

**THE
HARIJANS OF MAHARASHTRA.**

By

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With

A Note on the Harijan
Problem in Maharashtra

By

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The Harijans of Maharashtra

I. INTRODUCTORY.

I was appointed as a research worker among Harijan Castes by the General Secretary of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh with effect from 1st May, 1939, in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Central Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh on 3rd March, 1939. The said resolution reads as follows :-

“Resolved that a Committee of two scholars be employed at a suitable remuneration, to be presided over by the General Secretary, and be appointed to carry on research work and study the conditions of each caste now termed “Scheduled” from the point of view of untouchability and find out which of the scheduled castes are treated as untouchable by caste-Hindus. The Ex. Committee to take suitable action on the submission of report by the Sub-Committee.

Resolved further that the General Secretary be authorised to secure the services of such scholars and begin the work as early as possible”.

The main object of the research is that the present condition of the untouchable castes in the various provinces of India should be studied with a view to ascertain whether the castes which have been included in the Schedules appended to the Government of India Act, 1935, are properly included therein from the point of untouchability and to see whether any castes or sub-castes which should have been included in the schedules have been omitted or not. The idea in constructing the Schedules to the Government of India Act was to include in them those castes among Hindus which are treated as untouchable by the so-called Caste-Hindus or Savarnas. The Scheduled castes were formerly called the Depressed Classes and are now popularly called Harijans. As untouchability varies from province to province it is deemed possible that errors might have crept into those schedules.

In order to guide me in the work certain written instructions were given to me by the President of the Maharashtra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh in consultation with the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. In addition to that I was also asked to

refer to the nine points indicative of untouchability which have been mentioned in Vol. I of the Census of India Report, 1931, and was also asked to read the Report of the Backward Classes Committee of Bombay Province, called the Starte Committee, which I did. I made full use of the instructions thus given to me, for doing the work on proper lines.

I was asked to begin my work with the Province of Maharashtra which, for the purposes of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, consists of ten Marathi speaking Districts. As the Provincial Office is at Dhulia, the headquarters of West Khandesh District, I began my research work with West Khandesh and took up all the Districts in the following order:—(1) West Khandesh, (2) East Khandesh, (3) Kolaba, (4) Ratnagiri, (5) Poona, (6) Satara, (7) Thana, (8) Sholapur, (9) Ahmednagar and (10) Nasik. A list of the places which I visited in each District is given at the end as appendix A to the Report.

During my itinerary in the Province I visited cities, towns and also villages. Industrial and Railway centres were also visited. Some places were specially visited for studying certain castes, e. g. Peinth in Nasik District for 'Dhor Kolis', Wada in Thana District for the 'Katkaris' and Waduj in Satara District for the 'Ramoshis'.

The President and the Secretary of the Provincial Board fixed my programme for each District in advance and arranged to give me some companion in order to help me in visiting various places and seeing different persons. The companion was either a Harijan Sevak or the Secretary of the local Sangh or some other worker. In three Districts, the Provincial Secretary, Shri V.N. Upadhye, himself accompanied me.

In the midst of my tour there was the four-day session of the Western and Central India Harijan Sevaks' Conference at Poona under the Presidentship of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, the Vice-President of the Sangh, during the first week of June 1939. The Conference was organised by the Maharashtra Provincial Sangh. I attended the Conference throughout. The discussions at the Conference were helpful to me in understanding the Harijan Problem in all its aspects.

Only in a few places during my itinerary I found opposition to the work from the members of the Independent Labour Party; excepting that, the work was appreciated and helped to some extent in all other places, particularly by Congress workers.

Following is my report on the condition of the Scheduled Castes or the untouchable classes in Maharashtra.

II. THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

The question of the institution of untouchability is closely connected with the caste system in India. The problem of the caste has been studied by many scholars, such as Nesfield, Ibetson, Senart, Risley, Sir Alfred Lyall, Enthowen, Ramprasad Chanda, Ghurye and others. Some of them consider that the caste system is occupational or functional; others consider it to be tribal or racial. The question has been considered by the ancient lawgiver Manu. According to Manu's theory four different Varnas (literally colours) were produced from the different limbs of the Supreme Person. Whatever may be the origin of the caste, the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita and Lord Buddha, do not support the idea of high and low. But Brahminism has always supported the caste system with its distinctions, the lowest in the social hierarchy being the so-called untouchables.

III. A SHORT NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY MOVEMENT IN MAHARASHTRA.

(The reform movement is very old in Maharashtra. The teachings of saints like Eknath and Tukaram taught people to regard all men as children of God, who was kind to all without distinction of caste. The social distinctions however remained largely unaffected. During the British era reformers like Vishnubva Jog, Mahatma Jyotirao Fuley and Agarkar started a fight against untouchability in their own way. Mahatma Fuley was the first to start a primary school for the untouchables in Maharashtra (at Poona) in the early eighties. Later Sahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur and Karmavir Vithal Ramji alias Annasabeb Shinde gave a great push to the removal of untouchability. Shri Shinde founded the Depressed Class Mission Society at Bombay and Poona and the Society is still doing useful work at Poona. Leaders of the Prarthana Samaj like Justices Ranade and Chandavarkar and Dr. Bhandarkar also helped the movement.

Before the Harijan Sevak Sangh was started in 1932, there were institutions pledged to the removal of untouchability, such as the Asprishyata-Niwarak Mandal of Poona guided by Shri (now Prof.) S. M. Mate and the Adi Hindu Seva Mandal at Dhulia conducted by Sjts. Ghogrey and Barve and other small institutions in Kolaba and other places. The late Shri G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society was the first President of the Maharashtra Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. He died in November 1935 and then Shri B. G. Kher was appointed in his place as President of the Provincial Board. When the mantle of Premiership of the Bombay Province fell on his shoulders, he resigned the post and was succeeded by Shri V. N. Barve of Dhulia. He has appointed Shri V. N. Upadhye as the working Secretary.

IV. THE CENSUS FIGURES OF "DEPRESSED CLASSES" IN MAHARASHTRA.

The linguistic province of Maharashtra comprises ten Districts having a total population of 99,61,986 souls. Out of them the Hindus form 91·84% and the Harijans constitute 10·33% of the total population.

The Census report of 1931 shows the percentages of populations according to Districts as follows:—

Percentage of Harijans to total population and to Hindus.

Name of the District.	Total Population.	Total Population of Hindus.	Percentage of Hindus to total Population.	Total Harijans.	Percentage of Harijans to Total population	Percentage of Harijans to all Hindus.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Ahmednagar	988,206	886,152	89.6	110,486	11.0	12.4
2. East Khandesh	1,206,035	1,065,641	88.4	130,970	10.8	12.0
3. West Khandesh	771,794	716,796	92.8	49,679	6.4	7.0
4. Kolaba	628,721	592,957	94.4	45,751	7.2	7.7
5. Nasik	1,000,048	926,424	92.6	120,178	12.0	13.0
6. Poona	1,169,798	1,078,463	92.0	140,167	12.0	13.0
7. Ratnagiri	1,302,527	1,206,495	92.6	113,937	8.7	9.4
8. Satara	1,179,712	1,116,522	94.6	158,658	13.4	14.2
9. Sholapur	877,520	793,434	90.4	149,509	17.0	18.8
10. Thana	836,625	761,306	91.0	40,571	4.8	5.3
Total	9,961,986	9,143,820	91.84	1,059,906	10.33	11.28

Thus the untouchables or Depressed Classes, now called Harijans, constitute 10.33% of the total population and 11.28% of the Hindu population.

The untouchables or Depressed Classes in Maharashtra as shown by the Census Report are divided amongst different castes as follows:—

	Population.	Percentage to Total Population of Harijans.
1. Mahars	723,825	68.3
2. Chambhars and Mochis	147,018	13.9
3. Mangs or Matangs	146,966	13.9
4. Dhor Kolis	15,057	1.4
5. Dhors	12,107	1.1
6. Bhangis	8,807	0.8
7. Mang-garudis	3,936	0.4
8. Others	2,190	0.2
Total	1,059,906	100

This table shows that the Mahars, Chambhars and the Mangs are the three main castes amongst the Harijans of this Province. The Mahars by themselves constitute more than two-thirds of the Harijan population of the Province. Bhangis are not the original inhabitants of this Province, but have been imported from different Provinces of India from time to time as the need arose. Perhaps the oldest Bhangi immigrants had come at the time of the Peshwas.

V. THE PRINCIPAL HARIJAN CASTES OF MAHARASHTRA AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

I now proceed to give a brief description of the principal Harijan castes in Maharashtra and their occupations.

(1) *The Mahars.*—The Mahars are found all over Maharashtra and the Marathi-speaking Districts of the Central Provinces and Berar.

The sub-castes among Mahars, which I found in my inquiry, were Rayrang, Dhegu Megu, Surali Murali, Ranawale, Dakhani Mahar, Ladwan (might be Ladhan), Adwan (Andhan), Bavris (might be Balhi) and Kopre (Kochrya). These sub-castes are found in

the Districts of Khandesh. In Ratnagiri District, there are the Pan Mahars and Bele Mahars. While in Thana District, there are the Somavanshi Mahars, called the Bhats, who serve as priests or barbers or Joshis. The Bhats are found in all Districts except Satara and Sholapur. They usually dine with other Mahars but do not intermarry. In Ratnagiri, the Bhats are called Medang; in Kolaba Joshis; and in other places Bhats, Nhavis or Joshis. Enthowen has given 53 sub-castes among the Mahars, but I did not come across so many; nor did I find the exact sub-castes which have been given in the *Khandesh Gazetteer* viz. Soma, Ladhan, Andhan, Tilwan, Kochrya, Baonya, Banker, Holar, Balhi, Koknya, Kharse, Gond and Gopal.

The Holars are found as a separate caste, and not as a sub-caste of Mahars. They do the work of cobblers. In Ratnagiri District the Pan Mahars and Bele Mahars do not eat together. Such castes in the Districts of Khandesh do so.

Occupations.—The Mahars are found almost in every village as Vatandars or hereditary village servants of the inferior category. They have their duties to the Government and also to the people. A number of officiators are fixed for each village in annual rotation. The officiators have to be in attendance at the bidding of the Patil, the Talati, and every other Government servant, high or low, who visits the village for Government work. The remuneration they get is usually too small in view of the long hours which they have to serve and the labour they have to put in. In some places they have the Watan lands which are sub-divided into small fragments. In some places they get small cash payments, e. g. in Thana and Ahmednagar Rs. 1-8-0 per month; in East Khandesh Rs. 1-12-0 per month; in Nasik District Re. 0-13-4 per month; and in Satara District Re. 0-2-1 per month (*vide Bombay Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. 23, page 170). At present in Ahmednagar District as Mahars have to recover the irrigation revenue also, they get Re. 1 per month more. The duties of Vatandars are numerous, but not clearly defined. The Government of Bombay has recently issued a list enumerating 19 items of work which fall within the duties of Vatandars.

In addition to their duties to Government, they have also to do duties to the people such as carrying messages to other

villages, to call people together by the cry of the mouth, and do other sundry work. The Vatandars are entitled to have a Baluta or perquisites in the form of grain or sheaves of crop. It is a matter in dispute as to whether this Baluta is meant only for service to the village people or for service both to Government and to the village. Now-a-days the Baluta is not being properly or regularly paid, and the service to the village people is also being neglected. One other special work which the Mahars have to do, or have a right to do, is the removing of dead cattle and flaying them. For this labour they are allowed to take the hides, except in the case of Vatandar Patils. In some places they get some corn in addition for this work called Hathdhulai (literally washing of hands). In some places, the Mahars have abandoned this work, as it is considered degrading.

