

# Harijan Survey Committee 1933-34.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

Appointed by the Cawnpore Harijan Sevak  
Sangha in May, 1933, to make a survey  
of the Social and Religious Disabilities,  
Working Conditions, and the Stan-  
dard of Life of the Harijans of  
CAWNPORE.

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## PRESIDENT'S NOTE.

I have great pleasure in presenting this report before the public. Advantage has been taken of the delay in printing to bring some of the Appendices upto date, and they now incorporate the results of work done upto March 1934. I congratulate the Committee on the successful completion of their labours. I take this opportunity to thank all those workers who helped the Committee at the various stages of its work. But my thanks are specially due to the Chairman of the Committee Sjt. SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA who, with rare perseverance, continued at his work for full one year inspite of the most severe calamities that befel him during this time. The work has been entirely a labour of love and I hope the deplorable conditions of life amongst the sweepers, which the report reveals, will move the public conscience and make their continuance impossible in future.

15 May, 1934.

JAWAHAR LAL ROHATGI,  
*President,*

HARIJAN SEWAK SANGH  
Cawnpore Branch.

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To,

DR. JAWAHAR LAL ROHATGI,  
PRESIDENT,  
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGHA,  
CAWNPORE.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I have the honour to submit to you the Report of the Committee appointed in May 1933, to find out in what sphere service was most needed by the Harijans, and how it could be best rendered after a careful "survey of the social and religious disabilities, working conditions and the standard of life of the Harijans in Cawnpore City." We have confined our survey to the sweepers alone for the present, as the Sangha had advised us to do.

I regret the delay in presenting this report. I am aware how anxious have been the enquiries about it during this long interval from the provincial and the central branches of the Sangha, as well as from the members of our own branch. Their interest has been a constant source of encouragement to me, and to my colleagues and co-workers, who have laboured patiently at this difficult, and, in certain stages, fatiguing work. In view of the hope that some other branches of the Sangha might be inclined to attempt a survey similar to ours, I give below an outline of the different stages of the work.

Our work fell into three stages. The first stage lasted from May 9th to June 16th, and during this time we visited some 700 sweeper houses in over 30 bastis, and succeeded in filling 607 family inquiry forms, which gave complete details of the condition of those 607 families. The form is published in Appendix B with certain improvements which experience has suggested to us. In addition, we noted down answers to the questionnaire contained in the headings of Chart I (Ap.F) for every basti visited by us. In this work of filling forms in sweeperbastis some fifty workers took part, the average daily attendance being about ten. The work was done generally

in the evenings between 6 and 9 P. M., and on a few days in the afternoon between 12 and 3 p. m., these being the only intervals of time when sweepers are available at their home. It was a most wonderful spectacle to see the enthusiasm of numerous caste Hindu workers who included some of the most prominent citizens of the city, mingling with these poor and neglected sweeper brethren as if they were their own kith and kin. The affection with which the sweepers generally received us was most touching. For most of us this work was a unique experience, as few amongst us had seen a sweeper basti before, or heard what it was like.

The next part of the work was the tabulation of these forms, and the construction of the tables published at various places in this report. This was the most arduous task, and though this work began along with the filling of inquiry forms, and lasted till the very completion of the report, still three months from the middle of June to the middle of September were given exclusively to this work. The assistance rendered by Messrs Faqir Chand Punjabi and Rai Som Narain Sinha was invaluable in this work of tabulation. Mr. Faqir Chand's services throughout the inquiry have been of the greatest value to our work.

The last part of the work was the writing of the report which has only just been completed. Here my attempt has been to bring the results of this inquiry into comparison with the conditions prevailing among other labourers as depicted by the Royal Commission on Labour. It will not be denied that after all the sweepers are labourers, and although they suffer in addition from a social leprosy, from which the high caste labourers are free, still the problems concerning their working conditions and standard of life form part of the bigger problem of industrial labour, and should be seen in that perspective. Nor have I failed to utilise all the material concerning the depressed classes available in the U. P. Census Report, 1931, the Franchise Committee Report, and at numerous other places, besides the recent writings of Mahatma Gandhi in the "Harijan" and elsewhere.

Considering our resources, the work as outlined above was stupendous, and in any case would have taken time. But as you know in this particular case special circumstances intervened. The period of the inquiry

happened to coincide with the illness of my uncle, the late B. Damodar Prasad Saxena, Advocate, who suddenly fell ill in the month of June, and became progressively worse, except for a brief period of recovery in September, and died on November 1, 1933. He was quite young, being only 41 years of age at the time of death. Owing to this misfortune, practically no work was possible in the intervals between the 18th July and the 16th August, and the 25th September and the 1st November, when his condition was very serious, and for a month after his death. The remaining four and a half months, though of great anxiety, were devoted entirely to the preparation of this report.

A personal note might be permitted. Every page of this report has for me sacred associations with the memory of my beloved uncle, who even though seriously ill, would often spare me from the work of nursing to finish the work that I had undertaken. During the brief period of his recovery in the month of September he helped me with his suggestions and legal knowledge in the discussion of the Trades Disputes Act, and the Municipalities Act in their bearing on the sweepers' problem, and that part of the report which deals with them owes much to him. He loved the Harijans, and was eager to see them restored to their rightful place in the Hindu community. Little did he know that his end was so near. May his soul rest in peace.

In the end, I have to thank the numerous workers without whose selfless and ungrudging help the work could not have been completed. My younger brother Mr. Hori Lal Saxena has seen the report through the press. The whole work of preparing the report has been entirely voluntary, and the total expenditure in its preparation does not exceed Rs. 20, which includes the cost of printing the family inquiry forms. If our report succeeds even to a slight extent in arousing the conscience of the Caste Hindus of Cawnpore to a sense of their responsibility for the terrible sin of condemning 22 per cent. of their brethren to a beastlike existence, and results in a consequent improvement in their condition, then our labour shall not have gone in vain.

Yours sincerely,

SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA,

*Chairman,*

Cawnpore Harijan Survey Committee.

12th January, 1934.



## INTRODUCTORY

### THE IDEAL OF THE HARIJAN MOVEMENT, ITS METHODS AND SCOPE.

The first article, that Mahatma Gandhi wrote after the Great 21-days-Fast in May last, was for the Harijan of July 8, 1933. The following passage in that article gives the best expression to the ideal of the Harijan movement, and the way to achieve it.

"The work of the removal of untouchability is not merely a social or economic reform whose extent can be measured by so much social amenities or economic relief provided in so much time. Its goal is to touch the hearts of the millions of Hindus who honestly believe in the present-day untouchability as a God-made institution, as old as the human race itself. This, it will be admitted, is a task infinitely higher than mere social or economic reform. Its accomplishment undoubtedly includes all these, and much more. For, it means nothing short of a complete revolution in Hindu thought, and the disappearance of the horrible and terrible doctrine of inborn inequality and high-and-lowness, which has poisoned Hinduism, and is slowly undermining its very existence. Such a change can only be brought about by an appeal to the highest in man. And I am more than ever convinced that that appeal can be made effective only by self purification, i.e., by fasting conceived as the deepest prayer coming from a lacerated heart."

Elsewhere he has said, "Those only are privileged to fast for the cause of truth, who have worked for it, and have love in them even for their opponents, who are free from animal passion, and who have abjured earthly possessions and ambition. No one therefore may undertake, without previous preparation and discipline, the fast I have foreshadowed."

Hence the way for us all to help this great cause lies only through hard work, and selfless service of the Harijans.

Terms of Reference. The task assigned to our Committee by the local Harijan Sevak Sangha was to find out in what

sphere service was most needed by the Harijans and how it could be best rendered, after a careful survey of the social and religious disabilities, working conditions and the standard of life of the Harijans in Cawnpore City.

The first difficulty before us was to decide as to who was to be included among the Harijans. We realized that the doctrine of untouchability or high-and-lowness pervades in varying strength almost the entire present day Hindu Society, where the various castes have formed themselves roughly into a conventional hierarchy in which each caste regards itself as born higher than those coming below it, and lower than those above it. But the positions in this hierarchy are so rough and arbitrary, and change so much with place and people, that no uniform mark, physical, social or religious, can measure the degree of untouchability, or high and-lowness of any particular caste. It is evident that such confusion can be no part of the Hindu Religion, which is one of the most scientific religions of the world, and represents a vicious over-growth which must be immediately destroyed. Such being the case, it is naturally impossible to define the word Harijan by any scientific characteristic, and so every attempt at separate numerical enumeration of their numbers must be arbitrary. The truth of this statement is best illustrated by Table No. I taken from p. 119 of the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee, which gives the results of the various attempts so far made by Government agencies to find the exact population of the Harijans in the various provinces.

The latest, and let us hope, the final Government list of the Depressed Classes is that given in the White Paper proposals for the Indian Constitutional Reform. The wide divergence among the different estimates clearly shows the arbitrary nature of each attempt. Mahatma Gandhi has rightly said that politically 'the untouchables are a human manufacture', and that too "by census enumerators, who have nothing to do with religious untouchability, and who worked in accordance with instructions, which were received from their superiors, and which varied from time to time, so that an untouchable of yesterday ceases to be an untouchable today, and he who was not an untouchable yesterday, through these census operations, finds himself to be an untouchable of today."

TABLE I.

The Population of the Depressed Classes according to different Government investigations [Figures are in millions]

Province.	Sir Henry Sharp. 1917	Southborough Committee. 1919	Census Commissioner. 1921	Simon Commission. 1928	Census Commissioner. 1931	Provincial Government. 1932	Provincial Committee. 1932	Ta'm'be, Chintamani and Bakhle's Minute of Dissent to Indian Franchise Committee Report. 1932	Remarks
Madras ..	5.7	6.4	6.4	6.5	*7.0	7.1	7.1	7.1	
Bombay ..	1.6	0.6	2.8	1.5	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	
Bengal ..	6.7	9.9	9.0	11.5	†10.3	††11.2	0.07	††0.07	
United Provinces ..	8.4	10.1	9.0	12.0	12.6	§6.8	0.6	††0.6	
Punjab ..	2.1	1.7	2.8	2.8	1.3	1.3	§§ 1.3	• 1.0	
Bihar and Orissa ..	1.2	9.4	8.0	5.0	*3.7	*5.8	4.3	0.4	
Central Provinces ..	3.0	3.8	3.3	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	
Assam ..	2.7	0.3	2.0	1.0	1.9	0.65	0.65	0.65	
Total ..	31.5	42.2	43.3	43.6	41.5	37.45	18.62	14.42	

\* Approximate. Precise Figures not available.

† Taken from Census Returns, final figures not being available.

‡ Under revision, 1921 basis.

§ Including castes for which especial representation is proposed.

§§ Figures furnished by the minority. The majority have given no estimate

†† 0.07 by some and 11.2 by the others. The whole matter is under consideration. †† 9.2 Mr. Blunt's estimate.

We do not intend to discuss the various definitions of the term 'Depressed Classes' adopted from time to time during the last 17 years by the various investigating agencies. But the least objectionable of all these definitions was the one adopted by the Indian Franchise Committee. According to it, the term Depressed Classes should be interpreted as meaning untouchability, that is to say, pollution by touch or approach, as it exists in the various provinces. This definition is fairly definite, as it includes just those who are at the lowest rung of the hierarchy of caste. But this definition has not been followed in estimating the population of the untouchables, especially in the northern provinces. Here the problem was complicated by the issue raised by their Governments that some other classes requiring especial treatment should also be included under this term. Column 8 of the Table I gives the population of the untouchables in the various provinces if the definition of the Indian Franchise Committee is consistently followed. But the list of Depressed Classes finally accepted in the White Paper gives a population which is nearly three times this estimate, being even larger than that given by the Provincial Governments in 1932 (column 6), whose view to include some other classes requiring special treatment under the term Depressed Classes it has accepted. The whole thing has been done so arbitrarily, and with mischievous political ends in view, that further discussion of the problem would be useless.

The workers in the Harijan movement may well leave these political manoeuvres alone. These political manoeuvres are made possible, because there actually exists a plague spot in our Hindu body politic. If we keep true to our ideal of destroying the poison of untouchability, or high-and-lowness from the entire Hindu Society, and through persistent, selfless efforts 'make the Savarna Hindu embrace the untouchable as his brother, and fill the untouchable with a sense of freedom and oneness with the Savarna', we shall render all manoeuvres ineffective.

For us therefore it is not necessary to bother about the exact number of untouchables. Our field of work is to be the whole Hindu Society, and wherever we find even a trace of untouchability or high-and-lowness, whether it is in the higher savarna against the lower savarna, or in the savarna against the avarna, or in the higher avarna against the

lower avarna, we have to destroy it. Untouchability in the Hindu Society is not a thing which exists in a fixed set of persons who may be dubbed as its exclusive victims. It is a habit of the mind, the high-and-low mentality, which pervades almost the entire mass of the present day Hindu Society, and which has now become metamorphosed into rigid social customs. We have to destroy these inhuman social customs, whether they exist amongst the Brahmans against the Chamars, or amongst the Chamars against the Bhangis. We have to throw open temples, wells, schools, and all other social institutions to all Hindus on terms of absolute equality, and to remove the last vestige of all those social customs which entrench untouchability in the present day Hindu Society. When this is accomplished, it shall be possible to say that the Hindu mass mind has discarded the terrible and inhuman doctrine of inborn high-and-lowness, and that the monster of untouchability is dead.

Still our work may be helped if we concentrate our uplift work on those who suffer most from this social curse. Thus if Bhangis obtain a status of complete equality with the Savarna Hindus, all other so-called Depressed Classes will get automatically raised up in the scale; and the caste heirarchy will become a horizontal plane as the division of Varnashrama was originally intended to be. We may therefore begin our work with the Bhangis of our city, and gradually extend it to include all those castes who have been dubbed as untouchable in the White Paper.

Table II gives the population of the Depressed Classes in Cawnpore district, according to the list accepted in the White Paper, the figures being taken from the U. P. Census Report for 1931.

Harijan population in Cawnpore district.

Table II.

1. Bhangis	..	..	. 29,972
2. Doms	..	..	.. 700
3. Chamars	..	..	.. 1,44,502
4. Pasis	..	..	.. 37,503
5. Bawaria	..	..	.. 14,624
6. Nat	..	..	.. 1,573
7. Kanjar	..	..	.. 1,281

8.	Barwar	..	..	..	291
9.	Haboora	..	..	..	285
10.	Kaparia	..	..	..	250
11.	Beldar	..	..	..	43
12.	Korwa	..	..	..	22

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Total .. 2,31,046

Thus the Depressed Classes form 22 per cent of the total Hindu Population of our district which is 10,73,281.

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# THE REPORT.

## CHAPTER I.

### A GENERAL CONCEPTION OF THE SWEEPER POPULATION IN THE CITY.

The Committee, whose report we have the honour to present, was appointed by the Cawnpore Harijan Sevak Sangha at its meeting held in its office on May 8th, 1933, in terms of the following resolution:—

“This meeting resolves that a Committee consisting of Syt. Shibban Lal Saksena as Chairman, Syt. Shiva Narain Tandon and Syt. Iqbal Krishna Kapur be appointed to make a survey of the Social and Religious disabilities, working conditions, and the Standard of Life of the Harijans of Cawnpore, and make recommendations for their amelioration. The Sangha suggests that the Committee may begin its work with the Bhangis of Cawnpore City”.

Our present Survey has been confined only to the Sweeper Population of Cawnpore City. Here about 1,200 Sweeper families with a population of about 5,000 souls reside. Limits of our Survey. Of these our survey covers only 607 families. By a family, we mean members whose food is cooked together.

Unlike the industrial labourers, these sweepers are a settled population of the city and keep their families with them. Sweepers vs. Industrial Labour. The women folk also earn. Most of the marriages are now performed between parties living in the city. Their original residence were the districts of Banda, Hamirpur and Jalaun beyond the Jamuna, and parts of the Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts. The sub-castes to which they belong are mainly Domar, Nagarchi, Lalbegi and Hela, and a few families are Dhanuk, Basor and Bansphor. Some families have passed more than two generations in the city. In the village

their chief occupations were agricultural labour, drum beating, basket and soap making, and cleaning privies of the zamindar and a few other prosperous families. They still retain their connections with their villages where they have relatives, and regularly visit them once or twice in the year.

From the point of view of health and efficiency this practice is very beneficial, for it gives a very valuable change between arduous seasons of filthy work and congested living. Their employers should encourage this practice, but we are sorry to observe that in the services of the Municipality and the Cantonment, absence of proper leave rules and other difficulties often put insuperable difficulties in their way. Not unoften have they to sacrifice their job to avail themselves of a holiday in the countryside.

As a settled labour force it should be possible to provide for them a number of facilities, whose provision the migratory character of industrial labour makes difficult or impossible in their case. A settled labour force is an asset to any employer, but as we shall see later on, the conditions of service are so bad in some of the institutions employing them, that little benefit is derived from the fact of their being settled labour.

Table III shows the distribution of the population of 604 families according to their ages and sex.

Statistics.

Table III.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Total
Below 5 years ..	209	240	449
5 to 10 years ..	247	211	458
11-15 " ..	98	93	191
16-30 " ..	458	450	908
31-45 " ..	211	192	403
46-60 " ..	97	71	168
Above 60 years ..	16	19	35
Total ..	1336	1276	2612

Hence the average size of the family is  $\frac{2612}{604}$  or 4.4



Table IV shows the extent of unemployment that prevailed amongst these 604 families in June 1933.

Table IV.

No.	Description.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Percentage.
1.	Adults above fifteen years of age.	782	732	1514	..
2.	Adults physically unfit for employment.	..	..	51	..
3.	Adults not permitted to work, e. g. new brides.	..	..	97	..
1.	Adults fit for and willing to work.			1366	100%
2.	Adults unable to find employment.	96	126	222	16%
3.	Adults under-employed, earning less than Rs. 7 p.m.	..	..	170	12%
4.	Adults earning more than Rs. 7 p.m.	..	..	974	72%

The table shows that there are 2.5 adults per family of 4.4 members, and of these 2.5 per family are fit for and willing to work.

According to the 1931 Census there are 3140 adult males and females engaged in the work of scavenging in Cawnpore City. We estimate that Municipality provides employment for 880, or 28% of these, Mills for 14%, private Bungalows for 13%, private Hatas and Houses for 11%, Railways for 3%, Cantonment for 3%, some 12% are under-employed earning less than Rs. 7 p. m. by private scavenging, and the remaining 16% cannot find any employment.

## CHAPTER II.

### CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Excepting the railways, some mills, and some private employers, the conditions of service are everywhere extremely bad. The worst conditions prevail in the services of the municipality and the cantonment, which together employ about a thousand sweepers. Some 650 of these employees came directly under our Survey. Here there is no provision for any holidays, weekly or otherwise, or for any leave. The only leave available is without pay, and that on providing a substitute. There is no limitation on the hours of work, and not unoften, especially in certain seasons, these sweepers work even upto 13 and 14 hours a day, as was vividly pointed out in the Cawnpore Sweeper Strike Enquiry Committee Report published by the local Harijan Sevak Sangha in June last (See Appendix C).

But the worst feature is bribery and corruption with consequent insecurity of service. We estimate, that the approximate amount of the total loss to these 880 sweeper employees of the municipality through bribery, fines, and absence deductions is about Rs. 10,000 annually under the following chief heads:—

1. Annual cost of dastoori to Jamadars at -/8/- to Re. 1/- per sweeper per month .. .. .	Rs. 5,000.
2. Annual cost of recruitment, change of duty, and service-security-fee paid six monthly or on new appointment which is shared between the Jamadars, or the Motor Drivers, and some Sanitary Inspectors . . .	Rs. 2,000.
3. Annual cost of the Jamadars' dastoori for granting leave and other minor conveniences ..	Rs. 1,000.
4. Annual cost of other deductions from regular pay such as fines, absence, etc. .. .. .	Rs. 2,000.
Total ..	Rs. 10,000.

