A.) p. 7.

There are five Maternity Homes maintained by the Bombay Municipality and it is "interesting to note that out of 36,757 births (including 2,329 still births) registered in the City in 1935, 25,433 or 69.2 per cent. took place in Maternity Homes, as against 68.3 per cent. in 1934."¹ The percentage of women taking advantage either of Municipal Maternity Homes or private Maternity Homes is decidedly greater on the basis of births registered in the City. Though this reveals that a great number of women are overcoming the dread of going to the 'homes', yet it would be erroneous to infer that a great majority of women living in Bombay take advantage of maternity homes because there are a number of women who go to their native homes for delivery. It is also of great importance to see the social position of the women taking advantage of maternity homes. Personally I believe that of the total number of women taking advantage of maternity homes, whether public or private, a greater percentage of them belong to the middle classes or the so-called advanced classes and a small percentage of women to the touchable working classes and smaller still to the untouchable working classes. In our survey it has been seen that a majority of women belonging to the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes take advantage of maternity homes while a great majority of the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes do not take advantage of the same. The matter should not be dropped here. These people should be made to realise the tragic consequences of their ill-thought-of policy in not sending their wo-

¹ 72nd Annual Report of the Director of Public Health for Government of Bombay for 1935, p 14.

men folk to maternity homes. If it is found, even then, that the people persist in their attitude then there should be a good deal of propaganda to remove the dread of hospitals from them. I would even suggest that 'dais' should be trained as is done in some rural uplift centres. This would at least mitigate the dangers resulting from the crude methods of the untrained 'dais.' The 'dais' should be instructed to remove the case to the nearest maternity home in case of emergency.

Child marriages are very common among them. Instead of frightening them with the provisions of the Sarda Act the best way to dissuade them from this practice is to educate them. They can, I think, be convinced of the harmful nature of their ideas and practices which ultimately result in an endless load of debt and other domestic worries.

Because the untouchables have been suppressed for a number of years on account of caste, contrary to his confirmed view about ignoring caste, Professor G. S. Ghurye justifies special privileges, to the untouchable classes in matters educational.¹ Primary education should be free and compulsory. In the case of those children who are inclined to take English education reduction of fees for them must be offered very freely. The standard of efficiency for entitling them for the concession will have to be much lower than that applied to the children of the Advanced Classes.

But greater attention should be concentrated on opening industrial schools. Training in basketry and other articles of cane, carpentry, shoe-making, tailoring,

1 *Caste and Race in India*, p. 187.

cooking and in playing the musical instruments should be imparted to them. Some technical knowledge about the different departments in the mills should also be given.

In Bombay, the basket industry and the shoe-making industry are in the hands of middle men who provide material to the workers and get ready made articles on payment of very low wages. If different Harijan Sanghs or other allied institutions impart instruction in these various crafts and provide material to these people, not only will their economic gains be greater but they will also learn to have better self-respect. In a number of hotels and in some Parsee and Christian households there are Mahar cooks. Education in the art of cooking would open a good field of employment to the members of these classes. Similar is the case with music. Even to-day, in villages, Mahars are invited to play music ; so a systematic course of instruction would open to them a new avenue which would enable them to earn their living independently.

The Social Service League of Bombay conducts tailoring classes for women only ; but a very few women belonging to these classes take their advantage ; such classes should be conducted also for men. Tailoring, carpentry and shoe-making should be taught by the organizations like this and after a periodical examination diplomas should be given to the successful candidates.

APPENDIX A
SOME FAMILY STUDIES

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SOME FAMILY STUDIES

We have so far studied the socio-economic conditions of the Untouchable workers by means of statistical method. To make the picture, so far drawn, more realistic in the following pages an attempt is made to describe a few individual families selected thus : Out of the 985 schedules belonging to the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes 12 belonging to the converts were left out. Of the remaining, every twentieth was taken. Out of the 48 schedules thus selected, 16 schedules were picked up by taking every third. Similarly out of the 634 schedules of the Gujarati speaking Depressed Classes every eighteenth was taken. Out of the 35 schedules so selected every third and the last were finally taken. Out of the 12 schedules belonging to the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes but who now are converts to christianity only 5 were picked up at random. Thus it would be seen that 16, 12, 5 schedules belonging to the Marathi and the Gujarati speaking Depressed classes and to the converts respectively are described in the following pages.

Frederic Le Play, the great French Sociologist of the last century, has shown how individual family studies are of great importance and how they lead to a correct diagnosis of the social and economic conditions of a society. Study a family budget and you know what type of society it represents,—this in brief was his contention. But in spite of the soundness of Le Play's approach, it must be stated that we are bound to be influenced by our prejudices and limitations in selecting families for this purpose ; hence it would be highly hazardous to assert that by studying a family we study a given society. The best course seems to be

to supplement a statistical survey by an interview approach as enunciated by Le Play.

Originally I had an idea of presenting the best and the worst samples of families from among the schedules in my possession but on a reconsideration I thought that instead of imposing my criterion of the standard of judging a particular family, the best way is to leave to individual judgment to decide whether a family is good or bad. The cases I have described are fully representative and, therefore, I think, sufficient to enable a reader to arrive at such a judgment.

MARATHI SPEAKING FAMILIES

(1) S. S. (Mahar) : lives in the Labour Camp, Matunga. His family consists of five persons : himself, wife, a son and two daughters. He lost seven sons. His eldest son died of consumption at the age of ten. His wife gave birth to one still-born son. Three sons died of small-pox : one aged one year and the other two six years. Two sons aged one year died of cough. He is unemployed at present, but both he and his wife wander in the railway lines from morning till night-fall to collect the ashes which they sell to hotel keepers and earn about 12 to 15 rupees a month. He pays Ra. 4 per month as rent. His monthly food expenses amount to from 12 to 13 rupees and the annual clothing to nearly 50 rupees. His son attends a municipal primary school. His youngest daughter is always ailing. He takes medicine from the children's hospital at Parel. His wife does not take advantage of maternity homes but she delivers at home. S. did not reveal the amount of his net debt which he owes to a Pathan money-lender.

(2) S. V. P. (Mahar) : lives at Naigam and his family is comparatively well off. There are eight members in the household. Besides his own family which consists of his wife, a son and two daughters, his brother, brother's wife and their daughter live with him. S. is employed in the Kohinoor Mills as a Mukadarn and gets Ra. 40 per month. His brother is employed in the G. I. P. Rly's Workshop at Matunga, as a fitter and earns Ra. 50 per month. Though the income of the family is Ra. 90 per month, the whole family occupies one room for which Ra. 7 are paid as rent. S. lost four of his sons. They died of fever at ages

varying from 3 to 5 year. His daughter is in the Vernacular IV standard. The food expenses of the group amount to Rs. 50 per month, and the annual expenditure on clothing is Rs. 120. S spent Rs. 300 for his and Rs. 350 for his brother's marriage. Both the women take advantage of the Welfare Society's maternity home at Naigum. In the month of Shravan "Pothe" reading takes place and about Rs. 40 are spent on dinner on the conclusion of its reading. Both S. and his brother take toddy and about 5 rupees are spent on it. If the family is in need of money, it borrows from a wani (grocer) at the rate of one anna per rupee per month.

(3) T. V. S. (Mahar) : lives at Kamathipura. He 'sportingly' unfolded the story of his private life. He married twice, the first being a regular marriage and the second a widow-marriage, but he has abandoned his first wife. He has kept a mistress. His seems to be a case of sexual perversion because he also visits other street women. He has no children living. His daughter died before completing one year of her life. His brother and brother's wife also live with him. T. is employed in the B. B. & C. I. Rly. as a 'polish boy' and earns Rs. 24 per month. His brother is unemployed. The family occupies one room and pays Rs. 9 as monthly rent. The monthly food expenses are Rs. 18 and the annual clothing amounts to Rs. 50. Rs. 5 are spent in the month of Bhadrapad for observing the death anniversaries of near relatives. T. takes toddy and country liquor practically every day. He borrows money from Marvaris and Wanis.

(4) B. B. W. (Mahar) : has ten members in his family : 3 men, 5 women and 2 male children. He has no living child now, his son having died of fever at the age of one year. He discarded his first wife because he suspected her of having immoral relations with his neighbours and married a second time. For a month he is unemployed. His aged father is a cooly at Wadi-bunder. The total earnings of the family are Rs. 35 per month. The family occupies one room the rent of which is Rs. 6 per month. The food expenses per month are Rs. 40 and the clothing amounts to Rs. 60 annually. B. spent Rs. 350 for the first and Rs. 125 for the second marriage. His younger brother goes to a school. The family is heavily indebted to a Marwari money-lender.

(5) G. D. K. (Mahar) : is 76 years old, tall, strong and healthy. His build looks like that of a Punjabi. His father

got him married twice. He loves both of his wives though one of them lives separately. He lost seven children : six sons and a daughter. One of his sons died at the age of four while the rest at different ages varying from 18 months to 2½ years. His only surviving child is 3 years old. G. is a sweeper in the Bombay municipality and earns Ra. 23 per month. His wives are also employed in the municipality as sweepers and earn Ra. 19 each. The monthly food expenses come to Ra 22 and the annual clothing amounts to Rs. 20. In the month of Shravan 'Pothi' reading takes place in his room. He gives a dinner in the month of Bhadrapada.