The relations between the Mahars and the cultivating classes are not friendly in many cases. The Mahars have no hereditary profession, except in some places as weavers of Khadi, as the Chamars and the Mangs have. So now they are taking to other professions as they find scope for them, such as cultivation of lands owned or rented, agricultural labour, casual labour, cutting and selling of grass and firewood, carpentry, masonry, factory labour in textile mills, Railway workshops, Govt. security printing press at Nasik Road and in various other mills and factories, as also service as municipal sweepers etc., as also wood cutting and sawing, road and building contractors, dealing in raw hides, playing music in marriage processions, stone cutting, bamboo work (in Ratnagiri and Kolaba) watchmanship, shopkeeping, and now as education is advancing, they are to be found as teachers, clerks, peons and also in a few cases as high officers in Government service and in Railways.

(2) *Chamars and Mochis*.—Mochis are not original inhabitants of Maharashtra; they have come from Gujarat, Marwar and U.P. and from Telugu Districts. These immigrants from different Provinces behave as separate castes. The Chamars are indigenous to Maharashtra.

According to the Khandesh Gazetteer, the sub-castes among Chamars are given as Dohories, Chambhars and Mochis. Dohories are sub-divided into Maratha, Jatav, Jangala and Ahirwar. The

Chamars are divided according to the Gazetteer into Maratha, Kathi, Marwari, Purbhai, Dabholi, Musalman, Mang and Pardeshi. The Marathas are again divided into Dakhanis and Harale Bhaktas.

According to my inquiry, the sub-castes among the Chamars which I found were these:—Dakshani or Harale Chamar, Ahir Chamar, Gadhari Chambhar, Dohari or Rohidas or Katai Chambhar, Kasai Chambhar, Chaule, Dabhole, Ghate and Kokani.

The Mochis are divided according to the places of origin and thus there are Gujrati, Marwari, Pardeshi and Telangi Mochis. Among the Pardeshi Mochis there are three sub-castes viz. Ahirwars, Dhors, and Jatavas.

Chamars are found all over Maharashtra, while Mochis are not found in Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Satara.

Harale Chamars are found all over Maharashtra, while Chaule and Dabhole are found only in Kolaba, Ratnagiri, Satara, Poona and Thana. Dohari or Rohidas Chamars are not found in Kolaba Ratnagiri and Sholapur.

Chamars' Occupations.—Chamars do leather work such as preparing shoes and champals, mots, whips, harnesses etc. They also do tanning work regularly in the Districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba where there are no Dhors. In other Districts they do tanning work only in certain places and not universally. Leather work is the hereditary occupation of the Chamars. Here and there they are also found doing agricultural labour, casual labour, selling vegetables (Nasik District), playing music before processions (in Sholapur and Kolaba Districts), work of municipal sweepers (Kolaba District), preparing brooms (Thana District) and factory labour in many places. The Chamars also deal in leather and leather goods and keep shops in cities and towns. The Mochis only prepare shoes and Champals and never do any tanning work.

(3) *Mangs.*—This community comes third in strength numbering 1,46,966 souls in 1931. They are all indigenous and have not migrated from outside. There are practically no sub-castes among them, as the Mang-garudis form a separate caste altogether. The Mangs are found all over Maharashtra except in Ratnagiri and Kolaba; in the latter District, however, a few families have now migrated.

Occupations.—The hereditary occupations of these people are making ropes, brooms, baskets and other bamboo work, castrating bullocks, the work of night watchmen as at Sholapur, Barsi etc. Other occupations are, playing of music in marriage processions in villages, work of municipal sweepers, casual labour, collecting particles of gold and silver from goldsmith's ash, knitting cots with coir rope, labour in mills, factories, workshops etc. They are almost landless and poorer than both the Mahars and Chamars

(4) *Dhors.*—They are found all over Maharashtra except in Kolaba and Ratnagiri. In Sholapur and Ahmednagar Districts they have become Lingayat and are known as Veershaiva Kankayya. There are practically no sub-castes among them; but in the neighbourhood of Nizam State, two sub-castes are found, viz. Budhale and Ketarphode.

Occupations.—The hereditary occupation of this community is tanning. They also prepare *mots* etc. for agriculturists. They are comparatively better off, as tanning is profitable even in its present crude form. Usually these people have no lands, but there are exceptions, such as at Akalkot, where 50 per cent of them are agriculturists. They do only bark tanning and use the bark of Babul and Tarwad tree or fruit of Ghatbor and Hirda. In order to teach these people and the Chamars better methods of tanning, the Government of Bombay has appointed Tanning Demonstration Parties, who go about from place to place and halt for about 6 months at a place in order to teach better tanning.

Dhor-Kolis or Kolidhors.—They are to be found in the Districts of Thana, Nasik and west Khandesh. *They are not untouchables though included among the scheduled castes of Bombay Province.* In the Peinth Taluka of Nasik District in many villages there are no Mahars and there the Kolidhors do the work of flaying dead cattle. There they are Vatandars and village servants in the place of Mahars. At other places they do agricultural and casual labour. These people are generally very backward in education.

(5) *Mang Garudis.*—This is a wandering tribe and is classed

as a criminal tribe. Many of them are, therefore, found in the Industrial Settlements started by the Government. With a few exceptions they have no lands and houses. Except in Government settlements, they receive practically no education in schools. Their hereditary occupation is that of trade in cattle and shaving of buffaloes. Their women as a rule beg from door to door, accept even dirty remnants of food, but will not work in the fields. As a class their condition is most pitiable. They are not amenable to discipline. Now on account of their confinement in the settlements they do street sweeping and such other work under Municipalities and also do casual labour.

(6) *Bhangis*.—They are all outsiders and not the original inhabitants of Maharashtra. The earliest immigrants appear to be those who are residents of Poona, as possibly they immigrated at the time of Peshwas when the capital town of Poona was laid out and inhabited by wealthy people. They are now found in all cities, towns and big villages, where there are Municipalities, sanitary committees or Gram Panchayats. According to the places of their origin they are known as Gujaratis, Kathiawaris, Marwaris, Lalbegis (coming from Rajputana, Punjab and U. P.) and Malwi (coming from Central India). There are other sub-castes also that have come from different places, such as Shekhavati, who have come from the north part of Jaipur State in Rajputana, Pardeshi who have come from U. P. and Central India, Malkanis who have come from the Punjab, Govardhans who seem to have come from U. P. Particularly in Bhusawal the Mewatis, Dumars, Makhars, Basod and Hela have come from the neighbouring provinces of C. P. and Berar. It appears that some families of Chamars and Dhed or Meghawal or Vankar families from Kathiawar have settled in Nasik District and are doing the work of Bhangis. Among Lalbegis there are such sects known as Valmiki, Nanakpanthis and Kabir Panthis. There are Mohammedan Bhangis also in a number of places like Dhulia.

Occupations.—Their principal occupation is scavenging and sweeping. Only a few of them are taking to other occupations. They are very slow in taking to education. There has been one graduate and a few matriculates among them so far.

(7) *Holars*.—They are not separately mentioned in the Census

Report. They are considered to be the sub-castes of Mahars at some places and sub-castes of Chamars at other places. But as there are no inter-marriages between Holars on one side and the Mahars or Chamars on the other, it is better to treat them as a separate caste. They are found all over Maharashtra except in Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Thana Districts. Their hereditary occupation is that of mending shoes and playing of music in marriage processions. Now they are found to be doing Municipal sweeping at Kurduwadi and tanning in Peinth Taluka of Nasik District.

(8) "*Tirmalis*."—In the Census of 1931 they are shown as found in Gujarat only and none in Maharashtra, but I found a few of their families in both the Districts of Khandesh, East and West. *But they are not untouchables there*, as the caste-Hindus allow them to freely go about and sell their produce. They are however extremely backward in all respects.

(9) *Garudi or Dombari*.—These are wandering people and very backward in all respects. They are on the border line but are not really untouchables, though treated as very low.

VI THE ALTERNATIVE NAMES OF HARIJAN CASTES.

The other names by which they are known are as under :—

Mangs are often termed Matangs, Raut & Naiks,

Bhangis—Jamadar or Mehtars, Halalkhor & Chuda.

Dheds—Meghwals or Wankars and even Mayawanshis.

Dhors—They are often known as Veershaiva Kankayas who are Lingayats by religion.

Chambhars who are Lingayats are known as Veershaiv Kankaya.

Dohoris—Katais or Rohidas Chambhars.

Mahars—Are termed Somvanshis.

VII. CONDITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY VIEWED FROM THE NINE POINTS LAID DOWN IN THE CENSUS OF INDIA REPORT VOL. I.*

In Maharashtra untouchability is not observed in a severe form at present. It is slowly crumbling due to education and political consciousness among the masses and also among the untouchables, specially among the Mahars and Chambhars who form the bulk of untouchable population.

(1) In some Districts Brahmin priests go to the houses of Dhors, Chambhars and Mahars for religious ceremonies and even mix with them on that occasion. But they do not mix in that way with Bhangis, Mangs, Mang-garudis, Holars, etc. and do not serve even Dhors, Chamars and Mahars in West and East Khandesh districts and to some extent in Ratnagiri District.

Mahars usually have their own Bhats or Joshis, who act as priests at the marriage and death ceremonies. In Khandesh and in some parts of Konkan, the Chambhars and Dhors also have their own Bhats for this purpose.

In Sholapur, A'Nagar, and Nasik Districts mostly Chambhars and Dhors are Lingayats and so are served by Jangam in religious ceremonies.

In all districts except West and East Khandesh, Mangs, Mang-Garudis, Bhangis and others all get Brahmin priests for their religious ceremonies. Bhangis sometimes have the services of their own priest, who is called Gosavi. Dheds in Thana District also have their own priest who is called Dhed Garoda or Govardhan Brahmin.

✓(2) Caste-Hindu *Barbers, washermen and water-carriers* do not serve the untouchables. *Tailors* in towns and cities take the measurements of their clothes by touching them. But in villages this also is done from a distance. Tailors do not repair the old clothes of Harijans.

At some places the Purbhaiya barbers (who come from the North) serve the Harijans, and Mohamedan barbers generally serve them. Mahars and Chambhars etc. have their own barbers also.

✓(3) The idea of *pollution by proximity of Harijans* has now almost disappeared except in some parts of Thana District and in some villages of Ratnagiri District. But *pollution by contact* still remains except in large towns and cities. The factory life has done much to do away with the idea of pollution by contact. The contact of Harijans in public meetings and theatres is not considered to be pollutive.

✓(4) Caste-Hindus, except reformers, do not take water from the hands of any member of the untouchable class.

(5) The Scheduled castes are not debarred from using *public roads* except at very rare places in the whole province. In villages they are not freely allowed to take their marriage processions along the public streets. They are allowed to use the *ferries* freely.

✓ *In Schools* the children of the untouchables are allowed to sit side by side with those of the caste-Hindus at all places in Maharashtra, except in a few places where the schools are housed in temples. But at a number of places I found that there was trouble about drinking water for the 'untouchable' students.