Thus the sweepers lose about a month's pay in the year in this way. These bribes are really extorted, through threat of terrible consequences in default, and the practice, with a few honourable exceptions, is universal. But the monetary loss is not the worst result of bribery. The insecurity of service which results from the constant fear of being displaced by a higher bidder for his post makes every sweeper's life miserable. It also keeps a large number of sweepers in the city, for whom there is really no employment here, but who wait for their opportunity to displace some employed persons as soon as they lose favour with their Jamadars, rubbish lorry-drivers, or inspectors. If the service of the municipal employees were quite secure, and there was little chance of a vacancy occurring there, many of the unemployed people would go back to their villages, where life is cheaper and healthier. We fear that at present the turnover among the municipal sweeper employees is sufficiently large to materially reduce the advantages accruing from a settled labour force.

Evidence was led before us of corruption. Such evidence being confidential and of a delicate nature, it was naturally incapable of thorough verification. But the existence of such a large number of female sweepers under the almost absolute monarchy of male Jamadars, who are often uncultured and unscrupulous people, does give some cause for alarm. Showers of filthy abuse, with or without cause, on these people are frequent even from the highest and the most responsible officers.

The main cause of this bribery and corruption is virtually the absolute power of the Jamadars and the Sanitary Inspectors over the recruitment and dismissal of these sweepers.

We know that under the Municipalities Act, Jamadars and Inspectors have no final power of recruitment and dismissal, all these powers being concentrated in the Executive Officer, who generally delegates them to the Heads of the various departments. But these Heads of the various departments and the Executive Officer cannot, and in actual practice do not, find time to deal with the problems concerning every individual sweeper or labourer, and so rely entirely on the advice and

suggestions of their subordinates, the Inspectors and the Jamadars, who thus come to have practically absolute control over the recruitment, dismissal, and other matters concerning sweepers, and who merely get a formal sanction for their acts from the Health Officer. Besides, these sweepers have no rights, not even fixed conditions of service, which might act as a check on the absolute monarchy of these unscrupulous Inspectors and Jamadars.

The real source of their absolute power lies chiefly in the want of any law like the Railway or the Factory Acts which may protect them at least against inhuman conditions of service, and guarantee some measure of security in employment. On the other hand, Sec. 85(1) of the U.P. Municipalities Act makes them virtual slaves of these unscrupulous Jamadars and Inspectors. It provides for an imprisonment, which may extend upto two months, for mere absence without a reasonable cause, or for resigning and abandoning his occupation without the permission of the Board. The Section runs as follows :—

85 (1) A sweeper employed by a Board who,—

(a) except in accordance with the terms of a written contract of service, or with the permission of the Board, resigns or abandons his employment, or

(b) without a reasonable cause of which notice has, when possible, been given to the Board, absents himself from his duties,

shall be liable upon conviction to imprisonment which may extend to two months.

We presume that prosecutions under this Section are seldom launched, but its use as a Sword of Damocles ever hanging over their heads is fully made by all officers, from the Health Officer down to the Jamadar, if ever a sweeper dares to protest against inhuman conditions of service.

Such use of the Act was made during the Sweeper Strike in June last. In the Trades Disputes Act of 1929, a Conservancy System is

treated as a Public Utility Service, and the Sweepers right of protest against keenly felt grievances is restricted. But we vainly ransack the whole realm of law to find any provision anywhere which may guarantee to them the essential conveniences of a Public Utility Service, or even the remotest protection against inhuman conditions of service. There must be about a million and a half men in the whole of India actually engaged in the work of scavenging, and of these a very substantial number must be the employees of Municipalities, District Boards, Cantonments and other organised concerns. In order that the slavery of this large army of the nation's scavengers may cease, it is absolutely necessary that some law on the lines of the new Factory Act now before the Central Legislature should be enacted for these sweepers. The Trades Disputes Act being sufficient as a check against sudden confusion in a Public Utility Service, Sec. 85 (1) of the U. P. Municipalities Act must immediately be removed from the statute book. The Trades Disputes Act, too, must be restricted in its application only to those systems of Public Conservancy, where the sweepers are provided with proper conditions of service, and guaranteed a reasonable standard of life such as are outlined in our report. The Trades Disputes Act must lay these 'proper conditions of service and reasonable standard of life', which every Public Utility Service must satisfy before it can have the benefit of this Act.

The legal reforms which we have suggested above are indispensable for ensuring reasonable conditions of service for sweepers. But much can be done by the local boards themselves. In this connection we regard the appointment of a competent Labour Officer who should control the appointment and dismissal of sweepers, and be incharge of their welfare work as the most essential. To support this recommendation of ours we quote the following passage from page 24 of the Labour Commission Report:—

“We are disposed to ascribe the evil of bribery to the grant to uneducated and uncontrolled persons of power to make appointments and dismissals..... We believe that, by systematic effort, bribery can be substantially reduced, if not eliminated, with great benefit to all concerned.

Labour Officer and  
Labour Committee.

The present power of the jobber is given by the employer, who permits him to select or engage labour, and to influence or procure its dismissal. We advocate for all factories the exclusion of the jobber from the engagement and dismissal of labour. This can best be achieved by the employment of a Labour Officer, and this is the course we recommend wherever the scale of the factory permits it. He should be subordinate to no one except the general manager of the factory, and should be carefully selected. Special technical qualifications are not essential for the appointment, though a general knowledge of the processes is necessary. Integrity, personality, energy, the gift of understanding individuals, and linguistic facility are the main qualities required. No employee should be engaged except by the Labour Officer personally, in consultation with departmental heads, and none should be dismissed without his consent, except by the manager himself, after hearing what the Labour Officer has to say. It should be the business of the Labour Officer to ensure that no employee is discharged without adequate cause; if he is of the right type the workers will rapidly learn to place confidence in him, and to regard him as their friend. There are many other duties which such an officer can fulfil, particularly in respect of welfare."

From the above we see that our Labour Officer should be a man of earnest sympathy and missionary zeal for the welfare of the sweepers, and other labourers in municipal employ, and should be handsomely paid. He should be helped by a Labour Committee elected from amongst the Members of the Municipality just as the present Superintendent of Education or the Medical Officer of Health is helped by an Education or Health Committee. But both the Labour Officer and the Committee will be powerless to effect any improvement in the existing situation, unless some regulations as suggested below are put on the Statute Book.

### *1. Recruitment.*

(i) A register should be maintained of all applicants for recruitment. New recruits should be selected from amongst these, after a personal interview by the Labour Officer. Preference should be given to members of families of Municipal Sweepers, the end in view being that the full quota of sweepers be selected from as few families as possible. This will ensure employment to all members of these families and will tend

to eliminate from the city those families, for whose members there is neither any employment, nor any hope of employment, in the city. If a recruit has been in municipal employment before, the causes of his dismissal should be investigated before he is re-employed.

(ii) All complaints regarding the giving or the taking of bribes against any employee of the Board shall be fully investigated by the Labour Officer, and if their truth is established, shall involve summary dismissal of the employee concerned. Complaints regarding abuse, vindictiveness and 'Begar' shall be properly investigated, and dealt with.

(iii) A form, describing in Hindi and Urdu all the rights and obligations of a labourer in service of the Municipality, shall be given to him on admission to the service of the Municipality, and the Labour Officer or his Assistant shall explain the contents to him.

## *2. Service Agreement.*

Every labourer in the employment of the municipality should be required to enter into a written contract on entering the service. Its terms should be as follows :—

(i) Every employee shall pass a probationary period of twelve months, during which the administration shall have the right to dispense with his services, if they consider him to be unsuitable.

(ii) After twelve months' approved continuous service, the engagement shall be confirmed, and made terminable on one month's notice, or on payment of one month's wages in lieu of notice.

(iii) The employee shall be liable to dismissal in any of the following circumstances :—

- (1) in consequence of his conviction by a criminal court,
- (2) for serious misconduct,
- (3) for neglect of duty resulting in, or likely to result in, loss to the Municipality or its administration, or danger to life,
- (4) for indebtedness in particular branches,
- (5) for inefficiency or unsatisfactory service, or
- (6) on reduction of establishment.

### *3. Discharge and Disciplinary Action.*

(i) The power of terminating an employee's service should reside solely in the Labour Officer with the sanction of the Chairman. Reports of offences must be submitted to him in the ordinary course by supervising officers through their departmental heads. If the Labour Officer thinks that the offence, if proved, is serious enough to render him liable to dismissal or discharge, he should furnish the employee with a charge-sheet setting out particulars of the allegations against him. This should be returnable within seven days of its receipt, together with an explanation duly signed by the recipient. The Labour Officer on receipt of the charge sheet, may make such enquiry as he thinks proper, and, if the case is to be proceeded with, summon the employee to appear before him. If the employee so elects, he should be entitled to be accompanied by a representative of an accredited Trade Union, or a bonafide society of which he is a member, or by one of his own fellow workmen to assist him in presenting his case at the hearing. Suitable time limits should be fixed for the disposal of such cases, and the Labour Officer should have the power to suspend an employee where such action is necessary. If a labourer has some grievance, he may submit it to the Labour Officer, who, in consultation with the Head of the Department concerned, will do the needful.

(ii) Proper registers should be maintained, showing complete details about dismissed employees, such as their length of service, cause of dismissal and result of appeals. These registers should be inspected by the Chairman, and be available for inspection to the Members of the Board at least once every month.

(iii) An appeal against fines and similar disciplinary action shall lie to the Labour Officer. No disciplinary action shall have effect unless confirmed by the Labour Officer.

(iv) Deductions in a month through fine shall not exceed one pice per rupee of the monthly wages. The present monthly fine deduction which often amounts to a rupee or two according to the caprice of the supervising officer, and which forms 10 to 20 per cent. of his monthly wages must immediately be made illegal.



#### *4. Hours of work and spread-over.*

Hours of work must be fixed for the various scavenging services, and must not exceed fortyeight hours in the week in any case. The sewerage gang should not work more than 30 hours in the week. What happens at present is that frequently some sewer gets blocked up, and then these people have to work for 13 and 14 hours at a stretch. Reserve labour must be kept to perform extra work which is so frequent. In seasons when there is extra-ordinary pressure of work, this special labour must be engaged to perform the increased work. This special labour should be temporary and engaged for that particular season but when new recruitment is to be made, these people should have a prior claim. How important is the engagement of this especial labour will be clear from a perusal of the Sweeper Strike Inquiry Committee Report given in the Appendix C.

There is a good deal of complaint about the length of the spread-over of work. In scavenging services especially, it must be borne in mind that if there are long intervals of idleness between periods of work, these periods cannot be made use of by the sweepers for any useful purpose. If they are to work again at rubbish, they will not bathe in the interval, and so shall not be fit to eat, drink or even smoke. The fact that some of them do drink water and smoke during such intervals even without bathing is remarkable. It shows that the present conditions of work are making beasts of them, and the sweepers are losing all sense of self-respect, decency and cleanliness. The length of the spread-over of their work literally compels them to break these most fundamental and elementary rules of personal hygiene. Hence in arranging their work, care must be taken to see that their work is finished in one single stretch which should not exceed eight hours in any case.

#### *5. Leave Rules.*

It is shocking to see thousands of sweepers working under such organised concerns as the Municipalities and the Cantonments, without the provision of a single holiday during the year. They are expected to work for full 365 days in the year. Leave without pay may be granted to them if they arrange for a substitute, and have paid the customary bribe to their jamadar. We were told that these sweepers are engaged on the

daily wage system, and as such questions of leave and other rules regulating conditions of service do not arise. But the pretext will not bear examination. The sweepers are not paid their wages daily but monthly, and that too, a fortnight after they are due. They will be exposing themselves to terrible consequences of Sec. 85 (1) of the U. P. Municipalities Act and the Trades Disputes Act, if they absented themselves from work for a single day without permission. Under these conditions, it is sheer hypocrisy and cheating to treat them as employed on the daily wage system. This hypocrisy must be given up at once, and the sweepers must become municipal employees on monthly rates of wages, though these wages should be paid weekly; and adequate rules governing leave and other conditions of service as suggested by us must be made for them forthwith. Regarding leave rules we make the following suggestions:—

(1) Every sweeper must get one day's leave every week without fail. To work out this principle, an additional number of sweepers equal to one seventh of the present strength shall have to be engaged. All the sweepers, then, shall be divided into eight groups, and each group shall have its weekly holiday by turns.

(2) There should be a day's cessation of work on the chief festivals, such as Holi, Diwali, Dasehra, Debi Pujan, and any other similar days of extraordinary importance. That part of their work, which may not be left undone except at peril to the health of the city, should alone be performed on such days, and that too in early morning hours or other convenient time of the day. We were told that some sweepers already get a half-day holiday on these days.

(3) Leave rules similar to those which prevail for similar service in the Railways should be framed for them. We suggest the following periods of leave as being most reasonable:—

(1) Probationers :— (i) Fifteen days casual leave in the year on full pay;

(ii) Additional leave without pay if granted.

(2) Permanent hands :— (i) Fifteen days casual leave in the year on full pay;

- (ii) One day's privilege leave on full pay for eleven days duty;
- (iii) Sick leave on pay half upto fifteen days in the year;
- (iv) Special leave on pay half not exceeding six months<sup>s</sup> for prolonged efficient service;
- (v) Additional leave without pay, if granted.

### 6. *Grades of Pay and Promotion.*

We discuss the scale of pay in the next chapter. Here we wish to emphasise certain principles which ought to be embodied in the system of wages. At present, there are no graded increments in a sweeper's wages according to the length of his service. The result is that men who have put in even 40 and 50 years of service get the same pay that a new recruit is entitled to. This is a bad principle, and results in inefficiency. The increment would act as a prize, and become an incentive to good work. Its absence hinders the formation of that bond of loyalty to the employing institution which is such a valuable asset to it. We therefore suggest that graded increments in the various scavenging services should be immediately introduced.

Here we may also discuss the question of promotion. At present no sweeper can aspire to any position above his own. This is both unjust and harmful. We suggest that henceforth the post of Jamadars should not be filled by direct recruitment, but by promotion from amongst the sweepers. The selection for such promotion must not be arbitrary, but be made by the Labour Officer after careful consideration of the record of each sweeper, and his length of service, in addition to other administrative qualities of which he alone can be the best judge. This system will further help the elimination of bribery, as the sweepers' panchayat would then be a strong force against such corruption.

This is proved by the case of about three sweeper jamadars who are already in service. But these were perhaps directly recruited, and we suggest promotion from the lower ranks.

Further, the work of supervision can best be done by men who have themselves done that work at some time. Above all, the system

will result in greatly increased efficiency, for although these posts will be few still the incentive to acquire them will act on many. Convinced as we are of the shocking corruption that exists among the present set of madars as a result of the present system of recruitment and dismissal, we suggest that with the introduction of the new system every effort should be made to replace them as soon as possible.

### *7. Provident Fund, Gratuities and Compensation.*

We are unable to see why the system of Provident Fund and gratuities should not be applicable to the sweepers. It is, we believe, such low paid staff that most needs these to fall back upon in their old age. We therefore think that municipal rules in this connection should be made applicable to the sweepers also. We know that in exceptional cases gratuities have been paid. But these should become the rule instead of exceptions.

Cases have come before our notice in which sweepers became disabled from work while engaged in municipal work, but no compensation was paid to them. In fact, in one case, even the pay for that day on which he was hurt so grievously, was refused to him. We have been told that some sweepers died while working in the sewers, but no compensation was paid. We would urge that the Workmen's Compensation Act be made applicable to these people forthwith.

### *8. Trade Unions.*

After working among the sweepers for the last eight months we have come to the conclusion, that without proper organisation among themselves the lot of the sweepers cannot improve, and they cannot effectively agitate for their most elementary rights which have so far been denied to them. The sweepers have their Biradari Panchayats which do very useful work. But these are sectional, there being one Panchayat for each biradari, and naturally therefore they are incapable of effectively intervening in cases of economic injustice, or inhuman conditions of service at the hands of their employers. We are therefore strongly of opinion that the Local Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangha in every place should help these sweepers to organise themselves into strong

Trade Unions. These Unions should work on the lines of the Ahmedabad Labour Association and endeavour to settle all disputes by arbitration. When a number of such Unions have been formed into some important centres in the province, they may form themselves into a Provincial Sweepers' Association. We hope Municipalities everywhere will welcome such Trade Unions, for we believe that they have been aroused to a sense of their duty towards this most useful section of society, and would welcome every help that is rendered to them in bringing before them the real grievances of these people.

Before we close this chapter on the conditions of service of the sweepers, let us cast a glance at the sweeper at his work in the various scavenging services of the municipality. Table V gives a list of the various services with pay and approximate hours of work.

Table V.

Name of service.	Approx. number at work.	Monthly Pay.	Usual hours of work	Total Hours	
				Daily.	Weekly.
1. Street and drain cleaning	560	9/8/-	5-10 a. m. and 2-5 p. m.	8	56
2. Rubbish motor lorry filling	100	12/8/-	5.30 a. m.—3.30 p. m.	10	70
3. Public Latrine cleaning	66	8/8 Male and 7/8/- Females	All time with stress in morning and evening	9	63
4. Removing night soil from Civil Lines in motor lorries and carts at night	50	12/8/-	9.30 p. m.—5.30 a. m.	8	56
5. Sewerage Gang	50	13/8/-	6—12 a. m.	6	42
6. Unloading Rubbish carts.	25	11/8/-	6 a. m.—4 p. m.	10	70
7. Cleaning Slaughter houses	5	9/8/-	4—12 a. m.	8	56
8. Removing dead animals from streets etc.	20	8/-/-	Uncertain hours.	8	56

A vivid idea of what it is to be a sweeper can be obtained if we follow a sweeper at his work from morning till evening in any of the various services. The Sweeper Rubbish Lorry Fillers. The Sweeper Strike Inquiry Committee Report published in Appendix C gives some idea of the work of rubbish lorry fillers. The report surveyed the work in a season of exceptionally heavy work stretching even to 12 and 13 hours daily. Usually work has to be done for 10 hours and allowance for this fact must be made. But it must be remembered that such periods of stress are not infrequent, the Diwali festival time, mango and kharbooza seasons and other seasons when rubbish increases, are invariably seasons of extreme stress to these fillers. We are sorry to say that the Municipality has not still affected any of the improvements suggested by the Committee, and, besides, some of the leading strikers have been dismissed contrary to the promise the Municipal authorities made to the Members of the Committee who took the responsibility of calling off the strike.

With regard to service No. 1, one strange fact that came to our notice was the treatment of these sweepers as part time servants of the Municipality. As we see from Street and Drain cleaning. the Table they put in 8 hours work spread over 12 hours, and we cannot understand what the Municipality means by treating them as part time servants. This distinction which seems to be superfluous and absurd must go. The mere fact that they are also allowed to clean private privies outside their official hours of work cannot justify such distinction. Besides, all these sweepers do not clean private privies. In a way this service is the hardest of all, the spread-over being the longest, and the sweeper engaged in it has to bathe both in the noon and late in the evening after work. Considering his scanty clothing, and difficulties of getting a proper supply of water, this evening work is a positive cruelty, and there was much murmuring against it. It appears to us to be the positive duty of the Municipality to provide these people with uniforms to be used while at work, and proper arrangements should be made for water supply in the localities where they live. This class of sweepers were loudest in their complaints about abuse and begar. The work of absentees has to be completed by others in addition to their full work. The absentee loses his pay, and often also his job, but the sweeper who did the 'begar' gets nothing. The wages of the absentees lapse to the Municipality. Such

begar must be made illegal, and some reserve force must be kept to meet such emergencies.

Sweepers engaged in cleaning public latrines are provided with Municipal quarters and in consequence their pay is less than that of those in any other service. We regard this to be unfair. The sweepers are compelled to live in these quarters in the interests of Municipal service and so they should not be required to pay for them. One other suggestion that we have to make about these quarters is that they should be at least at a distance of 25 yards from the Latrine and the Pail Depot, otherwise the quarter becomes a permanent hell where a decent man cannot stand for five minutes owing to abominable smell.

We were unable to observe the nightsoil carts at work and so cannot make any suggestions to improve the lot of sweepers engaged in them.

But the hardest and the most dangerous work is service No. 5, of the Sewerage Gang. The members of the Gang have to enter deep manholes and to extract silt from the bottom of the drain which carries the entire nightsoil of the city. The drain is often twenty to thirty feet deep, the depth of the dirty water being between four to six feet. Not unoften the sweeper has to dip in this nightsoil-laden water ! Some are known to have been drowned, or suffocated in these drains. An idea of the offensiveness of the inner atmosphere can be obtained by standing near an open manhole. The wonder is that the number of deaths is not larger. And yet these people are expected to do six hours work of this character daily for pay which is ridiculously low.