(6) D. K. S. (Chamar) : lives at Dharavi and has seven members in his household : wife, 2 daughters, 2 male and 1 female relatives. He is an independent leather worker. He prepares money-bags and earns Rs. 50 per month. The family occupies one room for which Ra. 4 are paid as rent. Ra. 30 are spent per month for food and expenses on clothing amount to Ra. 90 per year. He goes to Jejuri every year and spends there Ra. 20. He spent Rs. 700 on his marriage. Out of this amount Ra. 350 were given as dowry. Deliveries of his wife take place at home for which he has to incur an expenditure of about Ra. 30 each time. His wife was delivered of two still born children—one son and one daughter. His elder daughter attends a primary school. He has no debts.

(7) G. G. T. (Mahar) : has only two members in the family : himself and his wife. He lost six children : 3 sons and 3 daughters at different ages from one to five years. G. is a hamal i.e. a casual labourer, and earns about Ra. 15 per month. His wife is a domestic servant in a Parsee family, and earns Ra. 10 per month. He is a sub-tenant and pays Ra. 4 for the portion of the room he occupies. On an average, the family requires six annas per day for food and Ra. 25 annually for clothing. He takes toddy. He has no debts.

(8) C. R. J. (Mahar) : lives in the B. T. Quarters near the Antop-hill. He has six members in his family : himself, two wives and three sons of whom one is employed. He married twice because he wanted one wife to look after the household and the other to earn money. He is a trolleyman in the Bombay Port Trust where one of his wives is employed as a cooly. He

has free quarters. His son is a cleaner boy in a mill. C. earns Rs. 23 and his wife Rs. 13 per month but the son does not contribute a pie towards the family expenses, hence the effective monthly income of the family is Rs. 36. His second son attends the free school conducted by the Bombay Port Trust. His five sons died at different ages before completing five years of their life. Deliveries of his wife take place at home. The food-expenditure of the family amounts to Rs. 20 per month and that on clothing to Rs. 45 annually. He does not take any intoxicating drink. He borrows money from Wanis at two annas per rupee per month.

(9) L. K. F. (Mahar) : has only two members in his family : himself and his wife. He married thrice, two of his wives being dead. The present wife was a widow. His only son died at the age of six months. He is a gangman in the G. I. P. Rly., and earns Rs. 24 per month. He gets free quarters consisting of one room. His food expenses amount to Rs. 15 per month and about Rs. 30 are spent annually on clothing. He goes to Pandharpur every year. His present wife is always sickly. He gives her private medical treatment. He cannot go to the railway dispensary everyday, lest he might lose a day's wages. He spent Rs. 200 on his first, Rs. 175 on his second and Rs. 225 on his third marriage. He owes to a local Wani Rs. 200 at the rate of one anna per month and Rs. 150 to a Wani at his native place at the rate of two pice per rupee per month. He occasionally takes liquor and spends Rs. 3 to 4 per month on it.

(10) R. B. G. (Mahar) : has five persons in his family : himself, wife, two daughters and a son. He married twice as his first wife died. He has four children : one son and three daughters of whom one is married. R. is unemployed now and, therefore, the monthly earnings of the family are nil. There are three different families sharing one room and R. pays Rs. 4 per month for the portion of the room he occupies. The food expenditure of the family amounts to Rs. 20 per month and the annual expenditure on clothing to Rs. 45. He spends Rs. 10 every year on "Gaur." Delivery of his wife takes place at his native place and he incurs an expense of about Rs. 20 each time. He spent Rs. 150 for his first and Rs. 60 for his second marriage. He is indebted to the extent of Rs. 200 to a Wani to whom he has to pay interest at the rate of two annas per rupee per month.

(11) B. H. K. (Chamar) : has five persons in his family : himself and wife, and three younger brothers of whom one is an earner. On account of the death of his first wife, he married a second time. B. is employed in the ring department as an oilman and gets Rs. 40 per month, and his brother who is employed as a doffer-boy gets Rs. 20 per month. Thus the total income of the family is Rs. 60 per month. Rs. 8 are paid as rent for the room the family occupies. The total expenditure on food per month is Rs. 22 and clothing costs Rs. 45 annually. 'Shani Mahatmya Pothi' is read every year at his house and he spends Rs. 20 on dinner on the conclusion of its reading. On his first marriage he spent Rs. 200 but on his second marriage Rs. 450. His two younger brothers do not attend any school. He owes a Wani Rs. 350 at the rate of one anna per rupee.

(12) A. L. J. (Mahar) : has eight members in his family : himself, his wife, three sons and three daughters. He lost one son who died when twelve months old. A is unemployed during the whole year. The eldest son is employed in the ring department as a cooly and earns Rs. 12 per month. This family shares a room with another and pays Rs. 2-12-0 as rent per month. The monthly food expenses amount to Rs. 15 and the annual clothing to Rs. 18. A purchases even second-hand clothing. His third son attends a primary school. A owes a Wani Rs. 100.

(13) S. B. R. (Mang Garudi) : has seven members in his family : 4 men, 2 women and one male child. S. is married. His only son died of fever when twelve months old. He is employed in a textile mill as a weaver and earns Rs. 40 per month. The family occupies one room for which Rs. 2 are paid per month as rent. The food expenses come to Rs. 30 and about Rs. 100 are spent annually on clothing. He takes toddy and liquor. He has borrowed money from another Mang Garudi who charges the same rate of interest as the Pathan money-lenders.

(14) D. R. M. (Mahar) : lives in the B. I. T. chawls at Mazagaon. There are five members in his family : himself, wife, two sons and a female relative. He married thrice, the first two wives being dead. D. is employed in a workshop at Mazagaon as a fitter, getting Rs. 25 per month. His wife is also employed in the same workshop on Rs. 10 per month as a cooly. He lives in

one room and pays Rs. 7-8 as rent. The monthly food takes away Rs. 15 while the yearly clothing amounts to Rs. 60. He sends his wife to his native place for deliveries. He contributes Rs. 2 yearly towards the 'Satyanarayan Puja' which takes place in the chawls; he spends about Rs. 5 in the month of Bhadrapada. He does not take any alcoholic substance. He is indebted to a Wani.

(15) K. B. L. (Chamar) : lives at Dharavi. His family consists of three members : himself, his wife and a male relative. He is employed in a leather factory at Dharavi as a tanner. The other man is also employed in another factory as a tanner. K. gets Rs. 20 per month while the other man gets Rs. 15. The family occupies one room for which Rs. 3 are paid monthly. The monthly food expense amounts to Rs. 25 while the annual clothing comes to Rs. 45. K. spent Rs. 400 on his marriage. He has no issue. He is not in debts.

(16) R. B. S. (Mahar) : lives in the Jariwalla's chawl at Maza-gaon. There are seven members in his family : himself, his wife, a son, two male relatives and their wives. R. is employed in a factory and earns Rs. 28 p.m. The family occupies one room for which Rs. 5-9-0 are paid as rent. The food expenses of the group come to Rs. 25 per month and the annual clothing amounts to Rs. 75. He sends his wife to his native home for delivery. His son attends a Municipal school. R. is indebted to a Wani.

CONVERT FAMILIES

(17) G. R. H. (Mahar, Christian) : lives in the Labour Camp, Matunga. He has two sons and his family consists of seven members : himself, wife and two sons; a male relative and his wife and another male relative. G. is employed in the G. I. P. Rly. as a painter on Rs. 35 per month. All other members are unemployed. He pays Re. one every week as rent of the room he occupies. About Rs. 55 are spent on food every month while the annual clothing amounts to Rs. 120. Deliveries of his wife take place either at home or in the maternity homes. His wife is suffering from anæmia and, therefore, is taking treatment from the King Edward Hospital. He donates Rs. 12 annually to the Church. His marriage was solemnized in the Church. He spent about Rs. 450 on his marriage.

(18) J. D. S. (Mahar, Christian) : lives in the Labour Camp, Matunga. There are three members in his family : himself, his

wife and a daughter. He is a time keeper in the Improvement Trust. He gets free quarters from the Trust. He earns Ra. 60 per month. His monthly food expenses amount to Ra. 35 and the annual clothing takes away Ra. 90. Delivery of his wife took place at home. He donates Ra. 12 annually to Church. He spent Ra. 250 on his marriage. J. does not take any alcoholic drink.

(19) A. B. L. (Mahar, Christian): lives at Matunga. His family consists of six persons : 2 men, 3 women and a boy who is his son. He is a cooly in a mill and works on a contract basis and earns Ra. 30 per month. He shares his room with another Christian family and pays Ra. 2 per month for the portion of the room he occupies. The monthly food expenses come to Ra. 18 and clothing takes away Ra. 45 annually. His two daughters died of fever before completing one year of their life. Delivery of his wife takes place at home. He spent Ra. 500 on his marriage. He takes toddy and liquor. He is indebted to a Pathan money-lender.