In spite of Government's declared policy of keeping all *public wells* open to people of all castes and in spite of the notice boards put up near public wells declaring that they are open to all, in practice Harijans, are not allowed by the Caste-Hindus to use these wells, except at rare places, where special efforts are made either by the caste-Hindu reformers or leaders of Harijans. To my knowledge about a hundred wells are open to Harijans; at 5 places the reservoirs are commonly used, while at 2 places tanks are commonly used. Over and above, Government wells in Mamlatdar Kacheris, Police lines etc. are open and mostly used by them. Public water taps are generally used by them at most of the places. The throwing open of all public wells in actual practice is the most urgent problem in Maharashtra.

They are allowed to ride in *motor buses* at all places but not in *tongas*, except in large towns and cities. In villages, they are not allowed to go *in carts* of caste-Hindus.

In spite of the Bombay Government's recent orders that *public places of entertainment* having Government licenses must be open to members of the Scheduled castes, I found that caste-Hindu owners of very few such places freely admit them in the mofussil.

(6) In Maharashtra 36 temples are known to be open for Harijans in the different Districts as shown below :—

Ahmednagar	4
East Khandesh	1
West Khandesh	3
Thana	9
Ratnagiri	8

Sholapur	..	..	..	..	1
Nasik	1
Kolhapur	2
Aundh State	1
Satara	2
Jawhar State	1
Savantwadi State	3
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					36

Out of these 17 are public, 3 belong to States and the rest are private ones.

Caste-Hindu *temples* excluding a few exceptions as above are not open for Darshan to Harijans. Even among Harijans, temples belonging to one caste are not usually open to members of other castes.

(7) Generally it can be said that in ordinary social intercourse the educated members of the Harijan classes are treated without any distinction by the equally qualified caste-Hindus, but this is not the case everywhere. No distinction is observed in public places, but if a Harijan goes to the house of a caste-Hindu he cannot expect to get the same treatment as is given to a caste-Hindu. Even in Government Hostels, distinction used to be observed with regard to accommodation, drinking water and drinking arrangement for Harijans, but recently this has disappeared owing to the firm policy of the Congress Government in this respect. Even in Seva Sadan of Poona, which has been admitting Harijan girls since long, Harijan girls are treated *with some distinction*.

(8) & (9) It does not appear that the Harijan castes in Maharashtra are treated as untouchables owing to their ignorance, illiteracy, poverty or occupations. Their untouchability is due to their birth in the castes which are considered as the lowest strata of society. Untouchability does not *ipso facto* cease with education, or pursuit of occupations of higher castes.

VIII. ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE UNTOUCHABILITY

The Congress Government of the Bombay Province have taken the following steps to remove the disabilities of Harijans and to promote their education:—

- (1) Declaring all public places open to Harijans.

- (2) Issuing strict orders to Local bodies to throw public wells open to them and to put up Notice Boards to that effect.
- (3) Enjoining the owners of all places of entertainment possessing licenses under the Police Acts to give admission to Harijans without any distinction.
- (4) The Temple Worship Disabilities Removal Act authorising trustees of temples to throw them open to Harijans.
- (5) Equal treatment of Harijan employees in Government offices.
- (6) Increasing the percentage of Harijans in Government services.
- (7) Increasing the amount set apart for Scholarships and other facilities to Harijan students.

Akalkot, which is a small state in Sholapur District, has recently enacted that Harijans should be treated without any distinction in all public places including public wells and that it would be a crime punishable under the Act if a Caste-Hindu insults a Harijan, by calling him "Untouchable" and obstructing him in the use of any public place. From my visit to Akalkot and from the information which I got about the conditions of Harijans in other States, I conclude that in Maharashtra even the States are trying in their own way to remove the stigma of untouchability. In some States, however, even in schools Harijan children are not as yet allowed to mix without distinction with the caste-Hindu children and are seated separately. Bhor in Kolaba District is an example of this type of State.

The Maharashtra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh and some of its active district Committees have taken up propaganda, both among caste-Hindus and Harijans, for the practical enjoyment of civic rights by Harijans. Pamphlets are published and distributed among the masses, lectures are given and functions are arranged where caste-Hindu workers and others take water from the hands of Harijans who draw it from public wells. As soon as complaints reach the Provincial office, all possible steps are taken to secure redress. This work is bearing some fruit. Harijan leaders, especially those belonging to Dr. Ambedkar's party, have become fully conscious of their civic rights and encourage their followers to assert them. But as this is done in a somewhat defiant manner and no

attempt is made for persuading the caste-Hindus or to secure the co-operation of the H.S.S., often there arise as a result severe conflicts, boycotts and even belabouring of Harijans by caste-Hindu villagers.

IX. INTER-UNTOUCHABILITY

(Not only the different Scheduled castes but even their sub-castes observe untouchability among themselves. Members of one caste do not take food or water touched by the members of other castes. Each caste has its own water resource. Each caste considers itself superior to some other caste.)

Recently, however, attempts are being made by the Harijan Sevak Sangh and Harijan leaders to remove inter-untouchability.

X. CONDITION ABOUT THE UNTOUCHABILITY OF THEIR RELATIVES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

Mahars, Chambhars, Dhors, Mangs and Mang-garudis have their relatives usually in the same District or in the same province. So the conditions with regard to their untouchability do not differ.

Bhangis and Mochis come from outside Maharashtra. So their condition differs to some extent from that of their relatives in the Province of origin *e.g.* (1) strict untouchability is observed in the case of Bhangis and Dheds in Gujarat, the pollution by proximity even being observed at some places by orthodox Brahmins. (2) The Bhangis in *Rajputana* and *Marwar* are treated there with more contempt than their relatives in Maharashtra.

The Mochis are not considered as untouchables in Gujarat, but since they come to Maharashtra they become untouchables. The Mochis from Marwar and U.P. also say that they are allowed to use public wells in their native place and have access to hotels etc.

XI SOCIAL HIERARCHY

The social and religious status of these people is the lowest in the Hindu Society. Mochis, Chambhars, Dhors and Kathiawadi and Gujarati Bhangis try to observe the full religious ceremonies

of Hindus at the time of marriages or deaths, but other castes do not perform them properly. In no caste is performed the *Havan* ceremony at the time of marriage. Mochis, Chambhars and Dhors generally burn their dead bodies, while others bury them. Taking into consideration these and other customs we can arrange the different castes among Harijans with regard to their comparative status in the following order:— (1) Gujarati Mochis, (2) Chambhars, (3) Dhors, (4) Other Mochis, (5) Mahars, (6) Mangs, (7) Holars, (8) Mang-garudis, and (9) Bhangis.

XII. WHETHER THEY BELIEVE THEMSELVES UNTOUCHABLES OR NOT

(Owing to age long traditions and social and religious fears the Harijans of the old generation upto now believed themselves to be untouchables. But with the new generation and the awakening created by the caste-Hindu reformers and the Harijan leaders a sense of equality has been produced in the minds of Harijans even in villages and the young generation is revolting against the custom of untouchability and aspiring to attain social equality.)

XIII. SPECIAL REMARKS ABOUT CERTAIN CASTES

(1) *Kolidhors or DhorKolis*. They are found in large numbers in Nasik District and to a much smaller extent in West Khandesh. They seem to have been wrongly included in the Schedule to the Government of India Act for the Bombay Province. It is found that they are not treated as untouchables. They are treated like Bhiils by other Hindus. They are allowed to enter houses and to take water from public wells. They work as domestic servants.

It was discovered that in most villages of the Peinth Taluka and in some of the surrounding villages of the Nasik District there are no Mahar families, and hence the Mahar Vatan and other duties of the Mahars, such as skinning dead cattle, are entrusted to the Koli Dhors. They also eat carrion. It is perhaps on this account that they were taken to be untouchables and included in the Scheduled castes. They are of course very backward in all respects and require special treatment as a backward class, but not as a scheduled caste.

(2) *Timali* or *Tirmali*. The census Report does not show the existence of this caste in the Marathi speaking Districts, but information was received that a few families of this caste do exist in West Khandesh. It is said that they keep milch cattle and sell milk, curds etc. and are not untouchables.

SEMI-UNTOUCHABLES

(3) *Katkaris*. They are found in considerable numbers in Kolaba and Thana Districts and in small numbers in Poona, Nasik, Ratnagiri etc. There are two sub-castes among them called as Son Katkaris and Dhor Katkaris. The latter are found in some Talukas of the Thana District and are treated as untouchable by other Hindus. Katakaris in Kolaba and other Districts are not treated as untouchable. The Katkaris as a class are no doubt a very backward community.

(4) *Ramoshis*. They are treated as a criminal tribe. They are found in large numbers in the Satara and Poona Districts and in much smaller numbers in Ahmednagar and other districts. They have a kind of village Vatan as watchmen or Jagalyas. They are considered a low caste and in many places are not allowed to touch water and are also denied social service such as that of the barber etc.

(5) *Buruds*. They are found in small numbers in all districts of Maharashtra. They are treated as Semi-untouchables in some districts like West Khandesh and as touchables in Konkan. They mainly do bamboo work.

(6) *Kaikadis*. They are found in most districts and are very rare in Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri. They are treated as a very low caste, and at a few places they are not allowed to use common wells.

XIV. EDUCATION.

When the literacy percentage for whole India is 8% (according to 1931 census), what to talk about the education of the depressed? In 1860 the Government had passed a rule allowing the untouchables

entry in all the schools and after that Khandesh Gazetteer gives the following data for 1879 (for the two districts of Khandesh).

Percentage of depressed class students, 1.11%

The number was 38 Mahars, 2 Chambhars and 119 Kolis (then considered depressed)

And except at Yawal, where there was a special school for them, untouchable pupils sat in the verandah.

This is how education among them began and we see in 1931 that they are allowed in all public schools and the literacy figures are as follows:—

Population:—7 years and above.

Castes	Population		
	Total	Males	Females
Chambhars (In Ahmednagar, East & West Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara, and Sholapur districts)	94,518	48,003	46,515
Mahars do	436,284	214,017	222,267
Mangs do	114,795	57,775	57,020

Literacy percentage, etc.

Castes	Literacy Percentage in mother-tongue			Literacy in English		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Chambhars	2.9%	5.4	0.3	152	141	11
Mahars	2.9%	5.5	0.4	705	789	16
Mangs	1.5	2.7	0.4	128	127	1

Thus we see that the highest literacy among Harijans reaches 2.9%. It comes to about a third of the total literacy percentage for India. Literacy among the Mahars and Chambhars is the same, but the Mangs lag far behind.

As a result of the Starte Committee report (1930) the Government of Bombay has appointed a special Backward Class Officer to look after the welfare of Harijans and specially the education of all Backward Classes. By this an impetus has been given to the education of Harijans and others in the shape of scholarships, hostels for high school and upper primary students, freeships in Government High Schools and all Colleges etc. Specially after the advent of the Congress Government, the special grant for their education has been increased from 56,000 to 161,000 rupees (round figures) per year.

So at the coming census of 1941, we expect a better figure for their literacy. At present in some places males are found 20 to 30 per-cent literate among Mahars and Chambhars (males) but Mangs are still far behind. The girls have recently begun to attend the schools and to stick up to the end of primary education. But still Mangs, Mochis and other lower castes rarely send their girls to schools.

Bhangis are found literate in good number, but not exceeding Mangs. Dhors compare themselves with Chambhars, while Mang Garudis hardly send their children to schools, except when we find them in the Industrial Settlement schools.