We believe the work to be almost inhuman, but are unable to suggest any immediately practicable alternative. On inquiry from some European gentlemen we found that in the advanced European countries this work is done by a simple mechanism which does not require human beings to enter the manholes at all. We would suggest to our Municipalities to study these methods and see if they can be used here. Mean while all we can recommend is to lighten the amount of such work as much as possible, which in any case should not exceed 30 hours per week. Besides, the life of these men should be insured at the cost of the Municipality, and their pay must be at least double of the present rate.

Some idea of service No. 6 is obtained from the Strike Inquiry Report given in Appendix C. We agree with the recommendations there made by the Committee. One thing more we would like to mention here. The sweepers engaged in unloading have to remain for the whole day on the dumping ground which is always a veritable hell. Between successive unloadings these men get some intervals of leisure. But there is no place near the dumping ground where they can retire during this leisure, and refresh themselves. Even in heavy rains and scorching sun they have no shelter to avail of. We were astonished to find that there was not even a water pipe within a quarter of a mile of the dumping ground, and the sweepers have to go far away to the B. N. W. Railway Station to slake their thirst. That such a glaring inconvenience should have persisted for so long shows the extreme callousness of the officials in charge. These people seem to think that the sweepers are not human beings at all. We suggest that no further time should be lost in constructing a proper shelter where some 25 men can enjoy their leisure, and to which they may retire in heavy rain and scorching sun. The place should be furnished with a tap and a bath room, and a few almirahs where they may keep their food, and clothes for change after work. The place should be some 40 to 50 yards away from the dumping ground which should be visible from it.

We have discussed the conditions of the sweepers at work in the various services of the Municipality. A few words may also be said about services elsewhere. In Cantonment the conditions are nearly the same. But the conditions of work in the Railways are comparatively much better, as is also the case in most of the Mills. But we have made no detailed study of these sweepers at work and so cannot enter into a detailed description as we have done in the case of the Municipality. But we may say something about sweepers engaged in private scavenging. In this connection, we wish to emphasise two facts. First, serious efforts must be made to improve the construction of the privies in private houses. Insistence should be laid on keeping buckets in the latrines, and the drop latrines should be altogether abolished. Secondly their wages should be raised. The usual rate is an anna per man per month but often they are paid even less. We regard this rate to be too low, and would urge on our Society to carry on the vigorous propaganda that it has already begun to get this increased, with unabated vigour.



## CHAPTER III

### ECONOMIC CONDITION AND STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE SWEEPERS.

Table VI shows the prevailing rates of wages in the various concerns where sweepers are employed in our city :—

Prevailing Wages  
of Sweepers

Table VI

Name of employer	Lowest pay	Highest pay	Pay of majority	Remarks
Municipality.	7/8/-	13/8/-	9/8/-	
Mills.	10/-	16/-	13/-	
Railway.	10/-	24/-	15/-	P. F. benefit and graded increments.
Cantonment.	7/-	12/-	8/-	
Private Scavenging.		12/-	6/-	Receive food.

We compare it with Table VII which we extract from page 204 of the Labour Commission Report, and which gives a general impression of wage levels for the semi-skilled operatives in organised industry. Here it should be remembered that, while children are excluded from the figures, they include both men and women, and the workers on the lowest wages are, for the most part, women. The cases considered are those in which compensation was awarded under the Workmen's Compensation Act during the years 1925-29.

TABLE VII.

Province.	Percentage of cases earning monthly wages of						Total number of cases considered (1925-1929)
	Less than Rs. 13/-	Not less than Rs. 13/- but less than Rs. 17/8/-	Not less than Rs. 17/8/- but less than Rs. 22/8/-	Not less than Rs. 22/8/- but less than Rs. 27/8/-	Not less than Rs. 27/8/- but less than Rs. 32/8/-	Not less than Rs. 32/8/-	
United Provinces ..	26	27	15	9	7	16	304
Madras ..	22	25	19	15	4	15	110
Central Provinces ..	18	38	17	8	4	15	209
Bihar and Orissa ..	21	24	21	12	8	14	717
Bengal ..	13	18	18	15	10	26	873
Punjab ..	10	16	36	10	7	21	324
Bombay ..	3	10	19	23	13	32	1273
Burma ..	1	3	10	16	27	42	186

This Table shows that the majority of semi-skilled male workers in U. P. in organised industry earn between Rs. 13/- and Rs. 27/8-. Comparing it with the Table VI for the wages of sweepers, we find that the sweepers are paid lower wages in almost all concerns than what other semi-skilled labourers of their capacity earn in the same and other similar concerns. But their worst plight is in the employment of the Municipality and the Cantonment where the wages are the lowest, and the conditions of service the worst. It is evident that if these wages are to be brought in line with the prevailing rates elsewhere, they must be at least doubled. We strongly recommend that to begin with, an immediate increase of 50 per cent. must be ordered without delay. Another 50 per cent. may be reserved for the system of graded increments in pay which should be introduced at once.

The absence of the system of graded increments in the wages of sweepers is indefensible. We have come across numerous sweepers who have grown grey in municipal service and who have often put in even 50 years of continuous service in its employment, but who are working at the same rate of wages at which a new recruit is engaged. This anomaly must disappear at once. From the Annual Administration Reports of the Cawnpore Municipality we find that the expenditure on sweepers' wages during the last five years has increased from Rs. 1,27,241 in the year 1927-28 to Rs. 1,34,125 in the year 1932-33 or by about 5.5% due mostly to the employment of new staff in the newly opened areas of the city. During the same period the charges on account of the Health Officer and the Sanitary Inspectors have increased from Rs. 17,079 in the year 1927-28 to Rs. 21,876 in the year 1932-33, or by about 28 per cent. Such a difference is a relic of that callous indifference which has marked our treatment of this class so far. There can be no excuse for its continuance for a single day henceforth, and no time should be lost by the Board in introducing the system of graded increments in the wages of its sweeper employees forthwith.

Here we think it essential to dispose of a very widely prevalent superstition. While discussing this problem of the sweepers' wages with one of the most responsible officials of our Municipality, we were struck with the vehemence with which he stuck to the position that any

increase in their wages could only mean so much increased expenditure on drink. He implied that the sweeper has a fixed standard of life at which he aims, and that this standard has already been achieved. Any increase in wages, therefore, will not be utilised in raising the standard of life, but will only increase the liquor bill. Our investigations have convinced us that both the premises as well as the conclusion derived from them are absolutely false. The Labour Commission, on page 209 of their Report, has disposed of this argument for industrial labourers by showing that the standard of living of the workers is continuously rising, which it could not do if the worker did not want to raise it beyond a fixed standard of life already achieved. Our analysis of the budgets of numerous sweeper families shows that there is no limit to the standard of living to which a sweeper family would rise if it had sufficient income. At present the sweepers live a beastly existence, and it betrays either colossal ignorance of conditions or shameless callousness to assert that they are satisfied with their present standard of life, and any increment in income would be ill spent. The best proof that increased income would mean relief from the present inhuman existence and a better standard of life is found by observing the life of the more prosperous sweeper families. These more prosperous families live in two rooms instead of one. They often keep a cow or a goat. In a number of such families we were delighted to see a little furniture such as cots, a chair and a stool. A few of these were interested in their children's education. In their budgets we find greater expenditure on meat, milk, ghee and sweets, rather than on drink. Such families are held in respect by other sweepers, and have a status in their Biradari. All this clearly shows that the sweepers can raise their standard of living, and do earnestly desire to raise it. But the present starvation wages of 90 percent amongst them do not permit it. This is proved by Table VIII which shows the distribution of income among 596 families, whose total income we found to be Rs. 11,475, which gives an average income of Rs. 19 per month per family of 4.4 members, or 9 pice per day per individual.

Thus if the minimum living wage be taken to be more than 4 as. Starvation wages of 92% per day per individual there are only 52 families earning such a wage; the remaining 92 per cent all living on starvation wages. The average wage is only half this living wage. Could further proof be required to show the urgent necessity of

Table VIII.

Number of families.	Average Income per head per month.	Average Income per head daily.
4	Rs. 0	Nil.
13	Rs. 1	2 pice
51	Rs. 2	4 "
109	Rs. 3	6 "
130	Rs. 4 <sup>s</sup>	8 "
99	Rs. 5	10 "
71	Rs. 6	12 "
38	Rs. 7	14 "
29	Rs. 8	16 "
10	Rs. 9	18 "
12	Rs. 10	20 "
12	Rs. 11	22 "
6	Rs. 12	24 "
7	Rs. 13	26 "
3	Rs. 14	28 "
2	Rs. 16	32 "
596 families.	Rs. 4'3	9 pice.

increasing the wages of sweepers to at least double the present amount? Can it then be maintained that the sweeper has achieved the standard of life at which he aims, and that any further increase in wages must go to swell the drink bill?

We have still to show the baselessness of the last assertion. If this were true, then the more prosperous families should have a disproportionately higher expenditure on intoxicants. But the fact is just the reverse. Excessive use of intoxicants generally goes either with single individuals who have little or no family responsibilities and who have fallen in evil company, or with families with small incomes whose daily life is a perpetual tale of woe and misery. This conclusion of ours is further strengthened by comparing the average expenditure on drink of a male adult sweeper with that of a male adult industrial labourer whose average income is more than twice that of the sweeper. If increased drinking went with increased wages,

we should find the industrial labourer spending on intoxicants more than double the amount spent by the sweeper. But the fact is that the sweeper spends about double the amount spent by the industrial labourer. This is evident from the following statistics. One very remarkable fact that came to our notice during our investigations on the drink problem among the sweepers was this. When we first began our Survey we found that most of the sweepers prided themselves on the amount that they spent on intoxicants, this amount being regarded as a sort of index of their social status. Consequently they gave us correct or sometimes even a little exaggerated figures, and the drink bill of 356 families with 447 males above 15 years of age amounted to Rs. 680, which works at a little over Rs. 1/8/- per male adult per month. Soon our reproaches and fun of big drunkards made them discover that drink was a vice and that the amount of expenditure on drink indicated the extent of their degradation. In later inquiries we found that in 251 families with 308 male adults, the total expenditure on drink amounted to Rs. 212/- only. Most of these latter adults reported that formerly they used to drink, but have now given it up. Partly it was true, but it was evident that the shame of confession made them hide the truth. The former figure of Rs. 1/8/- per male adult seems to be the most accurate one available and, we believe, is not very far from the truth. But this is the amount of private expenditure on drink, and does not include the cost of drink in Biradari feasts on marriage, birth, etc. This cost is fairly high, and, at the lowest estimate, cannot be less than Rs. 1/- per male adult per month. Thus the amount of expenditure on drink among the Cawnpore sweepers in June 1933 was about Rs. 2/8- per male adult per month. This means an annual expenditure of about Rs. 50,000 for the 1200 sweeper families with some 1600 male adults. It is evident that a large part of the expenditure on festive occasions like panchayat, birth, marriage, moondan, katha etc. fills the pockets of the liquor dealer and his patron, our benign Government. The Labour Commission estimated the cost of intoxicants used by 55,000 male adult labourers in the Dhanbad Colliery in the year 1928, at Rs. 10 lacs which works at Rs. 1/8/- per labourer per month. They found out the actual sales of the excise shops in that locality. Our sweepers are thus seen to be addicted to drink almost twice as much as the industrial labourers although their wages are less than half those of the industrial labourers.

We conclude, then, that increased wages of a sweeper instead of in-

creasing recourse to drink will really decrease it. For at present it is the abject misery of his daily life that compels him to seek the deadly aid of intoxicants. Healthy provision for recreation, with improvement in his present wretched standard of life and working conditions combined with an active temperance campaign can alone reduce the extent of this vice. In this connection we wish to point out that the Municipality must not allow an excise shop to be located near a sweeper basti. At present two of the shops, viz. the one at Gwaltoli and the other at Khatkana, are situated very near these bastis, and should be removed.

A graphic conception of the standard of life of these sweeper families can be obtained from a glance over their family budgets given in Table IX.

Sweeper Family Budgets

A few prominent features of these budgets may be noticed. The budgets having been constructed about the end of the enquiry, expenditure on drink could not be ascertained. Budget No. II shows that the family is now free from debt. There are only 8% such families and as such this budget is an exceptional one. The one most remarkable feature that the budgets I and III show is that the expenditure is greater than the income. This is an almost universal feature of some 90% sweeper families. The explanation of this deficit is that the expenses on travel and clothing are made yearly, and in that month the debt instalment is withheld. If there is still a deficit as in Budget I this is met monthly by fresh borrowing after paying the regular instalment, and increases the debt. In effect it comes to this that more than 80% sweeper families are unable to pay the regular monthly instalment of interest, and the arrears go to swell the original principal amount to absurdly large dimensions. And the interest on debt often consumes up upto 70% of the family income as in Budget I. The original debt is generally contracted in cases of marriage, birth, moqndan, katha, illness, death, unemployment and bribery to secure a job and we have made no allowance for these accidents of life in the budgets. The budgets show that practically nothing is spent on luxuries, the income being hardly sufficient even to meet the barest necessities of life.

Table IX  
Sweeper Family Budgets.

No. of Budgets.	I	II	III	IV
Number of members in the family.	5	5	10	4
Cereals	4-0-0.	3-8-0	8-0-0	3-0-0
Pulses	1-0-0.	0-8-0	1-4-0	1-8-0
Meat	0-4-0.	0-6-0	3-0-0	} 1-0-0
Vegetables	0-4-0.	0-8-0	1-8-0	
Sugar and sweets	....	0-4-0	0-4-0	1-0-0
Milk and Ghee	....	1-8-0	4-8-0	2-8-0
Oils	0-1-0.	0-4-0	0-8-0	} 1-0-0
Salt and condiments	0-3-0	0-4-0	1-0-0	
Children's pocket money and other food items	0-4-0.	1-0-0	1-0-0	1-0-0
Bhishti	....	0-10-0	....	....
Total expense on food	6-0-0.	8-12-0	21-0-0	11-6-0
Deduction due to bribery, fines, absence etc.	1-0-0.	0-0-0	2-0-0	....
Fuel and lighting	1-4-0.	1-8-0	2-0-0	3-0-0
House rent	2-8-0.	2-0-0	2-0-0	2-8-0
Conservancy Tax (Cantonment)	.....	0-2-0	....	....
Miscellaneous household necessities	0-4-0.	0-8-0	1-8-0	....
Hair cutting and washing clothes	0-2-0.	0-4-0	1-0-0	1-0-0
Tobacco and betel	0-12-0.	1-0-0	1-8-0	0-12-0
Liquor or toddy	?	?	?	1-8-0
Travel to and from village	....	0-12-0	1-0-0	2-0-0
Beohar in Bradari	0-8-0.	1-0-0	1-0-0	....
Clothing and shoes	1-0-0.	1-8-0	4-0-0	4-0-0
Total other expenses	7-6-0.	8-10-0	16-0-0	14-12-0
Monthly interest on debt	15-8-0.	0-0-0	10-0-0	2-0-0
Total monthly expense	28-14-0.	17-6-0	47-0-0	28-2-0
Total Family Income	23-8-0.	18-0-0	44-0-0	30-0-0
Family debt outstanding at present	599-0-0.	0-0-0	545-0-0	....
Debt originally borrowed	282-0-0. (ten to three yrs. back)	40-0-0 (6 months back)	549-0-0 (2 yrs. to 6 months back)	....
Total money so far paid up	662-0-0.	50-0-0	191-0-0	....



Budget No. IV represents the budget of an average industrial labourer in Cawnpore City living with his family. His wife very often does not earn. It is taken from page 57 of the U. P. Census Report, 1931. It has been prepared on the basis of

prices as they stood in 1931, i. e. after the fall in agricultural prices, which continued at nearly the same level in June 1933 when our budgets were prepared. The contrast between this budget and the sweeper budgets is revealing. The poor sweeper, when he, his wife, and even his children, work for the whole day, at some of the most filthy works, still cannot make both ends meet, and has a standard of living half as good as that of the average industrial labourer of the same city. This is evident from comparing the expenses on food, and also other expenses in the two cases. And then the burden of debt on the sweepers is at least four times that on the industrial labourers. Besides, these industrial labourers themselves are living a miserable existence as the Census Report itself observes. It says, "These figures show that as prices and wages stood at the close of the decade, the economic condition of the skilled and industrial labourer was tolerable. He could at least make both ends meet, and was certainly better off than the agricultural labourer, and better off than many cultivators. But the general poverty of these men is obvious. Their income leaves little with which to meet expenditure on births, marriage, sickness and death in family. Whenever extra expenditure is imperative a loan has to be raised, in fact very few are free from debt. The Royal Commission estimated that at least two-thirds are indebted, and the average debt exceeds three months wages. Having little or nothing to offer by way of security, and being of a migratory nature, they have to pay exorbitant rates of interest for such loans."

Let us compare the Sweeper Family Budgets with the Budget of an average Industrial Labourer of Cawnpore.

Budget III represents a rather well-to-do family having four earning members. But No. I is a ruined family, which are not uncommon, and the Kabulis have been greatly responsible for his ruin. This is evident from the history of his debt which is simply shocking. Three of his money lenders are Kabulis.

A shocking case of Indebtedness.

From one he borrowed Rs. 25 ten years back, from another Rs. 5 eleven years back and from a third Rs. 12 three years back. The interest agreed upon was two annas per rupee per month. To the first Kabuli, he has paid Rs. 3/2/- per month regularly for the last ten years, so that the amount so far paid as interest is Rs. 375/- and the principal debt of Rs. 25 still remains. To the second Kabuli, he has so far paid an interest amounting to Rs. 82/8/- by regular monthly instalments during the last eleven years, and the principal debt of Rs. 5 still remains. To the third Kabuli, he has paid an interest of Rs. 54 in the last 3 years on the principal debt of Rs. 12/- which is still outstanding. Excepting the first Kabuli none of the two others is prepared to accept the principal sum back, but he can never accumulate Rs. 25/- to pay him away. He also borrowed Rs. 242 from four other moneylenders at an interest of one anna per rupee per month between some 4 to 8 years back, and has so far paid Rs. 160/- towards interest alone. Here he has been a defaulter so often that the principal amount has risen from Rs. 242/- to Rs. 547/-. The fellow is now a slave of the moneylenders for the whole of his life, and drags on a miserable existence.

Here is another case taken actually from the books of a moneylender. A person borrowed Rs. 19/8/- and promised to pay it off in 12 monthly instalments of Rs. 2 per month in Bhadon 1929, which corresponds to August

1929.

Aug. 1929—June 1930.	no payment
July 1930	Re. 1/-
Aug. 1930	Rs. 3/-
Sept. 1930	Re. 1/-
Oct. 1930	Re. 2/-
	Rs. 7/-

Account settled in Oct. as follows:—

Balance of principal = Rs. (24-7) = Rs. 17/-

Interest on missing instalments 2 pice per rupee per month

since each date of default =  $\sum_{x=1}^{x=14} x + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} = 105 + 1 = 106$  as. = Rs. 6/10

Thus the total money due on him in Oct. 1930 was Rs. 23/10/- which was again lent to him on the condition that for every nine rupees borrowed he would pay Rs. 12 in twelve equal monthly instalments. He was therefore required to pay Rs. 2/8/- per month for the next twelve months i. e. Rs. 30 in twelve equal monthly instalments, when the debt would be cleared off. The actual payments made were as follows :—

1930 Nov. Rs. 2 + Dec. Rs. 2 + 1931 Feb. Rs. 2 + April Rs. 2 + June Rs. 2 + Sept. Rs. 3 + Oct. Rs. 1 + Dec. Rs. 2 = Rs. 16. No further payment was made till July 1932.

Account settled in July 1932 as follows :—Principal Rs. 14 + arrears of interest Rs. 14/8/- = Rs. 28/8/-

This was again lent out on condition that for every Rs. 9/8/- he would pay Rs. 12/- in twelve equal instalments with two pice per rupee as the monthly interest per rupee on missing instalments as usual. He must therefore pay Rs. 36/- in twelve equal monthly instalments.