(20) N. A. M. (Mahar, Christian): There are four members in his family : himself and his wife, a son and a daughter. He is employed in the Bombay Improvement Trust as a cooly and earns Ra. 16-8-0 per month. The Trust has provided him with free quarters consisting of one room. He spends Ra. 15 on food every month and his clothing amounts to Rs. 30 annually. He spent Ra. 150 on his marriage. He sends his wife to his native place for delivery. His two sons died of asthma at the age of one year. He does not take any intoxicants. He is heavily indebted to a Wani, a Marwari and a Bhaya money-lender all of whom charge two annas per month as interest.

(21) S. R. A. (Mang Garudi, Christian): His family consists of eight members : two men, three women and three male children. S. has two wives. His second wife is a widow whom he loved. Both the wives live with him. He has two sons. S. is a fitter in the B. B. & C. I. Rly., at Parel and earns Rs. 29-4-0 per month. His father stays with him and sells buffaloes to butchers on commission basis but his income is fluctuating. The family occupies one room for which Ra. 2 are paid as rent. The family requires Ra. 24 per month for food and the annual expenditure on clothing amounts to Ra. 30. His younger brother attends a vernacular school. His wives deliver at home. He has no debts because, with his father's earnings—though irre-

gular—he is able to pay off arrears, etc. His present employment was secured for him by the Christian priest living in the Colony.

GUJARATI SPEAKING FAMILIES

(22) M. B. (Bhangi): has eleven members in his family: himself, wife, and eight children—five sons and three daughters and a male relative. He, his two sons and his wife are employed in the Bombay Municipality as scavengers. The earnings of each male are Rs. 23-8-0 per month and that of the female Rs. 19; therefore the total earnings of the family amount to Rs. 89-8-0 per month. M. has built a little hut on the Municipal ground at Mogul Gully. The total expenses on food amount to Rs. 30 per month and the annual expenditure on clothing amounts to Rs. 60. M. takes liquor on holidays and also when he attends funerals. He is indebted to a Marwari, who charges him 50 p.c. per annum as interest.

(23) A. B. (Meghawal): has four members in his family: himself, his wife and a son. A. is employed in the railway as a sweeper and earns Rs. 25 per month. His wife is employed as a sweeper in a privately owned building and earns Rs. 5 per month. The family occupies one room for which Rs. 4 are paid as rent. The total expenditure on food amounts to Rs. 20 per month and on clothing to Rs. 36 per year. On his marriage Rs. 500 were spent. He takes toddy and liquor on occasions. He owes a Marwari Rs. 400 borrowed at the rate of one anna per month per rupee.

(24) B. B. (Meghawal): has four members in his family: himself, two women and a son. He is employed in the Bombay Municipality as a scavenger and earns Rs. 23-8-0 per month. His wife earns about 6 to 7 rupees by scavenging in private buildings. He has to pay Rs. 2-2-0 as rent for the room he occupies. The food expenses amount to Rs. 25 per month and clothing costs Rs. 60 per year. Cough and fever are the constant ailments in his family. He spent Rs. 500 on his marriage. He does not take liquor. Bhajan takes place at his place. He is indebted to a Marwari to the extent of Rs. 500 at the rate of one anna per rupee per month.

(25) N. J. (Meghawal): has three members in his family: himself, his wife and a son. He lost a son and a daughter both

of whom died before completing three years of their life. He is employed as a scavenger in privately owned buildings and gets Rs. 20 per month. He occupies one room for which Rs. 3 are paid as rent. He spends Rs. 20 on food per month and about Rs. 24 on clothing every year. His wife delivers in maternity homes. He spent Rs. 650 on his marriage. He is indebted to a Marwari. Bhajan takes place at his place. He does not take liquor.

(26) K. B. (Meghawal): has three members in his family: himself, his wife and a son. He is employed as a scavenger in the Bombay Municipality and gets Rs. 23 per month. He occupies one room for which Rs. 1-8 are paid as rent. The monthly food expenses amount to Rs. 20 and annually Rs. 20 are spent on clothing. He takes liquor sometimes and spends Rs. 5 on it. His wife takes advantage of maternity homes. He has borrowed money from a Marwari at $5\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. per month.

(27) M. N. (Meghawal): has only two persons in his family: himself and his wife. He is a Municipal scavenger earning Rs. 23-8-0 per month. He occupies one room and pays Rs. 1-8 as rent. His monthly food expenses amount to Rs. 20 per month and the annual clothing expenditure to Rs. 12. He takes liquor. On his marriage Rs. 900 were expended.

(28) L. N. (Meghawal): There are four members in his family: two men, his wife and a son. He is a Municipal scavenger and earns Rs. 28 per month. He occupies one room and pays Rs. 4 as rent per month. The total food expenses are Rs. 25 per month and clothing costs Rs. 20 annually. He takes liquor. His wife takes advantage of a free maternity home. On his marriage Rs. 550 were spent. He is indebted to a Marwari who charges him 5 p.c. per month.

(29) B. B. (Meghawal): has three members in his family: himself, his wife and a son. Both the husband and wife are employed in the Municipality as scavengers and earn Rs. 26 and Rs. 19 respectively per month. He occupies one room and pays Re. 1-4 as rent. The total expenses on food come to Rs. 30 per month and those on clothing to Rs. 20 per year. His wife takes advantage of a free maternity home for delivery.

(30) D. S. (Meghawal): lives at Walpakhadi. His family consists of three members: himself, his wife and a daughter. He is

employed in a mill as a cooly, and gets Rs. 20 per month. His wife gets employment as a scavenger in privately owned buildings and thus earns Rs. 10 per month. The family occupies one room for which Rs. 3 are paid as rent. The monthly food expenses come to Rs. 25 while the annual clothing amounts to Rs. 15. The family takes advantage of the free medical help. D. sends his wife to a maternity home. He spent Rs. 400 on his marriage. He is indebted to a Marwari who charges him $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. per month as interest.

(31) K. J. (Bhangi): lives at Taikalwadi, Dadar. There are five members in his family: himself, his wife, a son and two daughters. He is a Municipal Mukadam of scavengers. He earns Rs. 28 per month. His son is a halalkhor and earns Rs. 24-8 per month. They live in a hut erected on the Municipal grounds. One of his daughters attended the Municipal Gujarati school. The monthly food expenses amount to Rs. 30 and the annual clothing to Rs. 50. The family takes advantage of the free medical aid. His wife delivers in maternity homes. He lost a son aged five years and a daughter aged 3 years, both of whom died of fever. He spent Rs. 250 on his marriage. On occasions he takes liquor.

(32) S. M. (Bhangi): lives at Taikalwadi, Dadar. His family consists of himself and his wife. S. is a halalkhor in the Municipality getting Rs. 23-8 per month. He has erected a small hut on the Municipal ground. His monthly food expenses are Rs. 12 and the annual clothing also amounts Rs. 12. He spent Rs. 400 on his marriage. He is indebted to a Pathan money-lender.

(33) B. N. (Meghawal): lives in the Municipal chawl at Annesley Road. There are nine members in his family: himself, wife, two sons, three daughters, a male relative and his wife. B. is a motor driver at a caste Hindu getting Rs. 75 p.m. but he says, "there is a fear of losing job if my caste is known." He lives in a single room and pays Rs. 5 as monthly rent. His one son is in the English school while the rest of the children attend the Municipal schools. The average food expense is Rs. 2 per day and the annual clothing amounts to Rs. 60. His wife delivers in

the maternity homes. B. lost a daughter aged one year. He is indebted to a Marwari who charges him 36 p.c. per annum as interest. He does not take liquor.

N.B.—The initials to all the cases given above are purely imaginary.

APPENDIX B
MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

APPENDIX B

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

Dabboli Chamars :—Elderly persons from the bridegroom's side go to the prospective bride's home and enquire of her guardian whether they would like to give their girl to their boy. After obtaining their approval an astrologer is consulted to ascertain if the stars are favourable to the proposed marriage. On obtaining the astrologer's consent the *sakharpuda* ceremony is arranged.

Sakharpuda ceremony :—A day is fixed and caste people are invited to witness the function, which takes place at the bride's place. People from the bridegroom's side take a green saree, a green bodice and a *putali** and go to the bride's place to the accompaniment of music. When the invitees assemble, all the terms and conditions of marriage—dej, number of sarees, ornaments, place of marriage, day of marriage—are discussed. The amount of dej is to be paid to the guardian of the bride, who may or may not give the whole or some portion of it to the bride. Then the bride is presented with the saree and bodice which she is asked to wear. After she has dressed, she sits on an auspicious *pat* and *kunkum tilak* is put on her forehead and the *putali* is tied round her neck by a *suvasin* woman. Then the *oli* ceremony takes place; after putting sugar in her mouth the ceremony is over. The bride's guardian serves the invitees with 'pan supari', cocoanuts or sometimes with dinner.

Some days before marriage the bride and the bridegroom go through a ceremony at their respective homes and also at their

* *Putali* ; A circular piece of gold of the size of a pice with a bust of a goddess stamped on it.

relations. This is the *bath ceremony*. Bath at their respective homes is called a secret bath, and if it takes place at the relations' it is called an open bath. They are then entertained to a 'sweet dinner' by the relative at whose place the ceremony takes place.