The education of Harijans is much advanced in Satara due to Shri Bhaurao Patil's beneficent activities, while in Nasik and East Khandesh due to important railway centres providing employment, the general condition and with it the educational condition has advanced. West Khandesh has got the push recently due to the Harijan Sevak Sangh work in the District. Districts of Sholapur and Nagar have not come forward inspite of the Christian Missionaries' efforts for over a century. Ratnagiri and Kolaba lag far behind in the education of these people, except in places near Bombay. Poona district does not show adequate progress.

The maximum advance that we can find will be seen from the following data (the figures are approximate)

Castes	Graduates	Matriculates	V.F.
Mahars	24	50	scores of them
Chambhars and Dhors	11	25	"
Mangs	2	5	few
Bhangis	1	4	"

All of them generally get Government service and many are to be found in menial and in clerical services. The highest posts occupied are:—

- One District Deputy Collector, one Mamlatdar, two probationer Mamlatdars, one Deputy Educational Inspector, six Assistants to Deputy Educational Inspectors, etc.

The number of primary school teachers in the Local Board schools of different districts of Maharashtra will be seen from the following table:—

Name of the District	District School Boards				
	Total No. of teachers.	Harijan teachers		Total No. of schools	Separate schools for Harijans-
		Male	F.		
1. Ratnagiri	1304	27	..	..	..
2. Kolaba	773	21	..	432	4
3. Thana	1172	29	2	520	8
4. Nasik	979	77	5	488	19
5. Poona	1209	61	..	620	1
6. Ahmednagar	1289	71	..	698	5
7. Sholapur	1281	99	..	487	6
8. West Khandesh	1138	46	..	443	0
9. East Khandesh	2313	128	4	848	34
10. Satara	2526	127	8	900	20
Total	13,984	686	19		

Thus the percentage of Harijan teachers is nearly five as against 10½ their population percentage.

The figures for Municipal schools were not at hand at the time of writing the report.

The boys generally study up to V.F. among Mahars and try to go to High Schools if facilities are there, but Chambhars usually go only upto 4th Marathi. From all the Harijan castes the students now-a days go to High Schools but the number is very small. The girls generally, from Mahars and Chambhars study upto 4th standard vernacular and some of them even go upto Vernacular Final and to teachers Training College, but Mangs hardly send them to schools. Bhangi boys have recently begun to go to schools, but girls do not.

After the acceptance of office by the Congress Party in the Legislatures, the question of adult education has been taken up very seriously. The Harijans are not neglected in this matter.

Technical education has not been seriously taken up by these people, but some of the students attend technical schools at Dhulia, Poona, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Sholapur and other places. Some of the students of Chambhar and Dhor castes have joined the Tanning School at Khar. The Government are also trying to educate the local people by providing tanning parties but the people do not seem to be much enthusiastic about them. One Chambhar student had been sent to England by the Provincial Government for higher studies in Tanning work. (He has since returned after completing his studies).

Attempts are being made by the Committees of the Harijan Sevak Sangh to train Harijan students in tailoring and other occupations. A number of Harijans are now maintaining themselves by tailoring.

Only one Dhor student is in the Final Year of the Electrical Engineering College course. One Mahar youth has secured the B.E. degree.

There are 36 Hostels for Harijan pupils in the Province, of which a statement is given as Appendix D. They serve to encourage the education of Harijans in different stages as detailed in that statement.

The School Boards of various districts and Municipalities help

these people by giving small scholarships and slates, books etc. as shown below:—

Name of the place	Dist. School Board		Municipal S. Board	
	Scholarships	Other materials like books, slates etc.	Scholarships	Other Materials
1. Ratnagiri	Rs. 2078/- per year.	Rs. 450/-	..	..
2. Kolaba	Rs. 180/-	Rs. 96/-	..	..
3. Thana	Two Harijan Boy's Hostels are maintained for Primary school boys and also books and slates are distributed among poor deserving students.			
4. Nasik	Rs. 600/-	..	Malegaon	95-9-6
5. Poona	Rs. 163-4-0	..	..	..
6. Ahmednagar	Rs. 163/-	..	..	61-0-0
7. Sholapur	Rs. 180/-	Rs. 642/-	Rs. 225/-	75-0-0
8. West Khandesh	Rs. 2000/-	Rs. 150/- clothes Rs. 655/- Books etc.	Dhulia Rs. 450/-	Other help is also given
9. East Khandesh	Information not received		Jalgaon Rs. 72/-	50/-
10. Satara	Rs. 1814	Rs. 1573	..	40/-

Thus we see that all the municipal and district school Boards spend some amount to encourage education among the Harijans.

The Maharashtra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh and its District Committees spend on education of Harijans as shown below:—

(Actual expenses for the year 1938-39)

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Expenditure on Sangh's Schools	1244 13 3
Grant-in-aid to other schools.	127 13 0
Expenditure on Sangh's hostels	6924 6 6
Grant-in-aid to other Hostels	52 8 0
Cost of books, slates, etc.	838 12 3
Scholarships and fee payments	2111 14 3
Cost of clothes, soaps etc.	374 7 4
Aid to libraries	158 5 0
Total	Rs. 11832	15	7

The Harijan Sevak Sangh thus spends nearly eleven to twelve thousand Rupees per year on the education of the Harijans. More than 50% is spent on the Hostels and nearly 20% in aiding the outside students in the form of scholarships and fee-payments.

Over and above these efforts, Government of Bombay gives a large amount of money by way of scholarships, books, slates, clothes etc.

XV. SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

It is difficult to measure the social progress of these castes as the proper material showing their condition from time to time is not available at hand.

(The houses of these people are generally situated at the east or south end of the village. The house sites are usually small and low lying. The houses are usually small and ill ventilated. Many are only huts. In Konkan, the huts of Mahars and Chamars are spacious, well ventilated and compare favourably with those of other agriculturists. Chamars, Dhors and Mochis have better houses (and some times even Pacca ones) compared to other people's houses. Mangs and Mang-garudis have the worst type of houses or huts. Bhangis have comparatively better houses as they are provided, in some places, either by the Panchayats or the Municipalities, which are notoriously indifferent to the needs of these people.)

Chambhars and Dhors sometimes have no separate place for their occupations and they have their tanning pits quite close to their houses which are detrimental to their health. Bhangis are given housing sites in the vicinity of public latrines. Only at Poona, Baramati and Igatpuri, Bhangis have good houses of their own. Generally the Bhangis keep the inside of their houses very neat and clean. Mangs and Mang-garudis in towns have no fixed housing sites and they are shifted from place to place according to the needs of the Municipality.

(The people are not used to regular bathing and washing of clothes, chiefly owing to scarcity of water, except educated ones. Children are usually found naked, playing in dirt and dust and generally neglected.)

The dress among these people has improved in the sense

that now the males have begun to put on shirts, Dhotis, coats and Phetas. In Kōkan, males still wear only the loin cloth and women rarely put on bodice.

The dead bodies of married persons among Chambhars, Mochis and Dhors are usually cremated while others are invariably buried with a few exceptions. Burial seems to be prompted by an economic reason as cremation is costlier. Among Bhangis even before burial the cremation rite of touching the right toe with fire is done. The ceremony of Shraddha is present but in a crude form. Caste dinners are there and the expenses on them vary according to the economic condition of the family. But Bhangis spend a lot after this, giving 3 to 4 caste dinners with very rich dishes.

Child marriage prevails among all the castes except Bhangis who marry their girls at the age of 16 to 17 in order to get more price for the bride. Mahars now marry at the age of 12 to 13 while Mangs and Mang-garudis nearly at 10; but Chambhars, Mochis and Dhors even do at the age of 3 to 6 years. The educated persons among Harijans are trying to raise the age of marriage for the girls

There is no system of dowry; but on the contrary they have to pay for the bride. The bride price among Chambhars, Dhors, Mochis and Bhangis varies from 150 to 500 rupees. The marriage expenses are usually from 250 to 300 rupees. While among the Mahars, it is from 60 to 75 rupees and marriage expenses 100 to 150 rupees. But among the Mangs and Mang-garudis the bride-price varies from Rs. 10 to 25 and at the most Rs. 40; while the marriage expenses are below Rs. 100. In all castes the expenses have decreased due to bad economic conditions. Except Bhangis nobody profits by taking bride-price but on the contrary they have to spend for bride's clothes and ornaments.

Though the caste dinners after deaths are compulsory, the expenses depend only upon the economic condition of the family, but usually they spend more than their circumstances warrant and run into debt.

When ill, these people still believe in Mantras, Sadhus, gods and goddesses and in offering sacrifices. Sometimes they give

hot burns on the stomach for illness. But wherever available, they give preference to Ayurvedic Doctors and lastly, they go to allopathic Doctors. Generally, they are well treated in the dispensaries except due to economic reasons and ignorance but at some places, Ayurvedic Doctors still observe untouchability.

They are all non-vegetarians. Carrion-eating exists among Mahars and Mangs at some places. Chambhars and Dhors do not eat beef but only mutton. Non-vegetarian dishes in marriages are slowly displaced by sweets.

Drinking is found at all places in varying proportion. But factory areas, cities and towns are found more affected by this vice. Konkan, having more of toddy trees, drinking is comparatively more here. Bhangis and Mangs top the list.

Mochis, Chambhars, Dhors and Bhangis here have the custom of drinking at the time of marriages and deaths and will not carry the dead body until they are supplied with drink. Drinking is less in Sholapur, Satara and Ahmednagar districts, but that is only due to poverty.

Gambling is not found to a great extent except among Mangs and Bhangis and that also in the factory areas of cities.

A gradual change in the social customs and habits of these people is found in stopping the slaughtering of goats at the marriage time among Chambhars, replacing drink and flesh by sweets at the marriages of all castes, stopping drinking at the death time and improving cleanliness, clothing and mode of living.

Conversion to Christianity is found on a large scale in Satara, Sholapur and Ahmednagar districts, where missionaries take undue advantage of people's poverty. It was said that in Ahmednagar district, 400 to 500 Harijans are converted each year. But after conversion, they are left to their own lot without any attempt for their educational, social and economic progress. Their status among the caste-Hindus is the same. The people of different original castes do not interdine and intermarry and are recognised by their original caste prefixed to Christianity, (*e. g.*, Mahar Christians, Maratha Christians, etc.) The marriage and death ceremonies among converts represent both the religions. They are

still treated by the caste-Hindus as untouchables and the vice of carrion eating is still found in them.

Some of the Mangs and Bhangis have adopted Islam and therein they find better treatment.

For securing the enjoyment of civic rights to Harijans, the Sangh carries on propaganda. The Sangh also renders medical and miscellaneous help. By securing 50% grant from the Central Board Pani Fund, the Provincial Sangh tries to supply new wells or repair old ones for the use of Harijans. The expenses of the Provincial Sangh over these items for the year 1938-39 were as follows :—

			Rs.	as.	P.
1.	Conferences and Meetings	.. ..	145	11	9
2.	Harijan Sevaks' Conference	.. ..	518	0	9
3.	Printing Posters, leaflets, etc.	.. ..	348	6	6
4.	Magic lantern show	.. ..	11	10	0
5.	Social survey	.. ..	10	0	0
6.	Propaganda in East Khandesh	.. ..	19	9	0
7.	Miscellaneous aid	.. ..	232	11	0
8.	Medical aid	.. ..	134	7	9
9.	Expenditure on wells	.. ..	1,718	4	9
Total			3,188	13	6

Over and above these expenses, the four Harijan sevaks appointed by the Central Board for the purpose of welfare work and propaganda are working for the social uplift of these people.