Actual payments made were as follows :—

1932 August Rs. 1 + September Rs. 2 + November Rs. 2 + December Rs. 2 + 1933 March Rs. 2 + June Rs. 2 = Rs. 11. No further money was paid till July 1933, when the account revealed Rs. 25 outstanding as the principal amount, and Rs. 11 as the interest on missing instalments.

Thus we see that a sum of Rs. 19/8/- has risen to the principal amount of Rs. 36 after various payments amounting to Rs. 34 made during these years. If no interest is allowed to the debtor on these various payments of Rs. 34 the transaction gave simple interest of 62½ % to the moneylender regularly for four years. And the fellow is now in his clutches for his whole life.

All this makes one thing evident. The sweepers can never pay off the principal amount, and more than half the interest instalments must generally remain unpaid every year. How is it then that the moneylenders go on giving them loans? The reason is obvious. Even half the instalments of interest yearly obtained are sufficient to render the investment a profitable one. In fact the moneylender likes the default of instalments, for he prefers to remain a creditor, and receive interest

Eagerness of the money-lender to lend.

In fact he dislikes complete settlement of his account with any debtor, for that means so much business lost. But he is a very shrewd man, and as soon as he finds that further advance of loans, or further defaults will not bring increased interest, he stops lending further. When such a limit is reached, the moneylender takes the whole salary of the sweeper towards interest, and pays him just sufficient to keep the body and soul together, lest this milch cow should starve to death. The sweeper then becomes his virtual slave. He earns for the moneylender. Any increase in earning does not benefit him, but only the moneylender, and so he loses all enthusiasm and ambition in life and waits for salvation through an early death.

The rates of interest which we have come across vary between two pice and two annas per rupee per month. One anna per rupee per month is very common. But the most usual system is the sawai system which requires that 1½ times the money borrowed should be repaid within one year in equal monthly instalments, and if any instalment is not repaid within the stipulated time compound interest at 1 as., and sometimes at 2 pice per rupee per month is charged. Here the apparent rate of interest is 25 per cent. but it actually works out at about 43 per cent. The highest rate of interest that we have come across is that charged by the Kabulis which is two annas per rupee per month, and works out at 150 per cent per annum not allowing for compound interest. These Kabulis work the greatest havoc, for they extract their interest with clocklike regularity, and are the most merciless in its recovery. Lesser rates of interest, such as 37½ per cent are allowed on deposit of security.

It was reported to us that some Sanitary Inspectors and Jamadars carry on or abet in extending the business of money lending among the sweepers, and use their authority over them to enforce high interest rates, and ruthless regularity in payment of debt instalments. We are emphatically of opinion that the Municipality should forbid these Inspectors and Jamadars from carrying on or abetting in any way the business of moneylending among the sweepers on pain of dismissal from service. Any complaints in this regard must be thoroughly investigated and prompt action should be taken. There are also a few sweeper moneylenders

some of whom do very great business and are very rich. Their economic condition bears no comparison to that of the average sweeper depicted here. The moneylenders exercise a great influence over their community, which they often use to further selfish ends. In the case of one sweeper money-lender we were told that a number of sanitary inspectors and jamadars abetted in his business.

The figures for debt which we have collected give us the Statistics showing the amount of Debt. debt of 576 families to be Rs. 1,27,953. This works out at Rs. 222 per average family of 4.25 members. Hence the average sweeper family is seen to be indebted to the extent of its twelve months' income. This cannot be regarded as quite accurate, for many sweepers are unable to give the exact amount and the details of their debt. It is really strange that very few of them keep a copy of the transactions about the debt between themselves and the moneylender, most of them depending absolutely on the latter's books. Not unoften they give a blank stamped paper with their signature on it, and leave the details to be filled in by the moneylender at his leisure. Once or twice in the year the moneylender settles the account with each individual debtor, and tells him the amount of debt outstanding against him at that date. Majority of the figures given to us were of the amount outstanding against them at the last settlement. Although not accurate, they give a rough approximation to the actual amount. Table X shows the manner of distribution of this debt among the 576 different families of sweepers.

Table X

1.	Number of families free from debt	45 = 7.8 per cent.
2.	"    whose debt is below Rs. 55 per head	310 = 53.8 "
3.	"    " is between Rs. 55 & Rs. 105 per head	151 = 27.6 "
4.	"    "    " Rs. 105 & Rs. 155	31 = 6.8 "
5.	"    "    " Rs. 155 & Rs. 675	23 = 4.0 "

According to the Report of the Labour Commission about Comparison of indebtedness with industrial Labourers. 66 per cent of the industrial labourers are in debt, and the amount of their debt exceeds some three months' wages.

But this table shows that more than 92 per cent sweeper families are in debt, and the amount of debt often exceeds about 24 months' wages of a sweeper or some twelve months' family income. The sweepers are thus easily seen to be the worst off amongst all labourers

and urgently require legal protection. In fact any improvement in their lot is absolutely impossible unless this huge burden of debt is removed. A bill to relieve rural indebtedness is already before the U. P. Council. Another bill to control usury and relieve indebtedness among the city labour population, which should include the Harijans, is urgently called for.

We wish to repeat with greater emphasis in the case of the sweepers the view of the Royal Commission that the undoing of Credit, the Undoing of the sweepers. of the labourers is their credit. The lender finds in them a profitable field for investment, and is ready, nay eager to lend them money, which it is really contrary to the latter's interest to accept. Sometimes, by helping in grave emergencies such as unemployment or illness, the moneylenders do perform real service, but on the whole the havoc wrought by their trade is greater than the hardship that would result from a reduction of the moneylender's readiness to lend. For it is the large debts which are incurred, not from economic necessity, but on account of social pressure and custom, that most enslave the worker, marriage, katha, moodan, birth, being some of the chief occasions for incurring large debts.

The proposals for reform of the existing situation outlined by the Proposals for reform. Royal Commission seem to us to be eminently practical to give immediate and substantial relief. They are directed to make it unprofitable for the moneylender to advance sums which are beyond the labourer's power to repay. It is a pity that they have not so far been put into effect. No further time should be lost in embodying them into the law of the country. These proposals make the wages of workmen exempt from the possibility of attachment, and abolish in his case imprisonment for debt. They also make all unfair and impossible contracts of the moneylender with the labourers null and void, and impossible of enforcement at law. For relief of the existing debts they provide for summary liquidation proceedings. These proceedings, though similar to those in insolvency cases, are to be entirely unrelated to Insolvency Acts, and should be embodied in a new Act. The duty of Courts administering them shall be to regard itself as the protector of the poor against extortion and their own foolishness; whereas in insolvency proceedings the court primarily assists the creditors by checking fraud on the part of petitioners.

Pending such legislation which alone can give substantial relief, What the Municipal Board much can be done by the local boards themselves. One obvious way to help is through a Cooperative Credit Society. Conditions of success of a Cooperative Credit Society, and we are glad to note that our local Municipal Board has such a scheme in hand. But a number of conditions must be satisfied if success is to be obtained. First of all, means should be adopted to obtain greater security of service for the sweepers, for cooperation can succeed only where there is a regular settled labour force. This is possible by taking away the virtual power of appointment and dismissal of sweepers from the hands of the Jamadars and the Inspectors, and placing it in the hands of the Labour Officer whose appointment to look after the welfare of all the labourers in Municipal employment we have already suggested in Chapter II. Loans should be advanced to the employees chiefly for the purpose of clearance of debts. The debts in question should be investigated by the Labour Officer, and be compounded, if possible, with the moneylender for a smaller sum than that claimed. The money should be deducted from the pay by instalments. The Labour Officer should ensure that all the loans are disclosed, and should be extremely watchful to see that the debtor does not use his credit to secure further loans from external sources. This is only possible by close personal supervision by the Labour Officer himself. Earnest sympathy for the welfare of the poor sweepers must be the chief distinguishing quality of the Labour Officer. His choice, therefore, must be made very carefully, and he should be adequately paid.

Along with the Cooperative Credit Society a Savings Bank should be opened, and savings on the part of the sweepers should be encouraged in all possible ways, so that in times of emergency when the labourers generally borrow from the moneylender, they may draw upon these savings. Without such a Savings Bank the Co-operative Society cannot be successful. But with the present rate of wages of the municipal sweepers, the problem of their debt cannot be solved; for as the budgets vividly show, the present wages do not suffice even for their barest necessities of life. Unless they are substantially increased, borrowing from the moneylender to meet the accidents of life such as illness, birth, death, festivals etc. must continue. Elsewhere we have recommended these wages to be doubled. Fifty per

cent of this increase should be immediately effected, and the remaining 50 per cent should be distributed through a system of graded increments with the length and efficiency of service. The indebtedness may also be diminished appreciably if the period of wage payments is reduced from a month to a week. This will enable the sweepers to make cash purchases, and also to cut their coat according to the cloth. The illiterate sweeper tends to take a short view; he can balance his budget better if he gets weekly payments. At present the monthly pay is spent away in the first fortnight, and the next fortnight is passed with difficulty, and not unoften a loan has to be contracted. The moneylender often makes his dues the first charge on the sweeper's pay, and waits on pay days in the municipal office compound. This should not be allowed. The Labour Commission has suggested that such besetting should be made illegal.



## CHAPTER IV.

### HOUSING OF THE SWEEPERS.

Some of the problems concerning Housing, Health and Welfare of the Sweepers we have already discussed in our *Introductory Note on the Immediate Needs of Cawnpore Sweepers* which we published in the beginning of June 1933, (see appendix D). In every city, the sweeper Bastis have been discovered to be plague spots, and our city is no exception to the rule. The congestion and the stench in most places was beyond description. In the Sanwal Das Compound which has now been acquired by the Improvement Trust more than a hundred families with a population of about 450 men lived for decades in a space of about 3300 square yards which was enclosed on all sides by lofty walls, giving a density of population as high as 704 persons per acre! There are other Hatas where sweepers still live which are still worse. One such is Birhana where the four feet wide street between two rows of low huts is a huge katcha drain; and this drain, which often overflows itself, passes through the middle of the street. The Sweeper Basti in Bara Buchar Khana is another plague spot. The scarcity of water in all the sweeper bastis was shocking. It was revolting to see the people using for bathing as well as for drinking purposes pail depot pipes under which the nightsoil of the whole mohalla is washed, and where little heaps of nightsoil always keep lying.

Lighting arrangements were conspicuous by their absence, and often there were no latrines within two furlongs of a sweeper basti. These sweeper bastis are generally situated in some of the worst private hatas or in lowlands around Public Latrines, where in the rains the dirty water of the whole mohalla would collect and often overflow into their low huts which have no plinths. Near these bastis there are no charitable dispensaries or parks, the majority of which are situated in quarters of the rich where they are least wanted. The actual conditions of the various bastis are vividly portrayed in Chart I in Appendix F.

In most bastis, the houses of sweepers are horrible dens without any ventilation, and with a low small door. They are almost invariably single roomed with or without a verandah. All families, large and small, live in them. A few of the larger and more prosperous ones hire two houses.

As the Chart I in Appendix F shows, about 76 per cent of the sweeper families live in single-roomed hovels, 22% in double roomed houses, which are really a single bigger hovel partitioned into two, and 2% in houses with more than two rooms. The houses have generally a verandah or an open courtyard in front of them. With the help of Table XI, which gives the size of 604 families, we can have some idea of the congestion.

Table XI.

Number of families having	1 member only	20	3.3 per cent
"	2 members only	98	16.2 "
"	3 "	118	19.5 "
"	4 "	118	19.5 "
"	5 "	102	17.0 "
"	6 "	68	11.3 "
"	7 "	37	6.1 "
"	8 "	23	3.8 "
"	9 "	8	1.3 "
"	10 "	5	0.8 "
"	more than 10 "	7	1.2 "
Total families		604	100 per cent

This table shows that more than 25% families have 6 or more than 6 members in them; and 61% have four or more than four persons in them.

The congestion and the amount of privacy can be better imagined than described. This forced want of privacy must harden the natural sense of modesty, and its effect on the development of the children's character, and the morality of adults must be disastrous.

For the sake of comparison we give below Tables XII and XIII Congestion compared for the Municipalities of Cawnpore and Lucknow, with other places. the distribution of families being according to the number of rooms they occupy and according to size, the figures being taken from page 136 of the U. P. Census Report for 1931. The commonest unit of occupation is one room, half the families in Lucknow and nearly two-thirds the families in Cawnpore falling into this group. In Lucknow

90% of families live in 3 rooms or less, and in Cawnpore this figure reaches 95%. For the sake of comparison, the figures for the whole of England and Wales in 1921 and our own figures for the Cawnpore sweepers are added. It will be seen that the percentages for England and Wales run in reverse order, and only 30% of families live in 3 rooms or less.

Table XII.

Municipality	Percentage of families who live in--				
	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	4 rooms	5 or more rooms
Lucknow ..	50.4	28.9	10.7	5.2	4.8
Cawnpore ..	62.5	24.8	7.5	2.9	2.3
Eng. & Wales	3.6	10.5	15.5	24.4	46.0
Cawnpore Sweepers.	76.0	22.0	2.0	..	..

Table XIII

Municipality	Percentage of families which consist of						
	1 or 2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 or more persons
Lucknow ..	27.5	16.9	13.6	11.9	8.1	7.4	14.6
Cawnpore ..	43.2	18.2	14.2	9.0	5.8	3.2	6.4
Eng. & Wales	23.7	20.8	18.6	13.9	9.4	6.0	7.6
Cawnpore Sweepers	19.5	19.5	19.5	17.0	11.3	6.1	7.1

Cawnpore has a very large number of families of 1 and 2, chiefly due to the fact that many industrial workers have migrated there, leaving their families at home to tend their cultivation. Lucknow has a surprisingly large number of families of 8 and over. Our sweepers in the city keep their families with them, and hence the relatively small number of families with 1 or 2 persons, 80 per cent. of the families having 3 or more members. In Cawnpore Municipality we see that 62.5 per cent families live in single rooms, but of these about 43 per cent are families of 1 or 2

persons which are of industrial labourers who have left their families in the countryside and who generally live in single roomed houses Hence the number of families living in single rooms but having 3 or more members forms only (62.5-43.2) or 19.3 per cent of the total number of families in Cawnpore Municipality, whereas among the sweepers the number of such families forms (76.19.5) or 56.5 per cent of the total number of sweeper families. The sweepers are thus seen to be at least three times worse than the rest of the city population in point of congestion.

We are glad to say that the problem of housing of the sweepers in municipal employment is being tackled by Recommendations. our municipality, and a good beginning has already been made. The scheme of the municipality provides for the construction of 500 quarters in four years. But even when that scheme is complete there will still remain the problem for some 500 families who are not in municipal employment. Of these, some hundred families have their members serving in the Cantonment and the East Indian Railway Loco Workshop. We think these bodies should be asked to provide free quarters for their sweeper employees, just as the municipality is doing for its own. The remaining four hundred families are of the mill-employee sweepers, or private scavengers. But scavenging, whether public or private, is primarily a concern of the municipality and so we suggest that the municipality should provide land on very cheap annual rent to bonafide sweepers, and ask them to build their own houses. In the building of these houses, it may help them with plans, and other necessary advice, so that the houses that they construct satisfy all the rules of sanitation. In the case of mill employees, the mills should be required to contribute their share towards the fulfilment of the scheme. And if an appeal is made to the public for help, it will not go without response.

## CHAPTER V.

### HEALTH, WELFARE AND EDUCATION.

We could not secure any statistics about births and deaths among Cawnpore city sweepers for any period, and so must content ourselves by pointing out certain facts about their health from the U. P. Census Report for 1931. We were delighted to find that among the Bhangis, infant marriages are not common. In the list of castes given on page 252 of the Census Report which is arranged according to the frequency of infant marriages in them, Bhangis stand 37th in the list, Kayasthas being 47th, and the Anglo-Indians 50th, and last. On the other end are Doms, Pasis, Chamars and Koeries who stand 7th, 10th, 11th, and 12th. While filling our inquiry forms we also noticed, that although some Bhangi children are betrothed about the 10th year of their age, their real marriage is performed when the boy is about 20 and the girl about 16 years of age. Still the longevity of the Bhangis is the lowest, being 28 years for male and 26 for the females. The higher castes usually have a higher longevity, the highest being among the Bhuinhars which is 41 for males and 42 for females. All the lower castes have generally a low longevity, which shows that their early death and large infant mortality are due to the wretched conditions in which they are forced to pass their lives. Their females have a still lower longevity as their women bear children as long as they are capable of doing so, widowhood being rare among them and, in addition, they have to earn a living under miserable conditions of service. The effects of bad housing conditions, and filthy surroundings, inadequate water and light, along with the deadly effects of intoxicants contribute their full share towards this low longevity of the sweepers. To improve the health and longevity of this most useful section of our population, all round efforts shall have to be made. The present wretched conditions of service, and standard of life, together with the revolting housing conditions, shall need the first attention. Next will come sincere efforts to wean them from drink and other dirty habits and ways of life. Maternity and Child

Welfare facilities shall have to be extended to them. Medical aid, and recreation arrangements will have to be provided. A spread of education and rules of hygiene will complete the work of other factors, and then these people shall cease to be the beasts, that we have at present made them, and become men. Of course, all this will be possible only when we cease to regard them as social lepers whose touch causes pollution.

We collected statistics of education in the 604 families covered by our inquiry. The figures relate to the conditions prevailing in June 1933. As is seen from Table III on page 8, there are 345 males and 304 females of school-going age i.e., between 5 and 15 years of age, in these 604 families. Of these 345 male children, only 93 were found to be studying in the two primary schools for the Depressed Classes maintained by the Municipality, and one school maintained by the Ramkrishna Mission. Not a single girl was at school. Thus only 27 per cent. of these male children were studying at that time in the preparatory and the lower primary classes, not more than half a dozen having reached the 4th class of these Primary Schools.

Among the 782 male adults of these families, 113 males i.e., 15% could read or recognise Hindi letters, and not a single adult female could do even that. This 15 per cent. cannot be regarded as the amount of literacy among the sweepers, for the figure would be much lower if the recognised standard of literacy, viz., reading and writing of a letter, were applied to them.

As pointed out, this was the condition of education among the sweepers in June, 1933, when our Harijan Sevak Sangha had already been in existence for six months. But till then the Sangha had only been nominally in existence. Real life was put into it by Mahatmaji's Great Purificatory Fast in May 1933. Since then the progress of education among the Depressed Classes, and especially among the sweepers, has been as follows.

We estimate that in all the 1200 sweeper families there are about 700 males and 600 females between the ages of five and fifteen, and our endeavour should be to get all these at school.

Chart III in Appendix F shows that in the twelve Harijan Schools maintained or aided by our Sangha in the city, there are 281

Sweeper Scholars on roll. Of these 26 are sweeper adults above 15 years of age, so that our schools provide education to 255 sweeper children of which 115 are girls. The number on roll in the two Depressed Class Municipal Schools and the Ramkrishna Mission School is about 100 boys. The Sangha succeeded in securing the admission of 6 sweeper boys in 3rd. and 4th classes of some Anglo-Vernacular Schools and is giving scholarships to them. Thus out of the 700 male children who ought to be at school only 246 or 35 per cent have so far been provided for and of the 600 girls of schoolgoing age, only 115 or 19 per cent. have begun to read. The tremendous work that has still to be accomplished can easily be imagined. From Chart I in Appendix F it is evident that atleast four more schools are urgently required in Jubi, Old E. I. Ry. Station, Cooper Ganj and Nawab Ganj. These should be common schools for boys and girls. We wish some philanthropic gentlemen should come forward and provide the Sangha with money for running a school for a year, so that the Sangha may be able to start its educational work in full swing. We regard this educational work of the Sangha to be the most valuable, and worthy of support from the public. The six village schools are doing pioneer work in the district; and there is no exaggeration if we say that their further extension shall be the strongest influence in destroying untouchability from the rural side.