Haldi ceremony :—After the bath ceremony women besmear the bodies of the bride and the bridegroom with turmeric and *mundavalis* (head decorations) are tied round their heads. The women who participate in this are given a *cocoonut of honour* (*mānāchā nāral*).

Marriage ceremony :—Some hours before marriage guardians of the bride are given the bridal sarees and ornaments, and the bridegroom is given his dress. At the auspicious time the couple is brought together and a piece of cloth called *antarpat* is held between them. The brahmins recite some *shlokas* called *mangalashatak* and the ceremony is complete. For some days the couple stays with the bride's father and then they go to the place of the boy.

Mabars from the Konkan :—A meeting of the influential people from the bride's and bridegroom's side is arranged at the place of the former. After discussing the amount of *dej* and other terms a day on which the marriage should take place is fixed.

Two or three days before the marriage day, the bride and the bridegroom are given a bath and turmeric is applied to their bodies. The bridegroom goes to the bride's place. At the time of marriage the couple stands before each other and an *antarpat* is held between them and a Mahar joshi—sadhu—chants some *shlokas* from the *mangalashatak*. On the day of marriage the bride's people entertain the people of the bridegroom to dinner and on the following day it is reciprocated by the bridegroom's people.

Mabars from Khandesh :—People from both the sides enquire about the families of each other. If the match is settled both the parties go together for purchasing articles of marriage. The first purchase is of *haldi kunkum*. When the bridegroom's people are about to return to their home after purchases, red water is sprinkled over their bodies by the bride's people as a sign of an auspicious beginning of the intended marriage. Two or three days before marriage the couple is besmeared with turme-

ric and is taken to a deity, called *Kanbai** to inform her of the marriage. The marriage party stays for some days with the deity. The couple plays different games like searching of a betel-nut on the persons of each other, etc. Women from this side are famous for their songs. After visiting *Kanbai* the party returns to the bridegroom's place where women play a dance called *Dhedga* and when women sing songs in which they cut jokes at the cost of their husbands, but since it is regarded as a privileged occasion no husband gets angry with his wife. After the dance is over elderly persons lift up the young couple on their shoulders and dance in such a way that the bride might kick her husband, it being the only opportunity in her life to do the same.

Mabars from Satara :—The father or guardian of the bridegroom sees the girl and if he approves of her then the members of the *panch* see her, if they also approve of her then people from the bride's side see the bridegroom and his home. Then people from the bridegroom go to the bride's place with *kunkum*. This ceremony is like the *sakharpuda ceremony*. All the terms and conditions of marriage are discussed and a day for marriage is fixed. Any man recites *shlokas* to solemnize the marriage for which he is paid Re. 0-5-3 or Re. 1-4-0. On the next day after marriage the newly married couple plays different games.

Mabars from Nasik :—Guardians of the bridegroom make careful inquiries of the bride. After fixing the dowry people from the bridegroom's party go to the bride's place for the *sakharpuda* ceremony.

Sakharpuda Ceremony :—A green saree is taken for the bride. The *panch* settles the dowry in the *Chavdi* and the bride is asked to wear the new saree. A *suvasin* puts *kunkum tilak* on her forehead. The dress of the bride and the bridegroom is called *basta*. After settling all the terms of marriage representatives from both the sides go to purchase the *basta*. The marriage day is fixed in consultation with a Brahmin. On the marriage day turmeric is put on the bodies of both the bride and the bridegroom. The

* *Kanbai* : An image is made of mud, having hands, feet, etc. She goes from village to village every year. When she is informed of the intended marriage, it is supposed, that the marriage has taken place.

bridegroom goes to the bride's place. Generally he sits in the *chavdi* where the bride's father shows him his dress. In the evening he goes for the marriage on horse back or on the shoulders of some one. A man of *Bhat* caste performs the marriage ceremony. At the time of marriage *antarpat* is kept between the bride and the bridegroom and maternal uncles of both stand behind them. A new basket called *buty* is placed under the right foot of the bride and the bridegroom. After reciting the *man-galashtak* both of them turn round themselves four or five times and the marriage is complete.

On the marriage day the bride's father gives a dinner and at night people assemble in front of the *chavdi* and play different games to pass their time in merriment.

On the next day there is an *ovalani* ceremony at the bridegroom's place. The bride puts on her bridal clothes and ornaments brought by her father-in-law and the couple sits together. For this ceremony three pice are required. First the maternal uncles of both the bride and the bridegroom take a pice in their hands and wave it round the heads of the new couple. One pice is put in a copper *lota* which is in front of the couple, the second is given to the musician and the third to the *Bhat*. They are followed by others who have assembled there.

N.B.—In all parts there is a common custom according to which the new couple sports with each other. Slices of copra and other eatables are held in the mouth of one and the other cuts them off by his or her teeth. There is also a game in which both of them search betel nuts concealed on the persons of each other. Sometimes they throw coloured water on each other. All these games are practised among the so-called high caste Hindus also.

SOME OTHER CEREMONIES FROM NASIK

1. When the child is born the nurse cuts the navel cord. She is given a pice, handful of rice, a razor, copra, etc. Five *suvastins* are entertained to dinner. For the first twelve days leaves of *limba* (neem) tree are placed in the lying-in-room and whenever the woman comes out of the room, she takes the leaves with her with the idea that ghosts would not dare to do any harm to her. On the fifth day a small silver image of *Sati* is

made and worshipped. It is tied round the baby's neck with the idea that it should protect it from evils.

2. After the death of a man his relations observe mourning for thirteen days. They neither wear a head-dress nor do they shave. On the thirteenth day they go to the river with *Nevedya* and throw it in water. Afterwards, a barber shaves the principal mourner. In the evening, people gather at the principal mourner's and a man of Bhat caste asks them whether they have brought *Dhukhetas* * which is given to the principal mourner in the form of head-dress or money. After this the mourner gives the people a dinner.

* People take to the principal mourner new head-dress to wear as during the mourning period he does not use it. This is called as *Dhukheta*.

APPENDIX C
FOLK-SONGS

APPENDIX C

FOLK-SONGS

Folk-songs and folk-lore are composed of beliefs, customs, stories, art and rituals of the people. It is the learning of the backward people which passes from man to man. I have been able to collect 34 folk-songs of the Mahars, but it is very difficult to ascribe a particular song to a particular district, as most of them were collected from old women living in Bombay none of whom could say with any certainty that a particular song belonged to this or that district. I am unable, under these circumstances, to classify them according to districts.

Unfortunately in our country the folk-songs are fast disappearing and in the absence of any attempt to record them, the achievements of our people in popular songs would wholly disappear and we would be deprived of an important source which reveals the socio-religious sentiments of the people. I therefore collected them as I got them. According to a definition of poetry by Wordsworth, that "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of the powerful imagination," these songs ought to be regarded as pieces of good poetry. They display noble sentiments, sense of humour and æsthetics, and also refer to social customs.

In the first song a woman is represented as churning buttermilk and it ends with a suggestion that a man has put his hand round her neck with the result that her necklace is broken. In the second song a woman is requesting a man, to let her go as she wants to go to her mother's place to bring ornaments. Only in these two songs, if at all, is there reference to the sexual side of life.

There is a custom among them to tie round the neck of the bride and the bridegroom *poite*—a bunch of thread besmeared with turmeric—at the time of marriage. Songs 4 to 7 are recited

on this occasion. The fourth song describes the horse upon which the bridegroom rides in order to go for the marriage ceremony. At the end of the song there is a reference to a custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle. The bridegroom says, "Uncle give me some marriage present, to which the uncle replies, "I have given you my daughter."

Songs 8 to 11 refer to—*mandap*—the pandal for marriage. Of these the 8th song is very significant as it tells us the importance of the *panch*. The father alone cannot consent to give his daughter in marriage to any one unless he gets the permission of the caste and its *panch*.

Songs 12 to 19 are sung by girls during the marriage procession. The twelfth song describes the bride and the bridegroom as very strong because their bracelets weigh about twenty-five maunds. It also refers to the custom of breaking a cocoanut when the marriage procession reaches the boundary of the village.

Song 23rd tells us of what the *mundavlis*—the forehead decorations of the bride and the bridegroom—are made. There are a number of songs in which reference is made to turmeric. Application of turmeric to the bodies of the bride and bridegroom is an important event in the marriage ceremony.

It is difficult to give the literal English rendering of the songs but in the following pages the songs are translated so as to convey the substance and the idea underlying them. Out of 34 songs, 24 are thus translated. The songs, as they appear in Marathi, are also given in the end. The number to the English rendering corresponds to the number of the song in Marathi.

(1) Gaurai, standing on the seventh floor of her house, churns curds in company with Rahibai. *Mogra* flower falls in the buttermilk, which is taken to the village Kanhur. Kanha of Kanhur is the brother-in-law of Sakhu. He has placed his hands round my neck and thus my necklace of precious stones is broken. Give him a kick.