XVI. THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Speaking generally, the economic condition of Harijans is very bad at all places except a few in the case of Chambhars, Dhors and Bhangis. Mang and Mang-garudis always rot in poverty and we can see that they are not living the life fit for human beings. Mangs, Mang-garudis, Bhangis and even Mahars in some places are in the habit of begging bread from caste-Hindus. They get the remnant of food taken by the touchables. These people eat Jwari or Bajri bread, and in konkan, the low quality of rice, Bajri (vegetable) and Amti (Pulse soup) are taken on some days of the month, otherwise they pull on with chillies. Tak (butter milk),

milk and *Tup* or *ghee* are not meant for these people. *Wheat* is the festival food and whenever they get the vegetables, generally they get *onion* which is the cheapest vegetable. Their feast consists of milk, rice and sugar. *Gingili oil* is also not used in good quantity.

But the people residing in railway centres, like *Bhusawal*, *Kurduwadi*, *Manmad*, *Igatpuri*, *Nasik*, *Poona*, *Kalyan*, *Jalgaon* and *Amalner* are better off as they have regular and fixed income. Also the people residing in textile areas, like *Sholapur*, *Barsi*, *Amalner*, *Dhulia*, *Jalgaon* and *Poona*, get some regular income. While in large towns and cities, where there are municipalities, these people get fairly good wages, the condition of many people is really pitiable in the villages, where they do not find even casual labour for all the year round.

Chambhars, *Dhors* and *Mochis* have their hereditary occupations, but on account of competition of machine-made goods, which are imported in large quantities, they are feeling the pinch of unemployment. *Mangs* prepare ropes, brooms and baskets at all times of the year and get something out of the day's work. But *Mahars* have no regular occupation except as *Vatandars*. *Mang-garudis* deal in cattle, but the income is very poor. *Bhangis* are rarely found unemployed because grown up boys and girls easily get work as scavengers or sweepers.

Chambhars, *Dhors*, and *Mangs* have their occupations, but they get very little out of them. These occupations require organisation and should be organised wherever possible. There are to be found Co-operative Societies at the following places :—

A Credit Society among the *Bhangis* at *Bhusawal*.

A Credit Society among the *Bhangis* at *Chalisgaon*. Co-operative Societies among the *Chamars* at *Sholapur*, *Barel*, *Bassein*.

They all are at all places indebted to a smaller or greater extent according to the extent of their credit. Debts are incurred usually for marriages and deaths.

As the *Chambhars*, *Dhors* and *Bhangis* are a bit better off economically, they have a good credit outside. So the extent of debts in these communities is also larger. On an average, they

are indebted from Rs. 100 to Rs. 250. Mahars are not so much indebted but those who are, have on an average Rs. 100 and below. Mings and Mang-garudis are least indebted due to want of credit.

(Indebtedness is not much in Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Thana districts. It is less in Ahmednagar and Nasik districts, but in the remaining ones, it is comparatively high.)

The rate of interest varies with the type of money lenders. Pathans charge 1 to 4 annas per rupee per month, i.e., 75% to 300%, other Sahukars from 25% to 75% per cent. Co-operative Banks charge a fixed rate of interest, and it is Rs. 9-4-0 per Rs. 100 per year.

Money lenders are generally village merchants, other Sahukars, Pathans, Banias and Muslims of the village.

The possession of private lands by the Harijans is not so great. Only some well-to-do Chambhars, Dhors, Mahars and very few Mangs possess land. Mang-garudis generally do not possess land, but in Dhulia Taluka, there is one exception in the case of a *Mang-garudi* who possesses 75 acres of land and is well-to-do. Even those who possess the land have usually small buildings.

There is a Vatan called Mahar Vatan in all villages of Maharashtra and except in a few cases, it is the Mahars who hold that Vatan. All Mahars are not Vatandars, but many of them are. The Mahar Vatan has two functions, service to Government and service to people of the village. The service to Government continues to this day unabated. It consists in working under the village Patel and the Talati or village accountant. The Mahars are to help in collecting the revenue of the village, to assist in measurement of fields, to carry Government money to the Taluka treasury and generally to attend on all Government officers when they visit the village.

Service to the village people is falling into disuse and now consists in taking messages about deaths, etc., to people of other villages and to do some service to the superior village officers, etc.

The remuneration to the officiating Vatandars is usually far too little compared to the work and the time which they have to give for that work. One or more persons are selected every year out of the total body of Vatandars by turn and they only have to render actual service during the year of their turn. In some of the villages, Inam lands are assigned to the Mahar Vatan, but they are generally inadequate to give sufficient income for the maintenance of the Vatan. In many villages there are no lands assigned to the Vatan, and some small cash payments not exceeding two rupees per month are made. In addition, the Mahars are entitled to receive from the villagers Baluta or perquisites in the form of grain or sheaves. But the Baluta is not now being regularly given by the cultivators, as they are not getting a proper return. The Baluta as a source of maintenance is, therefore, fast dwindling.

Vatans, as a rule, are very popular among the people. But the Mahar Vatan is an inferior kind of Vatan and carries with it no honour or power and the remuneration is far too little. Discontent is, therefore, growing among the Mahar community and a movement is afoot to discard the Vatan. The solution of the problem ultimately lies in abolishing the Vatan and engaging a few servants for the village work with adequate pay. The difficulty with the Government of Bombay seems to be that they will have to pay a large amount by way of salaries and there is the question of the Inam lands which Government want to resume in case Vatans are discarded, while the Mahars want to retain those lands as private lands on payment of full assessment. The problem is undoubtedly a complicated one, but will have to be solved in a just and equitable manner without delay.

Mangs in Sholapur and Nagar districts are the village watchmen. They get nothing in return except that they are allowed to beg bred in villages. But they get something from outside cartmen and travellers who stay at night in the village.

Baluta system is an old village economy in which the labour of the village servants is paid in kind at the time of harvest. Amongst Harijans, Chamars serve the agriculturists by providing

them with leather whips, harness and repairing mots, etc. throughout the year.

Mangs serve the agriculturists by supplying them with ropes, brooms and baskets throughout the year.

But now-a-days, the condition of the agriculturists is not satisfactory and when they do not get sufficient for themselves, how can they afford to give to these people? Moreover, Mahars now do not work for the agriculturists. So often they do not get the Baluta at all. Chambhars generally at all places do get the Baluta properly, but the Mangs do not. As Mangs at some places now deal in cash, agriculturists do not pay them in kind.

The quantity of the corn to be given to these Balutedars depends upon the material supplied to agriculturists. Generally, the ratios are fixed. The Chambhars and Dhors get more than the Mangs.

Baluta is also given to barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and such other village servants from among the touchables also.

Houses are generally owned by these people except Mangs and Mang-garudis who have no pacca houses. They have to pay land tax, but the structures belong to them. Bhangis also at some places are provided with quarters, but at most places, they have their own houses or huts of poor material.

The question of rented houses arises only in large towns and cities and in industrial areas. There the rent varies from 2 to 3 rupees for a room, hardly, 10' x 10' in dimension. We can see that the people working in railways get monthly income, which varies from 20 to 30 rupees; while, in the cities, the average daily wage comes to 6 annas for the males and 4 annas for the females; and in villages, 4 annas for males and 2 annas for the females. The Bhangis, on an average, do not get less than Rs. 10 per head. The pay in the textile mills varies from 10 to 15 rupees on an average. The females get $\frac{2}{3}$ of what the males get.

The average income from the above wages for a family having one male and one female earning members comes to, in the

city (taking the work only for fifteen days of the month on an average), Rs. 13 and 2 annas, while, in the village, it comes to Rs. 6-9-0. Thus, there is nearly 100% difference in the income of the city and the village.

The condition of the municipal employees is improving slowly. After the advent of the Congress Government, a Government circular was sent to all the Municipalities recommending them to treat their menial employees as permanent servants and to give them the facility of housing, maternity benefit, leave rules, gratuity or provident fund, etc. So far from the information received from the 41 Municipalities in Maharashtra, only 13 have C. C. Societies, 22 have partially provided houses, 15 Municipalities give maternity leave. Only a few Municipalities have proper leave rules. Out of the 41 Municipalities, 3 give gratuity and 7 provident fund. No regular gradation of pay has been fixed in any Municipality. The pay varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 in all the major Municipalities. The females are always paid less than the males. In no Municipality, special apron is given to these people. The Municipalities in Konkan do not supply brooms to the scavengers and sweepers, but require them to prepare them at their own cost.

Thus, we see that even though the Government has taken interest in the improvement of the condition of these people, the local bodies are not so enthusiastic about the same.

XVII. DISABILITIES.

(1) Untouchability itself is a disability which checks the progress in all ways.

(2) Even Harijans employed in Government Service cannot secure houses on rent in caste-Hindu localities and so have to stay either in Mohamadan or Christian localities.

(3) Excepting in large cities and big towns, they are not allowed to use public latrines, and sufficient lighting, regular sweeping and drains are not provided in Harijan localities at a number of places.

(4) Even in cities and towns, they find it difficult to get

plots of land for building purposes in high-caste localities.

(5) Not allowed to enter shops in villages and small towns.

(6) Not allowed, as a rule, in the weaving departments of textile mills.

(7) Occupations like tailoring, shaving, vegetable selling, dairying, grocer's shop, etc. do not flourish with them due to lack of support from caste-Hindus. They cannot secure domestic service at Hindu houses.

(8) Brahmins rarely go to them for religious ceremonies.

(9) As still a few schools are being housed in temples, they are refused entrance there.

(10) Bottles of aerated water are not sold to them.

(11) All other disabilities—like no entry to hotels and temples, no personal service like that of the barbers and washermen, no access to public wells and places, etc.—(with exceptions).

XVIII. NEEDS OF HARIJANS IN MAHARASHTRA

(1) All the usual facilities and leave rules for menial municipal employees.

(2) Organisation of Co-operative Societies to support the occupations of Chamars, Mochis, Mangs, Mahars and others.

(3) Though Harijan students are taken free in Government High Schools, yet their number being small, they have to go to other High Schools and there have to pay fees.

(4) Government takes free service from Mangs as Chowkidars in Sholapur and Ahmednagar districts without giving them remuneration, except the right for begging bread and collecting some contributions from travellers. Payment should be made.

(5) Mangs and Mang-garudis have no permanent habitation due to municipal orders to shift from place to place on account of town expansion.

(6) Need of adult education in all the castes.

(7) 'Criminal' tribes like Mangs, Romashis, Mang-garudis and Bhats are unnecessarily harassed.

(8) The working of the Mahar Vatan system is unsatisfactory and unsuited to modern conditions.

(9) Bhats have very scattered population at all places and so, with the help of the Government, want to start a colony at one place with some occupation.

A note containing some observations on the Harijan Problem in Maharashtra.

To the report prepared by Shri Vamanrai Bhatt, the research scholar appointed by the Central Board of the H.S.S., I wish to add a few observations of my own regarding the Harijan problem, particularly as it presents itself in Maharashtra. Shri Bhatt worked in Maharashtra for about 3 months with single-minded devotion to his work and a sincere desire to know things at first hand. Shri V. N. Upadhye, the Provincial Secretary, and myself gave Shri Bhatt all the help which we could and have gone through his report carefully with a view to make it as accurate and up-to-date as possible. We cannot, however, claim that the enquiries have been exhaustive or final.