One thing that we cannot pass without mentioning is about the attitude of the Municipality and the District Board towards sweeper education. In June last the Municipality passed a resolution opening all its schools to sweeper children. But we are sorry to say that there is not a single sweeper boy reading in any one of the numerous Municipal Schools existing in the city, excepting the two schools opened specially for the Depressed Classes. At the time of their opening in July, some of the most prominent workers of the Sangha tried to get a number of sweeper boys admitted into these Municipal Schools, but we are sorry to have to say that some of the teachers in the schools adopted all possible devices to make their stay in the schools miserable, and literally forced them to leave the schools. It was remarkable that even after 15 days of their stay in the schools, their names had not been put on the roll-call register. After a careful perusal of the correspondence that passed in this connection between the

Attitude of the Municipal and District Boards.

workers of our Sangha, and the Superintendent of Education, Municipal Board, we have come to the conclusion that the Board acted with great laziness in the matter, and did not treat the complaints at all seriously. Instead of taking a strong stand, and getting full compliance with its resolution on the part of its employees, it simply overlooked their conduct. In the rural side also, sweeper boys are, in practice, not admitted to the Schools of the District Board.

The U. P. Primary Education Act No. VII of 1919 has been in force in the Moulganj and Patkapore Wards, and Anwarganj and Sadar Bazaar Wards of Cawnpore Municipality for the last eleven and three years respectively. It provides for compulsory education to boys and girls between 6 and 11 years of age in these areas. But it is strange to find that although in these areas the number of sweeper children between 6 and 11 years of age is about 300, still only about 50 children from amongst these are on roll in the two Depressed Class Schools and not one in the other Municipal Schools. Not a single Municipal Girls' School has any sweeper girl in it. These boys and girls are mostly anxious to study as is shown by the successful functioning of the schools maintained by our Sangha. Six of these schools are in the compulsory area, and the boys reading in them, although many of them come under the Compulsory Act, have never been brought in the sphere of compulsory education. The prejudice of the teachers about which we have spoken above seems to be responsible for it. We wonder if the statistics regarding compulsory education given on page 104 of the Cawnpore Municipality Report for the year ending March 1933 are correct, unless they have altogether omitted to take the sweeper children into account. A strange thing has recently come to our notice. Three notices were served under Compulsory Education Act on the guardians of the sweeper children reading in the Harijan Schools maintained by the Sangha. The Sangha was only too pleased, and advised the guardians concerned to get their boys admitted to the nearest Municipal schools, and asked its own School-teachers to accompany them. But the boys were refused admission by the Headmasters, and now summonses have been issued against the guardians under the Compulsory Education Act for default of its provisions. The situation is as interesting as it is sad. We are of opinion that the Board should take more interest in the problem of sweepers' education, and see that



its employees do not set its resolutions at naught. The schools that the Sangha is running should be entitled to proper support from the Board. At present none of them gets any help from it. The Sangha has applied for the recognition of its schools to the Municipal, District and Cantonment Boards.

Hardly any provision has so far existed for free medical aid to the sweepers. All the charitable dispensaries are situated in the quarters of the rich, and except the Medical Aid, Ram Krishna Mission, and the Arya Samaj dispensaries none other has done any service to the sweepers. We wish these charitable dispensaries made a special point to serve these poor people who really need such free dispensaries. We are glad that the Sangha has started a dispensary on wheels which has been active for the last three months, and so far served two bastis, those in the Forbes' Compound and Sisamau. During these three months it served over 700 patients and the Sangha has spent Rs. 207 towards its maintenance so far. The Sangha has now started a permanent dispensary in the Forbes' Compound in a hired room which also serves as a girls' school, and a club room. The Sangha has a scheme to fix up similar permanent dispensaries along with its schools and club-rooms in Cattle Barracks, Gwaltoli, Faithful Ganj, Haddi Godam, Sadar Bazaar, Lachhmipurwa, Old E. I. Ry. Station, Juhi, and Nawab Ganj. The cost of each dispensary will come to about thirty rupees per month if some philanthropic doctors come forward to serve free for an hour daily, in each of them. So far Drs. Suraj Narain Saxena, and Shiam Sunderlal have helped the Sangha's dispensary on wheels with their free services. The Sangha has written to the various medical associations in the city for free service of the doctors to serve the new dispensaries that it intends to open. But evidently the Sangha cannot bear the cost of running so many dispensaries, unless it is liberally helped by the Municipal Board and the public.

This new scheme has already been partly put into effect. Five permanent dispensaries have been fixed up at Forbes' Compound, Mirpur, Sadar Bazar, Incinerator, Lachhmipurwa, and Gwaltoli, and some doctors have agreed to serve them free. The moving dispensary will now visit the remaining sweeper quarters. In this way the Sangha hopes to include almost all the sweeper quarters in the sphere of its medical relief activity. The Sangha has applied to the Municipal and the Cantonment Boards to

bear at least three-fourths of the expenses of the scheme. We have full sympathy with this request, as we regard medical relief among the poor to be the special duty of these Boards. And when the relief is to be administered especially among the sweepers, most of whom are employees of these Boards, the request of the Sangha becomes irresistible. We hope the Boards will accede to this request of the Sangha.

We have elsewhere discussed the vicious habit of the use of intoxicants among the sweepers, and have pointed out that the best way to bring the evil under control is by providing healthy means of recreation. As Chart I in Appendix F shows, at present only three out of over 30 Sweeper Bastis possess an Akhara, and there are no other means of recreation. We suggest that every Sweeper Basti should have an Akhara which may provide them with a cheap and healthy means of recreation. The Sangha has recently started two Sweeper Clubs and introduced volleyball in them. The Clubs will soon have a reading room and a small library attached to them.

We propose that a magic lantern should be procured by the Sangha. It will serve both as a means of recreation and adult education. The system of religious Kathas inaugurated by the Sangha has our warm approval.

This survey of the Health, Welfare and Educational conditions among the Sweepers clearly shows how badly this section of the population has been neglected so far. Still we cannot fail to record here the selfless and devoted service that the local branch of the Ram Krishna Mission has been rendering to the sweepers ever since its existence during the last ten years. It has maintained a regular school for their children, and its dispensary has devoted special attention to them. But owing to its limited means and multifarious activities, it could only serve the adjoining sweeper quarters in Kursawan, Birhana, and Roti Godam. But the merit of its work was proved by the confidence which the sweepers of these quarters evinced towards the work of the Mission. We were unable to find any sustained work of the local Arya Samaj in this direction. The Servants of the People Society no doubt did some work among them some six or seven years back, but all that remains of that work now is a defunct Sweeper Union. The Union runs a school for the sweeper children with Municipal aid. The school is now also aided by the Harjan Sevak Sangh, which also supervises its work. We know of no other institution that has interested itself in the welfare of sweepers.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES OF THE SWEEPERS.

We have purposely reserved the discussion of this part of our inquiry for the last. It is not because we regard this aspect of the sweepers' life as unworthy of our first attention. As we have said in the very first paragraph of our report, which we have quoted from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, we agree that the final purpose of Harijan work is to bring about 'a complete revolution in Hindu thought, and the disappearance of the horrible and terrible doctrine of inborn inequality and high-and-lowness which has poisoned Hinduism, and is slowly undermining its very existence'. If still we have reserved for discussion in the last those barbarous customs which entrench untouchability in Hindu Society, it is because we thought that the inhumanness of the behaviour that these untouchables receive at our hands has already been brought home to Hindu Society by the whirlwind propaganda so far done by Mahatma Gandhi, and the various branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangha, and so we wanted to bring vividly before the public eye the working conditions and the standard of life of the sweepers which we believe have not yet received sufficient public attention. After all social and religious disabilities, and wretched economic conditions and standard of life do interact, and often the caste Hindus make the existence of the latter as the cause of continuing the former. We disagree with this argument, and do not believe that the removal of the latter should be made a condition precedent to the removal of the former. Otherwise we shall have to wait for ages for the desired reform, for the economic problem is not confined merely to the depressed classes, and is not of our making. We cannot solve it completely without solving the bigger problem of India as a whole. But the social and religious disabilities are of our own making, and, if only we get determined, can be removed in a day. Still the general economic and educational condition of these depressed classes is so abnormally bad that while concentrating our efforts on the removal of social and religious disabilities, we must not neglect this aspect of their life.

Amongst the religious disabilities, the problem of temple entry comes first. Here our experience is that any sweeper can enter almost any temple in the city if he does not give out his caste, and in most temples the caste is never asked. But if he wanted to enter after declaring that he is a sweeper, he would seldom be allowed. Other Harijan castes may enter upto a particular distance. So far some 59 temples have been opened for the sweepers in the city. But the temples opened have not been used by the Harijans, so that they are losing their right of entry by virtue of disuse. It is not because the sweepers are not anxious to use temples. In our inquiry form there was a column which asked from each family if they desired the temples to be thrown open to them. The sweepers often could not conceive that temples could be opened to them, and numerous devoted families related before us their bitter experiences when at some past occasion they attempted to enter a temple and were roughly handled. The sweepers are not yet convinced that the temples thrown open for them have been really thrown open, and that they would be welcomed in them as warmly as they are at the time of the opening ceremony, or when they accompany any of the chief Harijan workers. The same is the case about bathing in the Ganges, and we have seen some sweeper women mad with delight on having the first dip of their life in the holy river. But they dare not come again to the river alone for fear of some bitter experiences which have so far been their daily lot. It seems to us that one of the main works before our Sangha should be frequent visits to the temples opened, and to the Ganges in company with the sweepers until they lose their fear, and begin to regard as their birthright what they at present deem to be a favour.

Next in importance are the taps and wells, and as Chart I in Appendix F shows this grievance is most keenly felt. One of the most revolting experiences in our inquiry was the sight of sweepers filling their drinking water and bathing under the pail-depots where some heaps of nightsoil always remain scattered. Not far distant from these pail depots would be taps, often municipal taps, which the public would not allow them to touch. At one place we were deeply touched by a story related by a sweeper. He said, "Sometimes our relatives from the villages come to visit us, and find it revolting to use the water of the pail-depot

which is the only source of water open to us then we have to go; and beg for water from door to door of caste Hindus in whose houses we do scavenging work". We have throughout the inquiry asked the sweepers if they did not feel any disgust in using these pipes. The reply has invariably been a bitter sigh against hard fate, and the helplessness expressed was touching. And in some places even these pipes are not available to them as Chart I in Appendix F shows. In Begam Purwa there are three Hindu wells, but none of them is open to the sweepers and they have to depend for their water on a Bhishti, or to fetch it from the loco-workshop which is 2 furlongs off. And even here sometimes their earthen pots are broken by some naughty fellows who dare not see the sweepers fill water. We were surprised to know that the culprits in breaking the pots were often Mohammadans. In fact our untouchability has spread even to this religion where the equality of man is the very first fundamental. But what this breaking means to the poor sweeper is hardly describable. The stories of breaking pots that were related to us in those bastis were heart-rending, and full of deep pathos. The inquiry revealed to us that the sweepers almost everywhere live under a constant water-famine, and our recommendations in this respect given in Chart I Appendix F which have been most carefully made should occupy the first attention of the Municipal Board, the public and our own Sangha. It is really strange that people who need water most should be in the greatest difficulty about it. To the influential members of the public we appeal that they should exercise their influence in getting wells and taps thrown open to these most wretched of their brethren wherever these wells and taps are situated in their bastis.

The habit of accepting leavings of food is very common, although in some families only children are allowed to eat them. But these leavings are accepted only from the high castes. In the case of a Dhobi, a Chamar, or a fellow sweeper of another biradari, they would not accept food even touched by him. This is because of the strong inter-untouchability or high-and-lowness that they observe amongst themselves. A fair number among them eat beef and carrion, although many tried to hide this fact from us. Carrion is usually not available in the city. But beef, being cheap, is often eaten, and sometimes is obtained by them on festivals from Mohammadan households which they serve. Here is another important work for our Sangha.

Leavings of food,  
Beef, Carrion & Inter-  
untouchability.

Of the other social disabilities, the chief were the refusal of barbers and washermen to serve them. The result is that they are their own barbers, and use soap to wash their clothes. Some well-to-do families give their clothes to Washing Companies who charge double. Some washermen wash their clothes stealthily, fearing that a knowledge that they serve sweepers might get their ejection from their Biradari, and even lose some of their orthodox customers. The Pandit goes to their Kathas, and other ceremonies, but does not touch them, and often washes the coins before accepting them. Some of the sweepers bury their dead, others burn them. Burning is regarded as the more honourable. The cause of burial is not religious custom, but sheer poverty. Burial is cheaper, and the cremation costs a good deal. Only the well-to-do amongst them can afford it. We think that here the Municipality should arrange for supplying them with free firewood for cremation. The present method of getting a recommendation from some Municipal Commissioner for free firewood for cremation should be substituted by some simpler method in their case..

The sweepers have strong panchayats. The Panchayats are different for different biradaris, and even in the same biradari there are often a number of baithaks. Thus the Nagarchis have three Baithaks in their Panchayat and these baithaks are independent of each other. These panchayats do perform very useful functions and are responsible for practically negligible litigation amongst them. Most civil and many criminal cases are settled by the Panchayats, and the decisions obeyed with rigid discipline. The Harijan workers should take care that they do not damage or decrease in the least the influence of these Panchayats. On the other hand they should try to strengthen them, and take their help in furthering social reform amongst them. For such reform, we believe, these can be the best instruments. In combating the use of intoxicants, eating of the leavings of food and other un-Hindu practices such as use of beef and carrion, and burial of the dead, these Panchayats can be most helpful. The habit of polygamy prevails to a fair extent among the sweepers. There were cases where we found sweepers keeping three wives at the same time. Public opinion among sweepers does not condemn the practice strongly enough, and as sweeper females earn, economic forces are in favour of the practice. Here too, the Panchayats can be used to combat the practice.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PROGRAMME FOR FUTURE WORK.

Throughout this inquiry our one aim has been to understand clearly, and to portray correctly, the conditions of life that actually prevail today amongst the sweepers of our city. We confess that the inquiry has been a revelation to us. Some of us had first hand and intimate knowledge of the extreme poverty and misery of the peasantry. Here we have found the sting of poverty and misery rendered tenfold by the social leprosy that this class suffers from. Some friends, Harijan and non-Harijan, accuse us of wasting effort on such foolish things as temple-entry instead of trying to ameliorate their economic condition. These friends fail to grasp the purpose of the Harijan movement. The whole of the Indian masses, both Harjans and non-Harijans, suffer from extreme poverty, and their unbearable condition has given rise to the movement for National Freedom or Swarajya. But a very large section of the Hindu population, now known as the Harijans, suffers from an inhuman social leprosy in addition to extreme economic poverty. The sting of poverty in their case gets sharpened out of all proportion owing to the interaction of the social curse which remains entrenched in Hindu social fabric by supposed religious sanction. The Harijan movement is an attempt to remove this social leprosy from this large section of our population. It does not pretend to solve the economic problem, and be a substitute for the movement for National Freedom, although it supplements it in its own way. Here our main attack is bound to be directed against the supposed religious ban on entry into temples, which are the citadels of orthodoxy, and other inhuman social customs which entrench untouchability in the Hindu Society. Although we have attached considerable importance in our survey to the economic condition of the sweepers, still

Harijan Movement  
and Economic  
Amelioration.

we are firm in our opinion that the primary aim of the Harijan movement is religious and social reform, and the success of the movement must be judged by its achievements in that sphere. But the extraordinary economic conditions of the Harijans cannot be overlooked, for they are very largely the result of their peculiar social position; and their place in the programme of the Harijan movement, though secondary, must still be very prominent.

We have not minced matters, though we have tried to be moderate in expression. If still some of the institutions, which together hold in their hands the destinies of some 5,000 human souls, have come in for ruthless condemnation, it is because the conditions of service prevailing in them are so heinous that we thought it our duty to describe them accurately. We believe that the reason why these conditions are allowed to prevail is the general ignorance about them, and if once the public and the members of the local bodies get to know them, improvement is bound to result. Our criticism of the services of the Municipality is especially merciless. It was but natural. The Municipality is the institution which can be most responsive to popular opinion. Inhuman conditions of service under its administration could not be forgiven. To connive at them would have been failing in our duty towards the institution as well as our present City Fathers. Besides, our criticisms are of a general character and apply mostly to local bodies all over the country. No single set of Municipal Commissioners can be held to be wholly responsible for the prevailing conditions, although we believe that any single set of them can purify the organisation if they set about the business in right earnest. It is in this spirit that our revelations and criticisms have been made, and we hope that they will be accepted in the same spirit. Let every Municipal Commissioner now make up his mind that he will not take rest until the scandalous conditions prevailing in the services of our Municipality are righted. The work for Harijan welfare already done by our present Municipal Board during the last one year (see Appendix E) strengthens us in the hope that it will lose no time in giving effect to our recommendations and immediately begin overhauling its services.



Our survey of the city sweeper population is now complete. Appendix A shows the work already done in our district Programme. in regard to Harijan Welfare since the inception of the Harijan movement a year and a half back. On the basis of this experience, and armed with the facts revealed by the survey, we intend to chalk out in board outlines what should be the future programme of our work. For the sake of convenience we divide the programme into two parts; work in the City and work in the District.

#### PROGRAMME OF WORK IN THE CITY.

(1) A survey similar to that made of the Sweepers should be made of the Chamar, Pasi, and Bawaria population of the city.

(2) Work among the sweepers should be intensified and extended. Our survey shows that the main problems to be tackled here are :—

(i) The age-old prejudices of Untouchability amongst the caste Hindus. Here efforts should be concentrated on the removal of the ban on entry into temples, and the general social and religious exclusiveness.

(ii) Use of Beef, Carrion, Leavings of food, Drink and Drugs, the observance of Inter-Untouchability, the frequent practice of burying the dead and other un-Hindu customs, dirty habits and ways of life amongst these Harijans. Here great help can be taken from the sweeper panchayats.

(iii) Illiteracy, both male and female, juvenile and adult. Here efforts should be made to get sweeper children, both boys and girls, admitted into common schools run by the Municipal and Cantonment Boards. For adults, night schools, kathas, and magic lantern shows should be used.

(iv) Indebtedness, with special stress on the Kabuli menace. A Cooperative Society and a Savings Bank should be started, and efforts should be made to get wages paid weekly. Propaganda against extravagance on occasions such as inarraige, katha, etc. is essential.

(v) Unemployment, total and partial. Here new avenues for employment should be found, and subsidiary cottage industries and technical education should be provided.

(vi) Inhuman Conditions of Service in the Local Boards. Here reform should be concentrated on the problems of bribery, corruption,

lack of security in service, inhuman conditions of work and low pay, as discussed in chapters II and III.

(vii) Inhuman Laws. Sec. 85 (i) of the U. P. Municipalities' Act should be removed from the Statute Book and the application of the Trades Disputes Act should be restricted only to those systems of public conservancy where the sweepers are provided with proper conditions of service and a reasonable standard of life. These 'proper conditions' and the 'reasonable standard' should be defined in the Trades Disputes Act. An Act like the Factory and the Railway Acts should guarantee proper conditions of service to sweepers in organised concerns such as the Local Boards.

(viii) The formation of a Provincial Sweeper Association on the lines of the Ahmedabad Labour Association.

(ix) The Housing of sweepers who are not municipal employees. Here efforts should be made to have the recommendations made on page 44 given effect to.

(x) Proper sanitary arrangements with regard to water supply, lighting, and drainage should be provided in Private Compounds (see Chart I Appendix F) where the Municipality cannot make direct arrangements.

(xi) Improved sanitary arrangements and appliances should be secured in private houses.

(xii) Welfare work including provision of medical aid and recreation facilities in the form of clubs, volleyball and other indigenous games, akharas, kathas, magic lantern shows and the like. Here we suggest that the present schools in sweeper quarters should be converted into settlements in their Bastis. There should be about twelve such settlements each in the charge of a whole time worker who shall merge himself in the welfare of the Harijans in that quarter and be a friend, a teacher, a medical man, and a guide to them. If possible, some of these settlements may also keep Harijan children as inmates in them. These settlements should be supervised from a central place which should be run on the lines of an Ashram where Harijans may be among the inmates.

### PROGRAMME FOR WORK IN THE DISTRICT.

1. Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangha should be organised in each of the six tehsils of the district.

2. A survey should be made of the Harijan population in each tehsil such as has been started by the Sangha in the Derapore and Ghatampore tehsils and the results obtained after a survey of some 50 villages given in Chart IV in Appendix F.

3. Items i, ii, iii, iv, v, and xii under section 2 of the Programme for work in the city should be selected for starting work among the Harijans of the district. To begin with, we may start a few centres in each tehsil.