(2) Gaurai began to climb the palm tree. Shankar, who came along, shook the tree. Gaurai entreated him thrice to allow her to go to her mother's place to bring her mother's nose-ring necklace of sovereigns and ear-rings for her own use.

(3) Krishna plays with a bat and ball. The ball is stuck up in the branch of *Kadamba* tree. The news reached Devai who

began to weep but she is entreated not to weep as Krishna is not born of her. . . . The women further say, "We are the daughters-in-law of milkmen who are cruel because they say that we should be killed."

(4) On the bank of a river there is a purple horse, whose back is broad, whose tail is like a whip, whose teeth are as white as rice, whose stomach is as soft as cotton and whose eyes are shining like glass. Who is going to ride this horse? Krishnadev is going to ride it. The bridegroom asks his maternal uncle to give him dowry. The uncle replies, "I have given you my daughter, I will give you select cows afterwards."

(5) Between the Ganges and the Jamna there is a field, where cotton is grown. Bring *poite* from there for the bride.

(7) Beyond the village there is *Karal* land, which is being cultivated by Rama and who is singing there. Bring *poite* from there for the bridegroom.

(8) If the marriage is settled with the bride's father's permission only it has no weight, as his words carry no worth.

(9) The bridegroom is going for marriage. To his skirts are tied a bodice, a saree, a silk garment, *poite* and *chuda* (bangles) for the use of the bride.

(10) "Oh dunghill, what is the burden on your head?" "The burden is of dirt, but at the door there is the *mandap* (booth) of pearls."

"Oh booth, what is the burden on your head?" "The burden is of festoons, but at the door there is the booth of pearls."

"Oh *muhurta medh* (plantain), what is the burden on your head?" "The burden is of coconuts, but at the door there is the booth of pearls."

"Oh lamp, what is the burden on your head?" "The burden is of festoons, but at the door there is the booth of pearls."

"Oh mortar, what is your burden?" "My burden is the pounding by the pestle, but there is the booth of pearls at the door."

(11) The booth appears beautiful on account of the leaves of palm-trees. The horse gets exhausted under the weight of the bride. She is looking back at her mother, who is weeping and says, "Oh mother, do not cry I would send you a saree." Similar-

ly the bride tells her weeping father and brother that she would send for them dhotis and to her weeping sister bodice.

(12) What is this gingling noise? Why the dancing girls are dancing? Oh, the bridegroom has arrived at the outskirts of the village. I shall take a coconut to throw over him and I shall win for him the bride. The bride and the bridegroom are so healthy that they wear very heavy bracelets round their wrists.

(13) The banyan tree which is on the road drops down (its fruit) in quick succession. Eat some betel leaves and spit on the silk garment.

(14) Get up oh Rukhmini, and prepare some rice and curds because we are going to Jejuri to bring *tulasi* plants. We brought the *tulasi* plant and planted them in the court yard. *Bai* (woman) waters them and they have grown so tall that they reach the sky.

(15) What are these dozen bullocks carrying? They are carrying turmeric. This much turmeric is quite insufficient because the bridegroom has a large circle of relatives. Take bullocks, loaded with gunny-sacks full of turmeric.

(16) What is that noise beyond the village? The drum is being beaten there. The bridegroom is going for marriage.

(17) Water in the hilly districts is cold. The dress of the bridegroom is tied in a piece of cloth. Tailor, goldsmith and the cobbler from Nasik are invited to make the dress of the bridegroom, head decorations and shoes respectively.

(18) Some girls ask on the way, "Ripe ears of corn adorn the *masur* plants but why does the sister of the bridegroom seem displeased?" The bride hints out that on account of the ornaments on her feet, the bracelets, the nose-ring and the necklace which are seen on her person her sister-in-law is displeased.

(19) Betel leaves, which are ripened by the heat of the sun, are used by the bridegroom. His brother is worth a million. They drink water of the Ganges and the Jamna. Is that the regiment near about? Oh, it is not the regiment but the guests of the bridegroom. Show them to us or lead them to the booth. "Oh bride's brothers, greet your sister's husband. Your brother-in-law is a precious gem—like a diamond or a ruby—and therefore his light is spread in the booth. Your sister is like the moonlight."

(23) The first *mundavli* is made of *champak* flowers to suit the taste of the bridegroom's father. The second is of *jai* flowers to suit the taste of the mother of the bridegroom. The third is made of the grains of wheat to suit the taste of the brother of the bridegroom. The fourth is made of *rui* flowers to suit the taste of the paternal aunt of the bridegroom. The fifth is made of pearls to suit the taste of the brother of the bridegroom.

(24) The brother says to his sister, "Kashi, I am going to take bath. On the copper *lotah* are drawn black and blue horses." The bridegroom (here perhaps the brother?) would ride those horses and go to Malwa, where lived his maternal uncle. The same lines are repeated again but in the last line it is stated that his brother lived at Malwa.

(28) The bells of the elephants make a gingling noise, the bullocks bring turmeric. They deck the bridegroom.

(29) Oh goldsmith from Tandul, please make a nose-ring at this late hour of night. I am in a hurry because it is wanted for the bride of Krishnadev.

(30) The son of the King Dasharatha went for his marriage. He married in the light of *Samai* (a stand which burns on sweet oil). He had taken with him a box full of ornaments.

(31) Who is that woman with a red saree? She is the sister of the bridegroom. What has she got in her garment? She has dried coconut. What is on the betel leaves? Chunam. What is there on the chunam? Pieces of betelnut. What is on the betel-nut? A piece of *katha*. A betel leaf is prepared, put it in the mouth of the bride.

(32) Make a raised platform of good clay and fix a good grinding stone on it. If the stone is good, grind wheat. If the wheat is good, prepare *purees*. If the *purees* are good, bundle them in a piece of cloth. If the bundle is good, put it on a horse-back. If the horse is good, take it to my mother's place. And if the mother's place is good, one should play there to her heart's content.

Following are the songs as they appear in Marathi :—

मुंबईतील महारांची गाणी

—:—:—

१ - गौरई

सात ताळाच्या माडीवर गौरई उभी, ताक करिती राहिबाईसंगें हो ।
हिच्या ताकांत पडला मोगरा हो, हिचें ताक जातें कान्दुरच्या नगरा हो ॥
कान्दुरचा कान्दु सख्खा मेहुना गे, त्यांनी घातील गळ्यामधी हात गे ।
माझी तुटली नवरत्नांची पोत गे, हाणा मेल्याच्या लात गे ॥

२ - आखाजी

ताडावरची माड गौरई वेंगुजी लागली ।
तिकडून आला शंकर त्याने पालवी घरली ॥
सोड सोड शंकर मला माहेरी जाऊं दे ।
माझ्या आईची नथ मला ल्यायाला आणूं दे ॥ १ ॥
ताडावरची माड गौरई वेंगुजी लागली ।
तिकडून आला शंकर त्याने पालवी घरली ॥
सोड सोड शंकर मला माहेरी जाऊं दे ।
माझ्या आईच्या पुतळ्या मला ल्यायाला आणूं दे ॥ २ ॥
ताडावरची माड गौरई वेंगुजी लागली ।
तिकडून आला शंकर त्याने पालवी घरली ॥
सोड सोड शंकर मला माहेरी जाऊं दे ।
माझ्या आईच्या कुडक्या मला ल्यायाला आणूं दे ॥ ३ ॥

३ - आखाजी

कृष्ण खेळे चेंडूफळी । कृष्ण खेळे चेंडूफळी ॥ १ ॥
तेथूनी चेंडू झुगारिला । कळमा फांदी अडकीला ॥ २ ॥

१. खेडगांवाचें नांव. २. चडू लागली. ३. कदंब वृक्ष.

देवईला मार्या गेली । देवईला माथा गेली ॥ ३ ॥
 नको रडूं देवई माई । नको रडूं देवई माई ॥ ४ ॥
 तुला कान्हा झाला नाही । तुला कान्हा झाला नाही ॥ ५ ॥
 रास बिजी गेला नाही । रास बिजी गेला नाही ॥ ६ ॥
 रास बिजी गवळ्याच्या । रास बिजी गवळ्याच्या ॥ ७ ॥
 आम्ही सुना पोवळ्याच्या । आम्ही सुना पोवळ्याच्या ॥ ८ ॥
 आमचे पोवळी दारुण । आमचे पोवळी दारुण ॥ ९ ॥
 सुना टाकाव्या मारुन । सुना टाकाव्या मारुन ॥ १० ॥

४

नदी किनरी किनरी निळा घोडा ।
 घोळ्या चौरंगी चौरंगी तुझी पाठ ॥
 घोळ्या चावूक चावूक तुझी सेपै ।
 घोळ्या तांदळी तांदळी तुझे दांत ॥ १ ॥
 घोळ्या कापूस कापूस तुझे पोट ।
 घोळ्या भिंगनी^१ भिंगनी तुझे डोळे ॥
 वर बसनार बसनार कोण ग बाई ।
 वर बसनार बसनार कृष्णादेव^२ बाई ॥ २ ॥
 पुस मामानी मामानी आली बाई ।
 “मामा आंधण आंधण द्यावा कांही ” ॥
 “तुला दिली रे दिली पोटची बाई ।
 मग देईल देईल शेलक्या गाई ” ॥ ३ ॥

५ - पोईतें

गंगा यमुना दोन्ही शेत । तेथे कापसाचें बेट ॥
 तेथे राम घाली ताना । तेथलें पोईतें नवरीला आणा ॥ १ ॥

१. बातमी. २. गवळी. ३. शेपूट. ४. कांचेसारखे. ५. कृष्ण.