I

The main object of the research carried out by Shri Bhatt was to examine the condition of the scheduled castes, with a view to see if there is any wrong inclusion or a wrong exclusion of any caste in the schedules appended to the Government of India Act, 1935, from the point of untouchability. The scope of the actual enquiry was not, however, confined to this point, but was extended, and I think rightly, to examine the general position of the Harijans in the province. The Harijan Sevak Sangh, which has before it the stupendous task of eradicating untouchability and securing to Harijans an equality of status with the rest of the Hindus, must have in its possession a sufficiently detailed information regarding the condition of Harijans in the various provinces. It is hoped that Shri Bhatt's enquiry will serve a very useful purpose.

THE KOLI-DHORS.

One notable case for special study in the schedule for the Bombay Province has come to light during the course of Shri Vamanrai Bhatt's enquiry, viz., the case of Koli-Dhors, also called Dhor-Kolis. The Census Report for Bombay shows their presence only in Thana and Nasik Districts. But Dhor-Kolis are found scattered in the villages of West Khandesh also. I do not yet know whether the Dhor-Kolis of West Khandesh are the same as the Dhor-Kolis of Nasik and Thana Districts. Shri Bhatt and Shri Upadhye discovered in Peinth Taluka of Nasik District,

where Dhor-Kolis are more numerous than in any other place, that they are not untouchable, even though they do the special work of Mahars, viz., flaying carcasses. This fact attracted my notice and I made up my mind to see things for myself. In the meanwhile, I received a letter directed to me by Shri B. G. Kher (late Bombay Premier) from a Koli-Dhor student in Jawhar State in which he described himself as an untouchable. This increased my curiosity further and after my other tours, in the last week of May, I took an opportunity to visit the Jawhar State (situated in Thana District) and four of the hilly Talukas in Nasik District, viz., Peinth, Dindori, Kalwan and Baglan.

I met the Dhor-Kolis at Jawhar proper and found that they were treated as untouchables. The Dhor-Kolis of Nasik District are found mainly in Peinth and Dindori Talukas. They are allowed to enter houses as domestic servants and to take water from common wells. In villages where there are no Mahars, the Dhor-Kolis do the work of flaying carcasses. They even eat carrion. They are considered inferior to other Kolis, called Mahadeo Kolis (to which caste the Raja of Jawhar himself belongs). But the point to note is that Dhor-Kolis in the Nasik District are not untouchable. The Dhor Kolis in Thana District, are however, reported to be untouchable. The Dhor-Kolis do not like the word "Dhor" affixed to their name. They like to be called Roj-Kolis or Malhar Kolis.

THE MAHARS.

There are three main communities amongst the Harijans of Maharashtra, viz., Mahars, Chamars and Mangs, the premier community being that of Mahars, to whom the well-known Harijan Leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, belongs. The Mahars were probably the original inhabitants of Maharashtra, who were conquered and expropriated by the Aryan hordes who invaded and occupied the plains of India thousands of years ago. There is a well-known saying in Marathi viz. "गाँव तेथे महारवाडा" meaning that *every village has its Maharwada*. The expression has acquired a derisive meaning based upon a physical fact. It is, indeed, true of the plains of Maharashtra and one who is not acquainted with hill tracts may take the saying as universally true of the whole province. I was, therefore, rather struck when I found in my recent tour that in hundreds of villages (as in Peinth Taluka and in Dindori Taluka)

and in scores of villages as in Kalwan and Satane Talukas, there were no Mahars. It was a very interesting situation and I studied it a little.

THE HILL TRACTS OF NASIK

I found that the hill tracts, which are inhabited by the aborigines, such as Kolis, Warlis, Katkaris, Thakores, Kokanis and Bhils, are as it were a separate country; and there is not much of untouchability there. The Mahars are inhabitants of the plains and not of the hills. There is a well defined division of areas in the four Talukas of Peinth, Dindori, Kalwan and Baglan; the western parts are hilly, full of forests, inaccessible and inhabited by one or more of the Aboriginal Tribes mentioned above. The eastern parts of the Talukas are plain, where Mahars, Chamars and Mangs are found. There are numerous small villages in the hills, where there are no Mahars, Chamars or Mangs. In those villages, there are other Vatandars, called Jaglyas, who do the work of the Mahars, *i. e.*, work as inferior village servants, doing service to Government and to the people, including the work of flaying dead cattle. In the parts which I visited, this work was done by Kolis, Katkaris or Bhils, but they are not treated as untouchables on that account. Chamars and Mangs also are not found in the small villages of the hill tracts. It is only in the few big villages that we find them. The Sahukars also reside in a few big places where the aborigines go for selling their produce, making purchases, taking loans and buying liquor. (I am not here concerned with the systematic exploitation by money-lenders going on in these parts). They are more or less self-contained. They know a little of carpentry, possess some tools and do not require the help of a professional carpenter for putting up the flimsy houses or huts which they erect. They know how to make tiles and bricks. The Dhor-Kolis, Katkaris and Bhils do not require Brahmans for their marriages. They manage the same with the help of the Panchas. A barber comes from the big village after many months and some of them, like the Bhils, manage their own shaving. Further west of these tracts, in what are called the "Dangs", almost cent per cent population is of the aborigines and they are practically cut off from the so-called civilised world. There are different castes, but not the वर्ण व्यवस्था Varna System with its high castes, low castes and the outcastes.

HILL TRACTS OF WEST KHANDESH.

My enquiries regarding the hill tracts of West Khandesh also show the same state of things. In the western part

of Sakri Taluka, also the Akrani Mahal, and in the Bhil areas of the Shahada and Nandurbar Talukas, Mahars are to be found only in a few big villages. In all the small villages, inhabited by Bhils, the village servants are Bhils. They do the work of Mahars and even eat carrion, but are not untouchables. I have started enquiries regarding the aborigines inhabiting the hill tracts of Thana District and I think that the same state of things will be found to prevail there. A study of the peoples of the hill tracts throws useful light on the problem of untouchability and it was with this view that I undertook the same.

II

ORIGIN OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

As regards the origin of untouchability, I have come to think that the exclusion and the hardships involved in the system have arisen from the conquest by the ancient "Aryans" who invaded and occupied the plains of India in ancient times. We find a similar phenomenon occurring in our own time and before our own eyes in places like South Africa, where the white people of Europe, the "Aryans" of to-day, have conquered the native population and subjected them to all sorts of restrictions and disabilities, the sum total of which has resulted in a state of things very similar to the state of untouchability in India.

I have deduced the following conclusions from my study of the Harijan problem in the hills and the plains of Maharashtra, viz:—

(1) The ancient Aryans invaded and occupied the plains of Maharashtra and dispossessed the original inhabitants and expropriated them. The conquered races came to be regarded as inferior and were segregated as we find to-day in South Africa. The notion of untouchability or pollution by touch came to be developed as a means of ensuring complete separation.

(2) The Mahars were probably the major community then occupying the plains of Maharashtra. They were made to live at the end of the village, certain duties to the village and its people were assigned to them and a portion of the land was reserved for their use, now known as Vatan lands.

(3) The ancient conquerors did not care to occupy the hilly

tracts and did not disturb the life and possessions of the aborigines to any great extent; the reason for this being not self-denial, but the uninviting nature of the tracts, *e.g.* (1) excessive rainfall in the rainy season, (2) scarcity of water in summer, (3) unhealthy climate, (4) poor cropping area, (5) difficulty of access, etc.

(4) The present untouchable classes were the inhabitants of the plains and not of the hill tracts. They had, with all the hardships imposed upon them, to do the work assigned to them and submit to the exclusive treatment. The system became rigid in course of time and the Mahars, Mangs, etc. carried the stigma with them even when they migrated to and penetrated the hill tracts to some extent.

(5) The aborigines in hill tracts, who were left unmolested, escaped from the effects of the Aryan invasion and expropriation—the worst effect being exclusion and untouchability.

(6) The aborigines continued to live their simple life much as before. They had their own rulers and petty kingdoms. We know that even now there are some ruling families among Kolis and Bhils. We do not find any ruling families among the Mahars, Chamars, Mangs or other untouchable castes.

(7) Untouchability, having arisen from conflict of colour or race, is racial and not functional in origin and hence the abandonment of the function or occupation does not involve the removal of the stigma attaching to birth itself. The occupations chosen for the down-trodden people were such as involved handling of carcasses and hides, which being done in a crude manner came to be considered low. The “low” occupations on their part reacted on the status of these unfortunate people and helped to perpetuate the stigma attaching to them by birth.

These are the broad conclusions to which I have arrived. The subject is of absorbing interest but a much closer study will be necessary to write anything like a scientific thesis on the subject.

III

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES.

Another interesting aspect for study is the social and religious life of the Harijans.

I may, therefore, add a few words regarding the same. Birth, marriage and death are the three events in life, which have been considered important in all human societies. Marriage is a very ancient institution and is found to exist among all the backward classes including the Aborigines and Harijans. Every community has, therefore, some sort of ceremony to celebrate marriages. The Aryan priest, *i. e.*, the Brahman, would not condescend to serve the needs of the lowest strata, like the untouchables or the aborigines. That would be below his dignity. But the necessity of earning a livelihood, in course of time, forced the Brahman to extend his services even to the so-called low caste people. We now find that in some places, Brahmans do attend and help the marriages among Mahars, Chamars, etc. Of course, they do not perform the Vedic rites, but are content to recite some verses in popular Sanskrit. Havan or sacred fire and Saptapadi, *i. e.*, seven rounds about the Fire, which are considered to be the two essential religious ceremonies in the Hindu Law or Dharmashastra, are absent among these people. Applying turmeric, joining of hands, tying of knots, exchange of seats, etc., amidst music is enough to constitute a marriage; if a Brahman is present, he will ask a curtain to be held between the bride and the bridegroom and himself recite some verses, often irrelevant.

THEIR OWN PRIESTS

On account of this scanty and half-hearted service by the high caste Brahman, the Mahar community has created its own priests, called *Bhats* or *Joshis*. These have become a separate sub-caste. There is interdining but not intermarriage between the Bhats and the Mahars proper. They charge their fees, just like Brahmans. (I may here incidently mention that at Baroda in Gujrat, I had found priests among Dheds called "Garoda Brahmans" who are themselves untouchable). The Bhats have groups of villages assigned to them for their priestly work. But the Bhats are not found in all parts and they are not indispensable. The Panchas can perform the marriages. In those places where the new movement of liberation has spread, there is evident disinclination to call a Brahman, even if one is willing to come, or to call even a Bhat or a Buwa of the caste. Organised priesthood among Mahars is to be found at Pandharpur, where the local Mahars regularly entertain Mahar pilgrims, charge fees for religious service and maintain books for registering pedigrees of the Mahar pilgrims.

Necessity is the mother of invention. Priesthood was considered a necessity and when the high-caste Brahmans refused to serve, them, the Mahars created their own Brahmans.

The Chamars and Mangs, probably on account of their much smaller numbers, do not appear to have developed a separate priestly class. In the two districts of Khandesh, where Brahmans rarely attend their marriages, the Chamars and Mangs in villages go and sit in the neighbourhood of a house where some Patel's marriage is being celebrated and perform their simple rites by themselves. The clapping of hands in the Patel's house, signalling the auspicious moment of the marriage inside, is also a signal for the marriage outside. In bigger places, if a Brahman will not come, the Panchas celebrate the marriages.

SEPARATE TEMPLES AND CHAVADIS.