We are convinced that if the above programme is worked in the truly religious spirit that the Harijan movement presupposes, without any ulterior consequences in view, we shall have very soon buried the monster of untouchability at least so far as our district is concerned.

SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA

SHIVA NARAIN TADON

IQBAL KRISHNA KAPUR.

# THE APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A.

### THE SECRETARY'S REPORT OF THE WORK DONE BY THE CAWNPORE HARIJAN SEVAK SANGHA FROM JANUARY 1933 TO MARCH 1934.

#### I. WORK DONE IN THE CITY.

##### 1. Removal of Untouchability :—

(i) *Temple Entry* :—Fifty-eight temples in the city have been thrown open to the Harijans so far. A short inquiry was made into the disabilities of Harijans with regard to their entry in other temples. The results of the inquiry have been incorporated in the section on Temple Entry in Chapter VI of the Survey Report.

The Guruvayur-Day was duly celebrated in Cawnpore and over a thousand signatures of respectable caste-Hindus were obtained and forwarded to the Zamorin requesting him to throw open the temple to the Harijans.

During the month of March 1934, the Sangha concentrated its efforts on propaganda in favour of the Temple Entry Bills, and securing expression of intelligent public opinion in support of the Bill. Three processions with pageants on bullock carts paraded through the streets of the city preaching in favour of Temple Entry. Leaflets explaining the Temple Entry Bill along with its printed copies were sold and freely distributed to the public. Copies of the Bill with a covering letter were sent to over a hundred public associations, representing intelligent opinion in the city such as the Bar Association, Medical Association, Colleges, Schools, Clubs, Societies and religious institutions with a request to express their opinion on the Bill and to send it to the District Magistrate by the end of March 1934. Some of the

Associations regretted their inability to express an opinion on an exclusively Hindu Religious issue, but many responded by passing resolutions in support of the Bill. In addition, the Sangha secured some 3,000 signatures in duplicate of respectable and intelligent Hindus on printed forms on which the Temple Entry Bill was reproduced. We refused to take the signatures of uneducated people or thumb impressions. Otherwise the number would have become difficult to cope with. Besides, we did not think it proper to take the opinion of people who could not understand the Bill. A largely attended public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Cawnpore passed a resolution supporting the Bill.

(ii) *Joint celebration of Religious Festivals* :—Batches of Harijans consisting mostly of the sweepers joined the other Hindus in the celebration of the Rathajatra procession, the Ramlila procession, the Holi festival and the Holy fair. All the functions were a grand success. On a number of these occasions the general public entertained the Harijans with sweet drinks and betels on the way, and embraced them cordially. Harijan men and women were taken on a number of sacred occasions to bathe in the Ganges. A number of them were taught the mode of worship and the use of mantras.

(iii) *Mixing in Social Functions* :—Invitations to join ceremonies on marriage and other occasions among the sweepers were well responded to by other Hindu workers. Three times the children of our Harijan Schools were invited to Shraddha Nand Park, where after their songs and drill, sweets and Lassi were distributed to them. These children played Holi with other respectable Hindus in the park on the occasion of the Holi. Sweeper volunteers were prominent in the arrangements made for the ceremony of opening the Swadeshi Bazaar by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whom they garlanded. A common corps of Harijan and other Hindu volunteers is being trained for the occasion of the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to our district.

(iv) *Pledges* :—During the Mahatma's 21 days' fast, 2,200 pledges were obtained from respectable Hindus promising to do away with untouchability in their daily life.

(v) *Propaganda* :—Nine big public meetings were arranged during the period under review in support of the Harijan Movement

Five big processions including Harijan men and women went through the city, and three huge processions with pageants on bullock carts preached in favour of temple entry and the removal of untouchability. Numerous printed posters, pamphlets, songs and prayers were distributed free to the public. Regular news of the work done by the Sangha and articles on Harijan uplift were contributed to Hindi and English newspapers of the province and to the "Harijan" and "Harijan Sewak",

(vi) *Survey*:--The Harijan Survey Committee appointed by the Sangha in May 1933 has completed its Survey of 607 sweeper families of Cawnpore city. This Harijan Survey Report is a result of that Survey.

An Introductory Note on the Immediate Needs of Sweeper Bastis was published by this Committee in June 1933, (See Appendix D) and a copy was forwarded to the Municipal authorities for action. Although it is now eight months since the Note was sent, its recommendations have not yet been given effect to. But we are told by responsible authorities that the Board has accepted our suggestions so far as the recommendations apply to non-private Hatas, and soon action will be taken to give effect to them. It has set apart Rs. 3000 for such improvements in Harijan Bastis. We thank the Board in anticipation. But the problem of private compounds seems a hard nut to crack.

(vii) *War against un-Hindu Customs*:-- While engaged in the Survey, our workers preached continuously against all un-Hindu customs, such as the use of Beef, Carrion, Drink and Drugs, Use of Leavings of food for eating, the custom of Burying the dead and the like. Since then the workers of the Sangha frequently visit the sweeper quarters and impress upon the sweepers the necessity of giving up these habits. The influence of our Harijan Schools is having a very healthy effect in this direction.

(viii) *War against Inter-Untouchability*:-- The rigour of Untouchability amongst the different Harijan castes is much more intense, and in a number of places where Chamars, Koris and Bhangis live in the same compound, the sweepers are denied the use of common taps and wells. But our experience is that as untouchability diminishes amongst the

caste Hindus towards the sweepers, it reacts very favourably on the inter-untouchability prevalent amongst the different Harijan castes. As Chart III in Appendix F shows, children of other Harijan and non-Harijan castes read with the sweeper children in our schools. Our kathas in sweeper quarters are being more and more attended by other Harijan sub-castes.

## 2. Education:-

The progress of education amongst the sweepers has been discussed in Chapter V, and Chart III in Appendix F shows the condition of the Harijan Schools that the Sangha is maintaining. They are regularly inspected by an Inspector appointed specially for the purpose, and by the Secretary of the Sangha. Besides, two more night schools have been started by the Municipal Board especially for the Depressed Classes.

The problem of extending education amongst the sweeper children presents serious difficulties. Often both the parents go to work and leave the small children in charge of the bigger ones. Sometimes, they take the children, who ought to be at school, with them, to help them in their work. The calls of the Biradari are also so frequent that the children often absent themselves from the schools to attend them.

The problem of adult education amongst the sweepers could not be seriously tackled so far. Formerly our schools were night schools and were intended to give education to sweeper adults. But a very few adults made use of these schools, and so a majority of them have been made day schools with longer hours of work. The reason for the apathy of adults was found to be their exhaustion after the day's labour. Otherwise they showed a keen desire to receive education. And when our instruction is mixed with recreation, such as in Kathas of Ramayana, Krishna Sudama and the like, or in magic lantern lectures, they attend it in their hundreds. During the last six months the Sangha had over 30 Kathas recited in different sweeper quarters which were highly appreciated. A few magic lantern shows were staged in their quarters by the local Arya Samaj during Mahatmaji's 21 days fast.

The Sangha is spending Rs. 37 per month in scholarships to 16 Harijan boys who read in the various Anglo-Vernacular schools. Four Harijan boys, who are at College, get scholarships from the Provincial Board of the

Harijan Sevak Sangha. The Sangha provided materials of study to all the boys in its Harijan Schools and to a number of those who get Scholarships from us at a cost of about Rs. 150.

### 3. Economic Uplift:-

(i) The Sangha gives two Scholarships of the value of Rs. 8 per month to Harijan boys reading in the Leather Working School. Two boys of the same school get Scholarships of the value of Rs. 20 from the Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangha.

(ii) The Sangha tried to raise the general rate of wages in private scavenging by 25 per cent. by an appeal to the public through leaflets and lectures during Mahatmaji's 21 days fast. There was a fairly good response to the appeal.

(iii) The Sangha has made an exhaustive survey of the present economic condition of the sweepers and made recommendations for its betterment. The results are given in Chapters II and III of the Survey Report.

(iv) The Sangha has encouraged the employment of Harijans as domestic servants in respectable Hindu families and has one Harijan peon, one Harijan teacher, and one Harijan compounder.

(v) The Municipal Board has accepted a scheme for starting a Cooperative Society for its employees with special care of its sweeper employees. It has set apart Rs. 5,000 for the purpose.

(vi) The rent of the new quarters that the Municipal Board is constructing for its sweeper employees will be Re.1 only.

(vii) The Sangha made an inquiry into a strike by Rubish Lorry Fillers in June 1933, and submitted a report which is published in Appendix C. The dismissed employees were taken back although two of them were later discharged. Other recommendations of the Sangha were not given effect too.

(viii) The Sangha has carried on a vigorous propaganda amongst the sweepers against giving bribes to Jamadars and Inspectors, but although the practice has not diminished very much, it had a good effect, and the Sangha has brought to the notice of the authorities a number of cases in which sweepers were turned out on false pretexts when they refused the customary bribes. We are sorry to have to say that even the



highest officials of the Municipal Health Department do not relish these cases, and resent our interference with the nefarious trade of their subordinates.

#### 4. Social work :-

*Medical Relief*:-Reference has been made in Chapter V of the Survey Report to the medical relief work of the Sangha. Since the 1st of March the Sangha has further extended its work. The moving dispensary of the Sangha now visits some twenty sweeper quarters, ten on each alternate day. About a hundred prescriptions are being dispensed daily by the moving dispensary.

The Sangha found its medical work difficult in the beginning. So greatly were charms and amulets in vogue that the sweepers would not trust medicines. But now the tendency has been reversed, and the medical work of the Sangha is the most appreciated. There is a persistent demand from the Bastis that the visit of the medical cart must be made daily instead of on alternate days, and sometimes in a number of serious cases such as typhoid fever, operations, and the like, our compounder has been taken from his home at night. To meet this demand of the Harijans we will require one more medical cart, besides one more compounder. The finances of the Sangha do not allow this addition. It is estimated that the cost of the present scheme, when our own medical cart visits the quarters alternately will be about Rs. 250 per month. It is evident that the Sangha can continue its work on such a scale only if it is liberally helped by the public and the Local Boards.

The Sangha addressed letters of appeal to various medical associations in the city to request their members to help the work of our dispensary free. The response from the Cawnpore Medical Association has been very satisfactory and a number of them have offered their willing cooperation. The energetic secretary of this Association, Dr. S. N. Misra, evinces keen interest in our work. Other Associations have not replied at all.

The Sangha has fixed two permanent dispensaries at Forbes' Compound and Mirpur. The dispensaries are situated in hired buildings where the Harijan schools are also conducted and which also serve as the premises for sweeper clubs. The idea is to develop all our schools into settlements each in charge of a whole time worker. Already at Mirpore a whole time worker is in charge of that Basti and lives in the building.

But the cost of twelve such settlements will come to about Rs. 600 per month.

(ii) *Sanitary arrangements*:—We have already noticed how far the Municipal Board will go to satisfy the immediate needs of sweeper Bastis given in Chart I Appendix F. The most important work before the Sangha now is to get the public wells and taps in private compounds thrown open to these sweepers. In a few places such as Baupurwa it might be necessary to sink tube wells for these people.

The next important work in this connection is the proper construction and improvement of privies in private houses.

(iii) *Personal Hygiene*:—During Mahatmaji's 21 days' fast respectable Hindu ladies went to sweeper houses and washed and combed their children. Hindu workers went and swept their quarters.

Soap is regularly distributed to sweeper children in our schools where they are also taught to stop eating leavings of food.

(iv) *Temperance*:—The Sangha has done propaganda amongst the sweepers against the use of intoxicants and taken pledges from a number of them. But the result is not yet very substantial.

The proximity of excise shops to some sweeper quarters is the source of greatest harm.

(iv) *Housing*:—The problem has been discussed in Chapter IV of the Survey Report. The full scheme of the Board in this connection is given in the Chairman's Note published in Appendix E. Already 40 quarters at a cost of Rs. 16,000 have been constructed in the Cattle Barracks. Another 60 new quarters have been secured by the Board from the local Improvement Trust for the sweepers. The Board has our hearty congratulations for having realised its duty towards its most useful and needy staff, and set about the business in earnest.

(vi) *Recreation*:—The importance of the provision for recreation has been stressed at various places in the Report. Without it the problem of Temperance and Adult Education cannot be solved. The Sangha has so far started two clubs for sweepers where volley ball has been introduced. Teachers in Harijan schools supervise the children at their indigenous games such as Kabaddi etc. The Sangha has given aid to Harijan Akharas in Haddi Godam and the Ram Krishna Ashram. The Muni-

pal Board has helped the Akhara in the Sadar Bazar Incinerator. But an Akhara is an immediate need of each Basti. Another means of recreation provided have been our Kathas recited in their quarters.

## II. WORK DONE IN THE DISTRICT.

Now the Sangha has got branches in all the six tehsils of the district except Bilhaur. But the branches most active are those in Derapore, Ghatampore and Akbarpore. Work in the district began during the Mahatma's 21 days fast when batches of workers toured in different tehsils, and many wells and temples were thrown open. The work has since then been consolidated to some extent as the following record will show.

(i) *Temple Entry*:—Some 35 temples in addition to a large number of wells were thrown open during the Great Fast by the efforts of our workers. But the actual number of temples and wells open to Harijans is much larger as is shown by the survey of the district which we have started. Chart IV in Appendix F gives the results of the survey so far made in about 45 villages:

The work of organising opinion in support of the Temple Entry Bill was done in about 300 villages of the district in the month of March 1934. Signatures of about 1500 intelligent persons of these villages were taken, and sent to the District Magistrate. Thumb impressions were generally not taken, it being assumed that those who could not read could hardly understand the full import of the Bill.

(ii) *Propaganda amongst caste Hindus*:—Propaganda amongst the caste Hindus was done by batches of our workers through leaflets, songs and meetings in about 400 villages during the Great Fast of Mahatma Gandhi. Over a hundred villages were illuminated at the successful conclusion of the fast.

The total number of meetings organised in the district during the period was 51, and 3 big processions were taken out in different centres. Now work has been started in all the tehsils in connection with the forthcoming visit of Mahatma Gandhi, and efforts are being made to collect handsome purses everywhere.

There is a custom in some villages that on the occasion of the Holi the Hindu public of the village led by prominent caste Hindus visits

Harijan houses and sings obscene songs challenging the females of the house, who come out, and enter into a feigned scuffle with the party with the use of sticks. The party generally pays a rupee to these females for having provided it with so much amusement. In some places the Harijans object to it, and resent this forced degradation of their ladies. The workers of the Sangha tried to stop this practice in a few villages and succeeded in one important village.

(iii) *Propaganda amongst the Harijans* :- Two Panchayats of Chamars, one of Pasis and Bawarias, and one of Khatiks were organised by the Sangha in Ghatampore tehsil, and one Panchayat of Sweepers was utilised for uplift propaganda by the workers of the Sangha in Derapore. All the Panchayats were very well attended, often about a thousand Panches from distant villages of the tehsil, and from the adjoining parts of Fatehpore district being present. In the three Panchayats in Ghatampore tehsil various resolutions were passed, expressing complete faith in the Mahatma's championship of the Harijan cause, welcoming his forthcoming visit to the district, doing away with inter-untouchability amongst themselves, and deprecating the evil practices of eating Beef, Carrion, Leavings of food and the use of Intoxicants, besides many social and economic disabilities affecting their particular caste.

(iv) *Harijan Survey* :- A preliminary survey of the conditions of Harijans in the district has been started by the workers of the Sangha. Already some 45 villages in the Ghatampore and Derapore tehsils have been surveyed and the results are given in Chart IV Appendix F. We intend to complete this preliminary survey of all the 1977 villages of the district in about 3 months' time.

(v) *Education* :- The Sangha is running six Harijan schools in the district under its direct control and supervision. Three more Harijan schools in the district have applied for recognition and aid, and they have been inspected. Soon they may come under our own direct supervision and control. Chart III in Appendix F shows the condition of these village schools also. As will be seen from the Chart, both Harijans and other Hindus read in them. The teachers supervise the children at indigenous games such as Kabaddi etc.

In the schools of the District Board all Harijans are admitted

except sweepers as is the case in Municipal schools in the city. We hope that the District Board will see that every one of its schools has sweeper boys in it.

The Sangha is giving one Scholarship of Rs. 2 per month to a Harijan student in village Gajner.

(vi) *Medical Relief*:—Some schools, especially those in Juria and Birsinghpur serve as centres for distributing medical relief. But this medical relief work is done on a very small scale. To extend it, or to make it anything adequate, means huge expenditure. The fact is that almost no medical relief of any sort is available in the rural areas, and such relief, if it is organised, cannot be confined merely to the Harijans when non-Harijans also stand equally in need of it and flock to the centre of distribution. The expenditure on adequate medical relief in the rural areas will naturally be very great.

### III. ACCOUNTS.

Accounts of the Sangha for five months from October 1st 1933, to February 28, 1934 are published below. The accounts of the Sangha for the year preceding it were audited and published with the Annual Report of the Sangha in September last. As will be seen from the following Balance Sheet, our expenditure on Constructive Work is 67 per cent. of the Total. Expenditure on Administration seems to be large but this includes the pay of the Inspector of Schools which should properly be charged under the Head Welfare Work.

*Balance Sheet of the Harijan Sevak Sangha.*  
(1st October 1933 to 28th. February, 1934.)

<i>Receipts.</i>	R.   a.   p.	<i>Expenditure.</i>
Balance in hand.	169   9   6	A. ADMINISTRATIVE.
By Subscription.	902   0   0	1. Pay and Honorarium to staff .. .. .
Donation from Cawnpore Swadeshi Exhibition and other sources earmarked for Education	867   2   6	.. .. . 482-3-6
Medical Fund	10   0   0	2. Travelling and conveyance
Tickets sold	4   0   0	.. .. . 23-1-0
Miscellaneous	8   0   0	3. Newspapers, books, periodicals etc. .. .. .
	<u>1960-12-0</u>	.. .. . 0-2-6
		4. Stationery and its printing
		.. .. . 12-10-6
		5. Postage .. .. .
		.. .. . 5-4-9
		6. Dead stock .. .. .
		.. .. . 18-8-9
		7. Miscellaneous .. .. .
		.. .. . <u>6-10-6</u>
		<u>548-9-6</u>

B. PROPAGANDA.

1. Conference, Meetings Bhajan parties etc. ..	R. a. p. 9-3-6
2. Printing of posters, leaflets etc.	28-12-0
3. Magic Lantern shows	0-1-9
4. Tour expenses of pra- charaks and other propa- gandists .. ..	10-7-0
5. Social survey work	<u>23-5-3</u>
	<u>71-13-6</u>

C. WELFARE WORK.

1. Expenditure on and grants- in-aid to schools.	746-13-6
2. Cost of books, slates, soap and prizes supplied free	67-9-9
3. Scholarships	218-4-0
4. Medical expenditure	207-3-3
5. Akhara and Temple aid	5-0-0
	<u>1244-14-6</u>

D. Advances to workers	5-0-0
Total Expenditure ..	1870-5-6
Balance in Hand ..	90-6-6
, " Bank ..	0-0-0

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Total 1960-12-0	Total .. .. 1960-12-0.
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Hence Expenditure on Administration = 29 per cent.

" " Propaganda = 4 per cent.

" " Welfare Work = 67 per cent.

I have completed the survey of the work done by the Sangha in the last fifteen months. But I cannot close it without paying a tribute to my predecessor in office, Mr. Prakash Narain Saxena, B. Sc. who worked as the Secretary of the Sangha from May 1933 to the middle of January 1934, when he resigned the office with a view to take part in active Civil Disobedience Movement, and to whose untiring energy and enthusiasm in the Harijan cause the major portion of the work outlined above is due.

SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA M. A.  
*Secretary,*  
Harijan Sevak Sangha,  
CAWNPORE.







*IV. Condition of Indebtedness*

	Money Lending Transactions.	Principal amount received from the money lender.	Terms of debt and security	Actual rate of Interest per cent per annum.	Date of Borrowing.	Amount paid till then.	Date of Last Settlement.	Exact amount of debt outstanding against him at present.	Causes of Debt	Remarks
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
Total										

[ 7 ]  
of Total

V. *Budget*, such as is given in Table IV on page 36 of the Report. The following heads may be added:-

1. Remittance to dependants living elsewhere.
2. Cost of medicine and medical fees.
3. Expenditure on Religious observances, feasts and festivals.
4. Payments to Biradari Panchayat, Trade Union, Provident Fund, or Cooperative Society.
5. Cost of education of children
6. Recreation.
7. Savings.