६ - पोईतें

पाट टाकिले चंदनाचे । बाळ बसविलें ब्राह्मणाचें ॥
 बाळ नाही गे तें बयाळ । सोडा बासिंग हळू हळू ॥ १ ॥
 पाट टाकिले चंदनाचे । बाळ बसविलें ब्राह्मणाचें ॥
 बाळ नाही गे तें बयाळ । सोडा कांकण हळू-हळू ॥ २ ॥
 पाट टाकिले चंदनाचे । बाळ बसविलें ब्राह्मणाचें ॥
 बाळ नाही गे तें बायाळ । सोडा पोईतें हळू हळू ॥ ३ ॥
 पाट टाकिले चंदनाचे । बाळ बसविलें ब्राह्मणाचें ॥
 बाळ नाही गे तें बयाळ । सोडा दागिने हळू हळू ॥ ४ ॥

७ - पोईतें

गांवाखाल्ती पंढरी^१ । नांगरली वखरली ॥
 तेथे रामाने पेरली । रामा तेथें घाली ताना ॥
 तिथलें पोईतें नवऱ्याला आणा ॥ १ ॥

८ - मांडव

टस्करी आंबा कीं लस्करी पानें हो । टस्करी आंबा कीं लस्करी पानें ॥ १ ॥
 नवरी दिली कोणाच्या बळें हो । नवरी दिली कोणाच्या बळें ॥ २ ॥
 नवरी दिली बापाच्या बळें हो । नवरी दिली बापाच्या बळें ॥ ३ ॥
 बापाचे बोल कागदी तोळ हो । बापाचे बोल कागदी तोळ ॥ ४ ॥

९ - मांडव

भल्याचें लेकरुं परणाया जाते ।
 शालूच्या पदरीं काय ग बांधितो । शालूच्या पदरीं चोळी बांधितो ॥
 नवऱ्या बाईला नेसाया देतो ॥
 शालूच्या पदरीं पातळ बांधितो । नवऱ्या बाईला नेसाया देतो ॥ १ ॥
 नगरीबाहेरी काय ग वाजतें । भल्याचें लेकरुं परणाया जाते ॥
 शालूच्या पदरीं पितांबर बांधितो । नवऱ्या बाईला नेसाया देतो ॥ २ ॥

१. करळाचें रान. २. शहरांतील.

शाळच्या पदरीं काय ग बांधितो । शाळच्या पदरीं पोईतें बांधितो ॥

नवऱ्या बाईला घालाया देतो ॥

शाळच्या पदरीं चुडा बांधितो । नवऱ्या बाईला घालाया देतो ॥ ३ ॥

१० - मांडव

हे दारीच्या उकीरळ्या । तुझवर भार कशीयाचा ॥

मझवर भार कचऱ्याचा । दारीं मंडप हाय मोत्याचा ॥ १ ॥

हे दारीच्या मंडपा । तुझवर भार कशीयाचा ॥

मझवर भार तोरणाचा । दारीं मंडप हाय मोत्याचा ॥ २ ॥

हे दारीचे मुकतंभेडी । तुझवर भार कशीयाचा ॥

मझवर भार नारलाचा । दारीं मंडप हाय मोत्याचा ॥ ३ ॥

हे दारीच्या हो, बा दिव्या । तुझवर भार कशीयाचा ॥

मझवर भार तोरणाचा । दारीं मंडप हाय मोत्याचा ॥ ४ ॥

हे घरीच्या हो, बा बाहिना । तुझवर भार कशीयाचा ॥

मझवर भार कांडणाचा । दारीं मंडप हाय मोत्याचा ॥ ५ ॥

११ - मांडव

ताडावरची माड, मांडव खुलवि बाई, खुलवि बाई ।

नवरी घोळ्यावरी, घोडा दमतो बाई दमतो बाई ॥

मागे फिरनी पाही, तुझा रडती आई हो, रडती आई ।

नको रडूं आई, तुला लावीन लुगडें, लावीन लुगडें ॥ १ ॥

ताडावरची माड, मांडव खुलवि बाई, खुलवि बाई ।

नवरी घोळ्यावरी, घोडा दमतो बाई, दमतो बाई ॥

मागे फिरनी पाही, तुझा रडतो बाप, रडतो बाप ।

नको रडूं बाबा, तुला धोतर लावीन, धोतर लावीन ॥ २ ॥

ताडावरची माड, मांडव खुलवि बाई, खुलवि बाई ।

नवरी घोळ्यावरी, घोडा दमतो बाई, दमतो बाई ॥

मागे फिरनी पाही, तुझा रडतो भाऊ, रडतो भाऊ ।

नको रडूं दादा, तुला धोतर लावीन, धोतर लावीन ॥ ३ ॥

ताडावरची माढ, मांडव खुलवि बाई, खुलवि बाई ।
 नवरी धोड्यावरी, घोडा दमतो बाई, दमतो बाई ॥
 मागे फिरुनी पाही, तुझी रडती बहीण, रडती बहीण ।
 नको रडूं बाई, तुला लावीन चोळी, लावीन चोळी ॥ ४ ॥

१२ - वाट

झुणझुण वाजंत्री काय वाजत । झुणझुण वाजंत्री काय वाजत ॥
 म्होर कलावतिणी कां नाचती । म्होर कलावतिणी कां नाचती ॥
 नवरा आला ग शिवापाशीं । नवरा आला ग शिवापाशीं ॥
 शिवनारळ मी देईन । शिवनारळ मी देईन ॥
 नवरी जिंकूनी मी नेईन । नवरी जिंकूनी नेईन ॥
 असा नवरा जगजेठी हो । असा नवरा जगजेठी ॥
 सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं हो । सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं ॥
 अशी नवरी जगजेठी हो । अशी नवरी जगजेठी ॥
 सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं हो । सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं ॥

१३ - वाट

वाटावरचा वड टापटुप गळे हो । टापटुप गळे ॥
 खावें पान थुंकावें शाल्वर हो । थुंकावें शाल्वर ॥

१४ - वाट

उठ उठ रुकमीनी । तुम्ही दही भात हो करा ॥
 आम्ही जातो जेजूरा । तुलसी परनाया ॥
 परनील्या तुलसी । लाविल्या आंगणी ॥
 बाई घाली पाणी । तुलसी गंगनी गेल्या ॥

१५ - वाट

बारा बैल कशीयाचे । बारा बैल कशीयाचें ॥ १ ॥
 बारा बैल हाळ्दीचे । बारा बैल हाळ्दीचे ॥ २ ॥

एवढी हाळद काय पुरे । एवढी हाळद काय पुरे ॥ ३ ॥

नवऱ्याला गोट फार । नवऱ्याला गोट फार ॥ ५ ॥

हाळदीच्या गोण्यासंग बैल न्याव । हाळदीच्या गोण्यासंग बैल न्याव ॥ ५ ॥

१६ - घाट

नगरीबाहेर काय ग वाजत । नगरीबाहेर काय ग वाजत ॥ १ ॥

नगरीबाहेर तापा वाजतो । नगरीबाहेर तापा वाजतो ॥ २ ॥

भल्याचें लेकरूं परणाया जाते । भल्याचें लेकरूं परणाया जाते ॥ ३ ॥

१७ - घाट

थंड थंड पाणी ढोंगर किनारीं । नवऱ्या बाळाचे कपडे रुमाली ॥

नाशिकचे शिपी केदार बोलाविले । नवऱ्या बाळाला कपडे चढविले ॥ १ ॥

थंड थंड पाणी ढोंगर किनारीं । नवऱ्या बाळाचे कपडे रुमाली ॥

नाशिकचे सोनार केदार बोलाविले । नवऱ्या बाळाला बाशिंग चढविलें ॥ २ ॥

थंड थंड पाणी ढोंगर किनारीं । नवऱ्या बाळाचे कपडे रुमाली ॥

नाशिकचे चांभार केदार बोलाविले । नवऱ्या बाळाला जोडे चढविले ॥ ३ ॥

१८ - घाट (संवाद)

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । वेळाचे जोड माझ्या करीं दिसे ॥ १ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । तोल्याचे जोड माझ्या पायीं दिसे ॥ २ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । पुतळ्याचे जोड माझ्या कंठीं दिसे ॥ ३ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । नथाचे जोड माझ्या नाकीं दिसे ॥ ५ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । सरीचे जोड माझ्या कंठीं दिसे ॥ ५ ॥

१. कोणाचेंहि नांव घालणें.