The Mahars have, in most places, their own goddess, called Avalbai in some districts, and Mari-Ai or Laxmi in other districts. There is no idol as such, but a group of stones or balls of earth, placed in a niche or an Otta or even at the foot of a tree. Temples as such are few. The new generation of Mahars do not care even for Avalbai or Mari-Ai.

The Chamars and Mangs do not appear to have separate temples except in a few places.

The Mahars often have their own Chavadi or a small meeting place (a house built open on one side) just like the Chavadi of caste Hindus. The Chamars and Mangs do not generally have their Chavadi.

THEY BURY THE DEAD.

The Mahars always bury the dead, so do the Mangs. The Chamars often burn the dead. Burial is cheaper than cremation. There is no custom to preserve the tombs as among Mahomedans.

THE MAHAR WATAN.

The Mahar Watan is an ancient institution worthy of careful study. The Mahar Watandars have important duties towards the village such as protection of village boundaries, assistance in collecting the Government revenues, helping in field surveys, etc. In

many places, there are Watan lands or small cash allowances given to Watandars in their place. For service to the village people, they are to receive the Baluta, i. e., payment in kind from the peasants. In course of time, the Watan has deteriorated and now no honour attaches to it. I cannot pursue the important subject further in this note.

THE MAHARS, AN ANCIENT NATION.

There are many indications to show that the Mahars were an ancient nation or a large community inhabiting and occupying the plains of Maharashtra. Very probably, through conquest, they lost their possessions and have been treated for generations as a subject people.

IV

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

Enough of the past. The present and the future are more important. What are the prospects of the Harijan uplift movement? Great forces are undoubtedly working in the field in order to raise the social status of Harijans. The orthodox Hindu Society is still permeated from top to bottom by ideas of high and low. But every community is producing individuals, even in small places, who courageously push the cause of reform. The conscience of the Hindu community is undoubtedly stirred. During the last decade, a great change has come over. Still the mass mind is largely unaffected and reformers will have to work with tenfold greater energy to change the outlook of the masses. The majority of political workers in the country have not, I am constrained to say, shown an adequate appreciation of the fact that without the enjoyment of equal civic rights by all, which exist on paper, but not in practice, the ideal of a democratic Swaraj is a mere mirage. It must be said to the credit of the Congress that whatever little help is available in the country side in pushing the Harijan work is received mostly from Congress workers. At the same time, it must be said that, in most places, Congressmen as a body, have not enthusiastically taken up Harijan work. The Congress Government, in its short-lived regime of 27 months, did much to promote the education of Harijans and tried to secure to Harijans the enjoyment of equal civic rights, but the work has been left half done. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his party have created a great

awakening among the Mahar community, and have built up a strong Party, but unfortunately, for various reasons, co-operation between his party and the Congress—the premier political and nationalist organisation in the country—has not come about even in the matter of removing untouchability and hence much energy is being frittered away and not put to substantial results. The Mahars in the country side are economically dependent on the caste Hindus and hence it is very difficult for them to assert their undoubted civic rights. Entry and equal treatment in all common schools and in public conveyances has been achieved in Maharashtra, largely owing to Government's policy, but the problem of throwing open public wells is offering very great difficulties and is a live problem. A number of private wells and temples have been thrown open, but the number of public wells and temples, which are used both by Harijans and the Savarnas, is small. Another live problem is the question of mending or ending the Mahar Watan, which in most places gives too little remuneration for too much work. Dr. Ambedkar intends to launch an organised movement for the abolition of the Mahar Watan. The great awakening among the Mahar community is certainly a powerful factor in the situation.

The Chamars and Mangs have not the same awakening as the Mahars. But they, too, are making up the leeway.

On the whole, the prospect is hopeful. But it calls for more vigorous and sustained work. The Harijan problem is fundamentally a world problem, that of conquering the "Pride and Prejudice" of the races, and no wonder that attempts to solve the problem are met by stubborn opposition. But time and tide are on the side of the great reform. I feel sure that the great impetus given to the movement by Gandhiji, the greatest social Reformer and Revolutionary which India has produced, and the growing self-consciousness among the Harijans themselves, will together lead to ultimate success. India will thereby make a substantial contribution towards the solution of a world problem.

Dhulia,
26-6-1940

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V. N. BARVE,
President, Maharashtra,
Harijan Sevak Sangh.

APPENDIX A

Places visited by Shri Vamanrai Bhatt for his work in the Province of Maharashtra.

1. West Khandesh:—Dhulia, Sakri, Nandurbar and Shirpur.
2. East Khandesh:—Amalner, Bhusawal, Jalgaon and Chalisgaon.
3. Kolaba :— Panwel, Pen, Alibag and Mahad.
4. Ratnagiri :— Kankawali, Kudal, Bamboli, Chowki, Malwan, Rajapur, Lanje, Ratnagiri, Dapoli and Chiplun.
5. Poona :— Poona, Junnar, Vadgaon, Talegaon (Dhamdhare) and Baramati.
6. Satara .— Satara, Godoli, Peth, Islampur, Karad, Koregaon, Dahivadi and Vaduj.
7. Thana :— Thana, Bhiwandi, Kalyan, Bassein, Virar, Dahanu, Wada, Palghat.
8. Sholapur:— Sholapur, Kurduwadi, Barsi, Akalkot (State), Pandharpur and Sangola.
9. Ahmednagar:— Ahmednagar, Narayandoh, Mirajgaon, Kharde, Digholi, Jamkhed, Kopergaon.
10. Nasik:— Yeola, Manmad, Igatpuri, Nasik, Dindori, Peinth and Malegaon.

APPENDIX C

Nine tests of untouchability, as laid down in the Census of India Report, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, Page 472.

The term Exterior Castes has been used for depressed classes. The definition to be used in arriving at the figure of depressed classes is a very difficult matter. *The following possible tests are to be considered :—*

- (1) Whether the caste or class in question can be served by clean Brahmins or not.
- (2) Whether the caste or class in question can be served by the barbers, water-carriers, tailors etc. who serve the caste Hindus.
- (3) Whether the caste in question pollutes a high caste Hindu by contact or proximity.
- (4) Whether the caste or class in question is one from whose hands a caste Hindu can take water.
- (5) Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from using public conveniences such as roads, ferries, wells or schools.
- (6) Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from the use of Hindu temples.
- (7) Whether in ordinary social intercourse a well educated member of the caste or class in question will be treated as an equal by high caste men of the same educational qualifications.
- (8) Whether the caste or class in question is merely depressed on account of its own ignorance, illiteracy or poverty and but for that would be subject to no social disability.
- (9) Whether it is depressed on account of the occupation followed and whether but for that occupation it would be subject to no social disability.

APPEN

Statement showing how untouchability is mentioned in the 1931 CENSUS

Castes	NINE		
	1	2	3
1. Mochis	Only in marriage and death ceremonies and at the Satyanarayan Puja or so. Except in Khandesh, where they do not serve	Only tailors serve them by touching them in large towns and cities. Others do not serve them except washermen at some places privately.	By contact but reduced in cities.
2. Chambhars	do	Do.	"
3. Dhors	do	Do.	"
4. Mahars. (Bhats also)	Brahmins go, except in Khandesh but generally these people do not call them.	Only tailors serve them for new clothes. They take the measurements by touching them only in cities and large towns. In villages, they do not touch even them.	pollutes by contact
5. Mangs	Brahmins go but stand at a distance	Do.	"
6. Man-garudis	Do.	Do.	"
7. Holar	Do.	Do.	"
8. Koli-Dhor (Dhor-koli)	Served by Brahmins at all times; mixing with them	All people serve them.	No

DIX C

observed with regard to the nine points of untouchability
of INDIA REPORT, Vol. I.

POINTS (Vide app. C)

4	5	6	7	8	9
No	Debarred from using wells even though they are notified. Only at some places some wells are open. When schools are in temples, they are not allowed.	Yes	Not always. The high caste Hindus still observe distinction.	Only due to birth in low caste.	Same as the point 8.
No	Do.	Yes	Do.	"	"
No	Do.	"	Do.	"	"
No	Over and above entry into shops refused	"	"	"	"
No	Do.	"	"	"	"
No	Do.	"	"	"	"
No	Do.	"	"	"	"
Serve as domestic servants	Allowed everywhere.	No	Just like backward classes	Yes	Only due to backwardness

APPEN

Statement showing how untouchability is mentioned in the 1931 CENSUS

Castes	NINE		
	1	2	3
9. Katkaris (Dhor Katkaris Thana Dist.)	Do.	Like Mangs.	Only staunch Brahmins take pollution by contact
10. Ramoshis	Do.	Do.	„
11. Timali or Tirmali	Do.	They are backward classes only, so all serve them.	High class Hindus will not take it.
12. Garudis	Do.	Do.	Only staunch Brahmins will take pollution by contact
13. Bhangis	Brahmins come but stand at a distance	Just like Mahars.	Pollution by contact and even proximity in Ratnagiri and Kolaba.

DIX C—(Contd.)

observed with regard to the nine points of untouchability
of INDIA REPORT, Vol. I.

POINTS

4	5	6	7	8	9
No	Just like mahars.	Yes	„	Yes	First they were carrion eaters but now they have stoped it.
No	Do.	Yes	„	Yes	..
Allowed everywhere	Allowed everywhere.	Not definite.	„	Yes	..
High class Hindus will not take it.	Do.		„	Yes	Due to profession
No	Like Mahars. At some places not allowed in Tongas even	Yes	No	Only due to birth in low castes	Due to low birth and also due to Bhangi profession

APPEN
Tabular Statement Showing

Name of the Hostel.	Nature of the Institution in which the boarders study.	When started and managed by whom ?	No. of inmates according to castes, where possible.
West Khandesh			
1. Rajendra Chhatralaya at Dhulia.	For High School and Technical School.	1934, and managed by Harijan Sevak Sangh.	24 Mahars 5 Mangs 9 Chamars 1 Bhangi 1 Mang-Garudi 1 Maratha (Non-Harijan)
2. Kanya Chhatralaya at Dhulia.	For English and Higher Primary education.	1939, and managed by H. S. S.	6 Chambhar girls 6 Mahars "
3. Asprishya Hostel at Nandurbar.	For Primary and High School education.	1939, Harijan leaders.	11 Mahars.
East Khandesh			
4. Harijan Hostel, Jambner.	For Primary and High School education.	1933 by H.S.S.	10 Mahars.
5. Amalner Harijan Hostel.	Upper Primary and High School.	1933 by H.S.S.	12 Mahars.
6. Bhusawal Harijan Hostel.	do.	1933, Local Harijans.	19 Chambhars 8 Mahars 1 Maratha.
7. Asprishya Uddharak Boarding at Chalisgaon.	do.	1928, Local Harijans.	34 Mahars 1 Mang.
8. Chokhamela Boarding, Jalgaon.	do.	1933, by local Harijans.	21 Mahars.
9. Ramapati Boarding, Parola.	do.	1938, Local Harijans.	7 Mahars.
10. Ramapati Boarding at Savda.	High School & Primary School boys.	1939 K. L. Tayade.	5 Mahars.

DIX D

Hostels for Harijan Pupils in Maharashtra.