VI. *Housing* :—

1. Name of Landlord.
2. Materials used in Construction.
3. Distance from place of work.
4. Number of rooms occupied by the family with approximate dimensions of each room.
5. Dimensions of Verandah, if any.
6. Condition in rains.
7. Height of plinths.
8. Water arrangements in the house.
9. Latrine       "       "
10. Kitchen     "       "
11. Sanitation of the locality.

VII. *Social and Religious position* :—

1. Are you desirous of going to temples ?
2. Do Hindu Dhobis, Nais, and Pujaris serve you ?
3. Do you bury your dead or do you burn them ?
4. Is burying practised due to religious custom or due to poverty ?
5. What are the gods that you worship ?
6. Name any other keenly felt social disability.

VIII. *Vital statistics* :—

1. Deaths during the last year.

No.	Sex	Age	Disease.	Length of illness	Particulars of treatment.	Remarks
1.						
2.						

## A P P E N D I X C.

### SWEEPER STRIKE INQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT

On the 24th June, the sweeper-fillers of the Cawnpore Municipality went on strike as a protest against the impossibly heavy work imposed on them. The Municipal authorities called in members of the local branch of the Harijan Sewak Sangha to settle the dispute. Messrs. Fakirchand, Shibban Lal Saksena and Prakash Narain Saxena, workers of the Sangha, formed a Committee and persuaded the sweepers to resume work the same evening on promises of having all their genuine grievances redressed. They then made a thorough investigation of the question and forwarded to the Municipal Chairman a report and recommendations, which make interesting reading and are an eye-opener as regards the work Harijan employees of municipalities are generally required to put up with.

"This year the crop of mangoes has been extraordinarily heavy. 300 to 400 cart-loads of them come into the market daily. Naturally, therefore, the amount of the rubbish has very much increased. In previous years, too, work in this season was more, but the emergency used to be met by engaging additional fillers on the lorries as well as by hiring some bullock-carts. This year, no extra fillers have been engaged, nor have any bullock-carts been hired. Instead, an order has been issued by the Medical Officer of Health that the same fillers should do  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times the work they have been doing. This has caused acute discontent and heart-burning among them. This discontent was at the bottom of the strike.

"Following are the statistics collected by us on June 25th about their work. These will give an adequate idea of the condition in which they have to work:—

"6 Fillers began work on a lorry, whose capacity is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tons, i.e. 70 maunds of rubbish, at 5.15 a. m. It took them  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours to fill the lorry, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours to return after unloading. 1 filler accompanied the lorry, while the others in the meantime moved to the next rubbish depot, where

they waited for 1 hour for the return of the lorry. The lorry made four trips in the day, finishing the work at 5.25 p. m. The amount of rubbish lifted by each man was  $1\frac{2}{3}$  tons, i. e. 47 maunds on an average; and they had 3 intervals of about an hour each, during a stretch of about  $12\frac{1}{4}$  hours. These intervals cannot be regarded as their time of rest, for they cannot make any use of this time. They cannot even take their food during this time, unless they choose to do so without bathing, and in that dirty condition. We were informed by one of the inspectors that the orders of the Medical Officer of Health for this lorry were that it should make 6 trips per day with the help of 5 fillers only. The absurdity of the order and the impossibility of its fulfilment are apparent.

"The case of 1 ton lorries with 4 fillers is still worse. There are 8 such lorries. Of these, 3 made 7 trips, and 2 made 9 trips on that day, according as their rubbish depots are far from or near the dumping ground. We noted that 1 trip of one such lorry takes from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  hours. One lorry which performed 9 trips began work at 5.20 a. m. and finished at 6.40 p. m. Thus, they worked for  $13\frac{1}{2}$  hours, with 8 intervals of half-an-hour, each man having to lift  $2\frac{1}{4}$  tons, i. e. 63 maunds during the day. Most of this time, it had been raining and their clothes were wet. These are inhuman conditions of work. We failed to understand how such a lorry with 4 men on it could make 10 trips per day, as ordered by the Medical Officer of Health."

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

"It is the duty of the Municipal Board to ponder deeply over these conditions of work which our enquiry have revealed. We wish to emphasise that the Board should lose no time in carrying out the following recommendations into effect :-

1. It should fix hours of work for the fillers. In our opinion, 8 hours' work of this nature is fair, but we should not regard 9 hours' work to be unreasonable at this stage. In this season, work may begin at 6. a. m. but must in no case be continued after 3 p. m. We were thinking that 9 hours work with an interval in the middle would be better, but we find that, the fillers prefer to finish their work in one stretch.

2. Work should be so arranged that fillers may not have to wait for long intervals between successive fillings. To do this properly, some additional lorries would be required, but for the present we suggest the following method. At present, every lorry has got some men, say 4, attached to it. If instead, 12 fillers are attached to 3 lorries, the intervals would be

smaller, for, by the time they finish filling the third lorry, the first would be about to return. The fillers will, in this way, remain continuously occupied and finish the same work in 8 or 9 hours, which at present takes them 12 hours to do.

3. Additional men should be engaged as fillers for this mango season.

4. There ought to be a fixed maximum limit of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons, i. e., 42 maunds of rubbish to be lifted by each man.

5. The pay of these sweepers, considering the kind of work and the amount of labour, is very low and should be increased. They are paid a daily wage of as. 6/6. But as the problem of the pay of Municipal Sweepers is an intricate one, we shall discuss it fully in the Census and Social Survey Report of the Sweepers, which is under preparation."

"This enquiry has been a unique experience of our lives. Though we have been busy with the census and social survey of the sweepers of Cawnpore for the past two months continuously and have universally received shocking complaints about the conditions of service in the Municipality, still all their vivid descriptions could never make us realise what we have actually seen and experienced today. It is extremely difficult to remain moderate and keep close to the actual conditions and immediate practical possibilities of reform, when dealing with such situations. Only a complete revolution in public outlook towards our sweeper brethren and a vivid realisation that what has been customary has been a torture of these people could be expected to enable real justice to be done to these most despised workers. We have determined to be restrained and practical, as our purpose is to effect immediate transition from what we regard to be altogether inhuman conditions to at least human conditions. So, we have recommended only that which is immediately practicable and also indispensable.

But we feel that the urgent need is the recognition that these Harijans are our fellow men, endowed with the same feelings, sentiments and passions as ourselves, and that in doing a wrong to them we are injuring the whole community. Once this is clearly realised and acted upon, all will be well with us. For we firmly believe that want of thought is more responsible for all such evils than want of heart.

SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA,  
PRAKASH NARAIN SAXENA,  
FAQIR CHAND

## APPENDIX D.

### IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF THE SWEEPERS' QUARTERS.

#### *Introductory Report of the Harijan Survey Committee.*

The Harijan Survey Committee which was appointed by the Cawnpore Branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangha to make a Social Survey of the Depressed Classes began its work amongst the most depressed class, i. e. the sweepers. A Chart was prepared to know the exact family conditions of the sweepers. It is reproduced in Appendix B.

#### I.

In the opinion of this Committee it will take a long time to put into effect the recommendations regarding the housing schemes for the sweepers; therefore we are suggesting to the Society for its immediate programme the removal of such disabilities which can be easily and immediately redressed and which are imposing unbearable hardships on the sweepers. We hope that our Society will bring our Report to the notice of the Municipal Commissioners and other prominent citizens of Cawnpore and will work unceasingly for the amelioration of these hardships. We are sure the woeful tale of the miserable life of our Harijan brothers will touch the heart of all Hindus. The so-called caste Hindus are responsible for treating them as untouchables and they should leave no stone unturned in improving their condition. This is our earnest wish and prayer.

We have inspected upto this time about 32 compounds in which more than 600 families reside. MacRobertgunj and Allengunj are Mill settlements and Faithfulganj is in Cantonment Area. The rest of the Compounds are in Municipal limits. The Municipal Board with its rules and regulations can take steps on our recommendations. On our part we will request the owners of private compounds to redress the grievances of their inhabitants. But we expect from the Municipality that they will

urge the owners of the private compounds to expedite the work. In the name of humanity we beg these persons to visit their compounds only once a month and see the miserable and pitiable condition of their tenants. We hope they will do their best to carry out our recommendations. Let them stand there and ponder whether they will like to live in these unhealthy places even for a week with their family. In such places, brothers, these most useful members of our society have to pass their lives helplessly. Men, who have hearts, who have the least sympathy with the oppressed, cannot return without shedding tears at their unhappy lot. We appeal to every citizen of Cawnpore to go at least once to these sweeper quarters and see with their own eyes the condition of our Harijan brothers.

## II

There is a general complaint in all the compounds about light and water facilities. We cannot fully realise the hardships that our brothers have to undergo for want of water and light. If you have to understand their difficulties, go there with an open heart. You will find in most cases the sweepers living near the Public Latrines. There is only one water pipe in the latrine meant for persons using it. Harijans have to wait long for their turns. There is also a pail-depot near the latrine. The nightsoil which the sweepers bring from private houses, is deposited in the pail-depot and then washed away by a big tap. The sweepers have to take their bath under the same tap and use its water for cooking and drinking. We have ourselves seen tiny heaps of excreta remaining entangled between the bars. Except for these two taps, there is no other provision for water in their localities and so they have to use the water of such a dirty place out of sheer necessity. When their relatives come to see them, they refuse to use this water and the poor Harijans have to beg for water.

There are no lighting arrangements in the private compounds or in the narrow lanes. In the rainy season men have to grope their way in darkness and children often stumble and fall in drains. It can easily be imagined that all sorts of vices and immoralities will be prevalent in such dark quarters.

Sweepers are generally victims to various diseases owing to their bad financial condition and unclean habits. There are no charitable dispensaries near their quarters. The sweepers have the lowest longevity of life.



We are pained to record that in a city where there are hundreds of charitable dispensaries not one is situated in Harijan quarters. We request the owners of these dispensaries to shift them from the quarters of the rich to the quarters of the poor. We are sure they will serve more useful purpose in Harijan quarters.

### III

We have often seen that the toddy shops are situated near the localities of the depressed classes. Illiterate and ignorant sweepers, fully tired and exhausted after a day's laborious work, go to these liquor and toddy shops to drown their anxieties and the cares of debt and their miserable family existence. The hard-earned money easily reaches the pockets of the liquor sellers. We request the Municipality, the Government and the general public to exert their influence and to remove these dirty devils' dens away from Harijan localities. The toddy shop at Gowaltoli is very near the Harijan quarters and similar is the case at Khatikana and Lachhmipurwa. The removal of these shops will greatly facilitate the work of the temperance workers.

### IV

There are neither any parks nor any other places of recreation for Harijan children. New parks are laid out but invariably in quarters of the rich, and in the Civil Lines. This has been the practice upto this time but things must change now.

We have ourselves seen the Harijan children, ill-fed and ill-clothed, loitering about in the narrow and dirty lanes. This has an adverse effect on their health. We strongly recommend to the Municipality to lay out new parks or provide some open fields for the recreation of Harijan children near their localities.

We make, in the following table, suggestions regarding light, water, latrines and bathrooms for each compound according to its condition. (The table is omitted as the recommendations are incorporated in Chart II in Appendix F.)

We know that the sweepers of several compounds have to go a distance of half a mile to answer the calls of nature. At night the Harijan children are compelled to ease themselves on the drains. This is one of the reasons of dirt and insanitation in their localities.

SHIBBAN LAL SAKSENA,  
IQBAL KRISHNA KAPUR,  
SHIVA NARAIN TANDON.

5th June, 1933:

## APPENDIX E.

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### CAWNPORE MUNICIPALITY AND HARIJAN WELFARE WORK.

We have been unsparing in our criticism of the conditions prevailing in regard to the Scavenging services in our Municipality. Its Health Department is under an absolute monarchy of the worst kind, and needs immediate and bold over-hauling. We are afraid that the same is true about other Local Boards. The only hope that such overhauling will be forthcoming is the recent awakening of the Local bodies to their duties towards their sweeper employees, and other Harijans residing in their slums. On June 7, 1933, just a week after the successful conclusion of Mahatmaji's 21 day's fast, B. Brijendra Swarup, the Chairman of our Municipality, read out the following Note at a meeting of the Board. The Note shows a keen realisation of some of the most crying needs of the Harijans, particularly sweepers, and outlines its Programme of Work for Harijan welfare. The Chairman deserves to be heartily congratulated for giving this bold lead to his own and other Boards of the Province in the matter of their duty towards their sweeper employees.

#### CHAIRMAN'S NOTE.

##### *Harijan Welfare Programme.*

The question of providing sanitary houses and ameliorating other conditions of life of depressed classes, particularly of sweepers, is now engaging serious attention all round, and let us hope that the sympathy that has been generated for depressed classes among the general public by Mahatma Gandhi's recent memorable fast would not be short-lived. The Government, too, is now anxious that the housing conditions of sweepers should soon be improved. However, I think that the Board should approach the question uninfluenced by any outside considerations, from the standpoint of its duty towards the Harijans who form an important unit of the population of our Municipality. I have always felt that it is up to the Board that it should take up the question of improving the hous-

ing condition of and providing other necessary amenities for these unfortunate human beings in right earnest. With this object in view, I discussed the matter in all its bearings and aspects with Pt. Hridaya Nath Kunzru, the President of the U. P. Servants of the Untouchables Society and also with some prominent members of the local branch of that League. I also went round, accompanied by the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Jawahar Lal and other interested in this question to the different places in Cawnpore where the sweepers are living.

Sweepers living in Cawnpore can be divided into these classes; the part-time private servants, the whole-time private servants and Municipal employees.

The whole-time private servants mostly live in premises occupied by their masters and their houses are tolerably good. Part-time private servants and municipal employees live in private ahatas which, as stated in the Report of the Whitley Commission on Labour in India, 'are covered with houses either altogether unfit for human habitation or in great need of improvement'. The number of sweepers in municipal employment is 880 belonging to 647 families. The municipal Board has, upto this time provided only 65 pucca quarters for the sweepers in Cattle Barracks and at Sadar Bazar Incinerator and more than 500 families are still living in rented houses in private ahatas and other places. In these ahatas, drainage ventilation and sanitation are almost entirely wanting. In some the conditions are so bad that the people live half underground and half above-ground. Most of the houses in these ahatas consist of a single small room with or without a verandah and such dwellings are frequently shared by two or more families. The pitiable condition of persons residing in such ahatas in the rains may be more easily imagined than described.

I think I need not impress upon your mind that it is the paramount duty of the Board to provide sanitary houses fit for human habitation for the sweepers in their employment. To house their own employees, the Board should arrange to construct at least 550 quarters in addition to those already constructed by it. The total cost of construction of 550 quarters is estimated at about Rs. 1,60,000/. This expenditure may be spread over 4 or 5 years. But, remember, the duty of the Board does not end here. It is equally essential that the housing conditions of part-time private servants who are at present living in insanitary private ahatas

The other necessity that is being felt in this respect is the construction of public baths to be located close to the quarters inhabited by the depressed classes and other labourers, and I think in the plans for the construction of the proposed houses provision should be made for such baths. In my opinion, bathing-places should be separately provided for males and females. The baths for the females should also have purdah walls. We should also make suitable arrangements for the supply of a sufficient quantity of pure water and proper lighting in connection with the quarters for these people.

The third item which must engage our attention is the education of the depressed class people. I think it is our duty to give the sons and daughters of the depressed classes as good a primary education as we have had ourselves. The Municipal Board is already running two schools for the depressed classes; but I think they are insufficient, and to cope with the present demand two night schools specially for the depressed classes should be opened and one day-school for the girls of depressed classes should also be started. The Harijan Sewak Sangha of Cawnpore has already started some schools for the depressed classes and, in my opinion, it would be a wise policy if two such schools are transferred to the control of the Municipal Board.

I am a believer in co-operation and co-ordination and not in the duplication of work. We need action at the present time; we need practice and not preaching; we need multiplication of the points of contact. The more we are all thrown together in common work, the better will it be for all. So in a matter like this in which we are all interested, we can, each of us in our own sphere, do something for the amelioration of the conditions of the depressed classes. The cumulative effects of such efforts may in time be very great. The Municipal Board too should do what it can to ameliorate the condition of these unfortunate persons.

I have carefully studied the budget with the object to find out how much money the Board will be able to spare for these objects from the current year's budget and I have also consulted the Executive Officer, the Municipal Engineer and the Medical Officer of Health. The Engineer has informed me that he will be able to spare Rs. 23,000 to Rs. 30,000 from the provision for drainage works in the current year's budget.

Rs. 40,000 are already provided under head 'Acquisition of ahatas and some money may also be available for this purpose from other heads as well. So we can safely allot Rs. 30,000 for construction of sanitary quarters for our sweepers and retain Rs. 40,000 as it is for the acquisition of insanitary ahatas, and if at the time the revised budget is prepared, it is found that it is not likely that Rs. 40,000 which has been provided in the current year's budget for the acquisition of insanitary ahatas will all be spent during the current financial year on the said object and that some money can be spared under that head for the construction of sweepers' quarters, it can then be transferred for that purpose. The expenses for making suitable arrangements for the supply of water can be met from head 'water supply' and the expenses for proper lighting can be met from the provision which already exists under Head 'Lighting'.

#### I. WORK ALREADY DONE BY THE BOARD.

##### (1) *Housing and Immediate needs* :—

(i) Forty quarters for its sweeper employees have been constructed by the Board in the Cattle Barrack during this year at a cost of Rs. 16,000, and these quarters have been given to them at a monthly rent of Re. 1 per month. Another sixty new quarters in the Forbes' Compound have been taken over by the Board from the Improvement Trust, and given to the sweepers at a monthly rent of Rs. 3. The Board purchased them for Rs. 26,500. There is much murmuring against this high rent and we would request the Board to reduce it to Re. 1 per month.

(ii) The Board has set apart Rs. 3,000 for the Immediate Needs of the Sweeper Bastis. We would request the Board to be quick in carrying out our recommendations in this regard which are published in Appendix D, and which were sent to it eight months back.

(2) *Indebtedness* :- The Board has resolved to start a Cooperative Society for its municipal employees, and even set apart Rs. 5,000 for it. But the scheme has not been put into operation so far.

(3) *Education* :- The Board was running two special Depressed Class day-schools so far. It has now started two more Night Schools for them.

(4) *Recreation* :- It gave an aid of Rs. 40 to the Sadar Bazaar Sweeper Akharha.

## II. PROBLEMS STILL TO BE TACKLED BY THE BOARD.

### (1) *Conditions of Service* :-

(i) As suggested in Chapter II of the Report, a Labour Committee on the lines of the Education or Health Committees should be formed and a Labour Officer should be appointed.

(ii) Regulations regarding Recruitment, Hours of Work, Leave Rules etc., as suggested on pages 14 to 20 of the Report should be framed and enforced by the Board without delay.

(iii) Corruption amongst the Jamadars and the Inspectors must be put down with a strong hand. Their circles and wards should be changed after every month, so that a Jamadar or Inspector may not hold in his hands the destinies of a particular sweeper for more than one month. This practice will help very much to root out bribery, and corruption.

(iv) Uniforms should be provided to sweepers for use when on duty.

(v) Members of the Sewerage Gang should be insured at the cost of the Municipality.

(vi) A shed with water arrangements should be constructed near the dumping ground for the use of sweepers working there as we have suggested on page 24 of the Report.

(vii) The Conditions of Service revealed in the Report of the Sweeper Strike Inquiry Committee (see Appendix C) must be made impossible in future.

### (2) *Economic Problem* :-

(i) An increase of 50 per cent. in sweepers' wages must be ordered immediately, and another 50 per cent. should be distributed over a number of years through the system of graded increments in pay which should be introduced at once.

(ii) The sweepers should be employed on a monthly basis, but the payments should be made weekly.

(iii) The posts of Jamadars should henceforth be wholly reserved for promotion from amongst the sweepers.

(iv) The system of Provident Fund and Gratuities should be made to include the sweepers under its benefits.