ताडावरची माड, मांडव खुलवि बाई, खुलवि बाई ।
 नवरी घोळ्यावरी, घोडा दमतो बाई, दमतो बाई ॥
 मागे फिफ्नी पाही, तुळी रडती बहीण, रडती बहीण ।
 नको रडूं बाई, तुला लावीन चोळी, लावीन चोळी ॥ ४ ॥

१२ - वाट

झुणझुण बाजंत्री काय वाजत । झुणझुण बाजंत्री काय वाजत ॥
 म्होर कलावंतिणी कां नाचती । म्होर कलावंतिणी कां नाचती ॥
 नवरा आला ग शिवापाशीं । नवरा आला ग शिवापाशीं ॥
 शिवनारळ मी देईन । शिवनारळ मी देईन ॥
 नवरी जिंकूनी मी नेईन । नवरी जिंकूनी नेईन ॥
 असा नवरा जगजेठी हो । असा नवरा जगजेठी ॥
 सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं हो । सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं ॥
 अशी नवरी जगजेठी हो । अशी नवरी जगजेठी ॥
 सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं हो । सवा खंडीचें कांकण हातीं ॥

१३ - वाट

वाटावरचा वड टापटुप गळे हो । टापटुप गळे ॥
 खावें पान थुंकावें शाल्वर हो । थुंकावें शाल्वर ॥

१४ - वाट

उठा उठा रुकमीनी । तुम्ही दही भात हो करा ॥
 आमही जातो जेजुरा । तुलसी परनाया ॥
 परनील्या तुलसी । लाविल्या आंगणी ॥
 बाई घाली पाणी । तुलसी गंगनी गेल्या ॥

१५ - वाट

बारा बैल कशीयाचे । बारा बैल कशीयाचें ॥ १ ॥
 बारा बैल हाळदीचे । बारा बैल हाळदीचे ॥ २ ॥

एवढी हाळद काय पुरे । एवढी हाळद काय पुरे ॥ ३ ॥

नवऱ्याला गीत फार । नवऱ्याला गीत फार ॥ ४ ॥

हाळदीच्या गोण्यासंग बैल न्याव । हाळदीच्या गोण्यासंग बैल न्याव ॥ ५ ॥

१६ - घाट

नगरीबाहेर काय ग वाजत । नगरीबाहेर काय ग वाजत ॥ १ ॥

नगरीबाहेर तापा वाजतो । नगरीबाहेर तापा वाजतो ॥ २ ॥

भल्याचें लेकरूं परणाया जाते । भल्याचें लेकरूं परणाया जाते ॥ ३ ॥

१७ - घाट

थंड थंड पाणी डोंगर किनारीं । नवऱ्या बाळाचे कपडे रुमाली ॥

नाशिकचे शिपी केदार बोलाविले । नवऱ्या बाळाला कपडे चढविले ॥ १ ॥

थंड थंड पाणी डोंगर किनारीं । नवऱ्या बाळाचे कपडे रुमाली ॥

नाशिकचे सोनार केदार बोलाविले । नवऱ्या बाळाला बाशिंग चढविलें ॥ २ ॥

थंड थंड पाणी डोंगर किनारीं । नवऱ्या बाळाचे कपडे रुमाली ॥

नाशिकचे चांभार केदार बोलाविले । नवऱ्या बाळाला जोडे चढविले ॥ ३ ॥

१८ - घाट (संवाद)

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । वेळाचे जोड माझ्या करीं दिसे ॥ १ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । तोळ्याचे जोड माझ्या पायीं दिसे ॥ २ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । पुतळ्याचे जोड माझ्या कंठीं दिसे ॥ ३ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । नथाचे जोड माझ्या नाकीं दिसे ॥ ४ ॥

वाटेच्या मसुरा कीं पिवळें घोंस । भावाच्या लमाला बहिण रूस ॥

कां हो बहिणी तुम्ही रूसलांशी । सरीचे जोड माझ्या कंठीं दिसे ॥ ५ ॥

१. कोणाचेंहि नांव घालणें.

१९ - वाट

सूर्यो कि तेजीं पानें पिवळीं । तीहि जीं पानें नवऱ्याचे हातीं ॥
 नवऱ्याचे भाऊ लाखाचे पती । लाखाचे पती ॥
 गंगा-यमुनांचें पाणी जे पेंती । पाणी जे पेंती ॥
 लष्कर आलें बावळ्या खंदा हो । बावळ्या खंदा ॥
 लष्कर नाहीं ते बंधुचे व्याही । बंधुचे व्याही ॥
 बंधुचे व्याही तरी आमहांला दावा हो । आमहांला दावा ॥
 आमहांला दावा नाही तर मांडवी न्यावा हो । मांडवी न्यावा ॥
 बाहेर निघ तूं नवरीच्या भावा हो । नवरीच्या भावा ॥
 पाहीं तें पाहीं मेव्हणुमुख हो । मेव्हणुमुख ॥
 तुझा मेव्हणा हिरा माणिक । हिरा माणिक ॥
 उजेड पडला मांडवांत हो । उजेड पडला मांडवांत ॥
 लेक तुझी चंद्राची ज्योत हो । लेक तुझी चंद्राची ज्योत ॥

२० - चुडा (घुळें येथील)

भिंगी चुडा तुला कोण भरे । आईने गोत मन्या तांडा संगें ॥
 भिंगी चुडा मन्ये मावशी भरे ॥ १ ॥
 भिंगी चुडा तुला कोण भरे । आईने गोत मन्या तांडा संगें ॥
 भिंगी चुडा मन्ये आत्या भरे ॥ २ ॥
 भिंगी चुडा तुला कोण भरे । आईने गोत मन्या तांडा संगें ॥
 भिंगी चुडा मन्ये आई भरे ॥ ३ ॥
 भिंगी चुडा तुला कोण भरे । आईने गोत मन्या तांडा संगें ॥
 भिंगी चुडा मन्ये बहिण भरे ॥ ४ ॥

२१ - (घुळें येथील)

सासरा दिनी सासरा दिनी, चांदीची बगई कांही
 सोनाई पलंग लाही, पालाही पलंग लाही
 आंघड बंधड लाही
 सासरा दिनी सासरा दिनी, चांदीची बगई लाही ॥

१. सूर्याच्या तेजाने पिवळीं झालीं. २. मांडें.

२२ - संवाद

बाईं बाईं, तुम्हाला लेक पाहिजे का ? आम्हांला लेक पाहिजे
तुमच्या लेकीला काय पाहिजे ? आमच्या लेकीला तोडे पाहिजे
तोडे विडे बंद करा, कंठीने डबा भरा, हिरवी लवंग बेलापुरी

तिथला सोनार कारागिरी

कारभार करितो बाप सोनीयाचे कुल्लुपा चढितो बाय वाणीयाचे ॥ १ ॥

बाईं बाईं, तुम्हांला लेक पाहिजे का ? आम्हांला लेक पाहिजे
तुमच्या लेकीला काय पाहिजे ? आमच्या लेकीला नथ पाहिजे
नथ विथ बंद करा, कंठीने डबा भरा, हिरवी लवंग बेलापुरी

तिथला सोनार कारागिरी

कारभार करितो बाप सोनीयाचे कुल्लुपा चढितो बाय वाणीयाचे ॥ २ ॥

२३ - मंडवळीं

पहिली मंडवळी कशाची । पहिली मंडवळी चाप्याची ॥

हौस नवऱ्याच्या बापाची ॥ १ ॥

दुसरी मंडवळी कशाची । दुसरी मंडवळी जाईची ॥

हौस नवऱ्याच्या आईची ॥ २ ॥

तिसरी मंडवळी कशाची । तिसरी मंडवळी गव्हांची ॥

हौस नवऱ्याच्या भावाची ॥ ३ ॥

चवथी मंडवळी कशाची । चवथी मंडवळी रोईची ॥

हौस नवऱ्याच्या आत्याची ॥ ४ ॥

पांचवी मंडवळी कशाची । पांचवी मंडवळी मोत्याची ॥

हौस नवऱ्याच्या भावाची ॥ ५ ॥

२४ - छत्र

भाऊ म्हणे काशे, आंधोळीला जातों

त्याही तांब्यावरी काळे निळे घोडे हो, बसुनियां जातो कोणीया देशा हो ।

बसुनियां जातों माळव्या देशा हो, माळव्या देशीं त्याचे आहे कोण

माळव्या देशीं त्याचे आहे मामा हो ॥ १ ॥

भाऊ म्हणे काशे, आंधोळीला जातों
 त्याही तांब्यावरी काळे निळे घोडे हो, त्याही घोब्यावरी कोण नवरा बसे हो ।
 बसुनी जातो कोणीया देशा हो, बसुनी जातों माळव्या देशी हो ।
 माळव्या देशी त्याचे कोण आहे हो, माळव्या देशी त्याचा आहे भाऊ ॥ २ ।

२५

आगरी नारील मलबारी खोबरें, स्याची खवण त्यांना सोनीयाची दांडी
 काशीयाच्या वाटी माकव काढियेली, काडूबाल आंगिची चोळी टेऊबाल
 वईले बलाणी वईले बलाणी
 मोर झुल झुल झ्यापा घेई ॥ १ ॥

२६

चुली तु चुली स्यांना मातीच्या चुली
 भटाका ब्राह्मणांनी रचिलेली ॥ १ ॥
 चुली सीज साली का डाली
 बैला सीज घोल हो येतील x x व्हराडी
 जेऊनी जातील नायलाग सुगरीनी बोल ॥ २ ॥
 (x x कोणत्याहि गांवाचें नांव घालणें.)