Total expenses per head per month.	Other activities of the students.	Whether books, clothes etc. are given.	Have they got servants?	How housed	How financed.	Remarks.
Rs. 4 for food only. Total Rs. 8	Spinning and carding.	Books, fees and clothes given	One cook	Harijan Sevak Sangh's building	Grants from D.L. Board, Municipality and Govt. Contribution from Prov. H.S.S. and West Khandesh H.S.S.	Supdt. a Harijan Sevak
Do.	Do.	Everything	Do.	Rented building	Govt. grant and H.S.S.	Supdt. a Maratha lady.
..	No.	..	Do.	Do.	..	..
Rs. 3/4/0 food Rs. 7 total	..	..	Do.	Do.	Govt. and H.S.S.	..
Rs. 4 food Rs. 7 total	..	..	Do.	..	Do.	..
..	..	..	Do.	..	Govt., D.L.B. Municipal & M.P.H.S.S.	Managed by a Chamar teacher
..	..	..	Do.	Own building	Do.	..
..	..	..	Do.	Rented	Govt. grant.	Not well managed.
..	..	..	..	D.L.B. Dharmashala.	Public funds:	..
..	..	..	..	..	Do.	..

APPEN

(Continued) Tabular Statement Showing

Name of the Hostel.	Nature of the Institution in which the boarders study.	When started and managed by whom?	No. of inmates according to caste.
Kolaba District			
11. Asprishya Hostel at Mahad.	do.	Conducted by Mahar leaders	10 Mahars.
Ratnagiri District and Kolhapur State			
12. Kankawali Harijan Hostel.	Upper Primary and High School.	1939, by H.S.S.	10 Mahars 1 Brahmin.
13. Dapoli Ramadevi Hostel.	High School only.	1939, Mahar leaders.	12 Mahar boys.
14. Shri Devi Indumati Vidyarthi Griba, Kolhapur.	Upper Primary, High School & College.	1919 Surya Vanshi Vidya Prasarak Samaj, Kolhapur.	20 girls 39 Chamars & Dhors (in 1937)
15. Miss Clarke Hostel, Kolhapur.	Upper Primary High School & College.	1908 A Managing body Constituted for the purpose.	40 Mahars (in 1938).
Poona District			
16. Asprishya Vidyarthi Boarding at Poona.	High School students.	1939, by Mr. R. R. Bhole, M.L.A., and others.	16 Mahars. 1 Mang.
17. Government Backward Class Hostel, at Poona.	High School boys.	1930, run by Government.	60 boys of all Harijan castes.
18. Punyashram at Pashan.	Primary scholars.	Started in 1939, by Shri V. M. Bhawe.	25 Mang girls and boys.

DIX D

Hostels for Harijan Pupils in Maharashtra.

Total Ex- penses per head per month.	Other acti- vities of the students.	Whether books, etc given. .	Have they got ser- vants?	How housed	How financed.	Remarks.
..	..	..	Do.	Rented	Government	..
Rs. 4-0-0	Spinning and carding	All things given	One cook	H.S.S. Building	H.S.S.	Under the care of Appasaheb Patwar- dhan.
..	..	..	..	..	Government	..
..
..
..	..	..	..	Rented Bldg	Public funds.	..
Nearly Rs. 15 per head.	Sports, scouting, etc.	All things given	Two cooks	Rent.ed building	Government.	..
..	Gardening, spinning, etc., sewing & cutting for girls.	Do.	One cook	Own building	Public funds.	..

(Continued) Tabular Statement Showing

Name of the Hostel.	Nature of the institution in which the boarders study.	When started and managed by whom?	No. of inmates according to caste.
19. Union Boarding House (mixed boarding) at Poona.	College students only.	1938, by Shri Bhaurao Patil.	20 boys of all castes.
20. Seva Sadan Hostel for Girls at Poona. (Admit some Harijan girls.)	Higher Primary and English education.	Long since Seva Sadan Association.	10 Harijan girls among others.
21. Anath Balikashram at Hingne (Poona) (Admit some Harijan girls.)	From Primary education to College study.	Long ago, by Shri D. Karve	5 Mahar girls 1 Chambhar girl 1 Mang "
22. Harijan Anath Mahilashram at Poona.	Primary School girls.	1938 Bharatiya Dalit Sevak Sangh of Shri Rajbhoji.	2 Mahar Girls. 2 Mang " 2 Chambhar.
Thana District			
23. Boarding House for Asprishya boys at Thana.	High School boys.	1932, by Dr. Ambedkar.	30 Mahars.
24. Harijan Hostel at Bassein.	Primary School boys.	1937, by D. L. B.	3 Mahars.
25. D. C. Boarding, Shapur.	Do.	1919 D. S. B.	26 Mahars. 2 Chambhars,
Sholapur District			
26. Harijan Hostel at Barsi.	High School and Upper Primary.	1933, by H. S. S.	16 Chambhars. 12 Mahars 2 Mangs. 2 Dhors 2 Chambhars
27. D. C. Society's Hostel for boys at Sholapur.	Do.	1926, by D. C. S.	girls. 64 Mahars 7 Chambhars 5 Mangs 3 Dhors 1 Mochi 3 B. C.

DIX D

Hostels for Harijan Pupils in Maharashtra.

Total expenses per head per month.	Other activities of pupils.	Whether books etc. are given.	Have they got servants?	How housed?	How financed.	Remarks.
Rs. 3½ to Rs. 4.	..	..	No cook	Rented huts	..	
Rs. 10 per month	Domestic arts.	..	One cook	Own buliding	..	
..	All other activities of a good institution.	Yes	Yes	Own	..	
..	..	..	..	..	Public funds	
Rs. 8 to Rs. 10	..		Cook	Rented	Government.	
..	..	Yes	1 cook	Rented	D. L. B.	
..		
Rs. 3 feeding Rs. 6 total	..	Yes	2 cooks	Dharma-shala building	Govt., Municipal and H.S.S.	
Rs. 4-8-0	Scouting, First Aid and Sports.	Yes	1 cook	Own (Seva Sadan's)	Government and Municipality	

App. A—(Continued) Tabular Statement Showing the

Name of the Hostel.	Nature of the institution in which the boarders study.	When started and managed by whom ?	No. of inmates according to caste.
28. D. C. S. Hostel for girls at Sholapur. Ahmednagar District	Do.	1936, by D. C. S., under the management of Seva Sadan branch	20 Mahar girls 4 Mang „ 2 Chambhar „ 1 B. C.
29. Harijan Savashram, Ahmednagar.	Do.	1933, by H. S. S.	9 Mang, 8 Mahars 6 Chambhars 1 Bhangi.
30. Somavanshi Boarding House at Ahmednagar. Satara District	High School, Upper and Lower Primary	1935, by a Mahar leader.	16 Mahar boys.
31. Sahu Chhatrapati Boarding House at Satara. (an institution for boys of all castes and creeds)	Primary, Higher Primary and High School	1927, by Shri Bhaurao Patil	68 Mahars. 28 Mangs. 21 Chambhars 2 Dhors and other caste-Hindus 300 Total.
32. Depressed Class Hostel at Satara.	High School boys.	1938, by a Mahar M.L.A.	15 Mahars.
33. Vidyarthi Boarding, Khanapur. (On Bhaurao Patil's model.) Nasik District	Upper Primary	1933 by a Committee.	11 Mahars 7 Mangs 3 Chambars 3 Dhors
34. Ambedkar Anath Vidyarthi Ashram at Manmad.	High School boys.	1933	23 Mahars. 1 Bhat. 1 Chambhar

DIX D

Hostels for Harijan Pupils in Maharashtra.

Total expenses per head per month.	Other activities of pupils.	Whether books etc. are given.	Have they got servants?	How housed?	How financed.	Remarks
..	..	Only books.	..	Own	Do.	
Rs. 3 Fooding; Rs. 5 total	Spinning and games	Everything to deserving ones.	1 cook	Municipal quarantine,	Govt. D.L.B., Municipality & H.S.S.	
..	..	No	One cook	Own	Govt., D.L.B. and Municipality	
Rs. 3/8/- per month	Gardening, Spinning, etc.	..	No cook	Own	Government and public funds.	All things are done by pupils. An Ideal institution.
Charged Rs. 3	..	..	One servant, one cook	Rented	Govt.	
Rs. 3	..	..	..	..	Govt. grant & public funds	
Rs. 3/8/- to Rs. 4	..	to some deserving ones.	One cook.	Rented	Govt., D.L.B. and Municipality	

APPEN

(Continued) Tabular Statement Showing

Name of the Hostel.	Nature of the institution.	When started and managed by whom?	No. of inmates according to caste.
35. Sahu Chhatrapati Boarding House at Nasik.	Primary, High School and College even	1919, managed by a committee.	28 Mahars 1 Chambhar 3 Mang
36. Harijan Hostel at Malegaon.	Primary, Upper Primary and High School	1938, by H.S.S.	10 Mahars 1 Chambhar 1 Mang

DIX D

Hostels for Harijan Pupils in Maharashtra.

Total expenses per head per month.	Other activities of pupils.	Whether books etc. are given.	Have they got servants?	How housed?	How financed.	Remarks.
..	Games	All things are given.	One cook	Own	Government and Municipality	
Rs. 3 to Rs. 6	..	..	One cook	Rented	Nominal Municipal grant and H. S. S.	

Maharashtra Harijan Sevak Sangh

Brief report for 1939-40

President : Shri V. N. Barve, B.A., LL.B., Dhulia.

Secretary : Shri V. N. Upadhye, B.A.

Harijan Sevak : 1. Shri Churnilal Kate 2. Shri S.P. Pagare
3. Shri A.D. Sahasrabudhe 4. Shri D.R.
Gokhale. 5. Shri Haribhau Chavan (for
work among sweepers).

Organisation : There are 17 members of the Provincial Board. There is an Executive Committee consisting of 7 persons, including the President and the Secretary.

The Provincial Board has 13 Branch Committees in the 10 districts of the province.

Tours : With a view to consolidate the work and looking to the needs of Harijans, specially with regard to Civil Disabilities, use of public wells, etc., the President was on tour for 50 days and visited 22 towns and 46 villages.

The Secretary was on tour for 125 days.

Harijan Sevaks were on tour for an aggregate period of 178 days.

Local workers toured in their own areas.

29 articles or news bulletins were published in newspapers on the Harijan problem.

Wells : 7 public and 7 private wells were thrown open to Harijans during the year.

9 wells were either constructed or repaired at a total cost of Rs. 1,513/1/9 by the Sangh.

Temples : 3 temples were thrown open. Propaganda was carried on for throwing open Ram Mandir at Dhulia and Vitoba temple at Pandharpur.

Educational : 8 schools were maintained by the Sangh. 8 hostels with 152 boys and 28 girls were conducted at a total cost of Rs. 8,928/7/6.

Besides, Scholarships and books worth Rs. 3510 were given. The Central office of the Sangh is also giving a large number of Scholarships for girls and few boys reading in colleges and vocational schools.

Total Expenditure : The total expenditure for the year from 1st October, 1939 to 30th September, 1940 amounted to Rs. 25,198/-

Aims and Objects

OF

THE HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH

The object of the Sangh shall be the eradication by truthful and non-violent means, of untouchability in Hindu society with all its incidental evils and disabilities, suffered by the so-called untouchables, hereafter described as Harijans, in all walks of life and to secure for them absolute equality of status with the rest of the Hindus.

In furtherance of its object, the Harijan Sevak Sangh will seek to establish contact with caste Hindus throughout India and show them that untouchability, as it is practised in Hindu society, is repugnant to the fundamental principles of Hinduism and to the best instinct of humanity; and it will also seek to serve Harijans so as to promote their moral, social and material welfare.

(Sections 2 and 3 of the Constitution.)

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