(v) Municipal employees should be strictly forbidden to accept bribes from the sweepers, or carry on or abet any business of money-lending amongst them on pain of dismissal from service.

(vi) The Co-operative Society should be started without delay. Some members of our Sangha should be coopted on its Managing Committee.

(vii) Money-lenders should not be allowed to haunt the Municipal office on pay-days.

(3) *Education and Medical Aid* :—

(i) Here the Board should assist the Harijan Sevak Sangha liberally in its work of Education and Medical Aid. Cooperation of some of the workers of the Sangha should be sought on the Municipal Education and Health Committees.

(ii) The Board should place a minimum sum of Rs. 50 per month at the disposal of the Sangha to be awarded as scholarships to deserving Harijan boys.

(iii) The Board should see that the sweeper children are admitted to its general schools without any let or hindrance, and any teacher found neglecting them should be taken to task. In their annual promotion and increment, the progress of sweeper children under their charge should form a very important consideration.

(iv) The Board should make a thorough inquiry into the evasion during the period 1932-4 of the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act with regard to sweeper children in the Wards where the Act is in force as we have pointed out on page 43. Proper action should be taken against the culprits, so that such evasion may not occur in future.

(4) *Drink* :—

(i) Excise shops in Gwaltoli, Lachhmi Purwa and Khatkana should be removed from their present locations.

(ii) The Board should organise Magic Lantern shows in Harijan Quarters. It may seek the cooperation of our Sangha in this matter.

(5) *Housing and Immediate Needs :-*

(i) No further time should be lost in giving effect to the recommendations of the Sangha in regard to the Immediate Needs of Sweeper Bastis submitted to the Board eight months back. See Appendix D, and Chart II in Appendix F.

(ii) The Board should take all action in its power against owners of Private Compounds for allowing inhuman conditions regarding sanitation, water supply, and lighting to prevail in them.

(iii) It should take in hand the problem of housing the sweepers who are not its employees, but do scavenging work in the city.

(iv) It should make a non-recurring grant of Rs. 50 to each Sweeper Basti where an Akhara is required (see Chart II Appendix F.) The grant may be given to the Harijan Sevak Sangha for the purpose.

(v) The use of Municipal taps is not allowed to sweepers by the public in many places (see Chart II Appendix F). The Board should place signboards near those taps, saying that their use is permitted to everybody, and anyone who obstructs any person from using them will be prosecuted.

(vi) As Chart I in Appendix F shows, the Board is charging ground rent from sweepers in Gwaltoli, and Roti Godam from Rs. 12/- to Rs. 18/- annually. This is most unfair and should be immediately stopped. It is not charged near other public latrines.

(6) *Aid to Harijan Sevak Sangha:--*

The Report of the work done by the local Harijan Sevak Sangha is given in Appendix A. The work under the Heads Education, Economic uplift, and Social work falls properly within the scope of the Municipality. As the accounts of the Sangha published on page 70 show, the Sangha spends 90 per cent of its funds in doing and supervising work under these Heads. The work of the Sangha is continuously expanding, and the Sangha's programme of future work in the City is given on page 57 and 58 of this Report. We specially invite the Board's attention to item No. (xii) on page 58, and would request the Board to provide the Sangha with free land near Harijan quarters where it may construct and develop its Harijan settlements. The Board should bear a fair portion of the expenses incurred by the Sangha in Educational, Economic and Social Welfare Work, and should make a suitable grant for General purposes.



APPENDIX F.

CHART I

Housing Conditions in Sweeper Bastis.

Name of Sweeper Bastis	Annual ground rent per house.	Average monthly rent per house.	Total sweeper families living in the Colony.	Approximate sweeper population.	Houses having more than one room.	Houses having verandah or courtyard.	Houses having windows	Width of lanes between rows of houses.	Dimensions L.B.H. of an averaged sized room in feet	Average size of verandah L. B. in feet.	Average size of the main door H. Bin feet.	Building and roofing material.	Drainage of the colony.	Houses flooded in the rains.	Atmosphere about the houses.
	<b>1. Selfowned Houses:-</b>														
1. Nawabganj (Municipal Area)	Nil.	Nil.	14	63	7	9	Nil.	open	L. 21 B. 16 H. 9	L. 21 B. 8	H. 7 B. 5	Mud and tiles	Nil.	Nil.	Good.
2. Mirpur (Cantonment Area)	"	"	74	333	22	74	"	"	L. 11 B. 7 H. 8	L. 11 B. 5	H. 6 B. 2	"	"	65	"
<b>2. Mill &amp; Railway Quarters :-</b>															
1. Mc. Robertganj	Nil.	Nil.	17	76	Nil.	17	Nil.	"	L. 10 B. 8 H. 11	L. 10 B. 6	H. 5 B. 4	Pukka.	Fair	Nil.	Fair
2. Anwarganj Station	"	"	10	45	"	10	"	"	L. 10 B. 8 H. 11	L. 10 B. 6	H. 5 B. 4	"	Nil.	"	Good.
<b>3. Improvement Trust Sheds:-</b>															
1. Temporary sheds ( Forbes' Compound )	Nil.	1/8/	51	129	Nil.	51	Nil.	open	No rooms	L. 21 B. 8	No door	Pukka.	Fair	Nil.	Fair

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4. Municipal Land :-															
A. Municipal Quarters :-															
1. Cattle Barrack.	Nil.	1/-	94	423	Nil.	85	85	10	L. 10 B. 8 H. 12	L. 8 B. 8	H. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Pukka.	Bad	Nil.	Fair
2. Forbes' Compound.	"	3/-	59	266	Nil.	59	59	15	L. 11 B. 9 H. 9	L. 11 B. 5	H. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	Good	Nil.	Good
3. Sadar Bazar.	"	Nil.	21	94	"	21	21	open	L. 11 B. 9 H. 9	L. 11 B. 5	H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	"	Fair	Nil.	Fair
B. Self-owned Constructions :-															
1. Lachmipurva.	"	"	29	131	1	29	Nil.	10	L. 14 B. 6 H. 10	L. 14 B. 6	H. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Mud and tiles	Nil.	29	Bad
2. Gwaltoli.	12/-	"	24	108	7	8	1	10	L. 10 B. 7 H. 7	L. 10 B. 4	H. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	Nil.	Fair
3. Gwaltoli Chowki.	Nil.	"	17	76	Nil.	Nil.	8	open	L. 11 B. 8 H. 9	L. 11 B. 6	H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"	"
4. Khalasi Lane.	"	"	15	67	4	6	1	4	L. 8 B. 7 H. 7	L. 7 B. 4	H. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 2	"	"	"	"
5. Roti Godown.	18/-	"	11	49	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	open	L. 9 B. 7 H. 7	"	H. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	11	Fair
6. Bhusa Toli.	Nil.	"	6	27	"	6	"	"	L. 8 B. 7 H. 7	L. 8 B. 5	H. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. 3	"	"	Nil	"

## CHART I (Contd.)

## Housing Conditions in Sweeper Bastis.

7. Natwalganj	Nil.	Nil.	5	22	Nil.	3	3	open	L. 10 B. 9 H. 12	L. 10 B. 8	H. 5 B. 4	Pukka.	Nil.	Nil.	Fair
<i>6. Privately owned Land :-</i>															
<i>A. Landlord's Houses.</i>															
1. Bara Buchar Khana.	"	?	20	90	Nil.	20	Nil.	6	L. 8 B. 8 H. 10	L. 8 B. 6	H. 6 B. 2½	Pukka.	Nil.	Nil.	Fair
2. Begam & Baupurwa ( Old E. I. R. Station. )	Nil.	-/4/-	34	153	1	11	"	8	L. 11 B. 6 H. 8	L. 11 B. 5	H. 3½ B. 2½	Mud and tiles	"	30	"
3. Sisamau.	"	3/-	63	283	20	47	2	open	L. 10 B. 8 H. 10	L. 8 B. 7	H. 5 B. 2½	"	"	Nil.	"
4. Girdhari Lal ka Hata.	"	1/8-	24	108	1	24	Nil.	8	L. 11 B. 9 H. 10	L. 11 B. 8	H. 4 B. 3	"	Bad.	"	"
5. Haddi Godown.	"	2/-	72	180	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	8	L. 10 B. 10 H. 8	..	H. 5 B. 2½	"	Nil.	60	Bad.
6. Bipat Khatik ka Hata.	"	2/-	24	108	"	"	"	open	L. 8 B. 8 H. 7	..	H. 3 B. 2	"	"	Nil.	"
7. Faqr Uddin ka Hata.	"	3/-	69	310	"	69	"	"	L. 12 B. 9 H. 10	L. 12 B. 8	H. 4½ B. 3½	Pukka.	Fair.	"	Good.
8. Tikia Mohal.	"	1/-	13	58	8	13	"	"	L. 14 B. 9 H. 8	L. 14 B. 5	H. 3½ B. 2	Mud and tiles	Fair.	Nil.	Good.

9. Kursawan.	Nil.	4/-	24	108	6	1	1	open	L. 9 B. 7 H. 11	L. 9 B. 4	H. 5½ B. 2¾	Pukka.	Fair.	Nil.	Bad.
10. Philkhana.	..	2/-	13	58	Nil.	13	Nil.	Nil.	L. 10 B. 7 H. 9	H. 10 B. 6	H. 4½ B. 3	Mud and tiles	Nil.	..	..
11. Juhi.	..	2/-	25	112	..	21	..	open	L. 15 B. 12 H. 10	H. 15 B. 12	H. 7 B. 5	..	..	..	Fair.
12. Roti Godam.	..	3/-	21	94	2	6	..	Nil.	L. 9 B. 7 H. 7	L. 9 B. 9	H. 4 B. 2	..	..	..	..
13. Mool Ganj.	..	2/-	4	18	Nil.	4	..	open	L. 11 B. 8 H. 10	L. 11 B. 7	H. 5 B. 4	Pukka.	..	..	V. Bad.
<i>B. Self-owned Constructions:—</i>															
1. Munshi Purwa (Old E. I. R. Station.)	5/-	Nil.	17	76	11	17	..	open	L. 12 B. 9 H. 10	L. 12 B. 9	H. 3½ B. 2½	Mud and tiles	..	..	Good.
2. Shakkar mill ka Khalwa.	4/8/	..	25	112	Nil.	25	..	9	L. 12 B. 8 H. 10	L. 12 B. 5	H. 4½ B. 3¾	..	..	25	Bad.
3. Birhana.	18/-	..	15	67	6	Nil.	..	8	L. 14 B. 8 H. 8	..	H. 4 B. 2	..	..	6	Fair.
4. Lal Bihari ka Purwa.	1/8/	..	7	32	7	7	..	open	L. 16 B. 12 H. 9	L. 16 B. 8	H. 7 B. 5	..	..	Nil.	Good.
Total.	..	..	917	..	93	656	151	..	..	..	..	..	..	226	

Chart II.

## Immediate Needs of Sweeper Bastis.

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Name of Sweeper Basti.	Total Sweeper families living in the Colony.	Other Harijan families living in the Colony.	Present Conditions.							Immediate Needs.						
			Latrine seats available within 100 yards.	Taps and wells open within 100 yards.	Source of water-supply.	Its distance in yards.	Municipal Taps and wells in vicinity closed to sweepers.	Number of houses lighted at night.	Latrine seats.	Water taps.	Baths.		Wells.	Light.	Akhara.	
<b><u>I. Self-Owned Houses:—</u></b>																
1. Nawab Ganj ( Municipal Area )	14	11	open	1	well	20	..	2	Nil	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
2. Mirpur (Cantonment Area)	74	..	58	2	well	100	..	..	"	..	..	..	..	3	5	1
<b><u>II. Mill and Railway Quarters.</u></b>																
1. Mc. Robert Ganj	17	..	40	1	tap	20	..	..	17	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
2. Anwar Ganj Station.	10	..	24	1	tap	100	..	..	Nil	—	..	..	1	..	1	1
<b><u>III. Improvement Trust sheds:</u></b>																
1. Temporary sheds (Forbes' Compound)	51	..	10	1	tap	80	..	..	"	10	1	1	1	..	3	1

<i>IV. Municipal Land :-</i>																	
<i>A. Municipal Quarters.</i>																	
1. Cattle Barrack.	94	...	8	1	Pail Depot & tap	100	..	..	Nil.	8	12	4	1	..	..	5	1
2. Forbes' Compound.	59	...	12	2	"	20	..	..	"	10	1	1	1	1	..	4	1
3. Sadar Bazar.	21	...	56	Nil.	Pail Depot	50	..	..	9	..	1	1	1	1	..	1	1
<i>B. Self-owned Constructions.</i>																	
1. Lachmipurwa.	29	...	48	"	"	10	1	2	Nil.	..	1	1	1	1	..	2	1
2. Gwaltoli.	24	...	48	"	"	20	..	1	14	..	1	1	1	1	..	1	1
3. Gwaltoli Chowki.	17	..	40	"	"	15	2	..	8	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	1
4. Khalasi Lane.	15	...	40	"	"	15	..	..	Nil.	..	1	1	1	1	..	2	1
5. Roti Godown.	11	..	40	"	"	15	1	..	"	..	1	1	1	1	..	1	1
6. Bhusa Toli.	6	..	6	"	Drain Pipe.	70	2	..	"	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	1
7. Natwalganj.	5	..	28	1	Tap.	10	..	..	"	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1

## CHART II (Contd.)

## Immediate Needs of Sweeper Bastis.

Name of Sweeper Basti.	Total Sweeper families living in the Colony.		Other Harijan families living in the Colony.		Present Conditions.						Immediate Needs.					
	Latrine seats available within 100 yards.	Taps and wells open within 100 yards.	Source of water-supply.	Its distance in yards.	Municipal Public Taps and wells in vicinity closed to sweepers.	Number of houses lighted at night.	Latrine seats.	Water taps.	Baths.		Wells.	Light.	Akhara			
<i>V. Privately-owned Land:-</i>																
<i>A. Landlord's Houses.</i>																
1. Bara Buchar Khana.	20	23	48	Nil.	Pail Depot	10	3	..	Nil.	..	1	1	1	..	2	1
2. Begam & Bau Purva. (Old E. I. R. Station).	34	..	open	..	Bhisti	300	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	1
3. Sisamau.	63	45	40	1	Pail Depot	100	2	..	21	..	2	2	2	..	2	1
4. Girdhari Lal ka Hata.	24	33	6	Nil.	latrine pipe	20	1	..	Nil.	4	1	1	1	..	2	1
5. Haddi Godam.	72	34	Nil.	1	Tap.	100	..	..	..	20	2	2	2	..	3	1
6. Bipat Khatik ka Hata.	24	109	..	..	Pail Depot	200	..	2	..	20	1	1	1	..	1	1

7. Fakhr Uddin ka Hata.	69	12	32	3	taps	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1
8. Tikia Mohal.	13	..	Nil.	1	Well	20	3	..	Nil.	16	..	1	1	..	1	1	
9. Kursawan.	24	..	40	Nil.	Pail Depot	15	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	
10. Philkhana.	13	32	12	..	..	100	2	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	1	
11. Juhi.	25	..	20	2	wells	50.	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	
12. Roti Godam.	21	239	40	Nil.	Pail Depot	100	2	..	5	..	1	1	1	..	2	1	
13. Mool Ganj.	4	..	48	..	..	10	3	..	Nil.	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	
<i>B. Self-owned Constructions :-</i>																	
1. Munshi Purwa. (Old E. I. R. Station.	17	..	open	1	well	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	
2. Shakkar Mill ka Khalwa.	25	26	32	Nil	Bhisti	300	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	1	
3. Birhana.	15	62	40	..	tap	150	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	1	
4. Lal Bihari ka Purwa.	7	..	open	1	well.	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	
<i>Total</i>	..	917	834	..	20	..	..	23	14	74	92	26	22	27	5	54	31



CHART III. Statement showing Condition of Harijan Schools run by the Cawnpore Harijan Sevak Sangha in March 1934.

Number.	Location of School.	Time during which conducted.	Kind of School.	Number of Scholars on roll.			Average attendance.			Number of Scholars Castewise.							
				Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Bhangi & Dhanuk.	Chamar.	Dhobi.	Kori and Nat.	Pasi and Bawaria.	Bania.	Khattri.	Brahman.
<i>CITY</i>																	
1	Har Bans Mohal	10 A. M. 4 P. M.	Boys	24	..	24	18	..	18	9	9	1	1	4	..	..	..
2	"	7 P. M. 9 P. M.	"	12	..	12	9	..	9	3	4	3	1	1	..	..	..
3	Sadar Bazaar.	"	"	30	..	30	23	..	23	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Lachhampurwa	5 P. M. 9 P. M.	Common	30	12	42	25	7	32	38	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
5	Gwaltoli	6 A. M. 11 A. M.	"	37	11	48	27	9	36	43	..	..	2	..	..	1	2
6	Birhana	3 P. M. 6 P. M.	Girls	..	24	24	..	19	19	15	..	..	..	..	9	..	..
7	Forbes' Compound	"	"	..	38	38	..	31	31	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	Bhainsa Godown	12 P. M. 4 P. M.	"	..	25	25	..	19	19	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Haddi Godam	3 P. M. 6 P. M.	Common	22	7	29	15	3	18	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

10	Mir pur	4 P. M. 9 P. M.	Common	25	4	29	19	3	22	22	..	2	5	..	..	..	..
11	Dalelpurwa.	10 A. M. 3 P. M.	" (Aided)	25	4	29	20	3	23	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	<i>Total</i>	..	..	205	125	330	156	94	250	281	13	6	13	5	9	1	2

*DISTRICT*

1	Juria (Derapore Tehsil)	6 A. M. 12 A. M.	Common	32	4	36	22	3	25	1	9	7	..	6	4	9	..
2	Marahna "	"	"	36	4	40	32	2	34	6	16	..	8	..	..	8	2
3	Bhavanpur.	"	"	30	10	40	22	9	31	7	13	..	14	6	..	..	..
4	Mawia (Akbarpore)	6 P. M. 9 P. M.	Boys	37	..	37	30	..	30	11	3	2	..	4	7	5	5
5	Dul (Cawnpore)	"	"	20	..	20	17	..	17	1	4	..	3	2	2	4	4
6	Bhul.	"	"	21	..	21	17	..	17	12	7	..	..	2	..	..	..
7	Bhawanipore "	"	"	30	..	30	22	..	22	8	7	..	..	15	..	..	..
8	Behta (Ghatampur)	"	"	27	..	27	21	..	21	5	7	..	4	11	..	..	..
9	Birsinghpur "	"	"	20	..	20	15	..	15	..	15	3	2	..	..	..	..
	<i>Total</i>	..	..	253	18	271	198	14	212	51	81	12	31	46	13	26	11
20	<i>Grand Total</i>	..	..	458	143	601	354	108	462	332	94	18	44	51	22	27	13

**CHART IV. Results of Harijan Survey in 258 Villages of Cawnpore District.**

Serial No.		In 127 Villages of Akberpore Tahsil	In 102 Villages of Derapore Tahsil	In 29 villages of Ghatampore tahsil.	Total
1	No. of Temples open to Harijans generally	121	14	148	283
2	„ „ „ Sweepers as well	18	3	5	26
3	„ „ closed to all Harijans	92	18	71	181
4	„ wells open to Harijans generally	1030	439	134	1603
5	„ „ „ Sweepers as well	85	92	76	253
6	„ „ closed to all Harijans	176	173	14	363
7	Total number of Harijan families:—	2758	1746	533	5037
8	„ „ Bhangi „	64	62	27	153
9	„ „ Dhauk „	216	215	4	435
10	„ „ Chamar „	1250	1011	248	2509
11	„ „ Pasi & Bauria „	243	..	132	375
12	„ „ Nat „	7	1	1	9
13	„ „ Kanjar „	9	2	..	11
14	„ „ Kori „	525	242	45	812
15	„ „ Dhobi „	193	151	41	385
16	„ „ Khatik „	86	..	28	114
17	„ „ Beddia „	4	5	1	10
18	„ „ Mahavat „	„	6	6	12
19	„ „ Basohar „	45	2	..	47
20	„ „ Bahalia „	„	28	..	28
21	„ „ Chikwa „	„	21	..	21
22	„ „ Kumhar „	116	..	..	116