२७

हातीच्या सोंडेवरी लावीला फुलबाजा
 लभाला येतो राजा गोपाळ नवरा ॥ १ ॥
 एके करा दीच फुलबाई पांढर त्याला बाजली
 हिरविशी करदुली कोण्या राजाने जिकिली
 राजोरी माझ्या गोपाजीनें जिकिली शाजूली ॥ २ ॥

२८

गजघाटी वाजती । नंदी आल म्हणती हाळ्दीचे ॥
 आणिली हाळ्द । ओतिली दावारा । साजती नवऱ्या गोपाजीला ॥ १ ॥

२९

तांबूळ देशीच्या सोनारदादा नथनी घडाई मध्यरात्री
 कृष्णा देवाच्या देवाच्या नवरीसाठी । शिरी बासिंग बासिंग परण्या नेलें ।
 एव्हडी तातड तातड कशासाठी । कृष्णा देवाच्या देवाच्या नवरीसाठी ॥

३०

वडपीपलाच्या झाड्यावरी पिंगडा ग बोली बोल ।
 राजा दसरंनताचा पुतर भारजा परनाय गेला ॥
 कशी रे भारज परनीली ॥ १ ॥
 समईच्या उजेडांनी वाजेच्या नांदांनी ।
 भारजा परनील भारजा परनील
 काय काय नेली हुती सीनंगाराची पेटी ॥ २ ॥

३१

लाल लुगड्यावाली कोण गे । नवऱ्याची बहिण गे ॥
 तिच्या घोळांत काय आहे । तिच्या घोळांत भिंगुरी टाळ, भिंगुरी टाळ ॥
 ह्या पानावरी काय ग आहे । काय ग आहे ॥
 ह्या पानावरी चुन्याचें बोट हो । चुन्याचें बोट ॥
 ह्या चुन्यावरी काय ग आहे । काय ग आहे ॥
 ह्या चुन्यावरी सुपारीचें खांड हो । सुपारीचें खांड ॥
 ह्या खांडावरी काय ग आहे । काय ग आहे ॥
 ह्या खांडावरी काताचा खडा हो । काताचा खडा ॥
 विडा बनविला ग । विडा बनविला ॥
 नवरीच्या मुखीं घाला । नवरीच्या मुखीं घाला ॥

३२

चिकणमाती भिकणमाती ओटा जी घालावा । ओटा जी घालावा ॥
 असा ओटा चांगला तर जातें जी रोवावा । जातें जी रोवावा ॥

असें जातें चांगलें तर गडू जी दळावे । गडू जी दळावे ॥
 असे गडू चांगले तर पुऱ्या जी कराव्या । पुऱ्या जी कराव्या ॥
 अशा पुऱ्या चांगल्या तर रुमाली बांधाव्या । रुमाली बांधाव्या ॥
 असा रुमाल चांगला तर घोब्यावर घालावा । घोब्यावर घालावा ॥
 असा घोडा चांगला तर माहेरीं न्यावावा । माहेरीं न्यावावा ॥
 असें माहेर चांगलें तर धिंगाणा घालावा । धिंगाणा घालावा ॥

३३

तुला पुतळ्या घडितो । तुला पुतळ्या घडितो ॥
 तुझ्या गळीं घालीतो । तुझ्या गळीं घालीतो ॥
 कोण गाडी सोब्या । बडोद्याची पासिंदर सोब्या ॥ १ ॥
 तुला वेळा घडीतो । तुला वेळा घडीतो ॥
 तुझ्या दंडी घालीतो । तुझ्या दंडी घालीतो ॥
 कोण गाडी सोब्या, हाकी रशिया, मोटार गाडी सोब्या हाकी रशिया ॥ २ ॥
 तुला नथनी घडीतो । तुला नथनी घडीतो ॥
 तुझ्या नाकीं घालीतो । तुझ्या नाकीं घालीतो ॥
 पम गाडी सोब्या, हाकी रशिया, हाकी रशिया ॥ ३ ॥

३४

काली रात्रा निवरातली । पात्याना हो जाली लगन ॥
 आली वराच्या गा गोपाजीच्या दारीं । गोपाजीच्या दारीं ॥
 ग वाजतर वाजती । चला जाऊं चला जाऊं ग कौतुक पहाया ॥
 कवतुक हो बा पहाता । ग झाल्याशा मंदान रात्रा सडीक ॥
 सौरंग पडती नवऱ्या गा । सुडकाजीवरती । सुडकाजीच्या करवल्या ॥
 सीनगार करिती नाना परी । ससुंदाच ग चक्रपाणी उडविती त्या दोर्धावरी ॥ १ ॥

APPENDIX D
SURNAMES

APPENDIX D

SURNAMES

The Marathi-speaking Depressed Classes have many family or surnames. Just as among the Hindus Sagotra marriage does not take place, similarly amongst these people marriage between two families having the same surnames does not take place. In the Marathi speaking sample following surnames occur :—

- A : Arao, Ambolkar, Ankush, Ahire, Agham, Abhang, Ade, Adejadhao, Ayre, Arde, Adhe, Adhao, Alat, Apte, Adangle, Apre.
- B : Barwe, Bandsode, Bankar, Bankhade, Bandrike, Bedekar, Bodke, Borge, Bambharkar, Bagul, Borade, Budravan, Bhosle, Bhadivare, Bhurugare, Bhavre, Bhalerao, Buva, Bhoikar, Bhandgale, Bhangurde, Bhandare, Bhirve.
- C : Chavan, Chevalkar.
- D : Dethe, Dangle, Dhutre, Dakavde, Dhadge, Dashahajare, Dhaptadke, Dhende, Danane, Dharpawar, Dolas, Diwale, Dhangar, Dhamre, Dinde, Dhepe, Dive, Durwe, Dhivar, Dere, Dhotpagar, Dandavat, Dongardive, Dhagle.
- G : Gatkamble, Gangavane, Garadi, Garud, Godse, Gavli, Gangakush, Gangurde, Gaikwad, Gunjal, Gade, Gamre, Gaware, Garade, Gaytadke, Gondaval, Gavre, Gulsavkar, Galwe, Gharware.
- H : Hambare, Hebale, Hire, Hede, Halde, Hartale, Hasajale.
- I : Ingie, Ibrahimpurkar.

- J** : Jadhao, Jagpale, Jagtap, Jagdane, Jawle, Janvade.
- K** : Kale, Kadam, Kharate, Kasim, Kharnak, Kakde, Kharat, Kalme, Khaire, Kunde, Kahuki, Khure, Khalzi, Kamble, Katanvari, Kudwe, Kasare, Kavde, Kedar, Khadezode, Kelshikar, Kapre, Kashikedar, Kalsapkar, Khande, Khandade, Khagdekar, Khamgaokar, Kasne, Khatik, Khadalak, Kapdekar.
- L** : Lavande, Lakde, Lokhande, Lambade, Logde, Ladhepratap, Londhe.
- M** : Mhatre, Misal, Mohite, Mane, Matsabe, Mhasane, Mabad, Mumle, Mohire, Malwe, Mavle, Mukhavalkar, Marsande, Maharkar, Mahadik, Mankar, Mirale, More, Mevalkar, Male, Mukhadkar, Marchand.
- N** : Nikalje, Nirvane, Nachekar, Nagare, Nile, Nikam, Navgire, Nanavare, Nimkar.
- O** : Ozarkar, Ovhal.
- P** : Padwal, Panpatil, Patankar, Patekar, Penkar, Patkule, Pevekar, Phanse, Palwe, Pandit, Basare, Phole, Pawar, Powar, Pethe, Patil, Phulpagar, Pote, Pagare.
- R** : Ramraje, Rasal, Rukhe, Ravaa, Randive, Rajvle, Rupore, Ragpasari, Rannavre, Ranshevde, Rokde, Rangude.
- S** : Savlekar, Sonkamble, Surya, Savle, Satpute, Sohale, Shejavle, Saluke, Sonavli, Sheke, Shedavle, Sadge, Sartape, Sonval, Sawant, Shinde, Sontate, Sakpal, Sane, Sartape, Suryagan, Shirsat, Salve, Salvi, Sadhare, Shirke, Sukhe, Sagate, Suryavanshi, Sukhade, Sonavane, Sakhare, Savnikar, Salvekar, Savarkar.
- T** : Tavle, Thorat, Tambe, Tribhuvan, Trikale, Tabhavre, Tarangane, Tapase, Tirwe, Tatke, Tamhankar.
- U** : Ughade, Ubale, Urankar, Unanve.
- V** : Virhe, Vadane, Vavle, Vaykar, Varsekar, Vadekar, Vahal.
- W** : W. Wagh, Waghmare.
- Y** : Yeole, Yele, Yadao.

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